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The game of cricket as a source of metaphors

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Abstract

Once a part of the social experience of a relatively small minority, eventually cricket, with its rich terminology, became a fixed concept for a large part of the English nation. With the passage of time, cricket started to lend vocabulary and phrases to areas of experience outside the sport and its literal domains. However, it is not the origin of a phrase that is responsible for its comprehension, nor is it its literal meaning; it is the fact that the phrase has become an established part of a conceptual system of the nation.

The literal meaning of an idiomatic expression or the meaning of its individual components will generally be of little help in its interpretation. Frequently there does not seem to be a direct correlation between them and if a connection exists, it is often arbitrary. The main purpose of the article is to present a selection of nine idioms/metaphors the source domain of which is the English sport of cricket. An attempt is also made to show the possible degrees of correlation between the literal and non-literal meanings of the examples considered. For the analysis of the metaphors the conceptual metaphor theory developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) has been applied.

Key words

cricket, idioms, metaphors, conceptual system, socio-cultural identity

1. Introduction

Each nation has its own rich selection of idioms, expressions, proverbs and other language notions which have their source in the way its speakers perceive reality and relate their experiences to particular concepts. This is hardly surprising because culturally diverse nations have drawn from pools of different experiences (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 146), the sources of lexical enrichment of each language being multiple.

Looking more closely at the domains which contribute to the development of expressions unlike those in other languages, one could point to local or traditional folklore, history, art, climate, latitude, social structure and culture, to name but a few. None of these areas is without importance when it comes to the way people shape their views and perceptions, form judgements and create expectations (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 146). And all of them affect the way people relate to their experiences both in thought and language.

The socio-cultural identity of language speakers is of considerable significance with regard to idiom formation; take, for example, the slang of gamblers with its *pass the buck* or that of American gold diggers with expressions such as *pay dirt.* Similarly, in Britain, the complex ball game of cricket has put a stamp on the social, cultural and linguistic heritage of the island. Perhaps cricketing metaphors have not gained much of a world-wide appeal; they are, however, difficult to ignore because they are present in the written and spoken language of the British, and other English-speaking and cricketing nations.

2. The socio-cultural context

The sport of cricket is firmly established across Great Britain. The sport itself is difficult to date due to the fact that, as Pycroft (1859: 13) observed "cricket may be older than its name". Perhaps initially under a different name – the first reference to cricket in literature is not found until the 17th

century – cricket has a long and varied history going back to the later Middle Ages as pointed out by Derek Birley (1999: 3). Although the game did not develop into its current form until the 19th century, it has had long enough to develop a rich terminology in order to explain its complexities.

Once a part of the social experience of a relatively small minority, cricket eventually became a popular participatory and spectator sport for a large part of the population. Aided by Britain's imperial history, cricket became one of the emblems of national pride. In more recent times the growing number of specialist publications on cricket, as well as its extensive coverage on television, may have accounted for the popularisation of some of its abundant technical vocabulary and phraseology. Understandably, cricket started to lend vocabulary and phrases to areas of experience outside the game and therefore away from its literal domain. Interestingly, some of the expressions that have extended their literal meanings to more figurative connotations have achieved such wide usage that many native speakers would not necessarily be able to pinpoint the precise origin of certain phrases they take for granted. However, it is not the origin of the phrase that is responsible for its comprehension, nor is it its literal meaning; rather, it is the fact that the phrase has become an established part of a conceptual system of the nation. As Lakoff and Johnson maintain, metaphor should be viewed "as a means of structuring our conceptual system and the kinds of everyday activities we perform" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 145). It might be assumed therefore that cricket has become part of English-speaking nations' reality as it is part of these nations' social experience. Even if one postulates that cricket expressions or metaphors are not used by a particularly significant number of speakers, the game of cricket has become a fixed part of English-speakers' conceptual system, a system that is alien to those nations which lack direct access to similar experiences.

Cricket terminology has enriched the lexicon of the average English person. One cannot say that words alone have the

power to change the reality of their speakers (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 145-146) "[b]ut changes in our conceptual system do change what is real for us and affect how we perceive the world and act upon those perceptions" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 145-146). Cricket with its jargon has afforded the English a number of unique expressions that add subtlety to the way they can address certain everyday concepts.

Understanding the meanings of words and structures prevalent in a particular social and cultural setting is considerably harder for those people for whom such experiences are unfamiliar. As Langacker (2008: 28) remarks, summing up the **interactive** perspective on the nature of meaning:

> [M]eanings are seen as emerging dynamically in discourse and social interaction. Rather than being fixed and predetermined, they are actively negotiated by interlocutors on the basis of the physical, linguistic, social, and cultural context. Meaning is not localised but distributed, aspects of it inhering in the speech community, in the pragmatic circumstances of the speech event, and in the surrounding world. In particular, it is not inside a single speaker's head. (Langacker 2008: 28)

Cricket (like most other team sports) is essentially about interaction; it encourages interaction among the players, and inspires social interaction resulting in a variety of expressions.

3. The game of cricket

Cricket is a game that does not lend itself to easy or brief description. However, in the following quotation, the author of a 19th century book on the game, lists a number of personal qualities, skills and virtues required of the players:

> The game of cricket, philosophically considered, is a standing panegyric on the English character; none but an orderly and sensible race of people would so amuse themselves. It calls into requisition all the cardinal virtues, some moralist would say. As

with the Grecian games of old, the player must be sober and temperate. Patience, fortitude, and self-denial, the various bumps of order, obedience, and good humour, with an unruffled temper, are indispensable. For intellectual virtues we want judgement, decision, and the organ of concentrativeness – every faculty in the free use of all its limbs – and every idea in constant air and exercise. Poor, rickety, and stunted wits never serve: the widest shoulders are of little use without a head upon them: the cricketer wants wits down to his fingers' ends. As to the physical qualifications, we require not only the volatile spirits of the Irishman *Rampant*, nor the phlegmatic caution of the Scotchman *Couchant*, but we want the English combination of the two; though, with good generalship, cricket is the game for Britons. (Pycroft 1859: 25f.)

The final lines of the quotation make cricket sound somewhat militaristic and indeed the game itself, similarly to many other team sports, demands skill, endurance, an understanding of numerous possible strategies and tactics, good captaincy and, unlike many other outdoor sports, good weather. Being a bat-and-ball game, it requires both specialist batsmen and bowlers; it also relies heavily on a wicket-keeper and fielders, while the umpires are of great significance (more so than in many other ball games). In the standard form of the game two teams of eleven players try to outscore each other in two innings per team by accumulating points, known technically as *runs*. The bowlers, whose aim is to eliminate the opposing batsmen from the contest and thus stop them from scoring runs for their team, are aided in their efforts by a wicket-keeper and nine other fielders. The bowlers employ different types of delivery (a range of which they usually specialise in) to attempt to remove the batsmen. There are ten different ways a batsman can be *got out* (eliminated) (Hughes 2001: 17), some of them being more common than others; among these is being stumped (discussed further in connection with one of the metaphors). Being stumped "is credited to the bowler and is entered in the scorebook as 'st wicket-keeper b bowler'" (Rundel 2006: 180).

4. SPORT IS WAR

On the basis of idealized cognitive models (ICMs) developed by Lakoff (1982, 1987), Kalisz and Kubiński in 1996 (in Kalisz 2001: 53) identified the following prototypical properties common to sports disciplines:

- competition/competitiveness
- show
- involvement of physical strength
- involvement of the human body (the body is the source of energy)
- possibility of injuries
- clear rules of contest
- objectively naming the winner
- keeping a record of time and/or distance
- engagement of specialist skills

All of these properties are present in cricket and every property could be elaborated on with reference to the game and its specifics; this, however, is not the subject under discussion. Some of the properties listed above inspire another connection, namely that between sport and war. This connection was commented on by George Orwell in his essay entlitled *The Sporting Spirit* (1945) when he remarked: "Serious sport […] is war minus the shooting […] [a]t the international level sport is frankly mimic warfare". Indeed one could argue that sport is a more peaceful, but by no means wholly amicable, representation of a military contest, which resorts to tactical manoeuvres, employs aggressive or defensive strategies using (secret) weapons (i.e. players) and involves the manifestation of skill or strength to finally produce winners or losers. The language of sports reports is strewn with lexical units referring to sporting challenges in militaristic terminology. Among commonly used nouns one might list: *defeat, challenge, victory, triumph, weapon, clash, battle, struggle, threat, force* and *champion*. Verbs may refer to such warlike outcomes and

occurrences as *lose, win, lead, launch, crush, beat, draft in, reinforce, salvage, disintegrate, falter;* while commonly used adjectives relating to various qualities of the warring factions or their stratagems are *unbeaten, defeated, winner-takes-all, tactical, defensive, aggressive, hostile, attacking, attritional* etc.

On a somewhat superficial level several parallels can be drawn between the domains of WAR and SPORT:

Source: WAR	Mappings	Target: SPORT
WARRING SIDES	→	OPPONENTS/COMPETITORS/TEAMS
CONTEST	→	COMPETITION/CHALLENGE
BATTLES/FIGHTS	→	MATCHES / RACES etc.
LEADERSHIP	→	TEAM CAPTAIN or MANAGER/COACH
MANIFESTATION OF POWER	→	SHOW
INVOLVEMENT OF ARMAMENTS	→	INVOLVEMENT OF PHYSICAL STRENGTH
INVOLVEMENT OF SOLDIERS	→	INVOLVEMENT OF THE PLAYER'S BODY
DIFFERENT ROLES	→	SPECIALIST SKILLS/PLAYERS
CASUALTIES	→	INJURIES
CONVENTIONS	→	RULES OF CONTEST
CONTEST RESULT	→	NAMING THE WINNER
CONFLICT DURATION & SCALE	→	KEEPING TIME AND /OR DISTANCE
USE OF STRATEGY	→	USE OF STRATEGY

The SPORT IS WAR metaphor seems justified and plausible especially when alluding to team sports. As regards individual sportspeople, SPORT IS WAR is possibly slightly less applicable since in team sports a group of players work towards a goal while a player competing individually is trying to beat records or achieve the glory of victory for him or herself alone. Correspondingly, during a war, a single individual is not trying to achieve victory on his or her own or for him or herself, but due to commitment to the cause – all the soldiers working towards the same goal like players in the same team. Seeing WAR as a domain in the context of struggle and competition seems valid – conflict and contest are characteristic of human nature (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 62).

5. LIFE IS STRUGGLE[1]

For centuries sport has played an important role in the social life of urban communities (Orwell 1945) in particular in the absence of hard labour and entertainment and to accommodate the drive for rivalry. According to Birley (1999: ix) the game of cricket is a simulation of rivalry:

> Cricket is one of the more sophisticated latter-day war surrogates, a ritualised conflict in which each side in turn is required to attack and to defend. It is spiced with danger, but cunning is as important as physical strength. It requires strategy and tactics. It is a team activity, yet individual members operate in turn, and leadership is crucial. Not least, its techniques must change: as defence learns to cope with attack, new weapons and new stratagems must be devised (Birley 1999: ix)

The WAR metaphor in this quotation refers to the game's key aspects and may be used as a spring-board for some of the metaphors that found their way out of the game of cricket. LIFE IS STRUGGLE metaphor stems from the analogous use of the language that has stimulated the comparison of the domains of WAR and SPORT. Giving currency to the concept of LIFE IS WAR metaphor would be rather inappropriate as such a concept would appear a little incongruous and somewhat forced. However, drawing the mental connection between LIFE and SPORT is more relevant and less implausible. Life is a challenge to many individuals who by birth have joined the race towards the inevitable goal that according to Christian belief is the winner's wreath (2 Tm 2: 5; 2 Tm 4: 8, in *Biblia Warszawsko-Praska* 1997). From the psycho-sociological point of view one could easily argue that during their life people face *challenges* and difficulties; they have to set *goals* and *struggle* towards them; their *efforts* sometimes produce *success* and frequently *failure*. People *compete* (by keeping up with the

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[1] The LIFE IS STRUGGLE metaphor is not fully explored in the present article but is the topic of a paper that is under development.

Joneses), and *fight with* their weaknesses or circumstances or *against* various *opponents* in their daily *struggle.*[2] The expressions from cricket that follow cover such aspects of life/sport as making an effort, achieving success, suffering failure, being frustrated or being at a disadvantage.

6. Success

Success is the aim of those engaged in mutual combat, be it war or sport. In life success is also of importance; in fact, in modern competitive societies success becomes the main concern of individuals or of entire communities. Life becomes an ongoing contest which is epitomised by expressions like *keeping up with the Joneses* or *gaining the upper hand*. Rivalry in life emulates war or sport through direct analogy; winning the contest becomes its principal aim and is therefore associated with success. In cricket, a batsman's success is measured in terms of his period at the wicket – his *innings*. An *innings* also refers to the turn of the entire batting team and the number of runs they score during that turn. In simple terms, if the number of runs accumulated is large, one could say that the player or the team has had *a good innings*. In the following examples *a good innings* indicates either a successful or prosperous period/outcome or in the case of (a1) implies solid achievements during a period of club presidency.

   (a1) *He's had a good innings as a club president.*
   (a2) *Edinburgh Festival delivers a good innings.* (Cramer 2009)
   (a3) *Good innings for British news agency.* (Connah 2002)

Examples (a2) and (a3) are headlines of on-line articles, (a3) being an article referring to a news agency gaining rights to show cricket on-line. The non-literal meaning of the expression can occur in a variety of contexts, even including that of cricket or baseball, referring for example, to someone's private life or used as a pun. It can also be used in book titles,

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[2] Compare to ANGER IS AN OPPONENT (Lakoff 1987: 391f.).

frequently in the form of word play. The phrase also occurs in obituaries in particular as a comment on someone's longevity.

7. Failure

Failure is inevitably a common outcome experienced both in life and sport. Sporting failures can have a variety of manifestations, but in cricket usually the one considered to be the most serious is the failure to add to the team's score, in other words scoring what is known as a *duck*.

> (b1) *Fletcher's dismal run in the West Indies colours continued when he was bowled by a Cremer googly, as he failed to trouble the scorers for the sixth time in his last eight innings, leaving his team on 85-4 in the 26th over.* (Robers 2010)

For a cricketer from example (b1), failure to *trouble the scorers* is twofold because not only has the player not achieved anything for his team but he has also worsened his personal average of runs per innings. In life people's individual failings can be commented on using the same expression, this time referring to the fact that the score was low on a different *scoreboard*. In (b2) below there is a failure in an opinion poll dealing with various politicians' performances as Chancellor of the Exchequer, while in (b3) the reference is to a clear failure to interest the Hollywood award judges:

> (b2) *For **Chancellor**, Gordon Brown (25 per cent) and Lloyd George (17 per cent) were the only serious contenders. Kenneth Clarke came third, but a long way behind. Stafford Cripps and Roy Jenkins had a few supporters, but poor Callaghan again failed to trouble the scorers.* (Brasher 1999)
>
> (b3) *Anyone British. Away from the Baftas, where she had the home-field advantage, Mulligan has failed to trouble the scorers this Hollywood awards season.* (Adams 2010)

The *not to trouble the scorers* expression refers to failure, disadvantage, or difficulty and appears in press articles and often in quizzes.

8. Difficulty or disadvantage

The following six expressions from cricket refer to difficulty, frustration or being at a disadvantage. Sporting challenge or life struggles often result in situations where a person/ competitor/player feels pressurized or in adversity. Tactical sports like cricket resort to strategies that may put a batsman of the opposing team into a defensive position or *on the back foot*; this inevitably limits the scoring opportunities and leaves the batting team at a possible disadvantage. In the examples that follow, the object of the sentence in (c1) and the subject of the headline in (c2) deal with inauspicious circumstances, while the plagiarists in headline (c3) are going to come under pressure to amend their ways.

   (c1)   *I'm afraid that the recent marketing campaign of our rivals has put us on the back foot.*
   (c2)   *Obama on the back foot in China* (Fenby 2009)
   (c3)   *Putting plagiarists on the back foot* (Cressey 2009)

If one *bats/is caught* etc. *on a* metaphorically *sticky wicket*, one finds oneself in a difficult situation. During a cricket match, if a batsman is caught on a *sticky wicket* he will in all probability be facing unpredictable deliveries that are very difficult to play. The sticky wicket used to be a result of the cricket pitch being exposed to first rain and then the drying effects of the sun. These days *sticky wickets* occur rather rarely due to the fact that in the case of rain the playing surface is covered instantly, which makes it much more benign and protects it from rapid deterioration. In the three examples below the meaning of *on a sticky wicket* corresponds to difficulty or disadvantage: (d1) comes from the business press, (d2) from a general on-line news magazine and (d3),

probably the most interesting of them all, is an example of a play on words since the article is about a cricketer, although the context is not the sport but his private life.

(d1)   *On a sticky wicket, the Governor opts for the forward defensive prod.* (Jivkove 2005)

(d2)   *Tony Blair is batting on the proverbial sticky wicket presently and it will be a near miracle if he survives the onslaught he has been subjected to.* ("Blair batting on a sticky wicket" 2003)

(d3)   *CONSIDERED a gentleman of the cricket world, Anil Kumble has found himself on a sticky wicket which if not handled properly may result in affecting the future of the girl child.* (Azad 2009)

*He **bowled** me a real **bouncer**/**googly*** is an utterance that can be heard after a cricket match. A *bouncer* or a *bumper* in cricket is a fast delivery that is difficult to play because it bounces threateningly towards the batsman's neck or head. A *googly* is a ball that is not physically dangerous but which is awkward to play because it is intended to trick the batsman (the trick is achieved by a twist of the bowler's wrist). If in the non-literal sense a googly or a bouncer is a question, it is one that is difficult to answer. In point (e) *a real bouncer* is an accusation that challenged Channel 4 and questioned the quality of its cricket coverage.

(e)   *Mike Selvey bowled a real bouncer at Channel 4's forthcoming cricket coverage, when he suggested that the ECB is contributing to presenter's* […] *salary* […] (Sharman 1999)

The following two examples involving the *to be stumped (for)* expression imply difficultly, challenge or an obstacle in the way of a person's progress. *Being stumped,* in cricket is one of the ways a batsman can be eliminated. Any form of competition is intrinsically connected with difficulties; mental or physical barriers may get in the way of achieving one's

goals. Both (f1) and (f2) refer to an inability to complete an action/activity.

> (f1)   *I was stumped for an answer.*
> (f2)   *I am stumped for baby names?* (Kirstie 2010)

Frustration, distress or a sense of failure are emotions that may be experienced by a bowler who is *hit for six*. Cricket is a sport in which personal statistics are significant in the long-term judgement of a player's ability. For a bowler it is not the number of runs per innings that count but the average number of runs conceded per batsman dismissed, the fewer the better. Six runs are usually scored in a single stroke by a batsman. It may be added that not many sixes occur during one match; it is therefore, a little personal defeat for a bowler *to be hit for* such a number of runs. The following example shows the company named in the headline as being in a rather difficult or frustrating position.

> (g)   *Murdoch's Sky hit for six by threat of losing TV cricket* (Scott-Elliot 2009)

9. Effort

The final expression under discussion in this paper is *to do something off one's own bat*, as in the question: "Has he painted the fence *off his own bat*?", where the subject has done something without being told to. In the literal and technical sense a batsman is equipped with a bat for hitting the ball with. When a ball comes *off the bat*, it should preferably result in runs.

> (h)   "*Dr. Hodgson is a very worthy, amiable man... but* [I] *suppose he had no revenues but what he got off his own bat.*" (Smith 1845)

In example (h) both literal and non-literal meanings are quite wide apart and the connection between them seems rather elusive. The relation can be seen in the effort used in achieving something be it a *run* (in cricket) or *revenues* as in the case of Dr. Hodgson.

10. Summary

The main aim of this paper was to present a set of conventionalised expressions that have their source in cricket. The domains of SPORT, LIFE, WAR, alluded to in the text cross at the point of STRUGGLE or CHALLENGE, all of which they share. Mental images produced by the domain of WAR crossed into the domain of SPORT and extended beyond, and like other images that do not seem to be confined to restrictive mental spaces, on the contrary, they seem to travel between the domains and merge on a conceptual level.

The lack of international correspondence in verbal expressions reflects the different pools of social experiences that societies and nations draw from. The available domains can vary in terms of the body of national experiences that are culture bound (and therefore less available to foreigners) as remarked by Turewicz:

> the formation of the conceptual network involves the process of abstraction leading to schematisation. As a result, the conceptual representation of everyday experience abstracts away from many details of an individual experience. Nonetheless, because we experience reality in the context of some cultural heritage, and because the most salient rather than marginal facets of such experience are most likely to be encoded in the developing system, the conceptual structure that evolves is necessarily anchored in socio-cultural identity. In this fashion, our everyday experience imprints our cultural identity into the network of concepts. (Turewicz 2000: 57-8)

The cultural context is relevant to idiom or metaphor formation, which results in different linguistic representations

of concepts that relate to those experiences. The rich technically embedded terminology of cricket has given rise to a number of linguistic units that could not have been evoked by speakers of any other language but the one in which the cricketing experience exists. Most of the expressions under study in this article have become lexicalised and it would be difficult, if not impossible, for an average language user to pinpoint the exact source of the expression because, as noted by Svalund: "[c]onventional lexical metaphors certainly differ in their ability to activate concepts from the source domain" (2007: 49). However, once the concept has been activated, it projects the meaning as recorded in the usage.

The tentative analysis in this paper of cricketing expressions that have gained metaphorical usage has been modelled on interaction metaphor and metonymy (Evans and Green 2006: 319-20) (metaphor from metonymy) through mappings between the domains (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 103). A more in-depth analysis, however, is still needed.

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Code-switching among Polish university students

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Abstract

Code-switching is an interesting linguistic phenomenon which is becoming increasingly common especially among young people. The following article is an introduction to a broader project, which aims to analyze the extent to which foreign words and expressions are being used by Polish students. The examples quoted in the text illustrate the most important kinds of *code-switching* and were collected by students themselves, which proves their authenticity. Most of the quoted examples support the thesis that currently English is the most popular source of lexical items used in *code-switching*, though there are also cases in which other languages are involved. A further and deeper analysis of the mentioned phenomenon may provide us with a better understanding of the motivations behind why people so often use and adopt words of foreign origin; this may also help to find some explanations as to how the process of *borrowing* works.

Key words

language, code, switch, students, bilingualism

The purpose of this paper is to give a view of an interesting linguistic phenomenon, particularly common among English language students, namely *code-switching*. Most of the examples quoted in the text were collected by students themselves. The article constitutes only an introduction to an on-going project aimed at providing a broader view of the

frequency and importance of *code-switching* in the language used by Polish students.

Before we pass to the presentation of different kinds of *code-switching*, motivations for using it, and examples of actual usage, it is worth reviewing some key concepts connected with the analyzed phenomenon. The first important concepts which need to be considered are *code* and *domain.*

Stockwell (2007: 11-12) uses the term *code* to cover all such varieties as the choice of a particular language, dialect, register, accent or style. Most individuals have a repertoire of codes available to them. The different uses of different codes are tied to different situations or *domains*. The concept of *domain*, which is perceived by Spolsky (1998: 47) as 'an empirically determined cluster consisting of a location, a set of role-relationships, and a set of topics', is also an important concept in analyzing bilingualism. His theory of code-switching claims that it is the domain in which speakers perceive themselves to be that determines the choice of code. This implies that both the choice of code and the actual content of what is said are communicatively meaningful.

When a speaker moves from one domain into another, and changes their code as a result, we are dealing with *situational code-switching.* Sometimes, however, a speaker can delibe-rately change codes in the middle of a situation, in order to indicate to the hearer that they consider a new domain to be in operation. This is called *metaphorical code-switching.* Conversations are often brought to a close by one participant code-switching into a different variety of language in order to signal that they want to get away. Metaphorical code-switching is thus a means of changing the perceived context.

Where a domain is not well defined or two domains could be seen to be operating (such as meeting a family-friend in an expensive and unfamiliar restaurant, or having a work colleague round for a family occasion), speakers can often be heard *code-mixing,* in which the switch between languages can occur within utterances (Stockwell 2007: 11-12).

Another concept which should be mentioned when talking about *code-switching* is the idea of bilingualism and what it means to be bilingual. According to Spolsky (1998: 45-47), the simplest definition of a bilingual is a person who has some functional ability in a second language. This may vary from a limited ability in one or more domains, to very strong command of both languages (which is sometimes called *balanced bilingualism*).

What is needed to describe the nature of a person's bilingualism? The first element, obviously, is to identify each of the languages. A second important feature is the way each language was acquired. Another set of distinctions is that of skill – reading, writing, speaking, understanding speech (which in the teaching process is usually labeled as listening).

Spolsky claims that in describing the bilingualism of an individual, another set of differences is often evident in the performance of certain internal functions; namely, bilinguals usually prefer one language for functions such as counting, doing arithmetic, cursing or praying.

Another useful way to describe bilinguals is by describing the external functions they can perform in each language. One special ability (not true in the case of all bilinguals) is the skill of translation from one language to the other; consequently, a useful approach to describe a bilingual's language use is by domains rather than by functions. Since it is easier to perform in some domains using one language instead of the other, *code-switching* often occurs.

Bilinguals have a repertoire of domain-related rules of language choice. The home-school or the home-work switch is probably the most common, with one language learned at home from parents and the second learned at school and used at work. An important notion is that a bilingual's use of his or her two languages is likely to vary considerably according to domain. It is rare to find equal ability in both languages. A person may have all the conversational skills in a language, but be quite weak at dealing with academic matters in it. Misunderstanding such difference in *competence* may often

lead to educational problems: teachers might assume that a person who has reasonable conversational ability also has the full basis for academic work in the language.

Spolsky (1998: 48-50) claims that for a number of years there was an attempt to distinguish between *compound bilinguals* whose two languages were assumed to be closely connected, because one language had been learned after (and so through) the other, and *co-ordinate bilinguals* who had learned each language in separate contexts, and so kept them distinct (such is the case of students who learn English in the classroom for academic purposes). Co-ordinate bilinguals were assumed to have two meaning systems each with its own set of words, while compounds were assumed to have a single system with two sets of words.

The phenomenon of bilingualism is a prime example of *language contact*, for the two languages are in contact in the bilingual. This contact can lead to *interference*. It is the phenomenon of interference, especially when it involves using the two languages together, which has led to the study of *code-switching*. As we shall see bilinguals often switch between their two languages in the middle of a conversation; such switching of words is the beginning of *borrowing*, which occurs when the new word becomes more or less integrated in the second language. Obviously, there are various situations in which *code-switching* may occur. For instance, immigrants often use many words from their new language in their old languages and students – as it shall be demonstrated – use foreign words they have learned in the classroom in their everyday conversations. In situations like this, bilinguals often develop a *mixed code*.

Romaine (2000: 55) has also noticed that learning to speak more than one language often involves putting together material from two languages, which may be seen as a part of the normal process of growing up bilingually and acquiring competence in more than one language. One might easily expect that the early utterances of children growing up bilingually will often contain lexical items from both languages.

Let us consider, for instance, the following examples collected by one of the students who observed a bilingual married couple with small children:

– ***Daddy***, *pójdziemy do **kindergarten**?*
– ***Now**?*
– *Nie, **tomorrow**.*

– ***Daddy***, *pójdziemy **today** do babci?*
– ***And which grandma do you want to go to***?
– *Do **grandma** Wanda.*

It should be added that, for a bilingual, shifting for convenience (choosing the available word or phrase on the basis of easy availability) is commonly related to topic. Showing the effect of domain differences, a speaker's vocabulary will develop differentially for different topics in the two languages. Speakers of a language who have received advanced education in a professional field in a second language will usually not have the terms in their native language. Scientists trained in an English-speaking country giving university lectures in their own language often mix in English words or even switch to English phrases and sentences.

McArthur (1992: 126-127) clearly sees and explains the connection between *bilingualism*, *code-switching* and *code-mixing*:

Ability with more than one language can be thought of as a continuum. At one end, there are the so called *balanced bilinguals*, who have a native-like control of two or more languages, while at the other are people with minimal competence in a second language and and/or limitations in the use of both languages. Individuals may be bilingual to various degrees depending on such factors as circumstances of acquisition, opportunities for use of the other language, aptitude, and motivation. A *passive bilingual* may be able to understand another language without being able to speak it well or even at all. Degree

of proficiency is also related to the functions a language is used for. Individuals who do not have the opportunity to use a language for particular purposes may not develop full proficiency in it. [...]

Bilinguals are rarely equally fluent about all topics in all contexts. In each situation, there may be pressures of various kinds (administrative, cultural, economic, political, and religious) which influence the individual towards one language rather than the other. The extent to which bilinguals are able or need to keep their languages separate depends on many factors. In many cases, they may more or less freely mix elements of both and frequently switch between them (*code-mixing* and *code-switching*).

Spolski (1998: 49-50) also notices that interesting effects are achievable by shifts connected with role-relationship. Since each of the bilingual's languages is likely to be associated not just with topics and places, but also with identities and roles associated with them. In the midst of speaking about work matters in Language A, a sentence or two in language B will be able to show that the two speakers are not just fellow-employees but also fellow members of an ethnic group. In his opinion, this kind of *metaphorical switching* is a powerful mechanism for signaling social attitudes or claiming group membership or solidarity.

Holmes (2008: 42) calls attention to the fact some people code-switch for rhetorical reasons, drawing on the associations of both codes and that is her perception of *metaphorical switching*. Each of the codes represents or symbolizes a set of social meanings, and the speaker draws on the associations of each just as people use metaphors to represent complex meanings. What ought to be noticed is that the term also reflects the fact that this kind of switching involves rhetorical skill. Skilful code-switching operates like metaphor to enrich the communication. Some people call this kind of code-switching by the term *code-mixing*, but Holmes advocates for the term *metaphorical switching*. As she says (2008: 43):

Code-mixing suggests the speaker is mixing up codes indiscriminately or perhaps of incompetence, whereas the switches are very well motivated in relation to the symbolic or social meaning of the two codes. [...] It is a distinctive e conversational style used among bilinguals and multilinguals – a rich additional linguistic resource available to them. By switching between two or more codes, the speakers convey affective meaning as well as information.

In *The Oxford Companion to the English Language* McArthur (1992: 228-229) presents his point of view on the differences between such concepts as *code-mixing* and *code-switching*, as well as enumerating the types of *code-switching* he considers to be the most important:

'*code* may be a language or a variety or style of language; the term *code-mixing* emphasizes hybridization, and the term *code-switching* emphasizes the movement from one language to another. Mixing and switching probably occur in the speech of all bilinguals, so that there is a sense in which a person capable of using two languages, A and B, has three systems available for use: A, B, and C (a range of hybrid forms that can be used with comparable bilinguals but not with monolingual speakers of A or B). There are four major types of switching: (1) *Tag-switching*, in which tags and certain set phrases in one language are inserted into an utterance otherwise in another, as when a Panjabi/ English bilingual says: *It's a nice day,hana?* (isn't it?). (2) *Intra-sentential switching*, in which switches occur within a clause or sentence boundary, as when a Yoruba/English bilingual says: *Won o arrest a single person* (*won o* they did not). (3) *Inter-sentential switching*, in which a change of language occurs at a clause or sentence boundary, where each clause or sentence is in one language or the other, as when a Spanish/English bilingual says: *Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English y termino en espanol* (and finish it in Spanish). This last may also occur as speakers take turns. (4) *Intra-word switching*, in which a change occurs within a word boundary, such as in *shoppa* (English *shop* with the Panjabi plural ending) or *kuenjoy* (English *enjoy* with the Swahili prefix *ku*, meaning 'to').

Suzanne Romaine (2000: 59-60) notices that many linguists have stressed the point that switching is a communicative option available to a bilingual member of a speech community on much the same basis as switching between styles or dialects is an option for the monolingual speaker. Switching in both cases serves an expressive function and has meaning. She also claims that "a speaker can switch for a variety of reasons, e.g. to redefine the interaction as appropriate to a different social arena, or to avoid, through continual code-switching, defining the interaction in terms of any social arena" (2000: 60) The importance of the latter function of avoidances lies in the fact that it implies that code-switching may often serve as a strategy of neutrality or as a means to establish which code is most appropriate and acceptable in a particular situation.

Janet Holmes (2008: 35-46) adds that people sometimes switch code within a domain or social situation. A speaker may switch to another language as a signal of group membership and shared ethnicity with an addressee. Even speakers who are not very proficient in a second language may use brief phrases and words for this purpose. She also notices that switches motivated by the identity and relationship between participants often express a move along the solidarity/social distance dimension. A switch may also reflect a change in other dimensions, such as the status relations between people or the formality of their interactions. Holmes (2008: 44) also proposes a list of main reasons for *code-switching*:

1. Change in a feature of the domain or social situation
   a. Setting
   b. Participant features
      - Addressee specification
      - Ethnic identity marker
      - Express solidarity
      - Express social distance
      - Assert social status

      c. Topic
         - Quoting someone
         - Proverb
  2. Aspect of the function or purpose of interaction
      a. Add emphasis
      b. Add authority
      c. Express feelings (vs. describing facts)

Establishing the exact motivations for *code-switching* among Polish students will require collecting a vast number of examples and a careful quantitative analysis. At the current stage it is too early to draw any far- reaching conclusions. It is possible, however, to illustrate with examples the four main kinds of *code-switching* as enumerated by McArthur:

1. Examples of *tag-switching*:

- **Fuck**, *autobus mi zwiał.*
- **Nothing new**, *zawsze mówiłam, że ona się ryje na pamięć.*
- *Mamy czas,* **no pressure**.
- *Zwalniasz się z pracy,* **seriously**?
- *Nie wiem, jak to zrobić. Po prosu,* **no idea**.
- *Dobrze będzie,* **no worries.**
- *Dostałam piątkę z teorii literatury.* **Amazing**!
- *Tak ci powiedział ?* **Nice**.
- *Today I would like to tell you about...* **jak jest ten, no**... *greenhouse effect.*
- *Cześć wszystkim.* **What's up**?
- *Spisałeś się na medal.* **Well done**.
- **Great**, *to będzie dziesiąty egzamin w tej sesji.*
- **Oh really**? *Chyba jednak coś Ci się pomyliło.*
- *Czy chcę jechać do Hiszpanii?* **Hell yeah**!
- *Nie będę za Ciebie sprzątać –* **hell no**!
- *W tym tygodniu odpadam, bo mam korki, tak że* **some other time**.

2. Examples of *intra-sentential switching*:

- *Co za **fail**. Zapomniałam zrobić pracę domową.*
- *Wybudować plac zabaw to jedno, a co innego zapłacić za **maintenance.***
- *Żebyś nie była taka poważna, to mam dla ciebie małe **comic relief**.*
- *Film jest kiepski, ale **soundtrack** świetny.*
- *Chciałeś coś, czy dzwonisz tylko tak **for fun** ?*
- *Cały dzień zajęć, czuję, że będzie **mega fun**.*
- *Taa, jasne, **no fucking way**.*
- *To tylko taki **joke**.*
- *Ogólnie mogę Panią ocenić na **four plus**.*
- *Nie ma nic lepszego niż **pizza with mushrooms**.*
- *Kiedy jesteś **on your own** to jest ciężko.*
- *Udowodniła swój **point**.*
- *Byłam na nartach. Było **awesome**.*
- *Muszę na jutro napisać **paper**.*
- *She was eating **a pączek** (two students talking in a cafeteria).*
- *To zależy, co umiesz. Czy dobrze piszesz, czy masz inne **interpersonalne skillsy**.*
- *Twoje oczy są **hypnotyzing**.*
- *No to co**, beer** ?*
- *Ten egzamin to był taki **fail**, że nawet nie mam co liczyć na tróję.*
- *Zdałem, normalnie zdałem, jaki **win**.*

- *Chcesz obejrzeć jakiś horror ?*
- *Dzięki, nie. Ten ostatni film był taki **creepy**, że nie mam ochoty na więcej.*

- *Jestem bardzo zajęty. Mam **full** roboty.*
- *Jeszcze tylko trzy tygodnie i będziemy **free**.*
- *Okropnie się czuję. Mam taki **headache**, jak stąd do Warszawy.*
- *Ale z niego **asshole**. Kolejny do odstrzału.*
- *To nie będzie **student friendly** sesja.*
- *Don't die **mała**. You need **pogadać**?*

- *Wychodzimy, jesteście **ready**?*
- *Prawie.*

- *OK., **drama queen**, przestań wreszcie płakać.*
- *Staram się.*

- *To nie musi być tylko **switching** z jednego języka do drugiego, może być też zmiana w **register** i **style**.*
- *So I finally had people install **panele.***
- *Ja chyba jutro pojadę sama kolejką, bo mnie teraz mdli po tej **bumpy ride**.*

3. Examples of *intersentential switching*:

- *Ludzie powinni sprzątać po swoim psie i **throw it away** do kosza.*
- *Moglibyśmy się tam wybrać. **What do you think** ?*

(Conversation about copying materials for classes)
- *Do you have the 4th chapter from the book so I can copy it?*
- *No, I don't. Can't you just borrow the book from the library?*
- ***Nie chce mi się**. I'm too lazy.*

- *Ukradli mi telefon.*
- ***Shit happens.***

- *Bawcie się dobrze ślicznoty '**cause the night is young and so are you**!*
- *Tyle sie uczyłam, ale tak czy siak, **I'm none the wiser**, albo trafisz na coś **student-friendly**, albo nie.*
- *Zdałeś prawko? **Are you kidding me**?*
- *No chodź na imprezę. Pobawimy się troczę, potańczymy – **just have some fun**.*
- *Kupiłam chipsy. **Want some**?*
- *Mam dwa bilety do kina na piątek, **wanna come**?*
- ***Wait a sec, ok**? Ktoś dzwoni.*
- *Chciałem być na czas, ale jakoś tak wyszło. **I'm sorry**.*
- *Jej znajomy jest fotografem. **Fashion shots, you know**.*
- *Dobra, to moja wina. **Guilty as fuck**.*

- *Wiesz co, źle się czuję I głowa mnie boli.*
- ***Don't die on me****.*
- *Taka natura, co zrobić.* ***You can't change who you are****.*
- *Jestem jakimś strasznym uzurpatorem.*
- ***You don't rule, this is hegemony****.*
- ***Hegemony****, jaka **hegemony***.

- *Jesteś urocza,* ***you know that, honey****.*

- *Złe złego początki, czyli kolokwium z ekonomii początkiem lawiny zaliczeń i egzaminów… Że niby mam dać radę tak ryć przez najbliższy miesiąc?* ***This is sick and unrealistic as f**k****!*

- *Miłego wyjazdu.* ***Have fun. I will miss you though****…*

- *Dzięki temu, że to jest takie **fucked up we like it so much***.

- *Ten kraj jest chory.*
- ***Welcome to Poland, dude****.*

- *Moim zdaniem Mak* (= McDonald's) ***sounds OK****.*

4. Examples of *intra-word switching*:

- *Zbieram materiały do mojego **prodżektu.***
- *Mam **deadlajna** w piątek.*
- *Ale masz **kulerski** zegarek.*
- *Kupili **sikspaka** na imprezę.*
- *Ja mam dziś prezentację. Mało w niej **kontentu**, alezawsze to coś.*
- *Ale ze mnie **retard**, mogłem mieć dodatkowe punkty, a tak prosta odpowiedź wyleciała mi z głowy.*
- *Daj spokój, ona jest takim **retardem** językowym, że nigdy jej tego nie wytłumaczysz.*
- *Jak tam dziś ? Idziesz do **łorku** (= to work) ?*
- ***Sfailować** można wszystko, ale żeby jajecznicę spieprzyć to już trzeba być **retardem**.*
- ***Scziluj** (= chill out) kuźwa, nie ma co się zbędnie przejmować.*

- *Callnij do mnie, jak dojedziesz do domu.*
- *Czeknij* (= check out) *co się dzieje za oknem.*
- *Spoko, Maciek bierze antybiotyk, więc będzie drajwerem.*
- *Siema, idziemy na jakiś szoping ? Muszę kupić sobie jakąś bluzkę.*
- *Jak można być takim autsajderem, ciągle siedzi na czacie i z nikim nigdzie nie wychodzi.*
- *Bankowo sfeilowałem dzisiejszy egzamin.*
- *Co powiesz na mały plażing* (= spending time drinking beer on the beach) *dziś wieczorem ?*
- *Przyniosłeś mi piwo? Ale slitaśnie (= sweet).*
- *Nie, nie dam Ci szklanki. Nie bądź już taką princeską* (= princess), *pij z butelki.*
- *Mam nadzieję, że wieczór masz wolny, bo idziemy densić* (= dance) *na Pokład.*

As it turned out, English is by far the most popular language when students try *code-switching*, but it is not the only one. The following examples illustrate the use of other languages:

- *Meet me at 20.00 pod Batorym, bring some cerveza* (= beer).
- *Nie wiem, czy dam dziś radę, trabajam* (= I work) *do późna.*
- *Będzie estupendo* (= wonderful), *widzimy się na miejscu.*
- *Masz może ochotę na patatas fritas* (= French fries)*?*

- *Dzięki za kawę.*
- *De nada, chica.*

- *Już done, danke.*
- *Kaca niet, a ty jak tam?*

Naturally, students are by no means the only social group that uses *code-switching*. This linguistic phenomenon has also become very popular among such people as celebrities connected with pop-culture. And, although it is not the main topic of this article, some examples are worth quoting:

- *Była jedna dziewczyna, ale ona w ostatniej chwili*
  skancelowała (Anna Rubik, fashion model, in a TV interview)
- *Możesz być* **one day on the cover** *na magazynie gdzie Cię*
  nazwą najpiękniejszą dziewczyną na świecie (Joanna Krupa,
  Top Model)
- *Bo to jest* **one in a lifetime opportunity** (Joanna Krupa, *Top*
  Model)
- *Musisz mieć jakiś* **middle name** *tak zwany* (Mariusz Max
  Kolonko, *Kuba Wojewódzki*)
- *Stałeś się mega rozpoznawalny* **big star** (Kuba Wojewódzki,
  Kuba Wojewódzki)

Students taking part in the project admit that the frequency
with which they use *code-switching* depends mainly on the
domain under consideration. Both location and participants
play an important role in their choices. When asked about
specific situations, they were asked to choose from the
following set of locations and participants:

    Locations:
  a. Home (including all types of accommodation, like boarding
     houses, hostels, etc.)
  b. University
  c. Public places
  d. Work
    Participants:
  a. Family members
  b. Close friends
  c. Acquaintances
  d. Strangers

It is hardly surprising that the investigated linguistic
phenomenon turned out to be most common among close
friends, especially fellow students and dating couples. Location
in their case does not usually play a significant role (with the
exception of *work*, where the specific characteristics of
a certain job may be far more important than the personal
relationship between the people who participate in the
conversation). Out of 92 examples of Polish-English *code-*

switching, only 2 took place between close family members (a father and his young son), 1 between a teacher and a student ('*Ogólnie mogę Panią ocenić na* **four plus**'), and 1 at work ('*Wybudować plac zabaw to jedno, a co innego zapłacić za* **maintenance**'). It is also interesting to take a closer look at the main topics of conversations in which *code-switching* occurred. We may divide those topics into four major groups: personal (showing some affection), studies, parties, work, and miscellaneous (mostly everyday matters). After counting all the quoted examples (students only, TV stars are not of interest in this particular study), we arrive at the following figures:

1. Miscellaneous: 46 (6 of which include vulgarisms)
2. Studies: 24 (1 includes vulgarisms)
3. Personal (affection): 12
4. Parties: 8
5. Work: 2

The main conclusions that we can draw from the mentioned data are as follows:

– students use *code-switching* mainly in conversations with close friends and other students;
– the location of a conversation is less important than the participants involved;
– studies, personal affairs and parties are the most common topics of conversations in which *code-switching* occurs;
– vulgarisms do not play a particularly important role in such conversations.

Swann (2004: 177-178) notices that "code-switching studies are interested in the language of individual speakers and how this is associated with certain aspects of speaker identities and the context in which conversations take place". However, in order to understand speakers' switching behavior in context and from this to arrive at some generalizations about code-switching patterns, the adopted approach must not only be qualitative, but also quantitative. Opinions based on a very

limited number of examples can be misleading. It is still unclear whether the workplace is truly a location where the use of foreign vocabulary tends to be avoided; as has been mentioned before, some specific features of different jobs may have a decisive influence on people's lexical choices. Further conclusions about the phenomenon of *code-switching* among Polish students may be reached in the near future as more quotations are collected; the project on this topic has only just started and is still developing.

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"Animal" proverbs in the Bible: An axiological analysis

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Abstract

This paper aims to examine selected proverbs that derive from the Holy Bible. It seems that the issue of proverbs is widely discussed by linguists; however, the examination of proverbs that come from the Holy Scripture appear to require more attention. Since it is impossible to provide an exhaustive description of the abundance of proverbs that permeate the Holy Bible, animals have been chosen to constitute the focal motif. The selected proverbs are analysed according to the assumptions of the Axiological Invariance Principle and the Great Chain of Being metaphors. Making reference to the symbolism of particular motifs, the axiological charges of the proverbs are explained.

We conclude that the majority of the presented proverbs reveal negative axiological charges; however, it would be inappropriate to conclude that all animals depicted in the Holy Bible are regarded as an incarnation of purely evil phenomena.

Key words

proverbs, Holy Bible, metaphor, animalisation, axiological charge

1. Introduction

Proverbs are elements of language that have always accompanied human beings. They are believed to contain sets of imperishable truths that constitute the essence of human

life. Mieder (1993: 10) concludes that it is metaphor that has a considerable influence on our perception of proverbs.

The following paper constitutes an attempt to examine selected proverbs which derive from the Holy Bible. It seems that the issue of proverbs is widely discussed by linguists; however, the examination of proverbs that come from the Holy Scripture seem to require more attention. As restraints on the length of this paper make it impossible to discuss all of the proverbs that appear in the Book of Proverbs, animals have been chosen to constitute the focal motif. They permeate the whole Bible, starting with the Book of Genesis when the world was created and finishing with the Book of Revelation.

The Bible displays animals in two manners, ordinary and figurative. The former involves their typical ways of functioning and serving human beings in their everyday life. The latter involves portraying animals so as to show the spiritual situations of human beings, whole nations, interpersonal relations or the relations between God and people (Szczepanowicz and Mrozek 2007: 6).

2. Metaphors and axiology

Metaphors have been traditionally regarded as rhetorical devices. Moreover, they have been perceived as a matter of words, which points to the fact that the cognitive processual aspects of metaphor have been disregarded. However, according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 3) "[…] metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action". Comprehending and experiencing one thing in terms of another constitutes the kernel of metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 5).

As regards axiology, it "[…] is a branch of knowledge dealing with values" (Krzeszowski 1997: 22). Krzeszowski (1997: 48) also maintains that "every act of concept valuation profiles a value in the Domain of Values". It comprises of two dimensions, namely the horizontal and vertical.

2.1. The Invariance Principle and the Axiological Invariance Principle

The invariance principle was formulated by Lakoff (1990: 54) who maintains that "Metaphorical mappings preserve the cognitive topology (that is, the image-schemata structure) of the source domain".

It is vital to think of this principle "[…] in terms of constraints on fixed correspondences […]" (Lakoff 1993: 215). If this is so, the principle holds that "[…] source domain interiors correspond to target domain interiors; source domain exteriors correspond to target domain exteriors […]" (Lakoff 1993: 215).

There is also a claim stating that "[…] metaphorization reinforces the axiological charge of concepts or activates the latent axiological charge" (Krzeszowski 1997: 156). In this case, it is crucial to notice whether the target domain preserves – under metaphorical mapping – a particular configuration of values which appear in the concept used as the source domain (Krzeszowski 1997: 158).

2.2. The Great Chain of Being and the Great Chain of Being metaphors

The Great Chain of Being deals with "[…] kinds of beings and their properties and places them on a vertical scale with "higher" beings and properties above "lower" beings and properties" (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 166).

There are two versions of the Great Chain, basic and extended. The basic version assumes that human beings are related to "lower" forms of existence. The other version "[…] concerns the relation of human beings to society, God, and the universe" (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 167).

The highest position is occupied by God with divinity as His highest property. Human beings occupy the second position. Reason and soul are considered to be their highest properties. Animals, which have instincts as their highest attribute, are in

the third position. The last but one group is comprised of plants, with life as the highest feature. Inorganic things belong to the lowest group, the highest attribute of which is material substance (Krzeszowski 1997: 68). It should be emphasised that the human level is the central one since human beings are capable of experiencing higher and lower levels of the Chain (Krzeszowski 1997: 72).

Taking into account the five levels of the Great Chain of Being, there are twenty possible types of metaphors resulting from upward and downward directions of mappings. They can be grouped and named after the source domains they involve. The type of metaphor where God is treated as a source domain is called deification. Humanisation is the type that makes use of human beings as source domains. If animals are treated as source domains, one can talk about animalisation. The fourth type is called vegetalisation (plants as source domains). The last type which is called reification treats things as source domains (Krzeszowski 1997: 162).

It should be pointed out that even though some metaphors are congruent with the Great Chain of Being, they appear to contradict the Axiological Invariance Principle. Christ's Second Coming described in the Holy Bible may constitute a good illustration of such a thesis. Christ's Second Advent (the Parousia) is compared to the coming of a thief. The word thief, which is the source domain, undoubtedly carries negative connotations. There seems to be dissonance between the source domain and the target domain which is positively charged. Nevertheless, this metaphor does not invalidate the Axiological Invariance Principle since "[…] the activation of negative poles of constituent schemata does not necessarily lead to the concept being negative" (Krzeszowski 1997: 164).

The Invariance Principle itself does not concern valuation of the concepts. Thus, there must be a restriction on the process of metaphorisation. Whenever speakers linguistically express a particular concept, they do it with the awareness of its axiological charge. It is speakers that determine whether the concept displays a positive or pejorative attitude towards the

subject of the discourse. This initial intention can be further changed. In relation to metaphors, it should be emphasised that the source domain cannot affect the axiological charge of the target domain although there is not any concordance between these two domains. The role of such a metaphor is only to highlight those elements in the source domain that are indispensable to understand the target domain (Krzeszowski 1997: 165).

3. An analysis of selected proverbs used in the Holy Bible

All of the analysed proverbs are taken from *The Holy Bible English Standard Version*. Each proverb contains an animal. However, it should be emphasised that some of the proverbs do not take animals as source domains. Therefore, they are not examples of animalisation.

(1) Proverbs 5: 17-19
     Let your fountain be blessed and rejoice in the wife of
     your youth, a lovely deer, a graceful doe.
     Target domain: A HUMAN BEING
     source domain: AN ANIMAL (a deer, a doe)

Prior to stating what the axiological charges of the domains are, the concepts used in the proverb will be introduced. The first striking phenomenon is the fact that a woman is described as animals representing the same species. Perhaps the reason for this can be found in the oldest ancient translations of the Holy Bible, namely *The Septuagint* and *The Vulgate*, where the word *jael* is translated as deer, not as *chamois* (Szczepanowicz and Mrozek 2007: 77). Regardless of the breed, "all animals forming the Cervidae family were treated by the Jews as pure animals that could be consumed after pouring blood out on the earth like water (cf. Deuteronomy 12: 15-22). However, they were not sacrificial animals. Analysing the symbolism of deer used in poetic texts, these animals usually embody grace, rapidity and delicacy"

(Szczepanowicz and Mrozek 2007: 62-63, translation mine). The adjectives modifying the animals add to the positive overtones of the proverb. A wife should be treated as a positive concept and the extension that is present in the source domain is to strengthen it.

It is worth noting that the proverb appears in the section that warns against adultery. Adultery being one of the most serious crimes that a married woman could commit, which could result in her being sentenced to death (Achtemeier 1999: 524).

(2) Proverbs 11: 22
     Like a gold ring in a pig's snout is a beautiful woman
     without discretion.
     target domain: A HUMAN BEING
     source domain: A THING

The proverb does not exemplify the phenomenon of animalisation; nevertheless, an animal plays a vital role in providing the analysis of the proverb in question. A human being that occupies a higher position in the Great Chain of Being shares some attributes of a thing that is located in a part of the body of an animal.

"A gold ring" and "discretion" can be treated as instances situated at the same level of values. Gold is a symbol that may represent either wealth in a material sense or inner treasures of the soul (Baldock 1994: 147). Owing to its chemical properties, it has become a symbol of unchanging values, eternity and perfection. Christian symbolism treats gold as a symbol of the highest virtue, namely love (Oesterreicher-Mollwo 1992: 185, translation mine). Discretion is defined as "the quality of behaving or speaking in such a way as to avoid causing offence or revealing confidential information" (*Oxford Dictionary of English*). Taking into consideration the category that "discretion" may belong to, one should treat it as an instance of spiritual values. As Krzeszowski (1999: 35, trans-lation mine) suggests these values distinguish human beings

from beings that possess a lower position in the Great Chain of Being. One cannot disregard the fact that a woman is characterized as attractive and pleasant, but still superficial qualities are of no value if spiritual ones are missing.

Swine are thought to be dirty and condemned animals without any valuable features. A pig was thought to be an incarnation of dirt, sin and lack of scruples. The sacrifice and consumption of pork were connected with idolatry (Rienecker and Maier 2001: 803). Therefore, a piece of jewellery of such a precious metal in a pig's snout seems to have lost its value. An attractive woman is compared to a piece of jewellery so her values should be as pure as those of the metal. However, if such a woman is not in the position to deal with things secretly, she becomes associated with a swine.

The proverb constitutes confirmation of the Axiological Invariance Principle which implies that "positive and negative values are reinforced in further metaphorical extensions in which these operations appear as source rather than as target domains" (Krzeszowski 1997: 156). As has been explained, the extension present in the source domain contributes to the negative overtones of the proverb.

(3)(a) Proverbs 19: 12
   A king's wrath is like the growling of a lion, but his favour is like dew on the grass.
(3)(b) Proverbs 20: 2
   The terror of a king is like the growling of a lion.
   target domain: A HUMAN BEING (a king)
   source domain: AN ANIMAL (a lion)

The lion appears in the Book of Proverbs six times (Szczepanowicz and Mrozek 2007: 268) but only the above mentioned instances are used to describe a king.

The process of animalization concerns an animal whose symbolism is considerable. Firstly, the lion is believed to be the king of all the animals (Kopaliński 1990: 194, translation mine). Thus, comparison to this animal seems to be the most

appropriate for a king. Secondly, the lion can be an ambiguous concept. On the one hand, it is believed to embody such features as dignity, respect, wealth, glory or wisdom. On the other hand, this animal is associated with cruelty and ferociousness. "It can be both a saviour and a destroyer" (Tresidder 2005: 109, translation mine). The sound is defined as "a low guttural sound made by a hostile animal" (Oxford Dictionary of English). Taking into account the concise presentation of the concepts used in the source domain, it can be noted that the axiological charge of this domain is negative.

Explicating the axiological charge of the target domain, both nouns used in the proverbs carry pejorative charges. "Wrath" is understood as "extreme anger" and "terror" as "the use of extreme fear to intimidate people" (Oxford Dictionary of English). Moreover, "wrath" is the sixth deadly sin. Yet, it can occasionally be justifiable as for the wrath of God. "When one ascribes wrath to God, it is a sort of anthropomorphism but not a pure one. The wrath of God is free from the imperfections that are typical of human wrath. It is people's evil deeds that vent God's wrath but His mercy takes precedence over His anger" (Salij: http://mateusz.pl/ksiazki/ js-pn/). Therefore, it seems undoubtedly that God's wrath carries a positive axiological charge. Nonetheless, Krzeszowski claims that "some symbolic units are associated with a very high positive charge, some with a high negative charge, and some appear to be axiologically neutral. In any event, the axiological charge is a matter of degree" (Krzeszowski 1997: 49). Thus, it appears that the concept of "wrath" is, in this case, neutral since "positive and negative values are reinforced in further metaphorical extensions in which these operations appear as source rather than as target domains" (Krzeszowski 1997: 156).

(4) Proverbs 23: 31-32
Do not look at wine when it is red, when it sparkles in the cup and goes down smoothly. In the end it bites like a serpent and stings like an adder.

    target domain: A THING (substance)
    source domain: AN ANIMAL (a serpent, an adder)

The proverb constitutes a peculiar instance of animalisation since the target domain occupies a lower position in the Great Chain of Being than the source domain. Krzeszowski (1997: 161) maintains that such a configuration is possible. "In principle, given the five levels of the Great Chain of Being and two possible directions of mapping (upward and downward), the number of all possible types of metaphors coherent with the Great Chain is twenty". The mapping in question results from a downward mapping.

At a glance, it can be noticed that the source domain is expressed with two examples of animals. It is worth noting that there are five nouns in Hebrew to signify a serpent. It seems plausible that they differ only in terms of presenting the extent to which a particular serpent is poisonous. A serpent is one of the most frequent symbols in culture. Limiting its role to biblical texts, it usually plays a specific role. The most popular serpent can be found in the Garden of Eden (cf. Genesis 3) (Szczepanowicz and Mrozek 2007: 99). The serpent is regarded as a symbol of evil, sins, temptation and deceitfulness (Tresidder 2005: 235, trans-lation mine). What is more, the serpent is identified as Satan (cf. Revelation 12: 9 "that ancient serpent, who is called the devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world […]").

Analysing the verbs describing the actions undertaken by the serpent, the reinforcement of the negative axiological charge can be observed. Both biting and stinging are connected with doing some harm (*Oxford Dictionary of English*).

It seems virtually impossible to enumerate all of the interpretations of wine as a symbol. Even if one wishes to limit its symbolism to biblical texts, one may encounter passages that contradict one another. On the one hand, it is treated as a blessing or something that makes people happy. On the other hand, it may be regarded as the wrath of God and as a form of punishment (cf. Jeremiah 25: 15-16) or even as

stupidity (Kopaliński 1990: 465-466). However, taking into consideration what Krzeszowski claims about the concepts being positive, negative or neutral and metaphorical extensions that appear in source domains, one should be more inclined to perceive "wine" as a negative concept (cf. Krzeszowski 1997: 156). Moreover, the proverb is included in the section entitled *Words of the Wise* that is devoted to giving advice and warning against undertaking unreasonable actions.

(5) Proverbs 26: 11
     Like a dog that returns to his vomit is a fool who repeats his folly.
     target domain: A HUMAN BEING (a fool)
     source domain: AN ANIMAL (a dog)

Making reference to the axiological charges of the domains, it seems indispensable to mention some connotations connected with the concepts that are present in the proverb. There is an abundance of interpretations of the dog as a symbol. The dog is regarded as an animal that is loyal and watchful. However, it can also be treated as a symbol of disdain (Tresidder 2005: 162-163). Analysing passages of the Old Testament concerning the dog, it is almost invariably portrayed as a negative creature. It is an impure and dangerous animal (Szczepano-wicz and Mrozek 2007: 36). Additionally, the dog is described as an animal that goes back to what it has regurgitated, although it should be noted that returning to its vomit with the intention of eating it is an instinctive pattern of canine behaviour. As far as vomiting is concerned, it does not carry any positive connotations since it is generally considered to be a disgusting activity.

   "A fool" carries only negative values as he/ she is someone who "acts unwisely and imprudently" (*Oxford Dictionary of English*). Moreover, the negative charge of the source domain is strengthened due to a defining relative clause which conveys that a fool keeps doing the same unwise things. Therefore, there is concordance between the path that a dog covers to its

vomit and the path that a stupid person covers in order to do an unreasonable thing.

(6) Proverbs 28: 15
Like a roaring lion or charging bear is a wicked ruler over poor people.
target domain: A HUMAN BEING (a wicked ruler)
source domain: AN ANIMAL (a lion, a bear)

The proverb also depicts a lion but an essential difference can be noticed since it accompanies a bear and these animals are used to describe different kinds of people. Since the lion as a symbol has already been presented, the main focus here will be on the bear. One similarity between the bear and the lion is that they are both predators. "The animal is usually associated with danger, violence and vehemence" (Szczepanowicz and Mrozek 2007: 42, translation mine). "It is also treated as a more dangerous animal than a lion (cf. Amos 5: 18-19)" (Kopaliński 1990: 253, translation mine). With reference to the axiological charge of the source domain, one cannot disregard the verbs that imply some form of aggression. "Roar" is "a full, deep, prolonged cry uttered by a lion or other large wild animal" (Oxford Dictionary of English) and "charge" is defined as "a headlong rush forward, typically in attack" (*Oxford Dictionary of English*).

Explicating the axiological charge of the target domain, it is worth pointing out that *ruler* seems to represent a neutral concept. "Symbolic units vary with regard to the degree of experiential motivation, justifying a particular degree of axiological charge" (Krzeszowski 1997: 49). Being modified by the adjective wicked that means "evil or morally bad" (*Oxford Dictionary of English*), the concept of "a ruler" becomes negatively charged. Furthermore, considering the fact that he behaves in a dishonest way towards an underprivileged group of people makes him even more malevolent. Therefore, as the above analysis reveals, the proverb is negatively charged. The

negative value of the target domain is even strengthened by the source domain which involves two animals.

The following proverbs (7a) and (7b) are often referred to as number proverbs. They are used to enumerate things that share some characteristic features (Brown, Fitzmyer and Murphy 2001: 526). In this case, it the wisdom of nature and animals (Farmer 200: 769).

(7)(a) Proverbs 30: 25
  The ant are a people not strong, yet they provide their food in the summer.
  target domain: HUMAN BEINGS (weak people)
  source domain: AN ANIMAL/ AN INSECT (an ant)
(7)(b) Proverbs 30: 26
  The rock badgers are people not mighty, yet they make their homes in the cliffs.
  target domain: HUMAN BEINGS (people)
  source domain: AN ANIMAL (rock badgers)

Ants are mentioned in the Bible only twice and it is worth noting that they appear only in the Book of Proverbs (cf. Proverbs 6: 6) (Szczepanowicz and Mrozek 2007: 186). Referring to the previous verse of the proverb, one can read that "four things on earth are small, but they are exceedingly wise" (English Standard Version). According to the ancients, the ant was given an excellent instinct that could be compared with the human mind (Szczepanowicz and Mrozek 2007: 187). Taking into consideration the size of an ant, it seems justifiable that weak people are compared to these insects. Irrespective of their size and strength, however, they are wise enough to gather the harvest.

Rock badgers belong to ungulates, animals that have hooves. Interestingly enough, they are the smallest representatives of the group. They are classified both as desert and mountain species. As they live in herds, one representative is chosen to observe the surroundings. When a predator appears, they all hide in crevices (Szczepanowicz

and Mrozek 2007: 55-57). As regards building in the cliff as a reasonable activity, one can support this statement by making reference to the Gospel according to Matthew (cf. Matthew 7: 24-27).

The quality of being weak and small is conventionally perceived as a negative concept; yet, it should be treated as a neutral concept in this regard. Even though the commonly known law of the jungle implies that it is the stronger and bigger individual that wins, the aforementioned features acquire positive connotations owing to the extension that appears in the source domain.

4. Conclusions

Human beings have always experienced the presence of animals. Thus, it comes as no surprise that they became recurrent motifs when literature came into existence. The Book of Proverbs contains highly metaphorical language. This paper has discussed selected proverbs from this Book that utilise the animal motif. Each of the proverbs has been analysed taking into account such axiological aspects as the Great Chain of Being metaphors and the elucidation of the axiological charges. The majority of the presented proverbs reveal negative axiological charges. However, it would be inappropriate to draw the conclusion that animals are treated in the Bible as an incarnation of purely evil phenomena.

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Language impairment in bilingual aphasia:
A case study

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Abstract

The purpose of the article is to examine the language results of
a unilingual treatment for a bilingual individual with aphasia. The
patient, a 36-year-old male, was born in Poland, but was exposed
mostly to English for the 13 years prior to the incident, due to the
fact that his family moved to the United States, where English
became his everyday language. At the age of 31, while still resident in
the US, the patient sustained a brain injury resulting in Broca's
aphasia. A speech-language evaluation revealed disturbances in all
language skills in both languages, with language production more
disturbed than comprehension skills.

Key words

aphasia, bilingual aphasia, recovery patterns, unilingual treatment,
language generalization

1. Introduction

Although the systematic study of aphasia began over a century
ago, it is only recently that it was first formally proposed that
linguistics was the appropriate discipline within which this
study should be undertaken (Roth and Heilman, in Roth
2000: 4).

One of the consequences of injury to the human brain can
be a disruption of language which is known as aphasia. There
is still no universally agreed definition of aphasia, despite the

hundred years and more that it has been studied systematically. Perhaps this is not surprising, as it concerns an area about which there is still much more speculation than knowledge: the mental organization of language and the relationship between this organization of language and brain functions (Goetz 2003: 20).

Over the last few decades, a quiet revolution of sorts has been accelerating in the study of aphasia. It has become the product of the application of ideas from linguistic science to the investigation and analysis of aphasia. This revolution has reached such a momentum that it is timely to review some of the changes in the interpretation of aphasia which result from these linguistic investigations.

There are many situations in which linguistic behavior can be abnormal or disturbed, and such disturbances can be caused by many factors such as articulatory problems due to paralysis or apraxia, stuttering, mutism and aphasia. Of most interest to neurolinguistic theory are those language disturbances caused by neurological damage, namely aphasia (Roth and Heilman, in Roth 2000: 5).

2. Definitions of aphasia

Aphasia is a relatively general term, not so much signifying a specific condition or set of conditions as relating in general to language disability resulting from brain injury.

Only recently linguistic investigations have reviewed changes in the analysis of aphasia, and neurologists and speech therapists are still probing the complexity and quality of specific language syndromes with a view to verifying the conditions and instances in which the patients lose the ability to speak, comprehend, read and write (Lesser 1978: 34).

Halpern (1972: 2) proposes that aphasia refers to an impairment of language functioning of people who have incurred localized cerebral damage that results in a reduced likelihood that the person will comprehend or produce the appropriate verbal formulations. Also, he emphasizes the basic

problems in defining aphasia – whether it is to be considered as an impairment of speech *and* comprehension or as an impairment of speech *or* comprehension. Furthermore, aphasia may emerge as a difficulty finding words, using the wrong words, having trouble repeating or having trouble understanding spoken language entirely (Halpern 1972: 2).

However not all "aphasics", that is people with aphasia, experience similar symptoms. That is to say, when the brain becomes injured, the type of injury will vary from patient to patient, due to the extent and location of the damage. For instance, an individual may have problems in moving muscles or suffer from visual difficulties (Goetz 2003: 30). "Loss of language abilities may be spotty and irregular from the stand point of learning order, or the loss may cut across this categorization entirely, since the patient may for example manifest total impairment of the capacity to form grammatical sentences, but still be able to find and use single words of a non-childish variety" (Goetz 2003: 30). Furthermore, on the syntactic level language is not merely learned and remembered, but is acquired through formation of successive hypotheses of language structuring, so that regression would mean return to an earlier hypothesis. Neither neurological data concerning the anatomy of the brain nor the psychological models of the mental organization of language are under developed.

Moreover, many difficulties of defining aphasia arise from the need to characterize the aphasia as a central disorder of language which has repercussions on all aspects of language, while having no other framework of analysis available.

3. Bilingual aphasia

It has been estimated that each year there are 50,000 new cases of bilingual aphasia in the USA alone. Also, given the large number of languages spoken in the world, and considering that globalization contributes to the migration of more than a hundred million people each year, it seems

probable that the issue of bilingual aphasia will continue to develop over the years. Also, "a growing awareness of bilingualism bolstered by an increasing number of bilinguals in the world will contribute to the search for empirical research on current theoretical issues such as the neuroanatomical and neuropsychological correlations of practical language functions such as switching, mixing, and simultaneous translations; the role of cerebral structures underlying linguistic competitions" (Łuczyńska 2011: 4).

Therefore, bilingual aphasia has become an important issue in the field of speech and communication sciences.

4. Recovery patterns

A wide variety of recovery patterns in bilingual aphasia have been reported, and the diversity of possible patterns appears to be almost incessant.

However, some degree of classification and description of the most frequently encountered recovery patterns was required to assure coherence for researchers and clinicians. Johann Gesner in 1770 was the first to provide the description of dissociation in reading ability in different languages in a bilingual patient, who after brain injury preserved his ability to read Latin but not German (Ansaldo 2008: 545). Clinical studies have since shown that bilingual 'aphasics' do not necessarily experience the same language disorders with the same degree of severity in both languages. Superficially, different case findings reflect instances of shared and divergent representation of components of language in the bilingual brain (Ansaldo 2008: 545).

Furthermore, how the polyglot or bilingual aphasiac recovers various fractions and patterns of language have caused controversy. Many studies have reported individual cases, culminating in Pitres' law (1895) emphasizing the recovery of the most familiar language. This stated:

In acquired aphasia with a multilingual patient, recovery comes first and most completely in the language most used just before the injury, whether or not it is the patient's mother tongue (Ansaldo 2008: 548).

He proposed the patient generally recovered the most acquainted language because the neural elements subserving it were more firmly associated.

By contrast, according to Ribot's law relating to the recovery of the native language, "In a multilingual patient with aphasia, recovery comes first in the person's mother tongue."

Paradis identified six recovery patterns (Paradis 1998: 417-430):

1. Parallel recovery occurs when both languages are impaired and restored at the same rate.
2. Differential recovery occurs when languages recover differentially relative to their premorbid levels.
3. Selective recovery occurs when one language is not recovered. In blended recovery, patients inappropriately mix their languages. Nearly 30% of the cases show a selective pattern of recovery (the patient did not regain one or more of his languages).
4. Antagonistic type of recovery pattern. One language recovers to a certain extent first and it starts regressing when the other language begins to recover. The antagonistic pattern of recovery is seen to be the least common. By contrast, in selective aphasia, there is aphasia in one language without impairment evident in the other.
5. Rates of recovery vary. Two languages may eventually recover but recovery of the second language may only begin after the first has recovered, which is called successive recovery of one language after the other.
6. Less often, there are mixed patterns or mutual interference between the languages seen in the process of recovery (Paradis 1998: 417-430).

These patterns of recovery change over time and it seems impossible to verify the frequency of occurrence of nonparallel

recoveries, since information concerning parallel recovery is not published (Paradis 1987:33).

> Only after the thoroughly introduced examinations on large unselected populations of consecutive entries in various collaborating hospitals centers around the world, will it be possible to address specific issues regarding patterns of recovery. These tests would embrace ascertaining the regularity of occurrence of each recovery pattern and establishing correlations among the various factors that have been proposed thus far as influencing the pattern of recovery. Such factors are order and mode of acquisition or learning; extent of use; degree of fluency; structural distance between the languages; type and degree of affect associated with each; and type and orientation of the writing system involved (Paradis 1987: 32).

5. Study

A systematic study was undertaken in order to explore and verify three vital questions faced by speech-language pathologists during decision making:

- – outcome when language therapy is provided in the less dominant language (mostly L2);
- – extent of cross-language transfer;
- – and outcome when language is mediated by a language broker.

In the present study, I utilized a unique opportunity to explore language disturbances in a bilingual speaker with aphasia via several methods.

Akin to the outcomes received from monolingual aphasic studies, the experimental questions are warranted such as:

Focus A

1. What is the effect of treatment in L2 on the receptive language skills in the treated language (L2) for a bilingual patient?
2. What is the effect of treatment in L2 on the expressive language skills in the treated language (L2) for a bilingual with aphasia?

Focus B

3. What is the effect on the treatment in L2 on the expressive language skills in the untreated language (L1) for a bilingual aphasic?
4. What is the effect of treatment in L1 on the expressive language skills in the untreated language (L2) for bilinguals with aphasia?

5.1. Case presentation

Some details regarding pre-morbid and post-morbid language background and language history were provided with the patient's medical history and in the form of a questionnaire.

The patient, BB, born 25 May 1973. The patient was born in Poland, but used mainly English for the 13 years prior to the incident, due to the fact that he moved to the United States, where English became his everyday language. At the age of 31, while still resident in the US, BB experienced a brain injury. Resulting in Broca's aphasia. A speech-language evaluation revealed severe disturbances in all language skills in both languages, with language production more impaired than comprehension skills. The patient's condition revealed that his language skills were primarily disturbed in English, less in Polish, and Polish was the language that presented the greatest improvement. In the years that followed he continued to use only Polish with his family. During 8 months of therapy conducted in English, he spent many hours a day working with English texts and computer programs to expand his English skills. Before therapy, the patient was diagnosed by a speech therapist with the following language disturbances:

1. Speech apraxia
2. Anomic aphasia
3. Memory problems exerting a negative impact on the patient's abilities to perform various activities.
4. Agraphia
5. Alexia

5.2. Language evaluation

The aim of language evaluation was to determine the extent of the preserved and impaired communication abilities. In this regard, the assessment of bilingual aphasia does not differ much from that of monolingual aphasia.

A brief evaluation of two of the patient's languages was administered in each language.

5.2.1. Methods of evaluation

The patient's language competence was evaluated twice with a one-year interval: baseline in 2009, follow-up in 2010.

5.2.1.1. Bilingual Aphasia Test

The Bilingual Aphasia Test allows for a correlation of the patient's pattern of recovery with all the acquisitional, neurological and pathological aspects included, and a comparison of the obtained results with others, in order to identify the influence or hierarchy of interactive factors.

BAT was designed to evaluate the clinical aspects of language function: content, fluency, auditory comprehension, repetition, naming, reading, writing and calculation. Interestingly, nonverbal skills, such as drawing, and block design, are also tested. The test is divided into the following sections (Paradis 1987: 12).

5.2.1.2. Test of chain words and sentences

Another essential assessment tool is the test of chain words and sentences. The essence of these tests is to monitor the patients' ability to decode the words phonologically and comprehend the written text. Two parts of the test can be distinguished (Ober et al. 2001, in Łuczyńska 2011: 13).

In the first part, a list of chain words, without spaces in between the letters, is presented. The task of the examinee is to put a vertical line in the right place so that the proper words are revealed. The test makes it impossible to use graphic features of the next word, thus the patient has no choice but to decode the words phonologically. Reading each letter aloud connects them into a syllable and one finds the border of each word.

In the second part, a list of chain sentences is presented (Ober et al. 2001, in Łuczyńska 2011: 13). The knowledge of syntax, will help the patient to separate a sentence within a string of chain sentences. To complete the task correctly, it is necessary to comprehend the text in the process of reading it, without the benefit of the context given by the following sentence.

The lexical material presented in the test of chain words, was chosen according to the criteria of conceptual adequacy of children attending the second class of a primary school. All of the words used in the test are nouns determining a particular object. The words are presented in the form of pairs, without space between words in each pair. Each chain word consists of eleven letter characters. A typical set includes 38 chain words (Ober et al. 2001, in Łuczyńska 2011: 13).

The lexical material used in the chain sentences includes 36 short stories. Each story consists of 19 sentences relating to everyday life situations, such as a birthday party. The situations that examinees can easily identify with, help to activate emotions, stimulate the person's curiosity about the task, and increase the level of his or her motivation.

An example of a Polish chain words test (Ober et al. 2001, in Łuczyńska 2011: 13).

łzynaczynie	*gruszkauszy*
łodygaburza	*lornetkalek*
gumkaburaki	*benzynamiód*
kieszeńbuda	*rybakświnia*
jabłkopilot	*słupprogram*

resztaplecy	*dżemrodzina*
kolegamotor	*czytankadno*
brzegwtorek	*wąsychodnik*
gazetabułka	*słońcegaraż*
drzwiwczasy	*dzbanekdres*
obiadjagody	*orzełgazeta*
zawodykatar	*ławalektura*
tablicakrem	*kanarekmewa*
kosztrzepak	*krewszpilki*
sweterekhak	*maktwarożek*
jabłońdziób	*beksagaduła*
brodazespół	*butelkasłup*
woźnysobota	*kocgwiazdka*
wierzbaport	*zabawkihymn*

An example of Polish chain sentences:

kolega Jasia jest uczniem pierwszej klasy babcia ugotowała zupę z pomidorów zerwanych w naszym ogrodzie przebiegający przez ulicę chłopiec nie zasłużył na pochwałę policjanta uczeń prosił o pomoc mama włączyła nową pralkę babcia zaczyna rozpakowywać prezent wszyscy koledzy mają sportowe rowery chłopcy znają zasady sygnalizacji świetlnej tatuś czyta książkę na pomoc pospieszył Michał dzisiaj Marysia okrążyła podwórko dziesięć razy zawsze zwyciężali inni pani spadły z nosa okulary dużo czasu upłynie zanim rana Ewy zagoi się dziewczynka w czerwonej spódniczce jest niskiego wzrostu każdy lubi wygrywać moja koleżanka wstaje codziennie o siódmej Maciek i Wojtek budują miasto z plastikowych klocków narysowany przez dziewczynkę królik zajmuje całą kartkę papieru wszyscy jesteśmy bardzo szczęśliwi

An example of English chain words (Ober et al. 2001, in Łuczyńska 2011: 13):

tomorrowpen	*circlewrist*
corridordad	*kettleglaze*
pastryfeast	*ceremonytap*
oxygengrave	*ghostcherry*
fringecloth	*dreamleague*

autumncross	*smokenature*
lightcasket	*coachsilver*
blousewater	*fuelfiance*
tincassette	*argumentjug*
fabricnerve	*vesselknife*
regionparis	*ornamentjug*
guardbasket	*mopmedicine*
majestydent	*worldfriend*
milegeneral	*tunehorizon*
ridgesystem	*directorpie*
lapattitude	*fencehumor*
chordsecret	*regionsmoke*
trunksequel	*jeeppicture*

An example of English chain sentences:

mobile phones are very popular cows produce milk ducks like swimming birds can fly lock the door when you leave the house sports cars are very expensive listening to music is a good way to relax a whale is the biggest mammal at night we turn on the lights children shouldn't play with fire sharks are very big fish gambling is a bad habit mechanics repair broken cars smoking is bad for our health it is hot in the summer cricket bats are made of wood sun tan oil protects our skin riding bike is a good exercise ships sail the seven seas monkeys climb trees petrol has a funny smell school children should read a lot of books elephants have long trunks someone is knocking on the door the stars can be seen at night flowers grow in our garden coconuts are difficult to open grass doesn't grow in winter postmen deliver letters football is an exciting game umbrellas stop us getting wet milk is delivered to our door Sunday is a day to relax snow falls in winter i like to go fishing rulers help us to draw straight lines

5.3. Treatment tools

The treatment tools included the following ones:

– test of chain words and sentences,
– aphasia tutor,
– letter matching,

- words matching,
- picture naming (nouns),
- picture naming (verbs),
- sentences (easiest, more difficult, difficult),
- reading comprehension (easiest, more difficult, difficult),
- reading exercises,
- words categorization,
- finding the opposites,
- recognizing errors,
- reading and retelling stories.

5.4. Results: A discussion

Polish pre- and post-treatment results
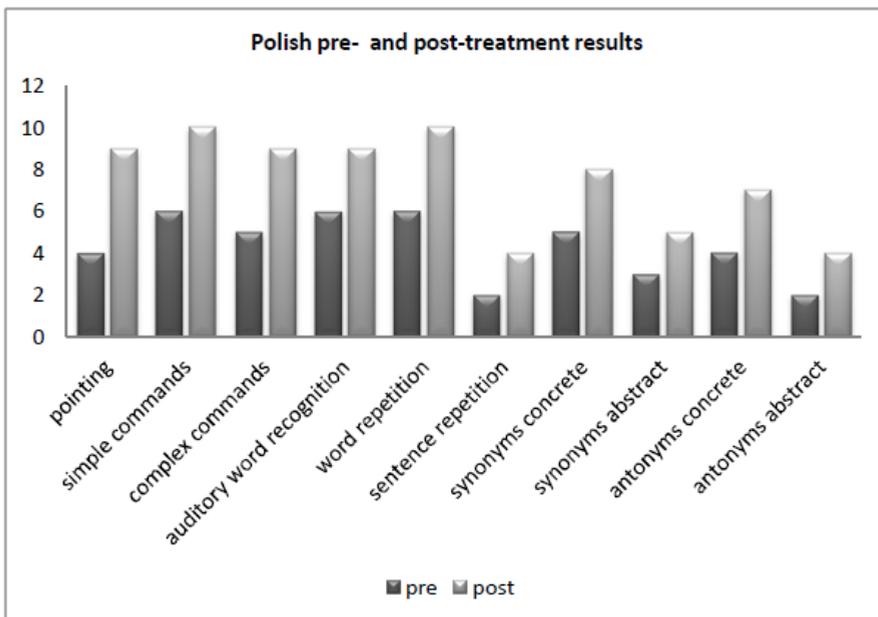
Figure 1
Results at baseline and follow-up: Polish
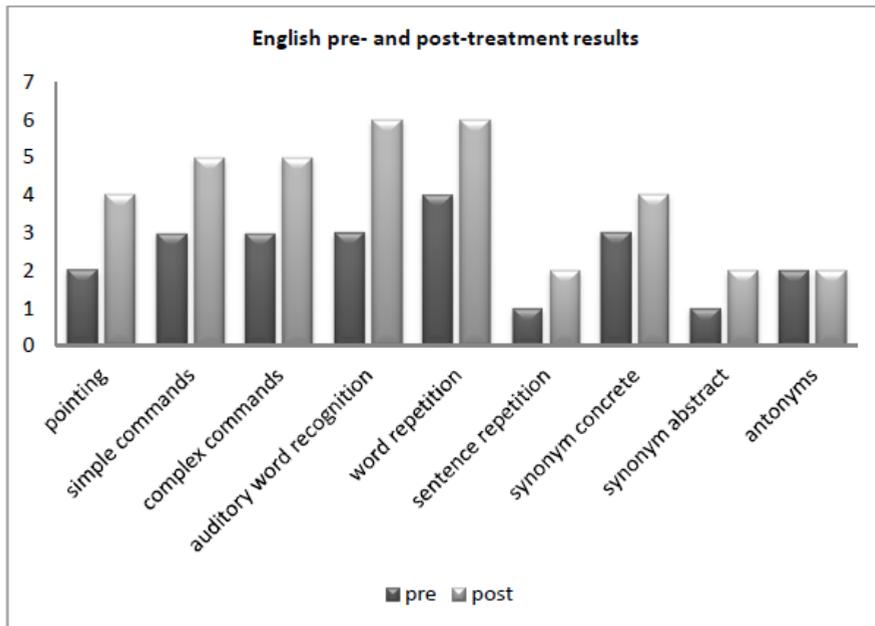
Figure 2
Results at baseline and follow-up: English

The purpose of the research was to examine language outcomes of unilingual treatment for a bilingual individual with aphasia. The results reported above suggest that treatment in one language contributes to the recovery of the non-treated language. The results suggest that the treatment carried out in L2 may not effectively influence the patient's L2 receptive and expressive language skills. BB receiving L2 language therapy manifested more noticeable improvements in L1 receptive and expressive language skills, despite the absence of explicit therapy in that language, indicating that comprehensive therapy may contribute to beneficial, functional transfer of therapeutic gains.

Although the treatment was conducted in English, after only 6 meetings, a remarkable improvement in Polish language abilities was observed. Before the treatment, the patient completed 2/3 of the test of chain sentences in 1h 30 and

1h 20 to complete the chain words test. After 6 meetings (1 meeting – 45 minutes), the patient completed the whole test of chain sentences in 45 minutes (with the assistance of the test taker) and the chain words test in only 40 minutes.

Interestingly, although the therapy was primarily based only on reading tasks, the process of generalization of language abilities was noticed. The patient's verbal responses were more dynamic with longer grammatically correct sentences. Moreover, the patient more easily selected appropriate words and phrases in order to express his ideas and relay a message (Łuczyńska 2011: 17).

As for English, progress was achieved, although to a lesser extent.

Before the therapy the patient completed 2/3 of the chain sentences test in 2 hours and the test of chain words in 1 hour and 35 minutes. After 2 months his time to perform particular tests decreased (chain sentences 1h 15 min/chain words 1h).

The received outcomes allow for the assumption that the patient underwent a differential recovery, where both languages recover to varying extents, as predicted. It may result from a preference for one language over the other, which consequently stimulates better functional neural recovery. Also, the progressive use of one language over the other, may functionally enhance its network, and gradually isolate it from the alternative language, or damage to the mechanism for selection of the language (Łuczyńska 2011: 17).

Furthermore, as proposed by Ribot, both the therapist and the surrounding environment may impact immensely on the recovery process.

Other patient variables that contributed to the maintenance of language skills are individual motivations and attitude towards the therapy, the opportunities to practice language skills and personal/family events. For instance, it sometimes happened that BB experienced some unpleasant and stressful situations just prior to the meeting with the therapist, and this resulted in the patient performing below his normal abilities (Virion 2008: 11).

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Systems of symbolic representations of English sounds 1: A theoretical background

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Abstract

The first part of the paper deals with some phonetic notations (analphabetic and alphabetic) which were worked out in the past. It shows different types of transcription together with the main reasons for transcribing. It also gives an analysis of the notions of phoneme and allophone, which belong to the theoretical basis for constructing systems of phonetic transcription and are relevant for the distinction of their basic types. Besides, this sheds light upon the general classification of vowels as well as on the concept of cardinal vowels and on the nature of diphthongs.

Key words

phonetic/phonemic transcription, phoneme, allophone, vowels, cardinal vowels, diphthongs

To the memory of my husband Bogdan

There are many systems of symbolic representations of English sounds. Although most of them concern vowels and diphthongs, there are still some which relate to consonants. This diversity results mainly from different approaches towards the English phonological system or individual preferences of particular scholars.

In its present arrangement, the paper consists of two parts: (1) A theoretical background, and (2) Systems of phonetic symbols. A short account of the content of Part 1 is given above in the Abstract. The primary concern of Part 2 (to be published in the subsequent issue of *Beyond Philology*) is to present selected transcription systems for English vowels and diphthongs. For illustration, the presentation of each notation system is accompanied by a sample phonemic transcription. This part is also devoted to diverse representations of English sounds offered by selected pronunciation dictionaries in comparison to the symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet.

Finally, Part 2 presents two of the most commonly used phonetic alphabets, namely, the International Phonetic Alphabet and the Slavonic Phonetic Alphabet, on whose principles various systems of transcription are based. The symbols of the IPA and of the SPA are introduced and compared in relation to English sounds.

1. Speech sounds and their representations

Section 1 is intended to introduce the concept of phonetic notation. It seems reasonable to begin with an analysis of some linguists' approaches to phonetic notations throughout the years. The English language evolved so it was obvious that the need to express its sounds using phonetics has been undertaken by many scholars. This section deals with the reasons for transcribing and shows a number of diverse types of transcription.

1.1. The beginnings of phonetic notation

1.1.1. Analphabetic notations

According to Abercrombie (1971), a system of symbols which supplies an appropriate and practical label for a full characterization of a segment, or in other words, a short and

complex reference to a segment makes **phonetic notation** (see: Abercrombie 1971: 111).

Analphabetic notations (meaning notations which are not alphabetic) show each segment by a complex symbol made up of a number of signs placed together. The signs which make up a symbol for a segment in an analphabetic notation are a descriptive label for the segment in abridged form. An analphabetic symbol for a segment is an implication of the components of the segment, the components being the activities of the organs of speech which are necessary to produce it. Accordingly, the symbol will represent such factors as the active and passive articulators concerned, the kind of the stricture, the presence or absence of a velic closure, the state of the glottis, the air-stream mechanism etc. (see: Abercrombie 1971: 112).

Thomas Wright Hill (1763–1851), a Birmingham schoolmaster, used this type of notation (*Institutional Linguistics,* 1958). Although his proposals were inadequate in certain aspects, he was able to point to the distinction between the usual English alveolar nasal and the bilabial nasal, which appears in the English word *anthem*. What is more, he was able to mark the differences between the usual English bilabial nasal and labio-dental nasal, which is occasionally noticed in the word *pamphlet*. Hill arranged the component signs of his analphabetic symbols vertically, which made them contracted but clumsy to print (see: Abercrombie 1971: 113).

Later, the Danish phonetician Otto Jespersen invented another way of introducing analphabetic notation, namely organizing the systems of signs horizontally. His analphabetic symbols give very specific information about a segment, but they are much more complex than they need to be from a typographical point of view: the notation makes use of Roman letters, Greek letters, heavy type, italic, numerals and subscript letters. According to this notation, a vowel of the quality found in the English word *all*, for example, would have the following symbol or formula: $\alpha 7b\beta g\gamma 7k\delta 0\varepsilon 1$, and the vowel in the Scottish pronunciation of the word *day* would be depicted

by: α6bcβeγ5gδ0ε1. Each Greek letter in these symbols refers to
an active organ of speech: point of the tongue, upper surface of
the tongue, velum and vocal cords, whereas the numbers and
the Roman letters following the Greek letters represent the
posture or activity of the organs in the production of the
specific segment. Jespersen's notation was not the best way of
presenting information and his scheme has been used little by
writers (see: Abercrombie 1971: 113f.).

Another type of an analphabetic notation including
a description of the vocal sounds in terms of the mechanics of
their production was devised by K. L. Pike and made known in
his *Phonetics* in 1943 (see: Abercrombie 1971: 114). Pike only
made use of the normal capital and lower-case letters of the
alphabet in Roman and italic form, though the formulas were
still hardly practicable. This is because Pike's objective was to
give a truly thorough description of a segment, not to present
a practical notation, and in this his aim was achieved.

1.1.2. Alphabetic notations

Alphabetic notations are so named because they are based on
the same rule as that which governs typical alphabetic writing,
namely that of using one single simple symbol to denote each
segment. The class of alphabetic notations is considerably
larger, and it is subdivided into **iconic** and **Roman-based.**

1.1.2.1. Iconic notations

Iconic notations are usually non-Roman notations, which
means that the symbols are not arbitrary signs, but in some
way correspond to what they stand for, e.g. they represent the
action of the vocal organs which produce the sound. David
Abercrombie (1971: 122) discusses a number of iconic
notations, such as simplified pictures or shorthand.

John Wilkins (1668) provided illustrations of a possible
phonetic notation in which a symbol was a simplified picture
(see: Figure 1), in profile, of the vocal organs in the head.

Iconic notations seem to be quite practicable and ordinary because they assign related shapes to related segments (see: Abercrombie 1971: 116).

A phonetic notation, aimed to be used as a shorthand, in which all simple characters are as analogous to each other as the sounds they indicate, was proposed and published in 1766 by William Holdsworth and William Aldridge (see: Figure 2). The set of characters was created so that it provided similarities in articulation with analogous alternations of the symbols. It was based on paring voiced and devoiced consonants, one character being given to each pair. Although his notation allotted symbols of similar shape to related sounds, it does not seem to have had much success as a shorthand (see: Abercrombie 1965: 49).

However, the formula of using correspondent shapes for analogous phonetic classes was employed in the generation of another, much more successful, shorthand some seventy years later by Isaac Pitman (1837). He spent his whole life examining types of phonetic notation for various purposes, and his work *Stenographic Soundhand* has remained unmodified, as far as its iconic principle is concerned. It seems improbable that one of his symbols such as "\" could be iconic. There is nevertheless a great deal of data to be derived from it; it is a straight line, and therefore the segment it denotes must be a stop consonant and all stop consonants are shown by straight lines. It slopes back, and therefore the segment must be a labial consonant as all labial consonants have the same slope. It is a thin, rather than a thick, line, and therefore the segment must be voiceless rather than voiced. Pitman's shorthand was a notation with an intensely practical purpose, and its iconic basis had no strong theoretical assumptions behind it; it was simply of mnemonic value. Much more compact self-interpreting notations have been devised in the belief that there is a theoretical significance to an iconic basis for a notation (see: Abercrombie 1971: 116).
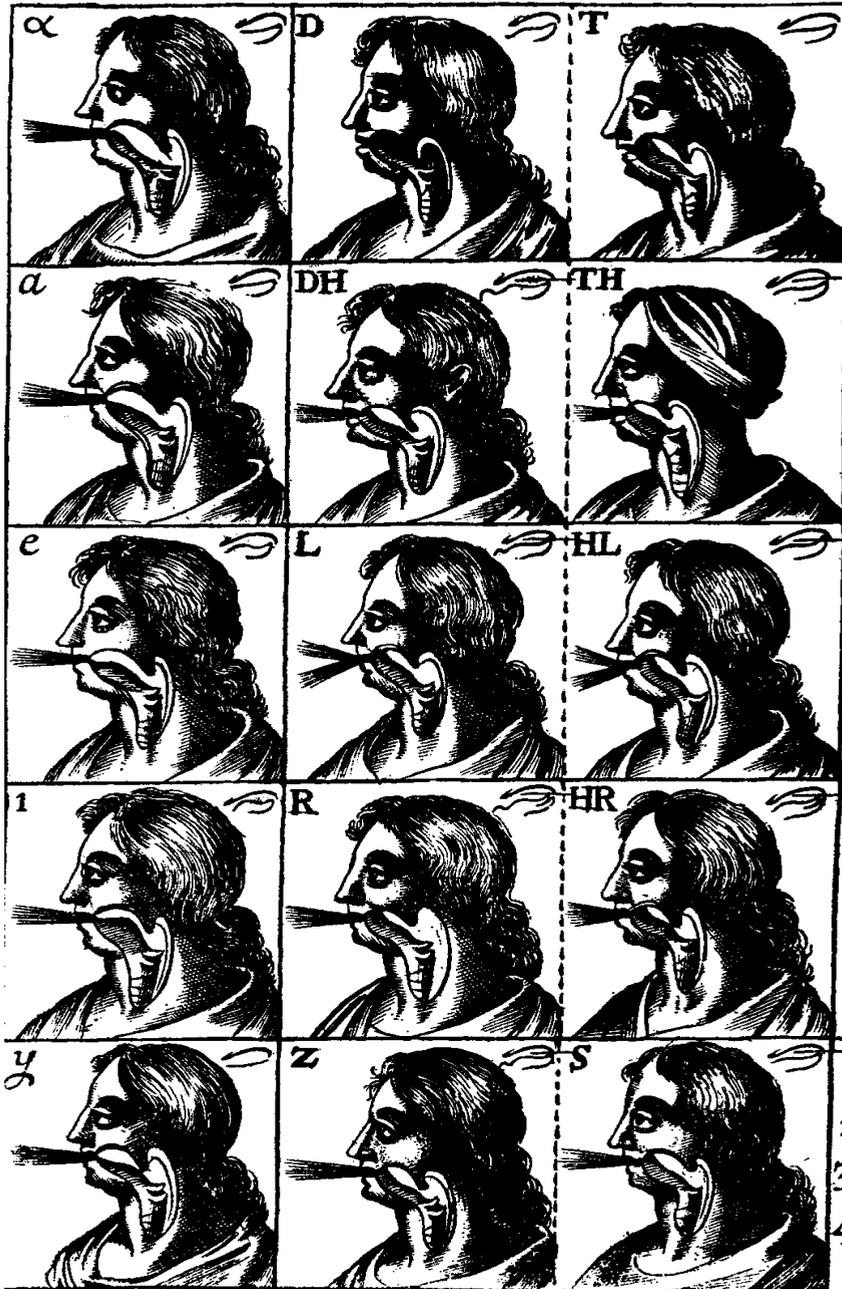
Figure 1
(taken from Abercrombie 1971: 114, after John Wilkins,
An Essay towards a real character and a Philosophical Language, 1668)
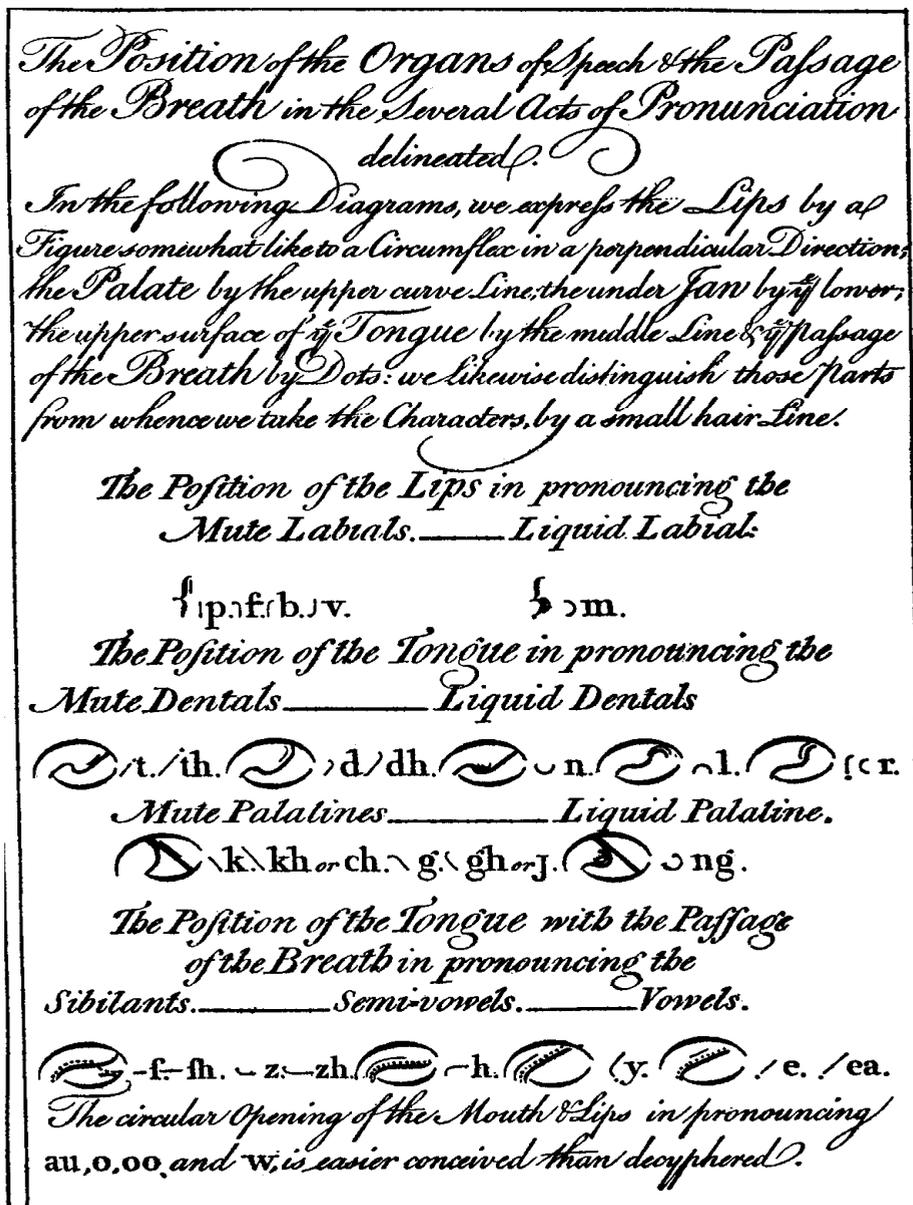
Figure 2
(taken from Abercrombie 1971: 117, after W. Holdsworth
and W. Aldridge, *The Natural Shorthand*, 1766)
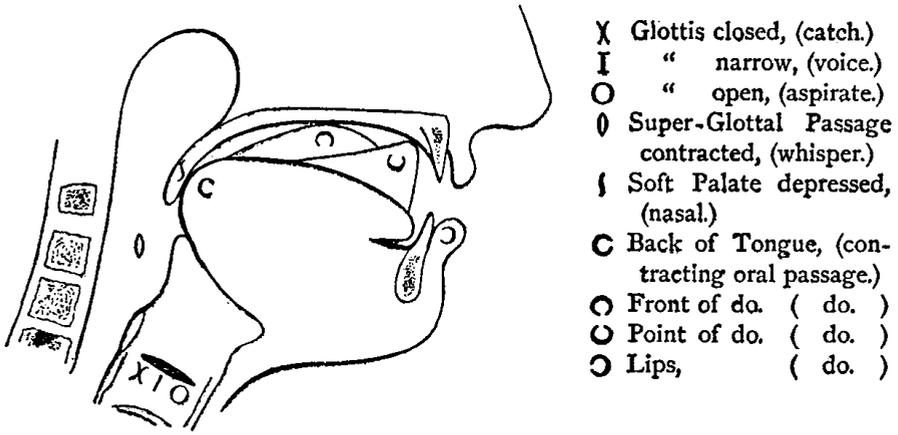
X Glottis closed, (catch.)
I   "   narrow, (voice.)
O   "   open, (aspirate.)
() Super-Glottal Passage contracted, (whisper.)
{ Soft Palate depressed, (nasal.)
C Back of Tongue, (contracting oral passage.)
∩ Front of do. (do.)
∪ Point of do. (do.)
⊃ Lips, (do.)

Figure 3
(taken from Abercrombie 1971: 119, after Alexander Melville Bell
English Visible Speech in Twelve Lessons, 1895)

Probably the most influential is the one worked out by an Edinburgh man, Alexander Melville Bell, who made his notation public in 1867 in a book with the revealing title *Visible Speech: the Science of Universal Alphabetics.* He and his son, Alexander Graham Bell, who invented the telephone, used the notation widely in teaching the deaf to speak, and many books have been printed using it. Figure 3 gives an idea of its broad appearance. The symbols supply about the same amount of data as those of Pitman's shorthand, but since many more categories are included, it is a general phonetic notation (see: Abercrombie 1971: 118).

Henry Sweet shared Bell's opinion of the importance and value of an iconic notation to science, and he took over the systems and basic features of Bell's Visible Speech for his own Organic Alphabet, which he used in many of his works, especially in his *Primer of Phonetics* (1890). Figure 4 shows a sample of notation according to Henry Sweet. It is laborious to read, however, because many of the symbols are too similar, and it is hard to recall unless it is perpetually applied (see: Abercrombie 1971: 118).

Figure 4
(taken from Abercrombie 1971: 120, after Henry Sweet
A Primer of Phonetics, 3rd ed., 1906)

The benefits of an iconic notation are rather illusory and overloaded with disadvantages which seem to refer to all iconic notations that have so far been worked out.

1.1.2.2. Roman-based notations

In comparison to iconic notation, Roman-based notation is highly comprehensible and its symbols are completely arbitrary, which means not limited to a specific theory of phonetic description. In Roman-based phonetic notation, a single separate symbol stands for every classifiable segment, and it becomes obvious that the Roman alphabet will not supply enough symbols, so that it will have to be enhanced (see: Abercrombie 1971: 120).

First of all, many letters have more than one shape, there are the so called *upper-case*, *lower-case* and *italics* etc. However, there is no reason why the distinct shapes should not be taken into a phonetic notation as various symbols. Some systems of notation maintain capital letters and italics exactly as they are. Others form a notation more homogenous in appearance by printing capitals in the form of small capitals and making italic letters upright instead of sloped. Besides, in writing many languages, Roman letters with accents or diacritics attached to them are applied, e.g. ç. Letters altered in this way are a further source of phonetic symbols. By employing the Roman alphabet's full resources the symbols obtainable for a phonetic notation can be considerably augmented (see: Abercrombie 1971: 121).

There are four methods by which this can be conducted: by expanding the use of diacritics, by borrowing symbols from other alphabets, by creating new letters, and by applying digraphs. A good example of a new diacritic is a small circle under a letter, e.g. m̥, l̥, d̥, n̥ for indicating devoicing. Existing diacritics can be made more general in their administration; e.g. the tilde, normally limited to ñ, can be located over other letters: ã, ũ. A good source from which letters can be borrowed is the Greek alphabet, and β γ ε χ φ for example, have been

made use of for centuries in Roman-based phonetic notation. Completely new letter-shapes can be acquired by outright invention, but the possibilities here are more restrained. Still, a few suitable symbols can be generated by turning the existing letters upside-down or by changing their structure. The usage of digraphs is the least-favoured, since it can easily cause disorder (see: Abercrombie 1971: 122).

An adequate general phonetic transcription, or phonetic alphabet, should supply a sufficient range of symbols with precise phonetic definitions, and with some general rules governing their use, so that the main categories of vowels and consonants are taken into account. The symbols should be specific, easy to write, and should make good printing types. Also, means should be provided for expanding the stock of symbols in any requisite direction (see: Abercrombie 1971: 123).

Numerous phonetic alphabets have been devised on the Roman principle; some have been extensively applied, some have been totally forgotten, while some of them have depended completely on diacritics and others on newly-created letters or digraphs. The one which is in general use now is the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association (the IPA), which dates from the end of the nineteenth century (see: Abercrombie 1971: 123).

1.2. Reasons for transcribing the pronunciation of languages

Since the sixteenth century the pronunciation of English has been described in hundreds of books. The necessity to transcribe phonetically the spoken form of a language originally arose from pragmatic considerations. First of all, some languages did not have any written form and in order to describe such languages it was necessary to devise a system of written symbols based on the pronunciation. Secondly, the majority of the languages that had a system of alphabetic writing did not use it consistently to indicate the pronun-

ciation. However, in order to write about the sounds or even to teach the pronunciation of such languages, it became unavoidable to use symbols that would be agreeable with the auditory elements of speech. Thirdly, some languages used a system of writing which had little reference to the pronunciation. In the situation when the sounds of such a language were to be recorded, a system of symbols had to be invented that would be independent of the traditional way of writing and which would indicate the pronunciation. Finally, one alphabetic system, for instance, the Roman, could be used differently in different languages. If one wants to compare two languages, one can indicate the differences in sounds even if the spelling appears to be the same in the two writing systems, or at the same time to indicate they are identical even if the spelling appears to be different (see: Jassem 1983: 643f.).

The pronunciation of English has been transcribed by several eminent phoneticians over the years. The intention of the present author is to present various modes of transcription and to elucidate the discrepancies in the transcription systems used by different linguists with special attention to vowels and diphthongs, where the changes are the most significant. The pronunciation of Educated Southern British English has been transcribed by applying the International Phonetic Alphabet and the procedure has always been based on the phonemic principle (see: Jassem 1983: 644).

Jassem (1983) points out several circumstances which influence the differences in the transcription of English vowels and diphthongs. Among the most crucial are the following: (1) phonemic interpretation, (2) type of standard pronunciation taken as basic; especially the choice between a more conservative and a more advanced variety, (3) symbol economy and symbol simplicity, (4) treatment of segmental duration (see: Jassem 1983: 653).

The transcription of diphthongs largely depends on the phonemic interpretation while the most significant problem regarding the vowels is the treatment of segmental duration and its relation to segmental phonological quality. Let us

consider a very frequently used English vowel /ə/. As far as its quality is concerned, it is mid, which means half-way between close and open and central, meaning half-way between front and back. According to Jassem, if the model pronunciation includes two allophones of /ə/ of which one is closer than /ɜ/ and the other more open, then a phonemic interpretation becomes possible that is based on the fact that no two phonemes consist of allophones that are identical in phonological quality. Quality thus becomes a distinguishing feature among all the vowels (see: Jassem 1983: 654).

1.3. Types of transcription

1.3.1. Phonetic transcriptions

Phonetic transcriptions are usually called **general** or **impressionistic** transcriptions. They pay no attention to the phonological value of the material transcribed. The account of speech suggested by a phonetic transcription is usually limited to the occasion of utterance, and particular to the performance of the individual speaker concerned (see: Laver 1994: 549).

1.3.2. Phonological transcriptions

Phonological transcriptions consist of **phonemic** and **allophonic** transcriptions. In the case of phonemic trans-cription, the focus is on the system of phonemic contrasts employed by the accent of the language in question, while in the case of an allophonic transcription, the object of consideration is the ways in which the spoken material of the accent shows discrepancies connected with the structural and environmental context (see: Laver 1994: 549). In both cases, the transcriptions illustrate generalizations about the typical habits of speakers of the accent concerned. Both phonemic and allophonic transcriptions are applied to make specific observations on principle-based generalizations about regular,

patterned activities in the accent being examined. Thus they can both be observed as types of **systematic** transcription.

1.3.3. Systematic phonemic and allophonic transcriptions

The selection of symbols in a **phonemic transcription** is confined to one symbol per one phoneme. The symbol can be made up of one written character such as /a/, or two, in the case of a digraph symbol such as /tʃ/, (or more), so long as the given phoneme, in whatever context it appears, is always and only transcribed by means of that specific symbol. Any transcription that portrays the occurrences of even a single phoneme by distinct symbols when the phoneme occurs in different structural and environmental contexts becomes by definition an **allophonic transcription** (see: Laver 1994: 550).

The following set of transcriptions of a single utterance from British English (RP) exemplifies the possibility of changing a phonemic transcription of an utterance to an allophonic one by means of giving allophonic specifications of chosen parts of the utterance (see: Laver 1994: 550). The orthographic version of the utterance is given first. The second version is a phonemic transcription, and the third is an allophonic transcription, where only the /p/ phoneme has been transcribed allophonically, with the remaining part being transcribed phonemically. The allophonic categorizations are of structurally governed details of aspiration (in *pink* and *port*) versus non-aspiration (in *spot*); with glottal-stopped reinforcement of utterance-final non-release (in *top*); and of contextually determined anticipatory co-articulation of labializ-ation of the instances of /p/ before lip-rounded vowels (in *spot* and *port*):

(1.1) Orthographic: *A pink spot of port stained the clean table-tops.*
       Phonemic: / ə pɪŋk spɒt əv pɒt steɪnd ðə klin teɪbl tɒp/
       Allophonic: [ə pʰɪŋk spʷɒt əv pʰʷɒt steɪnd ðə klin teɪbl tɒʔp]
       (for /p/)
       (Laver 1994: 550)

The essential aim of a phonemic transcription is to supply a specific identification for each separate linguistic unit of a language that is phonemically distinguished by the accent concerned. Using one symbol per phoneme is therefore appropriate to this aim. Furthermore, the function of the symbol selected to denote the phoneme is to convey the fact of distinctiveness. It is therefore not indispensable, in developing a phonemic transcription as such, to select symbols whose objective is to make highly precise remarks on specific details of pronunciation. For these reasons, a phonemic transcription is often called a **broad transcription** (see: Laver 1994: 551).

1.3.4. Canonical transcription

The most general level of comment is probably indicated by a form of transcription which designates the pronunciations of the individual words of the utterance as if they had been spoken one word at a time, in isolation from the context of surrounding words, and in a formal style. Such pronunciations are called **canonical**, and this type of transcription (both phonemic and allophonic) is referred to as a **canonical transcription** (see: Laver 1994: 551). It is apparent that the transcriptions of the individual words in almost all pronouncing dictionaries are canonical phonemic transcriptions. An example of a canonical phonemic transcription of an utterance in British English would be:

(1.2) Orthographic: *These sheep will actually bite the hands*
                      that feed them.
       Canonical phonemic:
                      /ðiz ʃip wɪl aktʃʊəlɪ baɪt ðə handz ðat fid ðɛm/
       (Laver 1994: 551)

Phonological transcriptions (both phonemic and allophonic) can also be used to mention facts of pronunciation which are applicable to particular occasions or styles of utterance. Thus, it is possible to apply phonemic or allophonic transcriptions to

indicate, for instance, assimilation at word-boundaries or syllable-reorganization particular to a specific style of inform-ality. The following phonemic and allophonic transcription (with selected allophonic detail) of an informal utterance in RP of the sentence quoted above would be:

(1.3) Orthographic: *These sheep will actually bite the hands that feed them.*
       Phonemic: /ðiʒ ʃip | akʃlɪ baɪt ðə hanz ðət fid ðm/
       Allophonic: [ðiʒ ʃip | ˌakʃlɪ baʈt ðə hã̃n̥z̩ ðət fid̪ ðm̩]
       (Laver 1994: 552)

1.3.5. Simple and comparative transcriptions

Jones (1960: 334) offers a distinction between transcriptions which depends on a principle based on the shape of the symbols selected to indicate the sounds examined. He introduces the idea of the **Romanic** features of a symbol, where a symbol is less or more *Romanic* in terms of its degree of resemblance to the shapes of orthographic symbols used in the Roman alphabet. Jones differentiates between trans-criptions employing the most possible Romanic selection of symbols in all the cases of what he calls **simple transcriptions,** and those which prefer to choose more exotic symbols. To this latter type he assigns the name **comparative transcriptions** where attention is drawn to phonetic facts of detailed pronunciation specific to the particular language or accent.

In order to be qualified as a **simple** notation, a phonemic transcription has to apply the most Romanic symbol obtainable wherever general phonetic theory allows a choice. If a transcription for any purpose uses a less Romanic symbol than is theoretically obtainable, then that transcription becomes by definition a **comparative** one. The symbols available from the Roman alphabet are of course not chosen on some irrational basis. As a matter of fact, the phonetic conventions regulating their choice are formalized by the

International Phonetic Association, and are known as the International Phonetic Alphabet (see Part 2). These conventions bind individual symbols in many cases to phonetic interpretations of high precision. Yet in the case of so called "cover-symbols", one general symbol usually stands for a whole class of distinct types of segments. An appropriate example can be the symbol **r**, which can conventionally be used as a cover-symbol for all types of "r-sounds", normally regarded as a group of rhotic sounds. These various members of the rhotic class of segments are [r, ɾ, ɹ, ʀ, ʁ, ɻ, ɽ], their voiceless counterparts, and a number of other sounds. A single letter can act both as the superordinate cover-symbol for a phonetically classified category of sounds, and as a subordinate symbol particular to an individual member of that category. As illustrated before, the category of phonetic events called rhotic sounds is rather wide, and the symbol **r** stands not only as the cover-symbol for rhotic sounds in general, but also for a voiced alveolar trilled stop (or *trill*), as a particular phonetic pronunciation within this general category (see: Laver 1994: 553).

Laver offers an example which only deepens the difference between **simple** and **comparative** transcriptions (Laver 1994: 553). In an accent where the pronunciation of the "r" sounds is not a trill, a phonemic simple transcription of that accent would be forced to choose **r** as the symbol for the /r/ phoneme in all its occurrences. Therefore the phrase *three rabid rabbits* spoken in an RP accent would be transcribed as /θri reɪbɪd rabɪts/.

Attention needs to be drawn to the fact in particular English accents, the "r" sounds are commonly pronounced without trilling, but as a voiced post-alveolar approximant [ɹ]. If /ɹ/ were then chosen instead of /r/ in the transcriptional stock of symbols for the phonemes of this accent, this would become a **comparative transcription**, and it would be essential to transcribe the phrase *three rabid rabbits* as /θɹi ɹeɪbɪd ɹabɪts/. It would be "comparative" because the analyst had chosen to

prefer the symbol /ɹ/, as a less Romanic but phonetically more precise symbol, to the Romanically more familiar but phonetically more general /r/ symbol (see: Laver 1994: 554).

Two distinct types of criteria are taken into account in establishing this division. The criterion for categorizing the transcription as phonemic and allophonic, namely the number of symbols for indicating a given phoneme, is a **linguistic criterion**. The criterion for categorizing the transcription as simple and comparative, namely the shape of the letters used, is a **typographic criterion**. It is worth emphasizing that the linguistic phonemic and allophonic transcription is independent of the typographic simple and comparative dimension of categorization (see: Ladefoged 1975: 279).

1.3.6. Quantitive and qualititive transcriptions

A final distinction of phonemic transcriptions results from the way in which unified length and quality differences are examined (see: Laver 1994: 554). In English some pairs of phonemes are phonetically described by discrepancies both of relative duration and of phonetic quality. This is shown in examples under (1.4).

(1.4) Relative duration and articulatory quality as the phonetic basis for stressed monophtongal vowel distinctions in British English (RP)

   [biːt] beat   [bɪt] bit
   [kʰɑːt] cart   [kʰat] cat
   [tʰɔːt] taut   [tʰɒt] tot
   [pʰuːl] pool   [pʰʊl] pull
   (Laver 1994: 554)

Notational issues result in decisions about the phonemic rendering of relative duration and articulatory quality of this kind. This is because of the fact that the phonetic basis for the phonological distinction is not one single differentiating feature, but two. Since both duration and articulatory quality

are included, either one or both of the phonetic distinctions may be used as the basis for selecting an accurate phonemic transcription. If only phonetic duration is taken into consideration, giving priority to the visible manifestation of the phonological feature of quantity, then the same vowel symbol distinguished by the presence or the absence of a length mark, as in /biːt/ versus /bit/, can be applied. An alternative way of depicting exactly the same solution would be to double the vowel symbol and do without the length mark, as in /biit/ versus /bit/. However, if articulatory quality is preferred, allowing priority to the visible manifestation of the phono-logical feature of quality, then different vowel symbols may be applied without any reference to a length mark, as in /bit/ versus /bɪt/. One of the solutions, which is sometimes helpful in teaching English as a foreign language, is to blend both quantity and quality in the phonological rendering, transcribing the above pair as /biːt/ versus /bɪt/ (see: Laver 1994: 555).

All the transcriptions specified above would be phonemic, on the condition that each phoneme was transcribed in all contexts with a constant selection of symbols. When one takes the distinction between the vowels in *beat* and *bit* as representative, a transcription of RP which chose a solution that applied the symbols /iː/ versus /i/ (or /ii/ versus /i/) could be classified as a **quantitative transcription**. One which chose to apply the symbols /i/ versus /ɪ/ could be called a **qualitative transcription** (Laver 1994: 556).

1.4. Concluding remarks

Historically, its notation came before the full growth of phonetics, and there is a long history of trials, going back for centuries, in types of phonetic notation. They fall generally into two types, which can be named **alphabetic** and **analphabetic** notations, respectively.

The reasons for transcribing are manifold: from the need to invent a system of written symbols which would rely on pronunciation, through the necessity of consistent usage of such symbols e.g. in teaching the pronunciation of a given language, to comparative phonetic aims.

Theories concerning phonemes and allophones have an important bearing on methods of constructing systems of phonetic transcription. Phonemic or broad transcription provides one symbol for each phoneme of the language or accent in question. It is beneficial to show the occurrence of specific allophones by inserting special symbols or diacritic marks to indicate them. Such transcription exploiting additional symbols is called allophonic or linguistically narrow. Attention has been paid to a canonical notation commonly used by pronouncing dictionaries. The use of exotic symbols for the purpose of showing that a sound differs from some analogous sound in another language or accent makes the transcription comparative or typographically narrow in comparison with the so called simple transcription which only comprises of the letters of the Roman alphabet. A final division classifies transcription into: qualitative where the phonological feature of quality is important, and quantitative where the relative duration of the sound is taken into account.

2. Classification of speech sounds

The aim of this section is to present the notions of phoneme and allophone as they are crucial in creating various systems of phonetic transcription. The discrepancies in transcriptional systems also result from different approaches towards the interpretation of a vowel and diphthong sounds. For this reason the notions of vowel, cardinal vowel and diphthong need to be elaborated accordingly.

2.1.   Phonemes and allophones

2.1.1. The phoneme as an abstract unit capable
of changing meaning

According to Roach (2000: 38), speech is a continuous stream of sounds, and this stream can be separated into small pieces called segments. He gives an example of the word *man* which is pronounced with the first segment **m**, a second segment **æ**, and a third segment **n**. But the situation is not always so simple. For instance, in the word *mine* the first element is **m** and the last is **n** but the middle is **aɪ**.

Although there is an exact set of sounds or segments in English, each of them can be pronounced in many and slightly different ways, thus forming the whole range of sounds which is practically unlimited. The number of English vowels is not more than twenty, and if one of those twenty is put in place of another, the meaning of the word changes. For instance, if one replaces **æ** for **e** in the word *bed*, one gets a different word *bad*. However, in the case of two slightly different ways of pronouncing what is observed as "the same sound", the replacement of one for the other results in no alternation. For example, if one replaces a more open vowel **a** for **æ** in the word *bad*, the word is still heard as *bad* (see: Roach 2000: 38).

The principle of substituting one sound for another in order to change the meaning can be applied to the letters of the alphabet. The letter of the alphabet in writing is a unit which relates fairly well to the unit of speech clarified earlier – the segment (see: Roach 2000: 39). The alphabet consists of five letters representing vowels: a, e, i, o, u. If one selects the right context, one can demonstrate how substituting one letter for another can change the meaning. Thus with the letter **p** before and the letter **t** after a vowel letter, one receives five words spelt: *pat, pet, pit, pot, put*, each of which has a distinct meaning. The same situation concerns the units of speech or sounds: /pæt/, /pet/, /pɪt/, /pɒt/, /pʊt/ (see: Roach 2000: 39).

Roach suggests that there is an abstract set of units as the basis of our speech. These units are called **phonemes**, and the complete set of units is called the **phonemic system** of the language. The phonemes themselves are abstract, but there are many slightly different ways in which we produce sounds that reflect these phonemes (see: Roach 2000: 40).

One can find situations where it makes little difference which of two possible ways are chosen to pronounce a sound. For instance, the realization of **t** in the word *tea* is aspirated ([tʰiː]), whereas in the word *eat*, the realization of **t** is not aspirated ([iːt]). The aspirated and unaspirated realizations are both perceived as **t** phonemes despite their differences. The point is that the aspirated realization will never be found in the place where the unaspirated realization is proper, and vice versa. This strict application of specific realizations is called **complementary distribution** and different realizations of the phonemes are called **allophones** (see: Roach 2000: 41).

2.1.2. The phoneme as a family of sounds

The scientific study of pronunciation has exposed the fact that any one language comprises far more speech sounds than is usually acknowledged. It is often claimed that English possesses thirty-nine speech sounds, but the exploration of the facts reveals that if the term speech sound is understood in its proper sense, the English language has many more than thirty-nine (see: Ward 1972: 74).

For this purpose, the difference between a **speech sound proper** and a **phoneme** must be clarified. "A speech sound proper is a sound of definite organic formation, and definite acoustic quality which is incapable of variation" (Ward 1972: 74, after Jones 1924: 46). It is affirmed that the sounds of a language arrange themselves into a number of families. It means that a speaker does not use only one ɪ sound or only one ɛ, one **t**, or one l sound, but several varieties of ɪ, of ɛ, of **t**, of l etc. To these families of sounds the term **phoneme** has

been assigned. Thus, a **phoneme** is a family of sounds in a given language which are related in character and where not one of them ever appears in the same phonetic context in a word as any other (see: Ward 1972: 74). "In the same phonetic context" means "surrounded by the same sounds and under the same conditions of length, stress and intonation" (see: Jones 1960: 49).

A few examples illustrate this problem. It is known that there are several different **k** sounds in English. The **k** in /kiːp/ is different from the first **k** in /kʊk/, and that the **k** at the end of /kʊk/ has a different articulation from the one at the beginning. Here, therefore, there are three sounds which we are accustomed to treat as if they were one and the same; we write them in phonetic transcription with a single letter **k**, and mark them as one phoneme. We do this because of the fact that the variants are determined by the phonetic context, so that no misunderstanding is possible. The English **k**-sound of /kiːp/ is never used before **u**, nor does either of the **k**-sounds in /kʊk/ ever occur before **iː** (see: Jones 1956a: 171).

The following are the instances of different sounds belonging to a single phoneme. The **t**'s in [ten] *ten*, [eitθ] *eighth*, [truː] *true*, the nasally exploded **t** as in [mʌtn] *mutton*, and the laterally exploded **t** of such a word as [ketl] *kettle* are all distinct from each other, although each one is appropriate for a specific phonetic context and cannot be substituted for one of the others in that context. These different **t**-sounds for linguistic purposes count as if they were all the same, and we write them all with the same letter **t**. In other words, they belong to the same phoneme (see: Jones 1956a: 171).

Clear **l** and dark **l** are two very different sounds, but in the speech of those who use both of them, they belong to a single phoneme. This is because the circumstances under which one or the other sound is used in Southern British English are conditioned by the surrounding sounds; clear **l** is used when a vowel follows, and dark **l** in a final position or when a consonant follows. In other words, clear **l** and dark **l** belong

to a single phoneme in the speech of those who pronounce it in this way (see: Jones 1956a: 172).

The same is applicable to vowels. It is easy to observe that the vowel-sounds in pronunciation of *get* and *well* are distinct, the first being considerably closer than the second. The quality of **e** sound is prescribed by the kind of consonant following it; it is much more open before dark **l** than before other consonants. These two varieties belong to one single phoneme **e** (see: Jones 1956a: 172).

Taking into consideration all the examples mentioned above, it must be noticed that a particular phoneme comprises different variants, whose choice is subordinated to a phonetic context. The different variants belonging to a particular phoneme are usually called **allophones**. For instance, dark **l** and clear **l** are the allophones of the RP **l**-phoneme (see: Jones 1956a: 172).

2.2. Classification of vowels

It is already known that there are two basic types of sounds: vowels and consonants. As the phonetic notation of the vowels has undergone constant changes, they will be subjected to thorough examination.

Generally speaking, the qualities of vowels depend on the positions of the tongue and lips. As regards the positions of the tongue, two aspects have to be considered: the position of the highest point of the tongue and the height to which it is raised. As far as the highest point of the tongue is concerned, there are **front vowels**, in the production of which the front part of the tongue is raised in the direction of the hard palate, for example: **iː** in /**siː**/ *sea.* There are also **back vowels**, in the production of which the back part of the tongue is raised towards the soft palate, for example: **uː** in /**fuːd**/ *food.* There are still vowels intermediate between front and back which are named **central vowels**, for example: **əː** in /**bəːd**/ *bird* (see: Jones 1956a: 14).

When the height of the tongue is taken into account, there are the following categories of vowels: **close, open, half-close, half-open**. Those in which the tongue is held as high as possible are called **close vowels**, for example: **i:** in /**si:**/ *see* or **u:** in /**fu:d**/ *food*. Those in which the tongue is as low as possible are called **open vowels**, for example: **ɑ:** in /**fɑ:ðə**/ *father*. For the matter of convenience, two intermediate classes are distinguished, namely **half-close** and **half-open**, in the formation of which the tongue occupies positions one-third and two-thirds of the distance from close to open (see: Jones 1956a: 15).

The position of the lips greatly influences vowel quality. Thus, the lips may be held in neutral position and vowels produced in this way are called **neutral**, for example: **ɑ**. They may be spread out forming a long narrow opening between them, and vowels produced in such a way are called **spread,** for example **e**. Finally, lips may be drawn together making the opening between them more (**close lip-rounding**) or less (**open lip-rounding**) round. Consequently, vowels produced with the lips in the latter position are called **rounded**, for example: **u, o** (see: Jones 1956a: 16).

2.3. Cardinal vowels

In spite of attempts at classifications, it appeared difficult to describe all vowels, so there was a need to relate the unknown vowels to the vowels already known. The solution to this problem was the establishment of a set of so called **cardinal vowels**, i.e. specially selected vowel-sounds which could be used as points of reference from which other vowels could be measured. The idea of such a system of reference points was originated by Ellis in 1844, and the word *cardinal* was first used in connection with such a system by Bell in 1867 (see: Abercrombie 1971: 150).

As a matter of fact, the person who put a fully worked-out system into practice, and made it public at about the time of

the First World War, was Daniel Jones. He selected eight arbitrary cardinal vowels, which means they are not based on the vowels of any existing language. "A **cardinal vowel** is a fixed and unchanging reference point, on the basis of which any vowel of any language can be identified by being placed within the system" (Abercrombie 1971: 151).

The cardinal vowels may be described in the terms of categories of vowel classification explained above.

	Front	Back
Close	C. V. One	C. V. Eight
Half-close	C. V. Two	C. V. Seven
Half-open	C. V. Three	C. V. Six
Open	C. V. Four	C. V. Five

Cardinal vowels 1–5 are unrounded while cardinal vowels 6–8 are rounded.

The symbols of the IPA alphabet which have been assigned to the cardinal vowels are as follows:

C. V. One: i
C. V. Two: e
C. V. Three: ɛ
C. V. Four: a
C. V. Five: ɑ
C. V. Six: ɔ
C. V. Seven: o
C. V. Eight: u
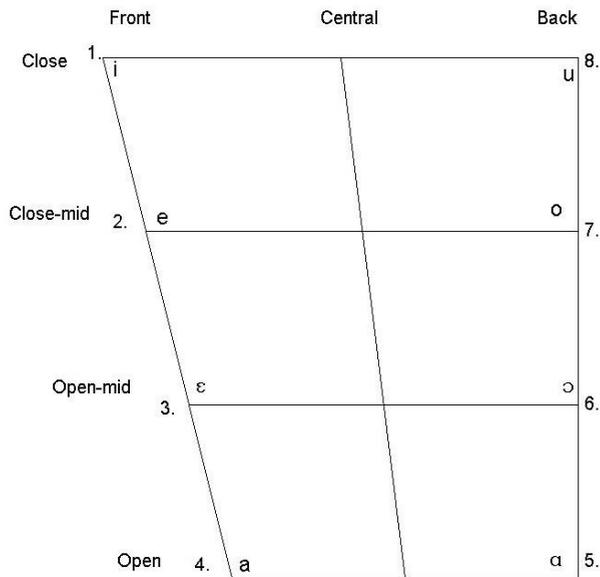
Figure 5
A diagram showing the position of cardinal vowels

Abercrombie selects the most crucial points concerning the cardinal vowels of Daniel Jones's system. Firstly, they are arbitrarily chosen and of exactly determined and invariable quality. Secondly, they are peripheral vowels which means that the highest point of the tongue for each of them lies on the extreme outside limits of the vowel area (Abercrombie 1971: 154). "Secondary cardinal vowels" have also been established, but they are of little importance for English sounds and will not be examined.

2.4. Diphthongs

Diphthongs are not pure vowels. They are formed when a sound is made by gliding from one vowel position to another. Phonetically, they are represented as a sequence of two letters, the first indicating the starting point and the second showing the direction of movement (see: Jones 1956a: 22).

Diphthongs can be classified into two groups, namely: closing diphthongs and centring ones (see: Roach 2000: 21). The closing diphthongs include the following:

εɪ as in *day*
aɪ as in *time*
ɔɪ as in *boy*
əʊ as in *go*
aʊ as in *town*

The centring diphthongs are the following:

ɪə as in *here*
eə as in *pear*
ʊə as in *poor*

There is one more diphthong, namely ɔə as in *more* though it is frequently simplified to a long vowel ɔ:.
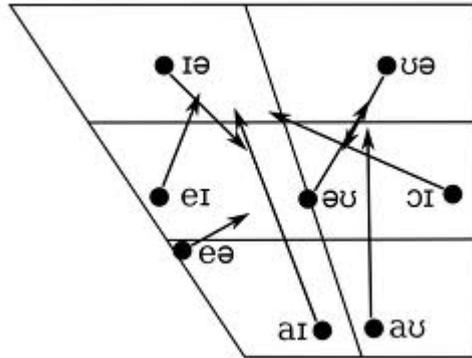
Figure 6
A diagram showing the formation of diphthongs

2.5. Concluding remarks

It can be noticed that there are two possible ways of considering the phoneme. Some regard it to be a family of related sounds, the members of which are applied in agreement with specific principles of phonetic context in a given language. Others believe that distinct sounds can be regarded as a physical demonstration of an abstract notion which can be named a phoneme. The various sounds belonging to a specific phoneme are called allophones.

The notion of phonemes and allophones plays an undeniable part in creating different systems of phonetic transcription.

The concept of vowels and diphthongs (with its treatment by some linguists) over the years has also resulted in various transcription systems. This subject, however, will be discussed fully in the second part of the paper.

Acknowledgements

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LITERARY STUDIES

How sharp can Sharpe be?
Wit and crudity in the novels of Tom Sharpe

ZBIGNIEW GŁOWALA

Abstract

The campus novel, invariably a satire on the university community, typically touches on the subjects of sex, money, power, adultery, or professional rivalry. Tom Sharpe's novels cover similar topics. They are, however, crammed with vulgarity, chauvinism and black humour. The purpose of the article is to analyse Tom Sharpe's satirical style considering the author's apparent refusal to accept the boundaries of taste and decency. The article will focus on three novels, *Porterhouse Blue, Wilt* and *The Wilt Alternative,* which ridicule academics but also contemporary society at large. Sharpe introduces a whole parade of unusual characters, arranges for them a series of preposterous situations and spices his plots with grotesque and sometimes repellent episodes.

Key words

Sharpe, Wilt, grotesque, campus novel, black humour

The campus novel, as a satire on academics and the university community, frequently presents scholars in a rather unfavourable light, mocking their weaknesses and showing them as quite naive and ignorant. It predominantly explores the subjects of sex, money, power, adultery and professional rivalry. Thus in his *Changing Places* (1975) David Lodge invents the story of two university teachers who swap not only their jobs but also their wives. Malcolm Bradbury in *Rates of Exchange* (1983) presents the vicissitudes of a slightly naive

and trusting scholar in the capital city of a remote fictional country somewhere in Central Europe. Kingsley Amis's *Lucky Jim* (1954) centres around Jim Dixon, a callow lecturer who endeavours to keep his position at the university by trying to meet his stern superior's excessive demands. All this, however, seems to pale into insignificance compared to the novels of Tom Sharpe and the uncanny situations he creates for his protagonists. His books are written with a dose of vulgarity, chauvinism, black humour and a tendency to exaggerate facts. They ridicule the academic community but also the whole of society, with police officers, doctors, housewives, receptionists, cleaning ladies, priests, and even inept terrorists, all being pilloried. Sharpe's aim is fulfilled by generating the effect of a mirror: the readers find their own reflection which is deformed, twisted and distorted. This is a world of absurdities rendered by an author who refuses to accept any limits – moral or those of taste or decency. The readers laugh but at the same time are slightly disgusted. Such a twofold effect is engendered by the grotesque.

In her article entitled "Towards the Understanding of the Modern Grotesque" Agata Krzychylkiewicz proposes the following definition of the term "grotesque":

> In the widest sense, the purpose of grotesque work is to highlight the contradictions inherent in life and in people, and to make the reader aware of the absurdities in the real world. Because the grotesque in itself is a departure from the norm, it is frequently used in satire to expose the immediate and identifiable vices and follies of human beings. […] In extreme cases of pessimism or misanthropy, the grotesque renders a philosophical comment on the total absurdity and futility of life. (Krzychylkiewicz 2003: 206)

William Nelson (1982: 181), drawing on Wolfgang Kayser's *The Grotesque in Art and Literature* (1963 [1957]), writes that "the grotesque in art is a result of seeing events in a particular way" and that its main principle is mixing the comic and tragic which "excites both pity and laughter or disgust in context." James Schevill (1977: 229) offers a few adjectives which he

associates with the grotesque, distorted, fantastic, ugly, and adds that the grotesque "is essentially something we distrust, the hidden demonic fantasy that still torments and attracts us." In this paper Tom Sharpe's style will also be related to the Bakhtinian concept of the grotesque body which is associated with grotesque realism – an idea formulated by Bakhtin in his seminal work *Rabelais and His World* (1984 [1965]).

It seems that Tom Sharpe's satirical style revolves mostly around themes which can be conveniently categorized into four groups: sex, death, the human body and the fortunes of an individual pitted against society. All of them are developed with a wild exaggeration, crudity and sometimes lack of taste but it cannot be denied that Sharpe's technique, which frequently borrows freely from slapstick comedy, is ingenious and that his plots are carefully planned. Raymond G. McCall (1984: 61) calls the author's comic style "coarse" and accurately points out that each of Sharpe's novels "offers at least one graphically detailed scene of sexual perversion or unstrained sexual appetite" and that it is the women who are "sexually aggressive" whereas the men are victims of "sexual humiliation." Sharpe's distorted portrayals of human sexuality fit perfectly with the fundamental criterion of a grotesque work which usually combines the comic with the tragic or the bizarre. Numerous examples can be provided, nevertheless I will limit myself to only two.

When Henry Wilt, the eponymous protagonist of the first novel in the *Wilt* series, is dragged by his wife to a party organized by her new acquaintance, the liberated and slightly licentious Sally Pringsheim, he does not expect to end up as the object of female revenge. After having rejected Sally, who first tries to seduce and then rape him, Henry wakes up with an injured head and finds himself literally stuck in a plastic doll. Wilt's endeavour to release himself from, what Sharpe describes as "something with all the less attractive qualities of a mousetrap […] or a starving clam" (Sharpe 1978: 44), is a spectacular example of the author's potential to create typically grotesque scenes. Not only does it make the readers

laugh, but it also evokes the feeling of disgust and (mainly in male readers) fear of castration. Such an equivocal response is caused by a combination of comic and tragic elements incorporated into the scene.

In *The Wilt Alternative* Sharpe forces his protagonist to have sexual intercourse with Gudrun Schautz, the young and attractive leader of the inept terrorists occupying Wilt's house and holding his four daughters hostage. The verb "force" has been used deliberately since Henry, who appears to be completely asexual, decides to have sex with Gudrun only to distract her from the fact that the house is being surrounded by the police. Eavesdropped by the police agents, Henry attempts to increase his libido by imagining his wife Eva to whom he will later say: "The only way I got anything up was by pretending she was you" (Sharpe 1981: 213). But then, possibly struck by the feeling of guilt, Wilt alternates "his vision of youthful Eva with images of himself and the execrable Schautz lying on the autopsy table in terminal coitus interruptus" (Sharpe 1981: 160). The confrontation of such diverse elements as making love and death is intensified by the fact that Gudrun is a deadly and remorseless terrorist, a fact stressed by her savage behaviour: Wilt is frenziedly scratched, bitten and licked. Thus, Wilt considers himself a martyr because, as is ironically noticed by the author, "only the most dutiful and conscientious family man would have put himself so much at risk as to get voluntarily into bed with a wanted murderess" (Sharpe 1981: 159). This mixture of the comic and the bizarre once again kindles an ambivalent reaction – on the one hand, we laugh at the absurdity of Wilt's actions who decides to sacrifice himself and have sexual intercourse with this "repellent" woman to save his family, but on the other hand, it is possible to feel a sense of unease caused by Henry's apparent victimization and Sharpe's persistence in creating explicit scenes.

Sharpe, known for his excessive use of sexual innuendos as well as black humour, regularly scoffs at death. McCall (1984: 60) argues that Sharpe's fondness for violence "often leads to

a cataloguing of death and destruction intended to be cosmic but as mechanical and predictable as a Tom-and-Jerry cartoon." The scenes of death created by the author are not only grotesque but also surrealistic. The disturbing ways the characters die or are killed seem to have their origin in nightmares and yet they bear a striking resemblance to acts of violence depicted in cartoons: the spectators laugh knowing the injured characters are immune to death. Sharpe's characters are by all means mortal and he takes pleasure in proving this. McCall (1984: 60) claims that Sharpe "relies on violence when he fears his story is getting dull and creates set pieces that have at best a tangential bearing on the plot and seem labored rather than witty." It may be true, in fact, that the scenes of violence are unrelated to the plot and remain contrived and unconvincing, but it cannot be denied that they spice up Sharpe's stories. Thomas LeClair (1975: 6) emphasizes the fact that "murder […] is sometimes present in the Black Humorists' fiction, but they primarily concern themselves with the effects of an individual's *consciousness* of death rather than with the event itself" and further claims that "death from disease or accident sets the characters to thinking about mortality and devising strategies for coping with their consciousness." However, contrary to LeClair's belief, Sharpe focuses on the events rather than on the consciousness or conscience of his characters. He does not care for the in-depth analysis of the protagonists' emotions who encounter death or acts of violence. It can be ventured that the main and perhaps the only purpose of the grotesque deaths is to amuse the readers. Sharpe plans his scenes carefully; nonetheless, as is pointed out by McCall (1984: 57), they are merely "a feverish effort to try anything for a laugh."

Porterhouse Blue records a scene of seduction of Zipser, a student in Porterhouse, by his bedder, Mrs Biggs. Zipser, in his futile attempt to dispose of the enormous amount of condoms he had bought earlier, fills them with gas and lets them float through the chimney. Not aware that the chimney is choked up with inflated condoms, Mrs Biggs lights the gas fire

and blows up the College tower, killing both herself and the student. This scene exists in the novel outside the main plot (presenting the conflict of values between the votaries of the College's outmoded system and those who want to introduce radical changes) and does not provide insight into characters' minds or introduce any sudden twists in the storyline. Sharpe simply aims at entertaining his readers and does it by dwelling on his characters' calamities or their utter helplessness. When the bleeding and dying Sir Godber phones his philanthropic wife for help, Lady Mary (who is working for the Samaritans), convinced that she is talking to a suicidal depressive, tries to console him. This episode betrays Sharpe's chauvinism in constructing female characters. Lady Mary, Mrs Biggs, or Wilt's wife, Eva, are between them models of ignorance, lack of intelligence and blind faith in ridiculous and utopian ideas. Although Sir Godber, who has fallen on the grate and severely injured his head, tries hard to inform his wife about the accident, Lady Mary mishears him and is certain that he "has fallen from grace." And when her husband, striving to rectify her mistake, says: "The hearth. I'm bleeding […]," she takes him for a Catholic because "Catholics believe in bleeding hearts" (Sharpe 2002: 305).

In both scenes of demise Sharpe skillfully balances the comic (the foolishness of the women) against the tragic (ghastly images of death). Even if some of the episodes, though grotesque, are phantasmagoric and simply abominable (for example, Sally Pringsheim attempting to drown her husband after having sex with him, by pouring muddy water into his mouth and pulling the bathing-cap over his face), Sharpe remains a master humorist.

In *Rabelais and his World* (1984 [1965]) Mikhail Bakhtin introduces the concept of grotesque realism which, as stressed by Simon Dentith (1994: 65), alludes to "the body which eats, digests, copulates, and defecates […] in a wild, exaggerated and grotesque way." With the idea of grotesque realism Bakhtin associates the notion of the grotesque body. Unlike the classical body, characterized by graceful proportions, the

grotesque body is "a body in which becoming rather than completion is evident, a body whose openness to the world and the future is emphatically symbolized by the consuming maws, pregnant stomachs, evident phalluses, and gargantuan evacuations that make it up" (Dentith 1994: 66).

Quite a few examples of the "grotesque body" and grotesque realism can be found in Sharpe's novels. At the end of *The Wilt Alternative* the bio-loo, which had been installed in Wilt's house at Eva's request, explodes covering the terrorists in excrement. The same terrorists are also exposed to vomit when Wilt's quadruplets disgorge onto the floor. In *Porterhouse Blue,* Zipser, who secretly desires for the stout Mrs Biggs, is crushed by her heavy arms and breasts when she attempts to hug him. Sharpe (2002: 146) writes that to Zipser "it seemed that he was in the grip of a great white whale. He fought desperately for air, surfaced for a moment and was engulfed again." The scene, showing a man's frantic endeavour to remain on top of a woman's large body, is a fine example of the grotesque. Sharpe generally likes his female characters (especially housewives) to be plump. Characteristically, Eva's excess weight is combined with high fertility: at the end of *Wilt* she gives birth to quadruplets. Bakhtin claims that such exaggeration of the body and its functions has positive qualities:

> The leading themes of these images of bodily life are fertility, growth, and a brimming-over abundance. Manifestations of this life refer not to the isolated biological individual, not to the private, egoistic 'economic man', but to the collective ancestral body of all people. Abundance and the all-people's element also determine the gay and festive character of all images of bodily life; they do not reflect the drabness of everyday existence. The material bodily principle is a triumphant, festive principle, it is a "banquet for all the world". (Bakhtin in Morris 1994: 205)

Dentith (1994: 65) stresses the fact that for Bakhtin degradation is the main criterion of grotesque realism and that for him even faeces are an amusing subject. Bakhtin (1994:

226) believes that degradation of what is high or spiritual is a positive process: it results in a final rebirth or liberation. He associates it with carnivals and the festive mockery of authority figures. Decrowning, ridiculing and transmuting the high into the low brings forth a symbolic dawn of the new order – "the better turns the worse into ridicule and kills it." Sharpe's images of degradation, however, seem to serve only one purpose which is a genuine effort to afford the readers sheer entertainment. And they might actually feel amused since, as is observed by William Ian Miller (1997: 116), "much of the comic depends on transgressive irreverence, a kind of feast of misrule in which, if not the violation, at least the mockery of certain norms is given a privilege." He also states that one does not consider bodily functions such as evacuation or blowing one's nose funny unless one finds them disgusting. Therefore, disgust together with mirth may be perceived as the very essence of the grotesque.

As has been previously stated, Sharpe's novels function as distorting mirrors which reflect contemporary society at large. His characters are not only university teachers, but also police officers, priests, politicians, doctors and soldiers. The author does not spare them the humiliation or trouble of struggling against the bizarre and uncommon conditions they find themselves in. Although this crooked image of society in most cases only forms a background to the vicissitudes faced by the protagonists, some fine examples of the grotesque can be easily distinguished.

When Eva escapes from the Prigsheims' yacht she wanders into a small parish church where the host is the Reverend Froude. The Vicar is drunk, a fact which proves that Sharpe's characters are based on stereotypes: drunken church officials appeared in Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* or, more recently, in Graham Greene's *The Power and the Glory*. Eva appears at the Vicar's house almost naked, clad only in the ivy she had ripped up in the churchyard and later made into some kind of a shroud. When the Reverend eventually stumbles across her in one of the rooms he is convinced that what he is looking at

is the ghost of a murdered woman. Determined to help her soul leave her earthly body, he commands her to pray. Eva, now confident that she is actually deceased, kneels eagerly and they both start singing hymns.

A recurring character in all the novels about Henry Wilt is inspector Flint. In the first novel of the series he believes that Henry is guilty of murdering his wife and hurling her body into a deep hole which was later filled with concrete. He does not know that what Wilt actually had thrown into that hole was a plastic doll dressed in Eva's clothes. His ignorance becomes even more evident after the truth emerges. Flint accuses Wilt of trying to divert the police's attention away from what really happened to Eva's corpse. Heartily tired and baffled by Flint's dogged but foolish persistence to expose the facts, Wilt reveals that Eva's dead body had been minced and stuffed into pork pies. Flint, now panic-stricken, orders his subordinates to search for every remaining consignment of pork pies and dog food.

In Sharpe's novels many characters are portrayed with their faults deliberately magnified. There is a doctor who, as a result of a misunderstanding, orders that Wilt should undergo a stomach-wash, while Henry wants his wounded penis to be dressed. There is a lecturer who, as one of the components of his course, films one of his students copulating with a mechanical crocodile as a symbol of rebelling against "the whole reformist welfare statism of the capitalist system" (Sharpe 1981: 35). Finally, there is old Professor Ball, the Wilts' neighbour, who almost thwarts the plan of rescuing the quadruplets from the hands of the terrorists by beating one of the counter-terrorists with his cane.

With these characters Sharpe obtains the ultimate aim of the grotesque, which is, as Krzychylkiewicz points out, "to expose the immediate and identifiable vices and follies of human beings." He satirizes stupidity and ignorance, discloses the absurdities of the contemporary world and does it by combining the comic with the disgusting (for example, Flint washing his mouth with coffee and claiming that what he had

eaten the day before was a pork pie stuffed with Eva's minced body), by degrading figures of authority (the clergy or the police), and by hyperbolizing everyday situations the characters find themselves in.

Ultimately, Tom Sharpe's caustic wit consists in his carefully planned plots, extensive range of comic characters and the exceptional ability to make the readers laugh at what is generally deemed to be taboo or simply indecent. His crudity, no doubt, will sometimes appear hardly bearable. Cannibalism, death, illness (the title *Porterhouse Blue* refers to a stroke), excrement and sex are controversial motifs for sending up. And yet Sharpe triumphs because, as Blake G. Hobby and Zachary DeBoer (2009: 147) write, the grotesque functions in an alternative world where "what once was off-limits becomes fair game: the inappropriate becomes acceptable, the taboo becomes norm." Thus, while following Wilt's vicissitudes or observing Zipser's clumsiness the reader cannot help but laugh excitedly though with revulsion. Such an ambivalent reaction is the outcome and, at the same time, the verification of a fine grotesque novel.

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Three dimensions of the garden
in H. G. Wells's short stories

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Abstract

The article examines spatial relationships in Herbert George Wells's short stories "The Door in the Wall" and "The Beautiful Suit" analyzing the semantic diversity of garden space in cultural, mythological and religious aspects as 'garden-home', 'garden-paradise' and 'garden-universe'. This triadic model is determined by the motion of the protagonist wandering through space and leads to the creation of a concentric world picture determined by the archetype of the garden.

Key words

space, garden, home, paradise, universe, dimensions

Herbert George Wells constructs his works around mystery and connects the theme of man's natural world to paradisiacal life. Wells's tales, often about extraordinary worlds, are full of symbolic meanings relying on mythological references. His conception of the universe seems to be an inorganic-organic relation perceived by man through an intuition of fundamental temporal and spatial categories. Literary space, according to Janusz Sławiński, is not only a component of the presented reality. Space may be at the centre of the work's semantics and the basis of its other structural elements. It is often a substratum of all the essential qualities, meanings and values which are expressed through spatial aspects. Spaces

tend to be very different: realistic, fantastic, allegorical, grotesque, and dream-like (1978: 9-22).

I intend to analyze the structural relationships of spatial elements in the artistic space of Wells's short stories: "The Door in the Wall" and "The Beautiful Suit", focusing on the presented space of the garden. In Wells's stories the garden can be seen as a paradigmatic image connected on the mimetic level with the space of the house (home) and on the non-mimetic level with dreams, imagination, and eternal life. The semantic diversity of garden space will be examined in cultural, mythological and religious aspects as 'garden-home', 'garden-paradise' and 'garden-universe'. The garden space may be perceived as an archetypal model of the world, a structure that constitutes the centre of the universe.

The garden space of Wells's short stories can be considered from the perspective of two main aspects: *the mimetic* (within the landscape of the garden) and *non-mimetic* (beyond the landscape of the garden) spaces. The former – mimetic – is connected with the protagonist's personality, his internal world and feelings. The mimetic space is created by a variety of spatial indicators with metaphorical meanings: walls, windows, doors, gates, and flower-beds, and is semiotically connected with earthly life. The latter aspect – non-mimetic space – corresponds with the protagonist's belonging to the metaphysical world, other dimensions, the universe, and eternal life. This kind of space is characterized by the metaphorical ambiguity of different images and motifs, especially connected with light, air, water and sky.

Considering the semantics of garden space in Wells's short stories, we can distinguish three key motifs such as 'home', 'paradise' and 'universe'. The garden space in the examined short stories opens for readers three vistas of human life. The first one finds its expression in the motif of 'garden as home'. This concept is related to mortal life with temporal connotations of the present. The second vista, 'garden as paradise', concerns the protagonist's imagination, dreams or idealization of the garden space as 'paradise' referring to mythical prehistory. The third vista 'garden as universe'

reveals limitless, immortal realities, or eternity, with particular reference to an unknown future.

All three spheres are not only linked but together create a unique spatial structure which refers to the earth, the sky and the cosmos, simultaneously uniting them into the immensity of the universe. The organization of this triadic model is determined by motion: the protagonist's wandering through all these spaces.

Completing the spatial picture, the temporal aspect introduces a dynamic cycle that concerns the protagonist's life: wandering starts at birth, and continues through earthly life, while death becomes a passage to eternal life. The spatial aspect illustrates a metaphorical migration, human wandering from the 'garden-Paradise' as the place of origin through the earthly, current 'garden-home' to the 'garden-universe', as the metaphysical sphere referring to eternity.

1. Garden as home

The starting point of this wandering is the garden as home. On the mimetic level, the garden is the spatial equivalent of the house. According to the *Dictionary of Biblical Imagery*: "If some kind of house is necessary for human physical survival, a home is necessary for human fulfilment – emotionally, mentally and spiritually" (Ryken 1998: 393). On the non-mimetic level, the garden as well as the house "describe an 'emotionally based and meaningful relationship between dwellers and their dwelling places' " (Singleton 1997: 1). One of the most significant roles in the semantic organization of the garden-home space are played by spatial metaphors of doors, windows, thresholds and walls. These spatial elements can mark the borders of two distinct worlds.

In the story "The Door in the Wall", the "open green door in the white wall" signifies for the protagonist, Wallace, the entry into a different space and refers to consecutive periods of his life. The narrator describes the door leading to the garden that has haunted Wallace since his childhood:

> As his memory of that childish experience ran, he did at the very
> first sight of that door experience a peculiar emotion, an
> attraction, a desire to get to the door and open it and walk in. [...]
> He insisted upon it as a curious thing that he knew from the very
> beginning – unless memory has played him the queerest trick –
> that the door was unfastened, and that he could go in as he chose
> (Wells 2000: 573).

It is significant that the spatial indicators mentioned above are characterized by the principle of semantic opposition. Generally, systems of semantic oppositions rely on the separating function of borders. In his literary analysis Juri Lotman assumes that the most fundamental organizing element of literary space is the boundary. It must be noted that borders have separating as well as connecting functions – they not only divide but also bring together things that are different – and are therefore of an extremely ambivalent nature (Hansen 1994: 34). Considering the door and the wall as the spatial boundaries of the garden-home, we can distinguish an opposition between the known and unknown, dangerous and safe or hostile and friendly, which is amplified by Wallace's "hesitations and fear" (Wells 2000: 574).

The narrator depicts Wallace's entrance to the garden as a child: "He made a run for it, lest hesitation should grip him again; he went plump with outstretched hand through the green door and let it slam behind him" (2000: 573). Wallace's entrance into the garden reveals the ambivalence of the door and the wall. The door symbolically refers to the unknown: "like the door itself, the threshold is a symbol of transition from one place, state, etc. to another" (Becker 2000: 301). The wall reveals its protective function: "walls become a symbol of salvation itself" (Ryken 1998: 924).

The essential aspect of this space is the opposition of the unknown and strange vs. familiar and safe. In the light of this opposition, the garden that the protagonist discovers behind the door, can be considered on the one hand as an equivalent of his "real" home, but on the other hand, as a dream image with idyllic features, which suggests the opposition of the

"real" vs. ideal home. The narrator explains that his actual home is not happy: "his mother died when he was two [...], his father was a stern, preoccupied lawyer, who gave him little attention and expected great things of him" (Wells 2000: 573). In contrast to his father's house, Wallace finds the garden to be a place of warmth and safety, qualities which he would like his home to have. These semantic values situate the garden as the true home whereas Wallace's father's house becomes, by contrast, the false home or antihome. Thus, in the following passage Wallace perceives the garden as the true home that exists beyond the threshold of his actual home:

> [...] in the very moment the door swung to behind me, I forgot the road with its fallen chestnut leaves, its cabs and tradesmen's carts, I forgot the sort of gravitational pull back to the discipline and obedience of home, I forgot all hesitations and fear, forgot discretion, forgot all the intimate realities of this life [...] and it was as though they welcomed me home. There was a keen sense of home-coming in my mind (Wells 2000: 574).

The Lotmanesque principle of binary opposition of home vs. antihome can be extended to a triadic model of home-antihome-homelessness. Such a triadic structure is considered by Edna Andrews in her discussion of Lotman's theory: "The fundamental difference between these three categories are best represented by a triadic relationship of values: plus (home), minus (antihome), and zero (homelessness)" (2003: 86). It is significant that homelessness does not solely mean the absence of home. Homelessness is connected with homesickness that implies search for a real home. It seems significant that the biblical "story of humankind [...] is full of people being made homeless or wandering in deserts" (Ryken 1998: 393) while the narrator describes Wallace as "wandering" (Wells 2000: 573). Indeed, the protagonist's wandering is a result of his homesickness and is correlated with the opposition of escape vs. homecoming. This correlation designates the principle that every escape has a vista to return. Throughout the story the protagonist feels torn

between the garden as true home on the one hand and harsh reality on the other. Thus, "homecoming" into the garden is conditioned by the circular movement of Wallace's return to his father's house. The protagonist says: "Poor little wretch I was! – brought back to this grey world again! […] Sobbing, conspicuous, and frightened, I came back from the enchanted garden to the steps of my father's house" (2000: 576).

Wallace's dreams about the garden function to introduce cyclic aspects of spatial and temporal setting. Cyclic regularity creates a spatial sequence of wandering-searching-coming-returning as well as a temporal one suggested by, for example, the following passage: "No, it wasn't till you knew me that I tried for the garden again. And I believe there was a period – incredible as it seems now – when I forgot the garden altogether – when I was about eight or nine it may have been…" (2000: 566-577). The systemic interrelation between the cyclic elements is particularly emphasized by such phrases as: "first time", "little boy", "again", "there was a period", "it seems now", "all his life".

Another aspect connected with the cyclic character of space and time is the motif of "going astray" introduced in Wallace's words: "This seems odd to me now, but I think that very probably a closer watch was kept on my movements after this misadventure to prevent my going astray" (2000: 566). On the level of spatial dynamics the protagonist's movement without a goal, his "going astray", is semantically important. Andrews writes: "Lotman claims that 'nondirectionality' of space is equivalent to a lack of goal orientation in the existence of the person occupying this space" (2003: 81). Considered in this light, the garden appears to reveal Wallace's search for self-identity. Such an interpretation of "nondirectionality" of space is conditioned by Wallace's explicit homesickness, reflected in his prayer:[1]

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[1] Confront the protagonist's prayer with the following use of the home motif: "*The Anglican Alternative Service Book*" (1980) contains a well loved prayer that begins: 'Father of all, we give you thanks and praise, that when we were still far you met us in your Son and brought us home'" (Ryken 1998: 393).

I whispered it to my pillow – my pillow that was often damp and salt to my whispering lips with childish tears. And I added always to my official and less fervent prayers this one heartfelt request: 'Please God I may dream of the garden. Oh! Take me back to my garden! Take me back to my garden!' I dreamt often of the garden (Wells 2000: 577).

Homesickness as the central motif is integrated with the repeated spiritual homecoming. These motifs can be considered central to the semantic structure of the story. They may refer to the protagonist's destiny that finds its realization in the search for the garden-home. The protagonist's recollection is full of warmth and joy of homecoming "into the garden that has haunted all his life": "Those dear friends and that clear atmosphere seemed very sweet to me […]. I have dreamt of that enchanted garden a thousand dreams, and seen its door, or at least glimpsed its door, four times since then" (2000: 580).

The imagery of the garden-home considered in Wells's "The Door on the Wall" seems to resemble the motif of a little man's childish escape in another of the author's short stories, "The Beautiful Suit". In the latter text, the space of home is divided into the little man's mother's house and the moonlight flooded garden. In this story, it is the window which is a symbolic threshold through which the protagonist climbs "down to the garden path below". The narrator describes the boy's escape in the following way:

And then back he went, soft and quick, to the window that looked out to the garden, and stood there for a minute, shining in the moonlight, with his buttons twinkling like stars, before he got out on the sill, and, making as little of a rustling as he could, clambered down to the garden path below" (Wells 2000: 622).

The window as a border between the garden and the house reveals its ambivalent dividing-uniting function. These two spaces penetrate each other because of the action of opening the spatial element of the window and because of its symbolic

quality.[2] The function of penetration is also suggested by the image of little boy's buttons "twinkling like stars" in the moonlight (2000: 622). The motif of stars and of light (twinkling) in connection with the buttons reveals a metaphorical link that serves to merge the garden and the house into a spatial, organic whole.

The space of the garden-house can be perceived as the model of home, which becomes personified. The narrator describes the house determined by human features: "He went very gently across the creaking boards, for fear that he might wake the sleeping house..." (2000: 622). Additionally, standing in the garden, the little man perceives his house as a living creature with an eye-window that sleeps: "He stood before his mother's house, and it was white and nearly as plain as by day, with every window-blind but his own shut like an eye that sleeps" (2000: 622-623).

The parallel of the house and the human being can be seen as suggesting an equivalence of home and self that reveals ambivalent meaning.[3] In the story, the garden-home is associated with the semantics of the lost home introduced by the protagonist's wandering, which can be understood as the search for a home in the sense of spiritual self-identity. The imagery of wandering suggests the implicit concept of the road in terms of a spatial and temporal sequence of 'wandering-homesickness-homecoming' that seems to refer to the biblical Paradise lost.

2. Garden as paradise

In accordance with biblical semantics, the idyllic features of the garden's space in Wells's "The Door in the Wall" are organized by the polarization of two spheres with earthly and heavenly connotations. To exemplify the heavenly aspect of the

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[2] *A Dictionary of Symbols* states: "[...] the window expresses the idea of penetration, of possibility and of distance [...]" (Cirlot 1991: 373).

[3] The equivalence of home and self can be contrasted with Singleton's remark: "As the image of man's place within a perceived cosmic order, the home becomes the quintessential symbol of the self"(1997: 2).

garden, we can take into account the numerical imagery of three in one in Wallace's description: "Three times in one year the door has been offered me – the door that goes into peace, into delight, into beauty beyond dreaming, a kindness no man on earth can know" (Wells 2000: 582). It is significant that the door seems to suggest a symbolic gate leading to Paradise. We can refer here to the imagery of three gates on each side of the New Jerusalem as well as one – a symbol of unity (Steffler 2002: 133).

In Wells's story the garden space unifies the 'house-home' aspect with suggestions of Paradise, which thus acquires the sacred connotations of the original home. From this point of view, the protagonist's entrance into the space of garden-as-Paradise makes him feel as a part of Nature, full of freedom and happy like the mythical first parents before the original sin (Czermińska 1978: 235).

The protagonist's spatial transition in the context of the garden-Paradise can be considered as the archetypal motif of wandering. The motif appears in biblical imagery: "Adam and Eve's eviction from the garden of Eden begins the displacement for the entire race, a displacement highlighted by Cain's banishment from society to be a wanderer" (Ryken 1998: 300). The Edenic imagery involves the motif of a forbidden tree, or forbidden fruit, as well as the act of disobedience. In Wells's "The Beautiful Suit" the motif of disobedience is forcefully suggested by the protagonist breaching his mother's restrictions. As the counterpart of the forbidden fruit we can see the little man's beautiful suit of clothes", as in the following description:

> But his mother told him 'No'. She told him he must take great care of his suit, for never would he have another nearly so fine; he must save it and save it, and only wear it on rare and great occasions. It was his wedding-suit, she said. [...] Now all these restrictions his mother set to the wearing of his suit he obeyed, always he obeyed them, until one strange night he woke up and saw the moonlight shining outside the window (Wells 2000: 621-622).

On that "strange night" he puts on the suit against his mother's injunction. The disobedience is connected with the implied motifs of temptation and fear, which appear in the narrator's explanations: "he was tempted" and then "he was afraid, terribly afraid, but glad, glad" (2000: 622). It is significant that similar motifs appear in the biblical narrative. As Leland Ryken describes it: "The temptation of the Garden indicates the various avenues by which temptation may penetrate the soul" (1998: 770). In Wells's story, such an avenue may be identified with "the moonlight shining outside the window" that affects the little man: "It seemed to him the moonlight was not common moonlight, nor the night a common night, and for a while he lay quite drowsily, with odd persuasion in his mind" (2000: 622). This "odd persuasion" of the moonlight suggests a temptation and further links the garden with the biblical symbolism.

In the other story considered here, "The Door in the Wall", Wallace's entrance into the garden strongly suggests coming to "another world, the world of different qualities". The narrator describes the blissful connotations of lightness, well-being and brightness that are parallel with the protagonist's feelings of gladness, joy and happiness:

> There was something in the very air of it that exhilarated, that gave one a sense of lightness and good happening and well-being, there was something in the sight of it that made all its colour clean and perfect and subtly luminous. In the instant of coming into it one was exquisitely glad – as only in rare moments, and when one is young and joyful, one can be glad in this world. And everything was beautiful there… (Wells 2000: 573-574).

The motifs of vivid colours and luminosity seem to connect the beauty of Wells's garden's to the Edenic quality of being "pleasant to the sight" emphasized in the *Dictionary of Biblical Imagery* (Ryken 1998: 316). Other biblical connotations are reflected in Wallace's recollections of the garden:

> Along this cool avenue my girl-friend led me, looking down – I recall the pleasant lines, the finely modeled chin of her sweet

kind face – asking me questions in a soft, agreeable voice, and telling me things, pleasant things I know, though what they were I was never able to recall… (Wells 2000: 574).

The above passage suggests associations with the biblical first couple and the incipient symbolism of the romantic meeting. Yet, Wallace's constant nostalgia and longing for the lost perfection of the garden refer simultaneously to the Edenic splendour and to the loss of Paradise. Wallace's longing for the garden-paradise may refer to the great human need to achieve salvation and happiness.[4] The great desire of the protagonist to return to the idyllic garden reveals his longing for Paradise. The narrator speaks about Wallace's longing in the context of the opposition of earthly vs. paradisical worlds:

'I am haunted. I am haunted by something – that rather takes the light out of things, that fills me with longings…' […] he began to tell of the thing that was hidden in his life, the haunting memory of a beauty and a happiness that filled his heart with insatiable longings, that made all the interests and spectacle of worldly life seem dull and tedious and vain to him […] (Wells 2000: 572-573).

3. Garden as universe

In the delineation of the garden in Wells's short stories we can observe a tendency towards a concentric organization of space which is eventually enlarged into the size of the universe. In the symbolic construction of the garden-universe the centre is occupied by a metaphorical tree as the pivotal spatial element. Moonlight in "The Beautiful Suit" seems to constitute a variant of the cosmic tree. This structure corresponds to a cosmological model with a sacred centre of a space and time continuum. According to Meletinskiĭ et al.:

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[4] Kopaliński suggests paradise, salvation, life, home, happiness as connotations of the garden in the Bible (1997: 270).

[…] the separation of earth and heaven creates the basis for the qualitative description of the universe in terms of a vertical axis. Archaic myths are full of motifs that describe the road to heaven as winding its way up a tree, a column, a mountain, a rainbow, a sunbeam, a ladder, or even a chain of arrows joined end to end. In this model of the universe, a column or even a tall mountain can have the same meaning as the cosmic tree or anthropo-morphic being. They link heaven and earth and prevent the sky from falling down (2000: 194).

The mythical model may serve to depict the metaphorical extension of the garden in "The Beautiful Suit". The narrator refers to the transformed space of "the whole round immensity" of the garden-world while describing the little man's behaviour in the garden: "He stood for a time like one awestricken, and then, with a queer small cry and holding out his arms, he ran out as if he would embrace at once the whole round immensity of the world" (2000: 623).

In the garden space the symbolic link between the earth and heaven is constituted by the moonlight as well as by spatial elements derived from it, as is suggested in the following description:

The garden in the moonlight was very different from the garden by day; moonshine was tangled in the hedges and stretched in phantom cobwebs from spray to spray, and the air was a-quiver with the thridding of small crickets and nightingales singing unseen in the depths of the trees... (Wells 2000: 623).

Moonlight in the garden results in mysterious shadows, leaves lined with dew, strange silver patternings. The moon used to be a mediator between enormous outer space and variable earthly life (Kopaliński 1997: 179). Throughout the story, "the great ivory-tinted moon that ruled the world" (2000: 623) connects the earth and the sky, but also the garden and the heavens. Additionally, in "The Beautiful Suit" the dynamic function of the moon is amplified by the motifs of mystery and miracle, and is emphasized by star imagery in the following description:

> There was no darkness in the world, but only warm, mysterious shadows, and all the leaves and spikes were edged and lined with iridescent jewels of dew. The night was warmer than any night had ever been, the heavens by some miracle at once vaster and nearer, and, in spite of the great ivory-tinted moon that ruled the world, the sky was full of stars (Wells 2000: 623).

The protagonist's perception of "the heavens by some miracle at once vaster and nearer" relies on the oppositions of distant vs. near and strange vs. familiar. Owing to these connotations, the protagonist's wandering through the garden becomes unlimited and aims for outer, mystical space defined as "the whole round immensity of the world" (2000: 623). The spatial endlessness is metaphysically connected with the temporal eternity implied by the protagonist's transition from the earthly life to immortal existence.

The motif of immortality is connected with the symbolic qualities of dew in the above passage. Considering the biblical symbolism of the dew Alva William Steffler remarks that "dew and rain symbolize blessings […], and dew is believed to fall from the heavens to raise the dead […]. It also symbolizes the gift of the Holy Spirit, which revitalizes the soul" (2002: 107). In "The Door in the Wall" the motif of sacred revitalization seems to be present in Wallace's need for spiritual renewal. In this context, the narrator reveals the protagonist's lack of interest in earthly existence: "all the interests and spectacle of worldly life seem dull and tedious and vain to him" (Wells 2000: 572).

The following description explicitly presents the door as the indicator of Wallace's transition to the immortal world: "To him at least the Door in the Wall was a real door, leading through a real wall to immortal realities" (2000: 572). The temporal transition correlated with the spatial passage into a different world is connected with the symbolism of death with the emphasis on its metaphysical connotations. The protagonist's death is depicted in the context of eternity suggesting his passing from one state to another. This is why the narrator is

quite assured that "the door in the wall" is for Wallace "an outlet" leading to immortal realities.

The motif of eternal life is directly connected with the garden of Wallace's dream. Considering his death, the narrator assumes that the wandering through the garden is an escape into another beautiful world, which was Wallace's desire for all his life. In the final passage the narrator reflects:

> You may think me superstitious, if you will, and foolish; but indeed, I am more than half-convinced that he had, in truth, an abnormal gift, and a sense, something – I know not what – that in the guise of wall and door offered him an outlet, a secret and peculiar passage of escape into another and altogether more beautiful world. At any rate, you will say, it betrayed him in the end. But did it betray him? There you touch the inmost mystery of these dreamers, these men of vision and imagination. We see our world fair and common, the hoarding and the pit. By our daylight standard he walked out of security into darkness, danger, and death. But did he see like that? (Wells 2000: 583-584).

The spatial parameters are determined by Wallace's escape from the "pit" that represents the underground sphere.[5] Wallace's wandering is over as he passes from the earthly sphere through the green door into the immortal reality of the garden-universe, the eternal life connected with divine existence. Ryken observes that "In the book of Job, to be redeemed from going down to the grave is parallel to one's life seeing the light [...], and to be brought back from the Pit is to 'see the light of life'" (1998: 511).

Similar connotations of human death are suggested by the duck-pond imagery in "The Beautiful Suit". The symbolism of water (pond) is connected with the motif of reflection and the presence of mirror imagery. The space-reflection of the pond implies an unmimetic space and can be perceived as a mediator between the earth and heaven (Faryno 1978: 263). Described as a "great bowl of silver moonshine" and connected

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[5] "The hoarding and the pit" may suggest the association with the pit in the earth. The same meaning may be also attributed to "the stone pit" in "The Beautiful Suit" indicating the underground sphere.

with "silver dripping masses", the duck-pond becomes an equivalent of the moon. It is notable that mythological connotations of the moon evoke water, rain and the fate of the soul after death. The moon influences the passage from life to death and simultaneously from death to life (Kopaliński 1997: 180).

Functions similar to the moon's are performed in the space of the garden by other spatial elements: the singing frogs, the singing nightingales, the tangled reflections of the brooding trees upon the bank, the tangles of the willow-herbs. They seem to constitute variants of the archetypal ladder as "a symbol of a connection between heaven and earth" (Becker 2000: 168). The narrator describes the place of the little man's wandering as loaded with symbolic links:

> Beyond the hedge he came to the duck-pond, or at least to what was the duck pond by day. But by night it was a great bowl of silver moonshine all noisy with singing frogs, of wonderful silver moonshine twisted and clotted with strange patternings, and the little man ran down into its water between the thin black rushes, knee-deep and waist-deep and to his shoulders, smiting the water to black and shining wavelets with either hand, swaying and shivering wavelets, amidst which the stars were netted in the tangled reflections of the brooding trees upon the bank. He waded until he swam, and so he crossed the pond and came out upon the other side, trailing, as it seemed to him, not duckweed, but very silver in long, clinging, dripping masses (Wells 2000: 623).

The little boy's wandering into the water, which is perceived by him as clinging, dripping masses of silver, suggests a motion into the depths.[6] The appearance of this kind of spatial motion may express the metaphysical state of the protagonist, his desire for passing into eternal life (Szokalski 1995: 161).

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[6] Compare also the motif of singing in the depths: "the air was a-quiver with the thridding of small crickets and nightingales singing unseen in the depth of the trees" (Wells 2000: 623). According to *Dictionary of Symbols* "All world-axis symbols (the mountain, ladder, tree, cross, liana, rope, the thread of the spider, spear) are connected with the symbolism of ascension" (Cirlot 1991: 20).

It is crucial that the garden space is influenced by the metaphysical parameters of the high-road that appears on the protagonist's way. This road that reaches to the sky is connected with a symbolic ladder linking the earth and the sky. The narrator describes the high-road as a way leading to the little boy's death-happiness:

> The high-road ran straight as an arrow flies, straight into the deep-blue pit of sky beneath the moon, a white and shining road between the singing nightingales, and along it he went, running now and leaping, and now walking and rejoicing, in the clothes his mother had made for him with tireless, loving hands. The road was deep in dust, but that for him was only soft whiteness; and as he went a great dim moth came fluttering round his wet and shimmering and hastening figure" (Wells 2000: 623-624).

The duality of the high-road reveals its belonging to both the earthly and the heavenly spheres. On the one hand, the road has indicators of the heavens: the moon, sun, or stars with white and shining hue. On the other hand, it is an earthly road with deep dust as a symbol of mortality.[7] The earthly-heavenly connotations are designated by the two pre-dominating colours, white and black, as well as their equivalents, light and darkness. Yet the little man reveals his preference for "soft whiteness". The aspiration of the protagonist to "the road that is only soft whiteness for him" seems to suggest symbolic qualities: "White usually represents purity [...] and holiness" (Steffler 2002: 133). The narrator describes the little boy's death as the way to happiness and passing to divine existence:

> And the moth circled closer and closer until at last its velvet wings just brushed his lips [...]. And next morning they found him dead, with his neck broken, in the bottom of the stone pit, with his beautiful clothes a little bloody, and foul and stained with the

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[7] Dust is strongly linked with mortality in the Bible: "At its most benign the image of decay conveys the notion of mortality. This is the import of God's words to Adam, 'Dust you are and to dust you will return'" (Ryken 1998: 799).

duckweed from the pond. But his face was a face of such happiness that, had you seen it, you would have understood indeed that he had died happy, never knowing that cool and streaming silver for the duckweed in the pond (Wells 2000: 624).

The passage to eternal happiness can be perceived in connection with the garden space as a circular movement described by the structural sequence: garden as original home (paradise) – garden as earthly home – garden as eternal home designating the motif of continuous human homecoming. This attitude toward home spaces proves the ambigous or even paradoxical pursuit that derives from the symbolism of death as our eternal home. The biblical connotations of the image of death as the passage to a welcoming home, are explained by Ryken: "Ecclesiastes sees death as our 'eternal home'. The emphasis is on finality: once you get there, you will never come back" (1998: 399).

We have already mentioned that on spatial and temporal levels Wells's gardens not only present a man's wandering through his life time, but also imply his position in the universe, in relation to eternal life. The space setting in the stories is related to a concentric world picture in which the archetype of the garden is dominant. This garden represents a world in which movement prevails and boundaries are absent, in which space is itinerant, and in which roads run to heaven. It creates a vision of life beyond the range of normal experience, expressed by Wells's three-dimensional garden.

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"Virtue's eternal spring":
The management of time
in Thomas Middleton's *Masque of Heroes*

AGNIESZKA ŻUKOWSKA

Abstract

In his *Masque of Heroes* (1619), a festive entertainment commissioned by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple, Thomas Middleton glorifies and immortalises his performers and audience, using strategies of temporal manipulation constitutive for the entire masquing genre. The conventional images of disorder opening court entertainments are here clearly time-related and complemented with the notion of humanity's subjection to time; the masque-specific vision of harmony involves an ephiphanic scenic display of the costumed Templars, described as heroes "in lasting honour spher'd." Investigating Middleton's careful management of temporal relationships evolved in the entertainment in question, this article aims to prove that his Inner Temple commission – which has not attracted much critical attention – is an epitomic example of the quasi-theatrical genre referred to as the Stuart masque, where the timeless realm exposed on the stage was supposed to spread out into the auditorium, eventually detemporalising the spectators.

Key words

Thomas Middleton, Masque of Heroes, Inner Temple, time, masque

In Thomas Middleton's rhymed preface to the printed version of his *Inner Temple Masque, or, Masque of Heroes* (1619), the playwright modestly announces that he "only made the time they sat to see / Serve for the mirth itself, which was found free / And herein fortunate (that's counted good), / Being

made for ladies, ladies understood" (1967: 258).[1] Middleton's slighting attitude to his own creation seems to have been shared by the majority of commentators on the genre of the Stuart masque, to the effect that *Heroes* has largely gone unnoticed, save for occasional introductions in masque collections (Bald 1967, Knowles 2007). An entertainment presented by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple "for many worthy Ladies" (1967: 258), Middleton's masque was not graced by the presence of royal spectators, who were the principal addressees of Stuart court masques. What we are dealing with is not one of the Jacobean-Caroline "spectacles of state" (Jonson 1838 [1631]: 658) but a festive entertainment "designed for the fringes of court influence" (McMillin 2007: 86), which might partly account for its unpopularity with masque critics.

One of the very few to actually comment on Middleton's *Heroes*, Enid Welsford once stated that it is "by no means the only masque in which the plot is nothing but a symbolical setting forth either of the particular holiday which was being celebrated, or else more generally of the flight of time, the succession of day and night, the round of seasons, months, and festivals" (1927: 208). What she failed to notice is that references to time and temporality which permeate Middleton's production lie at the very core of the entire genre. Masques were complex performative events, constantly fluctuating between theatre and ritual, art and politics, as well as between fact and fiction, where the represented world of the stage and the real world of the auditorium, though initially kept apart, would eventually blend. A necessary precondition for the masque was that the audience assembled in the masquing hall would have to suspend their disbelief and let themselves be incorporated into the realm of the divine, a privileged location where time ceases to flow. Mediating between the mortal and the immortal, the genre was naturally much concerned with the notion of temporality, the more so as it had evanescence

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[1] Writing on Middleton's early readers, John Jowett has observed that "the verses attached to *Masque of Heroes* refer to the ladies in the masque's audience, and so might elicit a female readership" (2007: 289).

inscribed into its very constitution. For all the glamour of its "stage pictures", i.e. architecturally shaped scenic *tableaux vivants*, as well as for all the elegance and sophistication of its dancing routines, airs of music and learned speeches, the masque offered a rather short-lived display of multimedial splendour. Its perspective settings, echoing masterpieces of stage design of the continental Renaissance, were torn apart immediately after the performance; its elaborately staged dances, painstakingly rehearsed weeks before the production, were just one-time affairs. The insubstantial nature of the form has come to be most aptly summarised by Francis Bacon, who, right at the very outset of his *On Masques and Triumphs* essay, states that "These things are but toys," adding that "it is better they should be graced with elegancy" (1856 [1625]: 187).

The playwrights commissioned to create masques were well aware of the ephemeral nature of the genre and the intricate temporal relationships it entailed. Modelling his *Inner Temple Masque* on the entertainments produced for the Stuart sovereign and his courtiers, Middleton seems to have been no exception to this rule. His *Heroes* may lack the wistful lyrical beauty of Samuel Daniel's much-cited song on "Pleasures [that] are not, if they last, / In their passing is their best" (1995 [1610]: 63), nor does it match Jonson's incessant manifestations of learnedness intended to free his entertainments from the constraints of their "present occasion".[2] What shows in the slight work commissioned by the Templars, though, is a clever management of temporal relationships, designed to free the spectators from the burden of mortality. As focused as any of the mainstream court productions on exorcising mortality, Middleton's *Heroes* deserves its share of attention.

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[2] The phrase used comes from Jonson's *Hymenaei* (1606), where the masquing genre is defined as the combination of "riches and magnificence in the outward celebration or show" and "the most high and hearty inventions to furnish the inward parts, and those grounded upon antiquity and solid learnings; which, though their voice be taught to sound to present occasions, their sense or doth or should always lay hold on the more removed mysteries" (1969: 75-76).

Crucial for the understanding of the model of temporal relations evolved in *The Inner Temple Masque* was its opening section, consisting of a scene of witty and vivacious dialogue followed by two danced antimasques. A necessary constituent of each entertainment of the type discussed, the antimasque was meant to accommodate the world of vice, inhabited by creatures physically and morally deformed, which would eventually give way to the idealised superhuman figures of the masque proper. In accordance with its definition formulated by Ben Jonson in *The Masque of Queens* (1609), the antimasque was to be integrated into the entire performance; it was to function as "a spectacle of strangeness, producing multiplicity of gesture, and *not unaptly sorting with the current and whole fall of the device*" (1995: 35, emphasis added). The coherence of its two basic sections was one of the conditions necessary for the production to be regarded as successful.

The few critical comments on the relationship between the antimasque and the masque proper in *Heroes* are rather unfavourable, in which they resemble a number of critical opinions concerning the later, Caroline masques, where the bond between the two sections in question is generally thought to have slackened. Although Felix Schelling does admit that the opening scene of Middleton's *Heroes* is "well-written […] [and] fantastically set forth," he classifies the work as one of the less intellectually demanding masques, where "the idea of contrast was lost in the antimasque and that of mere diversion substituted," leading to the proliferation of antimasques (1908: 122, 127). This overtly dismissive view is taken over by R. C. Bald, who claims that the entertainment's "'device,' with its dialogue incorporating the two antimasques, is admirably coordinated, although its relation to the masque of heroes, with which the entertainment concludes, is slight" (1967: 255). I shall attempt to prove that the relationship between the two sections is clearly delineated, as well as considerably contributing to our understanding of the genre's management of time and of the temporal relationships it generated.

Middleton's *Inner Temple Masque* opened with a dialogue between Doctor Almanac, just arrived from the funeral of the

Old Year, and two hardened enemies – Fasting Day and Plum-porridge. These were soon joined by the figure of the New Year, who became the principal spectator – in a play-within-a-play manner – to the two succeeding antimasques ("antemasques" is Middleton's preferred spelling). The first of these was a dance of six unruly personifications originating in the calendar: Candlemas Day, Shrove Tuesday, Lent, Ill May Day, Mid-summer Eve and the first Dog Day, whom Almanac encouraged to do their worst in the belief that "To bid'em sin's the way to make'em mend, / For what they are forbid they run to headlong" (Middleton 1967: 264). What followed was a dancing routine which Gary Taylor and Andrew J. Sabol describe as made up of four "sections of varying tempo and metre, […] vary[ing] the measure for a particular individualized display, which […] would more likely be used to support various pantomimic rather than actual formalized dance routines" (2007: 128).

Presenting the audience with what might initially be viewed as unoriginal, standard antimasque imagery of disruption, this section of the entertainment did introduce a potent theme, which would soon contrast considerably with the principal themes of the masque proper, namely the notion of enslavement. However wilful they may have seemed, the six personifications were in fact no more than servants, or even, as Doctor Almanac called them, *slaves* to New Year, their dance being meant "[t]o draw fresh blood into [their] master's cheeks" (Middleton 1967: 264). As such, they were not capable of any serious acts of rebellion which would have threatened the masque proper. The worst they could do was, as the masque text informs us, look disrespectfully at the figure of Time, who was yet another participant in Middleton's temporally oriented masque (and – notably enough – also a *servant* to New Year), to which their master observed: "What scornful looks the abusive villains threw / Upon the reverend form and face of Time!" (1967: 264).

Antimasque-specific images of disruption and, more importantly, of servitude, would return to the Inner Temple stage with the arrival of the second antimasque, an emblem-

like dancing routine performed by Good, Bad and Indifferent Days. In a long speech preparing the audience for the upcoming antics, the Doctor commented on people's habit of consulting himself, i.e. the almanac, prior to engaging in everyday occupations. And thus, "[t]his farmer will not cast his seed i'th' ground / Before he look in Bretnor," while "[a] punctual lady will not paint forsooth / Upon his critical days – 'twill not hold well" (Middleton 1967: 265). Leaving aside its comical overtones, what this speech serves to underline is the extent to which human life is governed by the cycle of the changing seasons. Thus described, humanity's subjection to time is clearly linked with the theme of enslavement, which has already dominated the first antimasque, where six unruly Days were made to dance to please their masters. It turns out that there is a profound thematic correspondence between the two antimasques, which makes this section of the entertainment something more than "a mere diversion," as Felix Schelling would have it when writing on Middleton's entertainment (1908: 122).

Neither was the "idea of contrast" (Schelling 1908: 122) between the antimasque and the masque proper entirely lost. Middleton's Inner Temple production was anything but faultily constructed: in a twist typical of the genre, its antimasque section found its exact opposite in the masque proper, accentuating the impression of wonder which was to be created by the main part of the entertainment. As in its court counterparts, which depended for their effect on the sheer splendour of costumes and sceneries, right at the very outset of the proper part of the Templars' masque the verbal gave way to the visual. The antimasques, then, were succeeded by a carefully designed scenic display of a group of disguised gentlemen of the Inner Temple, a *tableau vivant* modelled on the scenic epiphanies of court entertainments. Cast as semi-divine creatures, yet still recognisable as their earthly selves (see, for instance, Orgel 1981: 117), the performing courtiers mediated between the timeless realm of the transcendental revealed on stage and the here and now of the court. The semi-fictional identity devised for the Templars accorded well with

the conventions of the genre: the gentlemen taking part in the entertainment were presented as a group of Heroes deified for their virtues. Excluded from the power of time, they were most unlike the constrained days and the enslaved humanity pictured in the opening (i.e. antimasque) section of the performance. It follows that the antimasque was thematically integrated with the proper part of the Inner Temple production; in no way was the connection between the two elements as slight as some commentators have suggested (Bald 1967: 255). The entire entertainment was so structured as to underline the opposition between the antimasque and the masque proper, or rather the opposition between the evanescent and the immortal which is by no means specific to *Heroes*, but should be seen as one of the defining features of the masquing genre.

The opposition between the timeless and the temporal had a strong bearing on the linguistic content of the production discussed. It was one of the conventions of the genre to accompany figures' entries with narrative speeches on their identity. Such ekphrastic passages, immensely popular with masque-makers, were meant to help those less conversant with Jonsonian emblematic charades grasp the meanings hidden behind various costume details and attributes. Middleton's *Heroes* fully conforms to this rule: as already stated, Doctor Almanac made a perfect herald to the antimasque figures, duly listing their defining features in the speeches framing their dancing routines. Invested with the ordering power over days and seasons, Almanac epitomised the world's subjection to time, which – as already noticed – was a recurrent motif in the antimasque section of the entertainment. Inseparably connected with the notion of temporality, Doctor Almanac was not, though, an appropriate presenter for the disguised gentlemen appearing as heroes reared beyond time. All he could do was to announce the arrival of the masque proper (but not of the heroes themselves), as he addressed the New Year with the following words:

[I] can no longer now conceal from you
Your happy omen, sir; blessings draw near you.
…
The minute, nay, the point of time's arrived;
Methinks the blessings touch you, now they're felt, sir.
(Middleton 1967: 266, 267).

It should be noted, in passing, that this speech is suffused with references to time, including the self-correcting phrase "the minute, nay, the point of time," all of which underline the temporal nature of the entertainment at the point where its fleeting antimasque scenes were about to give way to the display of scenic splendour, meant to illustrate the timeless realm of divinity miraculously revealed on stage.

Doctor Almanac having disappeared somewhere in between the antimasque and the masque proper,[3] the task of explicating scenic wonders was taken over by the figure of Harmony, accompanied by her sacred choir. Although the printed version of the entertainment does not specify their identity, Harmony's chorus must have been composed of the heavenly spheres, containing stars and planets exempt from worldly decay, which were thought to be constantly in motion. No other presenter would have been more appropriate to introduce the stellified masquers, applauded by the spheres as "[b]right heroes in lasting honour spher'd / Virtue's eternal spring, / […] beyond Time rear'd" (Middleton 1967: 267). These lines, attesting to the Heroes' detemporalised status, might just as well be applied to any masquer participating in an entertainment scripted by Ben Jonson, Thomas Campion, William Davenant, or any of the playwrights commissioned to create court masques.

For all the rhapsodic quality of such songs, the masque was an inherently multimedial genre, depending just as much – or

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[3] This having been said, I would not fully agree with James Knowles, who has observed that the "antimasque forces [in *Masque of Heroes*] are not expelled but absorbed into the proper order" (2007: 1323). Middleton is very explicit about the withdrawal of the antimasque creatures, who, upon the arrival of the masque proper, "having purchased a smile from the cheeks of many a beauty by their ridiculous figures, *vanish*, proud of that treasure" (1967: 266, emphasis added).

even more – on the visual as it did on the verbal. In accordance with this rule, the heavenly provenance of the Templars was also underlined visually – by the very composition of the scene of their first discovery. Accordingly, the nine gentlemen taking part in the entertainment were first revealed seated in the upper part of the scenery, which had previously been taken by a cloud. The conventional associations of the sky with the divine, making celestial panoramas and cloud-decked fly-galleries particularly favourite with masque-makers, were here additionally strengthened by the quasi-architectural articulation of the setting. As stated in the printed version of the entertainment, the Heroes were discovered sitting in *arches* of clouds, which means that for a brief moment before leaving the stage picture, they were so posed as to bear resemblance to architectural sculpture. As a sculptured representation is conventionally accorded the power to immortalise the sitter, the performers' sculptural stylisation should be viewed as yet another sign of their exclusion from the power of time. The unruly irregularity of the antimasque dancing routines, all of them acted out by figures related to time, thus gave way to the architectural order of the stage, with all the allegorical implications the arts of sculpture and architecture brought with themselves.

The contrast between the two sections of the entertainment – noticeable only in retrospect – was further strengthened when the masquers descended on to the dancing place. This descent, as stated in a song by Harmony and her choir, was to serve as a presentation of "how after times should move" (Middleton 1967: 268). In their next song, the orderly dancing routine of the Heroes was described as having a didactic function: the disguised Templars were heralded as those

[…] whose every little motion
May learn strictness more devotion,
Every pace of that high worth
It treads a fair example forth,

Quickens a virtue, makes a story,
To [their] own heroic glory.
(Middleton 1967: 268).

Envisaged as a self-evident lesson in virtue, this dance would thus depart rather far from the dancing routines of the antimasque section, which had required Doctor Almanac's lengthy verbal introductions to be properly comprehended. Also, the masquers' display of dancing expertise, supposedly never-ending and ever-perfect, must have strongly contrasted with the unorthodox, intentionally imperfect antimasque frolics. It was at the sight of the latter that the New Year exclaimed, "But is here all?" (Middleton 1967: 265), thus pointing to the antimasque's incomplete and flawed nature.

The notions of perfection and self-containedness inscribed into the masque proper were further accentuated by the symbolism of the number nine, there being nine masquers in the performance, whose "three times thrice blest number / Raise Merit from his ancient slumber" (Middleton 1967: 268). As R.C. Bald has observed, it would be difficult not to associate the performing aristocrats with the paragons of military virtue known under the collective name of the Nine Worthies, who would return a year later in Middleton's festive co-production with William Rowley, *The World Tossed at Tennis* (1620). As opposed to *Tennis*, the Worthies in *Heroes* were not given their individual names (Bald 1967: 265). Still, this authorial choice accords well with the conventions of the genre as a whole, where masquers were usually presented as a uniform group, the only exception being the royal performer, who would have been distinguished from his or her noble attendants by costume details. The masquers of Middleton's entertainment were all equals, so there was no need to set anybody off; they figured as a collective body of historical, mythological and biblical figures. A more significant discrepancy between the two productions is that the Nine Worthies in *The World Tossed at Tennis* were accompanied by the nine Muses so as to illustrate the ideal conjunction of arts and arms, an arrangement which was not used in the Inner

Temple entertainment. In fact, the nine Muses were not needed in *The Inner Temple Masque*, for their place had already been taken by the ladies present in the auditorium.

The relationship between the performance and its female spectators – which Middleton speaks of so slightingly in his prefatory comments to the masque – requires further investigation, for it aptly illustrates the changing temporal status of the audience in the Stuart masque. As opposed to the Worthies and Muses of the Middleton-Rowley entertainment, all of them originating in allegorized antiquity, the Worthies and ladies in *Heroes* belonged to two distinct ontological domains. As soon as they were first displayed on stage, the Inner Temple masquers were assigned the *personae* of demigods, reared beyond time by their virtue; in contrast, the ladies in the auditorium, as audiences at all masques, were inhabitants of the earthly realm. Still, it was one of the basic precepts of the genre that the boundaries between performers and spectators were to be obliterated, so as to incorporate those watching the entertainment in the splendour of the divine realm revealed on stage.

In an act of an elitist epiphany typical of the masque, the audience, though themselves subject to time, were first given an insight into the timeless realm, and thus positioned halfway between the mortal and the immortal. They would soon enter into a more tactile contact with the divine: in Middleton's concluding song, the ladies seated in the auditorium were invited to dance with the Heroes, who were to "double both [their] fame and light / Each choose his star, and full adorn this night" (1967: 268). Such dances, referred to as the revels, were a standard feature of the Stuart masque; they were meant to blend, albeit metaphorically, the court and its noble audience with the divine world. Middleton is thoroughly explicit about the immortalising influence of the revels: in his view, the dancing routines were to reproduce the never-ending movement of heavenly bodies, which – in accordance with the high-flown style of masque-specific panegyrics – the ladies actually eclipsed and outnumbered: "for one Luna, here [shone] ten; / And for one Venus, twenty" (1967: 268).

The revels, for all their semblance of the unchanging celestial order, were soon curtailed by Time himself, who announced: "The morning grey / Bids come away; / Every lady should begin / To take her chamber, for the stars are in" (Middleton 1967: 269). In the lines quoted – one of many temporally-oriented valedictions to be found in masques – the real time of the auditorium seems to overcome that of the metaphysical world. If these were the last lines of the whole entertainment, one might consider *The Inner Temple Masque* as a failed exorcism which has not fulfilled its main goal: time has not been conquered. Nevertheless, a conviction that the ladies watching the masque would eventually escape worldly decay has found its expression in the closing lines of the entertainment, which ends with a blessing uttered by Time: "Live long the miracles of times and years / Till with those heroes you sit fix'd in spheres" (Middleton 1967: 269).[4]

Despite its relative formal simplicity, Thomas Middleton's *Masque of Heroes* retains the temporal structure typical of the genre it belongs to. Its overt focus on time seems to have been something more than just an outcome of its seasonal occasion. Viewed in this light, the slighting tone of Middleton's initial declaration that he "*only made the time* they sat to see / *Serve* for the mirth itself" (1967: 258, emphasis added) is thoroughly misleading; it should be seen rather as a manifestation of authorial modesty characteristic of contemporary panegyric literature than as a conscious dismissal of one's creation. One might say that in the course of this masque time was indeed *made to serve*, in the sense of being manipulated by the playwright. Still, Middleton's careful management of temporal relationships was not meantto please the audience, but rather to make it possible for them to enter and live in "Virtue's eternal spring" (Middleton 1967: 267).

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[4] Interestingly enough, the couplet quoted above was the only section of the entertainment to have been addressed to the ladies. The masque was overtly directed at the figure of the New Year, who functioned as yet another device binding the two sections of the entertainment: his disgust with the unruly element of the antimasque was rewarded by the vision presented in the masque proper.

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LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

How children learn languages:
Comparison of L1 and L2
and implications for ELT

HANNA KRYSZEWSKA

Abstract

The paper compares language learning processes when children acquire L1 and learn L2, and discusses the implications for foreign language teaching. It first looks at the stages of learning the mother tongue from birth to approximately the age of six. It also lists and analyses the types of unstructured and fixed texts native children are exposed to. The latter are the main focus of the discussion as they are of greater importance to the EFL class. Of special interest are also how native children use or experiment with the language they have observed in fixed texts and the extent to which these texts can be an inspiration for EFL texts. Then the paper presents similarities between learning L1 and L2 which ELT teachers can exploit. Equally important are the differences which can be perceived as both limitations or opportunities. Finally the paper suggests that the conclusions have implications for plurilingual education of YL.

Key words

acquisition, learning, mother tongue, foreign/target language, native children, young learners

1. Introduction

A teacher of young learners aged 6-12 (YL) teaching English as the first foreign language (L2) learns a lot from observing how native children learn their mother tongue (L1). It is an aware-

ness raising experience for English Language Teaching (ELT) and has implications for classroom practice (Moon 2000: 15-25). Learning L2, here means formal tuition at school, not through contacts with native children in an out-of school context or exposure to L2 at home, for example through the DeDomo project (Śpiewak, Szeżyńska 2010: 9-125). It is believed that teaching L2 can be to some extent modelled on certain patterns of learning L1. When children come into an L2 class at the age of 6/7, they may be seen as novice L2 language learners, or they can be seen as experts who have just successfully learned a language, which is quite a feat. Aware of certain patterns, regularities and the children's potential or limitations, ELT teachers can decide which processes of learning L1 are worth emulating and whether they can be recreated in a language class. A number of areas are of particular interest to ELT teachers, especially exposure to language (input), remembering (revision and retention) and the actual production of language (output). The aim of this paper is to compare language learning processes when children learn L1 and L2 and to discuss the implications for ELT and possibly for plurilingual education of YL.

2. How native children learn L1

The linguistic L1 experience children enjoy in the first 5/6 years of life is extensive. Newborns are unable to receive or to produce any language, as the ear, the brain and the speech apparatus are not ready for it. The speech apparatus needs time and ample exercise to be able to produce the sounds of the language. So does the brain before it can interpret sounds as language, think in language terms or in mentalese, and give the right neurological impulses for the speech organs to produce utterances. Subsequently children need to figure out the lexical and grammatical patterns of the language from distorted or structured input. To reach the linguistic competence of, say, a five year old, native children need hours of exposure to language and endless attempts to use it and

experiment with it, followed by feedback from their carers and other more competent users of the language. The consecutive stages of this process have been outlined in publications by Burner (1983: 4-111) and Crystal (1986: 35-209) and are worth investigating in greater detail.

From the moment of birth, children are surrounded by language, and within the first few minutes they hear well over a hundred utterances which are made up of approximately five hundred words. The language comes as incomprehensible noise and the brain is unable to make sense of what the ears pick up, and it is also not certain when exactly children learn to distinguish the individual sounds of speech. The first year marks a number of achievements in L1. In the first two months children make biological noises only, then they start to coo, often in response to their carer, followed by vocal play in which the voice is modulated, the same sounds are repeated, and the voice glides from sound to sound. The first signs of comprehension come in the fourth month and are always aided by the situation, intonation, gestures, body language and immediate reference to the objects or situation the utterances refer to.

Towards the end of the first year children can babble (repeat the same syllables a few times) and then string the babbles into melodic utterances which imitate speech. What the carers say remains in immediate relationship to what is happening to the children and what they are doing, so progressively there is more understanding on the child's part. With time, children are also able to attract attention by pointing to objects, and so, from being on the receiving end of a linguistic relationship, they initiate communication. Sometimes a kind of dialogue between the children and the carers takes place, although the two "speak" a different language. The former, however, are able to interpret the children's utterances, especially if they recur in similar circumstances. This is the first step towards the children's first words and utterances in the same language the carers speak.

In the first year children learn how to pronounce a number of sounds, begin to comprehend language and discover that language serves the purpose of communicating with others, but as yet say no actual words in L1. Soon they will have learned a number of basic conversational skills, partially thanks to the fact that carers simplify the grammar and vocabulary, speak in shorter and simpler utterances, repeating them several times often more loudly than they would normally speak. Research shows that one year olds may be able to understand up to 60 words. This is the outcome of an ideal learning environment in which children are surrounded by native speakers who are responsive to every sound they make, virtually round the clock. Although the carers speak to the children in short and simple sentences which children hear repeatedly in similar circumstances, when they speak to other competent users of the language naturally they do not simplify the language they use and the language the children observe is less predictable. As adults often speak in incomplete sentences or use complex grammar and lexis there is a lot of distorted input from the children's point of view (Cook, 2000: 1-5, 1-31). As children are under no pressure to say anything, they can just observe and be submerged in the language, which is vital. In this period carers play language games with the children such as tickling poems, towelling rhymes and bouncing rhymes which involve language and physical stimulation, considered crucial to learning L1 at this stage (Cook 2000: 13-16).

In the second year children start to say individual words that are reasonably easy to distinguish. However, there is no clear rule when this happens as some children may be early speakers, others late starters; some will go through the single word phase others will skip it and start speaking in phrases or chunks of language. The children's passive vocabulary is much greater than their active vocabulary and each month they learn to understand about twice as many words as they can produce. According to researchers at the age of one and a half children have a spoken knowledge of 50 words, and master

approximately 22 new words each month while their passive knowledge of words is twice as many. Lexical sets relate to the immediate surroundings such as the family and basic everyday activities, food, or describing words such as basic adjectives and colours, and finally some delexified verbs, like *have, get*.

Language surrounds children, but imitating and repeating after their carers is not the way L1 is learned. When children hear a word for the first time they are unable to decipher the meanings attributed to it. Observation of language comes first, and is followed by experimenting, for example the carer says *milk*, the child registers it and then uses the word s/he has heard in different situational contexts, as if testing if the this is the right use, for example first referring to any drink as *milk* and only after some time learning to use it referring to the actual drink the word describes. Working out the meaning of a word comes gradually along with testing its limitations through trial and error. The process of discovery of meaning in L1 often leads to a lot of funny misunderstandings or frustrating miscommunication, but there is no other way of clarifying meaning as there is no "translation" available to the children, unlike when learning L2.

With time children start to produce their own phrases and sentences, and finally make longer utterances. They endlessly experiment with language creating their own phrases and sentences from the bits of language (lexical chunks) they have heard, making their utterances progressively longer. It is hard to say when children start to use grammar but in the second year first they use single words which have the status of sentences (holophrases). However, very quickly they progress to stringing two words together, many of which happen to be two word utterances with the status of sentences. Putting together two words in a meaningful way requires grammar and so the first examples of children trying to apply some grammar rules can be observed, although they are often fraught with overgeneralizations such as *goed* and *drinked*. In this phase children have a resource of 200 words of active

vocabulary which is sufficient to sustain communication, however, misunderstandings tend to be frequent. The ability to produce many sounds is an asset, although mastering all the sounds of the language may take a few more years. Also children learn to use intonation and so they can use a given word as a statement, question or exclamation depending on what they want to communicate with the given word and what kind of exchange they initiate or engage in. Overall the speech and pronunciation of children at this stage is immature and cute.

Year three marks a linguistic breakthrough and children can use more complex words phrases and sentences (Crystal 1986:11-141). It is almost impossible to keep pace with their progress. They may use 500 words at the age of two and a half and 1000 at the age of three, and the topic areas and related lexical sets depend on what they have experienced. The sentences get longer and consist of up to ten words but their structure is not complex, more like a string of many words sounding like a list. With time the sentences become more complex and there is a greater variety of structures although the speech still sounds "telegraphic". As children perfect the grammar they learned in year 2, their sentences become longer, statistically up to 8 words long of varying grammatical patterns. Sentences contain features such as subject, verb and object, occasional articles, and plural endings. Once the children have learned to use *and* the utterances become longer and longer as they use it not only as a linking word, but also for many other purposes such as hedging, as a filler etc. The interaction with carers often involves clarification, i.e. a child says something and the carer paraphrases and makes sure that the meaning the child has been trying to convey has actually come across.

At pre-school age (depending on the country 4-5-6), an interesting phenomenon takes place: children seem to develop a stammer. The speech comes out in language chunks and there is a pause as they stop to retrieve a whole language chunk that has been stored in the brain (Crystal 1986: 146-

148). Often the pause is filled with the repetition of *and.* Therefore, children's speech at this age is a mix of fast delivery and very slow delivery. Yet they are able to communicate quite successfully although at times the utterances are hard to follow. Carers sometimes worry and want to rush the children, which is a mistake, as they must not be put under pressure when retrieving the bits of language they need at any given moment in order to communicate. The phenomenon of stammering is absolutely normal and will naturally go away. If carers begin to fuss over it they interfere with a natural stage in the fluent acquisition of language.

There is another interesting phenomenon at this phase and it is to do with the carers themselves. In the early years of children learning L1 they were happy with every word or chunk the children produced and they themselves graded down their language to communicate with the children repeating their utterances many times if necessary. At pre-school age carers start to pick on the grammatical and lexical mistakes and correct them, often focusing on the form instead of analysing what the children really want to say. To correct a mistake the carers may ask the children to repeat, which often backfires as the children rephrase the sentences and refuse to parrot the adults or repeat to a comic effect for example the carer corrects the child's sentence *There cat* by saying *There is a cat*, and the child says *Where?* (Crystal 1986: 172-174). Another change is that the carers are no longer the main source of language. Peers, the school and mass media become equally important if not more important sources of language, which is to do with the amount of time the children spend with the various people or media per day.

Overall language used by pre-school children is more sophisticated as their sentences become more complex and varied structurally, word order is also usually correct and there are even attempts at using some conditionals and passive voice. Children's use of language is not perfect and there are mistakes such as mixing up similar constructions, obscure wording difficult for the listeners to make sense of,

but pronunciation is quite good as the children will have mastered all the vowels, most consonants, and some consonantal clusters involving two or even three consonants. The general impression one might get is that the children are fluent and have mastered the language, which is not quite true.

On the lexical level the children enjoy puns, namely playing with words and exploring the double meaning of words or chunks, for example in *knock, knock, waiter, doctor* or *school* jokes. Twisted traditional poems and nursery rhymes are another way of having fun with language which children enjoy, as in the collection of poems *What I Like.* They also develop the ability to talk about the language such as asking what word to use to call something by its name, or stating that they are not good at pronouncing a sound. However, the major breakthrough at this age is literacy training. The children will have gone through the pre-literacy stage, which involves learning to recognise that somebody is reading or writing, distinguishing written language from other "patterns", telling the difference between individual letters and numbers, learning some names of the letters, and becoming familiar with books and page turning as well as with writing implements. With the ability to read and write comes the ability to use metalanguage (language used to talk about language), recognition of various language registers and genres, and problems such as inaccurate spelling. In a nutshell at this stage mastering L1 goes through a transformation from acquisition to learning.

There are a few other considerations that need to be made when analysing how L1 is learned. The first one is the five senses (sensory modalities) which are involved in acquisition. This is to say that the children learn the meaning of individual words, phrases and sentences not only through what they can hear, but also through what they can see, touch, smell and taste. The involvement of the five senses guarantees a powerful experience and makes language memorable (O'Connor, Seymour 1990: 46-51, 62-63). Other important aspects of

learning L1 are emotions and affect, which get activated and involved as language occurs in a social or self-referential context of feelings like joy, sadness, anger or frustration. In other words every use of language by the children is "coloured" by affect which enriches the cognitive process (Stevik 1988: 43-57). Last but not least, language is used because there is a need to communicate with the surrounding world, which may result from various personal needs, such as physiological, safety, love and belonging, self-esteem and self actualisation (Maslow 1943: 370-396).

3. Exposure to L1 through texts

Children learn L1 through observation, language exposure and engagement in exchanges (Cook 2000: 11-13, 30-31). The first source are instances of authentic communication (i.e. spoken discourse of dialogues) which come in distorted and unstructured texts of daily routine situations which follow the principles of spoken grammar, and are rich in lexical chunks and lexical density with no transparent grammar patterns for the children (Carter, McCarthy 1997: 7-19, Lewis 1993: 7-18). Another significant proportion of learning takes place through exposure to situational and routinised dialogues and formulaic language. Finally, input comes from fixed texts characterised by clear patterning of linguistic forms and structures, such as spoken texts memorised by the carers in their childhood from their carers (nursery rhymes, traditional chants, poems and songs) or printed texts (stories and poems) read to the children by the carers. These texts are extremely useful and inspiring for ELT as models of how successful language input can be structured, although not all of them are suitable for an L2 class for a variety of reasons (Kryszewska 2006: 68-77).

3.1. Fixed texts: one-way physical contact

This category contains a number of texts. Bouncing rhymes involve the use of language accompanied by touching and

moving the child about. The carer says the rhyme and at the same time rocks, bounces or swings the child. The combination of language and physical movement makes the child more attentive and eager to listen to the language. The child does not understand the language but is positively predisposed to it as language is associated with relationship and contact with other people, e.g. *A Smooth Road* (trad.). The second type are towelling or drying rhymes in which language is combined with physical contact. In *This Little Piggy* (trad.) the little "piggies" are the child's toes and the carer chants the poem when towelling the child's toes after a bath. And finally there are tickling poems like *The Teddy Bear Rhyme* (trad.), which are similar to bouncing poems and towelling rhymes, but in the tickling poems there is an additional element of suspense and anticipation. There is a short pause before the "tickle" in order to heighten the anticipation, the length of which as well as the site of tickling can vary.

3.2. Fixed texts: total physical response

This category of fixed texts involves the children's physical reaction, known in ELT as Total Physical Response – TPR, (Harmer 2007: 68-69, 80, Moon 2000: 7-8, 54, 57, 140-141) as in the finger play in *This Is The Church* (trad.), in which the children have to perform certain actions with the fingers, interlocking their fingers following the text of the rhyme. Action poems or rhymes in which the child performs certain movements which illustrate the story as they follow the text are based on the same TPR principle as in *A fox got my socks.* There are many advantages of TPR as it checks comprehension, helps physical coordination and is fun.

3.3. Fixed texts: poems

There are a great variety of poems the child is exposed to. Nursery rhymes are the first type that spring to mind as they are often the nation's favourite poems handed down from

generation to generation. They are often acted out and are considered fun e.g. *Half a pound of tuppenny rice*, *Ring, a ring o' roses, The Grand old Duke of York,* although the archaic vocabulary and grammar make them hard to understand. Additionally their real meaning is often not registered, like the poverty of workers in the weaving industry in the mid 19th century, the Great Plague, and the cruelty of the aristocrat towards his army respectively. Counting out rhymes which are used to nominate children belong to the second type of poems, such as when playing *It* to decide who will be chasing the others, for example *Eeny, meeny, miny moe* (trad.), or taunts and skipping rope poems. These rhymes often tend to use nonsense words which appear in sentences that follow the grammar rules of the language. However, typical poems and rhymes which have a distinct story as well as rhythm and rhymes are the most numerous group of poems. Their delivery also involves rhythmic speaking but they carry much more meaning than the former two types of poems. In fact these typical poems can be seen as a stylised form of speech as they often require the use of a number of pitches but at the same time they can be seen as good preparation for singing.

3.4. Fixed texts: songs

Songs constitute the fourth category of texts which like chants combine rhythm and language. A song has got a melody which, on the one hand makes it more attractive and memorable but on the other more difficult to perform when compared to a poem or chant. The hardest to perform are canons, sung in groups starting at different points in time, as good performance requires coordination, group work and some musical training, as when performing *London's burning.* There are also intelligence building songs like *Ten Little Indians* (reversal of the usual one-to-ten order), and action songs in which, like action poems or action stories, children sing and perform the actions to go with the text like *Head and shoulders* and *The wheels on the bus.* However, songs which contain

a drill structure, known from the Audio-lingual Approach (Harmer 2007: 63-67, 178, 206-207, 209, Larsen-Freeman 2011:36-39, 42-43, 45, 47-48,123,), are of particular interest to ELT teachers. Good examples of drills in songs are: the substitution drill in *Ten green bottles*, the accumulation drill in *Old Macdonald*, or the accumulation and substitution drills in *The Twelve Days of Christmas.*

3.5. Fixed texts: games and language play

Another category of texts that have a strict and repetitive drill pattern are games and language play. Two examples of these belong to the children's favourites: *Who stole the cookie from the cookie jar?* and   *What's the time Mr Wolf?*, which like some songs and poems have the structure of a drill, in these two examples the question and answer drill.

3.6. Fixed texts: stories

Stories written for very young native children can be structured in various ways, but like songs they very often have a drill at their core: the mechanical drill involving repetition of the same structure many times (*Have you seen my cat?)*, the substitution drill - single slot or multiple slot substitution (*Where is Spot?)*, the combination drill of mechanical and slot substitution drills (*The Very Hungry Caterpillar*, *Dear Zoo*, *What's the Time, Mr Wolf ?*), the chain drill (*Go and tell the Toucan)* or the   accumulation drill (*The Enormous Turnip* (trad.)). It is only later in life that native children are exposed to language rich texts and stories like traditional fairy tales and children's fiction. But even in these texts there is often an element of repetition as in: *The Red Riding Hood*, *Three Little Pigs* or *Jack and the Beanstalk.* Also it has to be born in mind that the same texts are read to the children over and over again, which can be seen as an extended mechanical drill. Thanks to these various kinds of drilling through fixed texts children are exposed to different language structures (input),

next they memorise them (retention), then they enjoy playful re-enactment of the story (reinforcement) and finally the children's own creativity takes over by playing with the structure or text (output).

3.7. Fixed texts: jokes

Jokes often told and retold are a category of fixed text which involves language play enjoyed by native children. This play with language through jokes is based on puns, twisted clichés, double meanings, pronunciation and intonation, for example *Knock, knock* jokes, *Why-* and *What-* jokes, as well as twisted or new versions of traditional poems and nursery rhymes (*What I like!).* This kind of play might be seen by adults as infantile and feeble, but it is of great importance when children are learning L1 and discovering the various meanings of words (Cook 2000: 71-83).

4. Similarities between learning L1 and L2

Both L1 and L2 learners observe language and initially we can tell if children have understood thanks to their physical reaction (TPR). Then they start to use single words to communicate and only later do their utterances start to contain more and more words, before finally grammar is added. To some extent L2 learners recreate the silent and single word stages which it seems cannot be skipped. Children observe language, hypothesise and experiment both in L1 and L2 (Lewis 1993: vii) therefore exposure to fixed and highly drill-like structured texts is vital as it aids this language observation. Also to help children observe language carers and teachers grade down their language. Observation of language is followed by working out the meaning of a word or grammar structure before finally, the testing of limitations through use, needless to say involving trial and error. Feedback from the carers or teachers sets the children on the right track in their language discovery. In

a nutshell the acquisition approach is implemented (Krashen 1983: 26, 34, Lewis 1993: 2029).

Children activate L1 and L2 through playing, games, role play and other activities which aid retention and retrieval. The stages of a "learning" cycle are similar: input, retention and retrieval, in this case activation through play. As language is learned through frequent repetition, if it is not revised frequently enough, much of it is forgotten, both in L1 and L2. Therefore to aid retention, to avoid boredom with frequent repetitions, to motivate and engage the children various realia are used such as puppets, finger puppets, pencil puppets, cut outs, cards, plush toys and memory games.

With older L1 and L2 children, at approximately the age of ten or eleven, L1 and L2 teachers can start switching from acquisition to learning as they can implement a more conscious way of giving input such as using overt presentation of grammar rules and learner training. This shift towards conscious learning also means teachers can start to use metalanguage such as words naming grammar structures.

Learning L1 and L2 does not exist in isolation or a vacuum. It is used for building relationships, learning about the world, learning new life skills and spending and enjoyable time. Apart from the innate human language instinct, this may be the reasons why children seem to enjoy learning both L1 and L2 and happily engage in language activities and language play. Therefore helping children to learn languages is a rewarding task and every sign of progress is very gratifying for the carer or teacher.

5. Differences between learning L1 and L2

When children come to an L2 class they are almost mature in the linguistic respect, as their brains have fully mastered the concept of language, the speech mechanism is fully developed and the brain is capable of processing information and reasoning. Learning L1 is connected with the development of various functions of the brain from day one, while when the

children start to learn L2 all these functions are already available waiting to be used for learning L2. Also the children have mastered most of the sound system of their L1 so they just need to learn the sounds specific to L2. Similarly L2 learners are also already aware of intonation and other prosodic features in longer and shorter utterances so only L2 specific features need to be taught. Although there are many conflicting theories as to by what age L2 children can master native-like pronunciation, practice shows that it is possible but only few do. It may be explained by less exposure, few if any contacts with peers using L2 in a free context and limited access to L2 mass media.

One of the ways in which children learn L1 is through observation of distorted dialogues between competent users of L1. In ELT no authentic L1 models of this kind are used as they are believed to be confusing and hard for L2 learners to interpret, comprehend and use. For this reason course book writers create their own "artificial" and graded down dialogues to provide input; they are then acted out / activated in class as sample communication. However, situational and routinised dialogues and formulaic language are a resource that course book writers also make use of to some extent. Yet, the greatest inspiration for course book writers are L1 fixed texts with clear patterning of linguistic forms and structures, as they follow the drill pattern and have a repetitive structure. They model their L2 course book texts on L1 authentic texts which as such are not used, mainly for copyright reasons.

Children of school age are capable of producing correct extended utterances to express their own ideas in L1 but this is achieved after a long silent period, years of observation, trial and error, misunderstandings and attempts. Experimenting with language and getting language wrong precede correct production and are crucial in the learning process. Additionally in L1 children are allowed to make mistakes for a number of years before carers start correcting mistakes unlike in L2 where correction usually starts quite early and teachers expect accurate extended utterances far too soon.

Another   difference in the attitude towards mistakes is also
reflected in terminology, as L2 educators distinguish between
errors, *slips* and *attempts* (Harmer 2000: 137-138, 144, 152)
while in L1 only the term *mistake* is used. Finally, L2 teachers
tend to use correction that involves the learners repeating the
corrected utterance parrot fashion after the teacher, whereas
when children learn L1 this technique is known to be
ineffective and therefore is not used.

The fact that the children already know one language in
which they communicate fluently may be seen as a serious
setback in an L2 class. It is expected that when learning in
class children will use L2 most of the time, however, as they
have very limited resources sustaining communication in L2
only is very hard. For this and a variety of other reasons
children tend to switch to L1. On the other hand sometimes
some switching can be beneficial, because if there are doubts
or misunderstandings the teacher or the students can resort to
their L1 for clarification or use translation, which is not an
option when learning L1.

Learning L2 has two more limitations. L1 input is always
connected   with   multi-sensory   input: visual,   auditory,
kinaesthetic, olfactory and gustatory (VAKOG).   In an L2
lesson the teacher must make sure that as many senses as
possible are involved in learning the language, yet usually they
are limited to the visual, auditory and kinaesthetic channels
(VAK), as it is hard to safely involve the sense of smell and
taste in a school environment. Unfortunately with L1 children
learning   language   the   olfactory   and   gustatory   sensory
channels are very powerful. Similarly, a language class is not
the same kind of "playground" as the environment in which
the children learn L1 and there is less physicality.   L1 is
learned everywhere: indoors and outdoors in the bathtub or on
granddad's knees, while L2 is mainly limited to one space only,
a kind of classroom, which is constricting no matter how
learner friendly its design is, for example equipped with
a carpeted area. Also some interaction between the adult and
child through tickling rhymes, bouncing poems and towelling

poems is not possible in a language class. One reason is the fact that in the class there are a lot of children and the teacher cannot focus too much on one child, another is that teachers are advised against any physical contact with children in case these acts are misunderstood or misinterpreted.

The ratio of people providing L1 input to the children is many adults and older children to one child learning the language. In an L2 class it is one adult, expert user of the language, to a group of language learners. In other words there is no community that teaches the child, instead there is a community all learning the language from one source, the teacher. Also when children learn L2 in class, they are not surrounded by the target language round the clock in the same way as when learning L1. Before children walk into a language class they hear a different language and switching to L2 may be perceived as artificial. When in class the teacher and the materials are the source of language, so the moment they leave the class the language is left behind despite the teachers' attempts to extend the use of L2 and to involve the parents. One may say the class is a kind of language "bubble" or language "island" the YL walks into or walks out of. This is one of the reasons why progress made in L1 and L2 cannot be compared as the number of words learned per week or month are, among others, related to the hours of exposure and frequency of revisions which are vital for retention. Progress in learning L2 also depends on the size of the group, the method, parental support, the teacher and many other factors, therefore unlike learning L1 there are no quantum leaps in learning L2.

Learning L1 is a process which gains momentum from year to year, however, when children learn L2 there is a plateau moment or even regress. If the YL started learning English at the age of 6, then around the age of 10 or 11 (class 4 Polish primary school) L2, they suffer a crisis which may be due to a too abrupt shift from acquisition to more formal language learning in class. This shift not only involves the way language is presented but it also involves the ways language is talked

about by means of metalanguage, systematic learning and revisions, basic learner strategies, doing homework, writing tests and taking feedback. If the learners are not given enough assistance and help in the transition period, there is little progress, no progress or even regress in language learning. If this takes place in class 4 of the Polish education system, this is often the moment when a new ELT teacher steps in. Children may perceive it as a kind of "bereavement" and loss of a parent figure which could add to the regress phenomenon. All these changes make this moment very delicate and teachers aware of this fact need to make sure L2 learners do not get discouraged from learning the language. The worst case scenario is that children give up on learning L2 for some time, which is never the case with L1.

In a language class there is a visible urgency and even pressure that within a given period of time children will focus and learn. However, if they are not prepared to take in L2 or do not find the activity appealing at the given moment they lose concentration. This leads to the common belief that YL have a short concentration span, but in fact they can concentrate for a long time when they choose to, for example playing with building blocks or watching a film. Lack of concentration in language learning is perceived differently in L1 and L2. Carers rarely, if ever, complain that children do not concentrate on singing a song or listening to a story. Actually, children who "run off" because they no longer enjoy being engaged in an activity behave in an acceptable way. In class the teachers are expected to keep the children focused but it may be quite difficult for the teacher to orchestrate and maintain periods of attention "here and now". What makes it even more challenging is that this concerns not one child but a whole group of children who are expected to pay attention all at the same time when they are told to do so. Learning L2 has to take place in a given time frame and when the time is up, input or practice is over. When learning L1 there is no such constraint or urgency; children learn at any time during the day, and if they choose to remain silent or opt out, it is

accepted by the carers. Also in an L2 class the teacher is much more in control over what the children will learn by selecting the teaching point, while when learning L1 it is quite the opposite, children for reasons only known to themselves choose what they want to learn and when.

Learning L1 mostly takes place when the children are illiterate while in an L2 language class children are usually at the pre-literacy or literacy stage, and although they may not be able to read or write well they often encounter a course book or workbook to learn from or practise language with. If the children start learning L2 in kindergarten the English course book may be the first "school" book they ever work with. So children may learn the first school related skills in the L2 class which are later transferable to L1, such as remembering to bring the book to the lesson, waiting their turn to answer a question, not leaving the room without permission, working in a group, all of which involve learner training and citizenship. Progress in learning L1 is not literacy related, while in L2 it very often is.

6. Conclusions

The aim of the paper is to argue that there are a number parallels between the way children learn L1 and L2, some of which are not sufficiently recognised by ELT teachers. What is more, many of the differences can be turned into an advantage when identified and harnessed appropriately. All the aspects presented in the current paper need to be taken on board by ELT educators as a resource to facilitate the process of learning L2. The expertise children bring into a class as successful L1 language learners should not be neglected as these skills are transferable. In fact, plurilingual education of YL is becoming a more widespread phenomenon (Moore 2006: 125-138) and the subject of an increasing number of research programmes which try to look at ways of consolidating various language learning experiences and the expertise children gain

form learning every next language: L3, L4, L5. The current paper prepares the ground for further considerations.

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The role of emotions
in teaching foreign languages

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to explore the function of emotions in language teaching methodology, with special focus on selected emotions and emotional disorders, and their implications for second language learning. Following on from this, the relationship between established language teaching methods and emotions felt by students will be discussed, and conclusions for language teachers undecided about the selection of teaching method will be presented. Furthermore, the impact of emotions on the choice and effectiveness of using language learning strategies will be analysed, and implications for language teachers and learners will be provided.

Key words

emotion, emotional disorder, language teaching method, language learning strategy

1. Selected emotions and emotional disorders

Although emotions occupy a crucial role in second language learning, they seem to have been underestimated by educationists and language teachers. Nonetheless, with recent changes in the methodology of language teaching, stronger emphasis is put on the effects of only such emotions as anxiety and fear on the learners. What is more, some attention is directed to the issue of emotional disorders and phobias that

students may suffer from. Obviously, all of the mentioned matters shall be considered in the present discussion.

As far as anxiety is concerned, this emotion has been difficult to define since the feeling of anxiousness may be connected with apprehensiveness, tension, concern or stress. Yet it has to be pointed out that anxiety can have an adverse effect on students' progress in learning a second language (Spolsky 1992: 115). Suffice it to say that in the language classroom several types of anxiety have been distinguished:

> communication apprehension, arising from learners' inability to adequately express mature thoughts and ideas; fear of negative social evaluation, arising from a learner's need to make a positive social impression on others; and test anxiety, or apprehension over academic evaluation (Horwitz et al. 1986; MacIntyre and Gardner 1989, 1991; as presented by Brown 2000: 151).

That is why students may feel too anxious to take part in various activities or to continue their speech; moreover, learners can also be anxious about their peers' opinion concerning their performance; as for test anxiety, some students can be so frustrated that it would prevent them from completing the task. Conversely, a relatively low level of anxiety may motivate the learners to work harder, and overcome their problems. On balance, depending on the level of anxiety, this emotion can have either negative or positive consequences for the students' progress in second language learning.

Another emotion worth considering in the present study is fear, which may also have serious repercussions for the learners and their attitude to learning. Related to anxiety, fear can likewise enhance the students' motivation or hinder any headway (Fontana 1998: 166); however, the effects of fear will differ from person to person. It needs to be indicated that also the reasons of fear may be highly subjective and specific to an individual learner, examples being fear of using the second language, fear of receiving an unsatisfactory mark, and fear of

being rejected or criticized by the teacher or by other learners. Nevertheless, some students may work out effective techniques to overcome their fear, and in consequence manage to achieve positive results in second language learning; as for other learners, teachers should create a calm and relaxed atmosphere in the classroom to allay fears experienced by students (Leontiev 1981: 71).

However, learners who are constantly unable to overcome their problems may suffer from some kind of emotional disorder. For instance, such students may be emotionally immature, which could be manifested in their being considerably impatient and irritable (Rudkowska 1998: 414). Also, a variation of fear known as examination fear, which can interfere with the learners' efforts to achieve satisfying results, has been distinguished as a very common disturbance among language learners (Eysenck and Eysenck 2003: 267). Another issue worth mentioning is school phobia, an abnormal fear which can be caused by increased expectations held by the parents or the teacher, or negative attitude to a particular student adopted by classmates (Klimasiński 2000: 123). Needless to say, teachers ought to be aware of the possibility that the above mentioned situations may occur in their classes.

On the whole, the teacher should help students relieve the emotions that interfere with their learning. Furthermore, the teacher ought to be prepared to deal with emotional problems experienced by learners, and emotional disorders which may seriously impede the progress of a particular learner as well as the whole group. In addition, to prevent such situations from occurring it may be worthwhile to undertake the initiative that has been introduced in some schools in the United States of America, where learners have special classes devoted to discussing their emotions and solving their emotional problems (as described by Goleman 1997: 402-413). To put it simply, learners' emotions cannot be underestimated in the methodology of second language teaching and learning.

2. Emotions and language teaching methods

As has been suggested in the previous parts of the present paper, emotions play an immensely important role in second language learning. That is why the function of emotions in language teaching methods ought to be analysed. Before performing this analysis however, the distinction between three related terms needs to be outlined, theses are approach, method and technique. As defined by Anthony these are:

> [an approach] […] a set of assumptions dealing with the nature of language, learning and teaching. [method] […] an overall plan for systematic presentation of language based upon a selected approach. [techniques] […] the specific activities manifested in the classroom that are consistent with a method and therefore in harmony with an approach as well. (Anthony 1963, no page reference given; as paraphrased by Brown 1994: 48)

The principles underlying language teaching methods specify various aspects of the methods connected with such issues as the role of teacher and students, the nature of the interaction between teacher and learners and among learners themselves, or the stressed skills and areas of language. The fact of the matter is that in some of the methods there are special rules prescribing how the students' emotions ought to be treated; nonetheless, techniques used in particular methods can also evoke different emotions. Therefore, the way second language teaching methods deal with the learners' emotions needs to be examined.

As far as the Grammar-Translation Method (principles and techniques used in the eight methods discussed here are taken from Diane Larsen-Freeman *Techniques and Principles in Language Teaching*) is concerned, there are no explicit rules referring to students' emotions. However, it may be of considerable importance to analyse a few techniques pertaining to the matter under discussion. For example, some of the

reading comprehension questions allow the learners to discover interrelationships between the text they read and their own experience; hence, the task may be more interesting, and is likely to evoke positive emotions. Likewise, when students are asked to use new vocabulary items in their own sentences, or write a composition about some aspect of the passage they read, the learners can express their opinions, thoughts and emotions, and thus help the teacher know them better. Nevertheless, the Grammar-Translation Method gives little attention to the issue of emotions.

The same may be true of the Direct Method, which has no principles stipulating how to deal with emotions experienced by learners. Yet there are a few significant issues that have to be mentioned. For instance, the relationship between the teacher and the students is to a certain extent based on partnership, and the interaction may be initiated by the teacher as well as by the learners; suffice it to say that by arousing positive emotions in students the above situations help to create a sense of equality and positive environment for the learning process to occur. Furthermore, encouraging learners to correct themselves accounts for lowering their anxiety or stress levels. Also, an inductive way of teaching grammar can make this area of language seem more interesting since students are motivated to discover grammar rules for themselves. Obviously, the mentioned issues may evoke positive emotions and stimulate the process of second language learning.

Differing emotions can be experienced by students learning a second language by means of the Audio-Lingual Method. For example, the assumption that learners should overlearn the language of their study may induce negative emotions ranging from confusion and anxiety to distress and frustration. Similar emotions can be evoked by the numerous drills that constitute the main teaching technique of this method; needless to say, the requirement that students say or repeat a phrase or a sentence flawlessly and as fast as possible is likely to discourage some learners and hinder the learning process.

Moreover, the approach to students' mistakes adopted by the Audio-Lingual Method may also make learners anxious and cautious, and create some inhibitions against participating in lessons.

The Silent Way seems to be more optimistic in this respect as it devotes meticulous attention to learners' emotions, the implication being that learners should be capable of expressing their ideas and emotions in the target language. What is more, students can discuss their emotions, and comment on their progress and the lesson at the end of each class; this procedure provides invaluable help to teachers who want to support their learners on the way to master a second language. Then, students' negative emotions may be overcome by treating mistakes as unavoidable and encouraging learners to correct themselves or their peers. All in all, in the Silent Way the main focus is on creating a convivial atmosphere and favourable conditions for learning.

A method that also gives considerable attention to the issue of students' emotions is Suggestopedia. Firstly, learners' positive emotions ought to be enhanced, and negative emotions should be overcome by making the students feel safe, motivated and enthusiastic about broadening their cognitive structures. Also, the aim of this method is to promote learning through making the learners feel relaxed – hence, the teacher plays music, and the students sit in comfortable chairs. Another technique worth mentioning is the activation phase, during which learners reread a dialogue presented earlier by the teacher in a particular mode, for example angrily or sadly. On the whole, in Suggestopedia a pleasant and stimulating environment for second language learning is provided.

Similar principles underlie the Community Language Learning Method. For instance, students' emotions constitute an integral component of the person as a whole, since they cannot be separated from the intellect, and have to be taken into consideration by the teacher. That is why during or after classes the teacher asks the learners to convey their emotions

about the content of the lesson, and renders assistance in overcoming negative emotions. In addition, the teacher and the students are rather equal as they tend to share responsibility for the whole learning process – thus, this equality contributes to the intensification of learners' positive emotions.

The Total Physical Response Method also focuses on relieving distress experienced by students attending second language course. Furthermore, it is believed that through an informal atmosphere in the classroom and frequent use of humour during lessons, learning can be a diverting and pleasurable experience. Another means of reducing stress is giving learners the right to participate in particular exercises only when they are ready. Also, there is considerable tolerance for students' mistakes as some inaccuracies in the learners' performances are likely to occur, in particular at earlier stages of the course.

The last of the methods worth considering is the Communicative Approach, which devotes some attention to the importance of the feeling of emotional safety. It is assumed that when students feel secure their learning capacities will increase. Moreover, in the Communicative Approach learners are supposed to have a sense of purposefulness which can enhance their positive emotions, and make them more motivated to learn the second language. All in all, the focus on being communicative also contributes to intensifying positive emotions experienced by students.

Taking everything into consideration, it has to be pointed out that emotions fulfill a very significant function in second language learning as they may stimulate or inhibit the whole process. Yet not all language teaching methods devote enough attention to this issue. Nevertheless, it is of some importance to the present discussion to consider the diversity of emotions evoked by different techniques employed in the above mentioned methods. It may be concluded that learners' emotions ought to be observed and respected by the teacher who should also try to relieve negative emotions and intensify positive ones.

3. Emotions and language learning strategies

As far as second language learning is concerned, the concept of language learning strategies and the way emotions may determine the choice of particular strategies or affect their efficiency ought to be given special attention. The *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* defines strategy as "a plan that is intended to achieve a particular purpose" or "the process of planning something or carrying out a plan in a skilful way" (Hornby 2000). An explanation more in line with language teaching is provided by the *Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics*, which defines strategies as "procedures used in learning, thinking, etc., which serve as a way of reaching a goal" (Richards and Schmidt 2002). On the whole, from the above definitions it appears that strategy is a scheme or course of action undertaken to achieve a specific aim.

Another important issue in connection with strategy and emotions as a determining factor, is the concept of learning strategies, which is defined in the *Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics* as "the ways in which learners attempt to work out the meanings and uses of words, grammatical rules, and other aspects of the language they are learning" (Richards and Schmidt 2002). To put it another way, learning strategies are different kinds of behaviour adopted by the students when they are confronted with individual tasks. Furthermore, each of the strategies has its benefits and drawbacks; thus, only the use of a suitable learning strategy may result in successfully accomplishing the activity (Richards and Lockhart 1994: 63). However, one has to be conscious of the fact that not all language learning strategies may be "observed with great frequency in actual classrooms" (Chaudron 1988: 110); in other words, some strategies may be chosen by students more often than others.

Since a considerable number of educationalists presented their own classifications of learning strategies, those categorizations are similar to a certain extent. Hence, it may be

considered sufficient to discuss here only the study offered by Oxford, one of the leading researchers in the field. In general, in Oxford's classification, strategies are divided into direct and indirect ones (Williams and Burden 1997: 152; cf. the discussion by Richards and Lockhart 1994: 63-65). Direct strategies are next subdivided into memory strategies, which are used to accumulate and restore information; cognitive strategies, which enable the pupils to comprehend new material; and compensation strategies, which help to overcome certain deficiencies in knowledge. On the other hand, indirect strategies include metacognitive strategies, which help learners to organize and assess their learning; affective strategies, which students use to control their motivations, attitudes and emotions; and social strategies, which are aimed at enhancing interaction between learners. Moreover, Oxford provides some examples of different learning strategies:

(1) Memory strategies:
- creating mental linkages (e.g. placing new words into a context)
- applying images and sounds (e.g. representing sounds in memory)
- reviewing well (e.g. structured reviewing)
- employing action (e.g. using physical response or sensation)

(2) Cognitive strategies:
- practising (e.g. using formulas and patterns)
- receiving and sending messages (e.g. focusing on the main idea)
- analysing and reasoning (e.g. analysing expressions)
- creating structure for input and output (e.g. taking notes)

(3) Compensation strategies:
- guessing intelligently (e.g. using nonlinguistic clues to guess meaning)
- overcoming limitations in speaking and writing (e.g. using a synonym)

(4) Metacognitive strategies:
- centering your learning (e.g. linking new information with already known)
- arranging and planning your learning (e.g. setting goals and objectives)
- evaluating your learning (e.g. self-monitoring)

(5) Affective strategies:
- lowering your anxiety (e.g. using music or laughter)
- encouraging yourself (e.g. rewarding yourself)
- taking your emotional temperature (e.g. discussing your feelings)

(6) Social strategies:
- asking questions (e.g. asking for clarification or verification)
- cooperating with others (e.g. cooperating with proficient learners)
- empathizing with others (e.g. developing cultural understanding)

(as presented by Richards and Lockhart 1994: 64; cf. Williams and Burden 1997: 153)

On the basis of the examples mentioned above one may wish to explore the way emotions determine the choice of a particular language learning strategy, and how they influence the effectiveness of using specific strategies.

As for the connection between emotions and utilizing a particular learning strategy, such a link is clearly visible in the case of indirect strategies. Needless to say, the use of affective strategies depends largely on emotions; for instance, students aware of their emotional needs may wish to discuss their emotions with the teacher, or motivate themselves to work more efficiently. Moreover, learners can also try to lower their anxiety about the learning process by using various means ranging from finding amusing elements in the content of the lesson to listening to music while doing homework. In such cases, utilizing social strategies also depends on emotions experienced by students. For example, learners who feel frightened, anxious or stressed can be discouraged from

asking questions or cooperating with others; on the contrary, such students may become inhibited about verbalizing their doubts and emotions, or working together with their peers. Next, as far as metacognitive strategies are concerned, centering and planning one's learning may be more easily performed by learners experiencing positive emotions than by students who are upset, worried or frustrated. Furthermore, evaluating one's learning can be important for two reasons; firstly, the objectivity of such assessment can be affected by emotions experienced at a particular time; and secondly, the results of this appraisal may consequently induce various emotions in students. To put it briefly, emotions can determine the choice of indirect learning strategies.

On the other hand, it may be assumed that emotions can have a substantial impact on the effectiveness of using language learning strategies and in particular direct learning strategies. In fact, compensation, memory and cognitive strategies refer to different aspects of cognition, and cognition is to a large extent interrelated with emotions. For instance, it may be easier to remember exercises, topics or expressions that are compatible with the current emotions experienced at the time of learning the mentioned issues. As for guessing intelligently or overcoming certain limitations in speaking and writing, negative emotions may have an adverse effect on the students' ability to hypothesize and avoid inaccuracies in their performance. What is more, taking into account cognitive strategies, for example practising or analysing and reasoning, negative emotions can impede the use of those strategies, and positive emotions can enhance the results of using the above strategies; yet sometimes negative emotions of low intensity can stimulate students to perform the given task more efficiently, and intense positive emotions can hinder the fulfilment of the assignment. All in all, emotions may affect the efficiency of using direct learning strategies.

To conclude, language learning strategies are various courses of action undertaken in order to achieve certain goals in second language learning and eventually master the second

language. Moreover, as can be seen from the above discussion, emotions may influence the selection of a particular learning strategy to be used in a given task; this relationship concerns especially metacognitive, affective and social strategies. However, emotions may also affect the effectiveness of using a specific learning strategy, and thus stimulate or hamper the process of second language learning; the mentioned efficiency can be impaired particularly in the case of memory, cognitive and compensation strategies. Therefore, all of the discussed issues have to be taken into account by language teachers, who ought to help their learners achieve success in second language learning.

4. Conclusion

Taking everything into consideration, it may be assumed that language teaching methodology has not paid enough attention to the role of emotions. It is only recently that emotional problems and disturbances have been given some concern. The same seems to be true of several language teaching methods since they tend to neglect the issue of learners' emotions. Yet some of the methods do have a number of principles prescribing how to respond to emotions experienced by the students during the second language course. Moreover, it needs to be emphasized that emotions have a substantial impact on the selection and efficiency of employing a particular learning strategy by students. All in all, the role of emotions deserves scrupulous analysis, and performing such analysis is recommended to language teachers.

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REPORTS

Publish Irish:
Cló Iar-Chonnacht (CIC) Publishing House[1]

ANNA CISŁO

For a few years now, we have had the opportunity to visit the *Reading Europe: European Culture through the Book* online exhibition launched by The European Library and the national libraries of Europe. This exhibition, as its homepage informs us, "offers a rare opportunity to view some of the hidden literary gems from the national libraries of Europe". We also learn that "[t]wenty-three countries have selected nearly a thousand works for the public to peruse" and that we, as visitors, "can discover everything from 18th century English bestsellers to the lost interiors of Russian palaces, all presented in an innovative and multilingual form".[2] The exhibition is certainly very interesting and worth visiting. Yet, although the digitized books are in thirty five languages, including Hebrew and Yiddish, none of them is in Irish or any other Celtic language. The National Library of Ireland has contributed four publications by William Butler Yeats, the Anglo-Irish writer awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1923 "for his always inspired poetry, which in a highly artistic form gives expression to the spirit of a whole nation".[3] Three of the books contributed were published by the distinguished Cuala Press of the Yeats family. Nevertheless, we might ask

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[1] The meeting with Micheál Ó Conghaile, the founder of Cló Iar-Chonnacht, took place in Inverin on a rainy day, 24 July 2012. Research into Irish language publishing is part of the project carried out by the author of this report and financed from the resources of Narodowe Centrum Nauki.

[2] The exhibition *Reading Europe: European Culture through the Book* can be visited at <http://www.theeuropeanlibrary.org/exhibition-reading-europe /about.html> (retrieved 5 October 2012).

[3] <http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1923/>, retrieved 5 October 2012.

why there is not a single publication in Irish exhibited or even a work translated from the Irish language. Would not *The Táin* translated into English by Thomas Kinsella and published by Dolmen Press in 1969 with brush drawings by Louis Le Brocquy be equally, if not more, interesting? And what about Cló Dolmen's famous 1964 edition of *An béal boċt* by Myles na gCopaleen? In a way, the *Reading Europe: European Culture through the Book* exhibition illustrates the way in which Irish language literature is often treated: almost hidden from the audience, occupying one stand in the huge (spread across three floors) Hodges Figgis book store in Dublin, as if it belonged to the past, was no longer written, no longer published and was greeted with little interest. Nothing can be further from the truth: modern Irish literature is being written, published, and read by Irish language readers and is being translated into foreign languages, including Polish. This report discusses the activity of Cló Iar Connacht – a private publishing company producing books in the Irish language, founded by Micheál Ó Conghaile, a writer, in 1985.

For Micheál Ó Conghaile "the writing came first" and it has always been in the Irish language, which is natural for a person growing up in an Irish speaking family on Inis Treabhair, an island off the Galway coast. He remembers his mother reading fairy tales in Irish to him as well as himself not being able to speak English with his cousins coming from England for the summer. Although he could speak English after leaving National School, Ó Conghaile does not feel so much at home writing or even speaking this language. While a student of Irish and history at UCG,[4] he worked on the literary magazine *Macalla*, which gave him some under-standing of publishing processes. At the same time he realised there were many Irish language writers in Galway who did not get published. Most publishers, including Coiscéim, which focuses specifically on publishing in Irish, operated from Dublin and so he was aware of the need for a Gaeltacht-based publishing house in the West. Ó Conghaile was still a UCG MA

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[4] University College Galway, since 1997 National University of Ireland (NUI) Galway.

student when he founded Cló Iar-Chonnacht twenty seven years ago. On the back cover of the publishing house's catalogue, edited for the company's twenty-fifth anniversary, one can read this synopsis:

> Micheál Ó Conghaile founded a small publishing company in 1985 with the aim of preserving Gaeltacht culture and traditions and promoting them on a national level. This aim has been at the heart of Cló Iar-Chonnacht's work ever since but has increased greatly in the past twenty five years.
>
> Throughout this time, Cló Iar-Chonnacht has encouraged, nurtured and galvanised generations of writers, musicians – and readers – of Irish. From Pádraic Breathnach to Alan Titley, from Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill to Antoine Ó Flatharta and from Joe Steve Ó Neachtain to Johnny Chóil Mhaidhc Ó Coisdealbha, all the literary gems from the entirety of Cló Iar-Chonnacht's works will from now on be available to all in this catalogue.

The electronic version of the catalogue can be viewed at the Cló Iar-Chonnacht's official website[5] together with the catalogues of publications edited by Sáirséal · Ó Marcaigh (1945-2009) and An Clóchomhar (1958-2008), because in 2009 CIC expanded to include the imprints of the two latter companies with a plan to oversee the sale and marketing of the remaining stock and to republish some of the classics. Since 1985 CIC itself has published over three hundred books and one hundred and fifty music albums. As well as Irish language publications, there are books published in English, including translations of works by Ó Conghaile (e.g. the beautifully published collection of short stories *The Colours of Man*, 2012) and other Irish language writers (e.g. the anthology of short stories by modern Irish language writers *Twisted Truths: Stories from the Irish*, 2011).

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[5] Viewing Cló Iar-Chonnacht's homepage at <https://www.cic.ie/en/books>, it is worth perusing the news section which gives information on the latest events organized by the company, such as Cló Iar-Chonnacht literature competitions, book launches and workshops for Irish language writers.

Being one of the most productive publishing houses in the country and the largest private Irish language publishing company, CIC employs five people full-time in its offices in Inverin, Connemara. There is a small shop attached to the office in Inverin but Cló Iar-Chonnacht has sought to employ social media like Facebook as well as e-commerce to make it easier for their customers to reach them. The Irish language is still an everyday language for thousands of people across Ireland and inexpensive communication methods offered by the internet (including the e-News Letter) make it possible for CIC to communicate with them about publications, especially given that books must compete for shelf-space in large bookshops, like Easons, where cost structures make it easier for larger publishing houses to provide greater discounts and to push smaller, more niche publications to the margins. This partially explains why Cló Iar-Chonnacht is still dependent on subsidies for its output. In Micheál Ó Conghaile's opinion, the market is so small that only a few Irish-language titles could cover their own costs. Some books will sell better than others but this is unlikely to be the case for young, as yet unknown Irish writers, for whom, among others, the company was first started.

Also thanks to subsidies, from the Ireland Literature Exchange (ILE) scheme, which funds translation costs, Cló Iar-Chonnacht has been active in promoting translations from Irish, initially into English, and subsequently into other languages. One of its greater successes is undoubtedly Pádraic Ó Conaire's novel *Deoraiocht*. Cló Iar-Chonnacht published its English translation, *Exile*, in 1994 and consequently, it has been translated into other languages, including Danish, Croatian, Czech, German, Greek and Polish (*Wygnanie*, 2004). Other books translated into Polish include *Fourfront: Short Stories from the Irish* by Micheál Ó Conghaile, Pádraic Breathnach, Dara Ó Conaola and Alan Titley (*4x4 Opowiadania irlandzkie*, 2004) as well as Pádraig Standún's *An tAinmhí* (English *The Anvy*; Polish *Straszydło*, 2005) and *Cion Mná* (*A Woman's Love*; *Miłość kobiety*, 2006). All the listed Polish translations were published by a single company,

Sagittarius, the latter two are catalogued by the National Library of Ireland; unfortunately, at the same time, they seem to be almost inaccessible to Polish readers in Poland.

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The International Poetry Conference
and Festival *Back 2 Sopot*,
17–22 May 2011

MARTA NOWICKA

The International Poetry Conference and Festival *Back 2 Sopot* was a second edition of an event merging academic and artistic circles (the first edition, *Back to the Beckett Text*, was devoted to the artistic output of the Nobel Prize winner Samuel Beckett). Two days were added to the initial conference's schedule due to the vast interest in the project. The festival was held on 17–22 May 2011. Its central theme was the relationship between contemporary poetry and that of the early twentieth century poets. The academic and literary/theatrical panels took place in two venues simultaneously (Dworek Sierakowskich and Off de BICZ Theatre). The festival included lectures, poetry readings and discussions as well as workshops by theatre companies.

The conference was organized by the Institute of English of the University of Gdańsk (the originators of the idea of the festival were Prof. David Malcolm and Dr Tomasz Wiśniewski; Dr Monika Szuba was the conference coordinator), the University of Salzburg (Prof. Wolfgang Görtschacher), Un Gusto A Miel Art Foundation, Sopot City Hall and the Polish Ministry of Culture and National Heritage. The Honorary Patronage was held by the Pomeranian Voivodeship Marshal Mieczysław Struk, the Rector of the University of Gdańsk Prof. Bernard Lammek and the Mayor of the City of Sopot Dr Jacek Karnowski. The partners of the conference were the Society of Friends of Sopot, the Theatre Wybrzeże in Gdańsk, Toasted, Off de BICZ Theatre and the BOTO Theatre Foundation.

The second edition of the International Literary Festival *Back 2 Sopot* combined academic, artistic and cultural activities. The international participants included scholars representing the University of Salzburg as well as the British experimental theatre company Complicite and The Calder Bookshop & Theatre in London. *Back 2 Sopot* enabled the meeting of practitioners and theoreticians of Polish, British, Austrian, French, Spanish, Canadian and American literature with a wide audience. Since the emphasis was put on contemporary and modern poetry, the theme encompassed contemporary poets' return to poets of the first half of the twentieth century, such as Yeats, Eliot, Pound, H.D., Carlos Williams, Moore, Zukovsky, cummings, Auden, Trakl, Benn, Rilke, Brecht, Tuwim, Leśmian, Witkacy, Schulz and others. During a cycle of meetings, entitled "Poetry of the Stage", theatre practitioners discussed the undertakings integrating poetry and theatre. During *Back 2 Sopot*, Polish poets, translators of poetry, academic staff as well as with graduate students and students from various academic centres had an opportunity to discuss various aspects of poetry.

The conference consisted of 40 hours of academic lectures, 34 hours of theatre workshops, 20 hours of poetic, translation and literary studies workshops, 15 hours of meetings open to the public, 5 theatrical performances as well as stage and radio shows. *Back 2 Sopot* was attended by 50 delegates from Great Britain, Austria, France, Canada, the United States, Spain, Italy, the Netherlands and Poland. 30 actors participated in theatre workshops and over 300 people attended events open to the public.

Among the guests, scholars and poets who participated in the conference were: Prof. Derek Attridge (University of York), Prof. Michael Edwards (Collège de France), Prof. S. E. Gontarski (Florida State University), Prof. Kenneth Pickering, Prof. Dorothy Macmillan (University of Glasgow), Prof. David Kennedy (University of Hull), Prof. Michael Parker (University of Central Lancashire), Prof. Jerzy Jarniewicz (University of Łódź), Vincent Broqua (Université Paris-Est Créteil Val-de-Marne), Douglas Rintoul (Complicite), Jon McKenna, Debra

Mulholland (Mulholland Academy), David and Helene Constantine (*Modern Poetry in Translation*), Piotr Sommer (*Literatura na świecie*), Antoni Libera, Krzysztof Kuczkowski (the Society of Friends of Sopot), Jacek Gutorow, Jakobe Mansztajn, Grzegorz Kwiatkowski, Sylwia Góra-Weber (BOTO), Henryk Rozen, Witold Malesa, Ida Bocian (Theatre Off de BICZ).

During the festival, poems of the following poets were read: Samuel Beckett, David Constantine, Michael Edwards, Julian Tuwim, Bolesław Leśmian, Franz Josef Czernin, Justyna Bargielska, Tadeusz Dąbrowski, Jacek Gutorow, Jerzy Jarniewicz, Wojciech Kass, Krzysztof Kuczkowski, Jakobe Mansztajn, Piotr Sommer and others.

Before the festival, introductory and preparatory meetings were organized. The first press conference was held at Klub Atelier in Sopot (2/03/2011). The announcement of the festival at the international forum took place at The Calder Bookshop in London (9/03/2011) and at the University of Salzburg (15/04/2011). Five two-hour meetings open to the public were held at Dworek Sierakowskich, Atelier and at the University of Gdańsk, during which the organizers presented the theme of the festival and led discussions regarding selected poems of the two guests of the conference, Michael Edwards and David Constantine. In mid-April 2011, Prof. Kenneth Pickering conducted a series of lectures and workshops, in Gdańsk and Sopot, based on the works of T. S. Eliot. He also discussed at length the poetry of the stage.

The conference was divided into two major parts: the academic part and the part devoted to artistic projects. Academic panels concentrated on various themes, examples being literary traditions, European Avant-Garde and Post-Avant, Polish poetry, the poetry of the stage and notable authors, such as Pound, Eliot, Trakl, Bunting, Ferlinghetti, Jones, Leśmian, Tuwim and Rilke. Plenary lectures were also delivered by the following keynote speakers: Dorothy McMillan (University of Glasgow, Scotland), Michael Parker (University of Central Lancashire, Great Britain), David Constantine (Queen's College, Oxford/*Modern Poetry in Translation*),

Michael Edwards (Collège de France, Paris), and Derek Attridge (University of York, Great Britain).

During the conference the Polish premiere of *Breath – Texts – Breath* directed by S.E. Gontarski was staged, with Jon McKenna and a guest appearance by Antoni Libera. The audience had a rare opportunity to observe members of Complicite at work, followed by a meeting with Douglas Rintoul and Poppy Keeling. A performance entitled *Boto Theatre Reads Poetry* and David Malcolm's *Surprise Poetique*, a play inspired by modern poetry, featuring Sylwia Góra-Weber, Jon McKenna, and David Malcolm, were presented at *Back 2 Sopot*. Additionally, archival recordings of poets such as Tuwim and Miłosz were played. The director Ida Bocian prepared an adaptation of the poetic novel *Orlando* by Virginia Woolf. A close collaboration with the Polish Radio resulted in open meetings with Witold Malesa and Krzysztof Rozen as well as in live radio broadcasts from the festival (entitled *Klub ludzi ciekawych wszystkiego* and *Trójka pod księżycem*).

The abovementioned theatre workshops conducted by Douglas Rintoul and Poppy Keeling from Complicite, together with the events co-organized with Off the Bicz Theatre (within the "Poetry of the Stage" project), emphasized the continuity of the festival. The organizers collaborated with Complicite during the first edition of the festival (visual materials from Complicite's performance of Beckett's *Endgame* were extensively used) and the upcoming third edition is devoted to Complicite and John Berger's artistic achievements (with a more general examination of the ever-changing relations between stage and page and the ways in which writers and theatre collaborate).

Back 2 Sopot facilitated numerous meetings and discussions with the following poets: Michael Edwards, David Constantine, William Allegrezza, Grzegorz Kwiatkowski, Jakobe Mansztajn, Krzysztof Kuczkowski, Justyna Bargielska, Jerzy Jarniewicz, Jacek Gutorow, Piotr Sommer, Janusz Kukuła and Antoni Libera; as well as a seminar during which the poetic prose of Stanisław Modrzewski was discussed.

Theatre workshops were conducted by Debbie Mulholland (Mulholland Academy) and Douglas Rintoul (Complicite). Translation workshops enabled the participants to observe the working process of Tomasz Swoboda, Jerzy Jarniewicz and Andrzej Zgorzelski. The Archives of Polish Radio presented auditions entitled *The Voices of Poets* (including Leopold Staff, Julian Tuwim, Julian Przyboś, Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz), *Poets on the Polish Radio* (a meeting with Witold Malesa), Maria Pawlikowska-Jasnorzewska's radio-play *Baba dziwo*, a meeting with the director of the Polish Radio Theatre Janusz Kukuła and discussions of German and American poetry (with Piotr Sommer).

In addition, during the conference several festival publications were presented: the latest issue of *Topos*, a bilingual anthology including works of poets associated with Sopot *Six Poets: Twenty-Eight Poems* (Sopot 2011) and the first issue of *HWAET!* (a periodical of the Association of Literary Studies Students at the University of Gdańsk; Gdańsk 2011), the first volume of *Essays on Modern British and Irish Poetry* series (entitled: *Here/Now – Then/There: Traditions, Memory, Innovation in Modern British and Irish Poetry*) prepared by the University of Gdańsk, published in 2011. It should be noted that in 2012 four books were published: *Samuel Beckett: Tradycja – awangarda*, *Back to the Beckett Text*, *Poeci współcześni. Poeci przeszłości* and *Poets of the Past. Poets of the Present*. The journal *Topos* (1/2011) included a thematic section devoted to the festival and a special issue of the quarterly *Tekstualia* (1/2012) dedicated to the theme of the Poetry of the Stage was published.

During the second edition of the International Poetry Conference and Festival held in Sopot, the cooperation with national and international artists and institutions was broadened. The festival enabled the integration of academics circles with artistic groups from Europe and the world, put emphasis on promoting literature and theatre, presented major trends in contemporary theatre and literature of the world, created conditions for the meeting of theatrical and literary artists with academics and a broad group of audience.

Tri-City residents and guests were given access to the latest trends in contemporary discourse regarding literature and theatre. The festival operated on three levels simultaneously – local, national and international.

The intentions to create conditions for artistic and academic circles to exchange ideas and experiences – and to present and popularize the works of younger generation of poets, film directors and actors – are still valid for the third edition entitled *Between. Page / Stage. Complicite. John Berger* which will take place in Sopot on 14–20 May 2012.

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The 47th Linguistics Colloquium "Materialität und Medialität der Sprache/ Materiality and Mediality of Language", Olsztyn 2012

DANUTA STANULEWICZ

1. The Linguistics Colloquia (Linguistisches Kolloquium)

The Linguistics Colloquia (Linguistisches Kolloquium), which are international conferences, are held every year in different academic centres in Europe. The first of these conferences, entitled "Erstes Linguistisches Kolloquium über generative Grammatik", took place in Hamburg-Harburg (West Germany) in 1966. Since then, the Colloquia have been organized by academic centres located in a number of countries, including Germany (which is the most frequent host), Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovenia and Switzerland.[1] Poland hosted the Linguistics Colloquia twice in the 20th century: in Poznań in 1991 and in Gdańsk in 1995 and once in the 21st century: in Olsztyn in 2012.

At present the themes of the Linguistics Colloquia are formulated in a broad way so as to cater for all the areas of linguistics. As Professor Heinrich Weber, the leader of the International Organizing Committee of the Linguistics Colloquia, says, the Colloquium "invites and provides

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[1] Kürschner, Sroka and Weber (2009) present the history of the Linguistics Colloquia. See also the site of the Colloquia: <http://www. linguistisches-kolloquium.de>. *Beyond Philology* No. 7 includes a report of the 43rd Linguistics Colloquium which took place in Magdeburg, Germany (Stanulewicz and Skrzypiec 2010).

a platform for anyone who has something to contribute to linguistics" (Kürschner, Sroka and Weber 2009: 7). Professor Wilfried Kürschner, one of the members of the International Organizing Committee, comments on the uniqueness of the Linguistics Colloquia as follows:

> What is most special about the Colloquium is its atmosphere. By this, I mean the friendliness of the people coming together here, the humaneness of the discussion style, a sense of familiarity among those that meet regularly in late summer or early autumn, and the willingness to welcome newcomers.
>
> (Kürschner, Sroka and Weber 2009: 6)

This opinion is shared by another member of the Committee, Professor Kazimierz A. Sroka, who adds that

> […] the Linguistics Colloquium has played an important role not only in the sphere of research but also in the sphere of interpersonal relations, including those among people representing different nations […]
>
> (Kürschner, Sroka and Weber 2009: 15)

Linguists all over the world have an opportunity to read the papers presented during the Linguistics Colloquia in the Proceedings (*Akten*) issued every year. For over twenty years the papers were published in the series *Linguistische Arbeiten* of the Niemeyer Publishing House in Tübingen. Since 1999 they have appeared in the series *Linguistik International*, published by Peter Lang in Frankfurt am Main. The papers presented at the Colloquia held in Poznań and Gdańsk were published in the following volumes: *Sprache – Kommunikation – Informatik: Akten des 26. Linguistischen Kolloquiums, Poznań 1991* edited by Józef Darski and Zygmunt Vetulani (1993) and *Kognitive Aspekte der Sprache: Akten des 30. Linguistischen Kolloquiums, Gdańsk 1995* edited by Kazimierz A. Sroka (1996).

2.   The 47th Linguistics Colloquium

2.1. The Organizers, venue and theme

The 47th Linguistics Colloquium, held on 6-8 September 2012, was hosted – as has already been mentioned – by the University of Warmia and Mazuria (Uniwersytet Warmińsko-Mazurski) in Olsztyn, Poland. The organizing committee of the Colloquium included Professor Ewa Żebrowska, Dr Mariola Jaworska, Dr Magdalena Pieklarz-Thien and their colleagues from the German Department.

The theme of the 47th Colloquium was "Materialität und Medialität der Sprache / Materiality and Mediality of Language".

2.2. The participants, plenary lectures
and sectional papers

The participants who registered for the 47th Linguistics Colloquium came from the following countries: Austria, Bulgaria, Germany, Hungary, Japan, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovenia and Spain. The languages of the Colloquium were German and English.[2]

The plenary lecture, opening the 47th Linguistics Colloquium, was delivered by Professor Christina Gansel of Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität Greifswald. The title of this lecture was "Variation und Selektion – semiotische Systeme in Weblogs".

The participants of the 47th Linguistics Colloquium presented their papers in the following sections:[3]

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[2] It should be noted that during some of the previous Colloquia, there were papers delivered in French as well.

[3] The Programme of the 47th Linguistics Colloquium is available at <http://www.uwm.edu.pl/germanistyka/Tagungsprogramm_LK.pdf> (accessed 12 October 2012). It is also possible to read the abstracts of the papers at <http://www.uwm.edu.pl/germanistyka/Abstracts.pdf> (accessed 12 October 2012).

(1) Materiality and Mediality of Language: Anna Cisło, Paul Danler, Alexander Scholz;

(2) Text Linguistics: Ioana-Narcisa Crețu, Waldemar Czachur, Anna Kapuścińska, Eglė Kontutytė, Magdalena Makowska, Roman Opiłowski, Oliver Pfefferkorn;

(3) Cognitive Linguistics / Research on Metaphor: Rafał Augustyn, Marta Bogusławska-Tafelska, Anna Drogosz, Marina Fomina, Marta Gierzyńska, Tatiana Shabanova, Olga Sokołowska;

(4) Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis: Angelika Bergien, Anna Dajlidko, Paul Danler, Violetta Frankowska, Evgeniya Kakzanova, Izabela Kujawa, Maria Lojko, Kazimierz A. Sroka, Manfred Uesseler;

(5) Phonetics and Morphology: Anna Dargiewicz, Karin Ebeling, Mihály Harsányi, Wilfried Kürschner, Márta Murányi-Zagyvai, Marta Radojewska;

(6) Syntax and Semantics: Aleksej Burov, Iwona Góralczyk, Marzena Guz, Daumantas Katinas, Grzegorz Pawłowski, Reinhard Rapp, Heinrich Weber;

(7) Translation Studies: Stefan Balzter, Klaus-Dieter Gottschalk, Amelia Mareva, Olena Shablii, Cristina Tejedor-Martínez and Isabel de la Cruz-Cabanillas, Lew Zybatow;

(8) Contrastive Linguistics: Andrzej Kątny, Shigehiro Kokutani, Mihaela Lalić, Reinhold Utri;

(9) Foreign Language Didactics: Beata Grzeszczakowska-Pawlikowska, Alina Dorota Jarząbek, Vladimir Legac, Oleg Shabanov, Danuta Stanulewicz, Ida Sukhova, Paweł Szerszeń, Joanna Targońska;

(10) Studies of Professional Languages: Joanna Dubiec-Stach, Virginija Masiulionytė, Maria Ozolina, Miłosz Woźniak.

It is impossible – due to space limitations – to present the titles of all the papers read at the 47th Linguistics Colloquium in Olsztyn. For this reason, only papers delivered in English will be mentioned. The first section, "Materiality and Mediality of Language", included, *inter alia*, the paper entitled "Visual manifestations of the Irish language in Ireland: Form and extent" by Anna Cisło. In the section "Cognitive Linguistics/ Research on Metaphor", the following papers delivered in English were presented: "The ecolinguistic model of communication: A communicator's identity profiles and

language manipulation" by Marta Bogusławska-Tafelska, "Darwin's metaphors and their visual representations in contemporary evolutionism" by Anna Drogosz, "On the representation of SPATIAL MOVEMENT in the English language" by Marina Fomina, "Word meaning change in the context of Construction Grammar" by Tatiana Shabanova and "Nature or convention? Animal cognitive models and their names in English and Polish" by Olga Sokołowska. In the sections "Phonetics and Morphology" and "Syntax and Semantics", the papers presented in English included "The representation of accents of English in new English literatures – challenges and strategies" by Karin Ebeling, "Anaphora and the linearization principle in Anglo Saxon-Cronicle" by Iwona Góralczyk and "The computation of symmetric and asymmetric word associations" by Reinhard Rapp. In the section "Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis", the following papers were presented in English: "Vague language as a means of self-protection: A fresh look at disclaimers in political discourse" by Angelika Bergien, "Language, religion and identity" by Maria Lojko and "The category of location and its relevance to semantics and pragmatics" by Kazimierz A. Sroka. In the section devoted to foreign language teaching and learning, there were also papers read in English: "Foreign language writing anxiety and achievement in writing skill of monolingual and bilingual EFL learners" by Vladimir Legac, "Structure and evaluation of professional competence" by Oleg Shabanov and "Materiality of the Japanese language and the Polish learner: Motivating and demotivating factors" by the present author. In the section "Translation Studies", there were two papers delivered in English: "The error analysis approach for the assessment of automatic translation" by Cristina Tejedor-Martínez and Isabel de la Cruz-Cabanillas, and "The explicitation-expertise connection in translation revisited" by Amelia Mareva.

3. A final word

Summing up, the 47th Linguistics Colloquium held in Olsztyn was not only a very fruitful but also very enjoyable scholarly event. The participants had an excellent opportunity to present their opinions on various aspects of language and discuss them with their colleagues from different academic centres located not only in Europe. As usual, the papers presented at the 47th Linguistics Colloquium will be published in a volume of conference proceedings.

Returning to Professor Kürschner's, Professor Sroka's and Professor Weber's opinions quoted above, the 47th Linguistics Colloquium indeed provided its participants with a very friendly forum for the exchange of ideas in different areas of linguistics.

Finally, it should be added that at the General Meeting, a decision concerning the venue of the next Colloquium was made. The 48th Linguistics Colloquium will take place at the University of Alcalá in Spain in September 2013. The details were presented by Professor Cristina Tejedor-Martínez and Professor Isabel de la Cruz-Cabanillas. Moreover, Professor Tatiana Shabanova declared that the Bashkir State Pedagogical University in Ufa, Russia, would be ready to host the 49th Linguistics Colloquium in September 2014.

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Celebrating five years
of the UG Student Slang Project

MACIEJ WIDAWSKI and MAŁGORZATA KOWALCZYK

Abstract

The paper presents an overview of the UG Slang Project. Started in 2007 in the Department of Sociolinguistics and Lexicography (now the UG Sociolinguistics Laboratory), this ongoing research project is aimed at collecting and describing slang used by students of the University of Gdańsk and, by extension, current Polish slang. The paper describes the foundations, goals, methods, and results of the project, including the critically acclaimed scholarly dictionary, *Slang UG: Słownik slangu studentów Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego*, published in 2011.

Key words

slang, sociolinguistics, lexicography, students, Polish

1. Introduction

Research for the UG Slang Project began in an idle moment in 2007 when Professor Maciej Widawski, director of the newly formed UG Department of Sociolinguistics and Lexicography (now the UG Sociolinguistics Laboratory) thought it might be interesting and useful to collect and describe slang used by students of the University of Gdańsk and, by extension, current Polish slang, and to do so with the active participation of UG students.

Five years later, the project has grown exponentially: its constantly updated database now contains several thousand

entries of student slang, individually collected and annotated by its users, and thousands of authentic usage examples of slang heard on and off campus. The project has already born tangible results in the form of publications, the first being the critically acclaimed scholarly dictionary of slang, *Slang UG: Słownik slangu studentów Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego* (2010) with the second dictionary, *Slang UG: Tematyczny słownik slangu studentów Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego* under development.

Perhaps more impotantly, the lexical material from the database has been extremely useful in translation, providing much-needed equivalents of English slang, and has been used extensively in the recent book-length monograph on African American English targeted at a Polish audience, *Black Lexicon* (2011), and will most likely be employed in several bilingual dictionaries designated for publication, including *Słownik slangu amerykańskiego* and *Słownik slangu brytyjskiego*.

All in all, our endeavor relating to slang continues to be the only on-going academic project devoted to the study of Polish slang, having generated a great deal of interest among students, scholars and the media, and having received positive reviews from Polish academia, including that of Professor Jan Miodek from Wrocław University, the renowned authority on the Polish language. This paper outlines some of the key elements of this project.

2. Background

Slang is the most colloquial or informal style of language. It exists in every language, although it tends to be labeled in a number of various, often discordant ways. In traditional Polish linguistic terminology several other labels are used instead of slang, including język potoczny (colloquial language), socjolekt (sociolect), profesjolekt (professiolect), argotyzm (argot), gwara (a form of sociolect), or żargon (jargon). It is estimated that slang constitutes from 10% to 20% of the entire vocabulary used by the average speaker of any language

(including Polish), and is usually used by certain occupational and social groups (including students). If only for these reasons, it is an important part of language and deserves the special attention of linguists.

College students constitute an important group of slang coiners, users and disseminators. They are extremely creative, have a fully developed linguistic awareness, and use slang by choice. Moreover, the slang vocabulary they use during their studies normally stays with them long after graduation, and functions later in their professional and family lives. UG students are no exception here. The University of Gdansk is a dynamically developing institution of higher learning with more than 30,000 students; it is one of the notable academic centers in Poland. From a sociolinguistic point of view, UG students form a highly interesting community which serves as an interesting object for studies on slang.

The essence of slang is vocabulary, and studies of this most changeable type of language are amply visible in lexicography. In the United States, where slang is considered a quintessential part of American culture, there is a strong tradition of collecting and analyzing slang, reflected in several dozen dictionaries of various types. In Poland, among the most significant lexicographic publications concerning general Polish slang one might mention *Słownik polszczyzny potocznej* by Janusz Anusiewicz and Jacek Skawiński (1996) and *Słownik polszczyzny potocznej* by Maciej Czeszewski (2006). Many Polish slang expressions are also featured in a dictionary devoted to a similar type of language, namely *Słownik eufemizmów polskich* by Anna Dąbrowska (1995), while vulgar slang is recorded in *Słownik polskich przekleństw i wulgaryzmów* by Maciej Grochowski (1995). Among lexicographic publications concerning youth slang one might mention *Słownik slangu młodzieżowego* by Maciej Czeszewski (2001) and *Totalny słownik najmłodszej polszczyzny* by Bartek Chaciński (2007).

However, when it comes to student slang, there is but one publication, *Słownik gwary studenckiej* by Leon Kaczmarek,

Teresa Skubalanka and Stanisław Grabias (1994), and maybe one more publication concerning a similar type of vocabulary, *Słownik gwary uczniowskiej* by Katarzyna Czarnecka and Halina Zgółkowa (1991). All of these dictionaries are valuable because they record vocabulary which is largely omitted in other dictionaries, while also serving as a stimulus for reflection on the development of contemporary Polish and its occupational and stylistic varieties. We consider our project and its outcome a part of this noble tradition.

3. Goals

Our project has several goals. It involves a systematic collection of student slang and its description primarily in the form of cyclically updated dictionaries. This would allow us to monitor changes in slang vocabulary among our students, and by extension, in the latest Polish slang. Additionally, this will provide us with lexical material useful in the sociolinguistic analysis of students' language and in other studies of this social group.

Moreover, the data collected in the project will also furnish us with fresh equivalents needed for the description and translation of American and British slang, which is the main focus of activity at our Laboratory. Indeed, this is not the first attempt to contrast Polish and English slang: Maciej Widawski's *Słownik slangu i potocznej angielszczyzny*, published in 1992, was the first ever contrastive dictionary listing American slang appended with Polish equivalents — collected largely by students. UG students were also helpful in compiling another slang dictionary, *The Polish-English Dictionary of Slang and Colloquialism*, published in 1998 in the US, which so far remains the only such dictionary of Polish slang for non-native speakers of Polish. Such contrastive practice yields numerous benefits: aside from the evident application in the translation of slang, it highlights slang's universal features and allows, from the foreign language perspective, a broader view on slang.

4. Methodology

Insofar as the research methodology is concerned, the first methodological assumption was to state precisely what we were looking for, or put differently, to state what slang is and what it is not. Slang being precisely defined, we then created a list of representative examples of typical slang expressions which would help in identifying other slang expressions.

The second important methodological assumption was the scope of lexical material to be gathered. For UG students' slang can be understood in two senses: in the narrower sense it includes slang expressions pertinent exclusively to UG students; in the broader one, all slang expressions used by UG students, whether local or nationwide. We decided on the latter and recorded all expressions used by our students.

The third assumption concerned data collection methods. We collected slang in a number of ways: the most fundamental was recording slang from places where it normally occurs such as in UG corridors and lecture rooms during recesses, in dormitories and at student clubs. We also used questionnaires and, to a lesser extent, direct recording and individual Internet submissions — methods we intend to employ to a greater extent in the future. Existing language corpora of the Polish language — searchable collections of entire texts — were used only minimally, and only to check the matierial we had gathered; while they are an ideal tool for analysis of general Polish vocabulary, so far they have proved to be minimally applicable to the study of slang (this is because in corpora, the search is based only on the form of a word, while slang is largely based on figuration, the attaching of new meanings to extant word forms.

The last assumption was verification of the collected lexical material; while in principle, slang was collected only by UG students and it was their responsibility to verify the material before submission, the final form of verification involved numerous public readings of all material, called "Wielkie Czytanie Słownika Slangu UG" when students had the

opportunity to vote for or against the inclusion of particular expressions in the dictionary. Since the inception of the project in 2007, over 250 UG students have actively participated in the collection of slang, and some 100 of them provided us with the larger portions of lexical material collected in the course of several months.

5. Results

The first result of the project is the *Slang UG: Słownik slangu studentów UG* (see Figure 1), a lexicographic publication which is peculiar and, we hope, significant. It is peculiar because it contains a colloquial vocabulary used on or off campus by students presently studying at the University of Gdansk. It is significant because it presents a sizable and representative sample of the most recent colloquial Polish, and, by extrapolation, can be treated as a dictionary of general Polish slang.

The dictionary lists 2500 entries and 6000 usage examples. It is organized alphabetically. Lexicalized compounds and phrases are treated as separate entries and located under the first letter of the element instead of being nested under the "most important" element. Homonyms representing different parts of speech are also treated as separate entries. Each entry is composed of the following elements: entry expression (given in bold), part-of-speech label, frequency label or vulgarity label (if applicable), definition or synonymous equivalent in standard Polish, at least two contextual examples (in italics), and, very frequently, additional information concerning etymology or usage (see Figure 2). The dictionary's main text is preceded by an essay "Slang jako zjawisko językowe", a comprehensive and possibly seminal introduction to Polish slang. It is also appended with several thematic wordlists grouping selected slang expressions into several productive semantic fields.
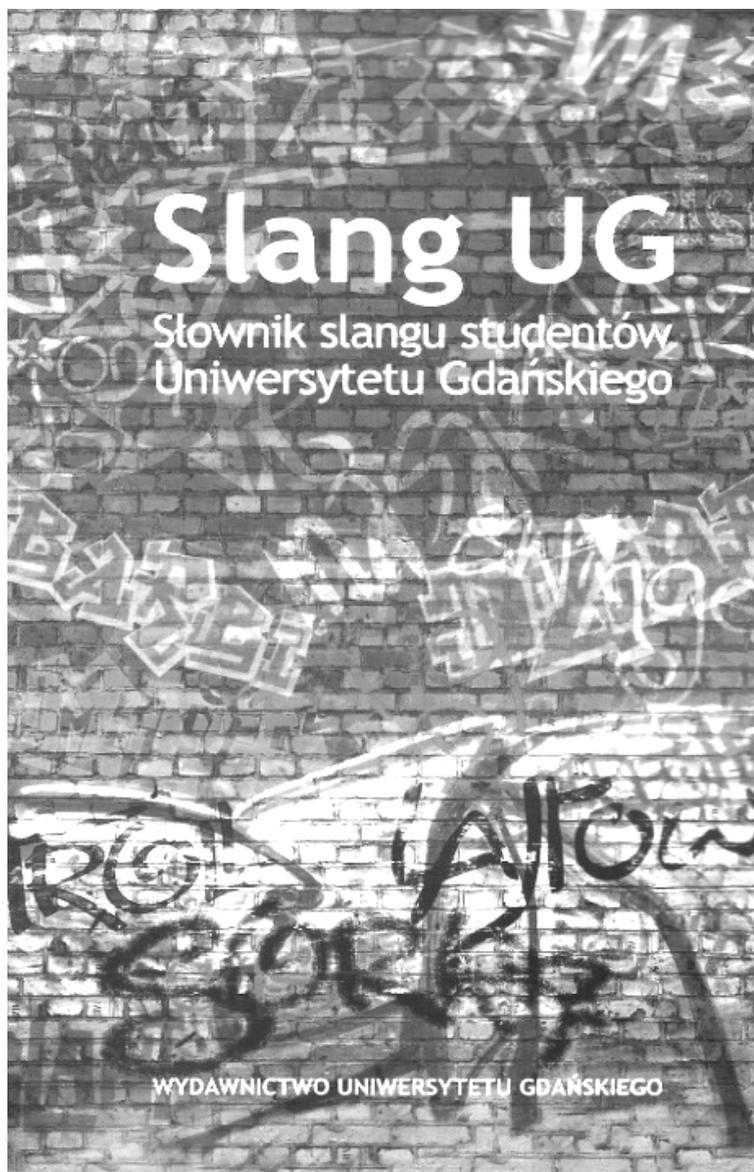
Figure 1

po wypiciu pięciu piw · *Robert niczego nie pamiętał z ostatniej imprezy, bo już na początku zaliczył zgon*

zalka RZŻ zaliczenie · *Dostałeś zalkę z językoznawstwa?* · *Weźmiesz mój indeks, bo nie mam wszystkich zalek jeszcze, a muszę iść do domu* · *Ta babka daje zalkę za obecność* · *Ten przedmiot kończy się zalką* · *Zalka jest za obecności* · *Będzie z tego jakiś egzamin czy to tylko na zalkę?* · *„Co ci wpisał do indeksu?" „Tylko zalkę"* · *Te zajęcia są na zalkę* · *Za tydzień będzie wstawiać zalki, trzeba więc wziąć indeks* · *Nie dostanę zalki z fonetyki, dopóki nie zrobię referatu* · *Z tego przedmiotu mamy tylko zalkę, tak?*

załamka RZŻ przygnębienie, głównie chwilowe · *Karolina ma załamkę, bo Marcin z nią zerwał* · *Straszna załamka po śmierci prezydenta* · *U mnie mega załamka. Oblałem prawko po raz trzeci!* · *Co za załamka! Tylko trzy punkty na dwadzieścia!*

załapywać CZ **1** rozumieć lub pojmować · *Dopiero za piątym razem załapałem* · *Mówiłem mu kilkanaście razy, ale facet jest tak głupi, że nic nie załapał* · *Czy ty coś załapałaś z tego, co było na wykładzie?* **2** dostawać lub otrzymywać · *Wyjechał do Warszawy, bo liczył, że załapie jakąś dobrze płatną robotę* · *Jego znajomy w Tajlandii załapał syfa*

załapywać się CZN dostawać się do jakiegoś środowiska lub miejsca, głównie dzięki usilnym zabiegom · *No i co, załapałaś się do drużyny?* · *Aśce udało się jakoś załapać na ten koncert* · *Udało mu się załapać na zastępcę dyrektora*

załatwić CZ **1** zaszkodzić lub wyrządzić krzywdę · *Nie prowokuj go, bo cię kiedyś załatwi na dobre* · *Nieźle Andrzeja załatwiła tym zagraniem* **2** zabić · *Załatwili go nie żołnierze, lecz zwykli cywile* · *Podpadł mafii, więc go załatwili*

zamoczyć CZN OBRAŹLIWE (o mężczyźnie) uprawiać seks · *Ale Tomek ma dzisiaj świetny humor. Musiał zamoczyć* · *On od pół roku ani razu nie zamoczył* · *Faceci myślą tylko o tym, gdzie by tu zamoczyć*

Figure 2

The dictionary is likely to provide valuable material to the analysis of student language and the analysis of students as a social group. Even a cursory look at random entries can provide a number of interesting observations. From the point of view of form, UG student slang abounds in categorizing or expressive synonyms, especially vulgarisms, although there are almost no racial epithets. It is also characterized by numerous abbreviations such as clippings, and various form modifications such as blends. Equally numerous are borrowings, especially from English. From the point of view of meaning, UG student slang abounds in figuration, especially in metaphor and metonymy, and strongly features the semantic change processes such as pejoration or melioration. From the point of view of themes, a wealth of UG student slang expressions predictably concentrate around studying, although a considerable number of expressions deal with jobs and material issues, which may indicate an increasingly realistic change in students' attitudes mirroring the social and economic changes in Poland; however, very few expressions involve political activities. On the other hand, a sizable number of entries deal with extramural activities, with partying, intoxication, romance, and sex being prominent themes. Moreover, a perceptible number of expressions center around virtual reality and the Internet, a trend which is likely to become increasingly prominent in the future. However, let us stop here with these few cursory remarks, hoping that the dictionary will inspire a series of more in-depth sociolinguistic studies. Let us also remember that a portrait of students based on slang is more a caricature than a real description of this social group; still, each caricature has a grain of truth in it, while certain prominent features are highlighted.

Last but not least, the lexical material from the database has been extremely useful in translation, providing much-needed equivalents of English slang, and has been used extensively in the recent book-length monograph on African American English targeted at the Polish audience, *Black Lexicon* (2011). Moreover, it is likely to be employed in

several bilingual dictionaries designated for publication including *Słownik slangu amerykańskiego* and *Słownik slangu brytyjskiego*.

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