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LINGUISTICS

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**Applied cognitive linguistics:
Language teaching and
a cognitive corpus-based analysis
of *at* and *in***

ANNA BĄCZKOWSKA

1. Introduction

The present paper aims at demonstrating an original format of classroom activities grounded in the theoretical framework of cognitive grammar (Langacker 1987). To be more precise, practical aspects of how cognitive analysis may assist the understanding and teaching of two prepositions – *at* and *in* – will constitute the present focus. Pursuing pedagogical objectives, the theory concerning the cognitive analysis of the two prepositions in question will be restricted to cases relevant to the present study. As a full-fledged theoretical investigation is not the intention of the author, we shall focus on (1) the similarity in the conceptual meaning between the preposition and the words preceding (verbs/adjectives/nouns) or following the preposition (nominals), i.e. on the predictability of components in a phrase built around the preposition (prepositional valence); (2) the application of these observations to classroom teaching. The issues will be discussed in the following order: we will first present a general cognitive perspective on phrases containing prepositions in line with cognitive grammar theory (CG); next, the concept of mutual word predictability in prepositional valence relations will receive due attention; and finally, practical applications of CG to the teaching of prepositions will be demonstrated, into which relevant justifications derived from cognitive analysis will be interwoven.

2. Cognitive grammar perspective on prepositions

In the framework of cognitive grammar, the preposition is classified as an atemporal relation which derives its meaning from the relation held between the semantic pole of the preposition and the instantiation of landmark e-site (the nominal) which follows it (Langacker 1987, chap. 6 and 8). The semantic pole of the preposition inherits specifications of the landmark e-site, which makes the conceptual meaning of the preposition heavily dependent on the nominal which follows it in structures such as prepositional phrases, where the preposition is the head of the phrase (Prep+N) (henceforth right-predictive phrases, cf. Kjellmer 1996). In other words, the preposition is conceptually dependent on the nominal, while the nominal is conceptually autonomous. At the same time, however, we may observe that the reading of the nominal in a given phrase is dependent on the preposition. For example, in (1) we would visualize different aspects of the object encoded by the nominal, i.e. our conceptualization of 'the box' would be different in each case: the interior walls of the box (a), the outer surface of the box upper side of the box (b), and the space lateral to one of its sides (c).

- (1) a. In the box
b. On the box
c. By the box

It is thus the preposition that determines our reading of the whole prepositional phrase. In other words, the preposition is a conceptually dependent profile determinant, while the nominal is a conceptually autonomous base of the profile.

However, the preposition may also be a composite element of larger structures than prepositional phrases. For example, it may be followed by a nominal (Prep+N), and at the same time preceded by, say, a verb (V+Prep) (example 2, cited after Langacker 1087: 435).

(2) They always quarrel over women.

CG has not established one unified approach to such phrases, and therefore, according to Langacker, two options of a cognitive analysis are permitted:

- (2) a. [[quarrel over] women]; or
b. [quarrel [over women]].

In the first case ‘quarrel’ and ‘over’ are integrated to construe a composite structure at a higher (first) level of constituency, in which a transitive verb emerges. This structure is further elaborated at the second hierarchical level by a direct-object nominal. In the second case, on the other hand, ‘over’ together with ‘women’ are integrated to derive a composite structure at a higher level of constituency (a prepositional phrase), which elaborates the e-site of ‘quarrel’. It is believed that “the semantic consequences of choosing one analysis as opposed to the other are relatively inconsequential”, and “on a given occasion either type of analysis can be imposed” (Langacker 1987: 436).

The format of the practical activities proposed in this paper conforms to both compositional paths permitted by CG: structures which consist of V/ADJ/N+Prep and are further elaborated by a nominal are discussed as left-predictive (2a). Prepositional phrases, on the other hand, are classified as right-predictive (2b).

3. The aim of this paper

The claim we would like to defend in this paper revolves around the observation that the composite elements of a number of phrases exhibit some degree of predictability. It is not our intention, however, to characterize the entities which are constitutive of the phrases in question (Figure 1), but the possible valence relations into which they enter (Figure 2). It is our belief that by showing the relationship existing between the two entities, especially when explicitly stated in classroom

teaching, a teacher may positively contribute to effective learnability of these phrases.

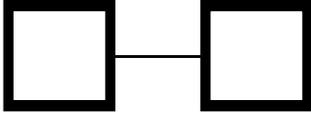


Figure 1

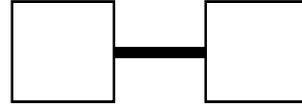


Figure 2

4. Prepositional valence

Word predictability is easily discernible in right-predictive structures, as in line with CG, a preposition inherits specifications of its e-site instantiated by a nominal. Likewise, it is legitimate to claim that the nominal is compatible with the canonical meaning of the preposition, which is ‘orientation point/proximity’ in the case of *at*, and ‘enclosure/containment’ in the case of *in*. The canonical meanings of the two prepositions may be illustrated by the following two phrases:

(3) Tom is standing at the taxi rank;

and

(4) Tom is in his office.

In the first sentence the LM (i.e. *taxi rank*) extends in space yet the boundaries of the LM are not clear-cut: the physical qualities of the LM (such as size and shape) remain imprecise. As a result, they allow one to only approximately locate the TR relative to the LM. Strangely enough, the concept of proximity is also one of the meanings of the preposition *at*. It is legitimate to conclude from the above that the meaning of the preposition and the LM overlap, and thus they stress mutual predictability of the two composite elements in a higher order structure. In the second sentence, on the other hand, the TR (shaded area) is inside the LM, and the LM is a three dimensional object. Both the LM and *in* invoke associations of some interior. In this case too, the predictability of the preposition and the LM

inserted in one composite structure is very high. These claims may be graphically represented as follows:



Figure 3

Observe that although in the phrase *in the box* the preposition *in* implies enclosure, and thus predicts a three-dimensional object (such as *a box*), the object does not necessarily impose the use of *in*: a *box* may be preceded by *in*, *under*, *behind*, *at*, *to*, *for*, etc. Predictability thus seems to be applicable only to the preposition. It must be remembered, however, that the choice of a given preposition entails highlighting a selected profile of the object described, as the object imports certain specifications of the preposition preceding it. As a result, it is not only the shape of the object (e.g. 3D) which is readily called up by *in* (let us call it 'process 1'), as the preposition *in* may also be easily triggered when visualising the inner part of an object (process 2). The above speculation is suggestive of mutual predictability of the composite elements, i.e. *in* and *box*, yet it must be stressed at this point that process 2 is always secondary: we cannot conceptualise only the inner part of a box (profiled object) instead of the whole object without knowing which part to profile (which is imposed by the preposition). In sum, we may assume that mutual predictability is possible in right-predictive phrases, yet with some limitations.

Now, in the case of the preposition *at*, by saying *at the corner*, for example, we tend to evoke only a fuzzy image of the *corner*: the outer part of the object (i.e. the *corner*) as well as its closest vicinity. What is meant by the closest vicinity, however, is not explicitly stated. The fuzziness is a consequence of a non-contiguous location of the TR and the LM: the object and the point of reference are not physically adjacent, but instead are separated by some space the scale of which is not clearly stated.

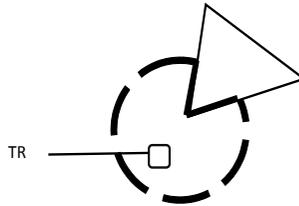


Figure 4

As a result, the location of the TR in such a place as the corner is rather imprecise. The fuzzy image of the LM correlates positively with the canonical meaning of the preposition *at* – proximity – which again licenses us to claim that in the phrase *at the corner* the composite elements show a certain degree of *mutual* predictability.

Let us now analyse L-predictive phrases. In the phrase *involve in*, the verb *involve* foreshadows the notion of ‘enclosure’ and/or ‘inclusion’, i.e. being involved in some activity, which suggests the inclusion of a subject, say *Tom*, in a physical object or an abstract entity (e.g. a *relationship*). The schematic meaning of the preposition *in* is also ‘enclosure’ (cf. Dirven 1993: 78). Both *involve* and *in*, therefore, evoke similar conceptual meanings. Likewise, in the phrase *glance at*, the semantic specifications of *glance* impose the presupposition of an incomplete action, as *glance*, as opposed to *scrutinize* or *look into/on* assumes a quick, skimming activity or the focusing of our attention *in the direction of* the target object. *Glance* thus implies only some proximity of the TR to the LM.

It is worth noting at this point that proximity typically signals a lack of physical contact between the entities. However, when analysed on the abstract level, the reading of ‘proximity’ may be extended to a physical contact (contiguity) which (unlike in the case of the preposition *on*) is not fully realized. In the phrase *sip at*, for instance, *sip* indicates a limited involvement in the action performed, but involves physical contact between the subject and the object; whereas *glance at* does not involve physical but mental contact (visual perception). It must be

noted that in some contexts *sip* does not have to be followed by the preposition *at*. The semantic difference between *sip* and *sip at*, however, is subtle. *Sip at* is less common and it implies a more cautious action than *sip*.

In sum, *at* co-occurs with such verbs as *glance*, *sip* and the like, as they accord with the canonical meaning of *at*. By contrast, verbs which precede the preposition *in* express 'enclosure', or to be more precise – full participation of the TR in the action described (the LM), e.g. *absorbed*, *engrossed*, *involved*. By the same token, they are consonant with the canonical meaning of *in*. The predictability of the preposition and the verb preceding it is thus mutual.

It is perhaps worth mentioning at this point that the issue of prepositional valence is not a new one. An excellent and meticulous critical analysis of literature on this subject is presented by Sroka (1971), who shows that the speculations on mutual predictability of words remaining in close vicinity (syntactically or semantically), in particular 'verb + preposition/particle' treated as one "sense-unit", or a "sort of semicoumpound expression" (as in the case of *speak to*, cf. Volbeda 1926), a "semicompound" (Kruisinga 1932), a "compound transitive verb" (in the case of structures like *laugh at*, cf. Grattan and Gurrey 1925), a "prepositional object" (in the case of structures like *listen to*, cf. Poustma 1904), has a long tradition and can be traced back to Sweet (1990: 136)¹.

What might be derived from the above discussion for the purpose of language didactics is the fact that by elaborating the schematic meanings of a preposition we may considerably facilitate the predictability of the possible verbs/adjectives that co-occur with the preposition in question, as it seems that it is not the verb/adjective which arbitrarily imposes the choice

¹ Of course, prepositions have not always been classified as prepositions proper, and, depending on the author, they have been termed adpositions, particles, adverbs, adpreps, postpositions, and even more exotically, e.g. alter/ambipositions or circumpositions (cf. for example Bolinger 1971, Sroka 1972, Stanulewicz 2006, Libert 2006). This linguistic problem, however, is too complex to be discussed in this short paper which deals primarily with language didactics.

of the preposition (as suggested by traditional grammars); rather it is the preposition that, at least partially, determines or at least foreshadows the choice of the verb/adjective. This observation might be a strong claim against the prescription still prevailing in foreign teaching, *nota bene* even in the currently predominating lexical approach, to learn verbs (and other atemporal relations, particularly adjectives) together with the prepositions with which they ‘habitually’ co-occur, as learning just the schematic meanings of the preposition may be equally promising. The suggested teaching-wise postulation stemming from the above discussion is thus to emphasize that the schematic meaning of a preposition, usually analysed together with a nominal, is also valid in the case of processual and atemporal predications, which precede the preposition. Predictability holds true for a handful of words, especially verbs most of which constitute the input material in coursebooks for students (cf. Vince 1994, unit 21), for example:

- (5) a. glance/pick/guess/sip/peck/gnaw/nibble/nag/dab/jab
+ AT
- b. absorbed/confide/engrossed/implicate/involved/
inherent/indulge + IN

Drawing learners’ attention to this regularity is likely to minimize the learning effort necessary to remember a substantial range of structures.

5. Format of the proposed activities

The format of the activities illustrates L_1 - L_2 contrastive analysis and has the following structure. At first students are encouraged to recognize the possible translation equivalents of the preposition in question in their mother tongue (Activity 0). Next, only one of the translation equivalents is further elaborated in the activities which follow. In the case of *in*, the elaboration is limited to citations which exemplify the Polish equivalent *w*; while in the case of *at*, it is limited to *na* (Activity 1). In the next set of activities students are prompted to identify

common properties shared by the preposition in prepositional phrases (right-predictive analysis) and to group them under suggested headings (schemas). Once the basic schemas are recognized, they are reinforced and revised through Activity 2 A and B, as well as Activity 3. The next activity (4) allows one to study verbs, nouns and adjectives that precede the prepositions *at* and *in* (left-predictive analysis). Further elaboration of selected schemas is exercised through Activity 5. It is followed by a contrastive analysis in which the preposition at issue is juxtaposed with other prepositions that enter into deceptively similar schemas (Activity 6). The general framework of the activities may thus be presented as follows:

I. Right-predictive analysis

1. Introductory activity

Activity 0. Aim: demonstrating several translation equivalents of the target preposition.

2. Presentation: focusing on a selected translation equivalent (e.g. *at* = *na*, *in* = *w*).

Activity 1. Aim: identifying selected schemas in which the preposition occurs (e.g. *at* = time, place, event; *in* = inside 3D objects, envelopment).

3. Practice

Activity 2. Aim: matching schemas with examples.

Activity 3. Aim: grouping phrases into transparent and semi-transparent.

II. Left-predictive analysis

1. Introductory activity

Aim: identifying selected schemas.

2. Presentation

Further elaboration of the selected schemas. (e.g. *at*: ability, target, partial involvement; *in*: enclosure, ability, target).

3. Practice

Aim: comparative analysis of two selected prepositions.

5.1. At

The preposition *at* poses great difficulty to EFL learners due to the lack of direct equivalence of the preposition in Polish. *At* may be rendered in a number of ways:

- (6) *w* - Cats are most active at night. Koty są najbardziej aktywne *w nocy*.
- (7) *u* - We were standing at the foot of Śnieżka admiring the beautiful view of the mountain. Staliśmy *u podnóża Śnieżki* podziwiając piękny widok góry.
- (8) *do* - In his new office Tom has a brand-new computer at his disposal. W nowym biurze Tomek ma *do własnej dyspozycji* zupełnie nowy computer.
- (9) *po* - We managed to buy a Monet at a competitive price. Udało nam się kupić Moneta *po konkurencyjnej cenie*.
- (10) *pod-* At the end of each course all students are asked to fill in a survey about the efficiency of the presented teaching techniques.

Pod koniec każdego kursu studenci proszeni są o wypełnienie ankiety dotyczącej efektywności zaprezentowanych technik nauczania.

- (11) *z* - We bought a cheap house in the city centre, decorated it and now we hope to sell it at a profit. Kupiliśmy tani dom w centrum miasta, wyremontowaliśmy go i teraz mamy nadzieję, że sprzedamy go *z zyskiem*.
- (12) *o* - We left the hotel at dawn to avoid the traffic jam. Wyjechaliśmy z hotelu *o świcie*, aby uniknąć korków na drodze.

(13) *przy* - The mother of the terminally ill girl spends all days at her bedside. Matka śmiertelnie chorej dziewczynki spędza całe dni *przy jej łóżku*.

(14) *co* - The headmaster of our school drinks a cup of strong coffee at every break. Dyrektor naszej szkoły pije *co przerwę* filiżankę mocnej kawy.

Another possible translation, elaborated in the remainder of this paper, is that of *na*:

(15) *na* - I was waiting for Tom at the corner of the street near the cinema.

Czekałam na Tomka *na rogu ulicy* w pobliżu kina.

As noted by Klebanowska (1971: 20), the Polish translation of *at* into *na* tends to be used to indicate general location, as in:

(16) Byłem *na basenie*

wherein the participant may be in the building (the swimming pool) but not necessarily in water, as opposed to:

(17) Ania kąpie się *w basenie*

which strongly suggests the participant being physically in water. This observation seems to converge with the central meaning of 'proximity' and 'orientation point' conveyed by *at*, as claimed by cognitive linguists.

5.1.1. Introductory activity

Many scholars (e.g. Marton 1977; Bahns 1993; Selinker 1994: 260; Bączkowska 2000, 2007; Bowerman and Choi 2001) have observed that learners of English tend to rely heavily on the conceptual system inherent in their mother tongue. As a result of these observations, it has been decided that, rather than trying to combat this natural propensity, we may tailor the input material to learners' expectations, i.e. to arrange activities around the translation equivalents found in their

mother tongue. Therefore, in Activity 0 students are expected to identify the Polish equivalents of the preposition *at*, and the next set of activities elaborates one selected translation equivalent (in our case *at* translated into *na*).

Right-predictive analysis

Activity 0. Give Polish equivalents of the preposition *at* used in the following citations:

1	at	women are frightened to travel alone	at	night in isolated places, to wit in
2	d	that's 7:30 a.m. on Thursday morning.	At	10:30 a.m. he'll go to Kramer Junio
3	utation	from a survey that's filled out	at	the end of each course. This survey
4	nd	progression after many years of work	at	the local and the state leve. Anoth
5	d	reached the place. They were standing	at	the foot of the mountain and were a
6	ents	had a great number of dictionaries	at	his disposal, which made his work m
7	ter	week he wanted to buy good cars but	at	competitive prices as he did not ha
8	the	time he was always calling his wife	at	every interval of the rehearsal whi
9	d	were looking at the guards who were	at	the back of the palace. There were

5.1.2. Presentation

Activity 1 presents a selection of sub-schematic meanings of the preposition *at*. The three situations presented in this activity ('event', 'time', and 'place') obviously do not exhaust all sub-schematic meanings of *at* proposed by cognitive linguistics (for most recent study of *at* see Knaś 2007). Dirven (1993: 76-77), for example, apart from the prototypical meaning of 'point as place' (as *at the station*), enumerates a number of its elaborations and extensions, such as: 'time-point' (*at six o'clock*), 'circumstance' (*at these words*), or 'state' (*at work*). In the activities that follow, the category of 'point as place' has been replaced by two categories: 'place' and 'event'. These adjustments stem from the fact that our purpose is not to lecture on the basics of cognitive grammar theory, but to provide learners with an easily accessible practical account of usages of prepositions in order to facilitate their learning. What is expected from a teacher, therefore, is to provide

learners with certain simplification of the theory in order to tailor to 'local' demands, i.e. the needs of a particular group of students; yet without the violation or depreciation of cognitive grammar explanation. Therefore, the range of categories to be taught should mainly conform to the students' familiarity with notions grounded in cognitive grammar analysis/theory.

Activity 1. Identify three situations in which the preposition *at* is used.

1	ten sazhens square with half-bastions	at	the corners, whereas elsewhere they
2	you and to share your love and grace.	At	the start of a New Year, many nation
3	ce Shareholders, which will be sought	at	a meeting to be held on 25 th May 1993
4	oking at her, then! Two monsters were	at	a party. Ooh! said the man sitting in
5	higher than was originally estimated	at	the start of the programme and also t
6	I thought she was supposed to have him	at	the beginning of this month. Twenty o

1. event: _____; 2. place: _____; 3. time: _____

Event. Dirven's category of 'place' may be realized in two ways: implicitly and explicitly. Firstly, it may be expressed implicitly, where no direct reference is made to a physical space which, however, is suggested via the nature of an event which takes place in a physical area (marked as 'event'). For example, by saying *at a party* it is not the location of the *party* in terms of physical space that we tend to envisage (as in the expression, say, *in a room*), but rather the characteristics/constitution of the *party* (dispersed, multiplex) of which the composite elements are party participants gathered at one location. Despite this indirectness in indicating the category of place, however, *at* is ascribed to a particular situation. Similarly, the following sentence:

(18) She cried at her father's funeral

we signal that (i) the TR is contemporary with the event; and (ii) the situation is firmly anchored in a concrete, physical spatio-temporal dimension (Brugman 1980). In this respect, the use of *at* should be distinguished from *above* or *over*, which profile

more general circumstances (event as a whole) the LM calls upon (19) (after Brugman 1980: 33):

(19) She cried about/over her father's funeral

whereby the event may be interpreted as an emotional response resulting from the funeral itself, which is invoked as being remote from the place (LM) and unrelated with the original event. In other words, the TR may exist in spatio-temporal abstraction from the LM.

It is interesting to note at this point that, unlike Brugman, Herskovits (1986) claims that the use of *at* entails a lack of spatial perception. To give an example, by saying *at a/the supermarket* we may mean that the TR is in one of the following places: inside, in the vicinity of, or approaching the supermarket. In these contexts the TR is not perceptible, yet despite the 'invisibility' of the TR, the very place (the supermarket) is not conceptualized as a de-contextualized, abstract notion (as in (19)), but rather as a concrete entity. *In a/the supermarket* evidently imposes the idea of being contained inside a LM wherein the TR is either perceptually available or unavailable for an observer.

In her proposal, Herskovits' also introduced the concept of 'near' principles (salience, relevance, tolerance, and typicality), which have the explanatory power to account for a concrete case ingrained in *contextual restrictions* and which hint at the interpretation which is right in a given context (e.g. either inside, in the vicinity of, or approaching a supermarket). Herskovits' approach to prepositions is an example of meaning interpretation stemming from two vehicles of information: both semantic (context-independent) information as well pragmatic (context-dependent) inference, which is currently an advocated area of research carved out by the semantics-pragmatics interface (SPI) approach to language (cf. Turner 1999, von Heusinger and Turner 2006, for the state-of-the-art of SPI research). On a more general note, because in the approach to prepositions represented by Herskovits the ideal and geometric features of entities involved in atemporal

relations encoded by the preposition are immersed in pragmatic clues, her programme fares better than earlier description of English prepositions (e.g. Cooper 1968, Bennett 1975), and it is also particularly important for a cognitive analysis, which is believed to be based on usage (a usage-based approach).

Now, the above study supports the argument that the composite elements of phrases occurring with *at* encode imprecision, which accords with the canonical meaning of *at* conveying the idea of generality, imprecision, or indefiniteness (*at* as an 'orientation point').

Place may also be expressed explicitly: it is reflected in the physical world, e.g. *at the corner, at the table, at the door*. The location of 'place', however, although explicitly mentioned, is topologically imprecise: e.g. *at the corner* does not place the TR in any specific location, but only in the vicinity of the LM (the LM being only a reference point). The preposition *at* may thus be easily replaced by *near, next to, or by*. To demonstrate the idea of 'vicinity' conveyed by *at*, let us contrast it with the preposition *in*. Unlike *at*, *in* indicates the location of the TR relative to its LM more precisely. In fact, it often drastically changes the meaning of the whole prepositional phrase. For example, *in the corner* always implies an interior perspective, as in:

(20) The kids are hiding in the corner of the room

while *at the corner* may imply either interior:

(21) There are large Grecian urns at each corner of the room

and exterior view:

(22) a. I noticed Tom standing at the corner of Oxford Street
 b. A double-decker bus appeared at the corner of Oxford Street

At imposes lack of precision, as the corner in (22) is an open-ended place with no boundaries. The corner in (21), although similar to *in*, in that it expresses an interior perspective, does not convey the idea of a closed space (even if only virtually closed), the primary purpose of which is to hide or cover the TR (cf. (15)). On the contrary, in *at the corner* the preposition *at* imputes an area open to perception, wherein the TR is placed 'on stage'. Perception is thus acutely limited in the case of *in* and strongly encouraged in the case of *at*.

In another example, *in the table*, the preposition *in* profiles the inner surface of the *table*, e.g. in such a way that the TR is located, say, in a drawer, while *at the table* stresses its functional use, i.e. sitting near the *table* and using it for its primary purpose (table-eating, desk-studying/working). In line with a functional-geometric approach to prepositions (cf. Coventry and Garrot 2004), along with geometric features, dynamic-kinematic routines are also applied to the computation of meaning (see Carlson and van der Zee 2005). Now, *in the door* would suggest that the TR should be inside; for example, in the structure/material of the door (a lock or a metal plate can be inside the door). *At the door*, on the other hand, emphasizes the area around the LM.

To summarise, in cases expressed by the preposition *at*, when we conceptualize objects (*corner/door/table*, etc.) we tend to notice not only the objects themselves as closed entities, but also the area in their closest vicinity. In other words, we profile selected outer parts of the objects nested in their surroundings, e.g. the lateral part of a table/desk and possibly a chair, the door seen from the corridor, as well as the door mat and the stair case (as in *there is somebody at the door*), and perhaps the exterior walls of a building which are the components of a corner in a street, together with the pavement, flowerbeds and a road sign situated next to the building. In order to notice not only the object but also its surroundings, we have to take a step back to broaden the perspective of the speaker. Being further from the object always entails blurring the details a speaker is able to perceive. Thus visualized objects necessitate the use of *at*, as *at* signals the concept of imprecision.

Time. Spatial configurations often give rise to extensions grounded in other (non-spatial) domains (Langacker 1987: 168). By conceptualizing bounded spatial regions we may construe and explicate the sense of their temporal counterparts, as “time is conceptualized in terms of space” and is realized via TIME IS SPACE metaphor (Lakoff 1980: 55). The metaphor is clearly visible in the use of verbs of motion encoding temporal meanings, e.g. *minutes drag on*, *time flies*, etc., which has been discussed by Dąbrowska (1996: 489). Temporal extensions of spatial configurations coded by prepositions may be illustrated by a number of phrases. For example, the expression *at six o'clock* is parallel to *at the station* with respect to the LM (*six o'clock* and *the station*): both indicate a point in either a physical domain (a point in space) or more abstract domain (a point on a timeline). Enclosure (*in the station* and *in a week*) is symptomatic of the TR being wholly contained by the LM, regardless of whether it is contained literally by a physical object which is bounded in space (*station*), or abstractly by a bounded time span (*a week*). In line with the above observations, imprecision/indefiniteness encoded by the preposition *at* is accessible in such phrases as *at a later date*, *at first* and the like (in contrast to, say, *in 1988* or *on the 16th of May*), where the time referred to is highly vague. Here again, the canonical meaning of the preposition *at* is stressed.

5.1.3. Practice

The purpose of the next set of activities is to make a learner ‘play’ with the new phrases, i.e. keep them in his working memory for a period of time sufficient to allow memorization of novel items (cognitive entrenchment).

Activity 2.

A. Match each set of citations with one of the following situations: event, time, place.

1	e to see Edward at Buckingham Palace.	At	first the King was quiet. Then he s
2	ity we haven't got that in, somewhere	at	the beginning or the end to sort of
3	t the C E C position on those motions	at	the end of the debate. So composite
4	ld me. Fergus said, mouth turned down	at	the corners, staring over his whisk
5	ink comprising two artificial islands	at	the edges of the main shipping lane
6	I make my own prawn cocktail he says	at	home and lettuce and Aye. Aye, oh I

B. Match each line with the appropriate situation

1	aze of ideology. St Nicholas Cathedral	at	the corner of our square is a great
2	on the train coming back from Lochgair	at	the start of the year had stayed los
3	ah. Yes. So I shall be enjoying myself	at	the wedding. Mn. ready for my hard s
4	y were less happy with his performance	at	a meeting with them last Wednesday.
5	and about World Peace, But dere's Wars	at	home An dem Wars will not cease, Not
6	d away prison for wemen which I visited	at	the beginning of June. This has enab

event: sentence number ____; time: sentence number ____; place: sentence number ____.

Next, we propose an activity which encourages further semantic analysis (Activity 3). Learners are expected to divide the citations into two groups on the basis of the degree of their semantic transparency. Word evaluation on this basis seems to be a facilitative strategy in the process of language learning as it allows students to realize that there are a number of phrases which are perfectly understandable for a Polish learner (transparent phrases). Arriving at such a conclusion should reduce learning stress resulting from the contention that prepositional phrases are difficult because they are 'idiomatic', and thus they should be learned by heart. It must be noted at this stage that in many cases the decision whether a phrase is transparent or semi-transparent is a tough task; therefore, we do not expect the students to perform the task faultlessly. In fact, it is the teacher's role to help the students agree on the final result, or if necessary, impose the right answers. What counts, however, is not so much the final result as the discussion provoked by the activity over the transferability of the

phrases in question. Recurrent use of the target phrase in the course of the discussion over transparency instigates its deep semantic analysis, which results in its progressive cognitive entrenchment (i.e. automaticity) and conventionalization (i.e. identifying the preposition and the nominal as one symbolic unit) (cf. Langacker 1997: 237). Moreover, as observed by Marton (1977) and Bączkowska (2000) leaving the ‘obvious’ phrases aside on the grounds that they constitute the ‘easy’ part of input, and concentrating only on the untransferable items, that is opaque expressions such as idioms, does not guarantee the expected teaching results.

Activity 3. Identify expression the meaning of which is: 1. perfectly understandable (transparent); and 2. not expressed in Polish in exactly the same way (semi-transparent).

1	ached the place. They were standing	at	the foot of the mountain and were adm
2	abbe. He is never romantic. Charming	at	first sight is this picture of the wa
3	in front of them. Prentice looked up	at	surprised, then smiling, when he appr
4	y, semaphore signaling is still used	at	where it is impossible to use another
5	way. Joanna’s moral purpose blurred	at	the edges. Were you to fend them righ

The citations presented in Activities 1 to 3 concerned right-predictive phrases, where the preposition was shown in the context of its landmark elaborated by a noun (the preposition as the head of a prepositional phrase). In the next activity we shall focus on left-predictive phrases, in which *at* links the nominal with a verb/adjective/noun.

5.1.4. Presentation

Left-predictive analysis

Activity 4. Identity three situations in which the preposition *at* is used.

1	this indicates that men are more adept	at	driving, or simply more confide
2	the unit to launch a new leaflet aimed	at	raising cash to pay for resear
3	erans have become increasingly alarmed	at	the incidence of illness in th
4	20 journalists, are not due to arrive	at	Dublin airport until 1.30 on T
5	er. It completely disrupts any attempt	at	normal life. You can't have it
6	liser. Joey Beauchamp had two attempts	at	goal. The first failed and the
7	h Lucy. I'm afraid I'm not very clever	at	coping with unpleasantness and
8	to us, they are all crafty and clever	at	hiding where you can not see i
9	les and Wilfred are both pretty expert	at	setting the video timers, whic
10	d and all. She was an only child: good	at	maths and science but weak in
11	e raised her voice just enough to hint	at	domination. The seller of spec
12	me and go on, please. What did he hint	at	Honestly I doubt if you have i
13	pecial humor that enabled Bob to laugh	at	himself. One administrator did
14	teachers in the schools who will laugh	at	you if you say you're going to
15	e that both sets of supporters shouted	at	him as he left the pitch at th
16	arranged. Counsel said a soldier fired	at	one of the men but both got aw
17	a young dog especially may try to gnaw	at	a seat and cause a lot of dama
18	aker. She was a very good writer, good	at	creating characters and dialog
19	g from a mutating gourd. Seagulls peck	at	the sides of toxic pools. Robi
20	urprising chaff inch flew down to peck	at	our crumbs. Thirty grey seals
21	dience when it attracted birds to peck	at	the plump fruit. His colleague
22	ple lose their appetites and they pick	at	their food; or they stuff the
23	sappointment caused her to merely pick	at	her breakfast until suddenly s
24	and might tell you, I said don't point	at	me David I don't like being po
25	increasing the knowledge base but weak	at	developing the technological b
26	ose looks could make a woman turn weak	at	the knees, and whose ducted fe
27	ake our drink &mdash we can't just sip	at	we have to get blotto. We need
28	uo he asked after a long and noisy sip	at	the cup that cheers. Coming to

1.ability: _____; 2. target: _____; 3. limited involvement: _____.

Ability. As Dirven (1993) argues, 'ability' refers to the 'area' of *practical skills* which, as opposed to, say, the preposition *on*, involves a rather *short action* based on *superficial knowledge*.

For example, in *to be an expert at repairing pianos* implies practising it yourself, while *to be an expert on repairing pianos* entails a more profound theoretical knowledge about how to repair pianos, without the necessity to fulfil the condition of being able to repair it oneself. Superficiality expressed by the category of ability conforms to the canonical meaning of *at* denoting ‘orientation point’, or to be more precise, in this case ‘orientation skill’. The three characteristics of *at* expressing ability are illustrated through the adjective *good*:

Activity 5. Identify situations indicated by *good at*:

(answer: practical skills)

1	re is no reason why they can't be as	good at	driving as the men. As you know a
2	theory that men are not particularly	good at	golf, or not per se. This astonish
3	about it, you'd know. He's not very	good at	pretending to enjoy something. And
4	e pig farmer Zsupan, who is not much	good at	reading and writing but knows all
5	you're good doesn't mean you're any	good at	teaching, he said. Sometimes you d
6	was a devious child. "I was sneaky;	good at	keeping out of trouble. I took the

(answer: short action)

1	ter of choice. I have never been very	good at	sitting still. My present preoccup
2	que we get here. Nicky Singer is very	good at	asking questions such as: where is
3	ust my best great-nephew. Bracken was	good at	rows and greatly enjoyed them. He
4	s for hot soup and braziers. Nor very	good at	shouting but you don't have to be

(answer: superficial knowledge)

1	then. However, the tuna is not so	good at	avoiding fishing nets. Until ther
2	ew things she will admit to being	good at	is housework, a passion which she
3	is perhaps this that makes him so	good at	parodying America's tradition and
4	for us it is number one. Ford is	good at	selling, and though it is loath t
5	es that means selectionI AM quite	good at	spending money but on the whole I

The choice of *at* in some phrases may entail a *relative* superficiality of knowledge. To be *good at maths* does not impute that a person is a mathematician who has a wide theoretical knowledge of the subject. Rather, it is suggestive of having practical skills connected with the rule of arithmetic and/or solving tasks (at the level of primary/secondary school).

In other words, by saying *Tom is good at maths* we imply that Tom is good at this school subject, the meaning of the phrase thus being indicative of a relatively superficial knowledge.

One final observation cannot escape our attention; namely, the fact that only components of the first level of constituency exhibit mutual predictability, i.e. *at* and the nominal. There is no predictability observable at the second level of constituency, i.e. between the prepositional phrase and the adjective preceding it. The adjective seems to be conceptually independent of the preposition or prepositional phrase. However, although the predictability is thus right directed, we decided to analyse such phrases under the heading of left-predictive ones, as in classroom teaching learners usually study the adjective and the preposition which follows it as one chunk. In addition, leaving the nominal following these phrases unanalysed leads to the contention of arbitrariness of constituents taking part in prepositional valence relations. It therefore seems justifiable to claim that although conceptual dependence applies only to the last two elements of the phrase, all three components (adjective, preposition, nominal) should be considered as composite elements of one integrated structure.

Target. In this category the LM receives the status of a target. As a target is the object at which we are aiming, in the phrase *fire/shout at a man*, the *man* is a point (mentally reduced to the size of a point) at which somebody is aiming (physically or metaphorically). Interestingly, the LM, although reduced to a point, does not impose a great distance between the TR and the LM in ontological reality, as one might expect (the further the distance between the conceptualiser and the object, the smaller the object seems to be). The conceptualiser conceives the LM as a point as a consequence of a mental operation resulting from image-schema transformation. Reduced to a point, the LM is stripped of details characteristic of a particular exemplar in its category. Lack of detail in the scene conceived allows us to use *at*, whose canonical meaning in the spatial domain – ‘proximity’ – implies imprecision in the abstract domain.

The concept of short action is also typical of verbs which encode the notion of 'target'. Verbs denoting a temporary location of the TR in one geographical place, e.g. [*stop* + *at*] or [*call* + *at*] is a case in point. As noted by Cienki (1989: 108), although typically the preposition *in* is used when talking about cities (we say *in London/Warsaw*), the preposition *at* can be applicable to the LM designating *larger* cities, especially when used with verbs expressing an event of short duration. Thus, phrases *at London/Warsaw* become acceptable (example quoted after Cienki):

(23) We'll stop at New Haven and then go on to New York.

The verb *stop* indicates a location in a particular position, i.e. at some *point* (the concept which is also encoded by the preposition *at*). In addition, *stop* in (23) implies a short stay of the participants of the situation in a big city (*New Haven*). It seems that Cienki's observation lends itself well to Herskovits' claims concerning the lack of spatial perception encoded by *at* mentioned in 5.1.2., as *at* is used to indicate a point in an itinerary which we do not need to see at the moment of speaking but which is only visualized.

Contrary to what Cienki claims, however, it seems that smaller cities and towns also fall into this category:

(24) The train to Reading is calling at Bristol, Bath, Chippenham and Swindon.

The verb indicates a location in a particular position for an event of short duration, provided the event is a result of a relatively permanent itinerary (such as a train timetable). The LM constitutes an inherent part of a larger structure to which it belongs (in (24) it is a *map*). The city/town becomes a small point fully integrated with the *map* (i.e. the LM). As in the case above, a TR conceived of as a point entails a lack of detail, and thus imposes the use of *at*.

Limited involvement. Finally, the third group can be illustrated by a number of verbs which refer to practical activities connected with eating/drinking (entries from LDOCE):

sip: to drink something slowly, taking very small mouthfuls;
peck: to eat only a little bit of a meal because you are not hungry;
pick: to eat something taking small bites and without much interest, for example you feel unhappy;
gnaw: to keep biting something hard;
nibble: 1. to eat small amounts of food by taking very small bites; 2. to show slight interest in an offer or suggestion.

Note, however, that *gnaw at* does not imply a volitional limited involvement in the activity but rather a limited interaction between the TR and the LM being constrained by external factors, such as the structure of the LM itself and its limited availability to the TR (the LM's small surface available or its hard structure): *gnaw at nails*, *gnaw at a bone*. Thus, the activity preceded by *gnaw at* is characteristic of (i) shallow penetration of the LM where the TR interacts only with the edge of the LM (*nails*), or only with the surface of the LM (*bone*); and/or (ii) frequent yet short action (all verbs denote imperfective actions which consist of a number of repeated short episodes). The above words illustrate superficiality in the typical sense encoded by *at*, and they exemplify mutual predictability of the composite elements in a phrase.

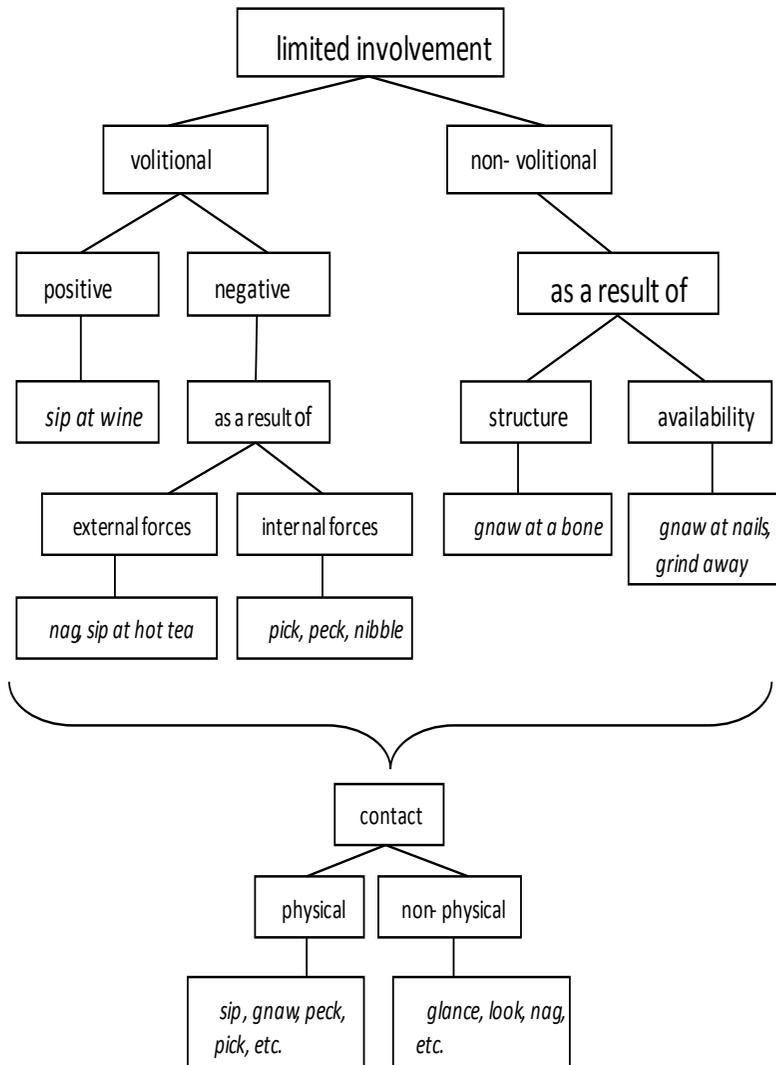


Figure 5

Summary. *At* conveys the idea of proximity/orientation point and may be interpreted in composite structures as a word which expresses the notion of: (i) imprecision (e.g. *at the bus stop*); (ii) limited involvement, superficiality of knowledge (practicality),

or limited contact with the LM; and (iii) a general point of orientation or direction of action (e.g. *aim at*). It has been demonstrated that the word preceded by *at* exhibits similar facets, confirming thus the assumption posed at the outset of this paper concerning mutual predictability of composite elements in a higher-order structure.

The above activities constitute only one of a number of possible sessions on the meaning of the preposition *at*. It must be remembered that all R-predictive citations presented so far concern only schematic meanings of the preposition *at* when translated into Polish *na*. Other translation equivalents illustrated at the outset of this section may follow the same format of activities in subsequent sessions.

5.2. In

The English preposition *in* can be directly translated in Polish as *w*, and indeed, on many occasions the conceptual specifications of *in* and *w* overlap. This is especially visible in the case of a three-dimensional physical confinement and in some of its temporal extensions, e.g.: *in a room/w pokoju*, *in the mouth/w ustach*, *in a car/w samochodzie*, *in 1977/w 1977*. The translation of *in* is far from simple, however, when it comes to meanings other than the prototypical three-dimensional enclosure (Dirven 1993), as in the following examples: *in the field/na polu*, *in the picture/na obrazku*, *in the exam/na egzaminie*, *exam in English/egzamin z angielskiego*, *two in a row/dwa z rzędu*, *degree in economics/dyplom z ekonomii*. The aim of the activities presented in this section is to enable learners to recognize typical situations which instantiate the conceptual meaning of the English preposition *in*, and to help learners memorise both the concepts encoded by the preposition *in* as well as the phrases in which they occur. The format of activities used to achieve these goals is parallel to those presented in connection with the preposition *at*.

5.2.1. Introductory activity

Right-predictive analysis

Activity 0. Give Polish equivalents of the preposition *in* used in the following citations:

1	with me it every and then Welcome back	<i>In</i>	a few minutes we'll be visiting the
2	and seventeen years and six victories	<i>in</i>	a row the Oxford boat club can clai
3	male speaker I'm a country girl, born	<i>in</i>	a village. It's important to have i
4	p raising fears that he may be caught	<i>in</i>	a trap once more. Incredibly even wh
5	read it which was only read. Coming up	<i>in</i>	a few minutes. The city that's bein
6	have chosen to bed down for the night	<i>in</i>	a freezer as part of their training
7	the Coventry Bees for the second time	<i>in</i>	a week. Much of the weekend spent i
8	o stop unlawful parties. We will know	<i>in</i>	advance and will stop them using eve

In the activities which follow, for teaching purposes the top schema of the preposition *in*, i.e. 'enclosure', has been replaced by several terms: 'inside 3D objects' (illustrates the container metaphor), 'involvement' and 'inclusion/envelopment'. As opposed to the meaning of partial involvement conveyed by the preposition *at*, *in* indicates this concept more radically. It suggests a *full* involvement, as in the phrases *involve in* or *engrossed in*, where we may notice that the TR is actually 'enveloped' by the situation illustrated by the LM. To be precise, the trajector is inside the container (landmark) being fully covered or surrounded by the landmark. The 'container' schema, inherent in the preposition *in* (inside a 'container' – a bounded region), also accounts for temporal expressions, especially when the time concept has clear boundaries imposed either by pre-established criteria (such as the division of time into years, and a year into twelve months) or has been habitually conceived of as a span of time which constitutes a non-interrupted unit (despite blurry boundaries). We say *in 1977*, for example, to indicate a particular year (which always lasts twelve months), or *in season* to make implicit reference to a calendar year (to summer months – blurred boundaries). However, we say *at a later date* and *at the outset* when we refer

to either an unspecified time or to a partially specified period, where only the starting point is indicated while the end of the action is left undetermined.

The difference between a unit of time with blurred boundaries represented by *in season* and an indefinite, partially specified unit of time represented by *at a later date* resides in different profilization. In the case of *in*, the entity described is visualized as a small highlighted (profiled) section of a whole (year), whereas *at* traverses along a trajectory with no specified terminus, and thus it cannot be conceptualized in terms of part-whole relation. Instead it is conceptualized as a path whose only one section, the undetermined one, is profiled. By the same token, it seems that the salient aspect of the entity specified by *in* is a closed section, and it is the undetermined trajectory path of an entity which is evoked by *at*.



Figure 6

The fact that *in season* exemplifies an imperfect container (blurred boundaries) does not exclude it from the container schema. The justification of the ascription of peripheral cases to the prototypical ‘perfect container’ can be easily found in literature. The status of entities with indefinite boundaries has been examined by a number of scholars who represent different branches of knowledge, such as philosophy or psychology, along with linguistics (cf. Albertazzi 2002, Talmy 2000, Casati and Varzi 1994, Mandler 1996, Coventry and Garrod 2004, as well as lectures by Brentano, Husserl, or Meinong). All these authors de-emphasize object *perception* and give priority to its *conception*.

It is perhaps interesting to note that even in early, i.e. topological approaches (as opposed to functional or cognitive approaches which are more recent developments) to spatial relations, our ability to *cognize* the entities observed plays a

vital role. It has been claimed, for example, that perceptual processing rests not only on low-level vision but also on processes which are beyond the capacity of low-level processing. The processes operate on the product of low-level vision – *base representation* – and they follow special *visual routines*, as Ullman (1996) terms them. Ullman believes that a base representation does not contain features of spatial *relations* (such as *inside* and *outside*), and therefore another stage (of higher level) is needed to fill in the information missing in a mere act of object perception. Moreover, he claims that this stage (the processes of visual routines) is rather subjective. In consequence, while looking at one object of perception different perceptual representations are permitted. Ullman’s programme seems to support the claims voiced by phenomenology (in particular Meinong) and other scholars mentioned above, who promote the thesis of a fluid and incremental nature of perception – conception (cf. Talmy’s *ception*, Meinong’s *object production theory*, Albertazzi’s “new psycho-physics” of (re)presentation, Mandler’s percepts-concepts, etc.), *viz.* lower- and higher-level vision. From this discussion it transpires that imperfect illustrations of the ‘container schema’ *can* be ascribed to the same category as their core exemplars.

5.2.2. Presentation

Activity 1. Identify two situations in which the preposition *in* is used.

1	gian resistance struggled him to safety	in	a coffin. They carried him to a vil
2	peaker 1 saw the plant growing happily	in	a garden in Virginia, and I brought
3	at a public exhibition has been staged	in	a prison. The idea behind it is to
4	years ago at a bakery. He was dressed	in	a beige zip up jacket. we’ve got a
5	ve been killed, and two others injured	in	a collision between an articulated
6	ugh victim. Only Bland, James was left	in	a coma. But his family persevered w
7	rs and was NOT aware that the wall was	in	a dangerous state. Ken Goodwin repo
8	re are over 2.5 million people in debt	in	Britain, their debts can range from
9	o belong to Tolkien Society. In a hole	in	the ground thre lived a creature wh
10	d five hundred suspected pirate videos	in	a joint operation with copyright in

11	essly, as the Yorkshire Belle exploded	in	flames at Radcot Bridge. It's obvio
12	friends are already up to their elbows	in	flour and pastry. The four men want
13	out the benefit of lights when driving	in	fog. More bouts of fog are expected
14	e laser treatment to improve the sight	in	her left eye. Female speaker I'm ve
15	n two trees were planted at her school	in	her memory. Her teachers and class

1. inside 3D objects: _____; 2. envelopment: _____.

Inside 3D objects. This category applies to *physical* entities represented by fully-closed objects such as *prison* or *coffin*, as well as partially closed objects such as *hole* or *ditch*. The missing boundaries, although not perceptible, are typically imposed by the observer in his conceptualization of the scene. The boundaries, whether real or virtual, impose the reading of a closed area, which hides the objects in its interior. Typically, a restricted and closed area is also the sense ascribed to *in*. Thus, mutual predictability of *in* and its complement is easily observable. This schema seems to be compatible with Talmy's (2000) concrete and semi-concrete levels of palpability.

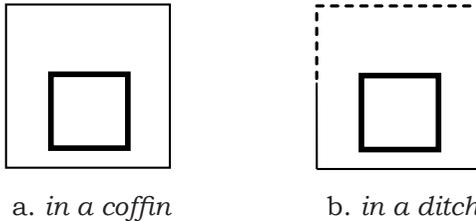


Figure 7

Envelopment. The category of 'envelopment' stresses the fact that the TR should be inside a 3D LM where, unlike in the above study, one of the following facets receives special attention: abstract sense, unbounded region, or granularity. Notice that examples in (25) indicate a volitional action, while (26) and (27) indicate a forced action.

(25) abstract sense:

- a. I computed everything in my mind.
- b. I am in love.

(26) unbounded region: We were lost in fog.

(27) granularity: I lost my wedding ring in the sand on the beach.

Similar to the previously described category of 3D physical objects, the characteristics of the LM are such that they fully envelop the TR; in other words, they *hide* the TR in the structure of the LM, thus disabling its perception. It is its conception, rather than perception, that plays a vital role in locating the TR in space. The abstract and unbounded cases roughly correspond to abstract and semi-abstract levels of palpability proposed by Talmy (2000).

5.2.3. Presentation

Left-predictive analysis

Activity 2. Identify four situations in which the preposition *in* is used

1	er than logic. It shows Brutus adept	in	the use of rhetoric and looking
2	rague may have been a bit too clever	in	tipping me off. Suppose when it
3	fell? Why, you were not very clever	in	your search! Adam strangely eno
4	bout holocaust. Yet Smith was clever	in	his use of argument, as the pol
5	led about him. Gradually she confied	in	Jay who was happy to listen and
6	protected. Has smothered and covered	in	dust : the sweets of childhood
7	lexh. Jay was a solid woman, dressed	in	dark loose comfortable clothes
8	,in its totality, manages to enclose	in	an ironised uncertainty. He ca
9	ent into business and is now engaged	in	the most complicated of business
10	found her in an armchair, engrossed	in	a thick, glossy-looking book. I
11	the earliest years he was enveloped	in	a clash of mythologies. At pres
12	fact has found its policy effective	in	attracting business. Mr Phillip
13	interventions were equally effective	in	doing their job for them and di
14	it wasn't so. Mm, said Jay, immersed	in	Mozart. None of which has any
15	hings that were technically included	in	my monthly rent. I went to see
16	h material which can be incorporated	in	the project. Either way, the mo
17	ack to the objects that are involved	in	producing their causal ancestor
18	hat any similar actions could result	in	serious consequences. We advise
19	al estate. The sale will also result	in	a profit of 1 million being a r

20 nd such an inquiry. It could succeed in finding the culprit, he said, a
 21 case and with which we will succeed in losing a lot of money, or clien
 1. enclosure: a. inclusion____; b. full involvement____ 2. ability____; 3. target____

Involvement highlights volitional integration of the TR with the LM (*engage in, join in, confide in*), realised by means of placing the TR inside a 3D LM. **Inclusion**, on the other hand, is suggestive of neutral attitude of the TR to the LM, or of the imposition of external conditions on the TR (*be included in, enveloped in*). It also affects the internal structure of the TR.

Summary. Recapitulating, the use of the preposition *in* after certain verbs and/or before nouns often entails distinguishing the consequence of the action/state described as a salient facet of the semantic structure of the higher-order phrase. The final effect (end-point of a trajectory) may result from changes induced by internal (*in love*) or external (*in fog*) forces, the degree of control of the TR over the changes (*be included in, engage in*), and the TR’s volition to participate in the event (*confide in*).

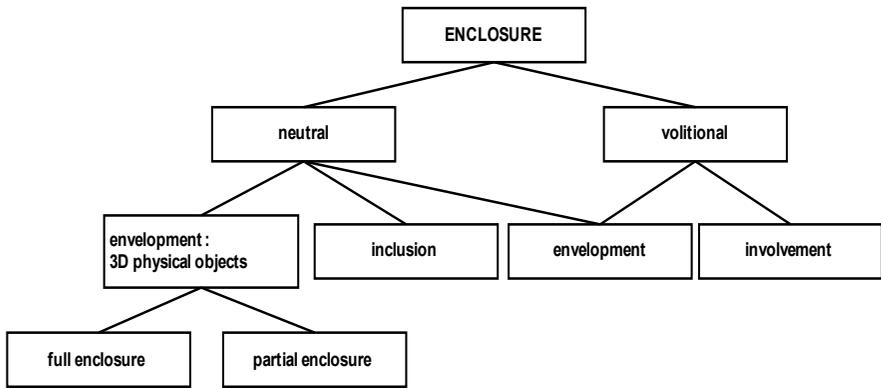


Figure 8

Ability. The category ‘ability’ differs substantially from one discussed in the previous section. Adjectives expressing ‘ability’ followed by *in* indicate a skill based on a profound knowledge which involves intellectual powers rather than

physical dexterity and/or strength as indicated by *at* (e.g.: *good in presenting convincing arguments vis à vis good at repairing pianos*). Moreover, *in* usually refers to long or permanent states and abilities or disabilities, while *at* is indicative of temporary, short-lived states (*a sickly child weak in the joints* versus *suddenly feel weak at the knees*). Of course, the choice between *in* and *at* stems also from geometrical features of the LM, and some linguistic restrictions (e.g. it is possible to say both *in* and *at* with *knees*, but only *in* with *joints*), yet corpus data show a number of concordances wherein temporal aspects expressed by *at* indicate short actions/states, while *in* patterns together with longer actions/states. In Activity 5, temporal features typical of *in* are further illustrated by *weak* and *adept*.

Activity 3. Identify situations in which *adept in* and *weak in* occur.

1	s to show the Americans that he is as	adept in	international affairs as in dom
2	gy rather than logic. It shows Brutus	adept in	the use of rhetoric and looking
3	with in practice, and students become	adept in	faking responses. Nevertheless
4	o discover that the latter was highly	adept in	taking over these themes itself

1	ead to such of his parishioners as are	weak in	the faith ". And every Sun
2	y lead the reader to think that you are	weak in	understanding, argument or kno
3	s affairs, strong in determination but	weak in	talent. However, this may be
4	each to needs was uneven and sometimes	weak in	the vital areas of diagnosis,
5	sort of name. Er and he said he's very	weak in	his studies. I said well there
6	ng of Scotland, he was a sickly child	weak in	the joints and with a speech d
7	lly vulnerable because they are young,	weak in	body or mind, inexperienced or
8	collections in Germany overall are very	weak in	Picassos and the ninety- eight
9	and drives. The sociological strain is	weak in	Malinowski's writing, and this
10	be credible. As a result they have been	weak in	the diplomatic arena. The reje

To enable learners to induce the difference in meaning between adjectives followed by *in* and *at*, the following contrastive activity may prove helpful:

Activity 4. Identify the difference in meaning between each pair of citations.

A.

1	is to show the Americans that he is as	adept in	international affairs as in dom
2	ogy rather than logic. It shows Brutus	adept in	the use of rhetoric and looking
3	with in practice, and students become	adept in	faking responses. Nevertheless
4	nd by either parent. Charles became as	adept at	changing nappies and bathing wi
5	vey, this indicates that men are more	adept at	driving, or simply more confide
6	don't know. I confess were many he was	adept at	killing. He taught me well. I a

answers – *at*: practical skill; *in*: intellectual abilities

B.

1	ort of name. Er and he said he's very	weak in	his studies. I said well there
2	ng of Scotland, he ws a sickly child,	weak in	the joints and with a speech de
3	nd drives. The sociological strain is	weak in	in Malinowski's writing, and th
4	credible. As a result they have been	weak in	the diplomatic arena. The rejec
5	of the firm. The finance approach is	weak at	assessing future cash flows, be
6	e whose looks could make a woman turn	weak at	the knees, and whose ducted fe
7	d Dorabella, as hot-blooded creatures	weak at	heart but romantic in spirit. A
8	r woman politician has admitted going	weak at	the knees at the sight of him.

answers – *at*: practical skill, a state located in the vicinity of the LM; followed by verb+ing or a nominal; *in*: figurative meaning, a state located in a 3D object; followed by a nominal.

1	now: Sprague may have been a bit too	clever in	tipping me off. Suppose when you
2	idn't know. Holocaust. Yet Smith was	clever in	his use of argument, as a politi
3	oked more hurt than ever. He's very	clever at	looking hurt. Putting the ten pa
4	e who care for these snakes are very	clever at	milking them and getting the liq
5	on his way home from school. He was	clever at	finding bargains, reporting how

answers – *in*: verbal skills; *at*: practical skills

Target. Finally, the last category to mention – ‘target’ – may occur both with *at* and *in*.

At is typically preceded by the following verbs:

aim/attempt/shout/throw/fire/point/laugh/etc.

Two aspects expressed by these words may be noted. First, the initial point of action or the tools by means of which the action

is performed are visualised. For example, *to jump (at a chance of going to England)* invokes the initial action of bending one's knees and moving upwards, *to point* may call up a finger, *to fire/aim* – a gun, and *to shout/laugh/throw* – a human being as the source of action and voice or an object (e.g. *a stone* or *a ball*) as its means. Secondly, the end point of the trajectory described by the action, i.e. the result, is left unspecified, as *firing*, *throwing*, or *aiming* do not guarantee the completion of the attempted goal (e.g. throwing something at somebody may result in hitting or missing the person or other targets), *attempt at* explicitly emphasises that *at* encodes an attempted rather than efficient action. Likewise, *laugh at somebody* does not even require the speaker's direct perception of the addressee of this action or any reason for such behaviour provided by the target (as observed by Dirven (1995: 103) *I may be angry at Tom*, but he does not have to know about it, as the cause resides in the TR rather than an external situation). The destination point of the action described is irrelevant in the case of *jump at*. To summarise, *at* expresses 'target' by profiling the initial part of the trajectory, which may be represented as in Figure 9:



Figure 9

Unlike in the case of *at*, it is apparent that it is the final part of the trajectory that is profiled by *in* (i.e. an object/abstract concept), for example in phrases such as *result/succeed/effective + in* wherein we highlight the entity to which the trajectory leads as an effect of prolonged activity (*absorbed/involved/etc. + in*). Graphically, the trajectory is represented in Figure 10:



Figure 10

The terminus is expressed by means of words which (abstractly) indicate a 3D object. *At*, on the other hand, profiles the trajectory itself, i.e. a ‘flat’ one-way path. Thus, in the case of ‘target’, *in* presupposes the existence of three dimensions while *at* presupposes one dimension. These observations prove that there exists mutual predictability of composite elements in the aforementioned phrases, as both *absorbed*, *involved* and the like, as well as *in* highlight (‘a three dimensional’) profoundness of the actions/states described.

The preceding discussion allows us to conclude that both *at* and *in* convey the idea of a terminative path, yet the former preposition stresses the initial part of the trajectory and source, while the latter stresses the final part of the trajectory and its terminus. Thus, both Figure 9 and 10 are illustrative of ablative cases that are profiled in a distinct way. Note that in the case of *in* (Figure 10) the terminus is a bounded entity with clear boundaries, which corresponds to the canonical meaning of *in* characterized as a ‘container’. This observation stands in sharp contrast to Hawkins’ (1984: 76) definition of terminative path configuration. According to Hawkins, cases which in this paper are symbolically illustrated by Figure 9 exemplify an initial path configuration (ablative cases) and the prepositions which typically combine with an initial path configuration are *from*, *out of*, and *off*. Moreover, unlike *at*, they (i) highlight the source rather than the trajectory it traverses, and (ii) the entity is most likely a 3D object (e.g. we *go out of a car*, and *from school*). In our discussion, on the other hand, *at* profiles the trajectory rather than the object itself (hence processual TR, e.g. *point at a picture*). Note also that the terminus entity is left unspecified, Figure 9). The initial path configuration discussed by Hawkins may thus be represented as follows:



Figure 11

The difference between the two terminative path configurations identified in our study, let us call them an initial ablative and a terminative ablative (Figure 9 and 10) is subtle, yet it exists, and thus cannot be left unnoticed.

The final remark connected with the terminative path configurations conveyed by *in* and *at* concerns their polarity. As mentioned previously, *at* is indicative of an *attempted* action, the efficiency of which is covert; for example, the noun *attempt* is suggestive of an unfinished or inefficient action. The value coded by *at* is thus negative, and such is the value of verbs which describe this notion. This observation is more apparent when we compare it with *in*, which strongly emphasizes reaching the goal of the trajectory, thus attributing positive polarity to the action described. At this point we again do not fully agree with Hawkins' (1984: 76) claim that an initial path configuration is negative, while terminative is positive. In fact, Hawkins himself hastens to add that there is a lack of sufficient evidence "for the negativity or positiveness of either configuration" (Hawkins 1984: 76). In our contention both negative and positive polarity is attributable to the terminative path configuration.

Summary. The preposition *in* invokes the concept of a 'container'; therefore it goes with words which symbolically or literally denote three-dimensionality with the TR being wholly contained by the container. Containment may be realized through relationships between the TR and the LM such as involvement, envelopment, or inclusion, all of which may be embraced by the super-ordinate concept of 'enclosure' – the canonical meaning of the preposition *in*.

6. Concluding remarks

The present paper has attempted to demonstrate the applicability of the theoretical account of prepositions deriving from the framework of cognitive grammar, and the usability of corpus data in a usage-based model of grammar to language didactics. Throughout the paper it has been underlined that cognitive grammar provides promising and powerful theoretical

constructs concerning the meaning of prepositions. In order to design classroom activities which illustrate these claims, corpus material has been used. The proposed format of classroom activities adheres to the following assumptions:

- (1) The meaning of the preposition presented at one session is restricted to one of its translation equivalents in L_1 . For example, the first session devoted to the preposition *at* presents the schematic meanings of the preposition when translated into Polish as *na*. Subsequent sessions focus on other schemas of *at* rendered by *w*, *z*, etc.
- (2) In two structures examined in this paper – ‘V/ADJ/N + Prep’ and ‘Prep + N’ – the selection of composite elements of these phrases is predictable: the noun, the verb and the adjective import specifications of the preposition. The main claim of the article has been to show that word predictability is the key to understanding the conceptual/semantic motivation of composite elements and to successful learning of the above types of phrases.

Granted the availability of powerful theoretical analysis stemming from cognitive grammar, and of technical solutions provided by language corpora, the claims voiced by the proponents of the lexical approach, still prevailing in foreign language teaching, have the chance to be realized in a new fashion which is challenging and attractive, and at the same time highly effective. Thus, frustration, which often accompanies the teaching and learning of prepositions, is likely to be replaced by the promotion of a genuine understanding of the conceptual meaning of phrases which contain prepositions.

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Concordances – based on a corpus of English (courtesy of Tim
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Age and hierarchy in military English

MICHAŁ GOLUBIEWSKI

1. Introduction

When analysing the relationship between age and hierarchy, we shall mainly take into account the most important ways of establishing and demonstrating power and seniority. The three most important areas of such an investigation are:

- (1) non-verbal communication
- (2) formal language
- (3) informal language (slang)

Different kinds of ceremonies, customs and courtesies, which may sometimes involve non-verbal communication, formal language or both, should also be taken into consideration.

Talking about the concept of *age* with regard to the Armed Forces, it is worth noticing that seniority in the military is not necessarily connected with biological age (although that is often the case). Hierarchy is rather connected with rank and the position held. Naturally, a Major is usually older than a Lieutenant, as being promoted to a higher rank requires a certain amount of time, which is specified in relevant regulations. However, in exceptional situations (in wartime, for instance), it may happen that particularly talented people are promoted at a much faster pace (for example, in 1939 both de Gaulle and Eisenhower only held the rank of Colonel). In the Navy, the term *the old man* is often used when talking about the captain of a ship, which is justified by the fact that the captain is the senior (not necessarily the oldest) officer on

board the ship. Actually, the proper words to be used here would be CO—Commanding Officer – as *captain* is a term used mainly in the Merchant Navy, while *Captain* is a military rank which does not refer to the post occupied by a given person. Therefore, if we want to talk about hierarchy in the military, it is the idea of seniority which should be analysed.

The organisation of the Armed Forces all around the world is based on discipline and a strict hierarchy which is defined and specified in the appropriate regulations. These regulations codify the proper ways of behaving and specify the correct forms of communication between military personnel of different ranks. The most important concept when talking about military hierarchy is the concept of *seniority*, which can have two slightly different meanings in military English. In expressions like *senior officers*, *junior officers*, *senior NCOs (non-commissioned officers, sometimes called petty officers)*, etc., it refers to a group of ranks in the military hierarchy. Generally speaking, the term *junior officers* refers to the three lowest officer ranks (sometimes, as in the case of the Royal Marines, to the four lowest ranks). In most cases the term *senior officers* refers to ranks above Captain but below Brigadier (in both British and American Armies, in the Royal Marines, in the US Marine Corps and in the US Air Force). In the Royal Navy and the US Navy, the highest junior officer rank is Lieutenant. That is so because Captain in the Navy is an entirely different rank from Army Captain, being equivalent to Colonel.

The terms *junior* and *senior* can also mean simply “having a lower or higher position, level or rank”. When the author of a handbook for naval cadets writes, for example, that “Naval courtesy demands that junior officers show their seniors deference and respect”, he obviously does not mean that honours should be rendered only to officers above the rank of Lieutenant. Such an understanding of the terms mentioned has some important implications, for it may happen that a person holding the rank of, let us say, Lieutenant Junior Grade (in the US Navy), being formally a junior officer, is at the same time a senior officer with regard to lower-ranking personnel. Such may be the case when we consider freshly

promoted ensigns (the lowest commissioned officer's rank in the American Navy), who are often subordinate to other junior officers. It is also worth noticing the tendency in the military to create a hierarchic structure within any group of people who are somehow related to any branch of the Armed Forces. A good example of such an attitude is the Defence Language Institute located in the Lackland Air Force Base, San Antonio, Texas. One of the aims of the Institute is to organise courses for English-language teachers working for the military in countries considered *friendly* to the United States. Although many of the participants are civilians, all nationality groups are appointed a senior officer who is *in charge* of a given group and who is to be reported to on any relevant issues. This is based on the idea of the *chain of command*, one of the basic principles of the military structure. The rule is that soldiers should report to their immediate superior in the first place, and only if the matter cannot be solved at that level of command is it permitted to "pass it higher in the chain", i.e. to engage superiors of a higher rank. Neglecting the *chain of command* is regarded as a very serious offence and is thus severely punished.

2. Uniforms

The uniform provides thorough information about:

- (1) the nationality of a soldier
- (2) the branch of the Armed Forces he/she serves in
- (3) rank or rate

Regulations impose different uniforms depending on the time of the year and on the occasion on which they are to be worn. The rank of a person is shown by means of epaulettes, chevrons, cap badges etc. Being visible from a long distance, they demonstrate the status of a soldier in the military hierarchy. Ranks and rates are so intrinsically associated with the Armed Forces that in modern times all major countries have introduced emblems and insignia to be worn on uniforms.

Even in NATO, there is no standardisation concerning rates or insignia. The existing differences may sometimes create serious confusion and misunderstanding. If we compare the chevrons and epaulettes worn in the Polish Navy and in the US Navy, we state that Polish junior officers' insignia resemble the ones assigned to American senior officers. Despite the problems such incompatibility has already caused, reverence for tradition prevents any changes.

The drawings below depict how misleading some similarities between Polish and American insignia may be. Compare the epaulettes worn by an American Navy *Captain* (a senior officer) and a Polish Navy *kapitan* (a junior officer). There is a similar resemblance between the insignia worn by an American *Admiral* and a Polish *komandor* (for further reference to military ranks, see Table 1).



Captain



Kapitan



Admiral



Komandor

Figure 1

The translation of military ranks may constitute a serious problem, especially when we take into account Navy ranks. For instance, a *Lieutenant* in the US Navy is equivalent to a *Captain* in the US Army and a *kapitan* in the Polish Army and Navy. Moreover, a *Captain* in the US Navy is equivalent to a *Colonel* in the US Army, a *komandor* in the Polish Navy and a *pułkownik* in the Polish Army (see table below).

Table 1

United States Navy (USN)	United States Army	Polish Navy	Polish Army
Fleet Admiral	General of the Army (GEN)	Admirał floty	Marszałek Polski
Admiral (ADM)	General (GEN)	Admirał	Generał armii
Vice Admiral (VADM)	Lieutenant General (LTG)	Wiceadmirał	Generał broni
Rear Admiral (RADM)	Major General (MG)	Kontradmirał	Generał dywizji
Commodore (CDRE)	Brigadier General (BG)		Generał brygady
Captain (CAPT)	Colonel (COL)	Komandor	Pułkownik
Commander (CDR)	Lieutenant Colonel (LTC)	Komandor porucznik	Podpułkownik
Lieutenant Commander (LCDR)	Major (MAJ)	Komandor podporucznik	Major
Lieutenant (LT)	Captain (CAPT)	Kapitan	Kapitan
Lieutenant Junior Grade (LTJG)	First Lieutenant (1 LT)	Porucznik	Porucznik
Ensign (ENS)	Second Lieutenant (2 LT)	Podporucznik	Podporucznik

In some branches of the military, the word *rank* is not even used. For example, in the US Navy the correct term to be used when talking about enlisted personnel (not commissioned officers) is *rate*. The rating badge is a combination of rate (pay grade, as indicated by the chevrons) and rating (occupational specialty).

3. Customs and courtesies

The military services have a long history with many traditions. Sundt (1991: 15-17) divides these traditions into customs and courtesies.

A custom is defined as a way of acting – something that has been done for so long that it has become like a law. A courtesy is a form of polite manners and behaviour. He claims that “(...) customs and courtesies help make life orderly, and are a way of showing respect. Customs are regular, expected actions. They have been done again and again, and passed from one generation to the next. Courteous actions show your concern and respect for others. Courtesy is also understood as respect to certain objects or symbols, such as the national flag.”

One of the best known military customs is the hand salute, which is familiar to all Armed Forces around the world.

The hand salute goes back to ancient times, when it was done by raising the right hand (the weapon hand) in a greeting of friendship, showing that no weapon was held. Courtesy requires the lower-ranking person to make the gesture first to the higher-ranking one. This tradition probably comes from the days when a knight would raise his helmet visor to show an approaching senior who he was. In the British navy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, junior officers lifted their hats to seniors. Enlisted men took their hats off as a mark of respect to officers.

Specific regulations concerning the proper manner of saluting vary in different countries, but the general idea remains the same. Nevertheless, it is interesting to highlight some differences which exist between American and Polish customs, for NATO standards do not apply to some deeply-rooted traditions. Different branches of the Armed Forces also have their own peculiar traditions, which they insist on cultivating.

4. Proper manner of saluting (in the US armed forces)

“Except when walking, you should be at attention when saluting. Your head and eyes are turned toward the person saluted. The right hand is raised until the tip of your forefinger touches the lower part of your headgear if a combination cap is worn. The forefinger touches the forehead above and slightly to the right of the right eye if you are wearing a garrison cap or beret. Thumb and fingers are extended and joined. The palm is turned slightly inward so that the person saluting can just see its surface in the corner of the right eye. The upper arm is parallel to the ground, the elbow slightly in front of the body. The forearm is inclined at a 45% angle; the hand and wrist are in a straight line. A person completes the salute, after it has been returned, by dropping the arm to its normal position at the side in one sharp, clean motion.” (Sundt 1991:14).

In Poland, the salute is given not with the whole palm, but with two fingers only, a tradition which allegedly goes back to the Warsaw uprising in 1830.

American regulations state that the first position of the hand salute should occur when you are about six paces from the person being saluted, in a normal meeting situation. Salutes can also be made at greater distances (up to thirty paces) if you cannot come within six paces. The hand salute, by naval custom, is accompanied by a spoken greeting. The junior, either standing or meeting, looks the senior straight in the eyes and says, depending on the time of the day:

- (1) From first rising until noon: “Good morning, (Sir, Ma’am, or rank)”.
- (2) From noon until sunset: “Good afternoon, ...”
- (3) From sunset until turning in: “Good evening, ...”

Naval custom permits saluting with the left hand when a salute cannot be given with the right hand, while Army and Air Force customs permit only right-hand salutes. In the Polish Navy, left-hand salutes are not acceptable.

Naval personnel normally do not salute when *uncovered*

(without a hat on). Since naval personnel usually *uncover* inside, they do not usually salute inside. Army, Air Force and Marine Corps customs, however, require the salute when uncovered (once again, American regulations differ from the Polish ones, which do accept saluting on such occasion). Uncovered naval personnel should return salutes by persons in other services as a military courtesy. In any event, a person who is saluted while uncovered acknowledges a salute by the appropriate words and a nod of the head if a salute cannot be returned. Enlisted personnel salute all officers and every officer salutes his or her seniors. Except when on board public conveyances, such as street cars, buses and trains, officers in vehicles are saluted as if afoot. Formal military courtesies, however, are neither rendered nor required in a sick bay or ward.

If a junior overtakes a senior while walking and wishes to pass, he or she will say when coming up next to the senior, "By your leave, sir (or ma'am)," and salute when alongside. The senior will return the salute and either give permission ("Granted") or say "Good morning". Male naval officers normally salute civilian women during introduction and when they board a ship. During formal ceremonies inside a building, naval personnel remain covered when standing so they can give the hand salute if necessary.

5. Military etiquette

Apart from the hand salute, there are several other customs and rules which regulate the relationship between juniors and seniors. Sundt (1991) talks of these regulations in terms of *military etiquette*.

Military etiquette depends on two things: (1) precedence, and (2) deference to seniors. Precedence has to do with having a higher rank and greater responsibility. Deference means that a junior must yield to a senior out of respect for his or her authority. Officers take precedence according to their rank. This applies to both military relations and social life. The examples provided here come from handbooks for Naval Cadets and Marine Officers, but they provide a good picture

of the kind of behaviour expected from military personnel in general.

Some of the most important rules of etiquette followed in dealings between juniors and seniors are:

- (1) A junior approaching a senior to make an official report stays at attention until asked to be seated or to stand at ease.
- (2) Unless on watch, a person in the naval service uncovers when entering a room in which there is a senior.
- (3) When a senior enters a room in which juniors are seated, the one who first sees the senior calls "Attention". All present remain at attention until told to carry on.
- (4) When spoken to by a senior, the junior, if seated, rises and remains at attention. When personnel are seated, they need not rise when an officer (other than when a flag officer or the captain of the ship passes), unless they are called to attention or if it is necessary to clean a gangway.
- (5) The place of honour is on the right. When a junior walks, rides or sits with a senior, the junior takes position alongside and to the left.
- (6) When entering an automobile or a boat, naval officers do so in reverse order of rank, from lowest to highest. In a car, the junior takes the seat on the far or left-hand corner, the senior sitting on the right side. When getting out, the senior leaves first. In entering buildings or rooms, however, the junior opens doors for the senior and enters last.
- (7) A junior does not offer to shake hands with a senior; the senior makes the offer.
- (8) Juniors must not neglect the chain of command, that is skip their seniors, in normal situations. If an emergency needs quick attention, the immediate senior should be informed as soon as possible.

6. Hierarchy among units

It is worth noticing not only the existence of hierarchy among soldiers in a given unit, but also among units and even branches of the military. That kind of hierarchy is strictly

informal, as no regulations ever stated one unit as being senior with regard to another one. Based on their traditions and former achievements, however, certain elite troops tend to consider themselves 'better' than others. The US Marine Corps may serve as a good example of such an attitude, for Marines try to make themselves distinguishable from the Army, Navy or Air Force (note that the Corps also has an air component). In his *Marine Officer's Guide*, K. W. Estes stresses the role of tradition (Estes 1985:121):

"The traditions of the Marine Corps, its history, its flags, its uniforms, its insignia – the Marine Corps way of doing things – make the Corps what it is and set it so distinctively apart from other military organisations and services.(...) And remember: whenever the Marine Corps is impoverished by the death of a tradition, YOU are generally to blame. Traditions are not preserved by books or museums but by faithful adherence on the part of all hands – you especially."

Such adherence to tradition can be found not only in the behaviour or regulations but also in the language being used. The differences in terminology used by the Marines and the rest of the Armed Forces date back to the earliest days of the Corps. Lieutenant General James G. Harbord, from the US Army, noted in 1918 (Estes 1985 :129):

"In the more than a month that the Marine Brigade fought in and around the Bois de Belleau, I got a good opportunity to get the marine psychology. (...) The habitual Marine address was 'Lad'. [...] No Marine was ever too old to be a 'lad'. The Marines never start anywhere: they always 'shove off'. There were no kitchens: the cooking was done in 'galleys'. No one ever unfurled a flag – he 'broke it out'."

Most officers try to preserve these differences and especially criticise the introduction of Army terminology, probably because the rivalry between the Forces is particularly fierce and long-dating. In an instruction placed in the *Marine Officers Guide*, we read:

"In recent years, as a side effect of unification, certain undesirable terms or expressions from outside the naval services have been picked up by a few individuals and used to

the detriment of the authentic Marine Corps way of talking.”

One of the examples of such *unfortunate* practice which has developed in recent years and should be avoided is the tendency of referring colloquially to enlisted Marines as *troopers*. In the opinion of the author of the guide “(...) This is an Army – not a Marine or Navy – term, going back to horse cavalry, and more recently used to refer to paratroopers; it is inappropriate for Marines [...]. Marines should be referred to collectively as ‘Marines’ or less formally in the traditional Marine usage as ‘people’.”

The newest regulations provide a short list of ‘unfortunate usages’ which should be avoided and of proper terms to be used:

- ZI (Zone of Interior): use ‘the United States’,
- GI (Government Issue): an enlisted Marine should never be spoken of as a GI,
- EM: the proper term is ‘enlisted man’ or ‘Marine’,
- O-Club: speak of it as the ‘Officer’s Club’ or ‘Officer’s Mess’,
- TDY (Temporary Duty): it is an Army/Air Force term; the Navy/Marine TAD (Temporary Additional Duty) should always be used,
- Hitch: use ‘enlistment’; ‘hitch’ is an Army term dating from the horse cavalry,
- Insignia (when you mean Emblem): the only acceptable word is ‘Emblem’,
- E-4 and similar way ways of speaking of enlisted rank: enlisted men should not be referred to as ‘an E-3’ or ‘an E-4’ but always given their correct ranks,
- Medic (or ‘aid man’): these are Army/Air Force terms for a ‘Hospital corpsman’ or just ‘Corpsman’.

7. Ways of addressing

Regulations concerning ways of addressing other people provide a good example of how it is possible to establish and emphasise hierarchy by using very simple, yet standardised phraseology.

Mellor-Clark and de Altamirano (2005) provide a simplified table depicting general rules regarding the proper ways of addressing both higher and lower rank personnel.

[Note the acronyms: NCO (Non-Commissioned Officer), CSM (Company Sergeant Major), RSM (Regimental Sergeant Major), WO (Warrant Officer), Barnhart, 1995]

Table 2

Rank	Address...	By...
Soldiers, junior NCOs	Senior NCOs/CSM (GB)	Rank
Soldiers, NCOs	RSM (GB)	Sir/ma'am
All enlisted	Officers	Sir/ma'am
Officers, NCOs	Enlisted personnel	Rank + name/rank
Officers	NCOs and Wos	Rank + name/rank
Junior officers	Officers up to captain (lieutenant in the Navy)	First name
	Senior officers	Sir/ma'am

There are several exceptions and supplements to the rules above, which are sometimes caused by a need for simplification and sometimes by adherence to tradition. The most important of these exceptions are:

Corporals and lance corporals are addressed as *Corporal*.

A staff sergeant may be addressed as *Staff*.

Medical and dental officers below the rank of commander may be addressed as *Doctor*.

Any chaplain may be addressed by another officer as *Padre*; Roman Catholic chaplains of whatever rank (and Episcopal chaplains who so prefer) as *Father*.

Although no longer prescribed in regulations, custom sanctions a second lieutenant being addressed or spoken of as 'Mr/Ms'. In the presence of enlisted people, however, it is preferable to speak of them as *Lieutenant*.

Lieutenant colonels should be addressed as *Colonel*.

Generals and admirals, of whatever grade, are spoken to as *General* or *Admiral*.

In the American Army, the first sergeant of a company, battery or detachment may be addressed by officers of the unit as *Top*. The title *top sergeant*, however, is not used in the Marine Corps.

Navy chief petty officers are habitually spoken to as *Chief*.

Estes (1985: 321-370) devotes a whole chapter to describing military courtesy, honours and ceremonies, including a whole section presenting the correct forms of addressing mandatory for military personnel. Some of the differences between his version and the one proposed by Mellor-Clark and de Altamirano may result from the fact that the *Marine Officer's Guide* is an instruction book for American, not European, personnel. Moreover, the Marine Corps officers and soldiers, as has been previously mentioned, tend to preserve all the differences which make them distinguishable from other branches of the Armed Forces.

Table 3

Person Addressed or Introduced	To Military Personnel	
	Introduce as:	Address as:
Marine Army or Air Force Officer	Major (or other rank) Smith	Same
Naval Officer	Captain Smith	Same
Navy Staff Corps Officer	Captain Smith or Chaplain Smith	Same
Coast Guard and Coast Geodetic Survey Officers	Same as same rank in Navy	Same
US Public Health Service Officers	Doctor Smith	Same
US Public Health Service Officer (Sanitary Engineer)	Mr Smith	Same
Commissioned Warrant Officer	Chief Warrant Officer Smith	Same
Midshipman or Cadet	Midshipman (or Cadet) Smith	Mr or Ms Smith
Warrant Officer	Warrant Officer Smith	Same
Staff NCO or Chief Petty Officer	Sergeant Major Smith, Master Chief Gunner's Mate Smith	Sergeant or Major or Chief Smith
Non-commissioned Officer or Petty Officer	Corporal Smith or Gunner's Mate Smith	Same
Private or Seaman	Private or Seaman Smith	Smith

8. Slang

Widawski (2003: 271-278) claims that soldiers are indisputably the prime and most influential group of slang coiners and users. He describes military parlance as “full of strength, vulgarity and challenge, but also ridicule, sarcasm and humor”. Out of the three motives for the use of slang he mentions – sociological, psychological and rhetorical – it

will be the sociological ones that appear to be most relevant when talking about age and hierarchy. The most important sociological motives to be taken into account are group identification and opposition to authority.

The US Marines' wish to preserve their "authentic Marine Corps way of talking" is a good example of how slang may be used to enhance group identification in the military. Members of different units or branches take nicknames they are usually proud of. Some of the expressions used for that purpose are:

- *Tommy* (a private in the British Army)
- *Jack* (a Royal Navy sailor)
- *GI, GI Joe, GI Jane* (an American soldier)
- *leatherneck* (an American Marine)
- *bootneck or bootie* (a Royal Marine)
- *bluejacket* (Navy personnel)
- *coastie* (a member of the Coast Guard)
- *Jenny, Jenny Wren* (a member of the Women's Royal Naval Service)

Some of these terms (eg GI) became so popular and widely used in everyday language that in the *Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary* they are not classified as slang any more.

Derogative terms used in private conversations are the only way of showing opposition to authority in the military. It is not surprising that expressions that carry positive or even neutral connotations are far less numerous than the ones aimed at ridiculing people, especially officers.

- *donkey walloper* (a cavalry officer)
- *brown clown* (an Army officer in Navy slang)
- *jam bosun* (a Supply Officer)
- *screaming skull* (a thin and humourless senior officer)
- *spanner wanker* (a mechanic)
- *grocer* (an officer of the Supply or Secretariat Branch, also called White Mafia)
- *Cates* (nickname for the Caterer, also called Hitler's)

Victuallers)

- *Chief Nightingale* (the senior medical rating)
- *Top Gum* (the head of The Royal Navy Dental Branch)
- *Admiralty clown* (a Physical Training instructor)
- *Air Tragedy* (Air Traffic Control)
- *Father Famine* (a Supply Officer responsible for catering)
- *Young Butcher or Little Doc* (a Junior Surgeon or Deputy PMO-Principal Medical Officer)

Moreover, there are several amusing terms to be used when talking about a chaplain: *Bible basher*, *Bible puncher*, *Devil dodger*, *God botherer*, *Holy Joe* or *sky pilot*. A noisy, but ineffective leader may be described as *all fart and no shit* while an idiot is a dickhead. A soldier's wife is often called a dragon, but much more respectful terms, as *Field Marsha* or *Generalissima* can also be used.

There also some neutral or even affectionate expressions that need to be mentioned:

- *The Old Man*, or sometimes even *Father* (the Captain of a ship)
- *Daddy S* (the supply Commander)
- *Moses*, or *Baby Moses* (the youngest man of a ship's company)
- *Splot* (the senior pilot of a squadron)

9. Summary and conclusion

Hierarchy in the military is supported not only by sheer regulations that oblige soldiers to wear uniforms and behave in a specified way but also by traditions and customs, which is reflected in the language, both formal and informal. Widawski (2003: 272) notices that soldiers are often forced to function in extreme situations and “are depersonalised and treated explicitly as machines in the hands of their commanders.(...) this brings forth an aggressive form of verbal self-presentation that is intended to show that they are strong enough to endure these conditions on the one hand, and that they are free of

civilian social restraints on the other.” Undoubtedly, this is true. The Armed Forces are based on a somehow dehumanising hierarchy constructed upon the idea of *seniority*. Instructions and regulations which define precisely what to wear, what and how to speak, and how to behave define the status of each person. On the other hand, slang allows them to make these dependencies bearable, sometimes by making their perception of their superiors more *humane* and, more than often, by ridiculing them.

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**Gender and language:
A study of conversational strategies used
in political interviews by male and female
speakers of Polish**

ALICJA MOŁĘDA

There is an unequal distribution of work in conversation...Women do support work while men are talking and it's the women who generally do active maintenance and continuation work in conversations.

(P. M. Fishman, "Interaction: The Work Women Do", 1983)

1. Introduction

People are born as either men or women, which at the very moment of birth attributes to them certain qualities, images and expectations. Certainly the most tremendous difference is related to the most important role of men and women, that of giving life to another human being. However, there exist gender distinctions not directly related to biological functions, although doubtlessly resulting from them. Such dissimilarities are socially created and reinforced by inherent societal institutions, such as the family, the mass media or even the workplace. From early childhood, girls and boys are shaped differently by the community they live in, as different things will be expected of them in their adult lives. In consequence, gender influences the way people perceive themselves and affects their ways of acting towards each other.

Wherever people coexist with each other, they need to develop a way of communication. This would not be possible

without language. Language, in turn, does not remain uninfluenced by social factors. An increasing amount of research is being devoted to investigating language differences from the perspective of the speakers' gender. It has already been proved that gender affects the way we express ourselves. In this paper I will attempt to find out how strong this influence is for women working in a traditionally male domain - the public sphere of life. Nowadays, in most societies, women are allowed to become educated and participate actively in public life. Yet, when women enter this sphere of social activity, they enter a world which for long belonged exclusively to men, especially with regard to the most important, decision-making positions. The rules which operate there have been created by and for men. I intend to inquire into Brigitte Felderer's opinion who, when analysing male and female behaviour in a political debate, stated that:

[...] as soon as a woman enters a domain formerly exclusively male, she is confronted with a double-bind situation: she feels called upon to meet standard expectations about her femininity at the same time as meeting her own standards of professional behaviour. (1997: 372-373)

The question which will be asked is whether women redefine for themselves the behaviour traditionally perceived as male or whether they have to redefine their own standards with respect to language and communication strategies so that their speech resembles the style described as male.

I decided to focus on a daily programme broadcast by Radio Three – Salon Polityczny Trójki (Radio Three's Meetings on Politics) hosted by two journalists: Jolanta Pieńkowska and Kamil Durczok, who conduct interviews at random. The interviews last approximately ten minutes and current political affairs constitute the subject matter. The idea of two journalists of different genders working in the same conditions allows one to compare their communication strategies as the topics, the duration time and the idea of the programme are

similar if not the same.

I realise that the scope of this study is too small to bring any results that could be applied to female and male journalists in general, not to mention to all speakers of the Polish language. That is not my intention. My intention is to clarify whether the linguistic claims regarding communication strategies of female and male speakers apply also to these two speakers. If this is confirmed, there could be a possibility of further analysis in this area.

2. Methodology

The data for this study come from ten interviews carried out by Kamil Durczok and Jolanta Pieńkowska in November and December 2004. Their guests were: five politicians, a sociologist, a journalist, a writer, a lawyer and the chairman of a foundation. There was one woman among them – a parliamentarian. The topics of the interviews were always directly related to current affairs in Polish politics. The programmes were recorded with the purpose of creating transcripts of the conversations, which were afterwards examined. Since the language of the interviews is Polish, I will provide a translation when quoting the exact words uttered.

While quoting, I will use transcription conventions, such as the following:

- (a) # interruption
- (b) = overlapping speech
- (c) (.) pause of up to a second
- (d) (...) pause of more than a second
- (e) ??? speech impossible to understand
- (f) simultaneous speech

The conventions used for marking pauses are based on the ones used by Talbot (1998).

3. Politeness strategies

Differences between women's and men's speech can be either *gender-exclusive* or *gender-preferential* (Ann Bodine in Talbot 1998: 6). Gender-exclusive differences include linguistic forms that are reserved exclusively for one sex. One of the earliest accounts was Jespersen's chapter entitled *Woman* (1969, first published in 1922) in which the author suggested that female speech is a deviation from the male norm. The dissimilarities are categorical, which means that certain forms are used only by men while others only by women. They can be found in such aspects of language as lexis, phonology and morphology and exist in such communities which very strictly define male and female social roles.

Sociolinguistic studies employ a quantitative approach that displays differences in numbers or percentages. Since such studies are structured, they are said to provide reliable data for further linguistic analyses. The types of variation that have been measured are phonological and grammatical features. In most cases, women have been found to favour the variety of language that is considered as more prestigious within a given community (Macaulay in Coates 1993, Romaine in Coates 1993, Eisitkovits 2000, Trudgill 1987, 2000). Peter Trudgill, who was one of the first people to depict gender-related variations in speech, provided an elaborate explanation of why women favour the prestige standard more than men. He associated this with women's greater status awareness, resulting from their subordinate social position. Additionally, according to Trudgill, women are judged by their appearance not by position or abilities, and therefore employ speech as a manifestation of status. Lastly, women do not favour vernacular forms since these have working-class, masculine connotations (1987: 93-94). His suggestion that women favour standard language because they are judged by how they appear (linguistically), while men are not, has also attracted criticism. According to the theory of covert prestige, men use, and claim to use, more vernacular forms. If they can, and more importantly want to, acquire prestige by using certain

language forms, then it seems that men are also rated on their appearance (Talbot 1998: 26).

A theory which has gained acceptance among linguists dealing with gender holds that when women use standard speech they are protecting their own faces and at the same time paying attention to the face of the addressee (Deuchar 1989: 32). This assumption is connected with the issue of politeness in language. Politeness is a way of treating people, paying attention to their needs and feelings namely, their *face*. The theory of *face* and politeness was proposed by Brown and Levinson who define *face* as “the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself [sic]” (Deuchar 1989: 29). A speaker’s face consists of two aspects: *negative* and *positive* (Brown 2000: 84). Brown explains that its negative aspect involves the need to act in accordance with our will not others’. Thus, satisfying this need means mitigating the force of an utterance with an apology, request or impersonal construction, such as the passive voice or a certain amount of formality, such as “I am sorry to bother you but my car seems to have broken down – could you give me a lift?” On the other hand, the desire to be liked, accepted or approved of enters the positive face. We satisfy these wants by greeting people, complimenting them or expressing our understanding of their actions. Given this, politeness can be defined as “satisfying the face wants of others” (Coates 1993: 130).

Penelope Brown, in a study of speech in Tenejapa, a Mayan community in Mexico, discovered that the women there used more politeness indicators than the men. Additionally, she observed that they had developed characteristically feminine strategies of both positive and negative politeness (Brown 2000). Similarly, the men used a style which Brown defined as “masculine” with several typical features such as emphasisers in political persuasion or inserting Spanish words in their speech. Brown compares her findings to Trudgill’s suggestions concerning English men and women. She concludes that women seem to be alert to the fact that their words may threaten the face of the conversant, which results in a higher percentage of polite forms.

Women's greater use of standard forms may stem from their greater ability to successfully satisfy their interactants' *face needs* (Deuchar 1989: 29-32). Not only do women recognise the interlocutors' self-images, but also protect their own. To understand this, we have to realise that most conversations are affected by power relations between speakers. Power is a significant constituent of one's linguistic face. The more powerful the addressee, the less it is likely that their face needs will be threatened. Deuchar suggests that women are relatively powerless so their face needs may not receive substantial attention. Nonetheless, they have face wants to the same extent as men. The use of standard, prestigious forms ensures that their face will be maintained and the addressee's face recognised.

Both positive and negative politeness strategies were employed by the journalists in the radio interviews. The results for the positive politeness indicators are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Positive politeness strategies used by the journalists¹

	Jolanta Pieńkowska	Kamil Durczok
Plurality marker	2	3
Similarity of opinion	12	10
Help	3	-
Humour	-	4
Other	-	5
Total	17	22

The results can be interpreted as both supporting and challenging the theories. First and foremost, one must remember that the type of the programme – a short interview dealing with political problems – does not leave much space for positive treatment and empathy. Yet, the presenters need to employ some of these strategies to encourage their guests

¹ Plural forms of verbs which express the similarity of views.

to say more than they would probably intend to. Both of them did so, yet differently. There is not much contrast in the use of plural forms with the aim of expressing the sense of belonging to the same group. The next strategy appears to be favoured by the female speaker. However, this point is more complex than the table data suggest. Similarity of opinion includes cases of open acceptance with the word “yes” as well as whole utterances which confirm the guests’ stances. What surprised me when studying the tape-scripts was that the journalists also used it as a means of presenting contrastive opinions such as:

- (1) JP: Tak, ale jak pan wie ta procedura się nie zakończyła [...]
'Yes, but as you know this procedure is not complete [...]

Moreover, it turned out that the male interviewer implemented this variation of the strategy only three times, whereas the female journalist did so as many as nine times. This confirms one of the aspects of the theory of politeness and gender – women are less powerful speakers and less powerful speakers are more polite in conversations. In our case, the female presenter can be adopting one of the positive politeness strategies to actually disagree with the speaker. By doing so, she recognises the face needs of the interactant and expresses a contrastive view. This is very similar to the explanation of the reasons behind women’s greater use of prestigious forms presented above.

The female speaker was the only one to help her guests find appropriate words. That confirms the claim that women actively support conversations. On the other hand, only the interviews conducted by Kamil Durczok introduced the element of humour, which undoubtedly is a positive politeness strategy. What is more, his laughing and joking resulted in laughter on the part of his guests, which stimulated the interview and was definitely an interesting element for the listeners.

The contrast between the two speakers is even more

visible when analysing their negative politeness behaviour. Negative politeness strategies aim at satisfying interactants' needs not to be imposed on. Since questions asked during the programmes were very often inconvenient for the guests, it was very interesting to establish whether the journalists softened them in any way. While the number of positive politeness indicators is similar for both of them, the situation is contrasting here

Table 2

Negative politeness strategies used by the journalists

	Jolanta Pieńkowska	Kamil Durczok
Negative politeness indicators	20	13

In contrast to the previous category, here the woman used more strategies to satisfy negative face needs. The results are not divided into separate categories due to the fact that there was one strategy which prevailed over single cases of other forms of this conversational behaviour. Both journalists softened their remarks and questions using hedges such as *sort of, a little, somewhat, I think, perhaps, it seems* or the verbs *may* and *might*.

- (2) JP: [...] I wydaje się, że może być na to zgoda, ten taki symboliczny uścisk dłoni Juszczenzi i /
 [...] And it seems that there can be agreement, that symbolic hand-shake by Juszczenko and Janukowycza może dawać taką szansę./
 'Janukowycz may give a chance for that.'

There are as many as three mitigating devices in this utterance ("wydaje się", "ten taki", "może"). The female presenter used them more often, which will be discussed in more detail in the section devoted to hedges.

The frequency of using negative politeness strategies is worth noticing and commenting on. Jolanta Pieńkowska used

them in every programme. Kamil Durczok employed them in only three out of five conversations. The one in which he mitigated his questions the most – three times – was an interview with Józef Oleksy, the former Prime Minister and Speaker of the Sejm, after the court verdict convicting him of working for the Polish security services. Such a highly controversial and personal topic must have been difficult for the guest, which in turn influenced Durczok's questioning strategies.

4. Questioning strategies

In her famous book *You just don't understand*, Deborah Tannen reports a situation in which a man and a woman spent half an hour in their car looking in vain for a street (1990: 61-62). The man, who was driving the car, openly refused to ask for directions. He preferred wasting time trying to find the way himself to admitting his lack of knowledge. According to Tannen, this kind of behaviour results from the specificity of giving and asking for information. From a psychological perspective, questions reveal our weaknesses and make us dependent on another person, who can but does not have to provide a relevant answer. Such a situation creates asymmetry and hierarchy. Pamela M. Fishman, a US researcher, analysed twelve and a half hours of transcribed conversations between three American couples recorded in their houses. The results reveal that both sexes make use of dissimilar strategies for interaction. Fishman found "an overwhelming difference between female and male use of questions as a resource in interaction" (1983: 94). Women asked 263 out of 370 questions, which is two and a half times more than the men did. Following Tannen's argument, such results may stem from the fact that women are not blocked by societal rules. Lakoff, who was a pioneer in defining gender differences in language, ascribed this tendency to women's insecurity (Cameron et al. 1989). Fishman put forward a different theory. She pointed to the fact that questions do not stand by themselves in conversation but require answers, thus providing speakers with conversational power.

In interviews, a question is an utterance which is expected from the interviewer. That being so, I could not validate Fishman's findings for my subjects simply because they both asked numerous questions. What I could do was to find out whether there were any similarities or contrasts in their repertoires of questions. There emerged differences in the frequencies of the types of questions used, which can be seen in the following table.

Table 3

The types of questions asked by the journalists

	Jolanta Pieńkowska	Kamil Durczok
Yes/No questions	28	38
Wh- questions	19	24
Declarative statements	21	16

As can be observed, the biggest dissimilarity pertains to interrogatives which require "yes" or "no" answers. While they were the favourite type for both journalists, the man used them definitely more frequently than the woman. Obviously, the answers were not merely the words "yes" or "no". In fact, there was only one case in which the answer was one word preceded by a pause to intensify the effect. The interviewer immediately asked an additional question to obtain more information. The other questions of this type elicited long replies on the part of the guests. The male journalist also made more frequent use of the so-called "wh- questions". In fact, declarative statements are the only type of questioning strategies in the use of which the female led. This stands in opposition to Winter's findings since, in her study of political interviews in Australia, the man used that type of utterance repeatedly while the woman did not employ that strategy at all (Winter 1993 in Talbot 1998). The study was carried out over ten years before mine, which may account for the difference. Declarative statements in the place of interrogatives add the element of challenge to the utterance traditionally associated with men. It may be possible that the

woman from my research proves the claim that women had to adapt to male language strategies at least to a certain extent in disciplines where men constitute the majority. Following Brigitte Felderer's words quoted at the beginning of this paper, it appears that certain standards of professional conduct are male and, in certain situations, are used as such by women.

5. Hedging

Hedges are linguistic forms, such as *sort of*, *a little*, *somewhat*, *I think*, *perhaps*, *it seems* as well as the modals *may* and *might*, which indicate the speakers' uncertainty about the discussed item. Lakoff claimed that women use more hedges because they "are socialised to believe that asserting themselves strongly isn't nice or ladylike, or even feminine" (Lakoff 1975: 54 in Coates 1996: 171). Jennifer Coates, a linguist whose investigations of all-female discussions are invaluable sources of information about female language strategies, states that hedges are "a prime example of a linguistic form which has been misunderstood precisely because of its association with women's ways of talking" (1996: 172). This is an obvious reference to the stereotypical perception of female speech strengthened by Lakoff. Coates suggests that hedges have plenty of functions in discourse. She claims that these particles are not a negative feature of female speech exposing the speakers' uncertainty, lack of knowledge or inferior conversational abilities. Women's greater use of hedges can be explained by their topic choice. Most often these topics entail self-disclosure, which may threaten both the speaker's face and the faces of others. Hedges mitigate the force of what is said to protect speakers, thus preventing talk from being face-threatening. Therefore, expressions like *you know*, *sort of* etc. become a valuable resource for speakers who want to cooperate in conversation, be supportive and facilitative. The fact that women use more of them is only for their interactants' benefit and should be acknowledged as a great advantage of female speech.

In the case of the examined political discussions, the topics

definitely did not resemble everyday conversations between two people. In many cases, they were controversial and, since raised publicly, had to be tackled carefully by the guests. This discomfort could be either aggravated or alleviated, using medical terminology, by the journalists. It turned out that in the radio programmes the female journalist mitigated her words much more frequently.

Table 4

The number of hedges used by the journalists

	Jolanta Pieńkowska	Kamil Durczok
The number of hedges	13	7

Jolanta Pieńkowska used almost twice as many expressions which reduced the force of what she wanted to say as Kamil Durczok. What is more, only in the interviews conducted by her did I find more than one hedge in a single turn. One example was provided in the sections devoted to politeness, the other will be introduced as a part of a longer stretch of the interview with a parliamentarian – Zyta Gilowska.

- (3) JP: No pani profesor ale ta sprawa tych ustaw jest # o tyle istotna że yy
 ‘But professor the problem of these bills is # important enough to yy’
 ZG: ale których których nie ma
 ‘# but which ones the ones that are not ready’
 JP: tych dwóch ustaw tych dw tak
 ‘these two bills these tw yes’
 ZG: które podobno mają być
 ‘the ones that are said to be ready’
 JP: tych których nie ma które podobno mają być przyniesione w przyszłym tygodniu
 ‘the ones that are not ready which are said to be going to be brought next week’

ZG: [śmieje się]

'[laughs]'

JP: bo znaczy sprawa jest na tyle poważna minister Gronicki mówi jeśli sejm

'well I mean the problem is important enough minister Gronicki says that if the Sejm'

nie uchwali tych ustaw trzeba będzie podnieść podatki więc myślę że i panią i mnie

'does not pass these bills the taxes will have to be increased so I think that you and I'

i wszystkich to interesuje

'and everybody is interested'

This example demonstrates how the interlocutor can influence the journalist's conversational behaviour. Up to that moment in the conversation, the journalist had not used any hedges. The guest successfully interrupted the journalist undermining the point of the question. When Pieńkowska finally asked the question, it was instantly followed by ironic laughter on the part of the politician. The reaction of the host was an immediate loss of self-confidence followed by explaining herself. It must be acknowledged that this was the only such example in the group of the analysed programmes. Kamil Durczok's guests also tried to undermine his confidence but with no result.

The number of hedges does not explain another phenomenon noticed during the analysis of the transcripts. I observed certain tendencies regarding the situations in which both journalists used hedges. The woman used mitigating expressions as many as five times when she was referring to what her guests had said.

- (4) JP: Czyli rozumiem że nie będzie dziś kolejnej kompromitacji [...]
'So I understand that there will not be another embarrassment today [...]'

She also used hedges when presenting facts and events which she wanted her guests to comment upon. There were five such situations and the expression used three times was “wydaje się” /it seems/. On the other hand, Kamil Durczok never hesitated when speaking of news or opinions or repeating his guests’ words. He was mitigating the force of his utterances while talking about controversial problems and offering his own suggestions to the guests.

- (5) KD: [...] nie ma pan wrażenia, że jako marszałek sejmu trochę pan przesadził
 ‘[...] do you not have the impression that as the speaker you went a little too far’
- (6) KD: a może jest tak, że klucz do sukcesu jest w rękach samych polityków [...]
 ‘maybe the key to success is in the hands of the politicians’

As we can see, the subjects in the study confirm the theory that women tend to mitigate their remarks more often than men. Following the observation concerning the frequency of hedges and negative politeness strategies, we can conclude that the woman applied the softening strategies in all conversations, possibly considering all of them as possibly face-threatening for the guests. The man limited this behaviour only to certain contexts which could be defined as especially difficult for his conversants. We can also observe that there is more to this issue than just the mere frequency of hedging. The abrupt interruption presented at the beginning brought about hedges which probably would not otherwise have occurred. The situations in which both journalists used hedges were also strikingly different. At this moment, these must remain merely observations. Yet, it would be fascinating to find out whether there exist further tendencies pertaining to this conversational strategy used by men and women.

6. Minimal responses

The evidence gathered by recording and examining both mixed- and single-sex conversations supports Fishman's statement that women are actively engaged in discourse. Research has also shown that when speakers of both sexes interact, they may misunderstand each other's styles. This wrong interpretation, in turn, may interrupt or even terminate the conversation. Linguists say that both men and women use nods and noises like "mhm", "mm", "yeah" while talking with someone. They also claim that by doing so, women express that they are following their interlocutor's thought while men show that they are agreeing with what the other person is saying. Women say "yeah" to mean "I am listening", "I follow", while men do it only when they agree with the interlocutor (Maltz and Borker 2000: 421-422).

In the radio interviews that I recorded for the purpose of this study, the only person ever to use minimal responses was the man. It turned out that there was not a single utterance which could be classified as a minimal response in any of the programmes hosted by the female journalist. Kamil Durczok did not overuse this strategy either, in fact it only occurred three times in his remarks and questions, and all the three instances were in one programme. He did not use them in the middle of his guests' speaking turns, but at their end. All of them could be interpreted as communicating understanding of the interlocutor's words, which has nothing in common with agreeing with him or facilitating further comments.

The absence of this type of strategy used in communication between the speakers is surprising. It is understandable that the interviewers did not use minimal responses as means expressing shared views on the discussed issues. However, minimal responses also have the function of encouraging people to talk. Yet, they were not used in the political interviews for this purpose. Perhaps, the reason is the type of programme – formal and concise without unnecessary details. It is also conceivable that its length forces the interviewers to avoid prompting lengthy turns on the part of their interlocutors.

7. Interruptions

A woman sues her husband for divorce. When the judge asks her why she wants a divorce, she explains that her husband has not spoken to her in two years. The judge asks the husband, 'Why haven't you spoken to your wife in two years?' He replies, 'I didn't want to interrupt her.'

This joke, quoted after Deborah Tannen (1990: 188), reflects what is generally referred to as female talkativeness. Stereotypes concerning this issue have aroused the interest of scholars like Barbara and Gene Eakins who found out that among university students it is men who speak more often and for a longer time (1978 in Tannen 1990: 75). Moreover, according to Tannen, "one of the most widely cited findings to emerge from research on gender and language is that men interrupt women" (1990: 188).

The term *conversation* implies any exchange of ideas between at least two speakers. A possible violation of this rule may result in an unwelcome monologue or a quarrel. Both stem from an abnormal turn-taking system. A model of turn-taking in a conversation was proposed by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson in 1974 (in Coates 1993: 107-108). Sacks et al. state that one of the rules of conversational interaction says "one party at a time", which means that simultaneous speech is inappropriate. They argue that speaking turns include *transition-relevance places* – points where a sequence of words is grammatically complete and at which a turn may end. At such places: (1) the current speaker may select the next speaker to talk, (2) the next speaker may self-select, (3) the current speaker may continue talking. It is possible that instead of waiting for the current speaker to finish their turn, the next speaker will speak at its very end, which is called an *overlap* (West and Zimmermann 1983: 104). An overlap does not violate the speaker's conversational rights, unlike an *interruption*, which entails a "deeper intrusion into the internal

structure of a speaker's utterance" (*ibid.* 104).

Don Zimmermann and Candance West argue that interruptions are not randomly distributed in conversation. They maintain that certain types of speakers, men in particular, have an inclination to intrude into others' speech (1983). West and Zimmermann studied conversations between acquainted and unacquainted men and women. It turned out that in both cases the men interrupted more: the males made 96% of the interruptions when they knew their female interlocutors and 75% when they were strangers. The men also began their intrusions much nearer the beginning of their partner's turn. The researchers claim that interruptions are strongly connected with power relations between speakers. This was confirmed by Eakins and Eakins, whose data show that speakers with higher status in the university department interrupt more often than speakers with lower status (1976 in Graddol and Swann 1991: 79). However, there is evidence suggesting that when both gender and power are at work, then it is gender that has supremacy in the organisation of talk. In her study of doctor-patient interaction, West found out that male doctors initiated 67% and patients 33% of all interruptions (2000: 399). In conversations in which one speaker is male and one female, male speakers tend to dominate (Coates 1993).

It seems that also in work settings, when gender and status are considered, it is gender that has the ascendancy. Nicola Woods (1989) analysed interaction patterns between bosses and their subordinates, who could be both male and female. The results confirm the expected pattern, namely that men interrupt more, regardless of their status. The men violated their partners' speaking turns both when they were in the positions of bosses and subordinates. Moreover, their attempts to gain the conversational floor were mostly successful. Such behaviour was also observed in television interviews conducted by male and female interviewers. Joanne Winter discovered that male interviewers had a tendency to intrude on their guests' utterances (Winter 1993 in Talbot 1998: 112-115).

In the interviews I analysed, status is a rather complex matter. On the one hand, the invited guests hold important

positions in Poland. On the other, it can be assumed that the conversational status of the journalists is higher since it is they who control the talk. Before the analysis, I presumed that the male interactants would interrupt with greater frequency and that the woman would be interrupted despite her relatively higher status in conversation. It was understandable that the speakers would compete for the conversational floor because of the character of the programme and its short duration. I assumed that an interruption occurred only when a speaker broke into another speaker's turn which at the time of the interruption was grammatically incomplete. The interruptions were classified as successful – when the speakers managed to cut in – and unsuccessful – when they did not. The results are presented in the tables which follow.

Table 5
The interruptions in the interviews
conducted by the female journalist

Programme	Conversational role	Successful interruption	Unsuccessful interruption	Total number of interruptions
1	Interviewer	2	1	3
	Guest	1	1	2
2	Interviewer	-	-	-
	Guest	2	-	2
3	Interviewer	1	1	2
	Guest	-	1	1
4	Interviewer	1	-	1
	Guest	-	2	2
5	Interviewer	3	-	3
	Guest	1	-	1

Table 6
The interruptions in the interviews
conducted by the male journalist

Programme	Conversational role	Successful interruption	Unsuccessful interruption	Total number of interruptions
1	Interviewer	4	2	6
	Guest	3	6	9
2	Interviewer	5	1	6
	Guest	1	1	2
3	Interviewer	2	1	-
	Guest	-	-	-
4	Interviewer	7	-	7
	Guest	4	2	6
5	Interviewer	7	-	7
	Guest	1	3	4

The difference is visible even without a deep analysis of the data in the tables. In the programmes with Kamil Durczok, the number of interruptions was substantially higher. There was only one programme – number three – in which their quantity is comparable to the interviews with Jolanta Pieńkowska. In her conversations, the overall number of intrusions into the other speaker's turns never exceeded five. In Durczok's programmes the total number was, except for one case, considerably higher. A more thorough examination of the results reveals further differences. In three cases, the female interviewer interrupted more than her guests. For the male interviewer, the number was higher in four programmes. In addition, out of his twenty-nine interruptions only four were unsuccessful. For the woman, the overall number of interruptions was nine, of which two were unsuccessful. We can conclude that while most of the intrusions were effective, they were carried out by the male interviewer much more frequently.

Wood's study of conversations in a work setting revealed that women were interrupted more often even when they held

superior positions (1989). I expected a similar result in my research. However, it turned out that the total numbers of interruptions in the five programmes with Jolanta Pieńkowska were almost identical – nine for the interviewer and eight for the guests. Thus, my assumption was not confirmed.

While analysing the issue of interruptions, I noticed an interesting and surprising tendency in Kamil Durczok's conversations. Virtually all interruptions and overlaps occurred one after another. An unsuccessful interruption was almost always followed by another attempt. A similar situation happened after a successful intrusion – the person whose turn was broken into immediately tried to break into the other speaker's words. As an example, I will show a fragment of the interview with Tomasz Żukowski.

- (20) TZ: znaczy prezydent po pierwsze przypomnijmy jest w dalszym ciągu jest politykiem jak dla
 'firstly, let us state again that the president is still a popular politician as for '
 Polski popularnym drugie miejsce na tej liście dla prezydenta urzędującego to nie jest taki
 'Poland the second place on that list for the present president is not such a'
 zły wynik znaczy #pro
 'bad result namely #???'
 KD: # i najgorszy wynik # od 96go roku
 '# and the worst result # since 1996'
 TZ: # no właśnie znaczy problem podstawowy
 '# yes namely Aleksander Kwaśniewski's'
 Aleksandra Kwaśniewskiego jest taki że jego notowania powoli topnieją i to mimo jego
 'basic problem is that he is slowly losing his popularity even in spite of his'

‘recent unquestionable successes one of which
was which was the effective mediation in Ukraine’
ja # myślę że to
I # think that it’
KD: # no właśnie bo to ciekawe że ta porażka
przyszła dokładnie [...]
precisely because it is interesting that this defeat
happened exactly [...]

What can be seen in this fragment of the interview is the interviewer’s successful interruption, immediately followed by the guest’s successful interruption, which was again followed by the interviewer’s successful interruption. Such instances were numerous and occurred in all programmes hosted by Durczok. In one of them, out of fifty speaking turns only nine did not begin or end with an interruption or overlap. In Pieńkowska’s interviews, there was merely one example of such conversational behaviour.

Apparently, the two speakers confirm the theory that men tend to break into their interlocutors’ utterances more often than women. While listening to the interviews, I had the impression that men were competing for speaking turns. Interestingly, this competition only took place in conversations between two men. It cannot, obviously, be assumed that Durczok’s guests were more aggressive or difficult to talk with. Interruptions were abundant only in Kamil Durczok’s programmes even though male speakers were present also in the other series. Surprisingly enough, when the guest refrained from interrupting, the number of the male interviewer’s intrusions was considerably lower. Realising that the scale of the research is small, I conclude that there seems to be a correspondence between the interviewers’ conversational behaviour and their guests’ reactions, with regards to interruptions at least.

8. Conclusions

In this paper I attempted to demonstrate that there exist differences in language use related to gender. It appears that male and female speakers choose dissimilar conversational strategies regardless of their role and status in conversation. I focused on the areas of discourse, such as politeness, questioning strategies, the use of hedges, minimal responses as well as interrupting. Apparently, with regard to the above-mentioned aspects, female style seems more supportive and collaborative. Men, on the other hand, tend to be rather competitive interactants oriented towards displaying power relations.

I conducted a small-scale study with the aim of analysing conversational strategies employed by two speakers of Polish. My initial assumption was that gender has supremacy over status even in public domains where a more masculine style is valued. I expected that the female speaker, the interviewer in a radio political programme, would choose from the repertoire of the strategies ascribed to women. Having examined the data obtained from the study, I conclude that my hypothesis was confirmed at least in some respects. The female interviewer's language was indeed more tentative when compared with the man's, which manifested itself in a higher number of expressions classified as hedges. What is more, she did not interrupt her interlocutors as often as the man did, which is in accordance with the results of other known studies.

It needs to be pointed out that the female speaker followed a strategy which was ascribed to the male repertoire in one of the studies. The woman used declarative statements in place of questions. Surprisingly enough, she did so more frequently than the man. The results are in contrast with those of a similar study carried out in another country and as such are inconclusive, at least at this point. The conclusion seems inescapable that more attention must be paid to this aspect. Similarly, I expected the woman to use minimal responses whereas, strange though it may seem, she did not. Since minimal

responses occurred in the male journalist's utterances only occasionally, my impression is that the character of the radio interview – a short, concise programme – may be the reason. Nevertheless, once again the woman did not act according to the expectations based on the already existing theories.

Apart from gender and status, I also pointed out the role women play in discourse. The theories presented in this thesis help suggest that women actively help and facilitate conversation. Apparently, my research confirms this suggestion at least with regard to a few points. First and foremost, the female interviewer helped her guests find the proper words or expressions when they could not find them. Secondly, she mitigated the force of her questions by hedges more frequently than the male speaker. While that may be interpreted as a token of her tentativeness, it could also prove that the female speaker was more sensitive to the interviewees' needs not to be imposed on, namely their negative face wants. One more point confirming that women are supportive in conversation, is the example of interruptions. Undoubtedly, the man in my study broke into his guests' turns with considerable frequency. While the female interviewer did interrupt her guests as well, the fact remains that these cases were rare. More importantly, there seemed to be a connection between the interviewer's style and the interviewees' behaviour. When the number of interruptions was low for the journalist it was also low for the guests, which was exactly the situation observed in the programmes with the woman. On the other hand, frequent intrusions on the part of the male journalist provoked the same behaviour on the part of his guests. An interesting situation occurred in one programme with the male host when the interviewee did not interrupt at all, which in turn resulted in fewer intrusions on the part of the journalist. The conclusion seems inescapable that when not prompted by one interactant, interruptions will not be made by the other. Surely, not violating the rules of the turn-taking system facilitates interaction.

Taking everything into account, my feeling is that the field of gender and language leaves much space for linguists to investigate. The traditional roles of men and women are

currently undergoing revolutionary changes. We can even talk about their partial reversal. The presence of women in domains which used to be exclusively male is a novelty. As could be seen, the female journalist from my study used certain strategies which linguists tend to ascribe to women. Nonetheless, she also employed a strategy attributed to men, thus contradicting conventional wisdom concerning this matter. I also gave an account of similarities between the two speakers' conversational behaviour, which may mean that the choice of the strategies is dependent on the type of interaction. By observing and analysing what linguistic choices people make in certain situations, we can learn more about the functions of utterances, their effects on interaction and the changing nature of language itself. My hope is that the research on gender and language will continue and that the questions which arose in the course of my analysis will be given further consideration.

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**“The lady of the house speaking”:
The language of snobs in selected British
sitcoms**

MACIEJ RATAJ

The following paper attempts to describe how snobbery is mirrored in the linguistic behaviour of several British comedy characters. Several quotations taken from a number of classic television series, including *Keeping Up Appearances* and *The Good Life*, enable one to observe which levels of language structure in utterances are affected by the snobbery of their characters. The conclusions drawn from this analysis cannot be applied directly to the linguistic behaviour of real people, for comedy scripts cannot be regarded as equal to corpora of authentic spoken English. Nonetheless, such fictional dialogues can shed light on a number of linguistic features typical of real-life snobs which, when exaggerated by comedians and recognised by the audience, have a comic effect.

1. Introduction

Snobbery and conceit have long been ridiculed in literature and the arts. Regardless of the society depicted, the adventures of arrogant and self-satisfied characters who look down on others and try to ingratiate themselves with higher social strata have proven an inexhaustible source of amusement. Britain is no exception in this respect – Crystal (2006: 52) notes that even Shakespeare satirised ‘people who put on linguistic airs and graces, who tried to be what they were not, and who used language as part of the process.’ As is generally accepted, in most comedies three major sources of laughter can be distinguished: situations, characters and language. Those comedy plays, films and television shows that

concentrate on the portrayal of characters achieve their comic effect by means of dialogues and situations, since, unlike in prose, no third-person narration is available (with infrequent exceptions, e.g. *Little Britain*). The aim of this paper is, first and foremost, to observe language, namely the speech of several fictional snobs in order to recognise which levels of language structure are characterised by unusual linguistic behaviour. The present analysis is concerned with a highly original genre: the British sitcom (or Britcom), which may be a situation comedy in general, but it also relies to a considerable extent on monologues and dialogues. What makes Britcoms unique when compared to other series of this kind is the use of British humour, one of whose popular motifs is 'the British class system, especially pompous or dim-witted members of the upper/middle classes or embarrassingly blatant social climbers' ("British Humour", in: *Wikipedia*). Hence, the majority of snobbish characters described herein are preoccupied with their social status and eager to befriend important people, and a few of them may be said to be ridiculously acquisitive.

The present analysis would not be complete without a brief description of the characters quoted here. One should begin with the immensely popular Hyacinth Bucket from *Keeping up Appearances*. Played by Patricia Routledge, Hyacinth epitomises the absolutely horrible wife, neighbour and acquaintance, driven to extremes by practically every problem she faces. As the title suggests, Mrs Bucket's major concern is to show how significant and talented a figure she is, while keeping her intellectually disabled father and working-class relatives far away from her important friends and candlelight suppers. The next character comes from a sitcom created over fifteen years earlier: *The Good Life*. Margo Leadbetter, played by Penelope Keith, resembles Hyacinth Bucket, however with one important difference: she is considerably wealthy and can afford to be surrounded with valuable objects. Although living in the ivory tower of her house and frequently revealing ignorance of everyday life, Margo is a lifelike character, i.e. someone whose behaviour is strange but not impossible. By contrast, several snobbish characters presented in Britcoms

are utterly grotesque. Take, for example, the glamour queen Edina Monsoon from *Absolutely Fabulous* (starring Jennifer Saunders), whose obsession with fashion, shopping and famous people constantly forces her to act in the most ridiculous way imaginable. Patsy Stone, her best friend, complements Edina’s madness perfectly. Another case in point is the transvestite Emily Howard (David Walliams) from the mock-heroic portrait of British society *Little Britain*, who considers himself a lady and speaks Franglais to strangers, even though everyone seems to ignore him. He is sometimes joined by Florence, another man who wants to be a lady (played by Matt Lucas). Finally, one should not forget to mention Swiss Toni (Charlie Higson), a peculiar middle-aged car dealer who first appeared in single sketches of *The Smell of Reeves and Mortimer*, then in *The Fast Show*, finally to become the protagonist of the series *Swiss Toni* in 2003 (see “Swiss Toni” in: *Wikipedia* and the section on *Swiss Toni* in *The British Sitcom Guide*). Swiss Toni considers himself clever and attractive to the opposite sex, not realising that he is constantly derided by his employees and customers, not to mention his mother.

It is no coincidence that all of the aforementioned comedy series were produced by the BBC: the corporation has contributed significantly to the development of the British sitcom, both on the radio and on television. Furthermore, it is BBC comedies that have become popular all over the world, while, e.g. in Poland, sitcoms created by other British television producers remain relatively unknown. Thus, perhaps the true spirit of the British sitcom, including its language of monologues and dialogues, is to be sought in BBC productions.

2. Snobbery reflected in vocabulary

It may be argued that in utterances snobbery and conceit are most vividly (though not solely) expressed by means of the vocabulary used by particular characters depending on the situation as well as on their interlocutors. It is not, however, the content of utterances but their form that we concentrate on in the present study; hence, included here are comments

concerning style, register and collocations rather than elements of literary analysis.

Firstly, what invariably strikes the audience as odd linguistic behaviour is the unjustified use of formal words and expressions. Consider the following instances:

- (1) It may have the effect of ruining your social credentials. (Margo Leadbetter, *The Good Life*: Series 4 Episode 7 “The Anniversary”)
- (2) You are totally devoid of normal social contacts... You must admit you are decaying. (Margo Leadbetter, *The Good Life*: Series 4 Episode 7 “The Anniversary”)
- (3) I’m sure the Lord would have no objection to your remarking on the quality of the furnishings you are sometimes privileged to enjoy! My Queen Anne corner cabinet, for instance, is an exact replica of the one in Sandringham House! (Hyacinth Bucket, *Keeping Up Appearances*: Series 2, Episode 5 “Problems with Relatives”)

Here, snobbery is closely connected with the constant use of formal, Latinised or French vocabulary, which would normally be used either in a very ceremonial speech or in formal writing, e.g. in a legal context (see Crystal 2006: 40). Instead, all of these fragments are uttered in situations that would normally require a relaxed attitude to how the characters put their ideas into words and draw attention to the message itself instead of a quest for perfection in terms of style. A borrowing may also be used as a sort of euphemism. When, for a brief spell, the Buckets become owners of a minute flat situated in the attic of a country mansion, Hyacinth constantly refers to it as ‘*bijou*,’ as if trying to change the shortcoming of the place into an advantage (*Keeping Up Appearances*, Series 4). The use of loan words may be pushed even further away from the linguistic norm, as in the following:

- (4) I'll have a lady's drink, *s'il vous plait*... And because I'm a lady, I like to do ladies' things, like attend the operettas and *les ballets imaginaires*. (Emily Howard, *Little Britain: Series 1, Episode 1*, in: “Worldwide Script for Little Britain” at *Little Britain Website*)

Emily Howard's flowery speech is clearly a parody of the peculiar manners of numerous nineteenth-century ladies, who regarded French as the most refined language and used code mixing in order to make an impression on others. This trend was frequently criticised and ridiculed at the time, e.g. in England (see Alford 1870, in: Crowley 1991: 177-180) or Poland (see Buttler 1995: 104-105), and subsequently faded away, as did the role of French as the language of art, literature and diplomacy throughout the West. Also snobbish is the use of foreign-sounding words from specialised registers, in particular fashionable ones:

- (5) Just remember one thing. Cancel my aromatherapy, my psychotherapy and reflexology, my osteopath, my homeopath and my naturopath, my crystal reading, my shiatsu, my organic hairdresser... and see if I can be rebirthed next Tuesday afternoon. (Edina Monsoon, *Absolutely Fabulous: Series 1 Episode 3 “France”*, at: BBC Website)

The excessive use of borrowed lexical items in order to impress others constitutes, according to Bąk (1986: 153), the essence of linguistic ‘snobizm’, the Polish equivalent of the term ‘snobbery’.

Another feature of snobbish vocabulary is the use of poetic figures of speech, such as hyperboles, complex metaphors and similes. Consider these examples:

- (6) A woman is not just a creature that likes fine wines, Whitney Houston films and the manly smell of a pipe. A woman is a complex, mysterious box of tricks. (Swiss Toni, *The Fast Show*)
- (7) [My name is Swiss] because I'm built like an alpine, rich like a Toblerone... There is a club in this town, Paul, called the Pussy Club, and I'm a privileged member... My phonebook is positively engorged with the numbers of young ladies. (Swiss Toni, *The Fast Show*)
- (8) I just thank my lucky stars that he's blessed with a mother who will be able to cope with the demands of his future position! (Hyacinth Bucket, *Keeping Up Appearances: Series 2, Episode 5 "Problems with Relatives"*)
- (9) I once caught Richard playing with a Frisbee! He said it was one he'd found, but I've never been sure. Sometimes, on sleepless nights, when my head's swimming with responsibilities of organising another candlelight supper, sometimes I wonder: did he buy the Frisbee? (Hyacinth Bucket, *Keeping Up Appearances: Series 2, Episode 5 "Problems with Relatives"*)

Remarkably, such language appears when the characters in question begin to sing their own praises: while Swiss Toni presents a false image of himself as a Casanova-like figure, Hyacinth Bucket talks about the imaginary esteem she enjoys in high social circles and about her entertaining talent. To return to (4), one may notice that Emily Howard's abuse of French in English becomes more intense when the character introduces herself to a stranger. Consider one more figure of speech used without reason in an ordinary conversation:

- (10) Richard, what a thing to say to somebody with a solid silver self-cleaning sauce separator.' (Hyacinth Bucket, *Keeping Up Appearances*, in: "Top Ten Hyacinth Quotes" at *BBC Programs*)

In this fragment, the alliteration is so extraordinary that, as may be safely assumed, its very use is hyperbolic and therefore amusing. Since the dialogues in a number of British sitcoms are based on the characters’ catchphrases, some comedy snobs also have their favourite snobbish words or sentences. A good case in point is again Hyacinth Bucket. To provide one famous example, every time her telephone rings (which happens in practically every episode), she picks up the receiver and says, ‘The Bucket residence, the lady of the house speaking.’ Swiss Toni, on the other hand, is known for explaining various facts of life, such as how to sell cars, by comparing them to ‘making love to a beautiful woman.’ Filled with *double entendres* of a sexist nature, these similes are not quoted here.

Occasionally, sitcom snobs discuss language issues, namely their choice of English vocabulary. Consider the following quotations:

- (11) What do you prefer: wanton or irresponsible? (Margo Leadbetter, *The Good Life*: Series 4 Episode 7 “The Anniversary”)
- (12) A waterside supper with riparian entertainments. (Hyacinth Bucket, *Keeping up Appearances*: Series 5 Episode 4 “A Riverside Picnic”, in: “The 20 Greatest Moments in British Comedy: Your Editor’s Picks”, *BBC Programs*)

In (11), Margo Leadbetter asks this question of Jerry, her husband, when writing a letter to the editor of *The Times*, complaining about Jerry’s not being promoted despite his great managerial skills. She seems to be convinced that by choosing the vocabulary carefully she will be treated with due respect. More interesting and a vital motif of the episode is the adjective ‘riparian’ in (12), a jewel of a word found by Hyacinth in a dictionary and used in picnic invitations. With only four instances of ‘riparian’ included in the British National Corpus (see the BNC Website), one cannot fail to understand why the recipients of the invitations react to the unfamiliar item with

derisive remarks throughout the episode. As usual, the party ends in a disaster for Hyacinth, thus contrasting with her ambitions to organise an elegant *alfresco* party.

It seems that the discussion concerning snobbish vocabulary would be far from complete if we failed to mention malapropisms, usually defined as words of foreign ancestry which are misused because of their similarity to other borrowings. The term ‘malapropism’ originated following the enormous popularity of Richard Sheridan’s play *The Rivals* (1775), which features the incorrigible Mrs Malaprop. As the character herself says, ‘Sure, if I reprehend any thing in this world it is the use of my oracular tongue, and a nice derangement of epitaphs!’ (Sheridan 1775, in: “Mrs Malaprop’s Malapropisms”, *Fun with Words Website*). There is not much to be said about particular examples of malapropisms found by the present author in the speech of British sitcom snobs. One may, however, mention the fact that Hyacinth Bucket believes that among her ancestors were the Huguenots, a name which she pronounces almost like the word ‘eugenics’ (see “Hyacinth Bucket”, at: *Wikipedia*). Nevertheless, on the whole, she handles English vocabulary with great skill.

To summarise the comments made in the preceding paragraphs, any unusual vocabulary, whether in terms of style, register or collocation, is employed by the snobbish sitcom characters when attempting to draw attention to themselves, their (real or imagined) talents or achievements, or simply to their eloquence, which in turn is supposed to indicate education and innate intelligence. This latter purpose, as is shown below, is also served by the use of grammar and pronunciation.

3. Snobbery reflected in grammar

The first of the aforementioned features of snobbish vocabulary consists in the unnecessary and exaggerated use of the formal style, in particular in situations that do not require its use whatsoever. Naturally, formality in a language like English is reflected not only in the choice of vocabulary,

but also at the structural level. It is common knowledge that e.g. nominalisations, passive structures and the so-called negative inversion or fronting are all features of formal English grammar; consequently, they occur more frequently in written texts than in spoken utterances. Nonetheless, there exists a variety of other grammatical units, such as complex sentences consisting of several nominal or relative clauses, which are normally avoided in everyday conversation. If this is not the case, the listener may be either amused or feel uneasy about the speaker’s attitude towards their interlocutors. Let us look at the fragments quoted below:

- (13) Now, you’re still very young, and I quite understand that you lack the experience to realise that when the Lord wants you to visit houses of this calibre, He’ll expect you to wear something less heathen in the way of socks! (Hyacinth Bucket, *Keeping Up Appearances*: Series 2, Episode 5 “Problems with Relatives”)

This is but one of a large number of long strings of subordinate clauses used by Hyacinth in seemingly informal situational contexts. Here the character patronises a young missionary, who, unlike many people dwelling in the area, dares to visit Hyacinth in order to talk to her. Leaving the house, the man tells Hyacinth that she delivered a ‘sermon’ which was longer than the one he once heard in a mosque. Quotation (3), uttered by Hyacinth in the same scene, is also a good case in point: it is a lengthy sequence of prepositional phrases and subordinate clauses. Consider now some instances of emphasis expressed in grammar:

- (14) Do remind him that if ever he needs a voice in an emergency, I shall be very happy to oblige! (Hyacinth Bucket, *Keeping Up Appearances*: Series 2, Episode 5 “Problems with Relatives”)

- (15) No, goodness gracious me; whatever kind of a friend would I be to send you creeping out through the back door? ... Do look at my tulips on your way out, dear! ... [As a matter of fact] the tulips in the back garden I find superior! (Hyacinth Bucket, *Keeping Up Appearances*: Series 2, Episode 5 “Problems with Relatives”)
- (16) Important as I am in local circles, I have not yet risen to the level where I can walk on water. (Hyacinth Bucket, *Keeping Up Appearances*: 1993 Christmas episode “Sea Fever”, in: “Top Ten Hyacinth Quotes”. *BBC Programs*)

Facing an emergency, Hyacinth tries to send her neighbour home as quickly as possible. In the scene, she not only makes use of the auxiliary ‘do’ to emphasise the imperative, but also employs a feature which appears to be uncommon in casual speech altogether, namely the OSV word order in the second fragment of (15), adjective fronting to express concession in (16) (see Swan 1996: 207-208), as well as the slightly atypical position of the adverb ‘ever’ in (14). The reason why only Hyacinth is quoted in this part of the discussion is that not all fictional snobs are so extremely careful about their grammar. While Hyacinth and Margo Leadbetter make every effort to emulate members of the upper classes, characters such as Edina Monsoon are clearly *nouveau riche* as far as linguistic behaviour is concerned, in that they concentrate on contemporary slang or other fashionable terms instead of traditional or typically formal grammatical structures.

All things considered, sophisticated grammar used in conversation, while not carrying as much meaning as words, is supposed to emphasise the importance of what a given character says, as well as to give the impression of intelligence, education and good manners. Furthermore, formal grammar, at least in Hyacinth’s case, is a significant element of her patronising tone.

4. Snobbery reflected in pronunciation

The British are known for their interest in the accents of English and how various accents are connected with factors such as prestige, occupation and social position. Historically speaking, Received Pronunciation, first described by A. J. Ellis in 1869, used to be the accent of the wealthy, educated and powerful. It was subsequently adopted by numerous members of the middle class across Great Britain, thus losing its regional connection with the south-east of England. (see “Sounds Familiar?: Received Pronunciation” at: *The British Library*). Nowadays, Received Pronunciation is generally regarded not as a uniform set of phonetic features, but as three groups: Conservative, General and Contemporary (Advanced) RP, each possessing several characteristics that make the speech of e.g. 20-year old individuals different from the speech of their grandparents. Although generally considered as the standard and prestigious accent of English throughout the United Kingdom, which is also frequently (however not invariably) used in the media and education, Received Pronunciation, in particular its conservative variety, tends to be avoided by younger British people. Apparently, the young do not want to sound snobbish, instead preferring to be like the majority of the British population (see “Sounds Familiar?: Received Pronunciation” at: *The British Library Website*). This phenomenon results in duality as regards linguistic snobbery, at least in the media: traditionalists tend to speak Conservative or General RP, whereas upwardly mobile youths whose parents speak RP may adopt Estuary English in order to show how fashionable and streetwise they are. To proceed, let us list the features of Conservative RP (according to “Sounds Familiar?: Received Pronunciation” at: *The British Library Website*) which appear in the speech of Hyacinth Bucket in one episode (*Keeping Up Appearances: Series 5 Episode 6 “The Country Estate Sale”*):

- (17) (a)
the diphthong /ɪə/ - *dear* /dɪə/, *here* /hɪə/
- (17) (b)
word-final /ɪ/ - *easily* /i:zɪli/, *quality* /kwɒlɪti/,
really /ri:lɪ/, *pity* /pɪti/
- (17) (c)
'R-tapping' (/r/ between vowels realised as a single
flap) - *aristocracy* /,æri'stɒkrəsi/, *very* /veri/, *gooseberry*
/gu:zbəri/
- (17) (d)
'yod retention' (pronunciation of /j/ between /s/, /z/,
/t/, /d/ and /u:/) - *Ursula* /'ɜ:sju:lə/ (phonetic spelling
based on CIDE on CD-ROM 2001; Dictionary.com
Website)

Hyacinth Bucket may be a Conservative RP speaker, yet occasionally she mispronounces certain words, much to the amusement of the audience. In the episode analysed in (17), Hyacinth attends an auction in a country mansion and asks one of the organisers whether they have paintings by 'Mister van Cough' (this error may also be categorised as a malapropism). Towards the end of the same episode, she becomes intoxicated after having drunk several glasses of 'home-made gooseberry wine' and begins to mumble and stutter, committing hilarious spoonerisms and other blunders. Her usually spotless accent is thus ridiculed. No less amusing is Mrs Bucket's surname. She abhors the very idea of anyone pronouncing her name like the word 'bucket' and on numerous occasions insists that it is pronounced /bʊ'keɪ/ (phonetic spelling from CIDE on CD-ROM 2001), even though her husband disagrees with her on the matter. Another snobbish character who speaks in the traditional upper-class manner is Margo Leadbetter, in whose pronunciation features such as those observed in (17) may also be found. Noticeably, the forty-five-year old character living in the late 1970s belongs to the same generation as Hyacinth Bucket, whose adventures take place in the early 1990s. A

grotesque version of sophisticated English represented by Emily Howard (*Little Britain*) makes it very difficult to determine whether the character’s accent is indeed to be categorised as RP. Emily’s linguistic behaviour is a poor attempt at nineteenth-century ladylike English, for the person behind the make-up is a working-class man. As for Hyacinth, she may have learnt the standard accent already as an adult, because her sisters Rose and Daisy speak a variety of London English (perhaps Estuary English), whilst her brother-in-law Onslow is clearly a Cockney. Incidentally, what helped to create the characters of *Keeping Up Appearances* was the fact that several of the actors spoke their native accents in the series. For example, it is enough to listen to an interview with Patricia Routledge (Hyacinth) or Geoffrey Hughes (Onslow) to notice that the former speaks RP and the latter – London English.

As has been mentioned, certain British comedy snobs are not concerned with tradition (RP or what is called the Queen’s English), but the here and now – they want to be fashionable and look as well as sound the part. Edina Monsoon (*Absolutely Fabulous*) is a good case in point. Although her accent is not Cockney (she lives in London), it is less standard than both her mother’s and her daughter’s. Edina’s snobbery is perhaps not reflected in her grammar or pronunciation, but in an assortment of buzzwords connected with exotic foods, fashion designers, New Age concepts and Hollywood stars. All in all, the notion of the pretentiousness of a British comedy character does not invariably relate to speaking Conservative RP. On the other hand, the use of RP (not by snobbish characters) is occasionally a source of amusement, as in the case of *Little Britain*, whose narrator, played by Tom Baker, expresses the mock-heroic spirit of talking about Britain by combining an upper-class pronunciation manner and distinct intonation with the utterly nonsensical content of his monologues. To illustrate the point, at the beginning of the first episode he says: ‘Britain, Britain, Britain, land of technological achievement. We’ve had running water for over ten years, an underground tunnel that links us to Peru, and we invented the cat’ (*Little Britain*, Series 1 Episode 1, in: “Worldwide Script for Little Britain” at:

Little Britain Website). Summarising, the British sitcom snobs analysed here may emphasise their conceit by emulating the accent of the high strata of society or amuse their listeners by means of other linguistic traits. This depends on whether the character considered is a stereotypical traditionalist.

5. Conclusions

5.1. Results of the analysis

As was stated in the introduction, the conclusions that can be drawn from this study ought not to be applied directly to the actual linguistic situation in Great Britain, since comedy and satire are by nature prone to exaggeration, and so are their dialogues and monologues. One can only attempt a summary of the factors which are meant to amuse the audience, who recognise elements of real-life linguistic behaviour when watching a comedy show. To begin with, Britcom snobs may be divided into two types. First, there are Hyacinth-like traditionalists, who aspire to a higher social position and use sophisticated grammar, Latinate vocabulary and their accent is clearly RP, its old school variant in particular. Second, there are self-obsessed starlets, like Edina Monsoon, who incessantly talk about fashion, famous people and expensive status symbols that can win them the admiration of others. In both groups, snobbery is expressed especially vividly in vocabulary, whether in single words or whole sayings or proverbs. The language of snobs may be compared to wardrobe choices (see Crystal 2006: 102-103). In everyday life, people tend to wear casual clothes and dress for the occasion only when such an occasion arises. They also speak informal English unless the situation is formal, which requires choosing one's words and structures with greater care. If we actually look at the Britcom snobs discussed in the present paper, we will see that their clothes match their language. Hyacinth and Margo are invariably dressed in an elegant manner and they also invariably speak in a very formal way, whether meeting their neighbours, greeting their postmen or talking to their husbands

during breakfast. The clown-like version of both formal dress and formal language is represented by Emily Howard. On the other hand, Edina’s fast and slightly chaotic speech is combined with her strange, colourful clothes, which she invariably says are made by Lacroix. Next, the strangely poetic speech of Swiss Toni comes from a man with a strange haircut and an unfashionable suit. In both types of comedy snobs, one may observe that their clothes complement their speech perfectly to help create the right impression of the character’s personality. Their garments do not just protect them from the elements – they are supposed to be part of their image, make them stand out. In terms of language, the snobs do not focus on the content and its clarity to the interlocutor, but instead concentrate their efforts on showing their eloquence and originality. To resume, this need to be different increases when the snobs meet people whom they look down on or, by contrast, people they admire. Instances of the former category are characters apparently created to stand in opposition to the snobbish ones, because they are either modest and average or downright uneducated and working-class: Onslow, Daisy and Rose to Hyacinth (as was mentioned, Hyacinth also patronises various strangers, such as the missionary), Paul to Swiss Toni and the Goods to Margo Leadbetter. The latter group is represented by the minor aristocrats whom Hyacinth and Margo occasionally meet and, rather unsurprisingly, several celebrities playing themselves in *Absolutely Fabulous*, e.g. Emma Bunton and Minnie Driver. In either case, the sitcom snobs’ language becomes more extraordinary and therefore amusing as they attempt to show how important they are and to which social circles they belong or wish to belong.

5.2. Snobbery in translation

Needless to say, the manner in which snobbery is reflected in British sitcoms is culture-specific and has significant implications for their translation. It was already mentioned that numerous British sitcoms enjoy worldwide popularity. In Poland, for example, a vast majority of the population

have heard of Hyacinth Bucket, Edina Monsoon and many other characters of some series that were not analysed in this paper ('Allo, 'Allo, *Monty Python's Flying Circus*, *Black Adder*, etc.). Their success notwithstanding, the typically British preoccupation with language-class relations and RP as a major middle or upper-class feature makes it very difficult to translate the scripts successfully into other languages. Let us focus on translating the speech of traditional snobs. While those languages in which there exists diglossia or another clear division into formal and informal language (especially encompassing matters of phonetics and grammar in addition to vocabulary) can approximate the linguistic manners of Hyacinth or Margo, other languages will completely fail to do so. Take *Keeping Up Appearances* in Polish, for instance. Firstly, Hyacinth's translated vocabulary is devoid of half the sophistication of the original script, for Polish does not contain as many French and Latinate words as English. Secondly, her unusual grammatical inversion is equally difficult to render in Polish, where word order is not as strict as in the Germanic languages. Thirdly, her RP accent is completely lost, because a monotonous male voice-over is used on Polish television instead of dubbing. Yet, even if the broadcasters had decided on the latter, they would have had no equivalent accent to use. Generally speaking, Poland witnessed regional dialect levelling in the twentieth century, and the two world wars deprived the country of aristocrats, the result being that present-day Polish has no upper-class accent to emulate or satirise. If we tried to use dubbing and make Hyacinth speak Latinised Polish with our idea of the upper-class accent, she would be as artificial as Emily Howard is in English. To summarise this part, it emerges that although derision of snobbery echoed in speech is to be found in numerous cultures throughout the globe, the Britcom constitutes a genre that mirrors the peculiarities of British culture and the behaviour of indigenous snobs. It requires some knowledge of the English language and British culture on the part of the foreign viewer to fully appreciate what the comedy writers meant to be amusing.

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Lexical abbreviations in American slang

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1. Introductory remarks

Abbreviation is a very productive process in language. It involves the shortening of words and phrases as well as the results of such a shortening. Lexical abbreviations are a special type of abbreviations. They function as content words and are rich semantically. Accordingly, they deserve a special attention in linguistic description. Lexical abbreviations fall into four types: clippings, initialisms, acronyms and blends (McArthur 1992: 3). All four types are also clearly discernible in slang, which tends to aim at the shortest way of expression.

In this paper, I would like to present and analyze lexical abbreviations used in American slang (this theme is discussed in detail in my earlier work (Widawski 2003), on which this paper is partially based). They are used very extensively and thus constitute an important part of slang. This paper will be amply illustrated by citational evidence from the *Corpus of American Slang*, which I devised in 1990 and have been updating since then at the University of Gdansk and at the University of Tennessee-Knoxville.

2. Clippings

Clipping (or shortening) is an abbreviation formed by the loss of word elements, usually syllabic, without an immediate change in meaning. Elements may be eliminated from the beginning (e.g. airplane changes into *plane*), end (e.g. *delicatessen* changes into *deli*) or, rarely, both (e.g. *influenza* changes into *flu*). Such shortened forms are often less formal

than their longer sources.

Because of slang's tendency to be short and succinct, and its marked informality, clipping is a very productive process in slang. It is important to observe that clipping itself does not make a given word slang and other factors of a social and psychological nature must come in support. In slang, just like in standard English, a word may be shortened by back clipping, front clipping or both at the same time.

Back clipping is enormously productive in slang. It involves the omission of the final syllable(s) of a word. Significantly, a word is back-clipped as soon as enough syllables are given to make the word intelligible: the stump word is often a first syllable(s) representation of a three (or more) syllable noun, for instance, *sensay* "sensational." Some back clippings take the -o suffix ending (e.g. *ammo* "ammunition", "toilet paper" or *grollo* "beer container"), while others involve respellings and corruptions (e.g. *fave* "favorite" or *nabe* "neighborhood"). Consider these examples from the corpus:

- (1) His fab **abs** [=abdominal muscles] turned heads in 1991 (*National Enquirer* TV, ABC-TV, 1999)
- (2) We're pretty much out of the wedding **biz** [=business] these days (*Assassination File*, film, 1997)
- (3) Jennifer Lopez, by the way, has insured her **bod** [=body] for \$1 billion (*Seattle Times*, 1999)
- (4) Watch ABC on May 26 to see your favorite **celebs** [=celebrities] in action (*Teen People*, 2005)
- (5) He's an ex-**con** [=convict] (*Cape Fear*, film, 1991)
- (6) **Congrats** [=congratulations] on the Picasso! (*Curse of the Jade Scorpion*, film, 2002)
- (7) **Decaf** [=decaffeinated (coffee)], please! (*It Could Happen To You*, film, 1994)
- (8) What's with the **doc** [=doctor]? (*Playing God*, film, 1997)
- (9) Some say **execs** [=executives] should consider it more carefully (*Las Vegas Sun*, 1996)
- (10) Johnny Carson was a longtime **fave** [=favorite] (*Variety*, 1999)
- (11) O'Donnell called her best frien, a Harvard **grad** [=graduate]

- (*US Weekly*, 2000)
- (12) **Hon** [=honey], I know who that was (*Falling Down*, film, 1993)
- (13) He was a street kid from the **hood** [=neighborhood] (*20/20*, ABC-TV, 1999)
- (14) Colleagues won't share **info** [=information] with you (*Cosmopolitan*, 2000)
- (15) Everything's **legit** [=legitimate] (*Casino*, film, 1995)
- (16) I was failing my Greek **lit** [=literature] course (*Cosmopolitan*, 2000)
- (17) Get that damn **mike** [=microphone] out of my face (Tina Turner, 1986)
- (18) It's great to be back in the **nabe** [=neighborhood] (*Born on the Fourth of July*, film, 1989)
- (19) He was a **pro** [=professional], he was fast (*Professional*, film, 1994)
- (20) He's a fucking **psycho** [=psychopath] (*Reservoir Dogs*, film, 1992)
- (21) That's all right, **sis** [=sister]. I gotta go (*Norm*, ABC-TV series, 1999)
- (22) They wear **specs** [=spectacles] (*New York Press*, 1999)
- (23) Do you think he's gonna fit in the **sub** [=submarine]? (*Crimson Tide*, film, 1995)
- (24) The wearing of the **tux** [=tuxedo] is in their contracts (*Rolling Stone*, 1999)

A specific type of back clipping is back formation. This rare process usually involves words formed by clipping various endings (such as *-er*, *-or*, *-ar*, *-r* etc.) from the end of a noun to form a verb, in the mistaken assumption that the dropped ending was a suffix of agency. What remains of the word is assumed to be a verb stem but it is actually a newly created one. Below I present a few citational examples:

- (25) The site was **hacked** [=illegally accessed (by a computer enthusiast)] late Friday by a group of Russian computer experts (*Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 1999)
- (26) When did you stop **hooking** [=being a prostitute]? (*Showgirls*,

film, 1995)

- (27) The rancid troglodytes **ush** [=work as ushers] at the Knicks' games (*Playboy*, 1995)

Slang words are also formed by front clipping, which involves the omission of the front syllable(s) from the base word. Such forms are infrequent compared to back clippings. They are typically formed by clipping an unaccented syllable from a bi- or polysyllabic noun to obtain a stump-word. Many are obtained by dropping what is or what is assumed to be a prefix. Note that front clippings often have an apostrophe (') to indicated where letters are missing. Consider these examples from the corpus:

- (28) I'll be in the **'brary** [=library] (University of Calgary Student, 2000)
- (29) "I can." "What? Fly **copter** [=helicopter]?" "No, read" (*No Escape*, film, 1994)
- (30) Do you like me new **do** [=hairdo]? (*Late Show with Conan O'Brien*, NBC-TV, 1999)
- (31) You've got to **'fess** [=confess] up (*Stark Raving Mad*, ABC-TV series, 1999)
- (32) It's like a camp for **gator** [=alligator] hunters (*Just Cause*, film, 1995)
- (33) He was a street kid from the **hood** [=neighborhood] (*20/20*, ABC-TV, 1999)
- (34) I was in **'Nam** [=Vietnam] in 1972 (*From Dusk Till Dawn*, film, 1996)
- (35) Check this out! His **rents** [=parents] gave him a Mercedes (University of Calgary Student, 2000)
- (36) **Rettes** are cigarettes (University of Calgary Student, 2000)
- (37) Could I have some more **scream** [=ice-cream]? (University of Calgary Student, 2000)
- (38) The stuff inside is **shine** [=illicitly distilled whiskey (from "moonshine")] (*Newsweek*, 2000)
- (39) Who wants some of this **za** [=pizza]? (University of Tennessee Student, 1999)

Front and back clippings may occur simultaneously. Such combined formations are even less common. Most were probably back clippings first, from which front clippings were then made; some were actually clippings of compounds. Here is what was found in the corpus:

- (40) I hear you, **gate** [=player or devotee of swing music (from “alligator”)] (Jonathan E. Lighter, 1994)
 (41) Fucking **tecs** [=detectives]! (*Seven*, film, 1995)

Likewise, slang phrases can also be clipped. The process may involve back clipping, front clipping or both. Furthermore, some phrases may be shortened by clipping either the first or the last element. Here are a few corpus-based examples:

- (42) I’ll have **coffee and** [=coffee and doughnut] (University of Calgary Student, 2000)
 (43) Now I really needed that hot **cup** [=cup of coffee] (*Knoxville Metro Pulse*, 2000)
 (44) Hold the **fries** [=French fries], please! (*People Weekly*, 2000)
 (45) Not everyone smokes **grass** [=marijuana (from “laughing grass”)] (*Ottawa Sun*, 2000)
 (46) It gives him the **jeebies** [=state of nervousness (from “heebie-jeebies”)] (*Newark Star-Ledger*, 2001)
 (47) I only smoke **kings** [=king-sized cigarettes] (University of Calgary Student, 2000)
 (48) Liz and I were classmates together at the **Point** [=West Point] (*General’s Daughter*, film, 1999)

3. Initialisms

Initialism (also termed *alphabetism*) is another word-forming process by which English abbreviates. It consists of the initial letters of a series of words, pronounced in sequence. Initialisms are ordinarily spelled using capital letters, often followed by periods.

Slang uses initialisms extensively. This is particularly discernible in phrases, which are frequently abbreviated into the initial letters for each word. Here is a collection of the most frequently recurring slang initialisms from the corpus:

- (49) Is everything **A-OK** [=satisfactory]? (*Blue in the Face*, film, 1995)
- (50) In Vancouver it's A-OK to be **AC/DC** [=bisexual] in B.C. (*San Diego Union-Tribune*, 1999)
- (51) I'll spell it out for you: **B.O.B.** [=bring your own bottle] (*Poison Ivy*, film, 1992)
- (52) This stinks. It's total **B.S.** [=nonsense (from "bullshit")] (*Frasier*, NBC-TV series, 1999)
- (53) I got a C [= \$100] (*Beetlejuice*, film, 1988)
- (54) We're only talking about one damn **DJ** [=disc jockey] (*Good Morning Vietnam*, film, 1987)
- (55) I just gave you another **G** [= \$1,000 (from "grand")] (*Snoop Doggy Dog*, 1998)
- (56) Anybody who's pushing **H** [=heroin], gets whacked (*Witness to the Mob*, film, 1995)
- (57) "How much did you pay?" "20 K [= \$1,000 (from "kilo")] (*Law & Order*, NBC-TV series, 1999)
- (58) My **MILF** [=middle-aged female partner (from "mother I'd like to fuck")! (*American Pie*, 2003)
- (59) "What's wrong with her?" "She's **O.D.** [=overdosed]" (*Pulp Fiction*, film, 1994)
- (60) I'm total **S and M** [=sodomasochist] (*Threesome*, film, 1994)
- (61) Columbia **U** [=university] Drug Think Tank Pushes Lies (*High Times*, 2000)
- (62) Anyone who runs is a **VC** [=Viet Cong] (*Full Metal Jacket*, film, 1987)

4. Acronyms

Acronym is yet another way of abbreviating the form of words. It is made of the first letters of a series of words and pronounced as one word, as in NATO or radar. In contrast to

initialisms, such items almost never have periods separating the letters; they are also more typically spelled without capital letters. Here is a selection of relevant acronyms:

- (63) They'll have to stop their troops from going **AWOL** [=absent without leave] (*Newsweek*, 1999)
- (64) The mission is **fubar** [=fucked up beyond all recognition] (*Saving Private Ryan*, film, 1998)
- (65) **Rotsi** [=Reserve Officers Training Corps] sucks! (University of Tennessee Student, 1999)
- (66) We had a little ticket **snafu** [=situation normal, all fucked up] (*Simpsons*, Fox-TV series, 1999)
- (67) Alan Smith has been named marketing **veep** [=vice-president] at TriStar (*Variety*, 1999)

5. Blends

Blending is another type of abbreviation. It is actually a combination of shortening and compounding. Blend words (alternatively called portmanteau words) are formed by fusing two shortened forms of two words into one word. In English, they are usually used for their succinctness, innovation or catchiness, and are popular especially in food product names and in advertising, for instance, *motel*, *motorcade*, *smog*, *cranapple juice* and *croissant sandwich*.

In slang, blend words are curiously less common. This may be partly because slang itself is catchy and innovative enough and partly because of the complex structure of blendwords, which sometimes impedes quick understanding. While their catchy value is important, they are considered too contrived and unnatural to be used in everyday speech. Here is a handful of representative examples excerpted from the corpus:

- (68) “You do?” “**Absitively** [=sure (from “absolutely” and “positively”)]!” (*M*A*S*H*, CBS-TV, 1983)
- (69) He’s **ambisextrous** [=bisexual (from “ambidextrous” and “sex”)] (Jonathan E. Lighter, 1994)
- (70) It’s great for **brunch** [=midday meal (from “breakfast” and

- “lunch”)] (*Let’s Go: USA*, 1991)
- (71) He’s a **DixieCrat** [=Southern Democrat (from “Dixie” and “Democrat”)] (*St Petersburg*, 2001)
- (72) “Wanna drink?” “**Posilutely** [=sure (from “positively” and “absolutely”)]!” (*Google News*, 2003)
- (73) It’s kind of **scrowsy** [=despicable (from “screwy” and “lousy”)] (*Google News*, 2003)
- (74) He’s into **shemales** [=hermaphrodites (from “she” and “male”)] (*Hardcorejunkie*, 2000)
- (75) It’s **swellegant** [=fashionably attractive (from “swell” and “elegant”)] (*Velvet Underground*, 1996)

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LITERARY STUDIES

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Light and darkness in presenting the Christian vision of the world in *The Lord of the Rings* by J. R. R. Tolkien

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1. Introduction

The fictional reality of Professor Tolkien's masterpiece, *The Lord of the Rings* (LOTR), is a world of its own, which cannot be explained completely by any single external system of signs. It can, however, be claimed that this world is based on an underlying system of Christian values deliberately "hidden" behind the complex mythology created in the book. It is only suggested by a system of signs operative in Christianity but not immediately associated with the Christian religion. All of these motifs, as will be argued, are subordinate to one governing symbol of light and they are a star, a tree and a river. The key symbol of Christianity, the cross, is not present in the book and neither are such obviously Christian symbols as those of the Lamb, the Shepherd or the Pearl. The motifs utilised in the book to imply meanings connected with Christianity are also part of a universal lore of symbolic meanings in numerous other religions and mythologies. However, their use in the particular context of the story, and the way in which the theme of struggle between good and evil has been realised, seem to point to Christianity as the system of values underlying the text.

The symbols of light and darkness are present in many other religions but they are also the most conspicuous symbols in the Christian faith. Light in Christianity, as the Gospels and Epistles and the Hymns of the Catholic breviary show, signifies God and Jesus Christ, who is the living image of God's love.

The language of the Bible refers to God and to Jesus as light. In the Gospel according to John, God is called light:

God is light and whoever remains in God is the light,
just as God himself is in the light.

What has come into being in him was life
Life that was the light of men
And light shines in the darkness
And darkness could not overpower it. (NJB: 1745)

Jesus also speaks of himself using the metaphor of light:

The light will be with you only a little longer now.
Go on your way while you have light,
Or darkness will overtake you, [...] While you still have the light,
believe in the light
so that you may become children of light. (NJB: 1772)

This metaphorical image has also been present in the history of prayers in the Church. There is a very beautiful hymn written by Cardinal Newman which is part of the Divine Office to be read by priests and monks daily during Eastertide:

Lead, kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom,
Lead thou me on
The night is dark, and I am far from home,
Lead thou me on. (DO II: 644)

The holy texts of Christianity, as evidenced in the lines quoted above, also suggest that darkness symbolises sin and Satan, who is able to influence men powerfully in this world of darkness, although he is ultimately defeated by God. The image of the war between God and Satan is present in the Apocalypse:

Then war broke out in heaven. Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, who fought back with angels; but the dragon was defeated, and he and his angels were not allowed to stay in heaven any longer. The huge dragon was thrown out! He is that old serpent, named the Devil or Satan, that deceived the whole world. (DO III: 291)

The following part of this paper will be devoted to presenting the images of light and darkness in LOTR and to their operation in the book in connection with this symbolism and other secondary Christian symbols connected with light and darkness, introducing the Christian representation of the struggle between good and evil, God and Satan.

The parallel between the universe of LOTR and the Christian vision can be drawn when we realise that the conflict between the characters in the book can also be brought down to a single conflict between two mythical opponents: Eru, Illuvatar and Morgoth, the Enemy. It has really the shape of the cosmic conflict between the personalised good, the One Maker of the world and the personalised evil, the Enemy of the Children of Illuvatar. All the agents in the story are either on one side or on the other. This ordering, as well as the opposition of light and darkness itself, implies that the theme introduced in the text is really a religious theme.

Although there is no reference to any known religion in LOTR, Tolkien presented the mythology of his world in the appendices, which are an integral part of the book. In the *Silmarillion*, the book of tales also considered by the author to be actually the first part of LOTR, he extensively presented the mythology and history of his fictional universe, later to become the background for the story of the ring in LOTR. I will be referring to the appendices and some tales from the *Silmarillion* to explain more fully the significance of certain characters and events, as well as to define the symbolic meanings of light and darkness in LOTR.

2. Symbols of darkness: The evil characters and their related settings

The image of blackness or darkness serves to present the characters who are evil, the main one being Sauron, called the Dark Lord (LOTR: 43). His character is not just a representation of evil but a symbolic representation of a demon, an evil spirit, as he is perceived in Christianity. The action of the story narrated in LOTR takes place during the time when Sauron is trying to regain power after his defeat in the Battle of Five Armies on the fields of Gladden, where the alliance of men and elves, with great losses on their side, managed to defeat his army, hurt him and cut off his finger with the ring of power on it. Sauron cannot die, as his nature is not mortal, he can only be hurt in his mortal shape, because (according to *Silmarillion*) he is a Maia, an immortal being created by the One (Eru or Illuvatar), alongside numerous other immortal beings created by the One Maker of the world. Though Sauron is presented as the main personalised evil power in LOTR, some of the songs and lays quoted in LOTR refer to his master Morgoth, a superior evil being, for whom Sauron is actually only a servant. Morgoth, the supreme evil being in the universe created by Tolkien, is a fallen Vala, a spiritual being, originally good and very powerful, created by the One at the beginning of time, who rebelled against him. Since then, he has been trying to take his place and corrupt the hearts of as many other creatures as possible to serve himself and not the One. In spite of his great talents, which surpassed those of other Valar, Morgoth, then called Melkor, wanted to realise his ambition to usurp the place of the One. The One created a melody which encoded a particular sequence of events in the history of the world. It was supposed to be taken up and developed according to Eru's plan by his creatures, the Valar. One of them, however, Melkor, had the ambition to play his own melody and direct the events in the world in accordance with his own will. Eru mastered the melody with Melkor's intrusions in it and turned them into good. Then Eru took from the Void the Imperishable Flame, which gave life to the creations of his thought, and

ordered his melody to be realised in time by the Valar. Melkor also tried to create his own history from the Void. However, he found out that he could not do this because the prerogative belonged solely to Eru. From that time, Melkor, out of envy and spite, knowing the Children of Eru to be coming soon to this world, started to deliberately destroy the Earth. He was later called Morgoth, the Enemy, because he tried to subdue all creatures created on the Earth under his rule. First, he corrupted the hearts of some other immortal beings, who followed his rebellion. One of them was Sauron.

This story seems to have very close connections to the Christian story of the creation of the world and the rebellion of Satan. The actions of Morgoth and his servant Sauron are motivated by the same logic: pride and envy of the children of God.

Sauron's earlier deeds and his nature are described in *Valaquenta*:

Among those of his servants that have names the greatest was that spirit whom the Eldar called Sauron, or Gorthaur the Cruel. In his beginning he was of the Maiar of Aule, and he remained mighty in the lore of that people. In all his deeds of Melkor the Morgoth upon Arda [...] Sauron had a part and was only less evil than his master in that for long he served another and not himself. But in after years he rose like a shadow of Morgoth and a ghost of his malice, and walked behind him on the same ruinous path down into the void. *Valaquenta*, (S: 23-24).

The tale of the *Voyage of Earendil* tells the story of how Morgoth himself was defeated and his "Shadow", Sauron, still "worshipped darkness" and continued his evil works:

Morgoth himself the Valar thrust through the Door of Night beyond the Walls of the world, into the Timeless Void; and a guard is set for ever on those walls, and Earendil keeps watch upon the ramparts of the sky.

Yes the lies that Melkor, the mighty and accursed, Morgoth the Bauglir, the Power of Terror and of Hate, sowed in the hearts of Elves and Men are a seed that does not die and cannot be destroyed; and ever and anon it sprouts anew, and will bear dark fruit even unto the latest days (S: 306).

The story of Sauron's earlier struggle for power and his evil deeds upon Arda are further told in another tale, *Akallabeth*, and in the story *Of the Rings of Power*. In LOTR, he is called Shadow, because he is the shadow of Morgoth, the original rebel, and his role is to continue the works of Morgoth, following his purpose and imitating his ways.

The story of Morgoth and his fall, his deeds and the deeds of those who follow him, including Sauron, resemble closely that of Satan and his servants in the Bible. Satan is also a rebel who disobeys God and out of pride strives to take his place. He is also jealous of God's Children, i.e. men, and deceives them into disobedience to God in Paradise by sowing the seeds of distrust in God's love for men. Satan is defeated by Christ's coming and his power is chained for a particular span of time but he can act in this world through his agents and those who follow him. His actions are described by St John in his Revelation:

When the thousand years are over Satan will be released from his prison and will come out to lead astray all the nations in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, and mobilise them for war, his armies being as many as the sands of the sea. They came swarming over the entire country and besieged the camp of the saints, which is the beloved city. (NJB: 2049).

The story of Satan's release and the fight with the children of God is even depicted in the same symbolic images of warfare, reminiscent of the innumerable armies of Sauron. Just as Morgoth is defeated by the Valar and kept under the

guard of Earendil, so is Satan defeated by Jesus Christ and his power is controlled by him. However, just as Satan's lies are still spread in the world by those who choose to serve him and his dominion is expanded by his servants, so Sauron, Morgoth's servant, is still able to fight for his dominion in the Middle-earth. His ways are full of deception and false miracles just like those of Satan. St Paul points this out:

[...] Satan being at work in all kinds of counterfeit miracles and signs and wonders, and every wicked deception aimed at those who are on the way to destruction because they would not accept the love of the truth and so be saved. (NJB: 1957)

Sauron's character is similar to Satan or his demons in many ways. He tempts and deceives men to follow the ways of evil. He also shares his master's ambition to dominate and rule the whole of the Middle-earth. In order to fulfil his designs, he uses deception and pretends to be a friend of Elves and dwarves. He learns from them the skill of forging magic rings and makes the master ring to bind them in slavery. In order to enslave men in particular, he forges nine rings and gives them to the kings of men, who become his servants, known as Ringwraiths and later, in LOTR, Nazgul or Black Riders.

The image of evil in LOTR is developed by the way in which these figures are depicted. They are the most fearful and powerful of Sauron's servants. Their appearance in the Middle-earth is immediately noticed as the sign of Sauron's renewed attempt to regain power and dominance. Their appearance in Shire and their chase after Frodo and his companions is the main source of suspense and the *spiritus movens* of the action but with their appearance something more than adventure appears in the text. The spirit of adventure which has been frequently referred to in the text and the thrill of it, which Frodo's companions enjoy, is being slowly changed into something more menacing and profound. The fear which the Black Riders evoke is signalled to be somehow deeper than that which may be caused just by an enemy trying to kill. The

sense of spiritual danger which their influence may draw upon the protagonist is awakened. The encounters which Frodo has with the riders indicate that something more than his life is in danger. He may be drawn into the sphere of nothingness, which is the domain of evil. The chief image of the domain of the sinful ones in the Bible is that of shadow. In the Book of Wisdom the sinners lament:

[...] lonely were the wastes we travelled, who missed the path the Lord meant for us. What advantage has it brought us, all our pomp and pride? How are we better for all our vaunted wealth? Nothing of that but is gone, unsubstantial as a shadow [...] (DO I: 389)

The Black Riders, the hooded figures of men in black coats on horseback, fully belonging to the sphere of nothingness, are totally beyond redemption and absorbed by the reality of evil. They are the omens of dark times coming back with Sauron's renewed activity and they inspire fear in all the inhabitants of Hobbiton. Their power is great and terrible, as Aragorn is aware, and they, when all nine appear in a group, cannot be opposed by any earthly power. Even Gandalf himself or the elves, when they stand against them single-handed, cannot control them, which is revealed during the chasing of Frodo and his companions from the Shire. They used to be great kings of Men, but they are not men any longer. They are phantoms with no body but a physical shape. They can be changed though, and actually are changed, in their physical appearance, after they are drowned in the crossing of the river at the Ford of Bruinnen. They reappear later on in the story as riders on the backs of great black birds, the Nazgul. While the Nazgul, the winged monsters, or the Black Riders' horses can be killed, the Ringwraiths themselves cannot die but are only sent into the abyss. The abyss, the sphere of nothingness is their fate and their domain.

The black colour and darkness associated with the Black Riders, as well as their characteristics of men destroyed by evil and haunting the world, display a very close similarity to

the damned souls from Christian belief, who already belong in hell. Evil has an impact which makes men “hollow” inside, empties them from the “substance” of their existence. The sin has borne its fruit in them to the full.

Apart from the riders, who were once men seduced by Sauron with the power of the nine rings, there are also other creatures connected with the dark. They are orcs and a very strong and dangerous breed of them called Uruk-Hai. Orcs, the slaves of the Dark Lord, are connected with the symbolic image of darkness through the fact that they act only at night and are even afraid to appear in the light. The origin of orcs is explained in the *Silmarillion*. They were originally elves who listened to Morgoth and fell under his influence. It seems that their long obedience to the Dark Lord has made them beyond redemption. However, just like the Nine Kings and even the Dark Lord himself, all of them were originally good creatures who degenerated into evil after they had chosen to follow Melkor. Even Melkor himself was not evil from the beginning, but out of pride diverted from the ways of Eru. The main leaders of the struggle with the powers of evil are very much aware of this, as Elrond the Half-Elf says, “nothing is evil in the beginning. Even Sauron was not so” (LOTR: 261). This conviction about the derivative nature of evil and about the fact that all beings are good originally but they have a choice either to serve their Maker and stay good or to follow Satan, the evil one, whose pride led him to rebel against God, is also part of Christian belief.

The aims and ways of the forces of evil as presented in LOTR are such as have been defined in the teachings of Christianity about Satan and his demons, whose motive is jealousy of men, the children of God. Their aim is to draw them away from God and instil distrust in their hearts about God’s love for them. They instil the ambition of men to become like God themselves. They also act through methods usual for evil, those of deceit and betrayal.

The vision of Satan’s ways and those of Melkor and Sauron are thus very close. The way in which the evil powers are described is very characteristic, too. The description insists

that they are “insubstantial”, that they become phantoms who lack true substance, their destiny is called “nothingness” and they try to draw the ring-bearer into “nothingness”. This quality is also a chief characteristic of the demons and sinners in Christianity: only good has substance, while evil is insubstantial. The fate of Satan and the final destiny of the damned sinners are nothingness.

Consequently, also in LOTR, the settings chosen for the dominion of the forces of evil are connected with the images of death. These include the ancient tomb, the Barrow, where Frodo and his companions are attacked by the Barrow Wight and Frodo is almost drawn into the kingdom of phantoms. There is also the underground of Moria with its dark corridors and the nameless evil, a Balrog, as an inhabitant, which closely follows the Christian iconography of underground as the proper sphere of the devil. Mordor, the place where Sauron has his fortress Barad Dur and the Dark Tower, which is the country of death, a grey wasteland where nothing grows, are also pervaded by the atmosphere of death. The country is bordered with marshes, which again are hostile to all living organisms, and the Mountains which surround it are rocky and the colour of ash. The choice and description of these settings is by no means accidental but they introduce the obvious connection between evil and death. Where evil resides, death is inevitable. This connection is also an integral part of Christian belief: death is a consequence of sin and it is entailed by evil. Such visions have their parallels in the vision of Sheol, the abyss, and the Christian vision of hell as abyss or pit, as well as in the symbolic meaning of a desert as the place where demons reside.

Thus, we may notice that the images of darkness are the domain of the main antagonist, the leader of the forces of evil, Sauron, called the Shadow and being really only a shadow of his real master, Morgoth, the Enemy of the Children of Illuvatar. His domain is likewise the sphere of nothingness and death but his forces at the same time seem menacing, active and powerful to the protagonists of the story.

It is not accidental either that Gandalf, the main leader of

the forces of good, is frequently called the shadow. His horse is called Shadowfax and he himself is often described as a shadow. His initial grey cloak connects him also to the same image. This parallel is a purposeful juxtaposition introducing the pattern of the book, which actually suggests that the real struggle between good and evil is the one carried out in the past between the One Maker and his agents and the Enemy, while the struggle on the Middle-earth is only a clash of shadows of these forces.

There is also another meaning suggested by this modelling of the two antagonist figures and, generally speaking, by the modelling of evil. Evil in LOTR is presented as the sphere of shadows, phantoms, taking form from reality yet lacking its substance. This vision is close to the Christian conviction that Satan is incapable of originating anything beyond pure negation, being only God's ape, imitating what is really God's creation and only using it to the evil purpose, disfiguring it, being also restricted in his actions to do only as much as he is allowed to do. God's works, on the other hand, are the only reality, full of substance and good in their original shape.

This meaning is carried by the way in which the images of the forces of darkness are presented in connection with their opposite: the symbol of light or dark light.

There is a parallel between the two main opponents, Gandalf and Sauron. They are not only both called shadows. They are both associated with rings and both of these rings are described in terms of fire. Sauron tries to dominate the world by means of the ring of power, which he forged in the fire of the Orodruin mountain, while Gandalf is the keeper of Narya, the red ring. It is also a ring of fire, but it is the fire of hope which Gandalf came to bring to the troubled world of the Middle-earth. Gandalf, who represents symbolically God's powers, is also associated with fire. God is also described as fire in Christian beliefs. Didymus of Alexandria, one of the Fathers of the Church, writes:

God is a devouring fire (DO: 608)

Sauron's emblem is the Red Eye brimmed with fire, mocking the Eye of Providence. The ring, which is Sauron's creation, also appears to Frodo in his terrible and painful visions as the ring of fire. It is the same evil fire which is the main weapon of the Balrog appearing in Moria to fight with Gandalf, who calls him the "dark fire from Udun". Fire is thus also connected with the forces of evil as a symbol of their way of handling the creation of the One Maker, to the purpose of destruction and torment. This use of the symbol of light in connection with the forces of evil establishes the apparent equivalence between the image of the Maker and the image of Sauron – powerfully suggesting his false pretence to be like the Maker, to be His equal but unable to create anything original but copy His creation and turn it to evil purposes.

3. Symbols of Light

3.1. Gandalf – the Servant of the Secret Flame

The characters representing the forces of good are consistently introduced through the images of light. The symbol of white colour as light in its purest form is one of the ways to describe the forces of good in connection with the symbol of light. The Council leading the alliance against Sauron in the war of the Second Age was called the White Council. The leader of the Council was a wizard, Saruman the White. Gandalf the Grey, (grey being a shade of light or white) was its member, too, and his connection with light is initially presented as the ability to make wonderful fireworks and to use his magic wand for making fire. In Moria, when he faces his match among the forces of evil, a Balrog, he presents himself as the Servant of the Secret Fire of Anor and also uses light to fight with the Balrog. The Balrog resembles the figure of Satan in its shape – slimy and serpent-like – as well as in wielding fire, but Gandalf's flame turns out to be stronger and he defeats the Balrog on top of the mountain over Moria. However, he himself is thrown into the "darkness" of death on top of the mountain as well. He "wanders" in death among

distant places and is ordered to return to finish his mission.

This description brings up the name of Moria, which has a powerful meaning in Christianity as the mountain where Abraham was ordered by God to sacrifice his son Isaac. Isaac, whose life was spared by God, is present in Christianity as prefiguring Jesus Christ, the real offering which was accepted by God on the mount of Golgotha. Gandalf, lying naked on the top of the mountain, reminds us of both these icons, especially since his life, though offered and accepted, was returned to him in order for him to carry out his mission. This return resembles the resurrection of Jesus, also in the imagery used to present it: Gandalf's robe becomes white and, when he appears after his apparent death, he is not at once recognised by his friends. This parallel is also supported by the way in which Gandalf is later described and called: he is Gandalf the White and the White Rider – the image used frequently in the Revelation of St John to signify the second coming of Jesus Christ. Gandalf indeed is a redeeming figure who leads his companions in the mission of saving the world from the bonds of evil. Obviously, the way in which he is presented as a character, rough, familiar and at times funny, makes him very distant from the model of a lofty spiritual leader who came to redeem the world from evil, but nevertheless he carries resemblance to a Christ figure, as the one called to lead the struggle with evil in the epoch of time appointed to him. It is emphasised that he is actually a leader of the mission and is given the name of Pilgrim, which again introduces religious accents into the creation of his character. His mission is also designed and helped by the power still greater and really controlling the universe in LOTR: the Providence (of the Valar or of Eru himself?) which sends Gandalf back to the Middle-earth.

3.2. Providence

The presence of powers which control the universe in LOTR, which we may call its Providence, is suggested many times. There are characters in the book who not only represent the forces of good but are also the spiritual guides helping the

rest of the participants of the quest to understand its meaning. They offer a commentary on the course of events, explaining it and suggesting its larger importance. Some insight is offered also by Aragorn. The most illuminating are the remarks of Gandalf the wizard, the leader of the quest. When Gandalf starts to tell Frodo the story of Bilbo finding the ring of power and explains why he should be its bearer, he makes the first implication of the powers really controlling the universe:

Behind that there was something else at work, beyond any design of the Ring-maker. I can put it no plainer than by saying that Bilbo was *meant* to find the ring and not by its maker. In which case you also are meant to have it. And that may be an encouraging thought. (LOTR: 53-55)

His conviction is supported by Elrond, who calls the council on the matter of the ring:

That is the purpose for which you are called hither. Called, I say, though I have not called you to me, strangers from distant lands. You have come and are here met, in this very nick of time, by chance as it may seem. Yet it is not so. Believe rather that it is so ordered that we, who sit here, and none others, must now find counsel for the peril of the world. (LOTR: 236)

Again, when Gandalf speaks at the same council about the role Gollum may yet play in the story, he shows the same awareness:

We have no time to seek for him again. He must do what he will. But he may play a part yet that neither he nor Sauron have foreseen. (LOTR: 249)

The presence of Providence is also marked in the turns of events and Gandalf is frequently aware of the fact that the

events which might normally be considered harmful for the quest party are really advantageous for them. When Boromir attacks Frodo, the hobbit decides to leave the whole company and start for Mordor himself. The assault which may have led to disaster in fact helped him make up his mind, which had been very difficult for him before. The same happens many more times. When Pippin looks into the Palantir, he is noticed by Sauron. This appears to draw away his attention from the pursuit of Frodo, as he believes that the hobbit, for whom he is looking, has already been captured by his ally, Saruman. The most conspicuous show of the powers who arrange the events into a sequence most favourable to the forces of good is the fact that Gollum falls into the fire of the Mountain of Doom. He is the one who actually destroys the ring, which otherwise would not have been destroyed, as it was claimed by Frodo for himself. The power of evil which drives them: Frodo claiming the ring and his curse on Gollum to jump into the fire and the greed for the ring which drives Gollum, combine with the elements of good displayed by the characters. Not only does Frodo have mercy upon Gollum but so does Sam, especially after carrying the ring for some time himself. He is no longer able to kill or damn him. The act of combining these factors, however, is the act of Higher Providence. It is the will of Eru, who incorporates all elements into his plan of salvation, into his "music", as had been announced by Him in the *Akallabeth*, the book of Genesis for Tolkien's universe. The idea of incorporating evil into the plan, as well as the control of history by God, is undeniably Christian in nature.

The association of characters with light is not only connected with their belonging to the forces of good but is most of all dependent on their role and participation in the quest. The second main character engineering the quest is Galadriel. She was the one who summoned the White Council which conducted the war against Sauron in the second age and she is the keeper of one of the Elf Rings, the Adamant Ring. The adamant ring is a symbol very strongly connected with light as a beautiful white jewel shining on her finger. It is the symbol and the instrument of her power to defend her country against

the evil forces lurking in Mirkwood and residing in Dol Guldur. Due to her resistance they have not prevailed yet.

The third keeper of another elf ring, the sapphire one, is Elrond, whose white and silver attire during the council concerning the quest of the ring, as well as the precious gem in his keeping, connect him to the image of light.

The symbol of light is also present in several remarks in the course of the narration about the main hero of the quest, Frodo, the ring-bearer, whose mission makes him “translucent as a glass half filled with light”. His willing acceptance of the mission and the suffering for its sake, even to the point of the sacrifice of his life, is the cause of his becoming more and more a person symbolising the cause of his quest: salvation from the forces of evil.

The characters who are connected with the images of white or silver or light act in the cause of good but they also have the potential for evil or darkness in them. Their fierceness is visible in the fight when they are menacing to their enemies. The images of light and darkness are linked to the two opposing powers of good and evil but, just as the descriptions of the forces of evil frequently contain the image of fire or consuming light, so the descriptions of the good characters include phrases referring to shadow and dark. For example, when the heroes of the story perceive the image of the pillars of the Kings of Numenor, the kings’ figures are presented in terms in darkness and seem horrible. There are the “chasm” and “black waters” which surround them and the travellers are frightened. Although they are calmed down by Aragorn, who reveals himself as the returning king and the legitimate ruler of this country, the image of darkness suggests that there is a threatening element also in the people of Gondor. There is a potential for evil in them as well. This is immediately proved by the further course of events. Boromir, a proud son of the Steward of Gondor, tries to take the ring away from Frodo. In this way, the meanings suggested through the images of light and darkness are extended. There is a potential for evil in all of creation.

3.3. The star

The key symbol of light, that of a star, is used many times in the whole book and is especially connected with the Elves in general. It marks their relation to the world of the Valar and eventually to the Imperishable Flame of Eru, the One. Generally, the Elves are the people of the stars. They were created in the environment which made them love the light of stars. As the Children of Eru, they were awakened to life on the river bank and the first thing they saw was the starlight created by Varda, the Vala who was one of those ordered by Eru to prepare the Earth for their coming. Varda was called by them Elbereth, the Queen of Stars, and was worshipped and called upon in the moments of danger during the struggle with evil. The star as a symbol present in Christianity denotes the believers, the people of the Church. It is present in the iconography of the saints. The image of light in connection with the people of the Church is also present in many Christian writings, quite apart from the Gospels. St Chromatius writes:

We too have been enlightened by them, and from being darkness we have become light, as the apostle says: "For once you were darkness, but now you are light in the Lord; walk as children of light." (DO II: 192)

The image of the star appears already in the first part of the story, when the company meet Gildor and the first description of Elves is presented. The name of Elbereth, the Vala who created the stars for the sake of Elves when they were to appear first on Arda (the Earth), is thus first mentioned. The Elves woke up in the world and the image they saw first was that of stars and they also heard the shimmer of the stream flowing past the place. That is why all the images of the Elves' country as presented in LOTR are connected with the image of stars, water and trees. This image first connects them to their own birth and also to the country of the Valar, which they were supposed to enter as the land prepared for them by the One. The image of the star has a symbolic meaning

for them as a symbol of the care of the Valar and especially Varda. But the care of the Valar has been commanded by Eru Himself. If we remember that the Valar were only faithfully doing what they were asked to do, we may see that the light of a star means something more than just the care of the Valar. It is symbolically linked to the Imperishable Flame of Eru. The name of Elbereth, due to this, will be a powerful name: it will be the name which Frodo will use to hold back the Black Riders and Shelob.

The star, however, is most closely connected with the figure of Earendil, whose name is first mentioned in the song sung by Bilbo in Rivendell at the beginning of the quest (LOTR: 227). The meaning of Earendil for the Elves is that of a saviour who departed to the banned lands of the Valar in the West to bring their help against the overwhelming forces of Morgoth. The help comes and the world is saved. Earendil does not return to his world, though, but sails with the Silmaril on his brow in the sky. There, he is placed by the Valar as a star to remind the Elves eternally of the care and help given to them by the higher powers in the salvation from evil. The Silmaril on his forehead, which is this sign, also holds the light of the destroyed trees of Valinor, which is the Imperishable flame of Eru. The star of Earendil is thus directly connected with the Imperishable Flame. The mythical meaning of the star is strengthened with the historical meaning: Elrond, who is the half-Elf presiding over the council in Rivendell, is the son of Earendil.

There is also another figure in the story who is so closely connected with the symbol of the star. It is Galadriel of Lorien. Although Celeborn is given the title of the Wisest, it is Galadriel who is really deeply involved in the company of the ring. She would not counsel them and say how they should realise their aim but she offers them insight into their own souls: both in her eyes and in the mirror which shows past, present and future. She “perceives the Dark Lord and knows his mind” as the keeper of One of the Elven Rings, Narya, the Ring of Adamant. She is symbolically connected with Earendil through the image of the star. This is a description of her in

Lorien when she is talking to Frodo:

Earendil: the Evening star, most beloved of the Elves, shone clear above. So bright was it that the figure of the Elven lady cast a dim shadow on the ground. Its rays glanced upon a ring about her finger; it glittered like polished gold overlaid with silver light, and a white stone in it twinkled as if the Elven star had come down to rest upon her hand. (LOTR: 355)

This description not only connects Galadriel with the figure of Earendil, who saved the Elves from Morgoth by sailing for help to the Valar in the West. The image of star and the light of Earendil which comes upon her imply, in the context of the salvation from evil, the connection of the two figures in the book, Galadriel and Earendil, with two symbolic Christian meanings of a star. One of them is Jesus Christ, the Star who comes from the line of David and whose birth was marked by the star leading the wise men from the East to Bethlehem. Another meaning of the Star is the Virgin Mary, who brought the Saviour (the light of God's love) to the world. The image of Jesus as light and their linking to the imagery of a star make a very distinct parallel to the Christian vision of the universe. The Virgin Mary is called the Star of the Sea, the one who defeated Satan and who gave the light of Jesus to the world. This image of Galadriel, as a Lady who bears the light of the adamant ring, mingling with the light of the star of Earendil, is very close to the Christian image of Mary, although of course it is more universal. The figure of Earendil, who brought the help to the West from the realm of the Valar, is also implicitly a Christ-like figure, bringing to humanity the message of God's love for them. This meaning is rendered through the symbol of the star and through Earendil's role as a saviour from evil paralleling that of Christ.

The starlight assumes the meaning of salvation on account of the story of Earendil and his star, representing the hope for the victory over evil. The story of Earendil, however, has its beginnings in yet another story which connects it to the

Blessed Realm.

It is the story of Luthien and Beren, a man and an Elf-woman, told by Strider to hobbits during the night they spent together in the Inn in Bree. The story, which seems to be a classic fairy tale, is supposed to comfort them and strengthen their spirit before another attack of the Black Riders and to suggest Strider's noble ancestry. The tale yields itself to the psychoanalytical kind of analysis of fairy tales, which was presented by Bruno Bettelheim (1985). However, this story not only yields itself to psychoanalytical meanings but also surpasses them. In the story, which is a poetic vision of the Elven woman and her lover, Luthien is described in terms of light. It signifies her chastity but something more, still. It is perhaps part of the charm she extends over Beren that she seems to belong to the world of purity, harmony and compliance with the wishes of the One God. Beren first sees her all in silver and gold, the colours marking her belonging to the blessed realm of Valinor. He falls in love with her but his love has a spiritual dimension apart from the purely human one. The story tells their path to maturity and integration as a couple as well as separation from the menacing father-figure depicted in the character of Thingol, Luthien's father. The motif of Beren's severed hand carries sexual meanings of castration, which is overcome due to the spiritual factor. Although Beren is mortally wounded and dies, Luthien follows him to the land of death and as a reward is given both his and her own life back. It is not only his life which is spared but his sexual potential, because they return to the Earth and live there for some time as a family with one daughter. The spiritual level is thus supportive of the physical one in their lives. Beren and Luthien's love is subjected to many severe trials before they can realise it. They must take out the Silmaril from Morgoth's crown. Metaphorically, they must learn to separate good from evil in their world and deprive the usurper of the god-like power of his appearance of goodness, embodied in the Silmaril. The Silmaril is a jewel made by Feanor in the ancient times and it had in it the light of the Trees of Valinor. The condition of fruitful love has a spiritual element in it due

to its link with the motif of God's Imperishable Flame, which must be won before the relationship achieves its full power. The two lovers achieve this aim but Beren dies of his wounds. Luthien, who is immortal, asks to share his fate. She comes to the world of the dead but their love is so great that they are allowed to return to the Earth for some time and they have a daughter, who later has a son, Earendil. The story of Luthien and Beren, which ended in their victory over Morgoth and the winning of a Silmaril, is continued in their grandson, who helps to defeat Morgoth once again. The Silmaril is a token of his mission, symbolising his unique connection to the world of the Valar. That is why he decides to break the ban of travelling West and faces the peril of this voyage in the hope of bringing help for the Elves to fight Morgoth. He succeeds in saving the Elves from disaster. Morgoth is defeated and the help comes but Earendil is not allowed to return to the Earth and his mission is continued high in the sky, where the Silmaril on his forehead is the sign of hope for all, till the end of time. In this way, the light of Valinor, already rich in the symbolic sense of the blissful community in the world created by Eru, acquires a new meaning – that of salvation from the power of evil and as the one to be achieved by the power of love and sacrifice.

The image of star is also present in the name of Arwen the Evestar – who will become the Queen of the restored kingdom of Gondor.

Thus, the star is the key symbol in the book. It represents symbolically both God's messengers to men, Jesus and Mary, and the people of God, the Church or Christians. It also represents salvation and the power of hope, love and sacrifice. It is connected with the Elves: Luthien, Arwen and Galadriel and Earendil, but also with the powers higher than they. Through the image of the Silmaril placed in the sky, it refers to the trees of Valinor and thus to Eru's Imperishable Flame.

3.4. The tree and the blessed realm

The motif of a tree has been given a very strong emphasis in the book and is directly connected with the motif of light. It

has a symbolic depth due to its mythical prototypes, namely the Trees of Valinor. Let us consider the metaphorical meanings which they carry: those of the ideal community, the perfect relationship between the Maker and His creation.

As has been mentioned, the tree has its mythological meaning in Tolkien's story as a reflection of the Trees of Valinor. The Trees of Valinor represent the bliss of the Blessed Realm, the harmony of creation, its order and the beauty of its life. They reflect the plan of Eru to harmonise all life into one splendid whole. This wholeness and unity were destroyed by Morgoth at the beginning of time. He came with Ungoliant, his companion, who epitomised greed and selfishness and destroyed the roots of the trees, which later died.

Thus, in the story, the trees, together with their gold and silver as well as their fruits, symbolically represent the blessed realm, i.e. a paradise very much like that of the Christian paradise, when we remember that paradise on the spiritual level means the trust and loving relationship between God and his Children. This kind of relationship existed between Eru the Maker and the Valar. The Trees of Valinor, planted in the centre of their city, were not only the source of light and water needed for life but also epitomised the spirit of Eru, residing in the community. Eru meant the Valar to create this blissful realm for the sake of his Children, Elves and Men, who were supposed to dwell in it. The Valar (who are a very close parallel to the Christian Angels) built the city and planted the Trees of Valinor, which were the symbol of their community with the spirit of their Maker and had the Imperishable Flame of Eru in them. They strove to introduce Elves into this Edenic community but they did not succeed.

The country which reflects this splendour and beauty and embodies the harmony of the blessed realm is Lorien. It is the living myth, the "corner of the Elder Days". It is the country which still defends itself, due to the spiritual effort of its ruler Galadriel, against the forces of evil lurking in the Mirkwood around the old fastness of Dol Guldur (LOTR: 342). The description of Lorien is full of images bringing to mind the Trees of Valinor and the meanings of the blessed realm

attached to them. The Elves in Lorien are the Wood Elves, who dwell in the trees, and their rulers are Lord Celeborn and Lady Galadriel. Their marriage symbolises harmony, unity and love in the whole elven community. The description of the trees growing there is linked with the colour of gold. They are trees with gold blossom, called mallorns, and the place is called Golden Wood. The unique quality of Lorien lies in its pure goodness. “No shadow lays” on the land (LOTR: 340) in spite of the evil, which is not unknown to Elves, who also fear and distrust the world outside. The description of Cerin Amroth, the mound which is the heart of the land, includes all the elements of the Edenic imagery. There are two circles of trees. The outer one is made of trees with white bark, while the inner circle is made up of mallorns “arrayed in pale gold”. The two circles and two colours, white and gold, remind us of two trees of Valinor, with their two colours of gold and silver. There are also flowers which have the shape of stars. To Frodo it seems that:

A light was upon it for which his language had no name. No blemish or sickness or deformity could be seen in anything that grew upon the earth. On the Land of Lorien there was no stain (LOTR: 341).

The image of the mythical blessed realm is recalled in the way in which the land is depicted also later, in the chapters taking place in Lorien. There is a road paved in “white stone and lights spring forth” when they pass along it in the city of the Galadhrim. They come to the lawn where a fountain is shimmering, lit by silver lamps that swing from the boughs of trees and fall into the “basin of silver”. The trees gleam like grey silk and the elves are clad in grey mail and white cloaks. The same symbolic choice of colours connects them with the image of the light and the Trees of Valinor. The house of the Lord and Lady of the Galadhrim has green and silver walls and a golden roof. The couple are clad in white and the Lady’s hair is of deep gold while the hair of Celeborn is silver. His eyes are “keen as lances in the starlight” and again the image

of light and the two colours of Eden appear. The Lord is called “the wisest of the Elves” while Galadriel shows her guests love and understanding, especially towards the Dwarves, who are generally considered the enemies of the Elves. Galadriel, the one who summoned the White Council, knows the perils of their quest and the qualities needed to complete it: “Hope remains while all the Company is true” (LOTR: 348). Galadriel also supports the company with her gifts: to Frodo she gives a phial of light containing the light of Earendil’s star set amid the waters of her fountain (LOTR: 267). This light will help Frodo turn away the attack of Shelob in the darkness of the tunnel in Cirith Ungol.

All these mythical and symbolic meanings of the Trees of Valinor have a very close parallel in the Christian image of paradise on the spiritual level. The same meaning is carried by the figure of Jesus Christ, presented in the Christian iconography as the Tree of Life: the one who, due to his sacrifice on the tree of the cross, bore the fruit of love, showing his complete loving and trustful submission to God, His Father. The Tree of Life, which is present in the Old Testament in the story of Paradise, as the one which grows alongside the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil and gives the fruit endowing with immortality, in Christianity has been given the meaning of Jesus Christ, who bears the sweet fruit of his love and his forgiveness to all those who believe in Him. His love opens the gates of paradise again for man. This is the paradise of the loving relationship of man and man and of man and God, but also the access to eternal life, which is understood in terms of the meeting with God face to face. This harmony between man and God, which exists when the man fulfils the will of God in his life, is restored. The tree which is green and does not wither is, in the language of the Bible, the image of an upright man who follows the path of God.

Planted in the house of the Lord
They will flourish in the courts of our God,
Still bearing fruit when they are old,
Still full of sap, still green,

To proclaim that the Lord is just. (DO I: 388)

Lorien is metaphorically the land of such people. Lorien is a symbol of paradise but the paradise of the heart, where no evil may enter. The only way to introduce darkness into Lorien is to bring it in one's own heart.

4. The river and the passage through waters

The motif of crossing the waters is repeated several times in LOTR. I would like to consider these occurrences as the part of the particular rhythm of events in the story which reflects a certain concept of the history, where there is an implicit image of the rhythm of the life of the community of people united in the struggle with evil.

There are two universal symbolic meanings connected with the motif of passage through waters in the universal lore of symbols: the meaning of death and the image of purification. Both of them, as I would like to show, are present in the story.

The first encounter of the company of the ring with the river occurs when they enter the Old Forest and rest on the banks of the stream, where Frodo is drawn into the waters and almost drowns while his companions are closed up in a tree trunk by the malicious old Willow Man. This dangerous adventure ends happily for them due to the coming of Tom Bombadil, who rescues them and leads them to his house. The day ends with a feast, which is prepared for them by Tom and his wife – Goldberry. The image of purifying through water is emphasised by the rain which falls not only at night but for a couple of days and allows them to rest longer in this friendly house. Their hosts are friendly and cheerful and their mutual relationship is that of deep love. Tom is shown as the one who serves his Lady, bringing her lilies (another symbol of innocence and purity). Their relationship and they themselves are the embodiment of the values associated with Valinor, their paradise. She is connected with the image of water, being called the daughter of the River and presented

in a way which suggests her direct connection with the world of the Valar. She is dressed in silver and her name refers to gold. Her beauty, kindness and joy as well as her and Tom's freedom from the workings of evil connect them with the image of the Trees of Valinor with its silver leaves and golden fruit, giving both water and light. The respite in Tom's house and the feast which they relish prepares the company for a very dangerous, even perilous, adventure, which begins as soon as they leave this house. They are drawn into the ancient tomb and become imprisoned for a moment by the Barrow Wight, who wants to keep them for ever in the world of death. The sequence of these events is the following. First is the passage through water and the purifying experience of water, then a feast and then a dangerous adventure. The same sequence will be repeated in the following adventures.

The company will come across the river in their flight from the Black Riders. They will be saved by Elrond, who makes the waters rise and drowns the Ringwraiths. The travellers will later have a long period of rest in the friendly House of Elrond. The stay at Elrond's house will again be followed by the dangers of the further journey: the attack of the wolves and the malice of the Cahadras mountain.

Some elements of the symbolic passage through waters – through death towards new life, through another danger into safety – appear in the journey through Moria. The entrance into Moria is also surrounded with dark waters, where the deadly Watcher lurks. The exit from Moria is marked by a passage where Gimli shows Frodo the Lake of Khazad-Zaram. Its waters are clear and beautiful. The image of the clear waters holding the image of the Crown of Durin, reminiscent of the still latent victory of good over evil, introduces a tranquil atmosphere after the mournful experience of losing Gandalf in Moria. His sacrifice is not, however, in vain and it immediately results not only in saving the company from danger but in making it possible for them to enter the Edenic land of Lorien where, after a long stay, another ceremonial feast awaits them before they start again on the dangerous waters of the Anduin River.

The symbol of the water of the Trees of Valinor appears in the depiction of Silverlode, the River which flows through Lorien, where the company are bidden farewell by the Elves. The description again is full of images connected with light. The “White Swan” is the ship on which Galadriel and Celeborn are sitting while saying their farewell to the company. “Silverlode flows glittering” (LOTR: 362) but, in contrast to the Great River Anduin, deep and dark, where “banks were bleak and bare” and “no mallorn lifted its gold-hung boughs beyond the Land of Lorien” (LOTR: 362). The travellers cross the border of Lorien at the river and this passage marks the end of the renewal in Lorien which had prepared them for their deadly perils on the River Anduin.

The motif of symbolic respite and renewal of strength through water, followed by a feast, appears again for Frodo and Sam when they are led by Faramir in the vicinity of the “forbidden pool” and the waterfalls in Ithilien. The appearance of Gollum in the waters and the fact that he comes out of the river alive, in spite of the law which punishes with death anyone who enters this pool without permission, mark the symbolic meaning of the life saved by forgiveness. The meanings of this sequence of events: water, feast, danger, water etc., culminate in the picture of the wasteland, where Frodo and Sam complete their mission and when Sam awakes and hears Gandalf’s voice, which signifies his safety and the completion of their mission. This voice sounds to him “like water on the parched land” (LOTR: 930). Water is endowed with a symbolic meaning in the text of LOTR and the sense of renewal in it is complete only in connection with the symbolic meaning of the Trees of Valinor (the spiritual paradise).

In Christianity, just as in many other religions, water is the symbol of purification from what is mortal, sinful and imperfect. In the rite of baptism, however, water is the symbol of something more. It is the symbol of the death of Jesus. Submersion in it means the death of the imperfect human nature and freedom from the working of evil on the soul stained with original sin. It is the change of man’s nature and the assuming of God’s nature, the nature of Jesus Christ.

When a Christian emerges from the water of baptism, he is not only forgiven his sins but he is a new man. Water thus means renewal in the most complete sense of total transformation. These meanings are also present in many religions and rites but only the Christian meanings of purification signify also the change of human nature and participation in God's nature. These suggestions also seem to be remotely present in LOTR due to the connection which is made between water and the other symbols of Valinor: the light and the tree. Water in LOTR is connected with light and so it is connected with life due to its link with the symbol of the Trees of Valinor. They were a symbol of life, but the life they symbolise is not only organic. It is the life which signifies the blissful harmony and order of Paradise: the Trees of Valinor not only lighted the country but also served to measure time and gave the water needed for growth. They also stood in the centre of the City of the Valar, the people who obeyed their Maker in everything and carried out His will in everything. The motif of two colours – gold and silver – together with the motif of water connect several places in the story to the image of Valinor: Tom's house, Elrond's House, Lorien, the Pool of Ithilien – which may be understood in terms of spiritual paradise. The characters' entrance into these realms may be considered a symbolic re-entrance into paradise. The chief characteristic of paradise in Christianity is the harmony and trust between God and Man. This relationship is also the chief characteristic of the relationship between the Valar and their Maker, Eru. The presence of water seems to be also indicative of the saving grace of Eru due to the help and respite from evil which the travellers get.

Each of these places of respite gives what physical conditions demand: getting sleep, and peace and a friendly atmosphere as well as food and gifts for the further voyage. Each of these is connected with a feast and a passage through water. This connection, however, has more to it than just physical conditions. It is a symbol of the Paradise-like features of the community which they visit: purification and then celebration of love. The same pattern appears in many religions and is obviously present in Christianity, where baptism enables

entrance to the paradise of God's friendship and where the life of believers is modelled by the participation in the Holy Mass, which is the necessary element of their salvation. The communion part of the Eucharist is preceded by the rites equivalent to the submersion in the waters of baptism. This meaning of the proper sequence of ritual elements seems to be implicated in the rhythm of action in the book. The characters are strengthened for the perils of further struggle with evil during a feast, which is usually preceded by their passage through waters.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, we can probably say that the controlling images incorporated into the text of LOTR: those of light and darkness, which are connected to the idea of struggle between good and evil, have a distinctly Christian logic behind them. In connection with this logic are the signs which otherwise might have been perceived only as universal but in this particular context they are more than that. The image of the star refers to Jesus and Mary in the system of Christian symbolic meanings as well to the people who follow God. The symbol of the Trees of Valinor may be understood as the implied image of Jesus Christ, the Tree of Life. The symbols of light are connected with the symbols of a tree or a river, which all refer to the symbol of the Trees of Valinor, symbolising the ideal community of the Valar and their Maker, suggesting the mythical Paradise and eventually symbolising the Imperishable Flame, which signifies not only good or bliss but also God himself: His power of creation and His impulse for the salvation of the created world. The symbol of darkness refers to the powers of evil but may also implicitly signify the personalised evil of the Enemy of the Children of God, Satan. The events in the story are ordered in the way which shows how God controls history, how evil is incorporated into His ultimate good: bliss and the salvation of all mankind. This is the Christian idea of Providence and of the

salvation which comes through Christ entering the kingdom of death and apparently subduing to its laws in order, ultimately, to conquer.

ABBREVIATIONS

DO – *The Divine Office*
LOTR – *The Lord of the Rings*
NJB – *The New Jerusalem Bible*
S – *Silmarillion*

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Jim Crace's *Arcadia* and the "partial magic" of his self-conscious art

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Jim Crace is a prolific and successful writer, whose debut publication, *Continent* (1986), won the Whitbread Prize for the best first novel and was well received by critics (Blades 1987: 3; Stonehill 1987: 4). He is interested in a variety of surprising subjects and settings, such as: the Stone Age and survival in the face of untamed nature in his widely praised *The Gift of Sones* (1988) (Deveson 1988: 952; Glasser 1989: 6); the forty days spent by Jesus in the desert in *Quarantine* (1997), which was short-listed for the Booker Prize; or a mysterious city of kisses and the fate of a character who makes a woman pregnant with every kiss in *Six* (2003). Although Crace remains a productive writer, some of his works, including *Arcadia* (1992), the subject of this essay, have received less favourable reviews. The novel, a story of a village orphan called Victor, who comes to an unknown town and gradually makes a fortune, belongs, like other novels by Crace¹, to the phenomenon described by Robert Alter as the 'self-conscious novel' (11).

In *Partial Magic: The Novel as a Self-Conscious Genre*, Alter uses the term to define novels that use different strategies in order to 'convey to us a sense of the fictional world as an authorial construct set up against a background of literary tradition and convention' (1978: XI). Self-conscious texts, texts which draw attention to their own fictionality, artificiality or literariness, are not a new phenomenon; they have existed for a long time in literary tradition, even in classical times (Danek 1972: 129). However, they were exceptional texts and certain techniques that function as self-referential today in, for example, Charles

¹ See, for example, *Quarantine* or *The Gift of Stones*.

Dickens's or George Eliot's novels, 'seem not to have been read as such by contemporary readers, but rather – paradoxically – as a way of confirming referentiality (the "realism") of the text which contained them' (Malcolm 2000: 75). The novel is, in fact, the genre often associated with self-referentiality. It started to win popular acclaim alongside the invention of printing and the mass production of books led its authors to fear the loss of originality and to the search for new subjects (Alter 1978: 1-3). Other commentators search for the reasons for the popularity of auto-thematic elements in the novel on the level of philosophy rather than of historical background. Artur Sandauer, for example, indicates that doubts concerned with the role of the author and the role of fiction, as well as its connection with the world outside literature, refer to the loss of the reliability of the written word in the nineteenth century (1968: 147). Until that time, writers understood literature as a kind of mythology, a collection of universal truths that had come to light thanks to the knowledge and experience of whole societies, as a result of collective work (Sandauer 1968: 147-149). The development of Romantic philosophical thought, the stress on the individual, restricted such an approach (Sandauer 1968: 147-149).

An interest in self-conscious motifs in British fiction does not surprise anyone today, in times when it is even more difficult for writers to remain original, as the mass production of books is more developed, and the written word, with the appearance of the theory of evolution, the theory of relativity or a great number of other scientific achievements, has never regained its undeniable authority. Auto-thematic elements appear in the fiction of such novelists as Timothy Mo, Kazuo Ishiguro, Ian McEwan (Malcolm 2000: 76), A. S. Byatt (Gitzen 1995: 83-95), Jeanette Winterson (Wood 1994: 9) or Jim Crace (Glasser 1989: 6; Irwin 1997: 21, Baker 1999: 22). The implied author of *Arcadia*, from a wide spectrum of techniques that can be used in order to achieve a self-referential effect, chooses the thematising of narration with the introduction of a self-conscious narrator, the motif of dreams and illusions (Malcolm 2000: 153) as well as sophisticated or poetic language

contrasted with Standard English (Malcolm 2000: 96).

The implied author of the novel starts *Arcadia* with an epigraph from Emile dell'Ova's *Truismes*: 'The tallest buildings throw the longest shadows (thus Great Men make their mark by blocking out the Sun, and, seeking Warmth themselves, cast Cold upon the rest)' (1998: 1). These metaphorical lines, which from the very beginning introduce the discussion of the process of creating and the role of a creator, refer to two characters. The first is the self-conscious narrator of *Arcadia*, the character named the Burgher, and the second is the protagonist, Victor. A comparison of their individual situations with reference to the epigraph illustrates in the most convincing way Crace's approach to the role of the author.

The narrator describes the moment when Victor, the later creator of his dream market, *Arcadia*, hears dell'Ova's words for the first time during his conversation with Signor Busi, the architect who intends to build *Arcadia*, and who quotes only a part of dell'Ova's words, manipulating their meaning. 'Great buildings such as this must glorify the vision of the man who pays. I quote dell'Ova and I say, "The tallest buildings throw the longest shadows. Thus great men make their mark"' (188). Busi stresses the aspect of greatness, of leaving a monument for future generations and, because of that fact, of never being forgotten. The second part of the sentence from the epigraph, the part that suggests some egoism of great men or the fact that they hurt others when displaying their own greatness, is ignored by Signor Busi and is never heard by Victor. It is, however, essential to notice which of the two interpretations of dell'Ova's words becomes valid in the case of Victor's life and his dream of building *Arcadia*.

Victor is an example of a poor child who starts his career as a beggar on the Soap Market (143) and continues it as a seller of boiled eggs (140). His hard work and ambitions gradually lead him to financial success and, consequently, he is able to buy the Soap Market before his fortieth birthday (144–145). His motivation to do so derives from two sources – the first being the dreams inspired by his mother's stories and his rich inner life (108–110) and the second being the sense of insecurity

and uncertainty which comes from Victor's childhood and which never leaves him in his adult life (151–152). Victor, 'that unimpassioned, loveless man' (156), whose feelings are rarely shared with others (288) is, however, sentimental in trying to discover the truth about his mother's death (122) or watching the second fire of the Soap Market (281–282). He seeks the warmth that he has not experienced from other people for a long time. When his dreams come true, they guarantee him financial security yet make him lonely or far away from others, like Rook or Joseph, whose dreams never come true. Victor's motivation to build Arcadia is in that sense egoistic: he seeks security from the outside world and warmth for himself.

Nevertheless, the shadow Arcadia throws is not necessarily the one that 'casts cold upon the rest' (1). The narrator underlines the difference between Arcadia, intended to remind one of a rural atmosphere, and the "real" or old villages, untouched by Victor's vision markets. "All Life is Here [Fat Vic]", according to the market chauvinists, a claim no one would make for Arcadia, with its policed doors, its creed of Safety from the Streets, its ban on pimps and tramps and tarts and bag-ladies, street vendors, rascals, teenagers, drunkards, dogs. All life is here, despite the wind, the rain, the airborne dust, the litter at my feet.' (310) Though the sense of some artificiality or isolation appears in Arcadia, the narrator is satisfied because of the fact that Victor's new building has opened possibilities for his customers and has offered them choice (310). The cold Arcadia casts is cast more upon Victor himself than upon others as he himself stays closed in the safe world he has created. 'He cannot simply (...) toss the golden paper bag which held the pear to the ground and find a warming corner for himself.' (310) Victor's hard work and the fulfilment of his dreams isolate him from the world outside his own creations, secure him from its dangers and deprive him of its warmth. The narrator, using Victor's example, also foregrounds the fact that it is possible to manipulate somebody's words, just as Signor Busi does with the quotation from dell'Ova, or stresses the existence of 'the fabrication involved in any act of narration' (Malcolm 2000: 153) and comments on Victor's

situation as a creator. The words that become an inspiration for the fulfilment of Victor's dreams are second-hand words, conveying only half-truths. These two features indicate that he is a self-conscious narrator and that the implied author of *Arcadia* uses the strategy Malcolm defines as the thematising of narration (2000: 153) in order to remind the readers of the fictional character of his work.

The narrator and The Burgher, rolled into one, is the second character associated with the epigraph to *Arcadia*. He does not create buildings but texts, newspaper articles, mainly for gossip columns, as well as a book, Victor's memoir (311). According to the Burgher, the first line of Victor's biography (311) is exactly the same as the first line of *Arcadia* (3), which suggests that the novel itself is the memoir. It is also, similarly to the *Arcadia* Victor has built, 'a statue' created 'to celebrate his life' (310) and a statue that might cast another shadow upon its readers or its creator. The Burgher's book, the same as Victor's market, throws the shadow more upon its creator than upon the readers, though The Burgher's situation is even more miserable than Victor's as his greatness will probably never be noticed. 'My book, if I survive to see it done, will have my name in print – but think how big my name in print will be compared to Victor's name, a banner on the cover. My labours print his mark more deeply on the town. His labours press me deeper in.' (302) The character of Victor, as created by the writer, becomes the one glorified by the readers and the one closer to their hearts. The writer stays in the shadow of his character or of his book, and his creation, just like Victor's market, distances the Burgher from the world outside the book, from ordinary citizens who never aspired for unusual dreams, or aspired and failed to make them come true. The readers' situation, on the other hand, is similar to that of those faced with Victor's creation – they may choose to buy the book, bearing in mind a certain coldness or artificiality such creations present in comparison to the world outside them, or they may choose life without books and avoid their shadow. The creator – whether it is Victor with his dream of the market or the Burgher with his book – is offered no such choice.

The readers, exposed to The Burgher's and Victor's loneliness, become compassionate towards those who manage to create monuments and to offer others possibilities unavailable earlier yet who are never truly understood by these others. The sense of sorrow for the creator does not disappear when one examines The Burgher's career and his honesty towards the readers in a more detailed manner. The Burgher discloses his identity for the first time after almost sixty pages of omniscient narration. 'You will not mind, I know, if briefly, after introductions, and having kept myself discrete thus far, I step back into shadow. This story is not mine, at least not more than it is every citizen's. I am - I was - a journalist. My byline was The Burgher. I was, at this time, the mordant, mocking diarist on the city's daily.' (59) The intrusion of the narrator in the text, described by David Malcolm as one of the ways of 'producing a sense of narrational detachment', is one of the strategies of foregrounding textuality (2000: 75-76). The Burgher continues being honest, presenting the readers with his sources of information and exposing the fact that his stories are often second-hand reports (226) or tales heard from some anonymous caller (290). Edward T. Wheeler claims that The Burgher 'has impossible omniscience; his access to the histories and minds of the characters is never explained' (1993: 26) but, on the other hand, The Burgher's omniscience ends with the exposure of his face and with his honesty. Moreover, he admits that the press often loves 'bad motives,' prefers 'an intrigue to the simple justice of a cause' (220) or interprets events according to its own financial interests (236). He finally demonstrates the manipulations of the press in the case of Rook's death. In the situation when few facts are known, the press accuses Joseph of murdering Rook (277), leaving him no chances for self-defence, or describes Rook, who is in fact responsible for the second fire of The Soap Market, as a martyr or a hero (277).

The Burgher is honest not only about a writer's strategies but also about the fact that the professional version of himself, The Burgher, does not have to be the same as himself in the unprofessional world, the world unknown to the readers. He

marks this aspect the first time he appears by correcting the sentence starting with 'I' into the sentence starting with 'The Burgher' (59). In one of the final scenes, he abandons his job as The Burgher in favour of a younger journalist (296) and draws attention to the fact that all the knowledge the readers possessed about him concerned him as The Burgher and that nothing was ever revealed about his unprofessional life.

The implied author of *Arcadia*, by using such strategies – revealing the narrator's face or presenting his own loneliness and honesty – points towards the human element in a creator and distances himself from the tradition of omniscient writing. The readers, just like the potential customers of Victor's *Arcadia*, are offered the choice and the decision whether they will read the novel, with all its imperfections, or with the sense of its isolation from the world outside literature, belongs to them.

The next strategy that the implied author of *Arcadia* uses is the juxtaposition of the motif of Victor's and The Burgher's dreams or the introduction of the motif of illusions (Malcolm 2000: 158–168). Victor's idea to build *Arcadia* is inspired by the memory of an imagined village from his infant and childhood months. The comparison on the level of setting between these two places – the imagined village and the *Arcadia* inspired by these dreams – sheds different light on the question of the function of fiction and its influence on both the reader and the writer. As a child, begging with his mother at The Soap Market, Victor listens to his mother's stories about the village they inhabited (108–110). These stories describe a perfect, happy place with 'higher skies and fresher winds and more magical conjunctions than any city could provide' (110) or with 'falling fruit in orchards where the plums and pears and oranges grew side by side in such harmony that it would seem they shared branches of one tree' (110). There appear joyous village feasts, celebrations outdoors or birthday thrones decorated with plants (110). The place in young Victor's imagination is even compared by the ironic narrator to 'the sort of hayseed Kansas encountered on the road to Oz' (110) and named Victor's 'milk and honey' (109). The narrator indicates that the perfection

of the setting is due to the fact that it belongs to the world of Em's stories or fiction, or that it 'is made shiny and intense by distance and time' (109). Victor, however, is too young to understand that the nightmarish, chaotic city or the imperfect world around him (109) is the only world that does not belong to fiction or that the village world is 'structured from his mother's words' (109).

It is essential to notice that the ideal, dream-like village that becomes the inspiration for the future Arcadia and that is so opposed to the world outside dreams is void of people. Em tells a story of a perfect place, but a place where no complications appear because of the lack of any relationships with other people. Unfortunately, what Victor discovers in his future life about people cannot be compared to the perfection from his mother's stories. When Em dies in the first fire of The Soap Market (120), Victor lives with her plain, rather self-centred sister and her boyfriend (138–40). Victor's adult life is equally empty of relationships and the people who surround him, like Ann or Rook, concentrate on careers and financial successes. The lack of relationships in Em's perfect vision of the village indicates once again how a story-teller can manipulate, this time the past, and deprive it of the elements that would make it less ideal or more complicated. It also indicates the possible influence of such manipulation on one's future life. The element that was ignored in Em's stories never turned out to be essential in Victor's life. He spent this life creating his envisaged place and paying no attention to relationships.

Arcadia, the place that is finally built and that is considered to be Victor's success, (301) in some respect resembles his mother's idealistic environment. Its framework and glass structure guarantee its predictability or a certain order that belonged to his mother's vision.

I'm in a tree-house made of glass. On two sides there is stretched netting screening off the market concourses below. The netting supports creepers, cycads, vines. They are the building's drapery. They grow from elevated beds, together with

other hot-house plants such as philodendrons and spider plants which can breathe and neutralize the atmosphere. It is their task – for nothing here is idle or unplanned – to filter from the air the carbon monoxide, the benzene and the formaldehyde; the fumes and vapors, the leakages and pungencies of Arcadia. (298)

Various birds, such as cockatiels, finches, pheasant doves, budgerigars, cockatoos, parakeets, mina birds or buntings, fly in the building (299). One can stroll around the garden court, bushes or fountains (300). Nevertheless, fulfilled dreams inspired by stories are never as perfect as the visions present in these stories. The air in Arcadia is no longer the perfect village breeze but 'compressed air' blasted by a computer named Zephyr (299). Glass keeps wild birds away from the building: 'they hover at the transparent domes of Arcadia, like children at sweet-shop windows, hopelessly drawn to candied parakeets' (299); other birds, like sparrows, die trapped inside (299–300). Arcadia is crowded with people, such as tourists who 'take their coffee and their photographs' (300), children who come to play in The Jungle Creche or parents who intend to do shopping (300). All these people are, however, far away from Victor, who watches his 'earthly paradise' from his 'roof-top garden of the 28th' (301).

The Arcadia built by Victor is a comment on the question of how stories shape the world outside them. Victor's mother, a simple village story-teller, inspired his life in such a way that he did everything to create a place as ordered and artificial as Em's stories. The place is comfortable, secure and isolated from friends or the world outside it. It is also a place never accepted by the majority of the marketers who worked with Victor at The Soap Market, as they decide to continue trading in the old way, in a place they call The Soap Two (308). They have always accepted life the way it was and did not need to listen to stories better than Victor's miserable life or to try to make them come true. They did not change much in the world around them, like Victor did, but they were also surrounded

by a great number of other people similar to them.

The Burgher's project, the novel he writes about Victor's life, is, as I have already indicated, entitled the same as the place named Arcadia. The Burgher's motivation to create the novel, at least on the surface, is the fact that the newspaper no longer wants him to work for it as The Burgher (296), and there is always the money Victor intends to pay (298). On the other hand, he comes to the conclusion that a novel is what he would like to write in his maturity (298), just like Victor decides to make his dream come true with age. The title of the novel, *Arcadia* – a place that symbolises the fulfilment of one's dreams, never-ending happiness or paradise – also suggests that for The Burgher the novel is a dream project. He, like Victor, dreams of creating *Arcadia*, though of a different kind from Victor's.

This time, the inspiration for The Burgher's dream becomes his employer's life. The novel presents a paradoxical situation of two dreamers and two creators – Victor, inspired by stories and intending to make his life as close to fiction as possible, and, on the other hand, The Burgher, inspired by Victor's life and intending to make his fiction as close to life as possible. Victor's dream, based on fiction, leads him to the creation of an artificial, ordered and safe structure, satisfying but distant from the place of his dreams. The Burgher's novel is equally ordered with its division into four parts entitled in accordance with the places connected with Victor's experiences: The Soap Market (2–63), Milk and Honey (the name attributed to the land of dreams) (65–152), Victor's City (153–292) and Arcadia (293–312), and consisting of chapters without titles. The Burgher's knowledge of Victor's life, and in particular of his childhood, is, however, very limited as both Victor and his secretary Anna do not discuss the subject (289). The description of the places from parts 3 and 4 may be based on The Burgher's experiences but the excerpts that deal with Victor's childhood, in particular 'Milk and Honey', belong to the world of the narrator's imagination.

This imagination leads The Burgher to the creation of Victor's childhood dominated by the presence of two women

– his mother and his aunt – and the motif of begging and dreams, or a certain escapism from life. The Burgher imagines Em as a naive village woman who, after her husband's sudden death, decides to search for a better life in the town where her sister Ann lives (70–71). When she is unable to find the sister in the town she, together with baby Victor, spends the first night in some stable (72), the second 'on sheltered benches at the tramway terminus' (73), and finally joins a society of market beggars (75). Even if The Burgher could have acquired information about Em's journey to the town, it is impossible for him to be certain of Em's feelings or thoughts yet he imagines them without hesitation. 'She marketed herself. She felt no shame. Shame is a family, village thing.' (77) 'No one was mean enough, she thought, to close their ears to babies in distress.' (77) The same situation concerns The Burgher imagining the thoughts or emotions of Ann, who 'feels no different from other working women in the market place and garden' (95) or who knows 'which market men would happily part with bruised fruit' (130). The narrator, though he has never been a beggar, also exposes his knowledge of the occupation, explaining how Em, Ann and baby Victor earned money. He is certain that they comprehend begging in the category of a profession or trade, no different from other jobs (92). They sometimes compare the job to a harvest (94) and explain to themselves that money earned in such a way is 'payment for the hours that they'd spent as girls, unpaid with blackened hands and aching backs amongst the produce of their fields' (95). They understand that there exist certain rules they have to obey in order to be successful in their profession or to avoid starving (98) and that these rules often concern the comprehension of the psychological aspects of their customers and the proper employment of Victor.

What money would she harvest on the street with Victor in her care, if Victor were the normal child, allowed to crawl and scream and play with stones exactly as he wished, if Aunt was just another "mother" in the town? Where was the

sentiment, the plaintiveness in that? Who'd pay for such mundanity? So trading says, The child must suck the breast. Six coins out of ten are lost unless the child is on the Breast! That was the requisition of the working day. (97)

The Burgher's omniscience in these excerpts produces a probable picture of his characters' lives; however, because of the fact that he has never met Em or Ann, lived on the streets or experienced the life of a beggar, neither he nor the readers can decide to what extent the presented world is similar to the world outside literature. The only way of approaching such knowledge would be to find somebody inspired by The Burgher's story and willing to live according to it in the world outside literature. That is, however, impossible because nobody able to read *Arcadia* is as plain as Ann, Em or infant Victor, and in a position to understand their individual behaviour or feelings.

The Burgher becomes aware of the fact that the dream of making literature or art close to life is wishful thinking. He decides, therefore, to be honest to his readers, to reveal his doubts and his face. He stresses the fictional character of his work by introducing an ordered division into parts and chapters, a division typical of art and not of life in the company of other people. He does not provide information either about Victor's first name or about the name of the town or the time of the action (Eder 1992: 12). 'The novel is set in an imaginary city, an amalgam, as it were, of Birmingham, Lyons and Milan' (King 1992: 34). At the same time, on the one hand he causes the story to be more universal, the story that can happen to any Victor, in any contemporary or future town (Olshan 1992: 3). On the other, by hiding such details, he foregrounds the fictionality of the story, makes it less believable – for readers expect, in the biography or memoirs of someone famous, exact information about the identity of that person. The lack of such details is typical of stories or of fiction.

Finally, he uses language that underlines the fictionality of his work. 'Crace's style is as iambic as a migraine' (Mars-

Jones 1992: 22). 'Crace is a writer who, with almost every sentence, provides one with a shock of surprise or a frisson of delight at his audacious deployment of simile, metaphor, and language' (King 1992: 34). One has to admit that the language tends towards poetry. It is possible to observe an extensive use of metaphors, for example, 'noisy poetry' (84), 'the upward storm of warm and milky wind' (82), 'the baffling cussedness of grandpa's anti-clockwise cottage door' (100); or comparisons, for example, 'chandeliers hissed like nuns' (71) or the yardman's face that looked 'as if his heart had slipped below his belt' (73). The sentences are simple and short or very short, at times creating an impression of being lists of activities. 'Em made a sling for Victor and strapped him to her chest with her shawl. She tied the canvas across her back. She threw some grams of maize – for Thanks and Fare-thee-well – on the doorstep of her house. She lit a candle.' (68). 'She wept. She tried to seize the trouser legs, the skirts of passers-by. She mimed an empty stomach. She put her hand onto her heart. She tried abuse.' (84) Lists of objects, places or feelings abound in the text, for example 'narrowing streets, past mews, and squints and alleyways, beneath the medieval wooden gate' (75); 'the shiny brick-veneers, the mirrored colonnades, the fish-trap cloisters' (157) or 'the oranges, the grapes, the grapefruit, the tomatoes and the apples' (83). Frequent repetitions of rhetorical questions or ones or ones gradually answered by the narrator appear (116, 117, 138, 148, 213, 261). Finally, this poetic language of the narrator is contrasted with neutral Standard English, or sometimes with the language of the street of the characters, observable in conversations between them (23-25, 247, 262-263). The novel presents two contradicting styles and employs one more strategy of foregrounding its textuality, described by David Malcolm as a stylistic discontinuity (2000: 96). Malcolm argues that sophisticated or formal language draws attention to itself (2000: 96), and, in the case of *Arcadia*, language approaching poetry highlights the fact that the readers are dealing with the work of art in a similar way as the stylistic discontinuity does. The novel that is dependent on language appears in its nature

to be very different from any world outside literature or art.

The implied author of *Arcadia*, using the thematising of narration, juxtaposes two dreamers and two creators – Victor and The Burgher. The strategy draws attention to the novel as artefact, but most of all it makes the text ‘consider the degree of invention, and, indeed, distortion and partiality, the fabrication involved in any act of narration’ (Malcolm 2000: 153). The implied author of *Arcadia* provokes questions about the sense of creating and the function of a creation. Both creations in the novel – *Arcadia* the market and *Arcadia* the book – offer their customers or implied readers no more than a choice, one more possibility to select from the wide spectrum of other merchandise the world displays. The narrator is unable to guarantee that the product he proposes will entertain, educate or even develop in any sense his readers. Instead of this, he himself feels isolated from the world outside literature and from other people. Reminders of his insecurity and doubt are prominent throughout the text, as he reveals that the sources of any creation are imperfect dreams. The nature of these dreams is complex and the results of their fulfilment are unpredictable. In the case of the novel, these dreams are realised by means of the language, which the narrator decides to make poetic, and at the same time ‘render the text visible as text’ (Malcolm 2000: 96). The readers who expect to discover a variety of information about the protagonist and his past in a book intended to be his memoir, to discover the undeniable explanation of the problem of his never falling in love, or perhaps to find a recipe for how to be successful in life, are left with more doubts than answers, doubts that they share with the narrator. The novel they are dealing with is the one that ‘leads the reader (who wishes naively only to be told what to believe) through a fairground of illusions and deceptions, distorting mirrors and trap-doors that open disconcertingly under his feet, leaving him ultimately not with any simple or reassuring message or meaning but with a paradox about the relation of art to life.’ (Lodge 1971: 22).

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Genre mixture in Ian Rankin's detective fiction¹

AGNIESZKA SIENKIEWICZ

When one thinks about contemporary British crime novelists, next to such writers as Ruth Rendell and P.D. James another name inevitably comes to mind; namely, Ian Rankin. Rankin is one of the most widely acclaimed contemporary writers of crime fiction. His character, Inspector Rebus, has taken on iconic status and Rankin's novels are now translated into twenty-two languages and are bestsellers worldwide. Even though Rankin is often put in one group with Ruth Rendell and P.D. James, other popular crime novelists, this is the result of overgeneralization as the works of the "new Queens of crime" are distinctly different from those by Rankin. First and foremost, Rankin follows a different tradition. While James and Rendell can be seen, at least in some ways, as successors to Christie, Sayers and Marsh, Rankin takes the American hard-boiled detective story as his model. However, that is not to say that he does not contribute to the development of the genre of the detective fiction as a whole; on the contrary, he has made his contribution by increasing the psychological element. So, as in the case of Rendell and James, Rankin's novels are heavily marked by the motifs of psychological-social fiction.

¹The notion of genre mixture in this essay is taken from Ireneusz Opacki, Andrzej Zgorzelski, and David Malcolm. It is discussed fully in Opacki's "Krzyżowanie się postaci gatunków jako wyznacznik ewolucji poezji", in Zgorzelski's "Is Science Fiction a Genre of Fantastic Literature?", and in Malcolm's "Border Crossings: Genre Mixture in Contemporary British Fiction". It is also discussed at length in Alastair Fowler's *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes*.

To begin with, no reader would fail to classify Rankin's novels as pieces of hard-boiled detective fiction. All his works contain many signs which point to the formula. It follows that his crime stories are different than those which follow the patterns of the classic detective story. This becomes clear when one analyzes the pattern of action, the presentation of characters, and the setting which all shape the narrative.

The pattern of action of the hard-boiled detective story is much different from that of the classic type. There is a significant subordination of the drama of solution to the detective's quest for the discovery and accomplishment of justice (Cawelti 1986: 142). In other words, whereas the classic detective story features the elaborate development of "the wavering finger of suspicion" passing across a series of potential suspects, the hard-boiled story focuses on the adventures of the detective and his struggles to bring justice. The first type is based on the pattern of mystery, and the second one on the pattern of heroic adventure. Yet there are some similarities. Both types of detective stories open with the introduction of the detective and the presentation of a crime; investigation follows, and the book concludes with the solution and apprehension of the criminal. As Cawelti points out:

Like in the classic story, we usually begin with the introduction of the detective, but instead of the charming bachelor apartment of Holmes and Watson, [...] the hard-boiled detective belongs to the dusty and sordid atmosphere of an office located in a broken-down building on the margin of the city's business district (1986: 144).

And then he goes on to argue that the opening scenes immediately establish a number of the central motifs of the hard-boiled detective story. We see the detective as a marginal professional carrying on his business from a shabby office. His way of life may look like a failure, but actually it is a form of a rebellion, a rejection of the ordinary concepts of success and respectability (1986: 144-145). Rankin, however, rather than

using the clichéd opening, makes a fresh mark by starting the story with, for example, the presentation of the master criminal at work, i.e., in the act of murdering (*Knots and Crosses*, *Tooth and Nail*); or presents the detective already at work, caring out his duties, for instance interrogating (*Black and Blue*, “Death is Not the End”), or we even see him in an environment not connected with his work. For example, in *Knots and Crosses* in the first scene featuring Rebus we find him away from Edinburgh, in his home town at his father's grave.

The investigation, which follows the introduction of the detective and the presentation of the crime, usually is not only about deception, but also about making some kind of personal choice or action. Sometimes the detective is given a deceptive mission, and then, consequently, the investigation becomes not simply a matter of determining who the guilty person is, but of defining his own moral position. As Cawelti observes:

While the classic detective's investigation passes over a variety of possible suspects until it lights at last on the least-likely person, his hard-boiled counterpart becomes emotionally involved in a complex process of changing implications. (...) the initial mission turns out to be a smoke screen for another [...]; the supposed victim turns out to be a villain; the lover ends up as a murderess and the faithful friend as a rotten betrayer (1986: 146).

One can find this pattern of investigation in Rankin's novels. In *Knots and Crosses*, for instance, Rebus is moved to the case of abductions of young girls only to find out that all the murders are linked to him, as he and his daughter are to be the ultimate victims of the killer. Sometimes one investigation helps to solve another case from the past, as in “In the Frame” where Rebus has to solve the mystery of blackmailer's letters and by coincidence discovers the evidence which helps to close an old case. In *Black and Blue*, unfortunately, the new investigation does not help to solve the old case, but it is brought into

focus because a new mass murderer – Johnny Bible – is the reincarnation of Bible John.² Also one has to notice at this point that in Rankin’s fiction the plot of the story is complex due to the fact that often Rebus is involved in a few investigations at the same time. Sometimes they turn out to be linked somehow with each other, but often they remain unconnected, like in “Death is Not the End” where Rebus conducts two unrelated investigations at the same time. And in *Black and Blue* the plot involves four different investigations. All of them overlap, but do not prove to be all connected. This feature links Rankin’s fiction with the police novel or (the police-procedural), which concentrates upon the detailed investigation of a crime from the point of view of the police (Symons 1985: 193).³ Moreover, the investigation usually ends with a confrontation between the detective and the criminal. In *Knots and Crosses*, for instance, Rebus has to face the murderer and, at the same time, his old friend Gordon Reeve. Their encounter becomes a violent one with Rebus fighting for the life of his daughter as well as his own (2000: 211-221). Typically, in such a situation the hard-boiled detective is left alone to confront the criminal, and this seems to apply to the novels by Rankin, too.

Furthermore, the novels by Rankin feature many stock characters of hard-boiled detective fiction. His detective is DS John Rebus (in the rank of an Inspector in later novels). As I have mentioned before, conventionally the opening scenes tell us a lot about the detective. Indeed, in the beginning of *Knots and Crosses* the reader finds out that Rebus is a loner, cut off from his brother, ex-wife and daughter, and very much a failure; at least according to the social conventions: “Fifteen years [i.e. on the force], and all he had to show were an amount of self-pity and a busted marriage with an innocent daughter hanging between them. It was more disgusting than sad” (2000: 5). However, although Rebus’s life looks very much like

² A real serial killer who threatened Glasgow in the 1960’s and has never been caught.

³ Indeed, novels by Rankin owe a great deal to the formula of the police-procedural. Although this is a suitable subject for further study, I can do no more than allude to this issue here.

a failure, it is a form of rejection of the ordinary concepts of success. This is made clear when Rebus is compared to his brother:

Meantime Michael was happily married with two kids and a larger house than Rebus could ever afford. [...] He drove an expensive car, wore good clothes, and would never have been caught dead standing in the pissing graveyard in Fife on the dullest April day for many a year. No, Michael was too clever for that. And too stupid(2000: 5).

So Rebus's way of life is his choice. However, one could not suggest that he is happy. Most of the time he is depressed, lonely and miserable. He drinks hard and smokes heavily. Rarely does he get proper sleep. His relationships are unsuccessful, or are merely flings. His job is the only thing he has got. Interestingly, Rankin unconventionally makes Rebus a believer. However, his character cannot fit himself into an organized religion; he does not feel a part of this community: "He hated congregational religion. He hated the smiles and the manners of the Sunday dressed Scottish Protestant, the emphasis on a communion not with God but with your neighbours" (*Knots and Crosses* 2000: 5). Thus, he tries to pray on his own, but God remains silent. In *Knots and Crosses* Rebus's vision of God is very much that of the almighty and threatening God from the Old Testament; hence, he enjoys reading parts of it, even if they make him shiver. He reads a fragment of the *Book of Job* after finding himself in the hospital:

When an innocent man suddenly dies, God
laughs.
God gave the world to the wicked.
He made all the judges blind [...]
I know that God does hold me guilty.
Since I am held guilty, why should I bother?
No soap can wash away my sins (2000: 127).

The above quoted excerpt depicts an important characteristic of Rebus: he feels guilty and the feeling haunts him through all his life. By *Black and Blue*, he has definitely abandoned formal religion, and is left only with the painful residue of Scotland's dominant creeds: Catholic guilt and the Protestant work ethic.

Although Rebus is not a typical urban private-eye, but a member of the police force, he undoubtedly owes a conspicuous debt to the model of the individual private eye. In effect, he acts as a private eye within the police force. Arguably, Rebus is not "one of the team"; he is an isolated outsider:

Some people (...) had thrown down banana skins [...] for him to slide on. But he had sidestepped their traps, had performed the job, and had grudgingly been given his commendations here also. But there was precious little promotion, and that had caused him to say a few things out of line, a few things that were always to be held against him (*Knots and Crosses* 2000: 25).

The above quoted passage shows Rebus as isolated from his police colleagues, and also depicts a characteristic feature of the hard-boiled detective: he does not conform to the rules, but has his own sense of what is moral and just. It follows that he is often left out or punished by being given a worse job. For example, in *Black and Blue* Rebus is moved to another Edinburgh police station – in Craigmillar: "Craigmillar was about as tough an area as you could find in Scotland's capital city, and the station fully merited its nickname – Fort Apache, the Bronx. [...] Rebus knew why he was there. He'd upset some people, people who mattered" (2004: 7).

Because the detective is an individual rather than a happy member of the team he does not have many friends, but that is also because he does not seek them. In *Black and Blue* Jack Morton says that

He'd seen them going out together, reminiscing about cases and characters, haunts and high points. He should have known better. He might have changed – become a 'yes man', a pencil-pusher, a careerist – but John was the same as always...only worse. Time has seasoned his cynicism. He wasn't a terrier now: he was a fighting dog with locking jaws. You just knew that no matter how bloody he got, how much pain there was behind the eyes, the grip was there to the death (2004: 373).

This is what one expects from this type of character; however, it is also a typical representation of the police officer in contemporary British crime fiction in general. As Bell observes in "He Do the Police in Different Voices' : Representation of the Police in Contemporary British Crime Fiction", the modern representation of the police officer shows him as an outcast, neither integrated with the police force nor the society in general. Such a detective is beset by uncertainties, often driven by conflicting needs and desires. Ironically, exactly those features make him the best person to deal professionally with people from all parts of society and, hence, solve the crime and bring in justice (Bell 1998: 184). Indeed, Rebus fits the picture. Plain argues that:

Just like Philip Marlowe, Rebus must plough a lone furrow in search of a truth nobody wants him to uncover. [...] He is isolated from his police colleagues by a refusal of the pragmatic compromise. He is similarly isolated in private, as most of his professional relationships have been destroyed by his obsessive commitment to work (2002: 37).

Moreover, the hard-boiled detective is first and foremost a tough guy. As Cawelti puts it, "he can dish it out and he can take it" (1986: 149). Hence, the beating of the hero is a

staple element of the plot of the hard-boiled detective story. This convention applies to the fiction of Rankin. In *Knots and Crosses* Rebus is, for a while, overpowered by Reeve, even gets shot (2000: 217), and in *Black and Blue* he faces violence twice. First when he gets mugged (2004: 234), and later when he is imprisoned and receives a severe beating and torture (2004: 437-444). Additionally, in *Knots and Crosses* Rebus's toughness is also portrayed in the descriptions of his life in the army, and the special training which he received from the SAS. The function of this convention in the hard-boiled detective fiction is very important – the beating of the detective symbolizes the toughness of the hero. And as Plain argues this toughness is “encoded more in his capacity to endure than in his ability to fight back – it illustrates the strength of his convictions, proving that he is not a man who can be persuaded from the path of righteousness” (2002: 34; see also Cawelti 1986: 143).

Yet it is not only physical toughness which is a staple character feature of the hard-boiled detective's character; he is also characterized by the ability to talk tough. In *Black and Blue* this ability is depicted when Rebus encounters the oil tycoon “Major” Weir:

“Can I ask you something, Major? Why did you name your oilfield after an oatcake?”

Weir's face reddened with sudden rage. “It's short for Bannock burn!” Rebus nodded.

“Did we win that one?” [...] Weir frowned. “Do you drink?”

“Teetotal is my middle name.” The Major grunted his satisfaction. “Trouble is,” Rebus went on, “My first name's Not-at-all” (2004: 209 - 210).

This brief dialogue illustrates Rebus's independence, his lack of respect for authority, and his fearlessness. As Plain points out, Rebus “refuses to be cowed by the patriarch's power, and deploys the tough-guy's archetypal weapon, the wise-crack to bring arrogant Weir down to size” (2002: 38).

Furthermore, the hard-boiled detective is not as detached as his classic counterpart. Cawelti argues this forcefully: "Since he becomes emotionally and morally committed to some of the persons involved [...] the hard-boiled detective remains unfulfilled until he has taken a personal moral stance towards the criminal" (1986: 143). Accordingly, Rebus always becomes emotionally involved in a case; they become personal for him. In *Black and Blue* the narrator describes the yells of the deceased that Rebus hears and goes on to say that: "one night he'd heard Angie Ridell and it had pierced his heart, because he'd known her, liked her. In that instant it became personal for him. He couldn't not be interested in Johnny Bible" (2004: 51-52), and later he tells Jack Morton how the fact that he had known one of the victims changed his attitude to the case:

I knew her, Jack. I mean, I'd met her a couple of times. First time, it was business, I was pulling her in. But then I came down here looking for her. [...] We sat and talked. Next thing I knew she was dead. It's different when you know someone. You remember their eyes. I don't mean the colour or anything, I mean all the things their eyes told you about them." He sat in silence for a moment. "Whoever killed her, he couldn't have been looking at her eyes" (2004: 294).

And in *Knots and Crosses* Rebus becomes committed to the case only when his daughter is abducted. As Cawelti rightly observes: "The hard-boiled detective sets out to investigate a crime, but invariably finds that he must go beyond the solution to some kind of personal choice or action" (1986: 142). Indeed, in *Knots and Crosses* Rebus has to take action himself because no one else can do that for him. It follows that because the detective gets emotionally involved; he follows his instinct rather than rational analysis. In *Black and Blue* when Rebus is asked by Lumsden whether he found anything in Shetland, Rebus's response is typical: "Just a bad feeling. A little hobby of mine, I collect them" (2004: 232). So the hard-

boiled detective is not a brilliant eccentric, but an ordinary man who tries to do his job as well as he can, and fights the troubles of every day life in a big city.

Moreover, the hard-boiled detective is accustomed to crime, unlike his classic counterpart for whom crime is some abnormality in the society. For Rebus crime is integrated within the society:

It was everywhere, crime. It was the life-force and the blood and the balls of life: to cheat, to edge; to take that body-swerve at authority, to kill. The higher up you climbed into crime, the more subtly you began to move back towards legitimacy, until a handful of lawyers only could crack open your system, and they were always affordable, always on hand to be bribed. Dostoevsky had known all that, clever old bastard. He had felt the stick burning from both ends (*Knots and Crosses* 2000: 39).

To sum up, Rebus shares many features with a hard-boiled detective. Plain puts it bluntly:

Rebus conforms to many of the patterns we have come to associate with the hard-boiled urban detective. He is a hard-drinking obsessive loner, who has difficulty sustaining relationships. He is distrustful of institutional structures and is inclined to privilege his private morality over public law – a tendency which inevitably sets him in conflict with authority (2002: 26).

The second most important figure in the hard-boiled detective fiction is the criminal. Unlike in the classic detective fiction where the criminal is relatively obscure, marginal figure, the hard-boiled criminal usually plays a central role, sometimes the central role after the detective (Cawelti 1986: 147). Consequently, because the criminal might be given

nearly as much focus as the detective himself, it may even be a friend of the detective or a woman he is emotionally or sexually involved with. Thus, the hard-boiled criminal plays a complex and ambiguous role, and is often characterized as particularly vicious, perverse, or depraved, and in a striking number of instances as a woman of unusual sexual attractiveness (Cawelti 1986: 148).

It is worth pointing out at this point that in Rankin's novels the villain's identity is often known to the reader. Consequently, one can follow not only the detective's adventures, but also those of the criminal. ("Death is Not the End", *Black and Blue*, *Knots and Crosses* – the last to a lesser extent). Thus, in those novels we do not have suspense in the style of the classic detective story. This is of course what one would expect from the hard-boiled detective fiction which is, as I have mentioned earlier, based not on the pattern of mystery, but on the pattern of heroic adventure. However, Rankin develops this convention further by presenting the villains not only through their encounters with the detective.

Furthermore, one has to notice the particular significance of the female characters. As I have pointed out in the previous chapters, the classic detective rarely becomes romantically or sexually involved. Sexual attractiveness is, however, characteristic of the urban hard-boiled detective (Cawelti 1986: 153). Hence, the role of woman in the story is crucial. However, one has to stress that the representation of the woman in the hard-boiled detective fiction is very stereotypical and limited. As Plain points out, "they are only offered a choice between the deadly, sexually voracious *femme fatale*, the asexual (and hence unthreatening) plucky girl assistant, or the damsel in distress, who might double as the victim" (2002: 48).⁴ Plain goes on to argue that all three categories of woman are covered by Rankin's *Black and Blue*. The role of *femme fatale* is obviously taken by Eve Cudden whose name seems to be more than appropriate for this part; the asexual assistant is Siobhan Clarke; and Gill Templer can be described as the

⁴One must point out here that the other novels in the series do not necessarily feature all three types of the female characters.

damsel in distress.

Rebus meets Eve in a clichéd setting for an encounter with a *femme fatale*: a bar. Eve tries to seduce him and set him up at the same time, but she fails. Later, when Rebus is interrogating her, he refers to this situation:

“I can see what he sees in you: you’re an accomplished seducer.”

“Not that accomplished.” Her eyes found his.
(2004: 385)

Rebus not only calls her an accomplished seducer, but also compares her to a cat: “same morals, same instinct” (2004: 386). Eve eventually brings down the Toal family, and engages in sexual intercourse with the detective (2004: 404-405). This time she does it not because she wants to set him up, but because she wants to enjoy herself. So like a man she seeks pleasure, and is too independent and emotionless to get entangled with anyone. Arguably, she is a *femme fatale* who, as Plain argues, “breaks free from the customary association of woman with passivity and emotion, displaying instead a ‘masculine’ appetite for pleasure, power, and independence” (2002: 49).

The second category, that of plucky girl assistant, is filled by Siobhan Clarke. She does not have a large role in the novel, but her brief appearances are significant (Plain 2002: 49).⁵ Rebus depends on her to check for him names, dates, files. As Plain puts it, “She works in the inside to find the answers for the outside detective” (2002: 50).

Finally, Gill Templer (introduced in *Knots and Crosses*) falls into the category of the damsel in distress. Although technically his superior, she needs Rebus to help her survive in the big bad boy’s world of the police. The relationship between the two of them becomes that of teacher and pupil (Plain 2002: 50). Gill

⁵ One must note here that later in the series Siobhan starts to play much more significant role. In fact, the second last novel suggests that she might become the main character in a new series.

needs to ask Rebus for help with handling the drug case, and he helps her out by nailing down the criminal. Rebus says that "it could be the making of her" (2004: 426). So although Gill appears to be a successful police officer, she actually needs Rebus's (male) help to solve the case. As Plain rightly observes: "Rankin succinctly posits the difficulties facing women who attempt to compete in a man's world" (2002: 51). This is also reflected when Rebus meets a female journalist: "She smiled: lip gloss, eye-shadow, tired face trying for enthusiasm. Rebus knew why she was tired: it was hard-work acting like 'one of the boys'" (2004: 97).

Therefore, one can claim that *Black and Blue* also engages with such issues as the role of women in society. This matter will be discussed later. All in all, one can see clearly that the female characters are a staple element of Rankin's fiction.

As far as the representation of the victim is concerned, Rankin draws both from the classic formula, and the hard-boiled one. In some novels the story maintains the detachment from the victim by making him or her relatively obscure and colourless; in others the reader is inclined to feel more strongly about the victim. In *Knots and Crosses* one sympathizes with young girls who are abducted, and that feeling is intensified by the fact that the last victim is Rebus's daughter. However, in *Black and Blue* and "Death is Not the End" we are more interested in the figure of the detective than the victims. Summing up, Rankin's novels contain many characters which are typical characters of hard-boiled fiction.

It follows that because the hard-boiled detective story features different characters (primarily the detective), and a different pattern of action, it needs a different setting than the classic detective story. It is typically an urban world which epitomizes empty modernity, corruption, and death. This world is perverted by evil and crime. Hence, it bears little resemblance to the world usually portrayed in the classic detective story where the setting is typically serene and peaceful. This world is shaken by the appearance of a crime, but the detective's intervention restores it. On the contrary, in the hard-boiled detective story crime is a regular feature of the landscape.

As Plain puts it, “The location shifts from the predominantly rural to the predominantly urban, and the albeit imperfect community of classical crime fiction is replaced by a fragmented landscape of alienation, corruption and decay” (2002: 33).

So one can note the special role of the modern city as a background in the hard-boiled formula (Cawelti 1986: 140). It is a city in which no one can be safe and no one can be fully trusted. Indeed, it is a very gloomy world. Cawelti points out that the city is a wasteland, a man-made desert or cavern of lost humanity (1986: 155). It has become a cliché, but usually the weather in those “wastelands” is everything but sunny – the cities always seem to *sink in the rain*.

Rankin sets his novels in the prominent Scotland cities. In most novels it is Edinburgh, which is where Rebus lives permanently. But, for example, in *Black and Blue* Rebus travels between Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen. Although these are Scottish cities, and not American as in traditional hard-boiled fiction, they bear resemblance to the cities described by such writers like Chandler and Hammet. One can see that clearly in the following passage:

He knew that Edinburgh was all appearances, which made the crime less easy to spot, but no less evident. Edinburgh was a schizophrenic city, the place of Jekyll and Hyde sure enough, the city of Deacon Brodie, of fur coats and no knickers (as they said in the west) (*Knots and Crosses* 2000: 193).

Arguably, Edinburgh is presented as a place full of crime and of corrupt morals. Moreover, on the surface it is an attractive place, full of historic monuments and beautiful architecture – this side of the city is seen by the tourists:

Such a beautiful place, and prosperous. So little crime. They thought to be dangerous a city had to look dangerous. London, Manchester, Liverpool – these places were dangerous in their eyes. Not

Edinburgh, not this sleepy walking-tour with its monuments and museums. ("Death is Not the End" 2002: 349)

However, this is only a superficial view of the city because underneath the attractive layer lurks menace: "The city hid its secrets well, and its vices too" ("Death is Not the End" 2002: 349).

Even the weather in Edinburgh is typical of the genre:

Edinburgh rain was like judgment. It soaked into the bones, into the structures of the buildings, into the memories of the tourists. It lingered for days, splashing up from puddles by the roadside, breaking up marriages, chilling, killing, omnipresent (*Knots and Crosses* 2000: 135).

Moreover, in *Black and Blue* it is not only Edinburgh, but the whole of Scotland, which is far from picturesque (see *Plain* 2002: 27).

So one can see clearly that the setting created by Rankin in his novels is characterized by many of the typical features of the conventional hard-boiled fiction's setting. Moreover, his setting echoes Gothic fiction. First of all, the atmosphere of Rankin's novels brings to mind that of the classic Gothic novel. Next, although the symbols of terror have undergone a major shift, they are still there. But instead of the Gothic castle, lair of a diabolical, aristocratic and masculine villain, danger and betrayal emanate from the city. In the hard-boiled detective story evil has become endemic and pervasive; it has begun to erode the very pillars of middle-class society, respectable citizens, the modern metropolis, and the institutions of law and order (Cawelti 1986: 156). Arguably one can find such a Gothic vision of the society in the works of Rankin.

Furthermore, Rankin's novels are marked by the psychological undercurrents. This is not original in itself, as hard-boiled fiction always features a detective who is emotionally engaged in his investigation, and, consequently,

his emotional state is given a considerable attention. However, Rankin contributes to the development of the genre by creating texts which are even more marked by psychological concerns. Indeed, in the works featuring Rebus a lot of text focuses on his emotions, feelings and memories from the past. In *Knots and Crosses* Rebus is both metaphorically and literary haunted by his past life in the SAS. It is a life he has been trying hard to forget. Unfortunately, the memories of his keep coming back; every now and then he hears “a screaming in his memory”:

*Past lives...Yes, he believed in some things...
In God, certainly... But past lives... Without
warning, a face screamed up at him from the
carpet, trapped in its cell. He dropped his glass.
(2000: 11)*

Memories keep haunting him everyday; there is no way of escaping them. Even when Rebus is having sex he is overwhelmed by the emotions which are beyond his control:

Gill raised herself up and turned her head towards his, seeking a kiss. Gill, Gordon Reeve, seeking something from him, something he couldn't give. Despite the training, despite the years of practice, the years of work and persistence.
“John?”
But he was elsewhere now, back inside the training camp, back trudging across a muddy field, the Boss screaming at him to speed up, back in that cell, watching a cockroach pace the begrimed floor, back in the helicopter, a bag over his head, the spray of the sea salty in his ears...
“John?” (...) She saw the tears about to start from his eyes (2000: 69).

And during one sexual act he is actually so mentally disturbed that he unconsciously tries to strangle his lover (2000: 120-121). Rebus tries to suppress the memories, but naturally they

come back with the double force: "It was rejection by his whole being of the past, as though his vital organs were rejecting a donor heart" (2000: 52).

As one can see on the basis of the above mentioned examples, the focus of the text is on Rebus's mental state, his emotions, and feelings. The memories from his previous life – a life which was spent in the SAS become a chief concern of the story. This is for two reasons: first, in Rebus's past there is a key to solving the crime puzzle, and second, Rankin is concerned with the detailed characterization of his hero. Rebus's emotional life is as important as (or perhaps even more than) his adventures. Hence, the hero's psychological state is given a lot of attention. This interest is also shown by the shift of the narrational pattern. Most of the story is told by a third-person omniscient narrator, but at one point the text focuses and modulates into the first-person narration. This is when Rebus is hypnotized by his brother Michael to help him bring back the memories he has suppressed (2000: 157-172). The shift of narrational technique illustrates also the shift of focus: the detective's memories, emotions, and feelings become more important than anything else.

Similarly in "Death is Not the End", it is the mood, feeling, and memories of the detective which draw the reader's attention more than the investigation. This is because one of the two investigations which are simultaneously carried out by Rebus is a personal one as he answers a request of help of his old school friends. It follows that Rebus's memories from his school days come into focus (2002: 327), as well as those connected with the detective's hometown and parents:

He [...] remembered stories about Bowhill, stories which seemed inextricable from family history: mining tragedies; a girl found drowned in the River Ore; a holiday car crash which had erased an entire family. Then there was Johnny Thomson, Celtic goalkeeper, injured during an "Old Firm" match. He was in his early twenties when he died, and was buried behind those

gates, not far from Rebus's parents (2002: 364).

One could multiply the examples of this psychological focus in the text. Indeed, they are given a prominent importance. It is also in *Black and Blue* that we can find Rebus cherishing memories, for example, when he thinks about his old partner and mentor Lawson Geddes (2004: 35-40). But in this novel it is also Rebus's emotional and mental state which is given a lot of attention. Rebus seems to be obsessed by the old unsolved case – the murders by a famous bogeyman of the 1960's, Bible John. And then his "offspring" appears doing copycat murders: Johnny Bible. Rebus cannot get his mind off those two cases; his kitchen is full of cuttings from newspapers which relate to them. Moreover, he cannot separate his work from his private life; the memories of the victims haunt him:

[...] when you worked a murder investigation, your client was the deceased, mute and cold, but still screaming out for justice. It had to be true, because sometimes if you listened hard enough you could hear them screaming. Sitting in his chair by the window, Rebus had heard many a despairing cry (2004: 51).

Thus, he drinks heavily to wash away the memories and to ensure himself nights without terrible dreams. Rebus cannot cope with the truth that murders and their victims will always be a part of his life, and some of the criminals he will never catch. Consequently, it becomes more and more difficult for him to control his feelings, and he sometimes breaks down, crying:

He wanted a drink, wanted one desperately. But he wasn't going to have one, not yet. Maybe later, maybe sometime. People died and you couldn't bring them back. Some of them died violently, cruelly young without knowing why they'd been chosen. Rebus felt surrounded by loss. All the

ghosts...yelling at him...begging him...shrieking
[...] He knew he'd been crying and pulled out a
handkerchief (2004: 381).

As one can see from the passage quoted above Rebus is presented as a deeply emotional figure.

To sum up, Rankin's fiction does not only focus on the detective's adventures, but also on his memories, feelings, and emotions. Rebus's spiritual life is more important than the investigations he is carrying out. Since the reader usually knows the identity of the criminals early on in the text, his or her attention is inevitably drawn to the figure of the detective. And as the series progresses we learn more and more about his character, including even his taste in music (throughout *Black and Blue* the narrator informs us about what kind of songs Rebus is listening to at the moment). Rankin's interest in a character is also shown in the fact that he keeps bringing back the characters from the previous books in the series. Hence, one learns a bit more about them too, and one can see how their lives develop. All this makes Rankin's fiction prominently marked by psychological undercurrents. One can see it clearly as an example not only of hard-boiled detective fiction, but also a psychological novel.

Furthermore, Rankin's work shows an interest in social issues. His fiction paints a picture of Scotland. Especially in *Black and Blue* which is full of descriptions of the various parts of the country: the South, the Central area, the Highlands and Shetland. The narrator describes different cities, the country's industry, its history and its language. Each part seems to be different, and has some local colour. As Rebus travels through Scotland each part becomes like a different country with its own rules. The only thing which is in common is crime. Arguably, Rankin presents a country which is not nationally coherent. It is not even linguistically coherent as in each part the language is a bit different; for example in Aberdeen, "when they asked you where you were from, it sounded like they were saying 'Fury boot ye frae?'" (*Black and Blue* 2004: 164). As Plain argues:

Rankin's Scotland is far from picturesque. As his detective travels the country he encounters the Scotland of big business and vested interests. He sees a nation of internecine rivalries in which traditional landscapes, both urban and rural are being obliterated by the awe-inspiring but corrosive influence of global corporate capitalism. As Rebus moves between Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Shetland he constantly encounters new challenges topographical, conceptual, and linguistic – and each location comes to act as a new frontier, complicating the reader's sense of Scotland as a coherent national unit (2002: 27).

So one can see clearly that Rankin's novels comment on the condition of the country and its society. As I have mentioned before the text of *Black and Blue* comments on the role of women in society. Other novels by Rankin engage themselves with such issues as immigration (e.g. *Fleshmarket Close*), politics (e.g. *The Naming of the Dead*), and paedophilia (e.g. *Dead Souls*) to name just a few. This leads to the conclusion that Rankin is not really interested in writing a "whodunit"⁶, but in exploring what it means to live in a society penetrated by crime. Criminal investigation is used as a means of exposing the precarious condition of contemporary society (Plain 2002: 27). And it is a society taken over by crime, not only because of individual acts of evil, but also because all the parts of the society seem to be involved in crime. Even the police are not always concerned with justice, as public opinion, business, and money seem to be as important, and one will always come across a bent police officer, e.g., Lumsden in *Black and Blue*. Crime is implemented in the institutional structures of the society itself. Rebus realizes that, and he also realizes that he too is subject to forces beyond his control (Plain 2002: 45):

⁶ A term often used to describe a story about a crime and the attempt to discover who committed it.

Niddrie, Craigmillar, Wester Hailies, Muirhouse, Pilton, Granton... They all seemed to him like some horrible experiment in social engineering: scientists in white coats sticking families down in this maze or that, seeing what would happen, how strong they'd have to become to cope, whether or not they'd find the exit....He lived in an area of Edinburgh where six figures bought you a three-bedroomed flat. It amused him that he could sell up and be suddenly rich...except, of course, that he'd have nowhere to live, and couldn't afford to move anywhere nicer in the city. He realized he was just about as trapped as anyone in Niddrie or Craigmillar, nicer model of trap that was all (*Black and Blue* 2004: 106).

To conclude, novels by Rankin are marked by the concern with nation and history as well as psychological observations. These are features that one can expect from a piece of hard-boiled detective fiction, but Rankin, as I have been trying to suggest, develops the convention further (especially as far as the interest in psychological aspects is concerned). Hence, one can see clearly that Rankin's fiction has acquired features connected with the psychological-social novel. Once again, this confirms the arguments for the historical development of the genre, and for the process of the ennobling of the genre of the detective story.⁷

⁷ Genre ennoblement is discussed by Malcolm in "Contemporary British Espionage Fiction: Some Transformations of the Genre".

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**The sacred fantastic:
The Biblical paradigm in J. K. Rowling's
*Harry Potter***

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1. Introduction

Against the background of the rich and diverse literary heritage of Western Europe, the phenomenon of the fantasy genre can be evaluated as a relatively recent contribution. It can be stated that fantasy is still undergoing the process of being recognised as a significant constituent part of contemporary *belles-lettres* culture. Fantasy writings are presently acquiring growing popularity among the readership as well as broad recognition as a subject of academic studies in a variety of fields.

In literary theory, the term “fantasy” has been applied rather deliberately, referring to any literature that does not give priority to realistic representation. This paper will keep within the borders defined by C. N. Manlove: “a fiction evoking wonder and containing a substantial and irreducible element of the supernatural with which the mortal characters in the story or the readers become on at least partly familiar terms” (Manlove 1975:1). The famous English writer, J. R. R. Tolkien, was the first to outline the basic principles of the genre: a self-sufficient parallel reality, the existence of supernatural beings and powers as well as an extensive use of magic.

It is essential to note that, although most researchers consider that fantasy “as a semi-coherent genre only dates from the onset of Gothicism, when it develops as both a counter to an emerging tradition of realism, and as a response to the conditions of modernity” (Hume 1984: 4), the fantastic

storytelling tradition has existed in literary culture since the dawn of humanity. So, although modern fantasy is to be viewed as a unique phenomenon, many earlier literary works have served as its inspiration and sources. A study of the interrelations between fantasy and these sources of influence is one of the aspects that is often overlooked.

The interest of this paper lies in the exploration of a particular aspect – the cultural impact of Christianity and its primary source text, the Bible, as reflected in fantasy writings, since they often employ themes, characters and plots that have their basis in Biblical prototypes and use direct and indirect references to generally known phenomena of Biblical culture. This paper seeks to explore these references in the popular children's fantasy books about Harry Potter, whose recent topicality and controversiality were among the main reasons for choosing them for analysis.

2. The Harry Potter phenomenon

The latest developments in the literary fantasy of the turn of the century are under the considerable influence of post-modern culture, especially its characteristic indistinct categories, eclecticism of literary genres and combinations of traditional and modern elements. The phenomenal popularity of the series of novels by the British author J. K. Rowling about the boy wizard Harry Potter, a synthesis of school story, teenage detective and classic fantasy narration set in modern Britain, has acquired a name: the “Harry Potter phenomenon” and provides a vivid example of how fantasy invades the lives of modern people. The readership includes adults as well but the books are credited with making reading popular with junior teens and even younger children. The fact that the writer has succeeded in creating a self-contained parallel reality within modern England makes it possible to enlist the books among fantasy works rather than mere fairy tales.

The critics explain this phenomenon by analysing recent tendencies in children's literature. To use J. R. R. Tolkien's metaphor, children's imaginations are imprisoned and want

an escape from the politically correct school curriculum. "Their textbooks are materialistic: science texts asserting the closed naturalistic system of evolution, history texts attacking American ideals, and reading texts spinning out "problem" stories and moral dilemmas. No wonder children hate to read" (Veith 2002: 8). As suggested by Mark West in his study "Fantasy Literature for Children: Past, Present, and Future Tensions", "the real reason so many Americans have attempted to suppress fantasy literature for children is because they fear the possible consequences of granting children the freedom to exercise their imaginations" (West 2000: 47).

It cannot be denied that during recent decades the West has experienced a paradigm shift in the social context from a generally Christian-oriented world-view towards a secular one. Children now learn their values from a variety of sources, the entertainment industry being one of the most persuasive agents of cultural awareness. Biblical views have lost the status of unquestionable truth and their significance has been reduced in various branches of culture. Against this background, a contrastive view is provided by fantasy literature: "the wonder it evokes, the archetypal elements it relies on, its portrayal of moral issues in conflicts between good and evil, the opportunities it provides for encouraging creativity, the existence of deeper meanings in the story" (McIntosh 1983: 5). Critics examining the motives dominating fantasy for children suggest that fantasy works function as connectives between the myth, fairy-tale and the factual reality: "By freeing themselves from natural laws, the authors can design a framework in which they will be able to deal with philosophic questions without resorting to moralizing. At the same time, authors will be able to project the reader into marvellous new worlds and experiences" (Cohen 1975: 28). Among other fantasy heroes, Harry Potter, a messianic but humane character, presents a contrast to the traditionally confused post-modern character by his clear-cut distinction between notions like good and evil, injustice and truth. It has been assumed that Harry Potter books can be defined as modern myths centred round an archetypal hero.

The author's primary intention has obviously been to entertain. Rowling states: "Initially, I intended to write a story... "message" I put in heavily inverted commas because I don't set out to teach people specific things. Those lessons, they grow naturally out of the book" (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation 2000). On the other hand, the contents of the book prove that "*intentio auctoris*, the intention of the author, may in the end be different from *intentio operis*, the objective intention or direction of the work" (Introvigne 1999). These books mirror moral values that may not have been purposefully incorporated. Although the Harry Potter books do not speak in explicitly Biblical terms, they contain enough material to claim the existence of a Biblical paradigm in them, which can partly be considered as culturally conditioned, and show a richness of Christian allusion and deep symbolism, both classical and medieval.

This analysis addresses the first four books in the cycle, applying structural analysis to the plot, settings and characters as compared to the corresponding elements in the Scripture.

3. The Biblical paradigm in the plot

If the plot in literature is generally supposed to provide a structure through which the reader can perceive universal themes, it must be noticed that the drama of Harry Potter is of a moral rather than a magical character. As Rowling superimposes layer upon layer of myths and symbols, she creates the possibility for an instinctive response that makes the reader contemplate fundamental questions.

3.1. The conflict between good and evil

The basic conflict in the books is a struggle between the good and the evil forces, represented as a decisive conflict between the Hogwarts Headmaster Dumbledore, Harry and his friends and Voldemort, "the defiant, power-hungry Lucifer of this imaginary world" (MacManaman 2001). The concepts of the opposing forces can be compared to Biblical perceptions

about God and Satan. The similarities to the Bible can also be observed in the fact that the opponents are individuals rather than abstract ideas, and the crucial battles are being fought between their followers rather than the adversaries themselves.

Voldemort is characterised as follows: *“He (Voldemort) is with me wherever I go,” said Quirrell quietly. “I met him when I travelled around the world. A foolish young man I was then, full of ridiculous ideas about good and evil. Lord Voldemort showed me how wrong I was. There is no good and evil, there is only power, and those too weak to seek it. ... Since then, I have served him faithfully, although I have let him down many times. He has had to be very hard on me.” Quirrell shivered suddenly. “He does not forgive mistakes easily”* (HS, 361). The following features match the definition of evil in the Bible.

The deceiving nature of the Devil, with similar promises of knowledge and power, is portrayed in Gen 3:4 *And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die: For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil.* Likewise, the Biblical Devil also creates confusion in making a distinction between good and evil as recorded in 2 Thess 2: 9-12: *The coming of the lawless one will be in accordance with the work of Satan displayed (...) in every sort of evil that deceives those who are perishing. They perish because they refused to love the truth and so be saved. For this reason God sends them a powerful delusion so that they will believe the lie.* Voldemort is shown as being able to enter a human mind, thus deceiving and destroying his servants. Another similarity to the Biblical Satan can be seen when Voldemort tempts Harry to become his follower by promise and threat: *“Don’t be a fool...Better save your own life and join me”* (HS, 361). This episode has certain similarities to Jesus’ temptation in the wilderness. Rowling’s message here is cross-cultural and cannot usually be found in popular fiction. Moral relativism is “cast unambiguously in a negative light here. Moreover, the Nietzschean tradition of nihilism, holding that there is no good and evil, only power, is similarly discredited” (MacManaman, 2001).

What is most important is the repeatedly emphasised motif that everybody has to make their own choices, which, rather than descent, skills or traits of character, determine the person's sum and substance. This theme is introduced in the episode of Sorting Hat sorting the new Hogwarts students into their "houses" when Harry refuses to commit to Slytherin House, known as the dwelling place of dark wizardry and later expanded by Dumbledore: "*It is our choices, Harry, that show what we truly are, far more than our abilities*" (HC, 358). The free will granted by God is one of the key themes in the Bible. It also reveals the parallel world in the Harry Potter books as a spiritual battleground, similarly to the Biblical portrayal of earthly life in 1 Tim 1:18-19: *My son, I give you these instructions so that by following them you may fight the good fight, holding on to faith and a good conscience*. According to the scholar Alan Jacobs, "the educational quandary for Dumbledore is how to train students not just in the 'technology' of magic but also in the moral discernment necessary to avoid the continual reproduction of the few great Dark Lords like Voldemort and their multitudinous followers" (Jacobs, 2000). This is pronounced by a Hogwarts teacher: "*You need preparing. You need arming. But most of all, you need to practise constant, never-ceasing vigilance*" (HG, 192), a warning similar to that in 1 Thess 5:6: *Therefore let us not sleep, as do others; but let us watch and be sober*.

Still, while the author makes a clear distinction between good and evil, she refuses to introduce an automatic division of heroes into opposite parties. As concluded by David Colbert, "within the walls of Hogwarts...evil is to be countered with compassion. More than once Dumbledore has demonstrated a strong faith that fallen wizards can redeem themselves... Even Slytherin's ambition can be directed towards good" (Colbert 2003: 138). Rowling states: "Dumbledore says that you have to choose between what is right and what is easy. Evil will be the result of very poor choices and possibly insufficient bravery to take the right path. And that's what I'm attempting to show with my villain. Here is someone who had choices

– he had a great deal of natural talent which he’s abusing, he’s totally self-serving, but he could have gone a different way. That is supposed to be contrasted quite strongly with Harry, who has come from an equally difficult start in life, but who consistently tries to make the right choices” (Jensen 2000). Some of the approving critics see the Harry Potter books as a “multi-volume *Bildungsroman* – a story of character formation ... Harry Potter is unquestionably a good boy, but a key component of his virtue arises from his recognition that he is not *inevitably* good” (Jacobs 2000). The hero’s character is in the process of self-making rather than a compilation of fixed pre-existent faculties.

3.2. The perception of death

The message of a spiritual battle sets the stage for the next major moral theme, the acceptance of death. The book demonstrates a rather unusual concept for a children’s book – death as a logical continuation of life – the next stage of development. In HS, Nicolas Flamel and his wife decide to destroy the Philosopher’s Stone (the critical ingredient in the Elixir of Life, which prolongs life indefinitely) to prevent it falling into the wrong hands, even though this means their own deaths. When Harry is surprised by their unselfishness, Dumbledore explains: “*To one as young as you, I’m sure it seems incredible, but to Nicolas and Perenelle, it really is like going to bed after a very, very long day. After all, to the well-organised mind, death is but the next great adventure*” (HS 369). Also Scripture associates death with gain, for example in Philip 1:21: *For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain.*

Dumbledore continues: “*You know, the Stone was really not such a wonderful thing. As much money and life as you could want! The two things most human beings would choose above all – the trouble is, humans do have a knack of choosing precisely those things which are worst for them*” (HS 370). This statement illustrates an important Biblical point of faith – the human inclination to make wrong choices: “We have neither the wisdom nor the inclination to choose what is best for

us; for dulling of the mind and concupiscence are effects of Original Sin” (MacManaman 2001). The concept of not fearing death implies an existence of an afterworld, though it is not delineated.

3.3. The perception of truth

Truth can be considered to be the basic message of Dumbledore, who teaches Harry not to fear the true names of things and people as they reveal their true nature. Voldemort’s name is traditionally replaced by the title You-Know-Who but Dumbledore says: “*Call him Voldemort, Harry. Always use the proper name for things. Fear of a name increases fear of the thing itself*” (HS, 370), thus correlating with the Biblical statement of John 8:32: *And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free*. Dumbledore also says: “*The truth is a beautiful and terrible thing and should be treated with great caution*” (HS, 371). The difference between truth and dreams is the same message, communicated in the episode when Harry finds a magical mirror. “*It was a magnificent mirror... There was an inscription carved around the top: Erised stra ehru oyt ube cafru oyt on wohsi*” (HS 259) (read backwards: “I show not your face, but your heart’s desire”.) The research into the world’s symbolism states that a mirror can be viewed as a representation of divine truth and wisdom (Brūsa 1998: 78). In the Bible, though, a mirror symbolises the lack of clarity of vision, implying a human rather than a divine perception of truth (Boldoks 1999: 134).

Dumbledore finds Harry staring in the mirror and explains the true nature of the magical thing: “*It shows us nothing more or less than the deepest, most desperate desire of our hearts. However, this mirror will give us neither knowledge nor truth. (...) It does not do to dwell on dreams and forget to live, remember that*” (HS, 265). As was pointed out by a critic, the mirror here is “also a test of one’s character. Vanity and selfishness, central to the act of looking in a mirror, are corrupt qualities. Because only someone with rare virtue deserves his desire, only someone who looks in the mirror and sees others (as

when Harry sees his parents in it) or sees himself committing a selfless act (such as keeping the Stone from Voldemort) will receive what he wishes” (Colbert 2003, 162).

3.4. The power of love

The most radical Biblical message in the books is the proclamation of the power of sacrificial love as the most potent privilege of humans. In the first book, Dumbledore explains why Harry’s skin burned Quirrell’s hands as he was trying to choke Harry in the final battle: *“Your mother died to save you. If there is one thing Voldemort cannot understand, it is love. He didn’t realise that love as powerful as your mother’s for you leaves its own mark. Not a scar, no visible sign... to have been loved so deeply, even though the person who loved us is gone, will give us some protection forever. Quirrell, full of hatred, greed and ambition, sharing his soul with Voldemort, could not touch you for this reason”* (HS, 372). Thus love is able to prevent death and provide protection, a concept that correlates with the central teachings of the Christian faith, which state that God has so loved the world that he has sent his Son to die in the sinners’ stead. In a fashion, this could be connected with the protection Christ’s death bestows on believers. Similarly, God’s love in the Bible is portrayed as able to thwart the evil powers as well.

It has been suggested that part of the attraction of the Harry Potter books can be ascribed to the fact that they deal with these profound questions of sacrificial love and its hidden and subversive power. This provides the books with a basically Biblical message from the start.

4. The Biblical paradigm in the setting

4.1. Parallel realities

It is possible to observe certain similarities between the Bible and the Harry Potter books, both of which speak about two types of worlds functioning according to their own system

of law or code: the tangible universe visible to everyone and the para-world revealed to only the initiated few. Harry's life is divided between two types of reality – the non-magic everyday world and the magical one. It is interesting to notice that the books deal with the latter almost exclusively.

The manner of getting into the parallel world is practically unexplainable, as the entrance happens largely due to a person's belief and personal risk, breaking the barriers literally as well as metaphorically. *"How to get onto the platform?" she said kindly, and Harry nodded. "Not to worry!" she said. "All you have to do is walk straight at the barrier between platforms nine and ten. Don't stop and don't be scared you'll crash into it, that's very important"* (HS 116). Here the importance of faith in acting out what is seemingly impossible is stressed. In the magical world, thus, the emphasis is laid on things unseen, yet believed in.

Some events occurring at the turning points of the plot demonstrate obvious similarities to Biblical scenes. The chapter entitled "The Writing On The Wall" features an unseen monster threatening Hogwarts and its students: *"Something was shining on the wall ahead. Foot-high words had been daubed on the wall between two windows, shimmering in the light cast by the flaming torches. THE CHAMBER OF SECRETS HAS BEEN OPENED. ENEMIES OF THE HEIR, BEWARE"* (HC 151). This writing sets the stage for the central events of the book and functions simultaneously as warning and threat. The phrase "Writing on the wall" can be perceived as a direct allusion to Dan 5:25-29: *In the same hour came forth fingers of a man's hand, and wrote over against the candlestick upon the plaster of the wall of the king's palace. And this is the writing that was written, MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN.* In both cases, the writing is seen by many, causes fear and prepares the stage for calamities. The writers are not of human origin and the predicted catastrophes really do happen. The difference lies in the consequences: in the Harry Potter book, courage and loyalty overcome the monster, while in the Bible the predicted fall of the kingdom can be neither delayed nor corrected.

A number of Biblical symbols appear at crucial moments

of the story, one of the most visible being the cup: *Dumbledore reached inside it and pulled out a large, roughly hewn wooden cup. It would have been entirely unremarkable had it not been full to the brim with dancing blue-white flames* (HG 225). In Biblical tradition, a cup represents suffering and the New Testament. The appearance of a cup named the Goblet of Fire in HG introduces the Triwizard Tournament that later brings about unpredictable consequences. It also foretells suffering, since one of the students competing for the prize will be killed and Harry will be severely wounded. This cup also indicates a beginning of a new era, since the events initiated by this competition will lead to a resurrection of Lord Voldemort and the beginning of a final battle between good and evil. David Colbert identifies the cup with the traditional sacramental object: "The Goblet of Fire is more than a little similar to another powerful goblet that has launched tournaments and battles: the Holy Grail. This is the cup from which Jesus Christ drank at the Last Supper. Though sometimes depicted as a shining silver goblet, the Holy Grail, being the cup of a poor carpenter, would probably have been made of wood – like the Goblet of Fire" (Colbert 2003: 111-112). In the final competition, the cup is placed in the centre of a maze that in Christian symbolism denotes the inner journey of the human soul, full of obstacles that must be overcome to reach one's own spiritual centre (Boldoks 1999: 120).

The symbolism of blood is another powerful image appearing in HG. Lord Voldemort needs the blood of an enemy in order to be resurrected in human flesh. That blood is taken from Harry. The Biblical context for the blood symbolism is that of life (Lev 17:11: *For the life of the flesh is in the blood*) and the sacrifice necessary for remission (Hebr 9:22: *And almost all things are by the law purged with blood; and without shedding of blood is no remission*). The feeding on somebody's blood as the act of taking over a person's better part is known by many belief systems, in some reaching such extremes as cannibalism. Another way of treating this ancient belief appears in the Biblical sacrament of the Last Supper (Pasaules religijas, 1999).

4.2. Supernatural beings

The supernatural beings of the magical world that might be considered as representing spiritual forces are of two main types: Dementors and Patrons.

Dementors are evil, ghostlike beings capable of depriving a person of their soul. *“Dementors are among the foulest creatures that walk this earth. They infest the darkest, filthiest places, they glory in decay and despair, they drain peace, hope and happiness out of the air around them. If it can, the dementor will feed on you long enough to reduce you to something like itself... soul-less and evil”* (HP, 203). Their invisibility and greed for human souls enables us to compare them to the Biblical concept of demons. The book states: *“You can exist without your soul, you know, as long as your brain and heart are still working. But you’ll have no sense of self any more, no memory, no.. anything. There’s no chance at all of recovery. You’ll just exist. As an empty shell”* (HP 268). In other words, the books recognise the existence of a soul as the most essential part of a human being and being deprived of a soul is tantamount to being dead. The Biblical notion of one’s soul is that of the spiritual centre of a person that needs guarding. In a way, Dementors can be viewed as harbingers of death.

The second group of supernatural beings consists of the Patrons – protective images similar to the concept of guardian angels. They are summoned by the incantation *Expecto Patronum* – Latin for “release protector” and described as *“a kind of positive force, a projection of the very things that the Dementor feeds upon -- hope, happiness, the desire to survive -- but it cannot feel despair, as real humans can, so the Dementors can’t hurt it”* (HP 257). Patrons are not human, they cannot be hurt by destructive powers and their mission is to protect the summoning person. The Bible explains the principle of the guardian angel in a similar way: Ps 91:10: *There shall no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling. For he shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways.* Significantly, also, Harry’s Patronus takes on the form of a silver stag, the animal into which his father used to turn.

This reminds us of the Catholic perception – enabled through prayer – that deceased relatives and friends may take care of those yet alive (Cirsis 1965). This is stated by Dumbledore, “*You think the dead we loved ever truly leave us? You think that we don’t recall them more clearly than ever in times of great trouble? Your father is alive in you, Harry, and shows himself most plainly when you have need of him. How else could you produce that particular Patronus?*” (HP 460).

Still further connections with Biblical spirituality can be discovered while analysing the symbolism of the supernatural animals accompanying Voldemort and Dumbledore.

The snake or serpent, which is the symbol of Slytherin house and the followers of Voldemort, is depicted by the Scripture as the symbol of evil and Satan, traditionally associated with temptation and sin that invisibly works in the world, turning humankind away from God (Boldoks 1999: 103). The Christian identification of the snake with the Devil is quite apparent in the story of the Fall of Man. Revelation 12:9 calls Satan *that serpent of old, called the Devil and Satan, who deceives the whole world*. A snake as the associate of Voldemort continues to appear throughout all four books. Voldemort himself is associated with snakes: *The thing Wormtail had been carrying had the shape of a crouched human child. Its arms and legs were thin and feeble, and its face - no child alive ever had a face like that - flat and snakelike, with gleaming red eyes* (HG, 556).

Dumbledore’s pet, a phoenix, is a gorgeous bird that according to mythology burns itself to be reborn from the ashes and is associated with resurrection, immortality and triumph over adversity (Brūsa 1998: 31, 108). “*Phoenixes burst into flame when it is time for them to die and are reborn from the ashes. (...) They can carry immensely heavy loads, their tears have healing powers, and they make highly faithful pets*” (HC, 225) In the context of the Biblical culture, the phoenix was found to be a symbol of Christ, as in most countries it was believed the phoenix was born without following the natural laws of reproduction and to rise from the dead after three days (Boldoks 1999: 110). This phoenix is of great help to Harry

in several crucial moments, acting as the representative of Dumbledore, bringing comfort and courage into Harry's mind: "*This is what Dumbledore sends his defender! A songbird and an old hat! Do you feel brave, Harry Potter? Do you feel safe now?*" Harry didn't answer. He might not see what use Fawkes or the Sorting Hat were, but he was no longer alone, and he waited for Riddle to stop laughing with his courage mounting" (HC, 339). Thus it is possible to associate the image of the phoenix here with the Biblical concept of the Holy Spirit, which also takes on the form of a bird (a dove) and is an indicator of the divine presence. Likewise, Dumbledore's phoenix is present when the need arises and it recalls Dumbledore: "*And then an unearthly and beautiful sound filled the air. ... It was a sound Harry recognised, though he had heard it only once before in his life: phoenix song. It was the sound of hope to Harry... It was the sound he connected with Dumbledore, and it was almost as though a friend were speaking in his ear*" (HG, 487). As the image of a phoenix is representative of the novel's divine personage, i.e., Dumbledore (a concept argued further), it suggests that it has connections with the Biblical concept of the Holy Spirit.

At least two of the heraldic animals in the Hogwarts coat-of-arms carry symbolic meaning, too: "*In an instant, the green hangings became scarlet and the silver became gold; the huge Slytherin serpent vanished and a towering Gryffindor lion took its place*" (HS, 381). The symbol of Slytherin house – the one associated with the Dark wizards – is a snake, while Harry's house, Gryffindor, bears the image of a griffin: a mythical being with the head of an eagle and the body of a lion, which, according to researchers, "became a symbol of the dual nature (divine and human) of Jesus Christ, because of its mastery of earth and sky. (...) The griffin thus also became the adversary of serpents and basilisks, both of which were seen as the embodiment of satanic demons" (Colbert 2003: 121-122). Significantly also, Gryffindor is the house most favoured by Dumbledore.

An animal obviously bearing Christian symbolism is the unicorn, a medieval symbol of Christ (Brūsa 1998: 38),

traditionally denoting chastity and thus allegorically associated with the Incarnation (Boldoks 1999: 142). Unicorns are killed by Voldemort in his period of exile and wounds, since it is possible to maintain life by unicorns' blood: "*The blood of a unicorn will keep you alive, even if you are an inch from death, but at a terrible price. You have slain something pure and defenceless to save yourself, and you will have but a half-life, a cursed life, from the moment the blood touches your lips.*" (HS, 322) This episode can also be viewed as related to the Biblical concept of blood as the essence of life, as recorded in Lev 17:11-12: *For the life of a creature is in the blood; it is the blood that makes atonement for one's life. Therefore I say to the Israelites, "None of you may eat blood."* This also relates to the Christian belief in the blood of Christ as the essence of eternal life. The entwined concepts of blood, able either to curse or give eternal life, are evidently Biblical. In this case, Voldemort preserves his life by drinking unicorn blood, but is therefore cursed for eternity. On the other hand, Harry's parents shed their blood to preserve the life of their son.

A number of symbolic images that the Harry Potter books have borrowed from either the Bible or Christian tradition are disguised as supernatural creatures necessary to provide fantasy settings. Yet, their original meanings more frequently than not are left unchanged.

5. The Biblical paradigm in the characters

These further entries will analyse the books' characters which most clearly reflect Biblical paradigms: Dumbledore, Voldemort and Harry himself.

As previously stated, the utmost evil and the utmost good as opposing forces are embodied in the persons of the degraded wizard, Lord Voldemort, and Dumbledore, the Hogwarts headmaster. Biblical parallels can be detected in their deeds as well as in the features and properties attributed to them.

5.1. Dumbledore

There are numerous hints in the text that suggest Headmaster Albus Dumbledore is the representative of God in the magical world. To start with, Dumbledore is described as a strong opponent of dark forces. In several episodes it is repeatedly noted that Dumbledore is the only one Voldemort fears. His presence alone is said to provide protection: *“Harry happened to agree wholeheartedly with Mrs Weasley that the safest place on earth was wherever Albus Dumbledore happened to be. Didn’t people always say that Dumbledore was the only person Lord Voldemort had ever been afraid of?”* (HP, 75, 77) This corresponds to the Biblical idea about God’s protection of his people, often by presence only: Ps 31:20 *In the shelter of your presence you hide them from the intrigues of men; in your dwelling you keep them safe.* He is the utmost force opposing the evil, yet with self-imposed limits on the usage of his powers: *“You flatter me,” said Dumbledore calmly. “Voldemort had powers I will never have.” “Only because you’re too - well - noble to use them”* (HS, 14). This reminds us of Christ and his followers as possessing power, but not using it, as expressed in 1 Cor 9:12: *If others be partakers of this power over you, are not we rather? Nevertheless we have not used this power.*

Dumbledore is portrayed as nearly omniscient: *“He’s a funny man, Dumbledore. I think he knows more or less everything that goes on here, you know”* (HS, 375), almost like the Biblical God. However, Dumbledore interferes with events only as much as it is necessary: *“I think he sort of wanted to give me a chance. I reckon he had a pretty good idea we were going to try, and instead of stopping us, he just taught us enough to help”* (HS, 376). Dumbledore expects people to act on their own but is willing to provide the necessary knowledge and power. Likewise, Dumbledore is able to hear pleas for help and answer them from afar, as he states when, removed from the Headmaster’s position, he is forced to leave Hogwarts: *“However,” said Dumbledore, speaking very slowly and clearly so that none of them could miss a word, “you will find that I will only truly have left this school when none here are loyal to me.*

You will also find that help will always be given at Hogwarts to those who ask for it (HS, 285). This corresponds to the statements of Jesus in Luke 11:9: *And I say unto you, Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you.* Just like the Biblical God, Dumbledore demands loyalty and promises help and protection in turn. Phrases similar to Biblical ones are used both in Dumbledore's speech and description. Dumbledore's aim is to teach the truth yet he does not press it upon anyone. When Harry is confronted with the teachers of the school, he seeks the protection of Dumbledore: *"But you believe us."* *"Yes, I do," said Dumbledore quietly. "But I have no power to make other men see the truth* (HP, 423). Or: *"You are blinded," said Dumbledore, his voice rising now, the aura of power around him palpable, his eyes blazing once more* (HG, 614). The Bible similarly refers to blindness as that of the heart rather than that of the eyes: John 12:40: *He has blinded their eyes and deadened their hearts, so they can neither see with their eyes, nor understand with their hearts.* Significantly, in both cases the source of blindness is outside the victim.

Dumbledore's teachings include charity and forgiveness. When Harry doubts the correctness of his having forgiven the betrayer of his parents, Dumbledore states: *"Pettigrew owes his life to you. When one wizard saves another wizard's life, it creates a certain bond between them... This is magic at its deepest, its most impenetrable, Harry. But trust me... the time may come when you will be very glad you saved Pettigrew's life"* (HG, 459). Likewise, one of the basic messages in the New Testament is mercy. Another message of Dumbledore is that of unity as an absolute necessity in the fight against evil: *"I say to you all, once again – in the light of Lord Voldemort's return, we are only as strong as we are united, as weak as we are divided. Lord Voldemort's gift for spreading discord and enmity is very great. We can fight it only by showing an equally strong bond of friendship and trust. Differences of habit and language are nothing at all if our aims are identical and our hearts are open"* (HG, 629). Also, the apostles and Christ proclaimed unity as one of the highest goals: 1 Cor 1:10: *I appeal to you,*

brothers (...) that all of you agree with one another so that there may be no divisions among you and that you may be perfectly united in mind and thought.

Dumbledore is capable of just, powerful anger: “The look upon Dumbledore’s face as he stared was more terrible than Harry could have ever imagined. There was cold fury in every line of the ancient face; a sense of power radiated from Dumbledore as though he were giving off burning heat” (HG, 590). This description fits the characterisation of God’s wrath, also expressed in epithets concerning fire and heat: Ezek 22:31: *Therefore have I poured out mine indignation upon them; I have consumed them with the fire of my wrath.*

Dumbledore’s name causes anxiety among those serving the Dark Lord: “At the mention of Dumbledore’s name, the members of the circle stirred, and some muttered and shook their heads” (HG, 521). Similarly, God’s name in the Bible is described as possessing the power to overawe demonic forces.

Judging by the similarities in characteristic features, abilities and general aims, we can assume that Dumbledore can be regarded as emblematic of the Biblical concept of God.

5.2. Voldemort

Lord Voldemort is the typically evil contrastive force that in many fantasy works has been entitled the Dark Lord. Common characteristics include previous, but not final, defeat, a moral collapse “in result of a questionable bargain”, and supernatural energies that far exceed human nature (Colbert 2003: 249-250). Voldemort’s goals include not only power but also immortality: “I have gone further than anybody along the path that leads to immortality. You know my goal - to conquer death” (HG, 522). Critics explain: “This lust for eternal life is the essence of the Dark Lord’s depravity...In every culture, immortality, though desirable, is against the laws of nature. Things must die so other things may be born” (Colbert 2003: 251-252). The necessity of death is the first Biblical concept that Voldemort is shown to oppose.

On the other hand, Lord Voldemort reveals a gradual degradation from his once human nature, and becoming the personification of the dark, as his initially human nature slowly gives way to a truly demonic aura. Voldemort is described as a brilliant former student of Dumbledore, fallen under the temptation of the dark arts: *“He ... sank so deeply into the Dark Arts, consorted with the very worst of our kind, underwent so many dangerous, magical transformations, that when he resurfaced as Lord Voldemort, he was barely recognizable.”* (HC, 353) Thus he has achieved greatness, though in evil: *“After all, He-Who-Must-Not-Be-Named did great things - terrible, yes, but great”* (HS, 106). Similarly, the Biblical concept of Satan holds that he is a former angel of high rank, cast out of heaven because of his desire for the power and honour due to God alone. Voldemort and Satan share a formerly privileged status at the divine power, the loss of all due to pride and the consequent status of the outcast, yet with power enough to attract followers.

It is not clear whether there has remained enough humanity in Voldemort for him to be capable of dying. It is possible, though, to hinder his coming to power: *“Well, Voldemort’s going to try other ways of coming back, isn’t he? I mean, he hasn’t gone, has he?”* *“No, Harry, he has not. (..) Nevertheless, Harry, while you may only have delayed his return to power, it will merely take someone else who is prepared to fight what seems a losing battle next time -- and if he is delayed again, and again, why, he may never return to power”* (HS, 321). The motif of a constant struggle is central in the Apostolic letters.

Similarly to the Biblical Satan, Voldemort aims at human souls: *I’ve always been able to charm the people I needed. So Ginny poured out her soul to me, and her soul happened to be exactly what I wanted...* (HC, 322) Voldemort titles himself in a God-like manner: *Then he waved the wand once, and the letters of his name rearranged themselves: I AM LORD VOLDEMORT* (HC, 337) The phrase I AM is mentioned in the Bible as the true name of God. Voldemort is titled in God-like manner by others: *“My Lord!”* gasped the man on the floor. *“My Lord, I am ... so pleased* (HG, 500), as Lord is the generally accepted title

for Christ.

Voldemort's former rule is characterised by distrust, terror and despair: "*Imagine that Voldemort's powerful now. You don't know who his supporters are, you don't know who's working for him and who isn't; you know he can control people so that they do terrible things without being able to stop themselves. Terror everywhere ... panic ... confusion ... that's how it used to be*" (HG, 459). His future power appears in predictions that remind one of the Apocalyptic warnings about Satan released from his chains at the end of the world.

So it can be assumed that, in the sub-reality created by Rowling, Voldemort functions as the embodiment of Satanic power.

5.3. Harry Potter

It would be difficult to view Harry Potter, the main hero of the books, as a representation of some particular Biblical concept. Harry provides a practical example of Dumbledore's teachings, yet his acts are often due to his own inner morality. "He has a special destiny that he is not fully aware of, much like numerous Biblical prophets and sometimes even like Jesus himself" (Scheinin, 1998).

Most myths have a similar structure, with a protagonist like Harry who undergoes a quest, fights evil and restores order from chaos. As pointed out by David Colbert, "Harry, for all his unique qualities, is a very familiar hero. He is [...] what readers might call a legendary Lost Prince or Hidden Monarch – just like Oedipus, Moses, King Arthur and countless others." (Colbert 2003: 205) Colbert compares Harry to "The Hero with a Thousand Faces" – "the common character central to cultures all over the world", legends about whom bear "striking similarities" (Colbert 2003: 298). We can observe a number of characteristic elements that the Harry Potter books share with traditional quest stories such as Harry's calling towards an unknown world and a destiny meant for him already in his childhood, the presence of a guide and protector (Dumbledore) who can only lead him to the threshold of his

mission, his meeting with a number of trials and evil forces, his achievement of a goal and travel back into the common world whose inhabitants are unable to comprehend his experience. All these are elements of quest via which “the hero becomes master of two worlds: the everyday world, which represents his material existence; and the magical world, which signifies his inner self” (Colbert 2003: 216). This structure repeats itself in each of the Harry Potter books.

Harry’s background already involves a clash between the light and the darkness: Harry’s parents died in Voldemort’s attack, and Voldemort’s powers were destroyed the instant he had failed to kill Harry (HP, 10). “*No one ever lived after he decided ter kill ‘em, no one except you, an’ he’d killed some o’ the best witches an’ wizards of the age -- an’ you was only a baby, an’ you lived*” (HS, 69). In other words, Harry has been destined to fight evil already from his birth. His fate recalls Biblical heroes and prophets. He is left as a baby on the doorstep of his future step-parents’ house: “*He laid Harry gently on the doorstep, took a letter out of his cloak, tucked it inside Harry’s blankets, and then came back*” (HS, 20). This episode echoes the fate of Moses. Both Moses and Harry are subjected to death-threats in early childhood, are miraculously saved and found by their future step-parents; both doubt their own abilities – typical of a mythological hero who has not yet undergone initiation.

In his immature age, Harry is already fully confident about his choices and preferences: “... *I’m never going over to the Dark Side!*” (HS 336) Harry’s loyalty and courage to resist the evil are proved by his first confrontation with Voldemort: “*Don’t be a fool,*” snarled the face. “*Better save your own life and join me... or you’ll meet the same end as your parents... They died begging me for mercy...*” “*LIAR!*” Harry shouted suddenly. “*Now give me the Stone.*” “*NEVER!*” (HS 315) The ability to stand firm against the evil resembles Jesus’ ability to withstand temptations. Harry openly declares Voldemort to be a liar, as is also the Biblical devil.

Harry has the courage to despise the evil and remain loyal to Dumbledore even in hopeless situations. He confronts

Voldemort and challenges him openly: *“You’re not,” he said, his quiet voice full of hatred. “Not what?” snapped Riddle. “Not the greatest sorcerer in the world,” said Harry, breathing fast. “Sorry to disappoint you and all that, but the greatest wizard in the world is Albus Dumbledore.” The smile had gone from Riddle’s face, to be replaced by a very ugly look. “Dumbledore’s been driven out of this castle by the mere memory of me!” he hissed. “He’s not as gone as you might think!” Harry retorted.* (HC, 338) Thus Harry affirms, first, his belief that Dumbledore will always be stronger than Voldemort in any form, and, second, that Dumbledore is not far, even when he seems to be, which is also a Biblical belief, as reflected in Acts 17:27: *That they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us.*

Harry affirms his faith in the power of the sacrificial love of his parents: *“I know why you couldn’t kill me. Because my mother died to save me. She stopped you killing me. And I’ve seen the real you, I saw you last year. You’re a wreck. You’re barely alive. That’s where all your power got you”* (HC, 340). In desperate situations, Harry first seeks Dumbledore’s help, even if it seems senseless: *“Help me – help me –” Harry thought, his eyes screwed tight under the hat. “Please help me!”* (HC, 342) Harry’s action is close to a prayer here, similar to the words of the Psalmist: 28: *Unto thee will I cry, O LORD my rock; be not silent to me: lest, if thou be silent to me, I become like them that go down into the pit.* Harry is literally “down in a pit” – alone in a cellar deep under Hogwarts castle. Harry’s faith is rewarded: *“Something very hard and heavy thudded onto the top of Harry’s head, almost knocking him out. Stars winking in front of his eyes, he grabbed the top of the hat to pull it off and felt something long and hard beneath it. A gleaming silver sword had appeared inside the hat, its handle glittering with rubies the size of eggs* (HC, 343). The sword is also a powerful Biblical image and a symbol of power and authority (Boldoks 1999, 145). After his ordeals, Harry receives praise from Dumbledore for his never fading loyalty: *“First of all, Harry, I want to thank you,” said Dumbledore, eyes twinkling again. “You must have shown me real loyalty down in the Chamber. Nothing but that*

could have called Fawkes to you" (HC, 356). Finally, Harry is willing to risk his life for the sake of his friends in numerous episodes.

Harry's faith in Dumbledore is what mainly provides for his victories over the dark forces and consequently is the main driving force of the story. This correlates to the Scriptural accounts of heroes who fight and win with the assistance of the Lord.

6. Conclusion

The former Archbishop of Wales, Rowan Williams, says: "Childhood is a period when children explore the world in safety, without being committed to their actions" (Valley 2003). Children discover the consequences of their actions by adopting fictional identities, which they can then abandon. Therefore, the key value in children's literature is insight, learned by reading rather than the setting or characters. The Harry Potter books are ultimately about facing problems and overcoming limitations. As Harry ages in the books, J. K. Rowling intensifies the trials Harry must endure, just as children's problems intensify with age, so that the books grow with the readers (Valley 2003). As observed by critics, the works, being "based on archetypal rites-of-passage, provide a context in which students can gain insight into their own struggles for growth and self-awareness and that this 'link to life' is one of the genre's most attractive features." (Schlobin 1979)

Against the present background of shifting norms, changing roles and categories, fantasy literature and the Bible share a belief in the prevalence of human ideals and the sustenance of the most profound human responsibilities and aspirations. This is affirmed by the motif, often repeated in fantasy writings, of betrayal as the worst act that one person can commit as well as by the suggestion that the highest human act will always be self-sacrifice. According to M. D. Jensen, "Most communication models assume a separation of source and destination that is imperfectly bridged by communication. Fantasy, on the other

hand, view that separation as an illusion and communication as a process of recognising and reaffirming oneness” (Jensen 1981). Thus, one of the most profound achievements of fantasy literature in the epoch of post-modern culture is its offer of renewed visions of self-comprehension and new ways of kinship and unity.

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**Gender as southern decorum:
A vehicle for conformity or resistance?
Peter Taylor's short story "Guests"**

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It comes as no surprise that the patriarchal world of the antebellum South marked gender as its defining category. This was due to the fact that, once patriarchy allowed the male to assume the economic, legal and moral responsibility for his household members, it at once suggested that he was the guardian of both the public and the private spheres of southern life, thus furthering his gender mastery as their superior, binding power. As such, gender cropped up as a factor structuring southern familial, social and political relations, thereby also acquiring the meaning of an ideology convergent with class and race, and, consequently, of a fixed notion tantamount to decorum. However, once this notion became destabilized, as happened due to the blurring of the southern class and race divisions resulting from the Civil War, it undermined the male's gender mastery and, hence, his exclusive right to claim both public and private command and offered it also to the female. In effect, the ideals of southern manhood and womanhood seemed to be no longer propounded as fixed categories commensurate with male control over race or wealth, but came to be identified with naturally commendable and universally accepted personality traits, thus becoming a question of character and consequently, of personal merit.¹

The intention of this article is to demonstrate that, much as such a rendition of manhood and womanhood seemed

¹ On the question of these "universally accepted" gender ideals understood as male and female inner "goodness" see e.g. Edwards (1997: 107-144) and Goldfield (2002: 89-161).

to alleviate gender as southern decorum, it actually still promoted it. Namely, by advancing normative male and female behaviours in terms of “goodness” or “badness,” it continued to organize the world into two unequal camps, thus also allowing these modifiers to legitimate gender, social and racial inequalities and consequently, to justify the new southern order as shaped by the pre-war, Victorian ethos. In order to prove this point, this paper intends to look at the ideals of new manhood and womanhood from the point of view of the story “Guests” by Peter Taylor.² As the title suggests, the story tackles these ideals in the context of hospitality, an aspect of southern elite life whose undying fame at once manifests this life to be, according to the modern rules, an example of a successful cooperation of private personalities of both hosts and guests, and consequently, of the male and the female as equally contributing to their shared social success.

In contrast, antebellum hospitality seemed to be, primarily, to the elite male’s merit. Although such hospitality also bound the public with the private, for it was both social and family-centred, yet, these two spheres, being guarded by the male alone, at once made him the chief beneficiary of hospitality. Furthermore, the fact that hospitality related the male and his family to outsiders on home turf only added luster to male social and family command, for it allowed to exercise such command in terms of personal power. This power being communicated through outward appearance and specific ascriptive signals additionally marked the ability to lead as tantamount to the ability to charm, thereby furthering male merit as a capacity to play upon people’s emotions. However, such an art necessarily resting on tact at once rendered the southern elite woman, by

² First published in *The New Yorker* on October 3, 1959, the story was later on collected in *Happy Families Are All Alike* (1959) and *Collected Stories* (1969) by Peter Taylor. All quotations from “Guests” that this paper uses come from the collection *Happy Families Are All Alike* (1959: 170-206). Peter Taylor (1917-1994) is a Tennessean writing about the modern South as perceived through the eyes of the representatives of the region’s upper classes. In the case of “Guests,” the story is set in the Nashville of the late 1950s.

definition the icon of sensitivity, as the main tool of male power games, and her obligatory participation in these games at the same time allowed for their romanticizing. In effect, not only did the southern elite femininity contribute to its own idealization, but, as such, it also advanced hospitality and hence, male power, as an agreed-on social fiction integral to the creation of reality according to the idealized gender, class and race standards, and thus, as a celebration of an illusion of uniformity.³

That the new hospitality continues to be such an illusion even in contemporary times seems obvious from the very beginning of the story in question whose first sentence: "The house was not itself" (170) suggests the difficulties that the hosts, Edmund and Henrietta Harper, an urban middle aged couple have with tackling their guest relatives. It seems that the problem lies in their guests' old age and country status. Namely, Johnny and Annie Kincaid cannot "sleep after the sun [is] up and [begin] yawning as soon as the dinner [is] over," (170) they are "silent at table, leaving the burden of conversation to their host and hostess," (170) and Cousin Johnny is on a strict diet, all of which suggests that the guests' behaviour is in stark contrast to the house's usual routine, hence the difficulties the hosts have in adapting to their guests.

However, the Kincaids seem to realize that they might be causing problems, for they, too, try to adapt to their hosts. In order to cause the least trouble and offence, they decide to not reveal any dietary principle and do without eating if necessary. They also serve themselves in spite of the presence of home servants and make use of their own utensils such as napkin rings. This seems to suggest that although they go to great pains to maintain the appearance of unity with the hosts, it costs them dear. Still, in spite of all their efforts not to cause trouble, they only intensify it by disturbing their hosts' adaptation to the guests, which, in effect, not only prevents uniformity, but also twists its meaning, since as a result

³ The two most definitive accounts of the rules of the antebellum southern hospitality as a power game that rests upon idealization, particularly of the southern elite femininity are offered by McPherson. (2003: 149-203) and Wyatt-Brown (1982: 327-39).

everybody feels very uncomfortable.⁴

The fact that the story's third-person-limited point of view narration is slanted through Edmund Harper, the host, allows us to believe that he feels the most uncomfortable of all with the effect of the two couples' mutual efforts towards uniformity. This would suggest that such a uniformity is not what he expected from hospitality (or else "politically correct" patriarchy). Yet, Edmund has to conceal this feeling from his wife because otherwise "he would be accused of 'not seeing her through.'" (171) This implies that Edmund's expectations concerning hospitality are less important than Henrietta's who, as a "planner, an arranger, a straighten-outer – especially of other people's lives" (171) advances hospitality as one of her "good works." (171) Thus, for Henrietta, hospitality is equal to goodness, and the fact that she expects Edmund to support her in it means that she also wants him to see it in the similar way.⁵ Although Edmund seemingly does – after all, he has assisted his wife in hospitality for twenty-five years now – he nevertheless cannot help noticing that, despite his efforts to

⁴ The very beginning of this story plainly suggests to the reader that southern hospitality, an activity that I understand as being synonymous with patriarchy itself, though propagated as a walk of life that structures society along equality lines, in fact spells the system construed upon the masked (by way in which the notion of "politeness," or, as we would call it today, "political correctness" operates) struggle for domination. The fact that the story propounds this struggle as one between "old country guests" and "younger city hosts", both married couples and family members additionally implies modern southern hospitality as a territory where the old (antebellum) and new (postbellum and on) southern gender and social attitudes clash. The relation-oriented (directed at attaining some "uniformity") character of the southern hospitality that the story concentrates upon also suggests gender feminism as the best method for coping with this particular discourse.

⁵ Thus, Henrietta seems to be a typical advocate of what gender feminists refer to as the „ethics of care," that is, a personal attitude which reposes upon the conviction that a higher moral order of the world can be attained if people act out of their natural impulses to help others, for only then can genuine human bonds, also intergenerational, be created. For a definitive account of this viewpoint see Gilligan (1982).

promote hospitality as a “good work,” it has barely benefited any guest of the Harper house. This makes Edmund feel “bad” and thus uneasy about his participation in hospitality because, although it confirms Henrietta’s goodness, it at the same time undermines his own. He describes this feeling as a “part of himself always reaching out and wanting to communicate with [the guests] and another part forever holding back as though afraid of what would be communicated,” (173) and he believes that the guests feel this way as well, particularly the men.⁶

Yet, although Edmund tries to explain his feelings solely in gender terms he is aware of the fact that all their guests, males and females alike, seem equally uncomfortable within the orbit of Henrietta’s goodness. The Kincaids, for example, did not want to make this visit, in fact, they “struggled valiantly against Henrietta’s siege,” (171) and capitulated only after Henrietta’s suggestion that she could “enter [their] house and do their packing for them.” (171)⁷ So, Henrietta expects

⁶ The fact that Edmund feels “bad,” for pushed to follow the ethics of care, traditionally identified with women only (for seen as a result of their possessing “innate” psychological characteristics such as e.g. modesty, empathy, sympathy, tenderness, care, intuition, sensitivity and lack of egoism) clearly suggests that he himself perceives such an ethics through the lenses of, seen as a typically male “ethics of justice,” an attitude towards the world which rests upon the notion of higher morality understood as a set of rules and principles of behaviour artificially imposed upon humans because assumed to be superior to all other ethics. As such, Edmund – and, implicitly, all southern white elite males (for, according to him, all his male guests share in this feeling) thus crop up as a social group which, in order to preserve its greater power, silently favours the double standard and hence, patriarchy as the way of the world, an actual reason why the female ethics of care remains unreciprocated and fails (as is the case with Henrietta) to be generally communicated as “good.” For a detailed account of the ethics of justice as a moral attitude see Gilligan (1982).

⁷ This is a good example of what actually happens when a woman attempts to realize the ethics of care, to following which she was socialized, under patriarchy. Namely, when this ethic, predictably, remains unrequited (for, from the point of view of the patriarchal ethics of justice, it constitutes an attempt to subject the male) the woman, out of the fear of losing connectedness to him and becoming “insignificant,” begins to resort to it as a defense strategy against an ideology that ignores female needs, thus trying to also impose “her” ethics upon other people. In effect, she commences a patriarchal-like,

both her husband and her guests to confirm her goodness yet, with her guests, she almost resorts to military means to successfully secure it for herself. This suggests that she sees the hosting of her country relatives as more than just a “good work.” The fact that she sells this idea to Edmund as her inability to “bear the thought of the poor old souls’ not seeing Nashville before they died” (171) clearly indicates that Henrietta considers hospitality to be primarily about social power. However, the fact that Edmund buys this notion – for he ultimately goes with her in her car to “bring the unwilling visitors ‘bodily’ into Nashville” (171) – thus also helps to explain his participation in hospitality as the endorsement of the male need to hold social power. Therefore, Edmund supports Henrietta in hospitality because, despite hidden anxiety about his own personal value that it produces in him, it also overtly confirms him as a winner.

This explains why Edmund accepts Henrietta’s assumption that their elderly male guest is sensitive about his age and also why he silently agrees to her suggestion to call Cousin Johnny just plain Johnny although, in his view, he consents to her wish because he wants to “promote understanding between him and his house guest.” (179) For Edmund, who is a fifty-eight year old successful urban lawyer Cousin Johnny: a seventy year old ex-stock farmer living in the country represents “the kind of old man that he had once upon a time supposed he would himself become.” (176) Edmund comes to this conclusion on the return trip from the country, when he observes some features of how the old man dresses, which he finds both endearing and saddening at the same time. This is because, for Edmund, such apparel and dress sense denote the status of a grandfather, an experience “without which life wouldn’t be complete.” (176) Sadly he feels he is deprived of such completeness because he not only lives in a world that despises old age but has failed to rear any children, with Henrietta, who would eventually produce grandchildren for

that is, war-resembling struggle for objective power that makes her more – psychologically - subordinate to the rules of the oppressive system of which she is a member. In this way, she also becomes the system’s chief tool for perpetuating itself. See e.g. Bartky (1990).

him. So the lawyer seeks to win Cousin Johnny's confidence because he identifies his old age with a completeness he thinks he lacks. This is despite the fact that he knows that his country relative, also childless, must have felt exactly like him for a long time now. By negating such a realization and sticking to his own vision of old age, one that he has constructed upon Cousin Johnny's outward appearance, Edmund thus not only romanticizes this vision but also escapes the thought of the inevitability of his own ageing, demonstrating that he himself belongs with the young.⁸

It is also a question of power rather than the sense of togetherness with the old man that pushes Edmund into taking at face value Cousin Johnny's remark concerning his decision to turn down a job in a Nashville shoe factory which he was offered in his youth. This remark prompts Edmund to visualize Cousin Johnny "now as president of the shoe company after years of working up from the bottom," (179) while he pictures himself as a "country lawyer in Nashville on a visit with his rich relatives." (179) Edmund refers to this situation as "Maud Muller twice reversed" (179) and deems it as "only a difference of seventy-five miles." (180) It is clear that Edmund sentimentalizes Cousin Johnny's choice and consequently, his present social status by seeing it in terms of fate. This perspective allows him to evade thinking about his own dissatisfaction with his lifestyle while promoting it as superior to Johnny's. In so doing, he can also afford to misinterpret (as the old man's feeling guilty for his own boorishness and "narrow interest in life" (178)) the fact that

⁸ This reading plainly shows that the power struggle which the patriarchal system initiates and of which women are the main – emotional – instruments succeeds because it is furthered in terms of the ethics of care. In other words, men agree to perceive relationships in terms of love or commitment, for it facilitates their manipulating them at will via the institutions of social power that serve male needs such as marriage or family, as the example of Edmund (allegedly promoting his family bonds with an elderly cousin but in fact using such bonds to elevate himself over an old man) suggests. In this way, men make appearances and hence, also self-deception the entire system's major – and uniform – means of both commanding who is at a given moment considered its subordinates, thus initiating hidden gender/class/race rivalry. See Tong (2002: 222).

his cousin is obviously attracted to the urban style, yet, restrains himself from openly expressing it, for it provokes a disrespectful reaction on the part of his wife. By seeing Cousin Annie's contempt towards her husband as this man's personal fault, Edmund thus can also escape the sense of inferiority that the cooperation with Henrietta evokes in him, for he can honestly believe his uniformity with her to be a sign of his own goodness and consequently, a man's decision.

It is for this reason that Edmund decides to spring that "Johnny" on the old man in the absence of the ladies. Although he realizes that Henrietta has lured Cousin Annie to the other side of the room in order to facilitate Edmund's execution of what she considers their common plan, Edmund concludes that his wife "had been conspiring with him without his knowing it," (180), thereby rejecting her help and hence, admitting that he actually competes with his wife in goodness. This seems to be further confirmed in his mind when the situation seems to be taking "a real turn for the better," (181) for the old lady is livelier than ever. Therefore, Edmund is unable to understand why, at one moment, Cousin Annie, "as though conscious of just how far into the wood she had led them," (181) returns to her usual formality by finding occasions to refer to her husband as "Mr. Kincaid," while at the same time gazing triumphantly on Henrietta, "indicating that she recognized who her real adversary was." (183) However, since Edmund considers himself the only beneficiary of this situation, he is also the one who feels humiliated by it. He communicates this to Henrietta and as a consequence takes the entire blame for what has happened. In doing so, not only does he allow his wife to shirk the responsibility for the event, but he also helps her in facilitating delicate suggestion that she passes to him – she suggests taking Cousin Johnny to lunch with some other men. He does not agree openly, but "in his heart... everything was already promised," (184) thereby also enabling Henrietta to forge her own failure with Cousin Annie into one more victory over Edmund.

Nevertheless, Edmund does not want to openly admit that Henrietta has defeated him. So the next morning, despite

the fact that he spends his last hour in bed “tossing about and wishing that he didn’t have to raise the question and yet knowing that he wanted to,” (186) he finally issues the invitation to Cousin Johnny which is enthusiastically accepted by both of the Kincaids. This only serves to strengthen Edmund’s conviction that Henrietta acts on behalf of his own goodness, and he is “so grateful to her” (185) for it, a conclusion to his daybreak torment that he reaches observing, over his morning coffee, Henrietta’s grace and charming looks. For Edmund, then, Henrietta’s beauty is thus a sign of her innate goodness, which makes his decision to follow her suggestion equivalent to being provided with such goodness by his wife. It comes as no surprise, then, that, when the old lady finally announces that her husband has changed his mind and prefers to stay with the ladies, Edmund feels cheated more by Henrietta rather than by himself. Furthermore, his need to preserve this illusion compels him to avoid confronting his wife about what had happened, choosing to escape towards the door instead. However, the fact that he “hadn’t had his wits about him” (189) to grab his coat and hat, for which, as Edmund admits, “you always [have] to pay” (189) allows Henrietta to follow him and try to belittle the entire incident by asking “why else do we have them here except to let them do whatever they will enjoy most,” (188) which provokes Edmund’s angry reply “yes, why do we?” (188). In this way, by asking the question that, in the past, they had both silently decided not to return to anymore, Edmund violates their common rules and consequently, undermines their uniformity.⁹

This prompts Edmund to “go over the whole story in his mind again” (192) in order to straighten his thoughts, for he feels that, this time, the situation is beyond his capability.

⁹ Edmund’s anger at his inability to utilize the ethics of care so that it helped perpetuate him in the eyes of his wife and kin as the “good” man coupled with the fact that he directs it, via Henrietta, at Cousin Annie thus only confirm that, under patriarchy, a morality standard that is not grounded in real power becomes but a conformist, life-facilitating manipulative technique of masters of the system, or else, a tool of intimidating this standard’s followers - women, and hence, a convenient method of excusing males from assuming responsibility for the system’s defaults.

This is because, for Edmund, Cousin Johnny's visit marks the first time that he feels anything for any of his and Henrietta's country guests: "here is such a person as I might have been, and I am such a one as he might have been," (189). These feelings suggest a potential for his and the old man's uniformity.¹⁰ Edmund reasons that this might be due to the fact that they are both from the country which he himself initially did not want to leave, "despite the fine opportunities offered him by firms in Nashville." (190) Neither did Henrietta urge him to do it. Nonetheless, after five years of marriage, when they "had learned pretty definitely that there would never be any children," (190) Henrietta began to suspect him of "being bored with his life." (189) She opposed him joining a family venture in the country for fear that he would be "frittering away his life" (189) believing rather that he should "be in a big place...where he could have a real career and be fully occupied." (189) Thus, according to Edmund, it was entirely Henrietta's idea that he gave up his country roots in favour of an urban life.¹¹

¹⁰ The fact that Edmund longs for uniformity with Johnny whom he explicitly despises, both in gender and social terms, and that he considers such a uniformity possible only if emotionally supported by Henrietta "goodness" (which he overtly admires) clearly suggests that his primary "morality" standard, one that builds the "higher" southern order is strictly sex-bound. This means that Edmund is in fact an advocate of an old southern, essentialist view of "true" women being "objectively" (due to their biological "destiny" that confines them in the sole role of the mother) a "natural" follower of the ethics of care, predisposed to serve male needs. In this light, Edmund severing his uniformity with Henrietta when his following of her ethics of care ceases to promote him as its chief beneficiary is in fact an attack upon her motherly capabilities aiming at threatening the very foundations of her femininity, a defense strategy performed by he who himself feels threatened in his traditionally understood maleness. On the ways in which "unruly" women are threatened under patriarchy see Millet(1970: 43-6).

¹¹ The fact that Edmund has to "go over the whole story again in his mind" only to silently make sure that Henrietta is the one to blame for everything, including their common failure as parents not only does clearly implicate that he himself has serious doubts about his own masculinity, but also that he denies recognizing these doubts for if he did, he would have to "take care" of them himself, thus becoming, according to his ideology, "feminized." In this light, Edmund's openly saluting the ethics of care and hence, the idea of motherhood as a paradigm of moral relations is the best solution for him, for it allows

Although Edmund on the one hand admits that this urban life kept him fully occupied, he also sees it as the source of all his troubles. By this, Edmund does not mean that he neglected his wife, far from it; she was, after all, equally occupied joining clubs and circles, preserving Nashville landmarks, setting up monuments and caring for the downtrodden; the kind of work Edmund was “entirely sympathetic” (190) towards, for he considered it the best way of “getting to know people.” (190) The trouble was that Henrietta “was never satisfied until she had tried to draw Edmund into each activity, and, since she always failed, she was seldom satisfied with the activity afterward.” (190) Thus, although he seems to blame his being occupied for his inability to support Henrietta the way she expected him to, Edmund’s flippant attitude towards his wife’s activities –for him, they were merely occasions to socialize – clearly indicates that he actually despises them as insignificant and thus, unworthy of his participation. This means that Edmund actually accuses his wife of not appreciating both his hard work and his encouragement for her activities, thereby also suggesting her to be his trouble.

When, after a number of years, Henrietta changes her interests from social work into good works for the family, Edmund feels compelled to participate in them. This is because he considers such works as “his involvement as much as hers” (191) and thinks that “there [is] no getting around it – not in Edmund’s mind,” (191) thereby implying that, although he regards family matters as their common affair, he nonetheless feels that Henrietta has trapped him in them. Edmund thus sees his participation in Henrietta’s good works for the family as an unavoidable duty and this coupled with fact that his wife now seems, to him, fonder of their country relatives than she is of her Nashville friends prompts her spouse to speculate about her attitude to the family in the same terms as he does. Therefore, he cannot understand why, when he proposes to

him to “carelessly” (in a sexist way) make use of his wife’s efforts to prove a “good,” (that is, relation-oriented) woman and consequently, to preserve the illusion of his own masculine, independence-bound self-worth, thus also becoming but a slave to the system which he thinks empowers him. See Tong (2002: 220-222).

his wife a return to the country, or cohabiting with one of the country relatives in Nashville on permanent basis, she “expressed an astonishment just short of outrage.” (192) She also mentions at the same time her disappointment at not being able to have children, a remark that makes them both blush and leaves them utterly confused afterwards. Although Edmund still cannot ascertain its meaning, he is sure now when he recollects these events that there is no such a need since “their course together was set and he had no intention of trying to change it.” (192) These facts seem to suggest that Edmund’s undermining of the couple’s uniformity that morning was just a way of bringing Henrietta to the line.

Edmund therefore needs to identify with Henrietta’s goodness, for it allows him to keep her in check. This implies that, as long as their unwritten contract specifies Henrietta as the proponent of goodness and Edmund as her mere follower, he can always expect his wife to produce it for both of them. If she fails in this, then Edmund can always feel disappointed and make it crystal clear to her that she is not good enough. This he did of course on the morning when he raised the forbidden question of their hospitability only to later blame Henrietta for their childlessness, and consequently, to negate her femininity. This, in turn, will always prompt Henrietta, who perceives womanhood in terms of being the icon of goodness, to maximize her efforts to maintain order to prove her feminine value, thereby activating a mechanism which subsequently will allow Edmund to manipulate her every time he wishes her to do his bidding. In doing so, not only can Edmund use Henrietta to play his own power games for him as he managed to do in the past, but he can also always blame her for initiating such games, thus also emerging from them, as in the case of this morning’s events, with clean hands and the conviction that it is him who always pulls all the strings.

That is why Edmund thinks that, from then on, he can “pass the remainder of the visit in comparative equanimity.” (192-193) He feels he can assume the position of an “impartial witness to the contest between Henrietta and Cousin Annie.” (193) He will not intervene between them because he considers

their rivalry “only a kind of game” (193) rather than a “deadly serious” (193) conflict. Edmund thus thinks that his ability to manipulate Henrietta’s goodness, that is, her femininity, serves to justify his power over her which he, in turn, considers a sign of his own goodness. It is easy to understand why then, on returning home in the evening, he expects his wife to act as if nothing happened (which she does), thereby strengthening Edmund in the conviction that the game itself marks goodness, too. This is illustrated by the scene in which Edmund helps Henrietta to button up the dress that she had chosen for the evening, and he finds himself fascinated with the “pretty print of the dress material and...the mysterious row of buttons down the back.” (195) He realizes that the buttons seem mysterious for they are “at once so unnecessary, so numerous and so large – each the size of a silver dollar – and yet so carefully camouflaged, being covered with the same print the dress was made of.” (195) Thus, Edmund cannot see that female goodness is bound up with questions concerning male power and privilege, for he is distracted by its “pretty print” appearance that covers everything. On the other hand, the fact that he suddenly realizes that the dress resembles “that of dresses that Henrietta had worn when he was courting her” (195) clearly indicates that Edmund thinks he plays his game of goodness exclusively in the name of love. For this reason, he also cannot see that love, being a mask of power, does make the goodness game that the two ladies are playing a “deadly serious” question.

This knowledge, however, begins to dawn on Edmund at dinner when he observes his guests. Namely, he notices that this evening Cousin Johnny “was completely silent and ate absolutely nothing” (196) which, in turn, prompts Cousin Annie to eat “two portions of everything so that nothing would be wasted on their account.” (196-7) It is this disparity that compels Edmund into speculating on “how many other discomforts the old man might have suffered in the past two days” (196-197), thereby also making him recollect all the details of the old man’s conduct, always steered by Cousin Annie which, although never openly manifested, confirmed

that it was indeed so. Edmund thus realizes that his male guest is also involved in a goodness game which Cousin Annie seems to lead in the name of her and her husband's love, yet, at his expense. This, in turn, prompts him to see the old lady's position in the war with Henrietta as offensive rather than defensive, as he used to think before. Now he is aware that "every discomfort that Cousin Johnny suffered in silence...was a victory over Henrietta...just because [she] might not be aware of it." (197) Therefore, although Edmund begins to realize that the goodness game can be destructive, for he sees the old lady as one capable of going to any lengths in order to prove the quality of her and her husband's mutual love, he nevertheless does not want to admit that his own wife can also be the same, thereby also suggesting that he needs to idealize his own game out of fear, so as to avoid being destroyed by it.

For this reason Edmund can neither rid himself of the "ridiculous but genuine and quite black apprehension" (199) that he has, nor tell Henrietta about it. Instead, he lies in bed at night, having been awoken by the funeral tones of his guests' voices coming from behind the wall and observes his pocket watch, previously his father's possession, lying on the bed side table, "with the gold chain coiled about it," (200) a habit that Edmund also picked up from his father who, in turn, picked it from his own father. This also makes him realize that Cousin Johnny has an "almost identical" (200) watch which, as Edmund supposes, "would be resting now on the bedside table in the guest room with its chain coiled around it." (200) In this way, by waking up only to identify the entire generation of family men with the same object and approach to it, Edmund also seems to wake up to the realization that this object and such an approach to it, by serving his empowerment, at the same time enslaves him, and its rigidity, time extension and the lasting effect leave him hardly any hope for liberation from the scheme. This can be best demonstrated by the scene in which Edmund, no longer hearing Cousin Johnny's voice, and feeling that something is wrong, does not check it on his own, choosing to go to Henrietta's room instead, only to find her "wide awake" (201) and also listening to the guests' voices but

nevertheless managing to convince him that nothing is going on. Thus, although Edmund fears the goodness game and feels caught in it, he also finds it comforting, thereby making a potential tool of his destruction his defensive mechanism against it.

It is for this reason that Edmund's reaction to Cousin Annie's information concerning her husband's death that she passes in the morning is one of ambivalence, for this is the only thing he is left with. Although, at first, the thought of Cousin Johnny's body returning to Ewingsburg for burial seizes Edmund "with a dreadful terror" (204) and causes him to speculate upon ways to postpone it, he soon reflects at "his own simplicity - indulging in such a fantasy, giving way to such morbid feelings!" (205) Edmund thus dreads the thought that even after one's death the goodness game claims the right to embrace its participants, and this awareness bears hard on him. Therefore, he reacts in the only way that he knows is effective in such a situation, namely, by detaching himself from it. In doing so he confirms the game as the only way to sanity. In order to preserve sanity, Edmund decides that the "first step must be to begin thinking about Cousin Johnny more realistically, not as a part of himself that was being taken away forever, but...as a visitor from the country who had died in his guest room." (205) Accordingly, Edmund ultimately cuts himself off from all individual feelings and confirms his uniformity with Henrietta. This all or nothing situation of participating in hospitality (as, let us repeat, a "politically correct" form of patriarchy) or not implicitly renders the patriarchal sex-based system as the only reality. In choosing as real the artificial patriarchal gender and, as a byproduct, also class and race divisions, Edmund clearly states that he prefers to be a guest in his own life for, although such a choice makes him unhappy and compels him to miss the change, it nonetheless guarantees him that nothing will change. As a result, Edmund will always approach life hoping to get the unattainable, in the same way as he does in the last scene of the story where he gives a speech on his lost dreams to his dead house guest as if he were addressing a jury box, which

he ends: “surely there must be something. Other people seem to know some reason why it is better to be alive than dead this April morning. I will have to find it out. There must be something.” (206)

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CULTURE

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**The Reformer Queen and her protégés'
contribution to the popularisation of
Protestant thought in 16th century England**

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In the period of the perturbations connected with Henry VIII's divorce of Catherine of Aragon, the political climate for the Protestants in England became more favourable than approximately ten years before when most religious dissidents such as William Tyndale had had to find refuge in Germany to avoid persecutions. These temporary changes for the better were due to the King, who made it explicitly clear to the diplomatic world – the Pope and the Emperor Charles V - that should permission not be granted for his divorce, his evangelical subjects could then count on the monarch's sympathy and a greater degree of toleration in the King's realm. Contemporaries may have been under the impression that Henry VIII's sudden change of attitude was a starting point of a golden age for the gospel, its readers and supporters of Church reforms in England. In the light of accumulated evidence, it was only a political manoeuvre and the Protestants' future was neither clear nor predictable.

Anne Boleyn is known mainly as Henry VIII's second wife and mother of the future Queen of England – Elizabeth I whilst Anne Boleyn's role as an advocate of reforms and patron of Protestants is often underestimated or even omitted in numerous historical works. The principal aim of this paper is to present her in this less commonly known light. The following discussion of Anne Boleyn's political and religious role in the English Reformation is coupled with an evaluation of the extent to which the activities of the radical reformers under

Queen Anne's leadership would and could meet with the King's approval. Besides this general assessment of the activities of the Queen and her reformatory faction, deliberation is given to the question of why the evangelicals ceased to support their patron as soon as Henry VIII had decided on her fate.

During the royal divorce proceedings Henry VIII held much the orthodox opinions in the matter of religious doctrines as at the time when he had been given the title *Fidei Defensor* for his rigorous defence of the Roman Catholic Church. Confirmation of this can be found in *Sketches from Church History* where the author claims:

Henry continued to defend the principal teachings of the Roman Catholic Church, requiring all people in England and Wales to adhere to the Roman creed, and was quite willing to put to death men and women who opposed his will by embracing Protestant doctrine.¹

Furthermore, by the early fifteen thirties the King's court policy had not changed significantly and under Henry VIII's repressive regime other religious groups except for Catholics were persecuted. The religious climate did not change for the better with the downfall of Thomas Wolsey since he was replaced by the equally orthodox Thomas More. In 1528 the newly appointed Lord Chancellor was authorised by the King to read all heretical works, to which he was expected to compose responses on behalf of the royal court. This conscientious and intelligent layman performed his work diligently and in his work never concealed his hatred of heretics. In his literary campaign, apart from his own onslaughts of criticism of the English radicals, he was assisted with works produced by other humanists. For example, his son John translated into the English language Fredericka Nausea's *Sermon of the sacrament of the aulter*,² Richard Whitford came out in defence

¹ S. M. Houghton, *Sketches from Church History*, Edinburgh 1980, p. 113.

² F. Nausea, *Sermon of the sacrament of the aulter*, London 1533.

of religious oaths, writing *Pype or Tonne of the lyfe of perfection*.³ Amongst the important supporters of the King's court policy was William Barlowe who in his work *Dyaloge descrybyng the orygynal ground of these Lutheran faccyons*⁴ presents a man who converted himself to Catholicism as a result of the experiences he had gained with the German reformers.

Also, the university scholars demonstrated their support for the King's policy. A joint commission of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge held a meeting in 1530 during which all heretical works that illustrated opposition to the Roman Catholic faith were to be assessed. The debate ended with an official statement, which condemned and forbade the reading of texts written by religious dissidents the like of William Roy and William Tyndale.

Both court officials and scholars mounted a combined attack against heretics in defence of Catholicism. However, had it not been for the conservative archbishops and bishops such as the bishop of Winchester – S. Gardiner, the bishop of Lincoln – J. Longland, the bishop of Durham – C. Tunstal and the bishop of the London diocese – J. Stokesley, the campaign would not have been so decisively successful. After all, these high church officials were still the most influential members of the royal court. It is claimed that thanks to their efforts, the royal divorce did not mean - at least initially - the granting of English Protestants both religious recognition and toleration.

It is beyond question that Anne Boleyn, who was one of the prime causes of the royal divorce, which consequently led England to breaking the links with Rome, shared with Protestants the love of Holy Scripture. Since there is scarce information available in historical sources concerning her childhood, it is risky to point the finger of certainty at any one person, who could allegedly have influenced and moulded both her interests and religious upbringing. According to Antonia Fraser, a historian specialising in Tudor times, Anne Boleyn's

³ R. Whitford, *Pype or Tonne of the lyfe of perfection*, London 1532.

⁴ W. Barlowe, *Dyaloge descrybyng the orygynal ground of these Lutheran faccyons*, London 1532.

father - Thomas Boleyn was the one person she would always idolise. Thomas Boleyn's personality as well as his political attainments were the most determining factors in the future Queen's life and career.⁵ On the same subject Antonia Fraser adds:

[Her date of birth] cannot be traced in historical sources with absolute certainty as well as many other details concerning her life. [...] The years 1500-1501 are rather in tune with what we already know about her adolescence, and with a few, in fact few, true guidelines. Uncertainty and a lack of lucidity in the first stage of her life have a simple explanation: an unknown young but grown-up woman suddenly wins fame and recognition. Several years pass by, and she becomes no one special after her downfall.⁶

Undoubtedly, Anne Boleyn spent several years at the French court. Also, she may have resided with Francis I's Protestant sister – Margaret de Valois. It is highly probable that it was then that Anne Boleyn picked up French, gained her extensive knowledge of French culture and became acquainted with their style of etiquette. Interestingly enough, sources from the seventeenth century mention for the first time that it was Margaret de Valois who instilled firmly into Anne Boleyn her interest in religious philosophy that called for the Church's reformation.⁷ Apart from these doubts concerning the future Queen's early life, her education and intellectual development are also shrouded in mystery. Some conclusions can be drawn from scanty notes written down by her private chaplain – William Latimer. It appears that Anne Boleyn was

⁵ A. Fraser, *Sześć żon Henryka VIII*, Warszawa 1996, pp. 137-138.

⁶ Own translation: *Ibidem*, pp. 137-138, 140.

⁷ G. Wyatt, *Extracts from the Life of the Virtuous, Christian and Renowned Queen Anne Boleigne*, London 1817, p. 14.

not satisfied with her command of Latin⁸. Nonetheless, she must have acquired some level of proficiency in this language since a textbook for music classes composed deliberately for her contained some lyrics in Latin⁹. It is beyond question that Queen Anne took great pleasure in reading the Holy Scripture, written both in English and French. Her passion for reading the Bible is described best by William Latimer:

[...] in the frenche tounge, exercising her selfe contynually in reading the french bible and other frenche bookes [...] conceivid greate pleasure in the same.¹⁰

Anne Boleyn was praised not only for her fluency in the French language but also for her piety. The French courtier Loys de Brun extols the virtues of the Queen in the following words:

When I consider your great affection and perfect desire for the French tongue, I am not surprised that you are not to be found without some French book in your hand which is useful and necessary for teaching and discovering the true and straight path of all virtue: such as approved translations from holy scripture, [...]. I have seen you this last Lent, when I was in this magnificent, excellent and triumphant court, reading the salutary epistles of St Paul, in which are contained the whole manner and rule of a good life.¹¹

⁸ W. Latimer, *William Latimer's Cronickille of Anne Bulleyne*, London 1990, p. 32.

⁹ E. Lowinsky, *A Music Book for Anne Boleyn*, Toronto 1971, pp. 172-173.

¹⁰ W. Latimer, op. cit, pp. 31-32.

¹¹ Ibidem, pp. 60-61.



Hans Holbein: Anna Boleyn

Source: <http://history.wisc.edu/sommerville>

Joan Simon in her work on education and society in Tudor England concludes that it must have been her fluency in the French language that gained her popularity at the royal court.¹² Irrespective of what precisely it was that initially attracted Henry VIII to Anne Boleyn, this female courtier's life had changed for ever when in the spring of 1527 the King realised that he had fallen passionately in love with her. From that moment on the monarch's activities were focused on one

¹² J. Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England*, Cambridge 1966, p. 98.

aim: gaining permission for his divorce of Catherine of Aragon so that he could legally marry a “night crow” – as Thomas Wolsey called Anne Boleyn.¹³ In order to achieve this objective Henry VIII was ready to offer many political sacrifices, which ultimately led to a royal marriage between the King and Anne Boleyn on June 1st 1533.

Anne Boleyn’s most effective tool which she would use as queen for introducing various reforms and changes, was the setting up of the machinery of patronage. Being herself a driving force for this system, she focused particularly on religious matters advancing numerous reforms. When taking into account Henry VIII’s unchangeable attitude towards doctrinal reforms, it was certainly Queen Anne’s tremendous success that between 1532 and 1536 seven out of nine clergymen who were elevated to the rank of bishop were in fact pro-reformative and her protégés. The Queen’s influences in this respect were outstandingly strong during and after her reign. This can be best illustrated by the following example: twelve years later, after her execution, the majority of archbishops and bishops still in office originated from this coterie whom the Queen – the Reformer – had supported wholeheartedly.

Anne Boleyn gained public recognition and appreciation from the Protestants for her engagement in the creation and popularisation of the vernacular translation and publication of the English Bible. At the royal court, the Queen had the reputation of being a strong advocate of the Scriptures. As William Latimer notes, in order to encourage female courtiers to read and discuss biblical topics, Anne Boleyn kept an open copy of William Tyndale’s Bible on her desk¹⁴. This opportunity to consult on the contents of the Bible was provided by the Queen for her women-servants first to keep their minds from idleness and also as an incentive to study the Scriptures in depth and at length. Additionally, all the Queen’s maids were supplied with a prayer book, which they were to refer to in

¹³ Ch. Daniell, *A Traveller’s History of England*, Gloucestershire 1996, p. 93.

¹⁴ W. Latimer, *op.cit.*, pp. 31-32.

leisure time.¹⁵ These activities undertaken by Anne Boleyn point to the fact that the religious development of the Queen's close circle was of great concern to her, and just as she could be generous with a supply of appropriate reading material, she could also be demanding. Confirmation of this is found in her private chaplain's notes which show that Queen Anne checked the progress her maids were making in their spiritual development and acquiring religious knowledge. William Latimer mentions one of the Queen's maids – a certain Mary Shelton – whom Anne Boleyn reprimanded sternly for jotting down private notes in her prayer book.¹⁶

Besides the Queen being an advocate of religious texts, she gained a reputation as a protector of the universities and scholars in general. Apart from her own regular donations to maintain poor scholars, she would frequently request her husband to suspend or cancel payments, which university authorities were obliged to make to the royal court. Also, it is thanks to her endeavours that both Oxford and Cambridge universities were exempt from paying taxes for the Church.

Anne Boleyn showed her interest in projects of lesser monetary value and importance. She kept herself abreast of the progress of implementing reforms which were being carried out by her private chaplain Matthew Parker at the collegiate church in Stoke. Besides regular delivered sermons, the reform aimed at finding funds for the employment of an expert in the Bible, who would teach English and Latin four days a week. This newly-founded institution was supposed to provide its students with free education and a lecturer teaching there with regular wages.¹⁷ In a set of statutes issued by Matthew Parker for this grammar and music school its most distinctive motto was that the youth were to “be brought up in all other studies of humanity”.¹⁸ The cost of the school foundation and its maintenance was sponsored by Queen Anne.

¹⁵ G. Wyatt, op.cit., p. 18.

¹⁶ W. Latimer, ibidem.

¹⁷ E. W. Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, Oxford 1986, p. 330.

¹⁸ J. Strype, *The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker*, Oxford 1812, pp. 16-18.

Anne Boleyn made a name for herself not only by being an upholder of the gospel and a patron of the scholars; her reputation as a supporter of those in need extended beyond the spheres of religion and education, and focused also on the poor. Her generosity to the impoverished is confirmed by numerous panegyrists writing verses which glorified her goodheartedness. Historians researching the Tudor period estimate that during her last nine months of life Anne gave away between 14 to 15 thousand pounds in alms¹⁹. Similarly, before her execution the Queen is said to have given detailed instructions for the disposal of her wealth. Not surprisingly, her bounty was distributed amongst ill-provided households overcrowded with children.

Anne Boleyn's generosity in the new learning and charitable deeds were paralleled by her interest in church reforms. The Queen embarked on the introduction of numerous changes, first within her surroundings. New positions of employment at the royal court were offered mainly to the evangelical clergy. The Queen's closest assistant was her own chaplain – William Latimer (1460-1545), who at the same time was an eminent scholar. George Wyatt writes on William Latimer and other clergymen whom the Queen singled out and promoted in the following words:

She had procured to her Chaplins, men of great learninge and of no les honest conversinge, whom she with hers herad much, and privately she heard them willing and gladly to admonish her [...].²⁰

It is noteworthy that Anne Boleyn's private chaplains were Cambridge university graduates. Both Nicholas Shaxton and Hugh Latimer alike upon their graduation already held radical views, but the genuine presentation of themselves and their reformatory tendencies became especially clear during

¹⁹ G. Burnet, *History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, London 1865, Vol. I, p. 314.

²⁰ G. Wyatt, *ibidem*.

the royal divorce proceedings. Having launched their swift career in the early fifteen thirties, they were soon elevated to the highest ranks of the English Episcopate. For example, no sooner had Nicholas Shaxton been appointed treasurer of Salisbury Cathedral than he was promoted to the most prominent position of this diocese – bishop of Salisbury.²¹ This elevation gave rise to a shift of posts within the Queen’s surroundings i.e. bishop Shaxton, who by then was Anne’s chaplain, passed on this post to John Skip, who by no little coincidence also happened to be a Cambridge graduate. Upon the latter’s death in 1535, Matthew Parker was made the Queen’s chaplain. This promotion was undoubtedly one of the factors which consequently enabled him to found a grammar school in Stoke, already under discussion here. The absolute trust that Anne Boleyn placed in Matthew Parker can be confirmed not only by her donations to Stoke school foundation, but more importantly by entrusting her daughter – Elizabeth – to his religious tutelage.



Hugh Latimer preaching at Westminster.

Source: <http://www.en.wikipedia.org>

²¹ Nicholas Shaxton’s career was a rapid one as in 1533 he was made treasurer and two years later he was already bishop of Salisbury.

Reputedly, Anne Boleyn showed her concern not only for evangelical clergy, but with the same stamina stood by more controversial victims of the Reformation. In the period when Thomas Wolsey had still been the most prominent figure at the King's court and extricated any protestant thought from the kingdom, Thomas Alwaye had been incarcerated in the Tower of London, having been caught red-handed in possession of an English copy of the New Testament and a dozen other illegal books. The hearing conducted by bishops Longland and Tunstal resulted in condemning the accused and banning him from residing within the boundaries of London as well as visiting English universities. The verdict, in Thomas Alwaye's view, was unjust, therefore he wrote a petition to Anne Boleyn in the hope that his penalty could be quashed. The appeal shows explicitly the reputation enjoyed by the Queen amongst the 'persecuted', as their patron and last resort. Thomas Alwaye wrote for example:

When extreme nede be ganne to compell me,
ryght honorable lady, to make me frendes by
whosse meanes I myght be relessed owt of my
myserable thraldom, I could not fynde one in all
thys realme in whome I had any hope or loked
for any comforted vntyll your gracyous ladyship
[...].²²

Another example of a person who could benefit from Anne Boleyn's mercy was Robert Barnes. This Protestant, whose religious beliefs were far more radical than the Queen's herself, was allowed to come back to England in 1534 after many years of refuge abroad. Interestingly enough, Robert Barnes was also granted permission to deliver sermons freely in the churches of London diocese.²³

²² J. Strype, *Memorials of the Most Reverent Father in God Thomas Cranmer*, Oxford 1848, p. 643.

²³ A. Weir, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, New York 1993, pp. 278-279.

As the result of the Queen's interference, a parish priest from Hadham – Thomas Patmore - found favour in the eyes of Anne Boleyn and was consequently remitted. In 1530 the parson was accused by the bishop of London, John Stokesley, of holding heretical views and sentenced to imprisonment in the Lollards' Tower. In justification of the verdict pronounced, it was stated that the convict had been in possession of the forbidden books and had dared to express heresy at Cambridge. The Queen dispatched several petitions to Henry VIII in defence of Thomas Patmore. The pleadings resulted in the King's allowing a commission to be set up, which was to look into the parson's charges once again. After re-examination of the case, this specially formed committee gave a verdict which cleared Thomas Patmore of guilt.²⁴

Being the monarch's wife was not in itself always a sufficient reason to ensure her influence was effective all the time. This was just such a case in 1535, when she no longer wielded the power she had in earlier days. Anne Boleyn's position within the King's court became especially uncertain after her pregnancy, which resulted in a miscarriage that dispelled Henry VIII's hopes for a long-awaited son. Consequently, the King began to look around for a new female liaison. With her prospects for the future becoming bleaker by the minute, in the very nature of things it is understandable that her enterprises would not meet with her husband's approval. The history of Tristram Revell can be an instructive example of the Queen's weakening position. Tristram Revell was a scholar of Christ's College and in 1535 he hoped to offer Anne Boleyn a copy of his translation of *Farrago Rerum Theologicarum*. This work discusses favourably the meaning of communion in both forms viz. Christ's blood and body, and approves of the priests taking oaths of faithfulness. Revell's translation, however, denies the effectiveness of prayers for the dead as well as the sacrificial nature of the mass. The translator hoped that the book would be published with the Queen's recommendation, thus before

²⁴ Compare: G. W. Bernard, *Anne Boleyn's Religion*, [in:] *Historical Journal*, Vol. 36, No 1, Cambridge 1993.

the formal presentation he obtained a few copies of it. In spite of the book's preface extolling the Queen's virtues and comparing her with John the Baptist, Anne Boleyn refused to accept this gift.²⁵ Even if the assumption is taken that the Queen liked this work, she could not afford to sponsor its publication – first and foremost because the translation brought up controversial issues. This illustrates clearly that Anne Boleyn was no mere missionary, but an adept politician, who wanted to popularise the gospel as far as it was possible, but without putting herself in danger. It is beyond question that the Queen – the Reformer – herself must have ruminated and cogitated deeply about various aspects of faith. In her deliberations she may well have questioned the efficacy of prayers for the dead, but certainly cannot have doubted Christ's existence in the Eucharist and would not have been so incautious as to express such extreme heretical views.

A wide variety in the opinions and attitudes within the evangelical movement best reflects the climate of the age. The same variety of opinions can be spoken of when assessing Anne Boleyn and her contribution to the English Reformation. Amongst the many people who forged their career either with her or by her means, there were numerous voices raised claiming that the Queen was the source and nurse of all heresies and that she was more Lutheran than Luther himself.²⁶ Her adversaries declared that death had been the lot of many patrons and gospel preachers serving as a warning to mankind against being over self-confident, and here they meant "queen Anne, who was beheaded, together with her brother; also the lord Cromwell [...]"²⁷

Even Thomas Cranmer, the most ardent supporter of reforms and the Queen's confidant, did not come out in her open and direct defence. In his courageous appearance before the monarch, he delivered a speech. His presentation,

²⁵ R. M. Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn: Family Politics at the Court of Henry VIII*, Cambridge 1991, p. 154.

²⁶ H. Robinson, *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation, 1537-58*, Cambridge 1846, pp. 203-204.

²⁷ *Ibidem*.

though, was balanced and rather he spoke of his resultant bewilderment upon finding Anne Boleyn guilty. Still, in his brave speech, he said:

[...] as I loved her not a little, for the love which I judged her to bear towards God and his gospel; so, if she be proved culpable, there is not one that loveth God and his gospel that ever will favour her for then there was never creature in our time that hath so much slandered the gospel. And God hath sent her this punishment, for that she feignedly hath professed his gospel in her mouth, and not in heart and deed. Wherefore I trust that your grace will bear no less entire favour unto the truth of the gospel, than you did before: forsomuch as your grace's favour to the gospel was not led by affection unto her, but by zeal unto the truth.²⁸

Thomas Cranmer's caution is understandable in view of the fact that Anne Boleyn's fate had already been decided. Those evangelicals whom she had earlier supported so wholeheartedly had to sever any links with her. Even if this separation was to be temporary, they had to distance themselves if they still wished to save the vernacular translation of the Bible. It can be concluded that the chief figure and instrument in the cause of the Reformation together with her main supporters were destroyed. However, those less prominent radicals whom she had promoted such as Hugh Latimer, Thomas Cranmer, Nicholas Shaxton and Matthew Parker survived, continuing their activities under new patrons' auspices and guidelines. Furthermore, only those evangelicals who did not hold high positions in the government managed to avoid persecutions and executions, thus later they would pick an opportune moment to continue that which their Queen had initiated.

It must be remembered as well that during Queen Anne's reign, religious divisions were not yet distinct. Indeed,

²⁸ J. Strype, *op. cit.*, pp. 320-322.

variable trends could be identified but not completely new defined religious doctrines. In this light, Queen Anne, Thomas Cromwell, Hugh Latimer and Thomas Cranmer – all these figures had pro-reformatory inclinations. Their influence – Anne Boleyn's in particular - was crucial at that time because consequently, their work enabled the Protestants to take over the government in 1547.

During the reign of Anne Boleyn's daughter – Elizabeth I, Protestant propagators praised her mother for a quintessential contribution to the history of the English Reformation and this age. For obvious reasons, they did their utmost to create a glowing picture of Queen Anne. Amongst these Protestants were Hugh Latimer and a Scottish reformer Alexander Ales who, to an extent, participated in the creation of this image. Finally, at long last, they could blame freely the opponents of the Reformation for Anne Boleyn's execution.²⁹ The amount of attention that Queen Anne attracted after her death substantiates the assumption that in the course of British history she was more than the mere second wife of Henry VIII and her contribution to the English Reformation is undoubted and sometimes underestimated.

²⁹ E. W. Ives, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

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LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

The argumentative language function in bilingual education

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1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is twofold: to highlight the unique educational possibilities arising from the practical application of the argumentative language function in the process of educating conscious bilinguals and to offer an alternative dual-language programme with linguistic, cognitive and academic achievement as goals for all students. This approach differs from the traditional bilingual education programmes in that it offers first-language instruction for students who are from the same language group with non-English speaking backgrounds but who have acquired the second language well enough to be able to function academically. What is unique about this approach is the increased emphasis it puts on exploring the intimate relationship between the first and second language, which creates a powerful force increasing the efficiency of learning and cognitive achievement.

2. The argumentative language function

The idea of language being used as the principal instrument of communication is obvious enough and need not be further explored. Language naturally plays a substantial part in the development of a child as a social being. According to Halliday (1979: 9), it is “the main channel through which the patterns of living are transmitted to him, through which he learns to act as a member of a ‘society’”. Yet Halliday’s (1979: 1) suggestion that language is “a social fact” need not

necessarily have a behaviouristic foundation. In his view, there are two fundamental aspects to language: reflection and action. Language becomes a primary channel of socialisation as it involves fixed modes of social interaction. However, considering such modes only in terms of the capability to function in a language amounts to describing and analysing language on the crudest possible level, which will invariably show complete disregard for other, substantially more complex, language functions. Halliday rightly points out that language consists not only of sentences but also of text, or discourse, which represents the exchange of meanings in interpersonal contexts of one kind or another. Language gives linguistic shape to thoughts and reasoning and, by implication, it gives form to human identities. Therefore, language also plays the central role in the development of humans as social beings inasmuch as it facilitates the verbalisation of cognition.

This paper is based on the revolutionary assumption about language being involved in higher mental processes, founded upon Vygotsky's (1962) research into the nature of thought processes. By referring to language and thought as being closely related, Vygotsky pointed to the specific relationship between language, meaningful thought and reason, thus transferring attention from the communicational aspect of language to its creative potential, which added an entirely new dimension to human utterances. Consequently, speech has acquired the status of a creative, intellectual activity, the culmination of a cognitive task.

The idea of language being used as a medium of individual, creative, intellectual activity is intimately linked to the notion of language functions. On account of its distinctive inclusive character and its serious implications for further pedagogical considerations, Popper's (1981) classification of language functions constitutes the basis for this discussion. What clearly distinguishes his classification from the contributions made to the work on the subject by Jakobson (1973), Halliday (1970) or Britton (1971) is the fact that it addresses the apparent conflict between language as a tool of communication and language as a medium of thought, imagination and perception.

In his hierarchy, Popper distinguishes the following language functions:

- (1) Argumentative (creative),
- (2) Descriptive (representative),
- (3) Signalling (impressive) and
- (4) Symptomatic (expressive).

These functions are ranked in order of their growing complexity, with the most composite in character being placed at the very top and the most simple and basic at the very bottom. The former are therefore referred to as higher language functions, whereas the latter are known as lower or communicative functions of language. The most distinctive feature of Popper's hierarchy, one that makes it pedagogically convenient, is its inclusive character. Any instance of a higher function naturally implies the simultaneous co-occurrence of lower functions. In other words, a sentence demonstrating the use of the argumentative language function is a message and an objective hypothesis at the same time. On the one hand, it provides a means whereby the author interacts with the addressee, which points to the presence of the symptomatic and signalling language functions. On the other hand, however, it constitutes a reference to some facts and aspects of reality, which is marked by a high degree of objectivity and universality.

It should also be emphasised that the argumentative language function makes use of the power of reasoning, which points to the creative aspect of language use. This creative potential, however, does not amount to the linguistic ability "to produce new sentences never spoken before and to understand sentences never heard before" (Fromkin & Rodman 1993: 8). Instead, it consists in creating cohesive and coherent texts that make use of cause and effect sequences, which in turn function as arguments. Being subject to rules of informal logic, the argumentative language function is believed to foster critical thinking and, by implication, to stimulate creative and innovative thinking, which acts as a liberating force in education. It follows that it is creative language use rather

than the development of mechanical speech skills that should be stimulated in second-language education. Should the process of second-language learning be approached from this perspective, language will be fully and more effectively made use of. Not only will it serve the purpose of communication but it will also develop into a powerful instrument of thought. In this way, language may additionally become a significant factor involved in the building-up of knowledge of all scientific disciplines and spheres of life.

3. The argumentative language function and informal logic

In education especially, language is employed to investigate the nature of the world and, therefore, its ties to thought and reasoning are all the closer. It is employed to construct meaningful texts, either written or spoken, which are based on rules of logic. What learners are taught is not only a collection of concepts but also a way of perceiving, thinking about, classifying and evaluating all that refers to external objective and internal subjective reality. Language used to support what Reber (1985: 324) refers to as “higher order mental activities”, such as thinking, imagery, memorising, ideation, abstraction, symbolising and metaphorising, always relies on the highest and most complex language function, i.e. the argumentative language function (Popper 1981). Being subject to rules of informal logic, arguments and, by implication, the argumentative language function foster critical thinking. It is believed that instruction in critical thinking is meant to teach an understanding of the relationship of language to logic and, by implication, to develop the ability to analyse and criticise ideas, to reason inductively and deductively, and to reach conclusions on the basis of sound inferences.

Among the most notable trends characterising the field of informal logic is a move toward a broader understanding of argument that extends beyond traditional logical concerns. Classical formal logic distinguishes between the premises and conclusions of an argument. It suggests that a good argument

is a sound argument, i.e. a valid argument with true premises. To determine the structure of propositions and of the general conditions of valid inference, classical logic abstracts from the content or matter of the propositions and deals only with their logical form. It adopts a formalised language with a view to avoiding the inexactnesses and systematically misleading irregularities in structure and expression which are common in ordinary natural language. Formal logic deals with the objective form of sentences which express propositions.

Despite the fact that the classical conception of good argument models many kinds of argument, its appeal to true premises is ill-suited to many informal contexts. The latter are, for the most part, characterised by hypothetical claims and uncertain beliefs, by disagreements about what is true and false, by ethics and aesthetics which defy simple classification into true and false, and by variable contexts in which emotions and attitudes come into play. In fact, arguments may be viewed as representatives of clusters of attitudes, beliefs, feelings and intuitions which characterise the arguer. In such contexts, it is informal logic that helps to account for and to understand simple day-to-day reasoning. On the one hand, texts demonstrating the use of the argumentative language function are idiosyncratic as they follow an individual line of reasoning, which may be heavily influenced by a wide variety of factors. On the other hand, however, they are subject to logical analysis as they are constructed according to rules of informal logic. Being a sequence of arguments, in which one sentence is a logical consequence of another, such texts invite an analysis and evaluation of their arguments from the perspective of informal logic.

The logical relationships between arguments manifest themselves in the coherence and cohesion of speech, thought etc. The internal logic and semantic consistency of an utterance, text etc., and the logical consequence of arguments must be supported by an appropriate repertoire of linguistic tools, known as cohesive devices, intended to maintain the utterance's grammaticality and lexical consistency, thereby making it a unity. However, as Bruner (1975) rightly points

out, the presence of logical distinctions in a speech fragment is not enough to render it a representation of thought. In Bruner's phrase (1977: 71), the key issue is "how language is being used, what in fact the subject is doing with his language". According to Bruner (1975) and Donaldson (1978), mental capacities are fully released when literary activities become entirely autonomous and independent of face-to-face-situations and interactions. Only when a sample text is able to function autonomously, can it be regarded as representative of considerable cognitive involvement. In Popper's (1981) terminology, such a text will demonstrate the use of the highest argumentative language function. In other words, it will serve as an example of conscious language use.

The role of the teacher in language education is, among other things, to teach grammatical structures and stylistic devices suitable for producing utterances and texts according to rules of logic. In practice, it amounts to teaching how to construct good arguments. It follows that the teacher substantially influences the learners' thinking skills and ordinary reasoning, thereby continuously stimulating their linguistic, intellectual and cognitive growth. That, in turn, appears to have profound implications for bilingual students as numerous studies conducted within the context of bilingual education have shown that the higher-order skills developed exclusively through the medium of the native language almost simultaneously carry over into the second language (Lambert & Tucker 1972), and that higher-order cognitive processes manifest themselves regardless of the specific language (Goldman, Reyes & Varnhagen 1984). There is no denying then that the mother tongue and the second language complement rather than exclude each other and that both substantially contribute to the harmonious and balanced development of bilingual students within the sphere of language and cognition.

There is not a shadow of doubt that proper understanding of the role of informal logic in education is most likely to affect the current approach to teaching. Memorisation and rote learning, often implemented in education, have many valuable

uses; fostering critical thinking, however, is not among them. By leading to new insights, novel approaches and fresh perspectives, critical thinking expands the horizons of possible solutions, challenges well-established presuppositions and fosters imaginative skills. Yet, to fully exploit the unlimited creative potential that lies in humans, language needs to be perceived as a phenomenon working for its own sake, as a medium of thought, imagination and perception. Therefore, it is the argumentative function that should be employed in bilingual education as no other language function can stop the process of language fossilisation and attrition triggered off by the limitation of language use to everyday routine and mechanical communication. And, more importantly, no other function proves equally capable of turning language into a vibrant body living its own life. The argumentative language function, which implements rules of informal logic and which fosters critical thinking, is the key to learners' intellectual and cognitive development. It is undoubtedly a liberating force in education.

4. Division of sciences

The word *science* comes from the Latin *scientia* (Sinclair 2001), which refers to knowledge. In modern times, however, the meaning of this word has been considerably narrowed down and science has come to denote certain areas of knowledge only. Therefore, to avoid additional complications, instead of *sciences* the word *knowledge* will be used to render the process of education in full detail.

A major breakthrough in the philosophical understanding of knowledge was achieved by Arno Anzenbacher (1987), who approaches the issue of the division of sciences in a revolutionary way. According to him, sciences fall into three distinct categories: universal, detailed and formal studies (see Figure 1). Yet what points to the uniqueness of Anzenbacher's model is not so much the actual division of sciences as the role he assigns to language and mathematics in the entire system.

According to Anzenbacher, the real sciences are fragmentary and empirical in nature as they are only concerned with specific fragments of physical reality. Such aspects of reality, which the real sciences examine using a particular scientific method, may either belong to the physical world (the natural sciences) or be part of what has come into being as a result of human activity (the humanities). By way of contrast, universal studies, where philosophy plays the leading role, provide an alternative to the fragmentary, and hence sketchy, view of the empirical world. Instead of analysing only particular elements of physical reality, philosophy offers a much broader perspective upon the empirical world. By processing the assumptions and results of the real sciences into syntheses, it provides a valuable, logical insight into the nature of experience. In other words, it is the source of non-empirical knowledge about the physical world.

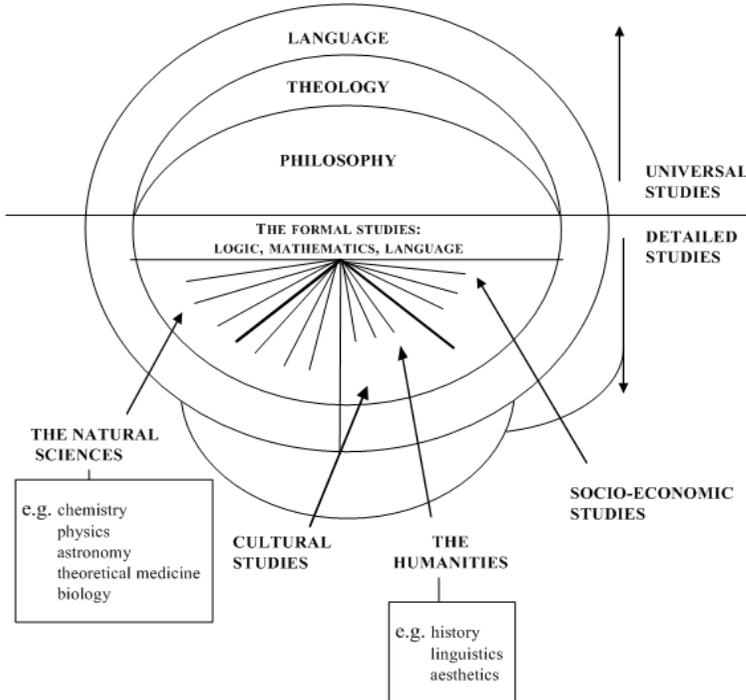


Figure 1

Universal and detailed studies (Anzenbacher 1987: 41)

The shift from experience to non-empirical synthesis involves, according to Anzenbacher, the use of argumentation, hence the process of methodical reasoning. Logic, along with mathematics and language, belongs to the realm of the formal studies, which Anzenbacher deliberately places in the very heart of his spherical model on account of their substantial function. Rather than being concerned with fragments of the experiential reality, the formal studies deal with the pure form and refer to the abstract structure of relations. Logic itself plays the key role in Anzenbacher's division of sciences on the grounds that it is instrumental in developing the ability of logical argumentation. Along with mathematics, logic is a formal tool of research.

On the basis of Anzenbacher's division of sciences, a specific relationship can be distinguished between mathematics and language. The most common connection between the two disciplines is their use as tools or instruments of thought. Linked to the natural sciences and to the humanities respectively, both are subject to the universal laws of thought and of language. In fact, mathematics performs the same function for science as language does for the humanities and, as a matter of fact, mathematical formulae are shortened versions of natural language, by means of which they can be developed into logical hypotheses. The definition of the golden mean below, which includes both a mathematical formula and its translation into natural language, may serve as an excellent illustration of that point (Example 1).

$$\frac{AB}{BC} = \frac{BC}{AC}$$

The ratio of the length AB to the length BC is the same as the ratio of the length BC to the whole length AC. taken from *Mathematical Methods*, (ed.) F. Cirrito, p. 14

Example 1

Definition of the golden mean

It is possible to turn the aforementioned definition of the golden mean into a hypothesis by means of the argumentative language function (see Example 2 below). As an argument, such a hypothesis is constructed according to rules of logic, and therefore may be subject to logical analysis. Additionally, as a sequence of clauses in which one is a logical consequence of another, it renders the inferential, cause-and-effect relationship between the two statements.

*If the ratio of the length AB to the length BC is
the same as the ratio of the length BC to the whole length AC,
then B is the golden mean.*

Example 2

Hypothesis formed on the basis of the golden mean definition

More importantly still, on the basis of Anzenbacher's diagram, it is possible to distinguish two language functions: descriptive and argumentative, shown in Figure 1 as the outer layer and the nucleus, respectively. Language itself is both a study and a tool of analysis for other branches of knowledge. By way of illustration, considerable attention has been devoted to studying language as it changes over the course of time, as well as to its internal phonological, grammatical and semantic structures at given points in time. At the same time, it is natural language that has been used to account for these linguistic phenomena.

The study of language, as of any other branches of knowledge, rests upon critical enquiry and logical reasoning. Based on rules of informal logic, the argumentative language function helps to elucidate concepts through revealing the inferential relationships among statements, thereby promoting the development of „higher mental processes” (Reber 1985: 324). In other words, the highest language function in Popper's hierarchy (1981) is instrumental in fostering the ability to conceptualise, draw and express abstract relations and relationships in a language, an ability which is associated with cognitive functioning and improvement. The fact that

these language-related skills can transfer from one language to another lays the foundation for bilingual education.

Seemingly apart, the learning of language and the learning of the world are, in fact, closely interdependent. A reality is constructed through language but, at the same time, language itself is part of this reality. As a result, human cognition and the acquisition of knowledge must be based on language. As an active driving force determining the development of human cognition, the argumentative language function is a perfect means to an end. Its practical application in the process of developing conscious bilinguals is intended to affect their perception of knowledge. The body of knowledge is no longer to be regarded as a series of unrelated, disconnected items, independent pieces of information, facts, theories, memories or experiences. Nor is it to be spoken of in terms of individual branches of knowledge, unrelated to one another. Quite the opposite, the body of knowledge is meant to be viewed as consisting of a number of disciplines tied to one another through inferential relationships.

5. An alternative bilingual education programme

The major assumption underlying this paper is that there exist cross-linguistic influences in bilingual education. Such an interaction between the native and target languages is known as 'transfer'. Whereas, in psychology, the term 'transfer' refers to "the extension of previous knowledge to the area of new knowledge" (Kellerman and Sharwood Smith 1986: 69), in cognitive learning theory it is tied to "the relevance of existing knowledge for the internalisation of any new information: new information is seen in the light of old information" (Kellerman and Sharwood Smith 1986: 69). It follows that the existing data are entirely restructured and reorganised in the process of transfer. Customarily, such a conceptual reshuffle has been linked to linguistic features and elements only, for example lexical elements, morphological categories, syntactic structures etc. However, what the internal, cognitive reorganisation also extends to, and what many researchers fail to notice, is the

general knowledge acquired in the process of learning.

Ideally, a dual language programme should aim at the transfer of knowledge from the native to the second language. Bilingual students should, therefore, obtain intellectual and cognitive benefits from the coexistence of the mother tongue and the second language. With the unique, dynamic and concept-based relationship between the first and second language involving a transfer of higher-order cognitive abilities between the two languages, bilingual students, once they have learned how to conceptualise, present abstract relations and express abstract notions, are believed to be able to apply the same processes to any other context. Consequently, their first language proficiency is expected to translate into more efficient second-language acquisition.

This alternative bilingual education programme rests on a language-centred curriculum, and takes for granted the unique relationship between language and thought, which heavily influences the position of subjects on the curriculum. It is in line with the findings and suggestions of numerous researchers, which can be concluded with Dr Johnson's phrase, "language is the dress of thought" (Gilmour 2000). Aside from giving a linguistically organised shape to thought, language also adds an extra dimension to the process of thinking and reasoning, namely free and uninhibited use of language expands the horizons for thinking and cognition, thereby affecting man's perception of the world (Poeppe 1985). The inescapable fact is that there are close ties between thinking and language which manifest themselves in the fact that one has an impact on the development of the other. In other words, speaking breeds new thoughts.

Needless to say, it is a tenet of this bilingual education programme that both languages, native and second, make up a harmonious and integrated whole which becomes an active and dynamic force leading to the linguistic, cognitive and intellectual improvement of students. However, for the content, skills and concepts learned through the first language to be able to be transferred to the second language and vice versa, a conscious attitude needs to be developed to both

linguistic systems. Since this bilingual education programme is addressed to learners who have acquired the second language well enough to be able to function academically, the focus of attention has been shifted from learning new words and grammatical structures to the clarity, precision and creativity of thought and hence of expression.

In line with Anzenbacher's (1987: 41) division of sciences, natural language, including both the mother tongue and the second language, occupies the central position; and, being concerned with "learning" and "creativity", it affects all disciplines of knowledge. The school subjects are therefore arranged in a centralised hierarchy, with language permeating into each and every one of them. From the pedagogical point of view, the conscious and deliberate implementation of higher language functions in educational processes will act as an effective deterrent to the disintegration of the system of knowledge into separate, unrelated disciplines, each functioning for its own sake, with its own goals and distinct research methods to reach them. Without the argumentative language function, which bridges the gaps between individual fields of study by exposing the inferential relationships among disciplines, thereby affecting their coalescence, real progress in general knowledge is virtually impossible. The guiding aspect of the pedagogical features of this programme is also the belief that units of study should be thematically organised, which calls for increased co-operation, greater co-ordination and detailed planning among teachers involved in this bilingual education programme. Otherwise, this method will fail to bring any success or measurable gains for the learners themselves in their efficiency of learning or cognitive achievement.

The key idea behind the linguistic component of this bilingual education programme, unlike that of the traditional methods, is to keep the two languages together at all times. There is absolutely no need to introduce any strict language separation; however, the time of instruction in each language should follow the 50/50 pattern, the aim being to sustain a balance between the development of the two languages. Clearly enough, it is a major tenet of this bilingual education

programme that the “higher mental processes” (Reber 1985: 324) stimulated in either language will prove applicable to any other language context.

At the instructional level, on the other hand, teachers should be firmly discouraged from using visual aids to distinguish the two languages. Rather than being helpful in focusing attention on the content matter, they may distract students from learning and evoke dangerous associations of learning with light-hearted playing. Instead, the teaching of the two languages should centre on authentic and meaningful language use, involving the skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing; and, while making their selection of materials, teachers themselves should also allow for the individual needs, interests and experiences of their students.

On the basis of the preceding discussion, and in line with all the assumptions and arguments presented in this paper, several, indispensable areas of a school curriculum can be distinguished. Figure 2 outlines the arrangement of subjects on the school curriculum, as recommended and suggested in this bilingual education programme. The selection of the subjects shown in Figure 2 is based on traditional school curricula used in mainstream secondary education.

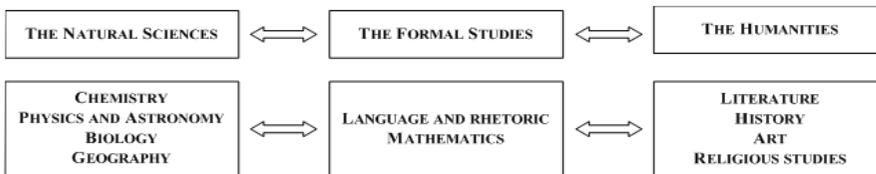


Figure 2

Recommended arrangement of subjects on the school curriculum

The position of individual subjects on the school curriculum as shown in Figure 2 is heavily influenced by Anzenbacher’s (1987) division of the sciences. At the very heart of the system lie the formal studies on account of the fact that they deal with the abstract structure of relations and serve as instruments essential for the ability of logical argumentation which is absolutely fundamental to the success of this bilingual

education programme. On both sides of the formal studies, there are two other categories of subjects: the natural sciences and the humanities, and the arrows between the three groups serve as an illustration of the cause-and-effect relationship existing between them.

In general, while discussing any advanced language education, a clear distinction ought to be made between two different language spheres: the sphere of “learning” and of “creativity” (Wenzel 1994: 96); and, in more concrete terms, between using language for the purpose of obtaining general knowledge and as material for genuine creation. Interestingly enough, there has always been a marked tendency to regard the two spheres as unrelated. Consequently, the former has been associated with the mere lexical and grammatical component of language education, whereas the latter with literary studies only. However, it is important to note that the release of mental capacity for higher-level operations may also result in creativity.

It should be clear that, within the sphere of learning, the formal studies, i.e. language and rhetoric, are meant to help students develop the ability to present reasoning and argumentation in a cohesive and coherent manner by means of relevant grammatical and stylistic devices. The practical application of grammar in the construction of meaningful texts is believed to improve considerably the process of language learning itself as well as that of internalising new facts and theories, whereas the techniques involved in this part of bilingual education are meant to develop learners’ abilities to express their thoughts with a high degree of precision and clarity. As a result, students learn to form hypotheses, to express conjectures, to construct new theories and to evaluate and refute existing ones. In other words, they are taught critical inquiry based on rules of informal logic. Such an ability of critical thinking, supported with the argumentative language function, proves indispensable in the group of the natural sciences, a group which, particularly, calls for logical and consistent reasoning on account of the fact that it deals with the physical and empirical phenomena subject to logical

evaluation.

However, contrary to popular opinion, logical reasoning may also be interpreted in terms of creativity. In fact, the relationship between learning and creativity may be illustrated by means of a simple formula, as shown below in Figure 3.



Figure 3

Relationship between cognition and creativity

According to Zimbardo (1979), creativity, which is perceived as uninhibited, imaginative processes, involves synthesis, an ability to make connections that relate facts, observations, experiences and ideas in a meaningful way. The application of the argumentative language function in general education acts as a liberating force for one's cognitive activity; and, by leading away from naive acceptance of authority, it inspires the lust for ever greater knowledge about every aspect of reality. In other words, free and uninhibited use of language based on the argumentative function breeds new thoughts and reflections which lead to novel insights and new and remarkable discoveries, create intellectual drives and pose interesting academic challenges. As a result, students develop greater capacity for creative thinking in terms of the objective knowledge they obtain.

On the other hand, within the sphere of creativity proper, of which Wenzel (1994) speaks, it is language itself that is used as material for genuine creation, and the methods employed centre on richness of expression in terms of meaning and form. Consequently, students increase their capacity for metaphorisation, symbolising, polysemy, ambiguity etc. (Wenzel 1994: 96), an objective that can be best accomplished in the group of the humanities.

In this bilingual education programme, language, in its two varieties, is regarded as a powerful instrument of thought; and, as a result, special attention is paid to stimulating higher

order mental activities associated with cognitive functioning and literacy-related activities. With the emphasis shifted towards the development of a conscious attitude to each language variety, teachers work simultaneously on both languages aiming at the development of conscious bilinguals whose higher first-language proficiency is bound to translate into more efficient second-language acquisition. As a consequence, students are taught the ability to use language in its two varieties as a tool for conceptualising, drawing abstract relations, expressing abstract relationships etc. In other words, language is meant to develop into a powerful dynamic force which stimulates not only their linguistic, intellectual and cognitive growth, but also the development of their general knowledge of the world.

Clearly, the recognition of language in its two varieties as central to this bilingual education programme has important implications for the content of the curriculum, namely that there are no longer any distinct language classes as the two languages are taught simultaneously in every subject. Also, a different arrangement of subjects on the curriculum with language and rhetoric lying at the very heart of it, affects the role and position of a language teacher. Since the two languages are taught simultaneously in all subjects, every single teacher involved in this bilingual education programme should, at the same time, be a competent philologist of both the native tongue and the second language. It clearly follows that there is no longer any need for a central and authoritative position of a language teacher among other staff members since all teachers are at the same time competent philologists of the two languages.

It is also important to emphasise that this bilingual education programme demands increased co-operation, greater co-ordination and detailed planning of all teachers involved in it. The thematic organisation of units of study is meant to help students perceive the body of knowledge as consisting of a number of disciplines tied to one another through inferential relationships rather than as a set of loose, unrelated and disconnected items, independent pieces of information, facts, theories, memories or experiences. Such

an approach to language education is believed to accelerate and greatly improve the process of learning itself.

By way of illustration, in the group of the natural sciences, the Biology teacher may discuss the issue of photosynthesis as an example of autotrophic nutrition, whereas the Chemistry teacher focuses on all the chemical mechanisms involved in this phenomenon; the Physics teacher accounts for the underlying physical processes and laws of quantum physics such as those of electrons, protons and neutrons as well as for the theory of light, the nature of light radiation and wavelength; and the Geography teacher discusses the ecosystem with special emphasis on food chains and trophic levels as well as the conditions under which plants live, for example light, temperature, water, soil, gases etc.

Similarly, in the case of the humanities, the literature teacher initiates discussions on the Trojan War against the background of Homer's "Iliad". Simultaneously, the History teacher focuses on the period of Ancient/Classical Greece, contemporary forms of government, military tactics, wars, campaigns and battles; the Art teacher presents forms of Greek art and architecture; and the teacher of Religious studies concentrates on the contemporary beliefs, gods and goddesses. The implementation of the argumentative language function in the thematic organisation of units of study is believed to encourage students to form a detailed and comprehensive analysis of facts in terms of the inferential relationships among them, an ability which is to culminate with new theories and novel insights. The thematic organisation itself is meant to help students gain a clearer perception of the situations and phenomena discussed at length in different subjects.

6. Bilingual education and the basic teaching aims

Over the past decades, various approaches have been adopted to language teaching, ranging from the Audio-Lingual Method to the Communicative Approach. Yet, however innovative and different in character they may seem, all these theories prove to have one thing in common, namely

that they concentrate only on the development of a selected linguistic skill or habit at the expense of other skills. By way of illustration, the Audio-Lingual Method focuses solely on practising correctness and fluency of articulation, neglecting, at the same time, aims which lie outside the scope of this particular method. Consequently, such a method-centred methodology turns out to be one-dimensional and, therefore, proves fruitless in the language-teaching process.

By way of contrast, the aim-centred methodology (Wenzel 2001), in which the choice of aims determines the selection of teaching methods and procedures, offers a possibility of comprehensive linguistic education and, therefore, provides a viable alternative to other approaches. According to Wenzel (2001: 38), there are four basic aims of language teaching

- (1) developing conscious and authentic learning,
- (2) practice of linguistic correctness and fluency,
- (3) developing various communicative skills through simulated and artificial communicative practice,
- (4) authentic language use.

Clearly, from the methodological point of view, the bilingual education programme outlined in part 5 meets all the aforementioned requirements. Firstly, it is concerned with conscious and authentic learning on two basic levels: that of correctness and form as well as that of content matter. It should be emphasised that students consciously learn grammatical mechanisms which enable them to express their thoughts. At the same time, both languages are acquired together with the formation of new concepts of the world. The process of learning amounts to the dynamic conceptual restructuring that results from the cognitive processes. The constant internal reorganisation of the mind lays the foundation for its creative work, which manifests itself as the ability of thinking, memorising, ideation, abstraction, symbolising, metaphorising, reasoning etc. Obviously enough, such processes are accompanied by the conscious motives of learning and creating as the process of education

itself demands of students their cognitive involvement. Also, teaching with its choice of materials and procedures centres on developing positive internal affective orientation towards the subject matter, thereby stimulating students' cognitive motivation, i.e. their inner drives to learn and to create. Last but not least is the involvement of long-term memory in the process of language acquisition. It is believed that the application of the argumentative language function, which exposes the inferential relationships among statements and various disciplines of knowledge, as well as conscious learning, will affect the length of memory employed and hence the type of learning involved.

Secondly, practising linguistic correctness and fluency is generally known as a habit-forming activity consisting of the development of simple mechanical skills, and has little, if anything at all, to do with creative language use. With meaningful expression as the major goal of this bilingual education programme, there transpires to be virtually no sense in devoting additional time and attention to such meaningless activities as pronunciation drills. However, this does not mean that such teaching procedures essential to successful language education ought to be done away with. Instead, it is in Language and Rhetoric classes that students should consciously learn the grammatical and linguistic mechanisms involved in the production of meaningful texts based on the argumentative language function and put what they have learned into further practice while creating meaningful texts in particular classes. Moreover, the use of authentic teaching materials is believed to be conducive to practising linguistic correctness and fluency as these materials serve as excellent models for students themselves. In the process of teaching, the role of the teacher also boils down to correcting any linguistic mistakes students make. Since this recommended language education rests upon reasoning and logical argumentation, lexical and grammatical mistakes are likely to be symptomatic of serious flaws in reasoning.

Thirdly, simulating communicative language use is meant to help students put the linguistic knowledge into practice.

Traditionally, a wide variety of activities have been employed to prepare students for real-life communication. Helpful as they may seem, these procedures prove skill-centred rather than message-centred and fail to engage long-term memory in the process of learning. It should be made clear that in the light of Popper's hierarchy of language functions and its distinct principle of growing complexity, where any instance of a higher function naturally implies the simultaneous co-occurrence of lower function, it is utterly pointless to concentrate on language as a tool of communication since that proves detrimental to the process of cognitive and intellectual growth of language learners. Instead, students are to be encouraged to use language on its highest argumentative level. It is undoubtedly the argumentative language function itself that frees language from both the context and author-addressee constraint, thus elevating language beyond reality and extending it into the realm of abstractions.

Last but not least is the aspect of authentic language interaction, i.e. "listening and reading in order to learn something new from the content, and speaking and writing in order to express what one means" (Wenzel 2001: 41-42). Obviously enough, this issue is intimately tied to the aspect of conscious learning. Suffice it to say that all the effort teachers make should be channelled into stimulating authentic language use on the part of students. In other words, as well as explaining to students grammar and lexicon which will help them express what they mean, teachers should engage students in authentic language interaction through the content matter, while assuming the role of a genuine partner themselves.

7. Conclusions

There are unique educational possibilities arising from the practical application of the argumentative language function in the process of educating conscious bilinguals. By relying in bilingual education on the argumentative language function, students can improve their understanding of the relationship of language to logic, which should lead to the

ability to analyse, criticise and advocate ideas, to reason inductively and deductively and to reach conclusions based on sound inferences. As well as that, students are believed to enhance their understanding of the logical connection between individual areas of study. As a result, they no longer view the system of knowledge as consisting of separate, unrelated disciplines, each functioning for its own sake, with its own goals and distinct research methods to reach them.

This paper also refers to the notion of *conscious bilingualism*, and offers an outline of an alternative bilingual education programme, which puts a heavy emphasis on developing the students' ability to make use of natural language in the sphere of "learning" and "creativity". Language itself is perceived as central in the educational system, i.e. as a study itself and as a tool of analysis for other branches of knowledge. It is considered instrumental in investigating the nature of the world, which highlights its close ties to thought and reasoning. The two varieties of natural language are used to increase the knowledge of the world and are also viewed as material for genuine creation. In other words, students are meant to improve both the linguistic precision and richness of their expression. However, this paper also draws attention to a new dimension that creativity has additionally acquired as a result of releasing mental capacity for higher-level operations. It is the application of the argumentative language function in general education which acts as a liberating force for one's cognitive activity; and, by implication, inspires the desire for ever greater knowledge about every aspect of reality. In other words, free and uninhibited use of language based on the argumentative function breeds new thoughts and reflections which lead to novel insights and new and remarkable discoveries, create intellectual drives and pose interesting academic challenges.

Last but not least is the unique relationship between the first and second language that this paper relies on. The teaching procedures demonstrated in the alternative bilingual education programme centre on stimulating the development of a conscious attitude to each of the language varieties employed in the educational processes. It is believed that

once the ability has been acquired to use language as a tool for conceptualising, drawing abstract relations or expressing abstract relationships in one language, it is applicable to any language context. Consequently, higher first-language proficiency affects the rapidity of second-language development. As a harmonious and integrated whole, both natural language varieties create a powerful force increasing the efficiency of learning and cognitive achievement.

On the basis of the preceding discussion, it is clear that the new bilingual education programme offered in this paper provides an attractive alternative to the traditional dual language programmes. Instead of heading for the so-called “communicative bilingualism”, which puts emphasis on the ability to function successfully in a variety of everyday, face-to-face interactions, this programme aims at “conscious bilingualism”, which consists of the capability to engage in a creative intellectual activity culminating in the creation of meaningful texts revealing the presence of logical distinctions. With natural language lying at the heart of all school subjects and with simultaneous instruction in its two varieties, there is no longer any need for a central and authoritative position of a language teacher among other staff members since all teachers are, at the same time, competent philologists of the two languages. It is also important to emphasise that the thematic organisation of the units of study demands increased co-operation, greater co-ordination and detailed planning of all teachers involved in it.

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REVIEWS

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Translation: A Cognitive-Communicative Approach

by Krzysztof Hejwowski

2004. Olecko: Wydawnictwo Wszechnicy Mazurskiej Acta Universitatis Masuriensis. Series: *Studia Językoznawcze Wszechnicy Mazurskiej*. 311 pages.

As the title of Hejwowski's dissertation suggests, he views translation "as a mental process taking place in the translator's mind" and "as a form of interlingual and [...] intercultural communication" (p. 9). By adopting such a stance, he aims at an effective analysis of perennial translation problems, namely equivalence, competence and error. What to some extent distinguishes the work under discussion from other theoretical depictions is the way it has been organised: Hejwowski believes that as far as the field of translation is concerned, formalised definitions are not at all possible, thus he decides to develop in the course of his investigation a number of non-formalised, working definitions. This has been preceded by a thorough examination of other scholars' views and detailed analyses of numerous translation problems.

The first of his working definitions concerns translation itself: it is "a text presented as a translation which has a source text to which it can be compared" (p. 9). In consequence, Hejwowski strongly criticises those translation scholars who claim that translations could and even should be analysed in separation from their source texts (e.g. Toury, Kozak, Lewicki). Further on, the author differentiates between translation proper, which aims at maximal equivalence towards the source text, interlinear translation (word-for-word translation) and intercultural communication with the

translator's participation (where a high extent of equivalence is not possible) – only the first phenomenon, as the prototypical kind of translation, can become the object of translation theory and studies. Still, even though as a result the field of research has been narrowed considerably, Hejwowski emphasises that translation remains an enormously complex phenomenon, “one of the most complicated spheres of human activity” (p. 12).

Apart from a constant awareness of the translation quality described above, what also makes the book worthy of notice is the fact that Hejwowski is not only a translation scholar but he has also been a practising translator for many years, and as a result theory and practice are inseparable and equally important for him. Referring to his own experience, the author firmly believes that translation theory should not focus on the problem of untranslatability and differences in reception, since, as translational practice confirms, translation has been possible due to similarities, not differences, between people and their cultures. Taking into account the opinions of other scholars, his own translational practice and the theoretical framework he has gradually developed, Hejwowski adopts an eclectic approach. As he argues, an approach which includes both theoretical and practical directions of reasoning seems analogous to the translation process itself. In order to verify the legitimacy of the attitude adopted, the author poses a number of questions which he tries to answer in the subsequent chapters (e.g. “What makes translation possible? What does the translation process look like? What are the goals of translation? What hinders the translation process? What makes some people capable of translating? What can be regarded as a translation error?” [p. 18]).

Having presented the attitude adopted and having established a departure point for further analyses, Hejwowski devotes the first of the nine chapters of the book to the most widely discussed term within the field of translation studies, i.e. translation equivalence. He starts by distinguishing between literalism and functionalism in other scholars' approaches towards equivalence, then he proceeds with a brief and critical summary of the most influential representatives'

ideas (Nida and Gutt in the functional approach, Venuti, Nabokov and Berman in the literal approach). Still, as the author convincingly proves, both approaches are not so much independent translation schools as extreme translation methods. Even though they appear to constitute two polarities, in Hejwowski's opinion they have one serious drawback in common: both fail to recognise fully the cognitive nature of the translation process, which they treat as merely an operation on texts. The conclusion seems obvious: only a cognitive approach can help overcome the limitations of both functional and literal translation theories. One such is Tabakowska's approach, which, according to Hejwowski, raises some doubts only because of its punctiliousness and excessive usage of the Langackerian terms "image" and "imagery" (pp. 53; 55-6). To give the reader a comprehensive account of various attitudes towards equivalence, the author concludes the first chapter by referring to those translation scholars who either question the validity of the very notion of equivalence or at least want to limit its significance (Vermeer, Toury, Snell-Hornby, Reiss).

The second chapter, the most detailed and the most extensive, is devoted to the phenomenon of translation process viewed as a form of communication. It starts off with quite a thorough description of the communication model developed, which owes much to "many psychologists, linguists, anthropologists, psycholinguists, philosophers and cognitive scientists, in particular to Bartlett, Bransford, Chafe, Clark, Fillmore, Grice, Herrmann, Hörmann, Lakoff, Kintsch, Malinowski, Minsky, Rosch, Schank and Schlesinger" (p. 62). As has already been written, the process of translation is viewed as a special case of the communicative process, its exceptionality resulting from the complex role assumed by the translator. Even though "the translation process is really a continuum", which means that "it cannot be divided into neat phases, stages or levels", or at least "the different levels can overlap or be omitted" (p. 119), the author offers a schema of the translation process that takes place at four levels (the level of syntagms, the level of verb frames, the level of scenes and scripts and the level of schemata) and consists of three phases (recognition and reconstruction, matching and target

language text production).

The first two chapters described above form the more theoretical part of the discussed work. In the remaining seven, the author takes a closer look at the production phase of the translation process, providing a comprehensive account of particular methods translators use to deal with the most complex translation problems. In chapter three, Hejwowski discusses special translational situations (user-centred translations, codified translations, constrained translation, translating culturally remote texts, translations with a change of the text's function, interlinear translation). In chapter four he discusses various techniques that may be employed while translating culture-bound items (he also takes the opportunity to discuss the myth of untranslatability). The fifth chapter gives some characteristics of proper names, specifies possible difficulties that may be encountered in the translation of proper names and, finally, lists a number of techniques the translator has at his/her disposal, illustrating them with some compelling examples. A very practical issue, namely all kinds of problems with translating titles, becomes the focus of the next chapter. Having analysed various functions particular titles may perform and difficulties which may arise while trying to make the target language title fulfil the functions in question, Hejwowski goes on to describe one of the greatest translational challenges, i.e. translating polyphonic texts. First, he makes reference to Berezowski's typology of the numerous strategies the translator may adopt in order to render various dialects, sociolects, idiolects or registers; further on, he presents his own classification of some useful techniques, which is followed by a number of inspiring examples. Chapter eight, in turn, concentrates on the notion of a translation error: it not only includes the author's taxonomy of translation errors, based on Barik's and Kopczyński's accomplishments, but also tries to specify the reasons for the errors described. Finally, in the last chapter, Hejwowski tackles the issue of translation competence. The dissertation ends with clear and well-organised conclusions, an extensive bibliography, three appendices with registers of the examples used while discussing the translation of culture-

bound items, titles and polyphonic texts, and particularly helpful subject and author indices.

As has been demonstrated, the greatest advantage of Hejwowski's book is its understanding of the translation process as a complex and demanding operation which takes place not within texts but in the translator's mind. Furthermore, making use of his own translational experience, the author manages to cover a whole range of practical issues. Due to the lucid and coherent arrangement of the problems discussed on the one hand, and the author's remarkable insights into the real nature of translation process on the other, in reading the book described the reader finds not only pleasure but also fresh inspiration for some personal reflections.

Interestingly enough, concurrently with *Translation: A Cognitive-Communicative Approach*, another book by the same author was published, this time written in Polish (*Kognitywno-komunikatywna teoria przekładu* by Krzysztof Hejwowski. 2004. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN. Series: Przekład. Mity i rzeczywistość. 198 pages). What should draw the reader's attention is the fact that the books in question are not simply each other's translations; even though on the whole their contents are the same, the material discussed is organised in different ways: *Kognitywno-komunikatywna teoria przekładu* consists of only eight chapters devoted to the myths of total untranslatability, literal translation, functional translation, textual approach, cultural untranslatability, linguistic untranslatability, ideal translation and common translational competence. It should not escape notice that the text in Polish is illustrated with a greater number of authentic examples.

Reviewed by Justyna Giczela,
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The Interpreting Studies Reader

edited by Franz Pochhacker and Miriam Schlesinger

2002. London: Routledge Language Readers.

While interpreting as a means of mediating across borders of languages and cultures has been involved in human communication since the earliest times, it was only recognised as a profession in the 20th century. Soon after, it made its first steps towards the status of a discipline in its own right, worth studying and researching. How these steps were made and where they might lead in the future is the focus of Franz Pochhacker and Miriam Schlesinger in their *Interpreting Studies Reader*.

This book is a comprehensive attempt to present a wide range of diverse contributions in the field of Interpreting Studies, a term itself coined as late as the 1990s. Presenting a collection of appealing and seminal papers, several of them never before available in English, the editors also introduce every author whose work has been included, allowing the reader to learn about those who have already made their names in the field and about many of those who are up and coming.

Though a young discipline and one that is obviously practical, the presented papers span a number of established sciences – from linguistics, through psychology, to sociolinguistics and translation theory – while the authors, as we read in the introduction, decided to concentrate on “theoretical and descriptive, rather than applied, domains of Interpreting Studies”.

As Interpreting Studies are still in their infancy, there is still much space and need for further investigation. This is evident

in the vast majority of the articles included, the best part of which express (either implicitly or explicitly) the all-pervading feeling that “more questions are raised than answered” and much more research is still needed to gain a better insight into the investigated phenomena. In this respect the Reader constitutes an excellent starting point for anyone daring to plunge into the complex world of Interpreting Studies.

Notwithstanding the complexity of the phenomenon and its early stage of development (where scientific orderliness is yet to be imposed), the editors of the book have managed to organise the articles in a methodical and illuminating way. They have arranged the papers in order of their importance and the impact they made on the progress of the science itself. An attempt has also been made to reach beyond the traditional focus and to include less prominent (though often more widespread) forms of oral translation, like community or sign language interpreting.

The order imposed by the editors is evident in the titles of the chapters. The introductory *Looking Back* is an attempt at a short initiation to the history of interpreting. Alfred Hermann, a German Egyptologist, leads the reader down the path of interpreting history from Ancient Egypt to early Christian times. “It is in fact one of the earliest scholarly works in interpreting literature as a whole,” we learn from the editors.

Chapter one: “Breaking Ground” presents the reader with some of the earliest research on interpreting. Eva Paneth endeavours to categorise different types of interpreting and to specify the basic requirements of the profession. A more technical approach is presented by Pierre Oléron and Hubert Nanpon, who use a two-track tape recorder to measure various strictly technical parameters of interpreting, like different delivery rates and their impact on speaker-interpreter time relations. These relations are called ear-voice span by David Gerver in his experimental work, where he compares the performance of two groups: interpreters versus shadowers, to see how input rate influences their work. This allows him to establish the notion of a unit of perception, a term that is often repeated, though named differently, in various papers. The unit of perception for shadowers proves to be a single word,

whereas for interpreters it extends into a whole phrase, which leads Gerver to a number of interesting observations on the way interpreters handle information. The unit of perception is further analysed by Frieda Goldman-Eisler. What she calls a minimum segmentation unit serves her to establish that perception in interpreting is never reduced to lexical segmentation, but always functions on the level of predicative expressions, even under stress. Henri C. Barik discusses the instances of departures from the input text found in the output. Having established three types of such departures, he uses them to create a quality index that might be applied to the performance of interpreters to compare their outputs. He is, however, as most authors in the Reader are, forced to conclude that “there is a need for further systematic research” on the issues raised in the investigation.

The “Laying Foundations” chapter introduces more seasoned works that build on the experience of the authors, who themselves are interpreting practitioners, and of the previous experimental papers. It opens with a work by Ghelly V. Chernov, a refreshing insight into language redundancy and its impact on predictability, which forms a major auxiliary tool for most interpreters. A contribution by Hella Kirchoff divides the interpreting process into four concurrent levels and establishes a number of variables on which interpreting output depends. An important postulate is then made by Danica Seleskovitch, who suggests that “the correctness of translation must be judged according to the result and not the process by which the result is obtained”. This statement is made with reference to the dual word production process explained by Seleskovitch, which she divides into voluntary and reflex production, and which is mirrored by the opposition of reflective versus literal translation. Next, Marianne Lederer presents interpreting as a communication-establishing process. Having analysed several different factors related to interpreting, she indicates that “interpreting often reflects the thinking process going on during interpretation which applies to the understanding process in general”.

Chapter 3, entitled “Modelling the Process”, introduces a number of contributions dealing with models of the

interpreting process, an important and prevailing issue in Interpreting Studies. Barbara Moser-Mercer provides a profound introduction to a number of language-processing models that have been applied to Interpreting Studies. Daniel Gile offers cognitive effort models employed with different types of interpreting activities, including sight translation and simultaneous interpreting with text. The last paper in this section is by Robin Setton, who presents a complex model of comprehension and assembly of meaning, discussing – among other things – their pragmatic and semantic dimensions.

A step beyond the cognitive approach to interpreting is made in Chapter 4: “Broadening the View”. Indeed, R Bruce W. Anderson, whose contribution opens this section, bravely encroaches into the world of sociology in his attempt to establish the role and behaviour of the interpreter, two persistently important issues troubling a number of interpreting practitioners. Bistra Alexieva then continues to find out the “typology of interpreter mediated events”. She proposes to move from one parameter, with which to categorise such an event, to a set of parameters she offers, which would all be placed on a continuum of universality versus culture specificity. A totally different perspective is adopted by Fernando Poyatos, who analyses the importance of nonverbal behaviour – paralinguistic and kinesics – in interpreting.

If Chapter 3 concentrated on the process of interpreting, Chapter 5 shifts the focus towards its product. Basil Hatim and Ian Mason analyse the impact of three basic domains of textuality on interpreter’s performance, only to find out that texture, structure and context are each crucial for different types of interpreting: simultaneous, consecutive and liaison. Helle V. Dam, in turn, concentrates on the issue of lexical similarity versus lexical dissimilarity in interpreting. These factors are used in an experiment which serves to establish whether interpreters concentrate more on form or on meaning in their input analysis. Not surprisingly, the results of the experiment, as commented on by the author, “raise more questions than they answer”. This chapter is concluded by Susan Berk-Seligson’s interesting observations on “The Impact of Politeness” in the performance of a community

interpreter. The author uses an experimental design to show how politeness, as a tool in the hands of the interpreter, can influence the listeners.

It is already in Seligson's text that our attention is directed at the interpreting audience along with certain ethical issues related thereto. A further discussion of these issues is provided in Chapter 6. First, Anne Schjoldager seeks to set up operational norms for interpreters derived from certain processing-related issues in conjunction with translation theory. Next, Ingrid Kurz compares the importance of different quality-assessing criteria to which various user groups, including interpreters themselves, pay attention. The results of her experiments are highly revealing and all but easily predictable. Last but not least, Angela Collados Ais demonstrates how lively and/versus monotonous intonation can distort the evaluation of quality in interpreting.

An ever-present problem in interpreting has been the role of the interpreter. It is hardly surprising then that a whole section – Chapter 7 – has been devoted to this issue. The section opens with Cynthia Roy's attempt to explain the role of the interpreter through various metaphors used to describe the task he or she faces, e.g. a conduit or a helper – to mention but two. Cecilia Wadensjo stresses the duality of the interpreter's role in a somewhat neglected area of interpreting, dialogue interpreters being responsible for relaying as well as coordinating. A ready-made existing code of ethics is discussed by Granville Tate and Graham H. Turner, who observe different interpreter attitudes towards the code in force when faced with ethically-challenging problem situations. Having observed how often professional codes appear in conflict with interpreters' views of their job, both suggest that a sort of "case law" should be created. A practical solution that should well be remembered.

Finally, the last chapter is "Looking ahead", an attempt to predict in which way Interpreting Studies are going to develop. An insightful comment on the history and origins of interpreting, this text clearly directs us towards what it calls "orality" as a source of independence interpreting may gain from its domineering older sister – translation studies. The

mention of C-3PO, a Star Wars android mastering six million forms of communication, offers a clever glimpse of modern technology. Whether it brings a promise or a threat remains a question to be answered.

The scope of research and studies covered in the *Reader* is immense. It spans linguistics, sociology and numerous other disciplines. A profound overview of Interpreting Studies, the book has two other advantages. For the uninitiated, this publication is an excellent source of knowledge, providing a profound insight into what is happening in the newly-born discipline of Interpreting Studies. There are many, however, who have already become acquainted with Interpreting Studies but have been overwhelmed by the diversity and unwieldiness of the discipline. To those readers, *The Interpreting Studies Reader* lends a crucial helping hand, as its authors, while successfully creating a collection of significant hard-to-find contributions, have also managed to arrange them in an orderly, lucid and reasonable manner. Not an easy task at all.

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***Disturbing Strangeness: Foreignisation
and Domestication in Translation
Procedures in the Context of Cultural
Asymmetry***

by Piotr Kwieciński

2001. Toruń: Edytor.

Disturbing Strangeness sets itself two important goals. The first is the re-formulation of the existing definitions of the concepts of foreignisation and domestication. The author points out that they have been and still are commonly confused and such misunderstandings lead to a blurred and therefore a false image of numerous linguistic phenomena. Thus, at the very outset, we find a precise clarification of the terms that will be used throughout the book.

The second goal is a thorough examination and an empirical test of what had been outlined in the theoretical groundwork. The innovative assumptions serve as a point of departure for an inquisitive and detailed analysis of instances of particular translation procedures on the lexical level in culturally marked texts.

To describe fairly the organisation of the book and the contents of each of the four chapters, there is no better word than 'meticulous': a comprehensive history of translational theories essential for the analysis in the first chapter, a profound insight into Polish reality as far as the sociocultural and linguistic factors are concerned in the second, a conscientious, almost pedantic but also critical, review of all existing classifications of translation procedures for culture specific items in the third chapter. When it comes to chapter four, the precision with which the author determines the scope of the analysed

material should not escape notice. The corpus is limited to selected lexical items and their Polish translations from non-literary texts of two genres: quality press articles from British and American dailies or weeklies and American comedy series (sitcoms). More than a thousand (1094 to be exact) Culture Specific Items have been subjected to close and methodical scrutiny.

The extensive historical sketch in the first chapter is aimed at reminding the reader that very few things in translation theory are actually ‘newly’ invented. Translation theory revolves around concepts known since antiquity – and develops thanks to their constant re-formulation and the discovery of new connections between them.

We are presented with an impressive array of the biggest names and concepts in translation theory from classical antiquity up to contemporary approaches, which makes the first chapter of *Disturbing Strangeness* an invaluable mine of information, a compendium of frameworks from different historical periods and a summary of theoretical cornerstones of the discipline. However, in the journey through the labyrinth of the history of translation studies, there is an Ariadne’s thread that prevents the reader from getting lost or going astray in the direction of some undesired nook. This thread is the problem of the two distinct translation strategies, foreignisation and domestication, which, as Kwieciński shows, continuously re-appear, under diverse names, at different times in history. The author considers each epoch from the point of view of the F/D concepts and presents the dominant trends in each of them.

It appears, then, as the author himself puts it, that “the historical sketch is intended to remedy a certain ahistoricism which is discernible in much of contemporary research on non-literary translation, whereby modern formulations are presented as completely new inventions rather than as reformulations of classic concepts and approaches in modern terms” (Kwieciński 2001: 8). The main focus, needless to say, is directed onto the aforementioned contemporary approaches. Three of them are given particular attention and are treated as the pillars of Kwieciński’s analysis:

- (1) Functionalist and communicative approaches – especially the ‘German school’ (*Skopostheorie*) and the relevance theory. They have been used by Kwieciński to construct a dynamic quality assessment tool for the material analysed.
- (2) Descriptive Translation Studies. This pillar supports a hypothesis of key importance for the study, namely the probabilistic law of interference which justifies the high tolerance of foreign lexical items in ‘stronger-to-weaker-culture’ translation.
- (3) Poststructuralist and postcolonial approaches, “a heterogenic array of approaches which foreground the crucial importance of the contextual factors” (Kwieciński 2001: 77), form the third pillar, which highlights the importance of the asymmetrical relation between source and target cultures and its relevance to translation.

Having established the theoretical groundwork, the author turns to more tangible aspects of the subject of his study, namely the cultural asymmetry in American-Polish relations. He examines the results of the influence of the advancing ‘Americanisation’ on the norms governing the Polish language and the tolerance of the foreign forms, which seem to spring up like weeds, and wonders if they are – or perhaps not entirely – linguistic ‘weeds’. Should the weeds be uprooted by the force of the law, with legal acts such as The Polish Language Act from 1999? Should the spectre of linguistic globalisation and the hegemony of an omnipresent modern *lingua franca* be treated as a pest which ought to be eradicated? Or rather, should it be seen as an inevitable chain of events? Kwieciński looks at this question from the Polish perspective, considering the legal, cultural and political aspects of the matter. This problem had also been signalled in his earlier article, “Translation Strategies in a Rapidly Transforming Culture: A Central European Perspective”, published in *The Translator* magazine in 1998.

Chapter three starts off with an important elucidation of terms, again with almost surgical precision, which appears to be Kwieciński's trademark. The notion of translation strategy is defined here as a "global choice of the degree in which to subscribe to source culture or target culture concepts, norms and conventions". Translation procedure, on the other hand, is "applied to individual linguistic manifestations at a specific linguistic or textual level". Both are "textually manifest, norm-governed, intersubjectively verifiable" but it is the difference between the 'global' and the 'individual' translational choices and actions that draws a distinct borderline between the two concepts. Kwieciński also points out that they are both "only reconstructed *a posteriori*" and cannot determine the "potential consciousness of the translator" (cf. Kwieciński 2001: 119-120).

We are offered a synthesis of major categorisations of translation strategies, arranged chronologically, from Schleiermacher (1813) to Sturge (1997), and an even more detailed review of the chief classifications of lexical translation procedures from the second half of the twentieth century, from Vinay and Darbelnet (1958) to Gottlieb (1997). Needless to say, the latter topic is given a more profound insight, because it is the lexical level of translation that is of the main interest here.

The third chapter is concluded with an impressive (four-page-long) table which assembles with mathematical rigour all the categories and subcategories of the analysed procedures and on their basis proposes an original model of a new consolidated taxonomy that "has been constructed with the procedures for culture-specific items in mind, but may easily be adapted for the analysis of other lexical-level translational phenomena (e.g. idioms or wordplay)" (Kwieciński 2001: 157).

If chapter three presents a synthesis, chapter four offers a detailed analysis and an empirical study of the lexical items from the ample corpus of non-literary texts deeply rooted in American culture. It is also an 'endurance test' for the new taxonomy. With the use of an ingenious translation quality assessment tool, the selected items are classified and placed

first on the *Target-Language Profile* (TP) rating scale, which evaluates the target text only in its own context, as from the perspective of a potential monolingual reader. Then, the *Source-Target Relations* (S/TR) rating scale assumes a more holistic and comparative perspective and confronts the target with the source text and it is only the combined result that offers a full, undistorted and most veracious picture.

So what is innovative about this study? Kwieciński follows the thread from the first chapter to the end and arrives at a quite original theoretical framework for his own research. He introduces two scales, instead of one, in order to ameliorate the erroneous or fuzzy nomenclature and distinguishes between the two spectra: exoticism v. assimilation (E/A) and foreignisation v. domestication (adaptation) (F/D). The essential point that the dissertation aims to make is that the two scales cannot be considered as functioning in one and the same dimension. When combined, they constitute a two-dimensional system, which offers a wider, more complex and more accurate view on the problem of cultural differences and asymmetry in translation. To envisage this, one may imagine a peculiar coordinate system where the arrowheads of the axes are occupied by the end-of-scale terms (E and A, F and D). The system is a pivot point for the empirical analysis and study of the foreignisation and adaptation phenomena in translation. The two-dimensional system creates previously unthinkable opportunities of classifying certain procedures and opens up unexplored areas of possible translations and renditions: assimilative and foreignising or exotic and domesticating at the same time. To put it briefly and bluntly, *Disturbing Strangeness* yields that disturbing feeling that the words 'foreign' and 'exotic' cease to be synonymous.

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REPORTS

The Sixth International Conference “East – West: A Dialogue between Cultures”

Every other year Akademia Pomorska (Academia Pomeraniensis) in Słupsk hosts participants of the international conference *East – West*. The participants represent different academic centres in Poland, Ukraine, Belorussia, Russia and Germany, and the conference itself has become a forum for interdisciplinary discussion.

The Sixth International Conference “East – West: A Dialogue between Cultures” was held on May 31 – June 1, 2007 under the auspices of the President of Słupsk, Mr Maciej Kobyliński, and the Rector of Akademia Pomorska, Professor Danuta Gierczyńska. The Organising Committee chaired by Professor Galina Nefagina included the following scholars: Professor Tadeusz Osuch, the Director of the Institute of Neo-Philology, Akademia Pomorska, Ms Tatiana Pudowa (who was the Conference Secretary), as well Dr Piotr Gancarz, Dr Grażyna Lisowska, Dr Mariola Smolińska, Dr Barbara Widawska, Dr Dorota Werbińska and Ms Katarzyna Braun.

During the opening plenary session chaired by Professor Galina Nefagina three lectures were delivered by prominent scholars:

- (1) Professor Galina Yakusheva (Moscow): “Русская литература в зеркале современных энциклопедий Запада” [Russian literature in western encyclopaedias]
- (2) Professor Joanna Mianowska (Bydgoszcz): “Б.К.Зайцев глазами Н. Берберовой в воспоминаниях «Курсив мой»” [B. K. Zaitsev as recollected by N. Berberova in *Курсив мой*]

- (3) Professor Karol Toeplitz (Warszawa): “Zwischen Ost und West aus persönlicher Sicht” [Between the East and the West from a personal viewpoint]

The conference papers – in Polish, Russian, German, and English – were read in the following sections:

- (1) Русская классическая литература в диалоге с западноевропейской [Classical Russian literature in relation to western European literature]
- (2) Русская литература XX века: западная и отечественная традиции [Twentieth-century Russian literature: western and native traditions]
- (3) Мир глазами писателя-эмигранта [The world in the eyes of an emigrant writer]
- (4) Художественные процессы в современной русской литературе [Artistic processes in modern Russian literature]
- (5) Русский язык в современном мире [The Russian language in the modern world]
- (6) Методика. Дидактика. Перевод [Methodology of teaching. Translation]
- (7) Germanische Sprachen [Germanic languages]
- (8) English literature, culture and language

We will concentrate on the English literature, culture and language section as it is of greatest interest to the readers of *Beyond Philology*.

The papers were presented either in English or Polish. The section was divided into two subgroups. The meeting held on 31 May, chaired by Dr Brygida Gasztold, oscillated around literary and linguistic research. Its contributors presented the following papers:

- (1) Brygida Gasztold (Koszalin): “Jerzy Kosinski’s autocreation”
- (2) Anna Cisło (Wrocław): “Tożsamość bohaterów z kulturowego pogranicza na przykładzie prozy W. B. Yeatsa i J. M. Synge’a” [The identity of characters from a cultural borderland: Prose writings by W. B. Yeats and J. M. Synge]
- (3) Danuta Stanulewicz (Gdańsk): “Słownictwo barw a kontakty międzyjęzykowe” [Colour vocabulary and language contact]
- (4) Dominika Ruszkiewicz (Tarnów): “Between truth and illusion: The use of courtly conventions in Geoffrey Chaucer’s *Franklin’s Tale*”
- (5) Idalia Smoczyk-Jackowiak (Słupsk): “Postmodern self-reflexivity in experimental short stories by John Barth”
- (6) Joanna Szarek (Gdańsk): “Wybory translatorskie na podstawie polskich przekładów *Gone with the Wind* Margaret Mitchell” [Translators’ choices on the basis of translations of *Gone with the Wind* by Margaret Mitchell]

The meeting on June 1 chaired by Dr Dorota Werbińska focused on the methodology of foreign language teaching and cultural studies. The papers delivered by its participants included the following:

- (1) Anna Bączkowska (Bydgoszcz): “Przymyki angielskie w czterech wymiarach: przypadek *in* oraz *at*” [English prepositions in four dimensions: The case of *in* and *at*]
- (2) Adriana Biedroń (Słupsk): “Perceived causality and emotional reactions following academic outcomes”

- (3) Klaudiusz Bobowski (Słupsk): “Aspekty polskiej turystyki zarobkowej w Wielkiej Brytanii” [Aspects of [recent] Polish emigration to the British Isles]
- (4) Dorota Domalewska (Warszawa): “Approaching the native and foreign cultures in the foreign language classroom”
- (5) Artur Urbaniak (Poznań): “Teaching English to adults. Andragogy: Basic assumptions”
- (6) Marta Wiśniewska (Poznań): “The role of environmental factors in the growth of children’s communicative abilities: The case of Poland”

As can be easily seen, the participants presented not only a variety of disciplines, but also a wide range of topics and approaches. All the papers inspired an interesting and lively discussion.

The submitted papers are due for publication in two volumes of conference proceedings. The papers presented in the English literature, culture and language section will be included in the second volume, together with the papers read in the section concerning the German language.

Anna Cisło,
University of Wrocław

The Second International Conference “Humour: Theories – Applications – Practices”

The Second International Conference “Humour: Theories – Applications – Practices” (Druga Międzynarodowa Konferencja “Humor: Teorie – Praktyka – Zastosowania”) was held at the Department of English Philology at Jan Kochanowski University in Piotrków Trybunalski on 29-31 May 2008. The Organising Committee included Professor Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, Professor Alina Kwiatkowska, Dr Sylwia Dżereń-Głowacka, Dr Katarzyna Szmigiero and Dr Agnieszka Katela.

The participants of the conference delivered their papers either in Polish or English in three parallel sections. They represented various disciplines, including linguistics, literary studies, culture studies and psychology.

They were all united, however, by their interest in humour (the comic, satire, jokes...), and the conviction that the research on this topic must cross the borders of disciplines – any compartmentalization is reductive, and only co-operation may lead to the broadening of our understanding of this complex and heterogeneous phenomenon. (Kwiatkowska and Dżereń Głowacka 2008: 5)¹

The above statement of the editors of *Shades of Humour*, the proceedings of the previous conference, points to the advantages of the interdisciplinary event. The titles of the papers presented

¹ Alina Kwiatkowska and Sylwia Dżereń-Głowacka (eds.). 2008. *Humour: Theories – Applications – Practices*, vol. 1/2. *Shades of Humour*. Piotrków Trybunalski: Naukowe Wydawnictwo Piotrkowskie.

in English (listed below in the alphabetical order of their authors' names) clearly reflect their thematic range and the diversity of approaches adopted by their authors:

- (1) Aleksander Bednarski (John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin): "Humorous elements in *The Mabinogion* and *Monty Python and the Holy Grail*"
- (2) Władysław Chłopicki (Jagiellonian University): "Is there such a thing as a 'humorous detail'? The role of the general and the text-specific in a humorous story"
- (3) Jan Chovanec (Masaryk University in Brno): "Humour in online sports commentaries"
- (4) Magdalena Cieślak (University of Łódź): "The incredible amusing Bard, or how to make Shakespeare funny: Humorous games with the stereotype of Shakespeare"
- (5) Anna Cisło (University of Wrocław): "The Irish Revival as satirized in Flann O'Brien's *The Poor Mouth*"
- (6) Mikołaj Deckert (University of Łódź): "Matter and manner – a few remarks on jokes and translation"
- (7) Marta Dynel (University of Łódź): "Categories of verbal humour"
- (8) Marta Dynel (University of Łódź): "It's not easy to get a joke: Cultural schemata and the comprehension of political jokes"
- (9) Sylwia Dżereń-Głowacka (Jan Kochanowski University): "When God created man, she was only joking: The semantic and pragmatic aspects of bloke jokes"
- (10) Monika Gregorowicz-Cap (Jan Kochanowski University): "Pragmatic sources of humour in *Beekeeping* sketch by R. Atchinson and J. Cleese"
- (11) Jerzy Jarniewicz (University of Łódź): "Looking at the pointed finger: Humour in modern concrete poetry"
- (12) Monika Kocot (University of Łódź): "Cultural and literary aspects of humour in Thomas King's postmodern novel *Green Grass Running Water*"
- (13) Agnieszka Łowczanin (University of Łódź): "Humorous hyperbole in the novels of Henry Fielding, Tobias Smollett, Charles Dickens, and Kinsley Amis"
- (14) Katarzyna Poloczek (University of Łódź): "Humorous/

- amorous masculinity in Irish women's poetry"
- (15) Agnieszka Rasmus (University of Łódź): "For your laughs only: Remaking as a source of self-reflexive humour in Brian De Palma's Hitchcock Homage Trilogy: *Obsession*, *Dressed to Kill*, and *Body Double*"
- (16) Marta Sayed (Jan Kochanowski University): "Humours – a means for breaking the intercultural barriers?"
- (17) Alexander Soloshenko (Jan Kochanowski University): "Certain features of Joseph Heller's style as reflected in his novel *God Knows* (1984)"
- (18) Katarzyna Szmigiero (Jan Kochanowski University): "Comic representations of the mentally ill"
- (19) Beata Śniecikowska (The Institute of Literary Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences): "In the beginning was... laughter: Humour in Japanese and Polish haiku poetry"
- (20) Agnieszka Uchyła (University of Silesia in Katowice): "The community of imperfection: The carnivalesque character of the poetics of absurd in Monty Python's works"

The conference papers are planned for publication in two volumes of proceedings, one in Polish and the other one in English, the division of the collection being motivated by the practical thought of providing its potential English-language readers with easier access to the publication.

Anna Cisło,
University of Wrocław

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The 10th International Cognitive Linguistics Conference: Theme session “Extensions of Vantage Theory: Points of View in Language Structure and Use”

Between July 15 and 20, 2007, the world cognitive linguistic community gathered in Kraków, Poland, for the 10th International Cognitive Linguistics Conference. One of the theme sessions at the conference was called “Extensions of Vantage Theory: Points of View in Language Structure and Use”, convened by Adam Gład of Maria Curie-Skłodowska University (UMCS) in Lublin, Poland.

The session was planned as a continuation and extension of a similar event at the 6th ICLC in Stockholm, 1999, devoted to linguistic applications of vantage theory (VT), a cognition-based model of (colour) categorization. That earlier session was convened and chaired by the theory’s founder, the late Robert E. MacLaury, and the papers then appeared in a special issue of *Language Sciences* (vol. 24, nos. 5-6, 2002). The 2007 session was devoted to reviewing the VT-linguistics interface and extending the application of VT onto previously unexplored areas.

The most fundamental tenets of VT are presented in a nutshell in the following quote:

[W]e (humans) engage with our categories as we construct them. We extract certain gists from a domain of experience, say, perception of hue from among various sensations of the spectrum. And we select a balance of recognition among extents to which percepts are similar and different, favoring either similarity or difference

or recognizing each at about the same strength. Further, we organize these emphases into a point of view by regarding the gists as inherently fixed and the judgements of similarity and difference as inherently mobile. In theory, these inclinations stem from the analogy with the way we comprehend our standpoints by reference to fixed landmarks and degrees of slow and fast motion... (MacLaury 2003, Vantage theory: Genesis, principles, and aims. Ms.)

Although originally and primarily a model of colour categorization, VT has been applied so far in a number of other domains, including the analysis of linguistic data, such as lexical semantics, diachronic semantics, discourse, number, articles, aspect, language learning, song lyrics, writing systems and social aspects of language use. The session sought to consider, among others, the following questions:

- (1) What problems arise while applying VT to language? What modifications or adaptations of the theory are called for?
- (2) Which areas of linguistics are especially open to analyses couched within the VT framework? Which ones pose more problems?
- (3) How to best understand a vantage? What analogues does it have in language? Can one provide clear linguistic examples of the dominant and recessive vantages? Should one preserve the terminology? What relationship(s) between vantages can be thought of (hierarchies, embedding, other)? How does vantage relate to point of view?
- (4) What other VT constructs figure as important in linguistic analyses?
- (5) How can VT evolve from a theory of categorization into a theory of conceptualization?

These and other issues were addressed at several levels:

- (1) at the general, conceptual level:
 - (a) VT and linguistic relativity (Keith Allan, Monash University, Victoria, Australia)
 - (b) VT and cognitive linguistics (Małgorzata Fabiszak, UAM, Poznań, Poland; Chris Sinha, University of Portsmouth, UK; Margaret Winters, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI, USA)
 - (c) subjectivity of meaning and speaker agency (Adam Głaz, UMCS, Lublin, Poland)

- (2) at the specific level of data analysis:
 - (d) categorization of colour and the use of colour terms (James Stanlaw, Illinois State University, Normal, IL, USA; Danuta Stanulewicz, University of Gdańsk, Poland; Isabel Forbes, St Andrews Institute of Language and Linguistic Studies, UK)
 - (e) understanding of syntactic constructions (Alena Anishchanka, Yanka Kupala State University, Grodno, Belarus; Elizabeth Riddle, Ball State University, Muncie, IN, USA)
 - (f) language change (Winters)
 - (g) diction-resultant worldviews in song lyrics (Aleksandra Niewiara, University of Silesia, Katowice, Poland)
 - (h) morphophonology and the lexicon (Lazhar Zanned, University of Manouba, Tunisia)
 - (i) interpretation of narratives (Fabiszak)

- (3) in further extensions of the theory:
- (j) construal of self and of one's ethnic identity
(Nobuko Adachi, State University, Normal, IL, USA;
Fabiszak)



Participants of the session. Standing from the left: Aleksandra Niewiara, Adam Głaz, Danuta Stanulewicz, Nobuko Adachi, Małgorzata Fabiszak, Keith Allan, Alena Anishchanka, Lazhar Zanned, Chris Sinha, Elizabeth Riddle and Isabel Forbes.

Photo: Serhiy Potapenko

Attempts to consider these issues from the perspective of an off-mainstream theory allowed the delegates to identify aspects of language unrecognizable otherwise, as well as proposing coherent accounts of anthropological and linguistic data, an endeavour advocated by Michel Achard in his 1999 review of the book *Language and the Cognitive Construal of the World* edited by John R. Taylor and Robert E. MacLaury (1995).

The papers presented at the session will appear in a special issue of *Language Sciences*, the second issue of the journal devoted to vantage theory.

Adam Głaz,
Maria Curie-Skłodowska University,
Lublin

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**The 10th International Cognitive
Linguistics Conference:
Parasession on Passive, Reflexive,
Impersonal and Related Constructions**

On 12–13 July 2007, the Institute of English, University of Gdańsk, held the Parasession on Passive, Reflexive, Impersonal and Related Constructions. The parasession took place in Sopot (at the university conference centre), before the 10th International Cognitive Linguistics Conference in Cracow, Poland.¹

The conference chair was Professor Roman Kalisz, and the organizing committee consisted of the following scholars: Professor Igor Burkhanov, Professor Eugene H. Casad, Professor Wojciech Kubiński, Dr Łucja Biel, Dr Magdalena Bielenia-Grajewska, Dr Tadeusz Danilewicz, Dr Joanna Redzimska, Dr Mikołaj Rychło-Kok, Dr Olga Sokołowska and Mr Maciej Rataj. They were helped by a group of students, including Ms Anna Dzierżyńska, Mr Mateusz Kamiński, Mr Wojciech Pachniewski, Ms Katarzyna Uszalewska and Ms Yan Wei.

The lectures and papers presented at the parasession concerned not only its theme, i.e. passive, reflexive, impersonal and related constructions, but other topics as well, including metaphors. The parasession was chaired by Professor Eugene G. Casad, Professor Laura Janda, Professor Roman Kalisz, Professor Zoltán Kövecses and Professor Wojciech Kubiński.

Two plenary lectures were presented at the parasession:

¹ See also the report of the session “Extensions of Vantage Theory: Points of View in Language Structure and Use” by Adam Głaz, in the present issue of *Beyond Philology*.

- (1) “The agent phrase and the grammaticalization of passive constructions” by Professor Anna Siewierska, Lancaster University, United Kingdom
- (2) “The biblical story retold: Symbols in action: A cognitive linguistic perspective” by Professor Zoltán Kövecses, Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary



Participants of the parasession
Photo: Danuta Stanulewicz

The participants of the parasession could listen to thirteen papers, listed below in the order of delivery:

- (1) “Radial categories of constructions” by Professor Laura A. Janda, University of Tromsø, Norway, and University of North Carolina, USA
- (2) “Semantic roles with the active and the passive voice and other constructions” by Professor Christina Alm-Arvius, Stockholm University, Sweden

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- (3) "Passives, middles and impersonals: Different facets of the same phenomenon" by Dr Anna Słoń, Akademia Świętokrzyska, Kielce, Poland
 - (4) "L2 passive constructions with English intransitive verbs" by Professor Jung-Tae Kim, University of Incheon, South Korea
 - (5) "Use of passive in English and Polish legal languages in employment contracts" by Ms Anna Kizińska, Filologiczne Studium Doktoranckie, University of Gdańsk, Poland
 - (6) "Emotion verbs: Why reflexive? Why not? Evidence from a folk classification of Polish emotions" by Professor Katarzyna Dziwirek, University of Washington, USA, and Professor Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, University of Łódź, Poland
 - (7) "Impersonal constructions in European Portuguese: An onomasiological perspective" by Ms Susana Afonso, University of Manchester, United Kingdom
 - (8) "Temporal schemata of the English particle *on*: Metonymic elaboration of the concept NOW" by Dr Anna Bączkowska, Kazimierz Wielki University, Bydgoszcz, Poland
 - (9) "Degrees of impersonality in English and Polish legal language: Defocused agents and buried verbs" by Dr Łucja Biel, University of Gdańsk, Poland
 - (10) "The English middle construction and the restrictions on its formation" by Dr Casilda Garcia de la Maza, University of the Basque Country, Spain
 - (11) "Passive use of the Polish marker of reflexivity *się*" by Dr Anna Drogosz, University of Warmia and Mazuria, Olsztyn, Poland
 - (12) "Defining indefiniteness: Towards a functional description of impersonal pronouns" by Dr Anna Brown, University of Sheffield, United Kingdom
 - (13) "Attributive and predicative adjectives: Subjectification and objectification of construal represented by them" by Dr Olga Sokołowska, University of Gdańsk, Poland

The plenary lectures and papers inspired a lively academic discussion. Summing up, the Parasession on Passive, Reflexive, Impersonal and Related Constructions was a very fruitful and enjoyable academic event.

Danuta Stanulewicz,
University of Gdańsk

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The First International Linguistic Symposium “Colour, Space and Time in the Dialogue of Languages and Cultures”

1. The organizers, venue and opening ceremony

On 22-25 October 2008, the University of Szczecin hosted the First International Symposium “Colour, Space and Time in the Dialogue of Languages and Cultures” (I Międzynarodowe Sympozjum Lingwistyczne “Kolor, przestrzeń, czas w dialogu języków i kultur”). The symposium was organized by the Department of Slavic Languages and Cultures, Institute of Slavic Studies, under the auspices of the Marshal of West Pomerania Province, Mr Władysław Husejko, and Szczecin’s Mayor, Mr Piotr Krzystek.

The Organizing Committee, chaired by Professor Ewa Komorowska (Head of the Department of Slavic Languages and Cultures), included Dr Dorota Dziadosz, Dr Żaneta Kozicka-Borysowska, Dr Agnieszka Krzanowska, Ms Joanna Misiukajtis and Dr Anna Porchawka.

The opening ceremony was held in the Hall of the Senate of the University of Szczecin, and the symposium itself in the university conference centre in Pobierowo. During the opening ceremony the participants were addressed by Professor Waldemar Tarczyński, Rector of the University of Szczecin. The participants were also welcomed by a representative of Mr Piotr Krzystek, the Mayor of Szczecin. An inauguration speech was delivered by Professor Maryse Dennes, Vice-Rector of Université Bordeaux 3, France, as well. Professor Ewa Pajewska, Dean of the Philology Faculty, University of Szczecin, also attended the opening ceremony. All the speeches emphasized the importance of the symposium.

The opening ceremony was an occasion to celebrate the 25th anniversary of Professor Ewa Komorowska's scholarly work. The versatile academic interests of Professor Komorowska, a graduate of the Jagiellonian University, include, *inter alia*, dialectology, phraseology, semantics and pragmatics. She has conducted numerous studies of parenthesis, uninflected words in Polish and Russian, speech acts, colour terms and other phenomena. She has written four books (two of them in collaboration with other scholars), including *Analiza semantyczno-pragmatyczna przysłówka 'sovsem' (na materiale języka rosyjskiego)* [A semanto-pragmatic analysis of the adverb *sovsem* (on the basis of the Russian language)], Szczecin, 1992; *Wiktor Grigorowicz o literaturze i językach słowiańskich* [Victor Grigorovič on literature and Slavic languages], with Eugenia Kucharska, Szczecin, 1999; *Leksykalno-semantyczne wykładniki parentezy postpozycyjnej w języku polskim i rosyjskim*, [Lexico-pragmatic exponents of postpositional parenthesis in Polish and Russian], Szczecin, 2001; and *Основы теории и практики курса Современный русский литературный язык* [The foundations of the theory and practice of the course "The contemporary Russian literary language"], with Michail Aleksiejenko, Beata Rycielska and Edward Siekierzycki, Szczecin, 2001. Professor Komorowska has also co-edited 19 volumes, not to mention about 100 papers published in Poland and abroad. She has supervised three doctoral theses, by Dorota Dziadosz (2006), Żaneta Kozicka-Borysowska (2007) and Agnieszka Krzanowska (2008), defended at the Jagiellonian University, Kraków. For many years, Professor Komorowska has been the main organizer of the International Conference of Young Scholars "The World of Slavs in Language and Culture", held every spring in Szczecin and Pobierowo.¹

¹ Międzynarodowa Konferencja Młodych Naukowców "Świat Słowian w języku i kulturze". See the report by Marcin Walczyński, also in this issue of *Beyond Philology*.



Presenting the Festschrift to Professor Ewa Komorowska. Standing, from the left: Dr Agnieszka Krzanowska, Ms Joanna Misiukajtis, Dr Żaneta Kozicka-Borysowska and Professor Ewa Komorowska.

Photo: Danuta Stanulewicz

On the occasion of the anniversary, Professor Ewa Komorowska was presented with a Festschrift entitled *W kręgu słowa* [Around the word], edited by Żaneta Kozicka-Borysowska and Joanna Misiukajtis.² The Festschrift contains papers contributed by Professor Komorowska's friends, colleagues and pupils from different Polish and foreign academic centres: Halina Chodurska, Artur Czapiga, Zofia Czapiga, Vladimir Dubichynskyi, Andrzej S. Dyszak, Dorota Dziadosz, Michał Garcarz, Małgorzata Górecka-Smolińska & Grzegorz A. Kleparski, Grzegorz Harasimiak, Ewa Hendryk, Aleksander Kiklewicz, Grzegorz A. Kleparski & Anna Włodarczyk-Stachurska, Żaneta Kozicka-Borysowska, Agnieszka Krzanowska, Agnieszka Lis-Czapiga, Zoja Nowożenowa, Kazimierz Ożóg, Maryla Papierz, Anna Pięcińska, Neda Pintarić, Danuta Stanulewicz, Tadeusz Szczerbowski, Marcin Walczyński and Bożena Zinkiewicz-Tomanek.

² Żaneta Kozicka-Borysowska and Joanna Misiukajtis (eds.), 2008, *W kręgu słowa: Zbiór Jubileuszowy poświęcony 25-leciu pracy naukowej Profesor Ewy Komorowskiej*, Szczecin: Uniwersytet Szczeciński, Print Group. For more information on Professor Komorowska's academic career and publications, see "Słowo wstępne" by Żaneta Kozicka-Borysowska and "Bibliografia prac naukowo-badawczych Profesor Ewy Komorowskiej" in the Festschrift (pp. 7-11 and 15-28 respectively).

2. Papers presented at the symposium

As the title of the symposium suggests, the presented papers dealt with colour, time and space in different languages and cultures. The list below contains the names of the participants and the titles of the papers they delivered at the symposium.

- (1) Zofia Berdychowska (Jagiellonian University, Kraków): O czasie i jego mierzeniu: Polskie i niemieckie leksykalne korelaty schematów wyobrażeniowych (w) przestrzeni czasowej DOBA [On time and its measuring: Polish and German lexical correlates of the image schema of/in the temporal space DAY”
- (2) Halina Chodurska (Pedagogical University, Kraków): Rozważania o czerni w oparciu o nazwy kwiatów [Remarks on the black colour, based on flower names]
- (3) Maryse Dennes (Université Bordeaux3, France): О типах темпоральности на западе и в России (на примере Николая Бердяева) [On types of temporality in the West and in Russia (based on the works by Nikolai Berdaev)]
- (4) Vladimir Dubichynskyi (University of Kharkov, Ukraine): Идеографическое описание концепта ‘время’ [Ideographic description of the concept TIME]
- (5) Adam Fałowski (Jagiellonian University, Kraków): Kolor, przestrzeń i czas w ukraińskich wstydlivych pieśniach ludowych (soromic’ki pisni) [Colour, space and time in Ukrainian erotic folk songs]
- (6) Elżbieta Górńska (Jagiellonian University, Kraków): Język arabski: wyrażanie emocji związanych z barwą, przestrzenią i czasem [The Arabic language: Expressing emotions associated with colour, space and time]
- (7) Grzegorz Kleparski (University of Rzeszów): Some remarks on time-related causes of diachronic semantic changes
- (8) Ewa Komorowska (University of Szczecin): Człowiek w językowym kręgu kolorów [The human being in the world of colours]
- (9) Elżbieta Mańczak-Wohlfeld (Jagiellonian University,

- Kraków): Czas w procesie zapożyczenia [Time in the process of borrowing]
- (10) Anna Mażulis-Frydel (Pedagogical University, Kraków): O pochodzeniu i ewolucji znaczeń leksemów nazywających kolor niebieski oraz niebieską barwę oczu w języku rosyjskim [On the etymology and evolution of the meanings of the Russian words for blue and blue eyes]
- (11) Olga Molchanova (University of Szczecin): Индоиранский след в топонимии Южной Сибири [An Indo-Iranian trace in the toponymy of South Siberia]
- (12) Maryla Papierz (Jagiellonian University, Kraków): Język w przestrzeni wirtualnej (na podstawie wybranych stron internetowych diaspory słowackiej) [Language of the virtual space (on the basis of selected web pages of the Slovak diaspora)]
- (13) Anna Pięcińska (Higher School of Journalism, Warszawa): Tworzenie przestrzeni w cyklu audycji satyrycznych Ewy Szumańskiej „Z pamiętnika młodej lekarki” [The creation of space in the cycle of satirical radio programmes *The Diary of a Young Lady Doctor* by Ewa Szumańska]
- (14) Neda Pintarić (University of Zagreb, Croatia): Pragmemy i pragmafrazemy kolorów w języku chorwackim i polskim [Colour pragmemes and pragmaphrasemes in Croatian and Polish]
- (15) Anna Radzik (Pedagogical University, Kraków): Frazeologizmy z komponentami ‘biały’ i ‘czarny’ w języku rosyjskim i niemieckim [Fixed phrases with the components ‘white’ and ‘black’ in Russian and German]
- (16) Marek Stachowski (Jagiellonian University, Kraków): W górę od kamienia i na zachód od północy – czyli dołgańskie dzielenie świata [Upwards from the stone and westwards of the north: Dolgan categorization of reality]
- (17) Danuta Stanulewicz (University of Gdańsk): Barwa fioletowa w języku polskim [The purple colour in Polish]
- (18) Eva Tibenska (University of Bratislava, Slovakia): Obligatorne vyjadrenie farby, priestoru a času [Obligatory expression of colour, space and time]
- (19) Bożena Zinkiewicz-Tomanek (Jagiellonian University, Kraków): Kilka nieregularnych form rzeczowników żeńskich

we współczesnym języku ukraińskim [On several irregular forms of feminine nouns in present-day Ukrainian]



Participants of the symposium. Photo: Danuta Stanulewicz

As can be easily seen, the papers were delivered in several languages (Polish, English, Russian and Slovak) and they concerned a number of languages and cultures: Arabic, Croatian, Dolgan, English, German, Polish, Russian Slovak and Ukrainian. It must also be noted that the papers represented different investigative perspectives.

3. A trip to the Wolin National Park

One of the attractions of the social programme was a trip to the Wolin National Park, where the participants could admire the beauty of autumn. The guide was Professor Janina Jasnowska, an outstanding specialist in botany, former President of the Scientific Society of Szczecin.



The trip to the Wolin National Park. Professor Janina Jasnowska standing on the left. Photo: Danuta Stanulewicz

4. A final word

The papers presented at the symposium will be published in a volume entitled *W kręgu koloru, przestrzeni i czasu* [Around colour, space and time], edited by Ewa Komorowska. The approximate year of publication is 2009.

The symposium was a great academic success as it provided the participants with an excellent forum for presenting the results of their own research and for exchanging ideas with the others. The multitude of languages and cultures gave the symposium a truly international dimension.

Danuta Stanulewicz,
University of Gdańsk

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**The Tenth International Conference
of Young Scholars
“The World of Slavs in Language and Culture”¹**

1. The venue, organisers and participants

Each year the Scientific Circle of Slavic Students, functioning at the Institute of Slavic Studies of Szczecin University (Koło Naukowe Sławistów), organises the International Conference of Young Scholars. The conferences have been held in Pobierowo, a picturesque seaside village, since 1997. Every year the papers read at the conferences are published in the proceedings, entitled *Świat Słowian w języku i kulturze* (The World of Slavs in Language and Culture). Although the primary purpose of this conference is to bring together students and scholars of Slavic languages, cultures and literatures, in recent years the scope of this scientific event has greatly expanded and now it groups not only researchers dealing with Slavic languages, literatures and cultures (i.e. Bulgarian, Belarusian, Croatian, Czech, Polish, Russian, Serbian, Slovakian, Ukrainian) but also academics and students of English, German and French.

The 2008 conference organised in April (17-19) under the auspices of the Marshal of West Pomerania Province, Mr Norbert Obrycki, and Szczecin City Mayor, Mr Piotr Krzystek, was dedicated to Professor Krzysztof Cieślik, an outstanding Slavic literature specialist, who passed away in 2007. The Organising Committee chaired by Professor Ewa Komorowska (Head of the Department of Slavic Languages and Cultures, Institute of Slavic Studies, Szczecin University) comprised Dr Dorota Dziadosz, Dr Żaneta Kozicka-Borysowska, Dr

¹ X Międzynarodowa Konferencja Młodych Naukowców “Świat Słowian w języku i kulturze”.

Agnieszka Krzanowska, Dr Anna Porchawka, Ms Nadia Ciasnocha, Ms Żaneta Krohu, Ms Joanna Misiukajtis, Ms Oksana Segeda, Ms Katarzyna Szuba and Ms Izabela Wielgus. Many students of Szczecin University, particularly of the Philology Faculty, were also very helpful in the organisation of this international meeting.

The conference was attended by many distinguished guests, among whom were Dr Henryka Cieślík, Professor Krzysztof Cieślík's wife, and Dr Bolesław Cieślík, their son, Professor Halina Chodurska (Pedagogical University, Kraków), Professor Vladimir Dubichynskyi (Kharkov University, Ukraine), Professor Andrzej Dyszak (Kazimierz Wielki University, Bydgoszcz), Rev. Dr Grzegorz Harasimiak (Szczecin University), Ms. Danuta Jarczak (Szczecin University), Professor Sergey Korotkov (Hercen Pedagogical University, St Petersburg, Russia), Professor Zoja Nowożenowa (Gdańsk University), Dr Danuta Stanulewicz (Gdańsk University), Dr Piotr Wahl (Szczecin University) and Dr Bożena Zinkiewicz-Tomanek (Jagiellonian University, Kraków).

The conference venues, as usual, were the premises of Szczecin University. The inauguration was held at the Faculty of Economic Studies and Management in Szczecin, whereas the conference took place in Szczecin University's conference centre in Pobierowo.

What should be emphasised here is the fact that the 2008 conference was attended by a great number of scholars and students from various universities and academic centres in France, Germany, Poland, Russia, Spain and Ukraine.

2. The opening ceremony

The conference inauguration, as has already been mentioned, was organised at the Faculty of Economic Sciences and Management of Szczecin University.

The conference was officially opened by Professor Waldemar Tarczyński, Rector of Szczecin University, who gave a warm welcome to the conference participants. Afterwards, the conference guests and participants were

welcomed by a representative of Mr Norbert Obrycki, the Marshal of West Pomerania Province, and by Szczecin's Deputy Mayor, Dr Tomasz Jarmoliński. Both expressed their satisfaction that Szczecin and its University were the place where such an important academic event was organised. An inauguration speech was also given by Philippe Henri Ledru, the Director of the International Cooperation Section of the Gironde Department General Council. Gironde is a French department which has strong cooperation contacts with West Pomerania Province. The opening ceremony was also attended by Professor Ewa Pajewska, Dean of the Philology Faculty, Szczecin University, and Professor Harry Walter of Greiswald University, Germany.

Professor Ewa Komorowska, the main conference organiser, welcomed the guests and expressed her hope that the 2008 conference would be at least as fruitful and successful as every earlier Slavic conference organised by the Scientific Circle of Slavic Students in Szczecin.

3. In remembrance of Professor Krzysztof Cieřlik

During her opening speech, Professor Ewa Komorowska presented the life and academic achievements of Professor Krzysztof Cieřlik, who died in 2007.

Professor Krzysztof Cieřlik was an outstanding specialist in Russian and world literature. He was also known for his comparative literary studies (he was employed at the Department of Comparative Literary Studies, Institute of Polish Studies). Krzysztof Cieřlik received his MA degree (Russian language and literature) from Warsaw University and his PhD degree from Poznań University (Russian literature). He also completed postgraduate studies in journalism in Warsaw. In 1969 Professor Krzysztof Cieřlik started his work as an academic teacher in the Teacher Training College (which was transformed in 1969 into the Higher Teachers' School, which then in 1973 evolved into the Higher Pedagogical School, and which finally in 1985 became part of the newly created Szczecin University). Professor Krzysztof Cieřlik, apart from his teaching and research duties, was also a supervisor of the

Students' Scientific Circle at the Institute of Slavic Studies (Szczecin University). He worked actively not only in his institute but also at the Faculty of Arts, of which he was twice a vice-dean. From 1991 to 1995 he also supervised the Polish Teacher Training College in Koszalin.

Professor Krzysztof Cieřlik was one of the most renowned researchers of literature that Szczecin University has ever had. He wrote three books, including a study of Ivan Bunin's works, and co-authored two other books, not to mention the numerous papers published in Polish and foreign journals. His diverse scientific interests, great teaching skills, warmth and cordiality in contacts with people made him an academic who will never be forgotten by his students and colleagues.

4. Plenary lectures

The invited speakers presented three plenary lectures. The lectures are listed below in the order of delivery:

- (1) "Czasowniki osobliwe w języku polskim [Defective verbs in the Polish language]" by Professor Andrzej Dyszak (Kazimierz Wielki University, Bydgoszcz)
- (2) "Россия глазами французов в эпоху Просвещения [Russia in the eyes of French people in the epoch of Enlightenment]" by Professor Sergey Korotkov (Hercen Pedagogical University, St Petersburg)
- (3) "Przecinek – mała rzecz, a cieszy [A comma – a small thing which makes us glad]" by Rev. Dr Grzegorz Harasimiak (Szczecin University)

5. Conference presentations

The conference presentations were organised in the following sections: literature, culture, translation as well as theoretical, descriptive and applied linguistics.

Literature

The conference participants who undertake research in various aspects of Slavic and other literatures delivered

a number of presentations in which they discussed selected motifs in works by, for example, Witold Gombrowicz, Jurij Izdryk, Adam Mickiewicz, Nikolaj Rajnov, Plejada Tiutčevovska, J. R. R. Tolkien, William Wordsworth and others. A few lectures were theoretically oriented: they dealt primarily with the theory of literature (e.g. myth symbolism, Polish literary semiotics). Generally speaking, the papers presented within the literature section abounded in motifs, topics and examples from a variety of literary genres and from various Slavic and other traditions.

The following speakers presented their papers in the literature section: Agnieszka Cielesta, Wiktoria Durkalewicz, Paweł Dziadul, Agnieszka Fijałkowska, Dorota Jagiełło, Joanna Janusz, Adam Karpiński, Ewa Kaźmierczak, Piotr Lewicz, Agnieszka Lis-Czapiga, Anna Matysiak, Larysa Moszczyńska, Bartosz Osiewicz, Wawrzyniec Popiel-Machnicki, Katarzyna Sobijanek, Lesia Sobolivska, Elżbieta Stadnik, Anna Stępnia, Adrii Stotskyi, Joanna Szpendowska, Piotr Szyszkwicz, Joanna Szwechłowicz, Beata Wałęciuk-Dejneka, Alicja Zyguła, Aleksandra Zywert and Elżbieta Żukowska.

Culture

The culture section was also quite rich in terms of the discussed themes. Some speakers analysed political and social issues (such as parliamentary systems, parties or national minorities) in Poland and Ukraine. Others presented their findings connected with traditional folk beliefs in, for instance, Bulgaria or Poland. Cultural aspects were also present in the papers on the wayside shrines in Poland or on Russian rock music.

The following speakers presented their papers in this section: Danuta Ewa Brzostek, Dariusz Figura, Monika Gabryś, Olga Iwaszkiewicz, Agnieszka Kościuk, Agnieszka Maciocha, Paweł Pietnoczka, Ewa Rydzewska, Rafał Sidorowicz, Sergiusz Subocz, Katarzyna Szymczak-Skalska, Joanna Witkowska and Maciej Zborowski.

Translation

The papers collected under this heading were mainly

devoted to the translation of Slavic literature. Some authors discussed the translation of Polish idioms into Bulgarian or Ukrainian. Others attempted to assess the quality of translations of, for example, Ukrainian baroque literature or modern Russian literature.

The following speakers presented their papers in the translation section: Paulina Czyżak, Jan Kanty-Skupiński, Marek Kasza, Aleksandra Łagowska, Katarzyna Oszust, Teresa Rączka, Maciej Szymański and Anna Ziemiarek.

Theoretical, descriptive and applied linguistics

The presentations grouped in this section constituted the major part of the papers read during the conference. The participants delivered papers on many aspects of language study, including pragmatics (e.g. speech act theory, truth and falsity in advertisements, newspaper discourse analysis, the function of irony), sociolinguistics (e.g. youth slang in the press, pejorative terms in Croatian dialects, pejorative terms for 'woman', language contacts, pidgins and creoles), cognitive linguistics (e.g. metaphors, metonymy, linguistic worldview), onomastics (e.g. the names of streets, toponymy), phonetics and phonology (e.g. Russian-Polish homonymy, fast speech processes), general linguistics (e.g. aphorisms, substantive infinitives in Polish and Russian, borrowings, morphology, semantic change, intertextuality, Chomsky's theory), computational and corpus linguistics (e.g. Ukrainian verbal nouns in MS Office 2003, the use of the Czech language corpus). As for applied linguistics, there were a few presentations dealing with language learning strategies, bilingualism or non-verbal communication.

The following speakers presented their papers in this section: Beata Afeltowicz, Łucja Bańczyk, Magdalena Barańska, Patryk Borowiak, Igor Brewka, Anna Brodecka, Artur Czapiga, Monika Honorata Denda, Przemysław Fałowski, Michał Garcarz, Agnieszka Gasz, Agnieszka Gebczyk, Karina Giel, Maja Jasińska, Sylwester Jaworski, Andrzej Jekaterynczuk, Lechosław Jocz, Przemysław Józwikiewicz, Anna Kamińska, Patrycja Kamińska, Ewa Kapela, Anna Kędziora, Robert Kiełtyka, Bożena Kochman-Haładaj, Barbara Kopecka, Barbara

Kudaj, Alicja Majtczak, Ida Marciniak, Ekaterina Nedopekina, Sławomir Nosek, Agata Piasecka, Anna Pięcińska, Michał Pstyga, Maria Puk, Jaśmina Puchała, Paulina Pycia, Natalie Robine-Glebova, Joanna Sadownik, Robert Skiba, Małgorzata Skolimowska, Anna Skowron, Anna Stasienko, Konrad Kazimierz Szamryk, Katarzyna Szulc, Marta Szytmaniuk, Agnieszka Świerczek, Krzysztof Trochimiuk, Maciej Walczak, Marcin Walczyński, Gabriela Wilk, Emilia Wojcieszek, Ludmila Yudina and Natalya Zemlyanaya.

As can be seen from the above mentioned topics and research fields, the 2008 conference was a truly interdisciplinary event, during which all philological sciences were represented.

6. The social programme

Every year the conference is accompanied by a number of social and cultural events which are organised especially for conference participants. In 2008, the following events were organised:

- (1) a guided bus tour around Szczecin (17 April)
- (2) a performance of the Szczecin University Academic Theatre entitled “Brzechwa dla dorosłych” [“Brzechwa for adults”] (17 April)
- (3) a performance of the Szczecin University Academic Theatre entitled “Zakochany do szaleństwa” [“Madly in love”] by David Barbero (18 April)
- (4) a Slavic song recital by Lechosław Jocz (18 April)

7. Conference proceedings

The organisers of the Tenth International Conference of Young Scholars are planning to publish the papers in special volumes dedicated to cultural studies, literary studies and linguistics. The volumes will be edited by Professor Ewa Komorowska, Dr Dorota Dziadosz, Dr Żaneta Kozicka-Borysowska, Dr Agnieszka Krzanowska and Ms Joanna Misiukajtis. The approximate date of publication is the middle of 2009.

8. Afterword

The Tenth International Conference of Young Scholars “The World of Slavs in Language and Culture” again turned out to be a very interesting and thought-provoking scholarly meeting. Numerous public discussions and private conversations among the conference participants made this event even more fruitful.

As a final word, it should be stressed that throughout the years the conferences organised by the Department of Slavic Languages and Cultures of Szczecin University have grown to the position of very prestigious and popular academic meetings. These conferences have always provided their participants with a great number of possibilities of exchanging views on different aspects of Slavic studies. Moreover, such events have gone even further as they have become perfect occasions to meet in an informal atmosphere prominent scholars who are always keen to share their knowledge and experience. The 2008 conference was just such a meeting.

Marcin Walczyński,
Wrocław University



Participants of the 2008 conference.
Photo: Danuta Stanulewicz

INFORMATION FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Beyond Philology is an international journal of linguistics, literary studies and English language teaching. The journal publishes articles as well as book reviews. The language of the journal is English.

ARTICLES

Articles should not exceed 22 pages (c. 7000 words) and should conform to the guidelines of the Mouton Style Sheet. Authors are expected to send their contributions on a computer disk along with two double-spaced printed copies with margins of approximately 10 cm on the top part of the first page (2 cm on the following pages), of about 3.5 cm on the left side and 1.5 cm on the right side of each page. The articles should start with the full name of the author, typed in the top left-hand corner of the first page; the name and place of the institution at which the author is employed should be inserted in the following lines. The manuscript should be accompanied by an abstract of about 150 words and about 5 key words.

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The manuscript should begin with the title of the text reviewed and the name of its author. This should be followed by the volume, part, publisher, place and year of publication and number of pages. The name of the reviewer should be put at the end of the manuscript.

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