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ON INTERLINGUISTIC EQUIVALENCE; THE STRANGE CASE OF *TABLE* AND *MASA*

CRISTINA TATARU

ABSTRACT. This paper aims at proving that interlinguistic equivalence depends in a direct ratio on cultural translatability and/or untranslatability and that the latter is not a matter of "spots" or "stumbling blocks", but a diffuse category, present throughout the text and a reflection of group mentality. Therefore, even things taken for granted could represent problems in translation if one ignores the cultural load of each and every word, on the one hand, as well as the fact that translation is a constant negotiation between source- and target-language and culture.

It is a matter of common knowledge that translation has been variously (and, at times antagonistically) viewed as either communication (Bell, Bassnett, et. al.), or gnosis (Steiner et. al.). If functionally the first set of theories seems to have precedence over the second, in that the primary purpose of translation ought to be communication (and/or illocution) between members of different speech communities, ontologically translation should rather be seen as gnosis (of and by perlocution). Perhaps only this latter point of view could entitle the agelong dispute of translation theorists on whether translation is possible or not to have some grounding in a possible philosophy of interlinguistic communication. Thus "translational optimism" (the contention that anything could be translated at any time and under any circumstances) and "translational pessimism" (nothing can ever be translated under any circumstances) have crystallized in the course of time as not necessarily antagonistic points of view, but rather as extreme facets of a would-be gnosis by translation, which is more or less implied in any act of translation and more or less covertly referred to in any process of translation.

Should one insist only on the communicational aspect of translation, or, to put it plainly, on the *what* of it, it is clear that illocution and strategies of illocution are favoured to the detriment of perlocution. Conversely, if the gnoseological aspect of translation (or the *how* of it) is rather preferred as fundamental, perlocution and strategies of perlocution take precedence over illocution.

A parallel analysis of text-type and purpose of translation could cast some light upon this only apparent antagonism, in that, again it is a matter of commonplace agreement, if translation is made orally, is non-literary and serves an immediate necessity, perlocution and strategies of perlocution become ancillary to illocution, to the extreme extent to which even grammaticality becomes less relevant than the need of immediate communication. If translation is literary, written and, as any written text of literature, does not elicit an immediate (and/or gestural) response, illocution and illocutionary strategies become ancillary to perlocution, the latter becoming obvious in the strategies of equating stylistically marked text in the target culture.

Still, what is, again, a matter of commonplace agreement is the fact that there exist interlinguistic equivalences which “go without saying”, in that they cannot be helped, nor will anyone bother to worry about any great subtleties and stumbling-blocks in automatically replacing them for one-another in the source- and/or target-text. At this point, the academic speaker will stop, look around himself and see his lectern, will give an illuminated smile and speak up, enlightened by a sudden revelation: “See, for instance, *table* will always and without any faltering be equated with *masa* in Romanian, whatever the context, whichever the text might be, you needn’t worry about it; our concern is, here, with much subtler stuff than this.” Perhaps he will go on, then, to speak about the fuzzy concept of cultural untranslatability and give as many examples of possible interlinguistic perlocution as some intricate literary text can provide, offer and discuss strategies and split the semantic hair into one thousand meshes, so as to leave his students for aye in the fog.

It is clear that cultural untranslatability is a fuzzy concept, but it seems to gain even more fuzziness if one tends to “localize” it in a text, insisting on places where even translatability overall is in question. Bassnett’s examples with the sphere of the notions *bathroom-sauna-Japanese bath* (Bassnett, 1993) seem to illustrate the contention that cultural untranslatability is something discernible, that can be identified and located in a text, thus somehow implying not only that it is more or less similar to untranslatability (thus giving vent to the translational pessimistic set of theories), but also that there exists a “rest of the text” where such problems do not appear and in which such equivalents as *table* for *masa* and vice-versa operate smoothly and unconditionally to yield a problem-exempt translation.

In what follows we shall try to demonstrate that interlinguistic equivalence and its outcome, cultural untranslatability, operate throughout the text in a solid way, as a homogeneously and systematically different

picture of the world, as seen by another, more or less different socio-linguistic group, which has devised a language to serve its own purposes, be they communicational, conative or aesthetic. Also, cultural differences pertain both to the sphere of the notions, in many cases, but also to their content, in most cases. Since a language speaking community devises its fundamental and chronologically first notions according to the functions the corresponding objects fulfill, perhaps cultural differences start as intimately deep within the language as the basic word-stock.

It should be mentioned that the word *radical* associated to the idea of difference is as dangerous as any "localization" of specificities. To the extent to which differences in language are the outcome of differences in culture, the role of *group mentality* is also to be taken into account. Group mentality differences are, clearly, a matter of degree, in that they theoretically ought to be fewer and less radical in groups speaking cognate languages. Since the future is a projection which is more or less elusive to human will, almost all simple futures in Indo-European languages are formed by modalized periphrases with the auxiliary *will* and its equivalents. Conversely, the lower the genealogical relation between the source language-speaking group and the target language-speaking group is, the higher the difference in group mentality ought to be, and, the more radically dissimilar its linguistic and cultural reflection will be. One could but imagine that a speaker of the famous Hopi Indian language does not even have a notion of futurity, since his language and mentality is devoid of the notion of tense.

All these considerations seem to hold good in theory, should one not ignore the role of the exception. The French Simple Future is formed by affixation, while its periphrastic counterpart, the *Futur Proche* is formed with the verb *aller* (=to go). The Romanian Simple Future is formed according to the general scheme with *a vrea, a voi* (=will), but there also exists the equivalent of the French *Futur Proche* in Romanian, formed periphrastically with the auxiliary *a avea* (=to have), which is in other Indo-European languages typical for past constructions.

Still, one need not probe into the morphological structure of languages to find differences that should attest dissimilarities in group mentality. I felt the need of delving into morphology, not only because it is the most conservative compartment of a language, but also because it is the mediator between syntax and vocabulary, thus becoming the carrier of linguistic type. A possible hypothesis, which I shall not go into details about, here, is that linguistic type might be the most "frozen" carrier of group mentality.

Should we return to our case study here, the equation *table=masa*, let us say that, although they are members of the basic word-stock in both English and Romanian, the two words are of Latin origin. The English word came, via the French *table*, into English, from the Latin *tabula*, meaning “a flat board, plank, table” (Skeat, 1993, p.487). *Masa* comes into Romanian straight from the Latin *mensa*, meaning *meal, repast*. There is no other attestation of the word *mensa* in English than a neological proper noun, denoting an international organisation of people with an IQ above 120 (Macmillan, 2002, p.892). The word *meal* in English is native, coming from the Anglo-Saxon *melu, melo* (=ground grain), which, along with the Dutch *meel*, the Icelandic *mjöl*, the Danish *meel*, etc., were reconstructed as the Germanic **mal*, meaning *to grind*, from which the noun was derived (Skeat, 1993, p.277). The nature of the borrowing speaks already of mentality: if the Britons preferred to borrow the word denoting or leading to form, the Romanians borrowed the word denoting function. As the English word *table* is in the basic word-stock and very well assimilated, it seems it was part of the first wave of borrowings from Latin.

Generally words in the basic word-stock develop huge polysemantic series, a phenomenon favoured, in time, by the tendency towards analyticism of the language. Thus, in Modern English, except for its first meaning, *piece of furniture consisting of flat top of wood, marble, etc. and one or more usually vertical supports*, (COD, 1976, p.1175), - clearly a definition concentrating on shape and not on function - what tables serve for appears only in collocations already showing specialisation of the object: *breakfast, dinner, tea table=table used for such meals, or on which such meal is laid out (idem)*. In Romanian, the polysemy of the word contains the meaning of the English *meal*, as well, so that, if the first meaning describes the object (*mobila formata dintr-o placa dreptunghulara, patrata sau rotunda, sprijinita pe unul sau mai multe picioare*), the second meaning of the word is *ceea ce se mananca, mancare, bucate*, clearly more than a functional description of the object, which is present in the English definition as well. The polysemy in Romanian suggests in a straightforward manner a sort of similarity or diffusion of form and function, the corresponding set phrases *a lua masa, a da o masa, etc.*, referring to the meal, not to the object. (DLRM, 1958, p.481).

The polysemy of the English word *table* includes the meaning *company seated at table for dinner, etc.* (COD, art. cit.), listing it as second meaning of the word. This meaning does not exist in Romanian, although, *mutatis mutandis*, a meal ought to be as good an opportunity for socializing in both cultures.

At this point, it should be mentioned that the order in which the meanings are listed is of some importance here, too, since it denotes the frequency with which the respective meaning is allotted to the word in communication. A partial conclusion might lead us to state, at this point, having in view that this frequency could be interpreted as a relevant sign of group mentality, that Romanians are, perhaps, inclined to less formalism and more prone to lay stress on the pragmatic purpose of sitting round a table, whereas the Britons' cultural stress lies in the formal, social aspect. Arguments in favour of this could be not only the very choice of the borrowing from Latin, but also the frequency of distribution in communication allotted to the second meaning of the word.

There exists, nevertheless, in English, a use of the word *table* which could be somehow closer to meaning 2 of *masa* in Romanian, in the expressions *to keep a good table*=*to provide good food for one's guests* and *the expenses of the table*=*the amount of money paid for one's meal in a public place*. Still, in these cases the word is used at least figuratively, if not metaphorically, which means that the proper meaning is used in a mediated way, here. The meanings do not exist in Romanian.

Rather symptomatically, the meanings of *at table* and, respectively *la masa* cover the same reality in both languages; so do the expressions *to be under the table* and *a fi/a cadea sub masa*. If in the first case the words are used in the proper sense, in the second case a figurative meaning is present again. There is a discrepancy, none-the-less, in the meanings appended to the apparently similar expressions *to serve at table* and, respectively, *a servi la masa*. If for the English phrase the COD bluntly lists the meaning *act as waiter*, the Romanian DLRM more democratically lists the meaning *a prezenta cuiiva o mancare ca sa-si ia dintr-insa, a trata pe cineva cu ceva, a da sa manance*, and quotes, as an example Vlahuta, with: *Se scula sa-si serveasca musafirii*. If, then in the English mentality *to serve* is the job of a *servant* (the corresponding noun, obtained by affixation with a rather old and no longer productive nominal affix denoting *doer of the action*, instead of the more recent and productive possibility of conversion, stands for the age of the derivation), in Romanian the word seems to imply that serving can be the job of one of the tablemates, usually of the master of the house. To set things straight, there is a rare, almost perfect synonymy in English between this meaning of *to serve* and the verb *to wait on somebody*, whence the noun *waiter/waitress*. The noun, unlike the verb has undergone specialisation of meaning, denoting *person who serves in a restaurant* – while in Romanian the noun *chelner*, covering the meaning of *waiter* has been borrowed from the

German *Kellner* and no corresponding verb exists. The meaning *to serve in a restaurant* is also covered by the verb *a servi*, which is, perhaps, again a sign of mentality. The other meanings of *to wait on somebody* from English do not exist in Romanian at all.

There is some dissimilarity in the expressions denoting the preparation of the table for a meal. If in English the preferred phrase is *to set the table*, the word-for-word Romanian equivalent *a aseza masa* is rather infrequent and formal. Instead, Romanians prefer *a pune masa*, which would roughly mean in English *to put the table*. The expression *to put something on the table* has a perfect Romanian equivalent in *a pune ceva pe masa* in both its proper meaning (*to put food on the table*) and its figurative one (*to say something out loud, openly*). Yet, while the Britons call the linen covering the table simply a *table cloth*, the Romanians have a quasi-metaphorical phrase for it: *fata de masa* meaning literally *table visage/cheek*, somehow considering the table a human head which needs to be embellished. The Romanian equivalents for *cloth*, *panza*, *panzatura*, are used only for the cloth covering a corpse and have a rather gruesome connotation.

These are only a few examples of the protean character of the respective polysemies in the two items. Therefore, to consider them perfect interlinguistic equivalents would be at least risky, if not mistaken. Still, translational optimism is a point of view that should be accepted if cross-cultural communication is a necessity. It is, perhaps, clear, out of the set of incompatibilities signalled above, that not even things that are usually considered to be “easy” or problem-free are in fact so. It is also clear that translators (myself included) will go on for ever translating *table* for *masa* and the other way round.

What I tried to clear up in this paper, though, is the fact that, even in its most obvious instances, interlinguistic equivalence is a matter of huge responsibility for the translator. Mentality, in its acceptance of generator of language choices, creates a glossematics, which is never in a one-to-one relationship when two languages are considered. When culture comes also into play, as a more complex reflection of mentality, it is dragged over into the target language with every single word the translator chooses, even if the interlinguistic synonymy is – or seems to be – apparent. Therefore, if we should consider cultural untranslatability as a permanent drawback in any attempt at trans-posing a text from a culture into another, it should necessarily be considered as a diffuse phenomenon, omnipresent in all the text and not as “spots” or “stumbling blocks” which, once surpassed, interlinguistic equivalence will function unhindered throughout.

Communication by translation is possible – at least if translational optimism is a tenable position – but it should rather be seen as a gnosis and a permanent negotiation between source- and target-culture and languages.

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'PROVERBUL' ÎN PERSPECTIVA 'ACTELOR DE VORBIRE'

OANA AURELIA GENCĂRĂU

RÉSUMÉ. *Le proverbe dans la perspective des actes du discours.* Dans cet article nous nous proposons de mettre face à face plusieurs points de vue sur le proverbe pour trouver une réponse à une question fréquente dans la bibliographie des vingt dernières années, selon laquelle le proverbe est un certain *type d'acte du discours*.

0.0. Semnificativă pentru o abordare din perspectiva actelor de vorbire, proprietatea proverbului de a implica *citarea* a fost inițial interpretată ca una dintre mărcile lui definiționale și viza disponibilitatea vorbitorului de a exprima prin proverbe observații neoriginale (Norick: 1982: 169 și 173; 1985: 33 și 34). Teoria actelor de vorbire, așa cum derivă aceasta din lucrarea lui J.L. Austin (1962), a fost considerată astfel un *cadru alternativ* pentru a formula diversele întrebări — cu relevanță pentru această direcție (Norick: 1981 33), dar și pentru pragmatică — despre

- (a) *ce fel de act de vorbire este proverbul ?*
- (b) *de ce recurg vorbitorii la proverbe ?*
- (c) *cum sunt folosite proverbele ?*

1.0. În acest cadru alternativ și unificator totodată, dacă avem în vedere interesul, manifestat atât în gramatica generativ transformațională (Cram: 1983), cât și în pragmatică (Gouvard: 1998), pentru citare, proverbul este privit în *baza unei caracteristici redundante*, ce constă în posibilitatea de a-l *afixa* printr-o secvență de tipul lui / *as saying goes...* / sau / *it is said...* / (Norick: 1981: 33), cu ocurență corespondentă în franceză prin / *Comme on dit* / (Gouvard: 2000: 34). *Afixe proverbiale* pentru Norick sau *mărci metalingvistice care însoțesc enunțarea* pentru Kleiber (1994: 212), *enunțuri test pentru recunoașterea proverbului* după Gouvard (2000: 33), secvențele preproverbiale îl implică pe *saying* și dovedesc că proverbele sunt un *act de citare / act of quoting* / a unei instanțe colective și de autoritate, act ce nu este *esențial diferit de citarea din Biblie, din Shakespeare sau din oricare sursă simțită ca parte a moștenirii culturale a unei anumite comunități lingvistice*. (Norick: 1981: 34). Când citarea se reduce la reproducerea unui *nucleu proverbial* în măsură să producă recunoașterea întregului proverb de către utilizator, enunțarea proverbului e socotită un *act de aluzie*; ambele acte, atât cel de citare, cât și cel de *aluzie* își au referința într-un text anterior existent, dar, în mod

esențial, de *utilizare comună* (Kleiber: 1999: 59), pe care vorbitorul îl *reactivează* așteptându-se ca ascultătorul să îl recunoască drept proverb, în baza familiarizării sale cu stocul de proverbe al propriei sale limbi

2.0. Formulată de Austin (1962) și reluată de Searle (1963), distincția dintre constative / *constatives* / și performative / *performatives* / a oferit prilejul interpretării unora dintre proverbe ca *aserțiuni care întrupează o propoziție adevărată sau falsă* (Cram: 1983: 62), ceea ce înseamnă că ar trebui să fie acceptat drept constativ un proverb precum (a), în opoziție cu un enunț precum (b), cu statut de performativ:

(a) *The word is flat.*

(b) *I declar this garden party open.*

3.0. Înainte de a ne pronunța cu privire la acceptabilitatea statuării proverbilor în clasa constativelor, se cuvine să arătăm că distincția lui Austin¹ (1962: 108) ce privește performativele a fost *judecată* în ansamblul discuțiilor cu privire la actul locuționar (*In saying something, we perform a locutionary act of uttering a certain sentence with a certain sense and reference*), ilocuționar (*as promising, ordering, warning act*) și perlocuționar (*we achieve something such as convincing, persuading, or deterring*); astfel, pentru Lee (1997), de înțelegerea conținutului actului preformativ depinde înțelegerea *subiectivității lingvistice*, iar de detașarea constativelor depinde *evoluția filozofiei limbajului în ultimul secol*; după Van Dijk (1985: 1), originile teoriei actelor de vorbire trebuie *trasate* începând cu *studiul discursului ca act public*; indubitabil, originile unui astfel de studiu pot fi identificate în *retorica modernă*, dacă avem în vedere interesul acesteia, în termenii lui Van Dijk, pentru *the art of good speaking*; depinzând de *structura, înțelesul și acțiunile vorbirii cotidiene, care se realizează în mod interaccional*, dichotomia propusă de Austin prezintă interes, după Schiffrin (1994: 416 și 419) în măsura în care se poate ține cont de faptul că *selecțiile vorbitorilor între diferitele scheme luate ca alternative ale vorbirii sunt ghidate de relațiile dintre utilizatori*.

¹ O lectură a lui Austin, am considera, în respectul proprietății termenilor, din *How to Do Things with Words*, găsim la Benjamin Lee (1997), unde opoziției locuționar/ilocuționar /perlocuționar îi corespunde: *The locutionary act is that which is reported in indirect speech, or oratio obliqua, such as "She said that she would be there the next day" as a report of the utterance "I shall be there tomorrow."/ Illocutionary acts constitute the ways in which we use locutions to do things such as asking or answering a question, pronouncing a sentence, making promises, making all identification, or giving a description, they are what we do in the act of saying something as opposed to the act of saying something. / A perlocutionary act is what we do by saying something, the effect the performance of the speech act has upon the speaker, hearer, audience, or other persons.*

3.1. Raportarea corectă la *performative* reprezintă pentru proverb premisa unei corecte clasări între practicile de comunicare ce includ *limbajul raportat, citarea, discursul indirect* (Lee: 1997: 11); Austin folosea termenul 'constative' pentru *construcțiile funcțional adevărate / truth-functional constructions /*, rezervând termenul 'performativ' pentru enunțurile de tipul / *I promise to do X /* (Austin: 1975: 121; Lee: 1997: 6), considerate acte care nu implică *adevăr sau fals*; Cram (1983: 62) definește în același mod constativele socotindu-le *enunțuri care întrupează o propoziție adevărată sau falsă*, dar consideră pasager că performativele sunt *categoria* și constativele apar ca o *subcategorie* a performativelor; după Austin, performativele *lucrează* prin asocierea *spunerii* cu anumite cuvinte în circumstanțele specifice ale comunicării; în absența acestor circumstanțe, performativele acționează incorect; Austin identifică șase *condiții de oportunitate*² / *felicity conditions /* în funcție de respectarea sau nerespectarea cărora *efectul comunicațional dorit se sau nu se poate obține*; cele șase condiții au pentru performative importanța pe care condiția de adevăr sau de fals o are pentru constative.

3.2. Distincția sau, mai bine spus, distincțiile propuse de Austin, fără a fi considerate ireconciliabile³, par productive pentru analiza unor

² Enumerăm după Austin (1962: 14-15), primele șase *condiții de oportunitate*:

1. *There must exist an accepted conventional procedure having a certain conventional effect, that procedure to include the uttering of certain words by certain persons in certain circumstances, and further,*
2. *the particular persons and circumstances in a given case must be appropriate for the invocation of the particular procedure invoked.*
3. *The procedure must be executed by all participants both correctly and*
4. *completely.*
5. *Where, as often, the procedure is designed for use by persons having certain thoughts or feelings, or for the inauguration of certain consequential conduct on the part of any participant, then a person participating in and so invoking the procedure must in fact have those thoughts or feelings, and the participants must intend so to conduct themselves, and further*
6. *must actually so conduct themselves subsequently.*

³ Vezi Austin (1975: 91 și 150). Pentru prima situație: *Now let us consider where we stand for a moment: beginning with the supposed contrast between performative and constative utterances, we found sufficient indications that unhappiness nevertheless seems to characterize both kinds of utterance, not merely the performative; and that the requirement of conforming or bearing some relation to the facts, different in different cases, seems to characterize performatives, in addition to the requirement that they should be happy, similarly to the way which is characteristic of supposed constatives.,*

în timp ce pentru a doua situație:

What will not survive the transition, unless perhaps as a marginal limiting case, and hardly surprisingly because it gave trouble from the start, is the notion of the purity of performatives: this was essentially based upon a belief in the dichotomy of performatives and constatives, which we see

clase particulare de texte; vorbind despre texte de autoritate individuală, cum e cel literar sau cel filozofic, Paul de Man (1979) considera crucială separarea constativelor de performative; la rândul său, Benveniste (1971) crede că *detalii lingvistice precum pronominalizarea, timpul și aspectul pot diferenția între performative și constative*; în măsura în care proverbele sunt acceptate atât ca demersuri persuasive, cât și ca *enuțuri ce vehiculează o valoare de adevăr* (Gouvard: 2000: 34), proprietățile *constativelor* pot fi speculate în analiza proverbelor ca *texte autonome* și, în egală măsură, în vederea supunerii acestora conceptelor retoricii.

3.3. După Cram, dichotomia stabilită de Austin oferă un important punct de plecare în abordarea proverbului. Constatarea sa e că numeroase proverbe iau forma unui enunț generic și dau astfel *aparența unui constativ*, dar proverbele *nu funcționează* ca și constativele; diferența dintre enunțurile proverbiale și constative e sesizabilă și chiar controlabilă atunci când se înregistrează ocurența unor *etichete ilocutionare deschise / over illocutionary tag /*, de tipul lui */I tell you /* sau */ they say /*:

(a) *Nicotine makes the heart beat faster, I tell you.*

(b) *Absecnces makes the heart grow fonder, they say.*

Apelând la tehnica de reprezentare a actului de vorbire sub forma unui *enuț mai înalt*, pe care Cram o atribuie lui Ross, cele două enunțuri pot fi reluate ca:

(a) *TELL YOU (nicotine makes the heart beat faster).*

(b) *I TELL YOU / THEY TELL US (absecnce makes the heart grow fonder).*

Reprezentarea *enuțului mai înalt* evidențiază faptul că *proverbul nu este un simplu declarativ*, ci este citat sau *invocat* într-un mod special. Invocarea scoate în evidență atât similitudinea, cât și diferența dintre proverb și ceea ce Austin desemna prin *performativele primare*.

3.4. Faptul că este *invocat* face ca proverbul să se apropie de *performativele primare* (Cram: 1983: 62), de invocarea ce este caracteristică formulelor de botez, de mariaj și, în general, de alte instanțe comunicativ acționale mentale, unde una dintre condițiile de oportunitate este ca *procedura să includă rostirea de către anumite persoane a unor anumite cuvinte, ceremonialul desfășurându-se, desigur, în anumite circumstanțe* (Austin: 1975: 14); *anumitele cuvinte* au statutul de *operator*; în cazul particular al actelor implicate în rostirea proverbului *operatorii au menirea de a realiza*, pe de o parte, *transgresia spre citare*; pe de altă parte, după Austin, sunt cuvinte

has to be abandoned in favour of more general families of related and overlapping speech acts, which are just what we have now to attempt to classify.

accesibile tuturor, întrucât condiția de oportunitate presupune că *procedura trebuie să fie executată de către toți participanții corect și complet* (1975: 15); după Cram, *cuvintele cu rol de operatori pot fi codificate* (1983: 63) fără ca să fie alterate condițiile de oportunitate. Similitudinile între performarea proverbelor și a enunțurilor subordonate *acțiunilor mentale* ori situațiilor ceremoniale derivă, în consecință, din faptul că și unele și altele *sunt invocate*, iar invocarea lor implică folosirea unor *formule gata făcute*.

3.5. Invocarea unei formule de acțiune mentală într-un caz (a), cum ar fi mariajul, și, într-un caz (b), al spunerii unui proverb, induce însă o serie de diferențe.

3.5.1. Prima dintre diferențe constă în faptul că invocarea în parte a unei formule determină în cazul (a) *condiții de inoportunitate / infelicity conditions /*, în vreme ce, în cazul (b), invocarea eliptică nu prejudiciază condițiile de oportunitate:

(a) *Talk about new brooms.*

(b) *Tey're birds of a feather.*

Statutul de *formulă* pe care îl are proverbul îi asigură destinatarului posibilitatea ca, în baza competenței gramaticale, să completeze *materialul șters datorită elipsei* și astfel să recunoască structura drept proverb.

3.5.2. A doua diferență importantă între invocarea tipică unui proverb și categoria desemnată de Austin prin *performative primare* constă în faptul că formula ilocuționară include un verb ilocuționar cu subiect la persoana 1 sg., iar verbul acceptă, după Cram, distribuția *unui adverb ilocuționar* de tipul lui *hereby* sau a unor sintagme de tipul *by these very words*, adverb care este considerat de către Austin (1975: 57) *a useful criterion that the utterance is performative*. În funcție de aceste criterii, sunt reperabile enunțuri ca:

I (± hereby) name this ship SS Bertha.

însă nu și distribuții cu formule proverbiale care pot apărea, după cum s-a arătat, cu *etichete ilocuționare deschise* obligatoriu cu un *verb al actului de vorbire*, precum *a spune*:

I (- hereby) tell you + absence makes the herat grow fonder.

Cram avertizează însă că *în mod obișnuit*, adică nu numai în ocurența formulilor proverbiale, între etichetele ilocuționare deschise și adverbele se manifestă o *incompatibilitate distribuțională*.

3.5.3. În cele din urmă, a treia diferență între invocarea proverbului și categoria *performativelor primare* privește *natura autorității* care rostește proverbul. Pentru Cram, proverbul este diferit de un simplu constativ prin faptul că *vorbirea sa invocă o autoritate* ce depășește autoritatea unui vorbitor

individual; natura autorității distinge astfel proverbul atât de (a) constative, cât și de (b) performative primare, întrucât autoritatea actului de tipul (a) se subordonează evaluării aserțiunii ca adevărată sau falsă, iar autoritatea aferentă actului de tip (b) este a unui individ, în vreme ce proverbul este marcat numai și numai de veridicitate și de o autoritate supraindividuală. Proverbul reflectă astfel și caracteristicile constativilor și pe cele ale performativelor primare, fiind comparabil cu *mai degrabă cu invocarea unei reguli, a unui joc, decât cu mișcarea executată în acord cu regulile iar repetarea unui proverb constituie o reafirmare a unui principiu de credință culturală și, în mod tacit, îl cheamă pe ascultătorul său să facă același lucru* (Cram: 1983: 63). Vorbitorul care invocă o autoritate mai presus de propria sa instanță nu dorește să își nege responsabilitatea pentru actele sale verbale de direcționare a ascultătorului și, în același timp, de persuadare.

4.0. În baza distincției dintre *intenția de a convinge*, specifică proverbului, și *succesul sau eșecul actului de a convinge*, rostirea proverbului a fost pusă sub semnul diferitelor acte perlocuționare⁴, postulându-se doar necesitatea de a controla *forța ilocuționară și forța perlocuționară de performare generală a proverbului* (Yankah: 1986: 281-282).

4.1. Actele perlocuționare ce pot fi ilustrate prin rostirea proverbului privesc:

fie (a) inventarul paremiologic în generalitatea și totalitatea sa, situație în care actul sau actele perlocuționare își au sursa în cel mult două caracteristici ale proverbului și apar drept marcă generală de performare cu consecințe în clasificarea proverbelor;

fie (b) numai anumite proverbe, actul sau actele apărând drept mărci discontinuente, dar necesare circumscrierii subdiviziunilor taxinomice.

4.1.1. *Perlocuțiile proverbiale generale*, respectiv cele asociate cu rostirea oricărui proverb, pot fi *intenționate* sau *neintenționate* și derivă efectiv din *caracteristicile sale de gen* reperabil după *conținutul aserțiunilor* (Meschonick: 1976: 421; Ollie: 1976: 340 și Arora: 195: 3) sau după cel puțin două dintre proprietățile sale; proprietățile care permit reperarea genului sunt, pentru Norick (1982: 171):

(1) faptul că proverbele sunt *unități lingvistice inventariate preconstruite* și (2) faptul că au statutul de *item tradițional*.

⁴ În accepția lui Austin (1975: *the illocutionary act which has a certain force in saying something; the perlocutionary act which is the achieving of certain effects by saying something.*

4.1.1.1. Proprietatea (1) conferă proverbului *valoarea de act ce îi semnalizează pe membrii grupului*, întrucât pentru cel care spune un proverb precum:

Don't take any wooden nickels.

important este actul de *atenționare* și de *convingere* a ascultătorului cu privire la apartenența la același grup, ca astfel cel care ascultă să aibă posibilitatea de a semnala *acceptarea și identificarea* cu grupul în discuție. Succesul actului perlocuționar de *convingere* a ascultătorului și, reciproc, succesul ascultătorului de a-l convinge pe cel ce rostește proverbul, este asigurat tocmai de faptul că proverbele sunt *acte de citare* în care vorbitorul nu citează un individ, ci reiterează un *conținut* general al *comunității lingvistice*; tipul de citare, implicit, tipul de act, tinde să *dezvolte* și să *extindă* în *textul* de proprietate comunitar lingvistică reiterat *sensuri idiomatice*, ceea ce face ca proverbele să fie clasate ca *acte indirecte de vorbire*, în sensul degajat din Searl (apud Norick: 1982: 173), unde 'indirect' referă la faptul că (a) spun, dar (b) în același timp comunică ascultătorului un avertisment pe care acesta îl va deriva din afirmația celui ce rostește proverbul; caracterul 'indirect' al actului de vorbire specific proverbului se remarcă întâi la nivelul sensului, unde, direct, enunțarea proverbului semnifică ceea ce *proverbele spun în mod literal*, iar indirect sensul proverbelor (Norick: 1981: 36) se extinde la un nivel figurativ și/sau idiomatic; orice proverb și orice citare precum:

Praise a fair day at night.

are drept prim sens ceea ce se spune despre *a lăuda* și despre *ziuă*, dar *induce spre ascultător*, datorită actului indirect de vorbire, o *avertizare generală* care îl *determină pe ascultător să caute un sens contextual*. Gricce (1975: 48) utilizează termenul *implicație / implicatures* / pentru ceea ce e determinat de un act indirect de vorbire și, în aceeași măsură, de caracterul de citare al enunțului; termenul cunoaște reevaluări prin Ducrot (1984) și Anscombe (1985: 31) care atribuie *actului de citare* rolul de a asigura sensul suplimentar marcat în teoria delocutivelor prin *dire*⁴; acceptând termenul *implicații*, Norick socotește că demersul utilizatorului de proverbe în vorbire este *act dublu indirect* prin tot ceea ce implică recursul la proverb; întâi, particularitatea 'dublu indirect' se referă la faptul că proverbele:

(a) sunt citate și nu constructe libere

și (b) generează, în termenii lui Gricce, *implicații*;

apoi, particularitatea 'dublu indirect' se regăsește la nivelul sensurilor avute în vedere de vorbitor: prin citarea unui proverb vorbitorul performează *actul perlocutor* de a-l convinge pe ascultătorul său cu privire la existența celui de

al doilea sens; pe de altă parte, natura citării se află la rându-i sub incidența *actului dublu indirect*, întrucât vorbitorul citează ceea ce îi aparține și lui, în calitate sa de membru al colectivității lingvistice, aparținând totodată colectivității pe care o citează; un exemplu precum:

The leopard cannot change his spots.

satisfacă cerința de *sens*, întrucât, în mod indiscutabil, vorbitorul are în vedere altceva decât simplele caracteristici ale leopardului; posibil ca, prin citarea proverbului, vorbitorul să performeze actul perlocutor de a-l convinge pe ascultătorul său cu privire la ireversibilitatea comportamentală; în aceeași măsură, proverbul satisfacă și condiția de *proprietate comunitară lingvistică*; orice vorbitor are *formula* la îndemână și o poate performa ca și cum ar enunța-o în numele său. Distingând, totodată, între *actele de vorbire indirecte* și *actele de vorbire nondirecte* și considerând că *actele de vorbire nondirecte* includ un *act indirect* și o *figură*, Norcik (1982: 173) socotește că orice citare a proverbului, *ca act perlocuționar*, îi permite vorbitorului să-și disimuleze sentimentele, să-și asigure un *drum de salvare din impasul conversațional* și să *ofere ascultătorului posibilitatea de a alege, să indice consensuri*, dar și să *nu îl oblige pe ascultător să accepte motivele și scopurile vorbitorului*.

4.1.1.2. Din proprietatea (2), ce privește proverbul ca *item tradițional de folclor* (Norick: 1981, 1982, 1985; Yankah: 1986), decurge că proverbele sunt *acte perlocuționare de instruire și de educare a ascultătorului*; făcând apel la proverb, în orice situație, vorbitorul adaugă credibilitate și autoritate frazei sale, întrucât utilizatorul de proverbe se identifică cu *înțelepciunea, tradițiile, credințele și prejudecățile comunității*. Forța perlocuționară a proverbului depinde de performare, de contextul social, de forța argumentului circumstanțial (Yankah: 1986: 301) și de abilitatea ascultătorului de a produce o selecție lexicală valorică, astfel încât să poată percepe că *i se vorbește în termeni tradiționali*, abilitate care, dacă nu e probată, *performarea proverbului ca proverb eșuează* (Arora: 1995: 2). Caracterul tradițional al proverbelor le umple de autoritate și le crește *forța perlocuționară potențială* (Norick: 1982: 175). *Efectele perlocuționare* se regăsesc atât în poziționarea vorbitorului și a ascultătorului, cât și în tendința manifestată de ascultător de a reacționa la spunerea proverbelor. Ca acte perlocuționare de instruire și de educare, proverbele atribuie vorbitorului o poziție de superioritate, făcându-l să apară ca mentor sau sfătuitor al ascultătorului, ca părinte în raport cu un copil sau ca profesor în raport cu discipolii săi. Relația ce conferă vorbitorului o poziție privilegiată corespunde unui moment didactic al manifestării forței perlocuționare în proverb. Reacția

ascultătorului depinde, după Arora (1995: 2), de succesul său în procesul ce cuprinde:

(a) *un mijloc de a stabili rostirile individuale pentru acest gen*

(b) *o etapă de recunoaștere a noțiunii abstracte a genului proverb, așa cum noțiunea este concepută cultural sau etnic;*

Dacă recunoașterea se produce, ascultătorul urmează să se manifeste prin *alegerea* unui sens în funcție de *credințele* sale, de convingerile ce i-au fost insuflăte. El hotărăște dacă acceptă sau nu *implicarea* și, de aici, căutarea altui sens decât cel *literal* al unităților lexicale. În măsura în care s-a produs efectul perlocuționar de a fi fost *impresionat* de vorbitor, însemnând că actul perlocuționar de *convingere* a avut succes, un proverb precum:

A rolling stone gathers no moss.

va fi interpretat ca echivalent cu:

A person on the move stays young.

sau cu: *A person on the move stays poor.*

4.1.2. **Perlocuțiile proverbiale particulare** nu se referă la rostirea oricărui proverb, ci numai la anumite proverbe și la anumite situații, iar actele perlocuționare asociate cu aceste proverbe sunt întotdeauna intenționate (Norick: 1982: 176).

4.2. *Efectele perlocuționare* pot fi degajate în mod diferit în cazul perlocuțiilor particulare, iar diferența privește tipul de *sens* și, implicit, de *interpretare a proverbului*.

4.2.1. Un tip de proverbe, în clasificarea lui Norick (1985) prezintă o corespondență între *lectura literală* și *interpretarea proverbială*; efectele perlocuționare în acest caz pot fi degajate tocmai din *interpretarea proverbială standard*. În cazul unui proverb precum */Like father, like son/*, atât *interpretarea literală*, cât și cea *proverbială* vor conduce la sesizarea unei *corespondențe* între două obiecte în relație; ca perlocuție a unei *consolări*, rostirea proverbului va putea determina convingerea că *filiația este generatoare de asemănări caracterologice*, ceea ce spun efectiv și *enunțul* și *proverbul*.

4.2.2. Un alt tip de proverbe marcat de *perlocuție particulară* este legat în mod convențional de anumite situații ce nu derivă direct, pentru vorbitorul contemporan, din interpretarea literală a acestora. Efectele perlocuționare determinate de aceste proverbe au caracter *imediat* sau *pe termen lung* și nu pot fi degajate din *interpretarea proverbială standard*. *Forța perlocuționară* a acestui tip de proverbe apare, dintr-un punct de vedere paradigmatic, ca o *reacție posibilă între altele*; această reacție poate fi descrisă ca *alegere* într-un sistem ce implică mai mulți participanți (P); pentru proverbul:

Speak of the devil and will appear.

Quand on parle du loup, on en voie la queue

Quand on parle du loup, il sord du bois.

implică, după Halliday, o situație conversațională în care un participant (P_1) conversează cu un alt participant (P_2) despre un alt participant (P_n), iar alegerea însumează următoarele posibile efecte perlocuționare:

(a) P_1 îl salută pe un ascultător, respectiv pe P_n ;

(b) P_1 îi obliga pe ceilalți participanți să accepte integrarea ascultătorului, respectiv a lui P_n , în conversație;

(c) P_1 îl saluta pe P_n de la distanță rămânând în grup;

(d) P_1 se desparte de grup salutându-l pe P_n ;

(e) P_1 se întoarce spre P_n și îl aduce în grup.

Norick (1982: 178) reamarcă absența interesului lui Halliday față de reacțiile participanților de la P_1 la P_n , ceea ce are drept consecință absența din schema lui a unor efecte perlocuționare ce pot fi degajate din răspunsurile participanților la conversație, considerând că semnificația interacțională completă trebuie să includă atât clasificarea actului ilocuționar, cât și efectele perlocuționare scontate, adăugând, drept un efect (f) posibilitatea ca vorbitorul să amuze grupul prin rostirea proverbului; pentru Norick, proverbele:

You can't win' em all.

Better luck next time.

pot fi interpretate ca acte perlocuționare de consolare adresate perdantului unei competiții; consolarea poate alterna cu batjocura sau cu avertizarea cu privire la încercările viitoare. Actul de a consola, precum și cel de a avertiza, presupun citarea proverbelor; alternativa consolării, batjocura, implică drept efecte perlocuționare:

(a) a râde de P_n

(b) a-l lăuda sarcastic pe P_n .

5.0. Chiar și prin luarea în discuție a tuturor posibilelor răspunsuri, o parte dintre efectele perlocuționare posibile nu pot fi inventariate, fiindcă actele perlocuționare depind, după Norick, atât pentru ascultător, cât și pentru cel care îl rostește, de o serie de factori, printre care sunt amintiți: competența lingvistică a vorbitorilor și performarea proverbelor prin acte ilocuționare cu caracter intenționat sau neintenționat, cu efecte perlocuționare imediate sau pe termen lung.

5.1. Efectele perlocuționare, credem noi, depind în același timp de competența proveribală. Cu proverbele echivalente

Speak of the devil and will appear.

Quand on parle du loup, il sort du bois.

credem că se pot accepta efectele perlocuționare enumerate de Norick de la (a) la (e), efectul (f) rămânând *discret potențial*, în timp ce cu proverbele echivalente:

Speak of the devil and will appear.

Quand on parle du loup, on en voie la queue.

efectul (f), asociat cu amuzamentul, ironia sau persiflarea, prevalează în raport cu efectele de la (a) la (e).

5.3. Variantele proverbelor în una și aceeași limbă și, credem, mai mult, echivalențele în și din limbi diferite, pot furniza, în investigarea efectelor perlocuționare, informații cu privire la *alegera* determinată de forța perlocuționară într-o situație conversațională dată, întrucât prin */will appear/* și */il sort du bois/* reacția scontată e cea de a constata prezența unui P_n, de a-l saluta sau a-l integra în grup, în timp ce prin */ will appear / ca / on en voie la queue/* reacția scontată este mai degrabă amuzamentul, persiflarea sau ironia decât salutul.

5.4. De altfel, Norick (1981: 39), semnalând importanța actelor de vorbire nondirecte și implicit necesitatea de a *determina caz cu caz, enunțare cu enunțare, funcția actului de vorbire*, justifică recursul vorbitorului la proverb prin multiplele consecințe pe care tipul de act de vorbire le generează. Utilizând un proverb, vorbitorul poate *să-și decline responsabilitatea față de materialul citat*, acesta nefiind propria sa spunere, ci o citare, poate să își decline responsabilitatea față de *implicațiile nondirecte*, poate construi alternative astfel încât una din două să convină ascultătorului, să se potrivească cu așteptările sale, după cum poate să construiască strategii conversaționale care să-i permită să depășească situațiile de blocaj comunicațional.

5.5. Toate aceste justificări ale recursului vorbitorului la proverb nu sunt și argumente care să pledeze în favoarea unui *tip de act de vorbire special pe care să-l numim proverbializare*; ca și pentru pentru Norick (1981: 36) și Cram (1983:), din punctul nostru de vedere, cel puțin două motive resping proverbializarea ca tip de act de vorbire:

(a) proverbul e citare, un caz special de citare, dar actul de a cita nu e coextensiv cu producerea și întrebuințarea proverbului; și

(b) funcțiile perlocuționare ale proverbului nu provin din faptul că textul citat este proverb, vorbitorii putând folosi proverbele în diverse scopuri, ceea ce înseamnă că nici o funcție particulară nu poate fi dată actului de proverbializare.

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STRATEGII DE COMUNICARE: NEGOCIEREA (I)

ANCA L. GREERE

ABSTRACT. The rapid development of the discourse of negotiation is closely related to the spread of globalization in almost every field of human activity. Globalization phenomena bring together people from various cultural backgrounds pursuing the same or apparently the same goals and the need for developing strategies that help them avoid misunderstandings and solve conflicts has become of utmost importance. That is why the need for a more integrated approach to negotiations becomes manifest. Such an approach should broaden the view on negotiation, should focus on the way in which the linguistic and rhetorical features concur in order to achieve the communicative purpose and to shape the structural patterns of negotiations. In this article we try to argue that negotiations have a predominantly persuasive nature due to their main purpose, that of reaching a settlement or inducing different actions. Unlike other types of persuasive discourse, negotiations presuppose a persuasive process that goes both ways as each party tries to influence the other and to avoid being influenced at the same time.

1.0. Literatura dedicată acestui subiect este foarte voluminoasă, cercetarea făcându-se în special în domeniul economic, sociologic și psihologic cu scopul de a uni variabilele din aceste domenii în interpretarea făcută negocierii prin stabilirea unor modele matematice și a unor analize statistice. Negocierea poate fi analizată și din perspectiva ESP cu intenția de a oferi o metodologie de predare a acesteia în engleză pentru cei care învață engleza ca limbă străină. Abordarea din acest punct de vedere vizează manifestările lingvistice ale trăsăturilor retorice și organizaționale ale actului comunicativ. Se pare că în acest caz se supralicitează (Swales, 1990) *registrul* în defavoarea altor trăsături importante ca, de exemplu, *convențiile de gen*.¹

O altă direcție de cercetare este aceea a analizei discursului negocierii, direcție mai puțin aprofundată, ceea ce ne determină să stabilim ca obiectiv

¹ Există un număr impresionant de manuale de *Business English* care însă acordă un spațiu minim negocierii. În general se scot în evidență aspectele care țin de actul comunicativ: introducerile, cum se face o ofertă, cum se acceptă sau se refuză o ofertă, s.a.m.d. Preocuparea de bază este centrată asupra aspectelor stilistice ale limbii și mai puțin asupra aspectului persuasiv sau asupra modelului organizațional. De aceea considerăm că este nevoie de o abordare care să lărgască perspectiva asupra negocierii, să se concentreze asupra felului în care trăsăturile lingvistice și retorice se îmbină pentru a realiza scopul comunicativ și pentru a da formă modelului structural al negocierii.

al actualei cercetări exact acest domeniu: discursul negocierii din perspectivă generică. Faptul că cercetările anterioare nu au oferit o teorie comprehensivă pentru acest tip de discurs ne justifică intenția de a construi un model teoretic al negocierii care să poată fi testat printr-o analiză comparativă /contrastivă a unor texte din engleză și română. Modelul descrie elementele care compun structurile generice ale negocierii, scoțând în relief diferitele nivele ale structurii ierarhice și oferind o evaluare a diferitelor instanțe ale discursului negocierii. Teoria propusă integrează elemente ale teoriei actelor de vorbire, maxime conversaționale și analiza discursului într-un cadru analitic care poate atât să descrie cât și să evalueze discursul dialogic argumentativ. Acest lucru se realizează printr-o interpretare analitică care reconstruiește instanțele argumentative din realitate ale discursului, scoțând la iveală componentele de bază.

Modelul teoretic propus diferă un pic de cel pragma-dialectic² datorită scopului diferit al negocierii față de discuția critică. El are o forță explicativă puternică pentru structurarea modelului generic în stadii, etape și mutări. Modelul generic propus este privit ca un model cu un grad ridicat de generalitate. Un astfel de model generic contribuie decisiv la o analiză detaliată a evenimentului comunicativ, dar în același timp oferă și informații utile pentru cei care își însușesc elementele negocierii într-o limbă străină.

Când vorbim de negociere ca act comunicativ trebuie să luăm în considerare și dimensiunea națională, faptul că fiecare cultură are propriile particularități care pot să se manifeste diferit în timpul actului. Diferențele culturale sunt importante pentru evoluția procesului negocierii, lucru tot mai evident astăzi, când fenomenul globalizării unește oameni cu fundal cultural diferit.³

2.0. Negocierea ca gen a fost abordată din diferite perspective (abstractă, etnografică, experimentală, prescriptivă, discursivă, negocierea interculturală) care conțin elemente importante pentru dezvoltarea modelului

² Teoria pragma-dialectică integrează rezultate ale teoriei actelor de vorbire, maxime conversaționale și analiza discursului interacțional într-un cadru analitic care poate atât să ofere o descriere a discursului dialogic argumentativ cât și să-l evalueze. Acest lucru se realizează prin *interpretare analitică*, o metodă prin care se reconstruiesc modele argumentative din viața reală relevându-se părțile lor componente: *punctele de vedere, argumentele și concluziile*. Textele astfel reconstruite sunt comparate cu modelul teoretic ideal și sunt apreciate în funcție de acesta.

³ Este însă greu de stabilit dacă diferențele manifestate în timpul actului de negociere sunt generate de diferențele de fundal cultural, sau de diferențe de caracter ale negociatorilor, sau chiar diferențe ale sistemului politic.

generic al negocierii. Deși riguros teoretică în descrierea negocierii ca activitate problematică, perspectiva *abstractă* nu examinează procesul negocierii ca atare, ci este interesată de rezultate, tactici, strategii. Cei care susțin această abordare (Cody, 1994) nu se arată prea interesați de examinarea interacțiunii, ei fiind preocupați doar de rezultatul interacțiunii verbale: acordul, schimbările de atitudine, compromisul, tacticile de negociere și obținerea de informații specifice.

Studiile ce aparțin orientării *etnografice* (Maynard, 1984) folosesc înregistrări autentice și stabilesc conceptul de fază ca unitate de bază prin care procesul negocierii avansează de la dezacord la acord. Scopul lor este acela de a identifica schimbările de atitudine și comportament în timpul negocierii. Conform acestei orientări, cea mai importantă trăsătură a negocierii este faptul că aceasta trece printr-o serie de faze generative bine identificate și ordonate. Fazele pot fi identificate ca schimbări în elementele accentuate în scopul negocierii sau ca modificări în dispoziția participanților în actul negocierii. Identificarea fazelor permite construcția unor modele teoretice care pot fi folosite pentru evaluarea acestui act. Elementul care generează cele mai multe critici la adresa acestei abordări este neexplicarea acțiunilor relevante care permit înțelegerea felului în care acțiunile sociale sunt construite. Pe de altă parte, abordarea *experimentală* pornește de la negocieri simulate și studiul este făcut în mare parte doar de psihologi sociali care adoptă o metodologie bazată pe testarea unor ipoteze, verificarea și replicarea rezultatelor, precum și cuantificarea analizelor datelor. Această abordare aduce contribuții importante în definirea comportamentului participanților în actul negocierii, a factorilor sociali relevanți, oferind soluții valoroase despre două stiluri de negociere: *stilul competitiv* și *stilul cooperant* ca manifestări de suprafață a unor atitudini.

Abordarea *prescriptivă* are la rândul ei o importanță deosebită prin cadrul pe care îl oferă pentru interpretarea negocierii ca o activitate structurată. Negocierea este prezentată ca o activitate care constă din câteva modele de comportare individuală care se constituie în acțiuni previzibile ale participanților. Se încearcă identificarea modelelor și a celorlalte elemente care le însoțesc. Literatura prescriptivă susține ideea ca strategiile de negociere și practicile discursive pot fi însușite. Totuși această abordare nu supraestimează exercițiul în negociere și, în general, admite că, fiind o activitate orală, negocierea se bazează pe improvizație și spontaneitate.

Analiza conversațională compensează lipsurile din abordările anterioare, oferind o explicație pentru acțiunile care permit înțelegerea felului în care activitățile sociale sunt integrate în discurs. Oferă o descriere a secvențelor

din negociere, stabilind rolul lor comunicativ și interacțional, dar, din păcate, analiza se oprește la microstructurile negocierii fără a lua în considerare constrângerile instituționale și sociale. Componentele prototipice ale activității de negociere (sugestii, propuneri, contrapropuneri, refuzuri, etc.) se nasc din acțiuni structurate secvențial, după cum arată cei care abordează această problemă din perspectivă discursivă (Firth, 1995; Maynard, 1986; Drew și Heritage, 1992). Din studiul literaturii de specialitate reiese nevoia constituirii unei teorii descriptive evaluative pentru negociere și analizarea unor texte complete, pentru ca trăsăturile prototipice ale negocierii să poată fi identificate.

3.0. Pentru a putea examina negocierea din perspectiva teoriei genurilor, este necesar mai întâi să plasăm negocierea între tipurile de discurs. Clasificarea fundamentală a discursului propusă de Kinneavy (1971), bazată pe funcțiile limbajului elaborate de R. Jakobson, indică următoarele categorii: discurs referențial, discurs persuasiv, discurs expresiv și discurs literar; discursul negocierii este caracterizat ca fiind unul argumentativ.

Negocierea poate fi considerată persuasivă în ceea ce privește scopul comunicațional, pentru că în timpul procesului de negociere fiecare parte implicată încearcă să convingă pe ceilalți că punctul său de vedere este cel corect. Discursul este orientat spre adresant ca orice discurs persuasiv și tinde să realizeze identitatea dintre convingerile intelectuale și atitudinile emoționale ale vorbitorului și adresantului. În cazul negocierii se tinde să se realizeze vederi identice deoarece acest proces implică reciprocitate. Trebuie identificate trăsăturile distinctive ale negocierii față de alte tipuri de discurs argumentativ. Scopul (acela de a ajunge la o înțelegere) trebuie atins printr-un proces dialectal dialogic în care cei implicați se influențează reciproc. Analiza logicii discursului persuasiv se concentrează asupra felului în care argumentele sunt folosite pentru a sprijini opiniile și pentru a induce acțiune din partea interlocutorului. Cercetarea argumentării este de mare folos pentru studiul discursului negocierii. Miezul procesului negocierii este argumentul și contraargumentul, propunerea și contrapropunerea într-o încercare de a pune de acord acțiunile văzute ca reciproc avantajoase. Mare parte din ceea ce se petrece în timpul negocierii reprezintă prezentarea argumentelor uneia din părți în sprijinul cererii sale și răspunsul celeilaltei părți care aduce argumente în favoarea sa sau încearcă să demonteze argumentația interlocutorului.

Argumentația trebuie ținută la minimum în timpul procesului de negociere deoarece folosirea argumentelor este foarte diferită de procesul

rezolvării problemelor. Nu argumentul trebuie câștigat, ci problema trebuie rezolvată. Se pare ca de fapt problema nu este că argumentarea nu-și are locul în negociere, ci că rolul jucat de argumente în timpul negocierii este diferit de rolul jucat în discursul argumentativ, ca de exemplu, o dispută. Realizarea unui acord este însăși esența negocierii și în acest proces argumentele au funcții diferite. Negocierea presupune un model diferit de cel al luării unei decizii. Se pare că în mediere și negociere acordul realizat prin compromis este mai important decât o soluție logică realizată prin argumentare.

Dezacordul dintre cercetători cu privire la rolul argumentului și argumentării în negociere se naște din faptul că argumentele în negociere sunt analizate din perspectivă retorică care se concentrează asupra eficacității argumentelor. În negociere, persuasiunea are un rol limitat deoarece aceasta nu are ca scop schimbarea unor opinii, ca în dispută, ci înlăturarea stării conflictuale. De aceea logica negocierii se apropie de modelul rezolvării de probleme mai degrabă decât de cel al persuasiunii argumentative.

Pentru a putea interpreta mai bine rolul jucat de argumentare în negociere, trebuie să adoptăm o perspectivă diferită asupra argumentării: trebuie să ne concentrăm asupra perspectivei dialectale. O astfel de perspectivă încearcă să explice cum participanții în actul negocierii sunt convinși mai degrabă decât obligați să adopte un anumit compromis și este, evident, potrivită pentru procesul dialogic implicat în negociere. Teoria *pragma-dialectică* postulează un model ideal pentru textele argumentative folosind o perspectivă dialectică interacțională și, în consecință, oferă o metodologie pentru abordarea negocierii din perspectiva genurilor.⁴ Modelul teoretic prezintă instanțele de discurs dialogic ca evenimente de vorbire complete compuse din stadii ordonate ierarhic, din etape care contribuie la realizarea țelului comunicativ al actului de vorbire.

Analiza genurilor implică nu numai o analiză lingvistică ci are ca scop poziționarea structurilor conventionalizate care scot la iveală modelul cognitiv pe care se bazează textul respectiv. Astfel, o analiză de acest fel

⁴ Termenul de gen definește seturi de activități comunicative care au caracteristici comune. Aceste trăsături caracteristice devin evidente în cazuri particulare de activități comunicative, cazuri care sunt recunoscute ca aparținând respectivei activități. Firth (1995) și Mulholland (1995) identifică negocierea ca gen. Firth face distincția dintre negociere ca activitate discursivă și negociere ca act. Actul implică un anumit format, scop, atitudine, adică trăsături contextuale caracteristice. Pe de altă parte, Mulholland remarcă un fapt important despre genuri și anume faptul că ele generează așteptări care afectează producerea, recepția și înțelegerea activităților comunicative care aparțin unui anumit tip generic.

identifică un model organizațional, unele caracteristici stilistice, precum și logica din spatele actului comunicativ. Negocierea, în sens larg, poate fi considerată un proces comunicativ, dinamic care are ca scop rezolvarea unor conflicte de interese și în cadrul căruia doi interlocutori, sau mai mulți, motivați de intenții diferite încearcă să ajungă la o cale de mijloc care să fie benefică pentru toți cei implicați în proces. Elementele cheie în acest proces sunt: *comunicarea, procesul, intenția sau scopul, poziția și agenții*. Acestea sunt trăsăturile definitorii pentru acest gen și un studiu generic trebuie să țină cont de aceste aspecte pentru a putea stabili restricțiile convenționale și structurile prototipice care definesc negocierea.⁵ Interpretarea structurală a textelor-gen permite identificarea intențiilor comunicative, scoțând în evidență aranjamentul textual convenționalizat care este folosit în mod obișnuit de membrii unei comunități de discurs, astfel determinând suprastructura generică a negocierii.

3.1. O abordare din punct de vedere al genurilor ne permite să definim negocierea ca act comunicativ cu o structură sintactică particulară, să integrăm negocierea în cadrul discursului argumentativ, să înțelegem principiile de organizare ale negocierii și felul în care acestea operează precum și să creăm un cadru pentru evaluarea fenomenului, nu numai pentru descrierea lui. Cercetarea din această perspectivă oferă mijloace de comparare și evaluare a succesului sau nereușitei unui act de negociere, poate fi folosită pentru a clarifica anumite ocurențe ca tipuri de activitate negociativă, poate identifica etapele din procesul de negociere și poate estima valoarea și importanța anumitor strategii negociative. De asemenea poate arăta ce fel de acte de vorbire pot apărea și cum pot fi acestea evaluate în funcție de acțiuni similare anterioare.⁶

⁵ Swales (1990: 40) atrage atenția că „analiza generică nu poate fi identificată cu analiza textului pentru că prima oferă și o explicație pentru faptul că genurile au o serie de trăsături distinctive”. O analiză a genului implică, pe lângă analiza retorică a modelului organizațional, o analiză la nivel gramatical și lexical, o analiză care să scoată în evidență relația dintre forma și funcția modelului textual și o analiză a structurii textuale care este relevantă pentru un anumit tip de gen.

⁶ Studiul trăsăturilor și structurilor generice în cadrul predării limbilor străine este de asemenea util pentru că poate oferi soluții pentru a depăși barierele culturale ale negocierii. Felul în care este percepută activitatea generică de negociere este guvernată de factori istorici și sociali care sunt diferiți de la o cultură la alta. Negocierea poate avea o însemnătate mai mare sau mai mică în comunitatea de afaceri dintr-o țară în comparație cu cercetarea și dezvoltarea, cu producția și marketingul. Un alt aspect important al predării negocierii într-o limbă străină se referă la felul în care negocierea este plasată social, care sunt etapele, care este ordinea în care ele se succed, cât timp trebuie alocat fiecărei etape, etc.

Analiza genurilor implică, pe lângă analiza retorică a modelului organizațional, și o analiză a nivelului lexical și gramatical care să scoată în evidență corelația dintre formă și funcție pentru modelul textual și o analiză a structurilor textuale. Interpretarea structurală permite prezentarea scopului comunicativ al textului. Analiza de gen (generică) poate să dezvăluie procesul rațional care stă la baza dobândirii acelor trăsături care sunt specifice pentru un anumit gen sau tip de text. Studiul trăsăturilor și structurilor generice în cadrul procesului de predare a unei limbi străine este folositor pentru a depăși anumite dificultăți care apar în cadrul negocierilor pe fundal cultural diferit.

Putem defini conceptul de gen pornind de la explicarea conceptelor de *scop comunicativ*, *comunitate discursivă* și *structuri convenționale*. Perspectiva lingvistică urmărește identificarea funcțiilor comunicative ale genurilor, implicațiile lor sociale (context social, participanți), precum și modelele cognitive care generează genurile (planuri, scheme, scenari, etc.). Analiza de gen (generică) aplicată în lingvistică implică analiza lingvistică a structurilor gramaticale, textuale și interpretaționale care dau posibilitatea cercetătorului de a postula structura globală a genului respectiv. Această analiză s-a diversificat în mai multe direcții: sociolingvistică (*etnografia comunicării și teoria funcțional sistemică*), analiza discursului, teoria schemei și abordarea retorică. Diferitele feluri în care conceptul de gen a fost studiat în literatură și lingvistică susține faptul că analiza genului nu poate fi identificată cu analiza textului. Dacă studiile literare abordează probleme legate de nivelul formal și cel ideational, studiile de lingvistică se concentrează asupra funcțiilor comunicative ale genului, asupra implicațiilor sociale și asupra modelelor cognitive pe care se bazează. Analiza lingvistică propusă oferă informații legate de stilul și structura cognitivă a genului.

În cazul negocierii o analiză retorică nu poate reda aspectul dialogic, procesual al discursului și de aceea, în cadrul analizei generice s-a căutat o metodologie care să surprindă acest aspect. Rezultatul este teoria pragma-dialectică puțin modificată (în cadrul teoriei argumentării). Această teorie constituie un cadru optim pentru studiul generic al negocierii. Argumentarea este văzută ca un fenomen care surprinde aspectul persuasiv al comunicării, dar și ca unul care generează convingeri. În viziunea pragma-dialectică argumentarea îmbină trei tipuri de activități: activitate verbală, activitate socială și activitate rațională. Dacă analiza retorică cuprinde o serie de aspecte ca studiul analizei dispoziționale a unităților de bază ale discursului (secțiuni, faze, miscări) precum și mijloacele interacționale folosite de cel care produce discursul pentru a obține scopul retoric, aria teoriei argumentării este mai

restrânsă, limitându-se la studiul tehnicilor discursive care determină creșterea acceptului audienței pentru opiniile și argumentele prezentate de vorbitor. Argumentarea reprezintă astfel un mod de interacțiune socială a oamenilor.

Analiza unui text argumentativ nu poate fi bazată doar pe logica formală, ea trebuind să fie completată de o analiză pragmatică care utilizează informația contextuală, fondul de cunoștințe comun precum și regulile și convențiile de conversație pentru descrierea și evaluarea argumentării, astfel că analiza are un caracter atât descriptiv cât și evaluativ. Teoria pragma-dialectică reprezintă un cadru adecvat de studiere a negocierii deoarece utilizează concepte din pragmatică și analiză de discurs pentru a descrie limbajul utilizat într-un anumit context social, pentru a identifica actele de vorbire și a funcțiilor comunicative care contribuie la realizarea scopului actului de vorbire și, pe de altă parte, stabilește reguli normative care să evalueze discursul real argumentativ. Scopul acestei analize este de a realiza o prezentare analitică a discursului argumentativ incluzând tot ce este necesar pentru o evaluare critică a acestuia.

Abordarea pragma-dialectică a fost dezvoltată în cadrul unui program de cercetare comprehensiv care include cinci componente: componenta filosofică care impune *conceptul de raționalitate* la care se ajunge printr-o discuție critică ale cărei criterii aparțin logicii formale. Pe baza acestor criterii care definesc conceptul de raționalitate, teoria pragma-dialectică construiește un model ideal al argumentării. Componenta teoretică înglobează atât dimensiunea pragmatico-descriptivă cât și pe cea argumentativă, pornind de la presupunerea că părțile implicate încearcă să rezolve conflictul prin intermediul unui schimb de mișcări discursive ce se realizează prin intermediul unor acte de vorbire. Descrierea și evaluarea unui discurs argumentativ se realizează pe baza unei reconstrucții analitice (componenta analitică) care se realizează printr-o serie de transformări aplicate textului (adăugiri, substituții, permutări, reduceri, etc.). Ultimele două componente îl ajută pe analist să facă distincția între actele de vorbire relevante și cele care sunt mai puțin relevante pentru argumentarea care este concepută ca un act de vorbire complex în care putem identifica argumente multiple, coordonate sau subordonate.

Pentru a stabili un model teoretic al negocierii care să poată fi folosit pentru analiză trebuie să se facă o evaluare a conceptelor de bază ale teoriei pragma-dialectice (*raționalitate critică, discuție critică, reconstrucție analitică, reguli de conduită, argumentarea ca act complex de vorbire*). Trebuie să insistăm asupra asemănarilor, dar mai ales a deosebirilor dintre discuția critică și negociere. Dacă faza de deschidere și de confruntare sunt destul de

asemănătoare, în continuare remarcăm diferențe semnificative: în cazul discuției critice avem o fază argumentativă, iar în cazul negocierii o fază argumentativ-negociativă care conține pe lângă actele de vorbire cu rol argumentativ și acte de vorbire de alt tip (oferte, propuneri) pe baza cărora se conturează un alt tip de încheiere a textului – compromisul.

4.0. Pe baza modelului teoretic formulat anterior, în partea a doua a acestui studiu intenționăm să analizăm două negocieri (una în engleză și una în română) pornind de la o reconstrucție analitică a textelor în care s-au delimitat fazele și mișcările prin identificarea actelor de vorbire și a funcției lor, făcându-se apoi o analiză retorică a tipurilor de argumente utilizate, precum și o analiză lingvistică a elementelor care contribuie la identificarea actelor de vorbire, a fazelor și elementelor structurii generice (*marcatori discursivi, verbe modale, tipuri de propoziții, etc.*). Deși domeniul în care se produce negocierea în engleză este total diferit de cel din limba română, anticipăm că cele două texte prezintă o structură generică similară, chiar dacă textul englezesc conține o argumentație mai complexă, cu mai multe argumente coordonate și subordonate. Este interesant că analiza lingvistică scoate în evidență mai ales unele diferențe stilistice între cele două texte.

Deși textele sunt diferite, contextul social și cultural, de asemenea, analiza descriptivă confirmă modelul teoretic propus, observând că, în cazul acestui tip de discurs, diferențele se regăsesc doar la nivel stilistic și nu la nivelul structurii generice. Prin consecințele practice ale studiilor de gen, un loc important îl deține influența pe care aceste studii o pot avea asupra procesului de predare a respectivului gen sau tip de text și anume predarea negocierii ar trebui să se concentreze în cadrul competenței argumentative generale pe aspectele tipice ale acestui discurs așa cum sunt ele definite într-o abordare generică.

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LANGUAGE TEACHER KNOWLEDGE OR LANGUAGE TEACHING AWARENESS

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ABSTRACT. This paper summarises my investigation of the research literature in the area of teacher learning that is related to the complexity of defining language teaching awareness.

In this review of research literature on language teacher learning I will start by looking at the definitions of the key words, then at issues related to **teacher knowledge, language teacher knowledge, identity and awareness.**

As a user of English as a foreign language and as a teacher of it I am accustomed to look words up in a dictionary. The dictionary definitions of the three key words used in my research **Language, Teaching and Awareness** can be seen as the expression of the “layman’s” view of what I am looking for.

The *Longman Dictionary* defines **awareness** as: “n. = 1. knowledge or understanding of a particular subject or situation. 2. The ability to notice something using your senses.” I consider the first point of this definition as the closest to what I am looking for in my research. Insofar as **language** is concerned the same dictionary defines it as: “n. = a system of communication by written or spoken words, which is used by the people of a particular country or area.” This definition links language to culture and civilisation. **Teach** is defined according to the context it appears in making clear some differences in meaning: “**Teach**: v. 1. School/ college, etc. = to give lessons in a school/college or university; 2. Show somebody how = to show someone how to do something; 3. Change somebody’s ideas = to show or tell someone how they should behave or what they should think; 4. Experience shows something = if an experience or a situation teaches you something it helps you understand something about life.” A usage note explains **teach** in connection with the following synonyms: **instruct, coach, tutor, train and educate.** “**Teach** is the general word for helping a person or a group of people to learn something. If you **instruct** someone you usually teach them, especially in a practical way and about a practical skill. In British English you can **coach** a person outside the ordinary educational system and often in a particular subject that they need additional help with. In American English you **tutor** someone when they need help learning a subject. People may also **coach** a person or team to become better in a sport. You can **train**

a person or a group of people, especially in particular skills or knowledge, up to a necessary level for a job. You can also **train** an animal. **Educate** means to teach people over a long period of time, in all kinds of knowledge (not just school subjects). **Educating** someone is sometimes compared with **training** them in skills for jobs.”

In what follows I will refer to some of the main ideas in the research literature related to the definition of what language teachers know, how they use what they know and how this knowledge comes into being and develops. Most of the research refers to language teacher knowledge and only two authors Gebhard & Oprandy (1999) refer to language teaching awareness.

Studies and research that deal with the knowledge of teaching often quote an article by Lee S. Shulman (1987), *Knowledge and teaching: foundations of the new reform*, in which the author argues that there is a need to clarify the professional status of teaching starting from the ‘belief that there exists a “knowledge base” – a codified or codifiable aggregation of knowledge, skill, understanding, and technology, of ethics and disposition, of collective responsibility as well as a means for representing and communicating it’. (1987:4)

Shulman produces a list of categories that he considers to be the kinds of knowledge teachers need. As it is not his aim to ‘elucidate’ what these categories are he does not define them. His categories of the teacher knowledge base ‘at a minimum’ would include:

- “- content knowledge
 - general pedagogical knowledge, with special reference to those broad principles and strategies of classroom management and organisation that appear to transcend subject matter.
 - curriculum knowledge, with particular grasp of the materials and programmes that serve as ‘tools of the trade’ for teachers.
 - pedagogical content knowledge, that special amalgam of content and pedagogy that is uniquely the province of teachers, their own special form of professional understanding.
 - knowledge of learners and their characteristics.
 - knowledge of educational contexts, ranging from the workings of the group or classroom, the governance and financing of school districts, to the character of communities and cultures; and
 - knowledge of educational ends, purposes, and values, and their philosophical and historical grounds” (Shulman 1987:8)

In the structure proposed by Shulman there is a specific **pedagogical content knowledge** that each subject teacher needs which is mainly based

on **wisdom of practice** (classroom activity) that relies on **pedagogical reasoning in action** which is the source of understanding and development of a teacher.

In the same year, 1987, in his *Second Language Pedagogy* Prabhu presents a particular view of second language pedagogy and in the last chapter of the book he expresses the view that "the quality of teaching in any classroom is dependent on the teacher's pedagogic perception" (Prabhu 1987:103-104). Prabhu proposes that the teacher's "mental mix" consists of: "a desire to conform to prevalent teacher behaviour, a sense of loyalty to the past, anxieties about status, popularity or loss of face, a need for stability provided by routine and shared expectations, and a perception of how classroom activity leads to the desired outcome of learning." All of these taken together form the teacher's '**sense of plausibility**'.

In parallel to Shulman (1987) and Prabhu (1987), Elbaz (1983) in her *Teacher Thinking: A Study of Practical Knowledge* says that teachers rely on '**personal practical knowledge**' in the classroom. Elbaz's structure of the practical knowledge consists of five 'orientations': "the orientation to situations, the personal orientation, the social orientation, the experiential orientation and the theoretical orientation" (Elbaz, 1983: 14). I believe that Elbaz as well as Clandinin (1985) and Carter (1993) refer to the overlap of the various identities of the person who is a teacher shaped by theoretical, experiential, social, situational and personal issues.

A similar idea was put forward by Donald Schoen (1983) in *The Reflective Practitioner: How professionals think in action*. He refers to a professional's ability to make the necessary on-the-spot practical decisions. "Even when he [the teacher] makes conscious use of research-based theories and techniques, he is dependent on tacit recognitions, judgements and skilful performances" (Schoen, 1983: 50). '**Knowing-in-action**' (or 'reflection-in action' are both terms used interchangeably by Schoen in *The Reflective Practitioner*) is something similar to common sense or know-how. According to Schoen this 'knowing-in-action' is what sometimes allows practitioners to deal well with situations. 'Knowing-in-action' is the result of reflection, based on research and practice, that leads to an accumulation of knowledge and understanding that allows a teacher to 'act' in the classroom.

Devon Woods' book (1996) *Teacher Cognition in Language Teaching: Beliefs, Decision-Making, and Classroom Practice* needs to be mentioned in connection with this line of thought. His study is a longitudinal one that explores eight experienced teachers of English as a second language in the context of planning a course and implementing it. He studies the way their

knowledge, beliefs, values, attitudes and experience shape their '**decision-making**', the decisions about planning and instructions in the classroom.

One striking impression resulting from the study is the pervasiveness of the hypothesised BAK [*beliefs, assumptions, knowledge*] in the statements made by the teacher, leaving the sense that it is through this finely and elegantly interwoven design that each teacher viewed the world (or perhaps, it is better said, created a world) (Woods, 1996: 282) [*my brackets*]

The **network of beliefs, assumptions and knowledge** (BAK) came into the picture of research on teacher knowledge with this book, emphasising once more the individuality of each teacher.

A lot of the research that is carried out in the area of teacher education and training looks at teachers in general and not specifically at language teachers whose teaching is different from that of most teachers since their subject is also the medium of the teaching-learning process.

In Earl Stevick's (1980) words the specificity of the language classroom resides in the fact that: '**... a language class is one arena in which a number of private universes intersect** one another. ... We may resist the language itself, just for its foreignness, in the same way we resisted the native language teacher who tried to get us say "he doesn't" when all our friends said "he don't". ... Our "world of meaningful action" ... draws on the power figures in our life and on our peer groups Other things being equal, we will respond better to a language course that fits into that system, and less well to a course that does not.' (1980: 7-9) (bold mine) This means that in a language classroom because the aim is communication the rules that apply to the interaction among the 'participants' – learners and learners, learners and teacher - will be transferred from the social context outside the classroom to the classroom.

Tony Wright (1990: 83) in 'Understanding classroom relationships' also points out the 'interference' of the social in the language classroom in saying that: "The teacher-learner relationship lies at the very heart of the classroom process. **Learning a language is a social activity** above all, and in a classroom setting, it is subject to a unique set of social conventions." (bold mine) So in Wright's opinion, as well, the language classroom is a setting that is under the influence of the social rules.

Reasons why we need to take the learner into account when looking at the processes that the teacher is part of in the language classroom are presented by Allwright & Bailey (1991) in *Focus on the Language Classroom*. The attitude of the learner to the language classroom might be influenced by the learners' "receptivity: 1. to the target language and culture, 2. to the teacher as person, 3. to fellow learners, 4. to the teacher's way of teaching,

5. to course content, 6. to teaching materials, 7. to the idea of being a successful language learner, 8. to the idea of communicating with others." (Allwright & Bailey, 1991: 164)

Issues related to the **receptivity of the learner in the language classroom** are especially powerful as communication by means of a different language "deprives learners of the means of behaving normally" (Allwright & Bailey, 1991:174). Their self-esteem, motivation and anxiety might be both facilitating or debilitating because of the 'foreignness' of the means and patterns of communication. Allwright & Bailey also refer to the importance of the roles adopted by the teacher and learners, roles which shape the teacher's and learners' relationships in the classroom ("parent-figure, child-figure, adult-figure").

Sophia Papaefthymiou-Lytra in two presentations at TDTR5 draws attention to other issues in language teacher education. Her paper 'Intercultural Awareness and Teacher Education and Training' (2001a) draws attention to the issue of intercultural awareness of foreign language teachers who are trained in a mono-cultural and mono-linguistic context. The same author Papaefthymiou-Lytra (2001b) in another paper 'Pedagogy and Interaction in the Foreign Language Classroom' looks at samples of transcribed English language classroom interaction to discover how they vary from the 'classical' Sinclair & Coulthard IRF (initiation-response-feedback) pattern of communication in classroom discourse. In these classes the students and the teacher were all Greek and there are obvious instances in which both the teacher and the students interact as 'foreign language learners' who help each other in understanding and using English.

Papaefthymiou-Lytra (2001a and b) raises further issues linked to the specificity of foreign language teaching and learning drawing attention to **the non-native foreign language teacher and their identity**. In our post-modern time we acknowledge that a person has multiple identities which coexist. In the classroom the teacher might react to something according to their language learner identity, their teacher identity, their identity of being a non-native speaker of English, their being a woman or a man, their being a parent and so on. The teacher might react in any of these ways in the language classroom because the subject of the lesson might be linked to these. This variety of responses linked to the different identities of the person who is the teacher may be less possible in a lesson that is not a language lesson.

Peter Medgyes (1994), in his book *The Non-native Teacher* that is meant for ELT experts, mainly for practising teachers, studies 'the major differences in teaching attitudes between native-speaking teachers of English (NEST) and non-native-speaking teachers of English (non-NEST)'

(Medgyes, 1994: ix). Summarising and discussing research findings and his own experience the conclusion is that as non-NESTs: "...we are more able to provide our language learners with a good learner model for imitation, to teach them effective language learning strategies, to supply them with information about the English language, to anticipate and prevent their language difficulties, to show empathy and finally to benefit from the shared mother tongue." (Medgyes, 1994: 69)

All these issues are language related. The main difference that counts between the native and non-native teacher is the English **language proficiency** and Medgyes argues for a very high standard of language proficiency if the non-native-speaking teacher of English is to be successful.

The cultural and **discourse community** issues that are part of language, of knowing and using it, are presented by Mercer (1995) as follows:

Through conversations with parents, teachers and other 'guides' we acquire ways of using language that can reshape our thoughts. Language is something that we acquire as part of growing up in the company of others, and the language carries with it the cultural knowledge of a community. ... the image of language as a 'tool' is misleading, because tools are normally ready-made ... By using language to learn, we may change the language we use. (Mercer, 1995: 6)

Mercer disagrees with the cliché of language being viewed a 'tool': **language is something that lends one identity**, and **language is shaped by the person who uses it**. The main point here also refers to the 'social' value of language.

The bulk of teachers' 'professional' experience is gained from the past through their observation as learners. A now very well-known synonym for this source of teacher knowledge is Lortie's (1975) notion of "**apprenticeship of observation**", which refers to the novice teacher's knowledge of teaching from their observing teaching while a learner in the classroom.

The different authors whose work I looked at in connection with what they consider to be the sources of teacher knowledge have convergent views, but each adds something to the picture of the sources of this knowledge. Lortie (1975) Woodward (1989) Head & Taylor (1997) agree on the importance of the 'apprenticeship of observation' that will develop further through reflection when one is a teacher. This reflection makes the teacher aware of how what they 'learnt' as learners influences their practice. Kolb (1984) and Clandinin (1985) also believe practical knowledge to be derived from past and present experience which is adapted to a 'new' environment, but besides the professional experience they also bring into the picture personal

experience. Shulman (1987) calls this process of transformation of past and present experience Pedagogical Reasoning in Action which results in the 'wisdom of practice' itself. Shulman's list of sources for teacher knowledge is the most complex. First there is the 'scholarship in content disciplines', which Yates & Muchisky (2003) consider 'musts' for a language teacher: the language teacher needs to know the language, what knowing a language means, how language knowledge can be assessed, how language learning is different from other subjects. The other sources Shulman (1987) mentions are materials, institutions, and research. The kind of research Shulman refers to is the research carried out by researchers, but there is also **research** (action research, classroom research, exploratory teaching, exploratory practice) carried out by the teachers themselves.

Jerry G. Gebhard and Robert Oprandy (1999) in *Language Teaching Awareness, A guide to exploring beliefs and practices*, want to help 'language teachers to explore and become more aware of their own teaching beliefs, attitudes and practices' (cover blurb). In Gebhard and Oprandy's view the teacher's awareness (1999: 18-19) is one that is gained through **discussions with peers** of the teacher's choice and through **research, exploration** that will lead to better understanding. The authors do not concern themselves with defining LTA, their aim is to help teachers help themselves. The ideas put forward here bear some similarity to Edge's (1992) Co-operative Development model.

The two guest editors, Donald Freeman and Karen E. Johnson, of the *TESOL Quarterly* special topic issue (32/3, Autumn 1998), hoped that this issue of the journal "will contribute to an evolving professional definition of language teacher education" (Freeman & Johnson, 1998: 394). The opening article by Freeman and Johnson is a call to re-conceptualize the knowledge base of ESOL teacher education

The authors refer to a tripartite framework for teacher education, which refers to the teacher as learner, the context that the learning of the teacher takes place in and characteristics of language teaching and learning. But language teacher education also needs to focus more 'on what they [the teachers] knew, how this knowledge shaped what they did, or what the course of their professional development was over time', (Freeman & Johnson, 1998: 398) rather than what teachers needed to know and how they could be trained. The authors ask for more information in what the sources of teacher knowledge are concerned in order to base teacher training on it.

In response to Freeman & Johnson's article Robert Yates & Dennis Muchisky (2003) in 'On reconceptualizing teacher education' (*TESOL Quarterly*

37/1) emphasise that '**an understanding of how language is organised and how languages are learnt**' (2003: 138) (bold mine) are musts for language teachers. A language teacher cannot teach without knowing what knowing a language means, how language knowledge can be assessed, how language learning is different from learning other subjects. The issue is that of content knowledge that is indispensable to the language teacher; one cannot teach English if one does not know both English and about English.

In an article which takes further some of the issues raised by Freeman & Johnson (1998), Tarone & Allwright (2003) stress the importance of the difference between what teachers in general and language teachers in particular need to know:

... we believe that teachers of different subject areas must learn different things, and may have to learn those things in different ways. For example, learning to pay attention to the linguistic forms produced by our students while simultaneously processing the content of their utterances is something which is not required of a biology teacher or a ballet teacher. It is not clear how, and when, a second language teacher must learn to do this. Consequently, we feel strongly that, in addition to research on general teacher learning, which has generated good information for us to begin with, research is also needed specifically on *second language* teacher learning. (Tarone & Allwright, 2003: 2)

Tarone & Allwright (2003) actually make a distinction between teacher learning and teacher education, which are not differentiated in Freeman & Johnson (1998). **Teacher learning** as described in the quotation above is **subject specific**. **Teacher education** refers to the so-called pre- and in- service programmes and regards knowledge. There are also two other concepts: **teacher training** and **teacher development**. These correspond to the skills (training) and to the understanding (development) of a teacher:

'Education' is concerned with 'knowledge' (like being aware of all the different uses to which a blackboard could be put, or knowing something about the English article system). And 'development' is concerned with 'understanding' (like understanding why children, especially teenage children, may find it difficult to perform their best in a foreign language classroom).

By understanding we are referring to something beyond merely 'having a particular skill' or 'having a certain piece of knowledge'. Understanding is whatever helps us to use our skill and knowledge appropriately. Knowing how to get learners to work in groups (a pedagogic skill), and knowing that it could help their linguistic development (pedagogic knowledge), does not in itself mean we are not going perhaps to make 'unwise' decisions about the use of group-work in our lessons. 'Understanding' may also be what helps us to feel we 'know what we are doing, and why',

so that we may be able to feel at ease with what we are doing with our skill and our knowledge. (Tarone & Allwright, 2003: 3-4)

Education, training, and development co-exist throughout the professional life of a teacher. A teacher may need to know more in the knowledge, skills or understanding area to a greater or lesser degree and this is what teacher educators need to take into account when designing programmes for teachers.

For Tarone and Allwright, the main issue linked to the reconceptualising of language teacher education programmes is '**how to use our developing understanding of teacher-learning to inform the design and conduct of language teacher education programs.**' (Tarone & Allwright, 2003: 6-7).

There is a plethora of issues that make the foreign language class different from other subject classrooms. There are all the issues of language communication that refer to language skills, the language itself with its sounds, vocabulary, grammar, and functions in a specific culture. Then there are the issues related to the complex field of second language acquisition, the issues of language reflecting a certain identity and the identity that someone 'borrows' when speaking a language. The 'professional' knowledge and understanding of a language teacher needs to include issues that are specific to the language itself in all its complexity and to its teaching and learning. I started using the term Language Teaching Awareness in my research in 1997 before it appeared in 1999 as the title Gebhard and Oprandy's book and I attach a different meaning to it.

I consider Language Teaching Awareness to mean something different from Teaching Knowledge. Language Teaching Awareness is related to the use of the knowledge and to the time when this knowledge is 'in use' either in the classroom or when you talk or write about it. Tarone & Allwright (2003: 3-4) say that it is 'what helps us to feel we "know what we are doing, and why"'. I would like to be able to recognise it, and to develop it in the future.

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REVIEWING ENGLISH LEXICOGRAPHY

DORIN CHIRA

ABSTRACT. *There is rapid change and development in the compilation and publication of dictionaries as in the lexicon itself. A complete review of the admirable tradition in English lexicography is obviously impossible. In the present work we will be concerned with some medium and concise monolingual dictionaries.*

The valuable tradition of English lexicography emerged in the Old English period from the habit of writing English equivalents ('interlinear glosses') for Latin words ('lemmas'). Old English glosses and lemmas were collected from different texts and put together into 'study lists' or 'glossaries'. The earliest manuscript of an English glossary is that of *Corpus Glossary*, which dates from the eighth century. Other early glossaries from the Old English period include the *Leiden*, *Epinal*, and *Erfurt* glossaries. Most of the words in these glossaries relate to the Scriptures. In some of these Old English glossaries words are arranged by subject but for the most part the entries are arranged in alphabetical order as in modern dictionaries.

Following the introduction of printing various bilingual English-Latin and Latin-English vocabulary lists appeared on the market. They include John Stanbridge's *Vocabula* (1496) and *Vulgaria* (1508), Richard Huloet's *ABCedarium Anglo-Latinum* (1552), John Withal's *A Short Dictionarie for Yonge Begynners* (1553), Thomas Cooper's *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae & Britannicae* (1565), Thomas Thomas' *Dictionarium Linguae Latinae et Anglicanae* (1587) or John Baret's trilingual work *An Alvearie or Triple Dictionarie in English, Latin, and French* (1573). Two sixteenth-century publications deserve special attention: the first is the anonymous *Abc for chyldren* (1551-1558), the first English spelling book; the second important work is Peter Levin's English-Latin *Manipulus Vocabulorum* (1570), the first English rhyming dictionary (cf. Peters: 280 f).

By late sixteenth century explanatory lists of difficult were published. Such a list was published in Edmund Coote's *The English Schoole-Master* (1597); although not itself a dictionary, the work contains a vocabulary of about 1,500 difficult words (cf. Peters: 283).

Coote's work was the predecessor of the first true English dictionary, Robert Cawdrey's *A Table Alphabeticall...of hard usuall English wordes* (1604).

The work was the first volume in English devoted entirely to a listing of difficult English words explained by other English words and contains almost 2,500 words, alphabetically arranged. *The Table Alphabeticall*, which initiated the 'hard-word' tradition of the English dictionary, was followed by other works of this nature: Henry Cockeram's *The English Dictionarie: or An Interpreter of Hard English Words* (1623), Thomas Blount's *Glossographia: or a Dictionary Interpreting all such Hard Words...as are now used in our refined English Tongue* (1656), Edward Phillips' *The New World of English Words...Containing the Interpretations of...hard words* (1658), Elisha Coles' *An English Dictionary...containing Many Thousands of Hard Words* (1676).

The father of the so-called 'modern' dictionary was Nathan Bailey. His *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (1721), followed by a supplementary volume in two parts (1727) gave importance to etymology and pronunciation (a feature we associate with modern dictionaries). It also included many specialized terms and various illustrations. Bailey also compiled *Dictionarium Britannicum: or a more compleat universal etymological English dictionary* (1730). This fine work contains about 48,000 vocabulary items and five hundred illustrations. As a concluding remark, Bailey's works contain extensive etymologies, pronunciation, illustrations, and a vast listing of English words. Dictionaries published since Bailey's differ from them only in development of material and features. Another important work in the field of English lexicography is Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755). This two-volume work of almost 2,300 pages is two and a half times as large as the 950 pages of Bailey's dictionary of 1721. Johnson's dictionary provided more lengthy definitions and more elaborate etymologies than previous dictionaries. It also introduced illustrative quotations to indicate current usage. The preface to his dictionary is as significant as the work itself, because it emphasises a basic linguistic principle which many people today refuse to accept, i.e. language is subject to change in the course of time:

When we see men grow old and die at a certain time one after another, from century to century, we laugh at the elixir that promises to prolong life to a thousand years; and with equal justice may the lexicographer be derided, who being able to produce no example of a nation that has preserved their words and phrases from mutability (from the Preface to the *Dictionary*, quoted in Jackson, 1988: 116).

The prescriptive attitude of the eighteenth century manifested itself in the works of some other English lexicographers. Benjamin Martin, for example, included the 'correct' pronunciation in his *Lingua Britannica*

Reformata...Directing the True Pronunciation of Words by Single and Double Accents (1749). Another work is Thomas Sheridan's *A General Dictionary of the English Language. One main object of which, is, to establish a plain and permanent Standard of Pronunciation* (1780). The prescriptive temper of these works is clearly illustrated by Sheridan in his *Dictionary*:

There was a time...which may be called the Augustan age of England...when English awws the language spoken at court; and when the same attention was paid to propriety of pronunciation...A gentleman or lady would have been ashamed of a wrong pronunciation. From that time the regard formerly paid to pronunciation has been gradually declining...many pronunciations are gradually gaining ground and if something be not done to stop this growing evil, and fix a general standard at present, the English is likely to become a mere jargon, which every one may pronounce as he pleases (quoted in Peters, 1968: 288).

Obviously, Sheridan's plan to establish a permanent standard of English pronunciation is mistaken. As the text shows, the pronunciation of English has undergone changes over centuries and so long as it is spoken it will undergo changes in pronunciation. It is an aspiration, therefore, to establish a permanent standard of English pronunciation.

Without doubt the most important British dictionary ever published is the monumental *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), earlier known as *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (*NED*). It claims to record every word in the English language and to give quotations for each of its senses. Beginning with Old English period or at a later period, all recorded spellings, uses, and meanings of a word are registered, in order to clear up the history of the word as fully as possible. The dictionary also gives the latest occurrence of words that have died out. This work is unquestionably the most ambitious historical dictionary of any language in the world and my short sketch is not the awarding of what is due to this monumental work.

At this point it is obligatory to focus on some other dictionaries derived from the *OED*. Besides the *Compact Edition of the Oxford Dictionary* (1971) there is the shortened version in two volumes entitled *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (*SOED*). It contains about one sixth of the material published in the *OED* and is the basis for *A Chronological English Dictionary* (*CED*) which lists English vocabulary not in alphabetical but chronological order. It contains the 81,000 main entries of the *SOED* listed according to first occurrence and etymological origin.

The smallest dictionary based on the *OED* and its Supplements is *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English* (*COD*). In spite of its origin,

this dictionary has few quotations, illustrative sentences, or collocations. However, the latest editions have adapted more to the pressure of competing dictionaries. The positive aspects of this work are evident and I will name two of them. First of all, there is an etymology for every word. Another advantage is that it clearly tries to separate linguistic and encyclopedic information.

Another work, related to the preceding one, is the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English (OALD)*, originally compiled by A.S. Hornby in 1942. Although it is published by Oxford University Press, it is indirectly related to the previous work. The description 'Advanced Learner's' in its title can draw into error because the dictionary is beneficial for other users as well. Compared to the *COD*, the *OALD* is restricted to more basic vocabulary and contains fewer learned and technical words, and no etymology. It is very modern and up-to-date and contains useful illustrations, collocations and typical examples. The definitions are simple but nevertheless precise; useful grammatical information is provided and a number of useful appendices are added at the end.

Another important dictionary (medium size) that is not derived from the *OED* is the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (LDCE)*. It was first published in 1978 as a new, original work, which uses modern linguistic evidence to offer a clear description of language. The work does not differ in scope from the *OALD* and has many original features (cf. Lipka: 1990). The first peculiarity is that 'Usage Notes' are attached to many entries. The second feature is the basic vocabulary used for the definition of the main entries (the list of this defining vocabulary is printed at the end of the book). It contains grammatical information, illustrations are used, besides definitions, to explain the words analyzed. Syllable structure is also indicated. The use of words is illustrated in typical contexts and collocations are shown in three different ways: in sentences, by explanation in the so-called 'Usage Notes', and by emphasis if the collocation is idiomatic or not. It seeks to avoid racist or sexist language.

The Collins Dictionary of the English Language (COLLINS), first published in 1979 is another example of medium-sized dictionary. It is larger than the *COD* (due to the fact that it contains more encyclopedic information). It also pays special attention to geographical variation and uses 'labels' such as: archaic, obsolete, slang, taboo, euphemistic, informal, not standard, offensive, derogatory, astronomy, Austral., Brit., Irish, Scot. U.S., etc.

A fourth medium-sized dictionary of contemporary English, produced by the same publisher, is the *COBUILD English Language Dictionary*. It appeared in 1987 and many reviews were critical of the deviations from

lexicographical norms, e.g. the indication of pronunciation, grammatical information placed in 'extra columns'. However, it has many positive aspects: the use of special symbols for synonyms or antonyms; social and geographical variety is reflected, racist and sexist language is avoided. Every pattern has at least one example sentence to illustrate it, and the examples are not created by the lexicographer but taken from genuine language data.

As we have seen, most British dictionaries give ample attention to regional variation of English. There are many dictionaries for English and American dialects, for Canadianisms, Americanisms, for Scottish English, etc. Undoubtedly, the American national standard is on a par with the British national standard.

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THE POETRY OF THE DISPOSSESSED

ADRIAN RADU

ABSTRACT. The article deals with Irish poetry in Irish in the early modern period (late sixteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth centuries). It is a poetry of a subjected people in a period when Irish poets lost many of the privileges they had in Gaelic Ireland and when poetry was on the decline. The paper also discusses a few instances of *aislings* – a formalised type of poetry loaded with overt political connotations that expressed the hopes of the Catholics that better times would return in their fight against the English (and Protestant) oppressors.

The sixteenth century brought about something very important in the history of Ireland. The Tudor monarchs began a re-conquest of Ireland. Henry VIII declared himself king of Ireland in 1541, the first monarch to do so. It was the epoch when England, Scotland and Wales became largely Protestant, while Ireland remained Catholic. The Tudors introduced new English settlers and embarked on a series of military campaigns against the Gaelic Irish and the great Anglo-Norman lords who had fallen away in their allegiance to the Crown. When the army of Elizabeth defeated the Irish at the battle of Kinsale in 1601, it marked the beginning of a new order. The military subjugation of the island was completed in 1603, a year before Elizabeth died, and, as a result, Ireland actually became a colony. The native political system was overthrown and for the first time the entire country was run by a strong English central government.

From the sixteenth century onwards the English government made strenuous efforts to impose Protestantism. The reformed religion did not really take root, however, partly due to its close association with the repressive policies of the English administration. The main exception was Ulster where the government promoted a successful colonisation, known as the Plantation of Ireland, by new settlers, mostly Scottish Presbyterians.

Religion added complexity to the political situation. The new colonists were Protestant and formed a distinct group from the Old English; the remnants of the Anglo-Irish colony were still Catholic and increasingly disaffected from the government. To a large extent political power and office were now in the hands of the colonists, the New English. When the Gaelic Irish of Ulster rebelled against the government in 1641 they were soon

joined by their Old English co-regionals. In 1641 a rebel assembly, the Confederation of Kilkenny, met, but divisions soon appeared as Ireland became enmeshed in the English civil war between King and Parliament. The rebellion was ruthlessly suppressed by Cromwell and his parliamentary army.

Further Protestant colonisation took place under Cromwell. This time the large-scale confiscation of land and the banishment of its former owners to the poorer areas of the country ensured that property and political power passed to the new colonists. The accession to the throne of the Catholic King James II Stuart in 1685 changed the situation only temporarily. When William III of Orange, the Protestant king of England, Scotland and Ireland (between 1689-1702) challenged James II for the throne, the entire country except Ulster backed James. The two kings contested their throne in Ireland and William emerged victorious after a series of battles, the most famous being William's defeat of James at the Boyne in 1690. William's victory left the Irish Catholics politically helpless and made possible the Protestant ascendancy that followed. This allowed an influx of English landowners and businessmen to settle especially in the East and, as a result, by 1703 only 14% of the Irish land was owned by Catholics, compared with 59% in 1641. The plantation that had begun vigorously flagged then, but still continued with the Scots as the most dynamic colonists. They were hard working and were ready to spend their energy and time in cultivating the land, building the villages and setting up small industries. But the Protestants did not remain united, they were divided between the Presbyterians of Ulster and a ruling elite of Anglicans.

Throughout the seventeenth century the Catholics were seen as a threat who might rally in support of a Stuart attempt to regain the English throne. The government enforced a severe code of penal legislation against them known as the Penal Laws. These laws were openly directed against Roman Catholics and penalised the practice of the Roman Catholic religion and imposed civil disabilities on Catholics. Various acts passed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries prescribed fines and imprisonment for participation in Catholic worship and severe penalties, including death, for Catholic priests who practised their ministry in Britain or Ireland. Other laws barred Catholics from voting, holding public office, owning land, bringing religious items from Rome into Britain, publishing or selling Catholic primers, or teaching. Sporadically enforced in the seventeenth century and largely ignored in the eighteenth, the Penal Laws were almost completely repelled only by the beginning of the eighteenth century.

All through the eighteenth century the Presbyterians also suffered religious disabilities but on a much lesser scale. Power was concentrated in the hands of the small Protestant Ascendancy.

Two other important events were to mark this period: the American War of Independence and the French Revolution. The former event encouraged the Protestant ascendancy to press for a measure of colonial self-government. In 1782 the Irish Parliament that had previously been subservient to London – was granted independence. Ireland was now a separate kingdom sharing a monarch with England, but the Dublin administration was still appointed by the King. The French Revolution also stirred up the spirit, with its slogan '*Liberté, Fraternité, Égalité*', as both Presbyterian radicals and Irish radicals were in favour of a united, independent island. They made common cause in the late eighteenth century to form the Society of United Irishmen in 1791. They rebelled in 1798, aiming to unite Catholics and Protestants, including Presbyterians, and to break Ireland's link with England. In spite of French help the rebellion was badly organised and easily suppressed and in 1801 Ireland became part of the 'United Kingdom of Britain and Ireland' and the old parliament was abolished as a result of what is commonly known as the Act of Union. Irish MPs (drawn from the Ascendancy) sat in Westminster parliament in London where they were but a small minority.

Economically, Ireland was poor, the Industrial Revolution had not touched it, the only part where industry was concentrated was around Belfast.

In this period verse had a wider function than it has today, being often used instead of prose, verse being used for evoking mood or passion, but also for historical or other rational discourse. But after the seventeenth century the assurance of this discourse waned, as did the general quality of the poetry itself. The native institutions which had hitherto supported Gaelic poetry – the whole educational, legal, religious and economic continuum virtually disappeared.

The following poem, written by Mathghamhain Ó Hifearnáin (in the early seventeenth century), illustrates the painful transition from the old world into the new one, in which the old poetry knows that it has no place. His poetic skill is seen to be pointless, with the disappearance of everything of supportive significance in the legendary past, of the last patron in the present, and of every illusion of survival:

I ask, who will buy a poem?
 It holds right thoughts of scholars.
 Who needs it? Will anyone take it?

A fine poem to make him immortal.
A poem of close-knit skill,
I have walked all Munster with it
from market cross to cross
for a year, and I'm no better of.
Not a man or a woman would give me
down-payment, no tiniest groat.
And no one would tell me why
– ignored by Gael and stranger.
What use is a craft like this
a shame though it has to die?
Making combs would earn more honour.
Why would anyone take to verse?
Core of Cashel is dead, and Cian,
who hoarded no cattle or cash,
men happy to pay their poets.
So goodbye to the seed of Éibhear. [...]
I'm a ship with a ruined cargo
now the famous Fitzgeralds are gone.
No answer. A terrible case.
It is all in vain that I ask. (in Kinsella, *Irish Verse* 167-8)

In spite of the fact that the poets suffered the loss of their traditional status and privileges, traces of the great honour they once enjoyed still survived for a time. They were still offered hospitality and many feared the whip of their verse, but however, the political and social system being more and more repressive, more of them abandoned poetry.

Irish poetry of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries is in the main the poetry of a subjected people. A great deal of it is political poetry or a response to social and linguistic injustice. Purely personal poetry is rarely heard, except in folk-tales. Even in this situation personal feeling is attached to public issues and the kind of audience is the one that demands listening, rather than reading.

The rape of the Irish territories by the English was bitterly felt, as many of them were heroically and sacrally rooted with pre-historic times. The poems of Dáibhí Ó Bruadair and Pádraigín Haicéad and Aodhagán (or Aogán) Ó Rathaille bear ample testimony to this. But often this poetry is shaped up out of the smaller material of daily human consequences – some of the best socio-political poetry of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries takes its subject from a reversal of relationships in the lives of the poets themselves.

Dáibhí Ó Bruadair (c.1625-1698) is the first poet of the seventeenth century to live completely out of verse, just like the medieval professional poets had done. Although he was born into a rich family, he ended his life in misery. He was a prolific poet of extraordinary eloquence who combined the use of colloquial language with the older literary diction. His poems, besides having genuine literary qualities, are records of the history and sensibility of the seventeenth century. His tone goes from extreme tenderness when he laments the loss of old values and emergence of the new proletariat wearing English clothes and seeing themselves as English and no longer respecting the poet as in 'The High Poets Are Gone':

The high poets are gone
and I mourn for the world's wanting
the sons of those learned masters
emptied of sharp response.

I mourn for their fading books,
reams of no earnest stupidity,
lost – unjustly abandoned –
begotten by drinkers of wisdom.

After those poets, for whom art and knowledge were wealth
alas to have lived to see this fate befall us:
their books in corners greying into nothing
and their sons without one syllable of their secret treasure. (in Ó
Tuama 115-7)

to embittered sarcasm when he complains about situations such as the lack of hospitality which was refused to him by a mere servant girl in 'A Shrewish, Barren, Bony, Nosey Servant':

A shrewish, barren, bony, nosey servant
refused me when my throat was parched in crisis.
May a phantom fly her starving over the sea,
the bloodless midget that wouldn't attend my thirst.
If I cursed her crime and herself, she'd learn a lesson.
The couple she serves would give me a cash on credit
but she growled at me in anger, and the beer nearby.
May the King of Glory not leave her long at her barrels.
A rusty little boiling with a musicless mouth,
she hurled me out with insult through the porch.
The Law requires I gloss over her pedigree
– but little the harm if she bore a cat to a ghost.

She's a club-footed slut and not a woman at all,
with the barrenest face you would meet on the open road,
and certain to be a fool to the end of the world.
May she drop her dung down stupidly into the porridge! (in Ó Tuama 117-9)

The poetry of Aodhagán (or Aogán) Ó Rathaille (c. 1675-1729), the best of which has a heroic desolation and grandeur, is in many ways a result of his effort to come to terms with the chaos in which he and his people found themselves, especially when contemplating places where the new colonists have settled in, as in the following fragment extracted from his poem 'The Drenching Night Drags On':

[...] My heart has dried in my ribs, my humours scoured,
that those never-niggardly lords, whose holdings ranged
from Caiseal to Clíona's Wave and out to Thomond,
are savaged by alien hordes in land and townland.

You wave down there, lifting your loudest roar,
the wits in my head are worsted by your wails.
If help ever came to lovely Ireland again
I'd wedge your ugly howling down your throat! (in Ó Tuama 141)

His most agonised lyrics speak about fragile and unsettled ties with harassed patrons. In 'Valentine Browne' he speaks about his old patron Sir Nicholas Browne who bequeathed his lands to his son, Valentine, in which Ó Rathaille had placed all of his hopes for a better life. But the new patron, whose name is invoked like an echo and in an obsessive and accusative way in the poem (in the phrase: '– there's the reason I'd ever to call on you, Valentine Browne') refused to grant the poet his ancestral lands and privileges:

A mist of pain has covered my dour old heart
since the alien devils entered the land of Conn;
our Western Sun, Munster's right ruler, clouded
– there's the reason I'd ever to call on you, Valentine Browne.

First, Cashel's company gone, its guest houses and youth;
the gabled palace of Brian's flooded dark with others;
Ealla left leaderless, lacking royal Munster sons
– there's the reason I'd ever to call on you, Valentine Browne.

The deer has altered her erstwhile noble shape
since the alien raven roosted in Ros's fastness;
fish fled the sunlit stream and the quiet current
– there's the reason I'd ever to call on you, Valentine Browne.

Dairinis in the West with no Earl of the noble race;
in Hamburg, to our coast, that Earl over grey peaceful hawks;
and these old grey eyes weeping for both these things
– there’s the reason I’d ever to call on you, Valentine Browne.

Feathers of the swift bird-flock drift on the wind
tattered like a cat’s fur in a waste of heather;
cattle deny the flow of milk to their calves
– since ‘Sir Val’ walked into the rights of the gentle Carthy.

Into the uplands Pan directed his gaze
to see where the Mars vanished, who left us to die.
Dwarf monsters have taken up the Blade of the Three
and hacked our dead across from heel to top. (in Ó Tuama 161-3)

What most of these poets have to say is that there is no longer the question of mere individual complaint but of the dispossession of an entire caste.

The poetic form which typically defines the last part of the period is the *aisling* (meaning ‘vision’ or ‘dream’) – an overtly political poem or verses written in conjunction with a political subject. By definition, the *aisling* is a Gaelic literary form primarily associated with the political poetry of the eighteenth century, though having roots in early Irish literary texts, but dealing with love and sovereignty. The *aisling* was mainly used in the eighteenth century to express the hope and promote the expectation of political deliverance after the Williamite War (1690) and enactment of the Penal Laws.

The vehicle of this message is the female persona of Ireland, often called the *spéirbhean* (‘sky-woman’) and specifically named Caitlín Ní Uallacháin (or Cathleen Ni Houlihan). The perspective is almost always the same. The poet wanders forth and meets a fairy woman of outstanding beauty, described in terms of conventional formulas. He engages in dialogue with her and asks her name, and she identifies herself with Ireland, forsaken by her legitimate spouse. The *aisling* ends with the woman declaiming a prophecy of the return of the rightful King Stuart.

Such features are also present in the creations of one of the most celebrated *aisling* poets, Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabháin (1748-1784). Many of his compositions of the *aisling* type, are characterised by musicality and astonishing thematic virtuosity. In his hands the *aisling* became very formalised, embedding a series of conventions and a pattern of conventionalised themes. ‘A Magic Mist’ has a conformist setting, constructed in accordance with the requirements of the *aisling*, i.e.

Through the deep night a magic mist led me
 like a simpleton roaming the land,
no friends of bosom beside me,
 an outcast in places unknown.
I stretched out dejected and tearful
 in a nut-sheltered wood all alone
and prayed to the bright King of Glory
 with 'Mercy!' alone on my lips.

My heart, I declare, full of turmoil
 in that wood with no human soul nigh,
the thrush's sweet voice the sole pleasure,
 ever singing its tunes on each bough.

The woman impersonating Ireland, a creature of outstanding beauty, appears and ravishes the speaker:

Then a noble *sídh*-girl sat beside me
 like a saint in her figure and form:
in her countenance roses contended
 with white – and I know not which lost.

Furrowed thick, yellow twisting and golden
 was a lady's hair down to her shoes,
her brows without flaw, and like amber
 her luring eye, death to the brave.
Sweet, lovely, delicious – pure music –
 the harp-notes of the *sídh* from her lips,
breasts rounded, smooth, chalk-white, most proper
 – never marred by another, I swear.

He declares his love for her, wondering all the time who she might be: the woman who caused the war of Troy of the glorious companion of king Brian Boru, only to find out that she is none of these, but a fair creature who was deeply impressed by the sufferings of the Irish people under the English yoke, as she declares:

I mourn for your plight among blackguards,
sad and joyless, dark under a pall.

In this context the ray of hope appears in the person of the Son of Glory, associated not only with Jesus Christ, the Saviour, but also with James II Stuart whom everybody expected to return with an army from France and Spain and deliver the Irish from subjugation and suffering. The speaking voice is no longer that of the poet, it becomes that of the people:

'If our Stuart returned o'er the ocean
to the lands of Inís Áilge in full course
with a fleet of Louis' men, and the Spaniard's,
by dint of joy truly I'd be
on a prancing pure steed of swift mettle
ever sluicing them out with much shot
– after which I'd not injure my spirit
standing guard for the rest of my life'. (all fragments from Ó
Tuama 187-9)

The Jacobite dream of a landing on the West coast of Ireland by the Stuart Pretender, also appears in Aoghán Ó Rathaille's poem 'An Aisling' ('The Vision'), but here the final image is discouraging in its bitter humour because the poet wakes up and realises that the beautiful woman – the carrier of good news – and everything were but a dream:

I started up – soft, sudden – out of my dream
believing the good news [...] was true,
but found that I was nerve-shaken, downcast and morose
that morning ere Titan had thought to stir his feet. (in Ó Tuama 153-5)

'The Redeemer's Son' ('Mac an Cheannaí') is another poem written by Ó Rathaille with religious overtones that has the form of popular eighteenth century song-rhythms. This time the poem is not only more dramatic but also tragic. The title refers (here as well) to the Stuart Pretender, and is possibly taken from an old Irish tale where it had the connotation of 'redeemer' or 'saviour'. Emphasis is given to the words *Mac an Cheannaí* repeatedly. The final verse of this *aisling* reflects the grave disappointment at the news that there was no aid to come from Spain. The afflicted poet pictures the woman Éire, looking like a statuette of the Virgin Mary: she appears before his eyes and expects her son, no-one else than the Redeemer's Son, to appear:

A bitter vision I beheld
in bed as I lay weary:
a maiden mild whose name was Éire
coming toward me riding,
with eyes of green hair curled and thick,
fair her waist and brows,
declaring he was on his way
– her loved one *Mac an Cheannaí*.

Her mouth so sweet, her voice so mild,

I love the maiden dearly,
wife to Brian, acclaimed of heroes
– her troubles are my ruin!
Crushed cruelly under alien flails
my fair-haired slim kinswoman:
she's a dried branch, that pleasant queen,
till he come, her *Mac an Cheannaí*.

But there is no hope of return, and, as she finds out that her son will never come, the poor woman drops dead in a symbolic gesture that might be fatally extended to the whole of Ireland and her subjected people:

I told her, when I heard her tale,
in a whisper, he was dead,
that he had found death up in Spain,
that no one heard her plaint.
She heard my voice beside her;
her body shook; she shrieked;
her soul departed in a leap.
Alas, that woman lifeless. (in Ó Tuama 157-60)

The *aisling* was appreciated to the extent that it expressed the creed of the mainly impoverished (Catholic) population that Catholicism would triumph and that foreigners would depart. The *aisling* was an imaginary construct, but it did correspond to the widely felt longings among the dispossessed Catholic majority. It provided a cultural outlet and an imaginative stimulus to the United Irishmen's Rebellion of 1798 and an inspiration to the organisers and leaders of the Easter Rising of 1916.

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GENDER IN ADVERTISING REVISITED

MIHAI M. ZDRENGHEA

ABSTRACT. Gender plays a crucial role as far as commercials and advertising in general are concerned. Analyzing this role can only reveal the way in which advertising makers attempt to manipulate the masses and furthermore increase awareness of this manipulation strategy. From the point of view of 'reward types' category, many gender role effects have been observed. The general pattern is that males are shown to be associated with pleasurable rewards, while females advertise more products that yield social self-enhancement. All observations show that females are associated more often with social approval and/or self-enhancement. The category 'practical' is not a strong indicator of sex stereotyping, as different countries tend to show a diverse pattern. Some show that males are associated more often with practical rewards while others show the reverse pattern.

While the power and influence of television on the beliefs and behaviors of viewers remains probably the most important area of research for media researchers, many have concentrated on the portrayal of certain features. Thus violence on television remains one of the most researched and controversial topics. Similarly, the portrayal of gender on television and the social effects of television on gender-role portrayals have attracted considerable interest.

Gender plays a crucial role as far as commercials and advertising in general are concerned. Analyzing this role can only reveal the way in which advertising makers attempt to manipulate the masses and furthermore increase awareness of this manipulation strategy. However, it is difficult to make such an analysis. First, an obvious research problem of confounding occurs even when examining data content analyzed in the same country over different time periods. The first is that of channel equivalence. Commercial channels differ enormously in viewing figures, style and funding. Some are national, other regional; some are aimed at a particular demographic and psychological group which is reflected in the commercials.¹ The size, history, and economic status of the country, the number of channels and the extent to which they deliberately set out to reach select

¹ For instance, British Channel 4 has a larger, younger, better-educated audience overall than Romania's PRO TV, which aims to capture a wider audience.

markets mean that it may well be near impossible to find 'equivalent channels' in different countries. Further, the precise audience of the channel is of direct relevance to advertisers, who place their particular commercials with numerous economic, demographic and psycho-graphic variables in mind (Gunter and Svennevig, 1987). Doing studies over time using a limited number of channels increases the reliability of finding trends but decreases the generalizability of the findings.

Second, there is the problem of sample equivalence. It has been demonstrated that there is a time-of-day effect in commercials because of the different patterns of viewing of different groups in the population. Thus in most countries children watch early-morning and early-evening television, and homemakers, retired and unemployed people, as well as shift workers watch daytime television, while a wider general population sample watches in the evening and on weekends (Gunter, 1995).²

Researchers, particularly in the United States, have been interested in the portrayal of men and women in television commercials for over 25 years (Dominick & Rauch, 1972). Sex-role cues in children's commercials have also been studied, as well as sex-role stereotyping on the radio. Studies have concentrated on gender-role stereotypes in commercials for particular products such as food (Jaffe & Berger, 1994), beer, and medical products or particular types of programs such as comedies or, specifically, portrayals of people in the work place.

Gender has played a part in product marketing. It has long been assumed that when marketing products to children it is best to target the boys because the boys will not cross gender lines but girls will. This is based on the finding that children prefer same-game models for behavior. Although it is true for girls as well as boys, girls are not as rigid as boys and do respond favorably to male models. Because boys reject outright female models, researchers conclude that boys will not be interested in products

² However, the precise audience mix does not differ from channel to channel and from country to country. Thus, if one study samples predominantly daytime and others study predominantly night time commercials, any differences can be attributed to sampling rather than actual differences. It is also known that the advertisements for particular products differ according to time of day, day of week, and season of year as a function of what is known about the audience. Thus toy advertisements peak in the morning, whereas cars, insurance, alcohol, and food are more likely to occur in evening programs. This pattern is typical for Western-developed economics but there are subtle differences. Further, some countries ban advertisements for alcohol, tobacco, or other specific products (Furnham, 1993)

promoted by female actors.³ It can also be argued that liking the product is unrelated to the gender of the actor in it and conclude that use of a female actor in a commercial for a male-oriented toy may not be detrimental to the marketers of the toy. Thus one can say that advertisers who assume they must use male characters and male voice-overs to attract both genders may be making an assumption they should not.

There are numerous problems in attempting to understand comparisons done in different countries over different time periods. All cross-cultural psychologists acknowledge the many problems associated with cross-cultural comparisons (Smith & Bond, 1993). These include stimulus and sample equivalence, the functional and meaning equivalence of particular behaviors and changes over time if studies are carried out or compared at different points in time. Some stress the subtle uniqueness of culture while others believe that the increasing modernization and Westernization of the world means that all cultures will converge onto a homogenized unity.⁴

The mode of presentation differs from country to country. Thus in the U.S. in daytime commercials the primary visual characters were female (60%), but this dropped to 48% in the evening and to 20% on the weekend (Craig, 1992). Bretl and Cantor (1988) found that 91% of the narrators (i.e., voice-over) were males, which was close to other statistics done in the 1970s. These statistics are consistent with those from other countries. Manstead and McCulloch (1981) found that in the United Kingdom males were also more likely to be voice-overs (67.2%) whereas females were more often presented visually (92.4%).

Such disproportionate portrayals were also found in Europe. Thus, in Italy, (Furnham and Skae, 1997) 70% of males were voice-overs and 78,8 % of females were presented visually; in Denmark and France more advertisements were dominated by visually presented central figures; however, males were still more likely (40.2 and 42.9%, respectively) than females to act as voice-overs, while females were often depicted visually

³However, this is not always true. It can be argued that both boys and girls who view the commercial in which a female actor plays with remote-control car – typically a male product – are significantly more likely to say the product is appropriate for both genders than are those who see the male-actor advertisement.

⁴ Nevertheless, it is interesting and important to look for patterns in the data available. There is probably no such thing as a typical commercial. They differ in length enormously from country to country, from 5 to 300 seconds. They may or may not have actors in scenes and voice-overs, and they usually, but not always mention the product's name and usually describe its benefits.

(78.1 and 57.1%, respectively). In Portugal, only 10% of the voice-overs were done by women and 90% were presented visually.

In 1975, McArthur and Resko found that 84% of female central figures were depicted as product users, compared to 30% of their male counterparts, while only 14% of females were presented as the authority, compared to 70% of males. Such figures did not decline significantly in 1988, when Bretl and Cantor revealed that 74% of females were still acting as product users in advertisements and males were more likely to be authoritative central figures (44%) than their female counterparts (26%). In Great Britain figures were very similar. Manstead and McCulloch (1981) showed that 81.2% females were portrayed as product users, in contrast to 22.4% of males. On the other hand, males comprised a larger proportion as the authority (77.7%) than females (14.8%). In the rest of Europe the figures were much the same. In Italy 69.7% were product users and 77.6 of males portrayed as the authority. In France and Denmark, most central figures were product users (more than 60% of both males and females); however, females were still more likely than males to be the users (79.7% in Denmark and 86.7% in France) and males were slightly more often in authority (37.9% in Denmark and 33.3% in France).

As it can be seen from the figures mentioned above, sex-role stereotyping tends to be surprisingly consistent across different countries during the last 25 years. Perhaps the most consistent difference across the analysis was sex difference in the mode of presentation. Males are consistently more likely voice-overs of an advertisement, while females are often visually portrayed.

Two patterns appear from the results of the 'credibility' survey. The first one shows that males are frequently shown as the authoritative central figures, whereas females are more likely to be users of the advertised products. The second pattern refers to advertisements that comprise mostly central figures as users of a product: although both males and females appear more as users, men are still relatively more likely than women to act as authoritative central figures, whereas women tend to be depicted relatively more as users.

The role played by male and female characters showed two patterns: the first pattern showed that males are frequently portrayed as interviewers or professionals while females are more likely to have dependent roles. Studies in the U.S., the U.K., Mexico, Italy, France, Hong Kong, and Portugal all show such patterns. The second pattern shows that one particular category is often dominated by both sexes, but still men are more often

depicted in autonomous roles as opposed to women. However, as Furnham and Skae (1997) and Bretl and Cantor (1988) have noted for Great Britain and the United States, respectively, there do appear to be small, but stable and detectable trends in gender-role advertising. Women are being depicted less as dependent and in a domestic setting, which no doubt reflects global statistics on the increase in the number of working women. However, some of the sex differences seem impervious to change such as the fact that, on the average, female central characters nearly always seem to be considerably younger than their male counterparts. These patterns can also be observed in Romania.

For location, the general situation is as follows: females are more often portrayed at home while males are more frequently portrayed during leisure/outdoor activities, in various 'other' locations. Observations in the United Kingdom and Romania did not find significant differences, showing a similar pattern. This generally suggests that women are more often confined to domestic setting, while men are shown in diverse locations. Location is still a significant predictor of gender stereotyping, although results from the different countries vary slightly.⁵

Age is often one of the best indicators of sex-role stereotyping. Although studies define 'young', 'middle-age', and 'old' on slightly different scales, a prevalent picture is indicated: females are consistently shown as younger than males. Most observations show that central figures are dominated by middle-aged males and young females. One study in the United Kingdom (Furnham and Skae, 1997) shows central figures dominated by middle-aged males and young females, whereas the Romanian commercials present, with only a few exceptions, young males and females.

From the point of view of 'reward types' category, many gender role effects have been observed. The general pattern is that males are shown to be associated with pleasurable rewards, while females advertise more products that yield social self-enhancement. All observations show that females are associated more often with social approval and/or self-enhancement. The category 'practical' is not a strong indicator of sex stereotyping, as different countries tend to show a diverse pattern. Some show that males are associated more often with practical rewards while others show the reverse pattern.⁶

⁵ Interestingly, 'occupation' is found not to be a good indicator of gender stereotyping, as some studies show a similar proportion of men and women portrayed in occupational settings (Furnham and Skae, 1997)

⁶ An analysis of Romanian commercials shows that they present males advertising mainly for aftershave, beer, cars and others as such and females especially for detergent, toothpaste,

Two patterns are found in the 'end comment'. First males more frequently offer an end comment in the advertisement, whereas females frequently do not given an end comment. Second, most central figures appear to make an end comment, yet males are relatively more likely to give the comment as opposed to females (Furnham & Skae, 1997). On the whole, end comment is still highly indicative of sex-stereotyping. Romanian advertising is filled with advertisements where, through the main character is a female figure, the end comment is actually done by male voice-over.

The 'background' factor is difficult to judge. Some results show that males are more often depicted against a female background, whereas females are shown against a male background; others show that that males are more likely to be shown against a male background and females against a female one (Furnham & Skae, 1997). The only consistent pattern is that females are often shown against a children's background. Few studies have attempted to delineate the precise circumstances (i.e., types of commercials) in which men and women are more likely to be depicted more equally. Furnham and Skae (1997) did note a number of specific incidences of sex-role stereotype reversal where men are portrayed as the dependent, perhaps unintelligent user of a product and women were really portrayed as independent, professional, and authorities on the product benefits. Two of these products were for domestic cleaners and two for food, and nearly always humor was involved. Indeed it may be that currently the only way advertisers are happy to see sex-role reversal or even sex-role equivalence is by using humorous settings and scripts that imply that this is unusual.

Studies done in more traditional societies show, not surprisingly, that sex-role stereotyping is stronger. This study compared similar content analytic studies with each other and with important earlier studies. The analysis is a step toward understanding the general picture of sex-role stereotyping in television commercials: in the 1970s the commercials typically show men as authoritative and knowledgeable, whereas women are confined at home. Such pictures have not changed much over the past years, although for some attributes men and women are depicted more equally.

children's necessities, which makes us draw the conclusion that, indeed, males appear more in pleasure items, while females are to be found with items which are useful for the house and family. Advertisements that sell home and body products are consistently shown to be female-dominated. Males, on the other hand, are more frequently shown in adverts for automobiles/sports products than females. For 'food', different countries show various patterns. One can conclude that females are more likely to advertise products that are used at home, whereas males are often shown with products away from home.

However, the study by Furnham and Skae (1997) does show a change in this pattern; advertisements are much less sex stereotyped than previous European studies. This may imply a decline in sex-role stereotyping in the Western world, in particular in Great Britain. Gunter (1995:97) noted in his critical review of many studies looking at gender-role portrayals in advertisements directed to adults and to children that, from the late 1980s onward, advertisements did seem less sex-role stereotyped: "More advertisements emerged featuring women in central, independent roles, assuming greater degrees of control over the immediate situation in which they were depicted and more generally over their own lives. As yet, this new pattern in gender-role portrayals has been visible in advertisements aimed at adults, while recent research has indicated that advertisements aimed at children have remained as gender-stereotyped as ever".

If we compare different commercials on different channels, at different times, to determine if females are given more submissive/passive roles (spouse, mother, girlfriend, homemaker) versus the more authoritative roles of males (worker, professional) and also to determine if females are used more frequently in commercials that represent more submissive products (beauty, body care products, clothing, shoes, clothing accessories, home accessories or home products, weight, exercise, food), we realize that there is a significant relationship/interaction between gender and the primary figure's role in the commercial. Also, there is a significant relationship between the gender and product type. Even with the change in female status, it appears that sex-role stereotyping is still prevalent in our television commercials.

Children and adolescents are some of the most vulnerable consumers of television. Children between the ages of two and five watch an average of 28 hours of television per week. Beliefs, attitudes and values can be shaped by television, and if commercials on television are depicting sex-role stereotyping, this can have an impact on children's views. If females are portrayed in a more passive and submissive role, then children and adolescents may believe that this is the 'role' women play in real life. Females may be seen in more commercials dealing with home products such as cleaning and laundry products, as well as beauty and body products, clothing, weight and exercise products. Also females are given more dependent roles in commercials as opposed to roles that express individuality and strength, such as the role of a worker or professional instead of a role as homemaker and mother, spouse or girlfriend. With children and adolescents viewing these types of commercials, they may be

more prone to hold such beliefs that females are dependent on their partners and not seen in individual roles.

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FROM WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE TO JOHN WEBSTER. CONSIDERATIONS UPON A BEDCHAMBER

MIHAELA MUDURE

ABSTRACT. *This essay is a comparison between the famous bedroom scenes in William Shakespeare's "Hamlet" and John Webster's "The Duchess of Malfi". The bedroom is an intimate space, a space of the pleasure considered immoral by some male characters of these tragedies (Hamlet or Ferdinand, the brother of the Duchess of Malfi) who think they are entitled to ascribe to themselves the right and the capacity of censorship with regard to the behaviour and the morals of the others. But the bedroom is also the space where women (Gertrud and the Duchess of Malfi) reveal their qualities as responsible political factors and carriers of imminent modernity.*

The bedchamber is a space of intimate seclusion and delights. The space where one sleeps and has pleasant or bad dreams, the space where the most intimate conversations and conversions take place. It is interesting that the intimacy of the bedchamber is a new phenomenon, characteristic of modernity. During the Middle Ages, in Western Europe, the commoners' houses were very simple and there was no specialized room for sleeping. People usually slept in the warmest room where there was an oven and where they also cooked. The houses of the nobility had several rooms which also had specialized uses, but the bedroom had nothing of its modern intimacy. For security reasons, the vassals and the servants slept around the bed of the sovereign. In *Tristan and Yseult*, the famous medieval romance, for instance, the beautiful and adulterous queen literally has to jump over the vassals of her husband, King Marc, in order to go out to her perilous date with Tristan, under moonlight and in the shadows of the apple-trees from the orchard.

Gradually, as the individual gets a greater importance in the ethics of the people and in the common mentalities, the intimate character of certain rooms (particularly, the bedroom) increases. From this point of view, it is interesting that the famous bedroom scene from *Hamlet*, which is situated by lots of stage or movie directors in Gertrud's bedroom, is according to Shakespeare in "[t]he Queen's Apartment." Anyway, this space seems to be intimate enough for Polonius to try and manipulate the Queen. Gertrud is supposed to question Hamlet adroitly and make him reveal his real intentions, which seem to be dangerous for the political establishment represented by

the King and Polonius. And Hamlet, the intelligent and ambitious prince, does indeed follow his mother into her apartment in order to reprimand her and force her to accept his own lead of her actions. In Hamlet's own words:

"You go not, till I set you up a glass
Where you may see a the inmost part of you."
(Act III, scene IV, lines 19-20)

Hamlet, the ambitious prince, would have liked to get the power himself and he does not understand how his mother could marry her brother-in-law. In our opinion, Hamlet is biased and blinded by his own ambition. The Queen must be completely exonerated of any blame. She only acted as a responsible politician who did not want to endanger the stability of the country. It is very clear from the text that even the enraged Hamlet did not accuse Gertrud of murder. Gertrud had not married Claudius knowing that he had killed his brother. It is Hamlet who insidiously lets his mother know about the murder.

"Hamlet. A bloody deed! almost as, good mother,
As kill a king, and marry with his brother.
Queen. As kill a king?
Hamlet. Ay, lady, 'twasmy word."
(Act III, scene IV, lines 26-30)

Having clarified this point, let us consider the Queen's options under those circumstances. Let us consider the situation in cold blood and not through Hamlet's partial and biased perspective. Firstly, we are not dealing here with commoners, but with a royal family. For such people the political interests of the country and their position are always more important than their own inclinations. This is exactly what Gertrud does. Having become a widow in a very tense political situation, the Queen realizes that she could not rule by herself. Woman needed man in order to keep power within the same family. Power is not in the feminine. Or at least it was not to be endorsed in the feminine in those times. The Queen needed to marry somebody strong, a good politician in order to protect the throne for her family and maintain the political stability of the country. Besides internal perils, a flattering but petulant aristocracy, there was also the external danger. Let us not forget that Fortinbras was threatening the country and the end of the play does show him entering Elsinor as the victor. Under these circumstances, what could Gertrud have done? She could have been ... "offered" a husband by one of the most influential groups at court. Instead she preferred to choose her own bridegroom. And she marries her brother-in-law, an experienced

politician who could have helped her maintain power in the family. Of course, another option would have been to call Hamlet from abroad and crown him. The ambitious Hamlet is offended because he was not considered a good enough option. Aggressive and politically inexperienced, he prefers to blame the queen for her marriage accusing her of lustful impulses instead of considering his own political and psychological ability to rule. Totally ungrateful to his mother for her efforts to maintain the political *status quo*, which, incidentally, also meant his own princely status quo, Hamlet calls his mothers' marriage:

"Such an act
That blurs the grace and blush of modesty."
(Act III, scene IV, lines 40-41)

Of course, there is also some jealousy behind his words, a feeling so much commented upon. But we think that this jealousy is also accompanied by Hamlet's frustrated ambitions. Acting like a teacher of ethics, Hamlet uses, as "didactic aids", the portraits of the two men in Gertrud's life in order to teach her into submissiveness to his own agenda. Repeatedly, he obliges her to look over and over again at the two portraits that are so eloquent. Hamlet very rudely dismisses the possibility that his mother might have fallen in love with Claudius.

"You cannot call it love, for at your age
The hey-day in the blood is tame, it's humble,
And waits upon the judgment..."
(Act III, scene IV, lines 68-70)

Completely overwhelmed by Hamlet's flow of accusations, Gertrud backs off. She considers that it is more sensible to take over the charges than try to talk reason to Hamlet.

"O! speak no more;
These words like daggers enter in mine ears;
No more, sweet Hamlet!"
(Act III, scene IV, lines 93-95)

On the other hand, an unexpected factor of balance intervenes: Hamlet, the ghost. He reprimands Hamlet for being so aggressive with his mother and he also suspects other intentions behind Hamlets' words.

"Do not forget: this visitation
Is but to whet thy almost blunted purpose..."
(Act III, scene IV, lines 109-110)

But the main purpose of Hamlet seems to be attained. It is agreed or rather Hamlet agrees with himself and imposes upon Gertrud that abstinence should be the behaviour worthy of a queen even if her blunt refusal might awaken the suspicions of Claudius and it would be more sensible to adopt a less overt strategy.

“Good night; but go not to mine uncle’s bed;
Assume a virtue, if you have it not.

.....
Refrain tonight;
And that shall lend a kind of easiness
To the next abstinence: the next more easy;
For use almost can change the stamp of nature...”
(Act III, scene IV, lines 159-160; 165-168)

After talking the queen into his plans, Hamlet removes the corpse of Polonius (victim of his own eavesdropping) and bids good-night to his mother. From this moment onwards the political balance changes. The bedroom scene is the peak of the plot. It marks the moment when the queen changes sides and decides that she should give political support to Hamlet’s party. On the other hand, the bedroom scene shows the importance of women in politics. Gertrud’s political options cannot be underestimated. Shakespeare’s bedroom scene points to the hidden face of politics at the Danish court. The alcove history of Gertrud will never be the same after Hamlet’s brutal intervention. After this confrontation Hamlet will cease to be considered the negligible and reckless youth. He has become an important political pawn on the political scene of Denmark.

Unlike the Shakespearian tragedy, in John Webster’s *The Duchess of Malfi* the focus is on a feminine main character. The duchess is the key figure, and not a key figure in disguise as in *Hamlet*. The bedroom scene is much longer and it involves more characters. With Webster, we know that we are in a bedchamber, not in the rather vague “queen’s apartment” and the intimate, personal implications prevail. Webster’s bedchamber scene begins as an intimate, relaxed and lovingly joking scene between the Duchess, Antonio and her servant Cariola, the triangle that is in the knowing about the duchess’ secret marriage.

Antonio even becomes a little bit crude with his jokes about manly works at night.

“Laboring men
Count the clock oftenest, Cariola, are glad
When their task’s ended.”
(Act III, Scene 2, lines 17-19)

The secret spouse also complains about his uncomfortable position and that his masculine power is only at night, a symbolic time traditionally associated with femininity.

“Indeed, my rule is only in the night”
(Act III, Scene 2, line 7)

Antonio is, therefore, a contradiction and a crisis must follow in order to solve this symbolic anomaly. In an effort to alleviate the situation the Duchess confesses her love for Antonio using concrete metaphors of movement and possession.

“You have cause to love me; I entered you into my heart
Before you would vouchsafe to call for the keys.”
(Act III, Scene 2, lines 60-61)

But this triangle is broken by opposite forces who will try to constitute other triangles of force and influence. The Duchess is surprised by her brother, Ferdinand, while confessing to her guilty love:

“Love mixed with fear is sweetest.”
(Act III, Scene 2, line 64)

Insults are common linguistic features in both bedroom confession scenes. Ferdinand, like Hamlet, is angry to see his own unavowable inclinations countered. But, linguistically speaking, whereas Hamlet prefers sexual incriminations, Ferdinand uses animal metaphors associated with darkness and natural violence.

“The howling of a wolf
Is music to thee, screech-owl...”
(Act III, Scene 2, line 86-87)

Ferdinand’s curses are bathos, decreasing in intensity as the sun turns into night and life turns into death.

“Let not the sun
Shine on him, till he’s dead; let dogs and monkeys
Only converse with him, and such dumb things
To whom nature denies use to sound his name...”
(Act III, Scene 2, line 100-104)

The imprecations and harsh considerations upon the woman’s virtue do not fail to remind us of Hamlet at the best of his selfish and conceited reproaches.

“Enjoy thy lust still, and a wretched life,
On that condition.”
(Act III, Scene 2, lines 96-97)

Although the political bid is not so evident with the Duchess, the desire to control women characterizes both Ferdinand and Hamlet. Incestuous inclinations also lurk in the subtext of both bedroom scenes. No wonder that the duchess ... wonders:

“Why should only I,
Of all the other princes of this world,
Be cased up, like a holy relic? I have youth
And a little beauty.”

(Act III, Scene 2, lines 134-137)

The duchess requests to be treated more gently and to have a space of her own where she can be an autonomous being. Ferdinand's most important concern is the reputation of the duchess, the sign of her respectability and compliance with conventional social rules.

“You were in this,
Too strict, and were you not my princely brother,
I would say, too wilful. My reputation
Is safe.”

((Act III, Scene 2, lines 114-117)

Ferdinand leaves the bedroom in a very angry mood and he rides to Rome, the space of power and political domination. Symbolically he leaves a poniard to the Duchess. Antonio is obliged to run away to Ancona. The Duchess tries to cover up his traces by making up a story in front of the court and, particularly, in front of Bosola, the man who is to solve Ferdinand's dirty business, or Ferdinand's “intelligencer,” according to his own words (Act III, Scene 2, line 318). Antonio is accused of having forfeited some bonds that Ferdinand and the Duchess had sent to the Neapolitan Jews. The Duchess pretends to punish Antonio for his ill use of the bonds by discharging him from her service and sending him away. Actually, the Duchess thinks this is a good stratagem to save him. In *Hamlet* the make-believe functions outside the bedroom. With Webster, the bedroom is both the space of sincerity and of pretense. Late Elizabethan plots are more intricate ethically and the purity of values is already shadowed by complex circumstances. Dark, foul imagery underlines the moral implications, as in a bleak fable.

“Here's an example for extortion: what moisture is drawn out of the sea, when foul weather comes, pours down, and runs into the sea again.”

(Act III, Scene 2, line 208-210)

On the other hand, Antonio's pretended base behaviour leads to considerations about the relationship between princes and their courtiers that

seem to be taken from a theatrical *Il Principe*, undoubtedly, not by Machiavelli, but, certainly, by Webster:

“an honest statesman to a prince is like a cedar planted by a spring; the spring bathes the tree’s rot, the grateful tree rewards it with his shadow”
(Act III, Scene 2, line 255-257).

It is at this very moment that inexplicably, the Duchess seems to forget all her fears and she discloses the truth to Bosola. Antonio is her husband. Bosola admires not only her courage to have disobeyed her brothers, but also her independence of mind and spirit. Like Gertrud, the Duchess is a modern woman who dares to take her life into her own hands. Her anonymous presentation – she has no name, she is always the Duchess – stresses the aggressive considerations about her identity as imposed by the patriarchal brothers.

“Can this ambitious age
Have so much goodness in’t as to prefer
A man merely for worth, without these shadows
Of wealth and painted honors?”
(Act III, Scene 2, lines 264-267)

A scam is prepared by Bosola, now in the Duchess’ confidence, and the unfortunate dame. She entrusts all her jewelry to Bosola in order that he should follow and help Antonio. She will feign a pilgrimage in order to follow them later.

As in *Hamlet*, this bedroom scene, is also placed in the middle of the play and it changes the balance of the text as well. Characters barter their loyalties and their political positions, the good and the evil are no longer clearly delineated. The late Renaissance tragedy, in our case, John Webster’s *The Duchess of Malfi*, is a fin-de-siècle product through its almost malignant preeminence of evil. Prose dominates Webster’s play, whereas the light airy poetry of Shakespeare can still cope with treachery and deceit at Hamlet’s court. Shakespeare’s bedroom scene ends with practical conclusions useful within the economy of the play. Webster’s bedroom scene ends with general pessimistic considerations about politics and politicians.

“A politician is the devil’s quilted anvil;
He fashions all sins on him, and the blows
Are never heard: he may work in a lady’s chamber,
As here the proof.”
(Act III, Scene 2, line 313-316)

In conclusion, the two bedroom scenes are extremely important spaces in the dramatic construction of the two plays. They point to the changing relationship between the private and the public in the Renaissance and late Renaissance drama. They both focus on two female figures who play with their political and public visibility/invisibility in order to be empowered both in their private and in their public life. Woman's agency over their own body is highly questioned. The woman's body is still the territory where symbolic battles are waged and victories have to be sealed. The bedroom is not merely the alcove of secret meetings, of furtive and pleasurable escapades, it is also a space where strong female identities are forged and defended. That these empowering and empowered figures are women, tells us something about the impending conquest of the public space proper by such duchesses and queens and also by their common sisters in the near-by modernity.

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AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND THE FOURTH GENRE

ALINA PREDĂ

ABSTRACT. The purpose of this study is to provide reflections on the strategies employed and on the solutions found by critics who focused on defining autobiography, trying to prescribe its boundaries and place limits on its possibilities. Starting from the area of gender analysis as outlined in the theoretical accounts of critics such as Philippe Lejeune, Paul Cobley and Clinton Machann, I go on to discuss Root and Steinberg's preface to the anthology *The Fourth Genre*. (2002) where the two postulate the existence of a fourth genre, namely that of creative non-fiction. By analysing in detail the most important elements common to the works of creative nonfiction, as outlined by Root and Steinberg, I arrive at the conclusion that autobiography satisfies all the conditions required for it to be accepted under the umbrella-term of creative nonfiction.

"The boundaries of creative non-fiction will always be as fluid as water."

Mary Clearman Blew

The term '*autobiographical writings*' shelters a variety of forms, styles, sensibilities and genres:

- *the autobiography,*
- *the memoir(s),*
- *the autobiographical novel,*
- *the autobiographical poem,*
- *the self-portrait,*
- *the personal essay and*
- *the personal diary (or journal)*

The common denominator of these literary forms is the attempt of their authors to narrate their lives, in a singular voice, inviting the readership to take part in their own personal experiences. Whether meant as a process of personal discovery, as a way of defining or establishing an identity, as an attempt to chronicle a personal conflict, any piece of autobiographical writing helps both author and reader establish a connection to a larger heritage and community.

Text production must be regarded as a historical process, since the autobiographer is certified as a real person, who assumes responsibility for the veracity of the text about herself or himself by signing her/his name on the title page. However, whether the text is sufficiently focused on the author's person to qualify as an autobiography is a matter to be carefully considered in each particular case, if the autobiographical status of a work is dubitable. As Machann (1998: 307) pertinently argues:

"A genre may be relatively precisely or imprecisely defined by various linguistic and discursive codes, may be more or less inclusive, may vary even among Western cultures, and may change through the course of time so that old texts are categorized in recently defined genres. Nevertheless, the most productive literary study is often concerned in some way with the tension between the individuality of a text and its formal genre."

Autobiography is a genre much debated in the criticism of the day, and its boundaries have shifted, function of literary period and theoretical trends. Machann (1998: 307-310) sketches the evolution of this genre from Victorianism, when it was regarded as "a referential art", a genre of non-fiction, which, through "conventional pressures applied through historicity and verifiability, required the conflation of mental or spiritual (inner) development and the (outer) development of career and reputation based on publications (along with other public works)." Given this definition, it follows naturally that Victorian autobiography is a male-dominated genre, and the one exception, namely Harriet Martineau, the "exception that proves the rule." (Machann, 1998: 309) Indeed, it was usually white, classically educated, middle-class men that published in the Victorian age. Whether they wrote science, philosophy, history, or criticism, these men had, in the process, learned "a relatively sophisticated method of expressing "selfhood in language", and had succeeded in masterfully conveying a "coherent, literary sense of selfhood" through their life histories. (Machann, 1998: 310) Thus, shows Machann (1998: 310):

"In the tradition of Edward Gibbon, the typical Victorian literary autobiographer stresses the development of innate traits into mature ideas, but the author's life in effect merges with a chronology of his or her published works as soon as the author has reached the stage of development identified with a public role as he or she wishes to define it. This powerful tendency to make memories of life experience, with its myriad details, conform to works, with their documentary presence and their status in the public

sphere, creates enormous formal pressures. Assuming that the autobiography will take its ultimate place on the bookshelf at the end of one's collected works, it must serve as a key to interpreting and evaluating the others, if not itself offering a culminating, definitive statement of life philosophy."

Machann (1998: 309) argues that Edward Gibbon's *Memoirs of My Life* (1796/1996) can be considered to be "the first extended "secular" autobiography by a prominent Englishman to be published and widely disseminated within a few years of his death," and marks "a defining moment in the historical development of the genre", since in this work Gibbon "gave first full expression to the "life and career" form of personal narrative whereby autobiography attained institutional stability and coherence, largely because of its power to explain the "selfhood" of a public personality, especially a published author." Taking into consideration Machann's statement it comes as no surprise that autobiography was a genre belonging first and foremost to already famous writers, many a time published posthumously, sometimes even after one century after their authors' death¹.

According to Machann (1998: 312) autobiography is a term "conventionally used to name a certain historically-situated, nonfiction genre of book publication rather than the qualities of self-expression that can be found in any literary genre (of course any art object can be considered in terms of the artist's self-expression)". However, in arguing for the referentiality of autobiography, Machann does not omit to mention other prominent theorists whose work focused on autobiography. One of the most remarkable critics of the autobiographical genre in the 1970s and 1980s, James Olney, argued that any attempt to view autobiography as a formal or historicist matter would yield its complete separation "from the writer's life and his personality" (1972: 87). Other theorists, for instance Linda Peterson, favoured a convergence of fictional and non-fictional genres, considering autobiography as a mixture of a hermeneutic and a narrative mode, just like Wayne Shumaker viewed autobiography as evolving toward "a more fully 'novelised' form". (Machann, 1998: 310)

Machann (1994) also acknowledges the cultural and historical specificity of Philippe Lejeune's definition of autobiography as a "retrospective prose narrative written by a real person concerning her/his own existence,

¹ This is the case of John Addington Symonds' *Memoirs* (1984), which, as Machann points out, Symonds himself "suppressed because it deals frankly with his homosexuality". (Machann, 1998: 308)

where the focus is his individual life, in particular the story of her/his personality" (2000: 12), and discusses in detail the ways in which autobiography has been problematised in the last twenty-five years, by poststructuralist critics most of all, who "have even questioned whether autobiography or any other literature can refer to a "self" or a "life" prior to the (self-referential) text itself." (1998: 308) The assumption of referentiality, shows Machann (1998: 308), brings about inevitable tensions, "between the retrospective author-narrator and the protagonist, between present time and past time, between selfhood and environment, between the uniqueness of life experience and universal meanings." These tensions cause autobiographers to undergo spiritual and mental crises, which are then "translated into the characteristic tensions of the autobiographical narrative". (Machann, 1998: 310)

Lejeune (2000: 8) stated in his forward to *The Autobiographical Pact* that his study flows between two seemingly opposite approaches, the scientific and the literary, which are, in fact, complementary, since at the heart of any analysis of the autobiographical genre should lie the phenomenon of language. Thus, autobiography lends itself to a historical study, – since "the writing of the self developed since the 18th century [...] is a phenomenon pertaining to civilization", to a psychological one, – as it involves complex problems related to self-analysis, memory and the construction of personality, but, first and foremost, it should be analysed as a literary endeavour². Lejeune (2000: 6) defines the literary genre³ as "a complex variable assemblage of distinctive features that are to be perceived first of all synchronically, in the general reading system of a certain period, and then analytically, by dissociating the multiple factors whose position may vary in the hierarchy." The study of a genre is only possible if we accept that boundaries between closely related genres are extremely flexible. Lejeune's analysis, done from the point of view of poetics, centres on the problem of genre in an attempt to prove that genre delimitation is not so much a question of formal elements employed or displayed, but the issue of a "reading contract". On

² "Ceea ce se numește autobiografie este susceptibil de interpretări diverse: studiu istoric, pentru că scriitura eului care s-a dezvoltat în lumea occidentală începând din secolul al XVIII-lea este un fenomen de civilizație; studiu psihologic, pentru că actul autobiografic pune în joc probleme complexe, cum sunt cele ale memoriei, ale construcției personalității și ale autoanalizei. Dar autobiografia se prezintă, înainte de toate, ca un *text* literar." (Lejeune, 2000: 5)

³ "Un gen literar este un ansamblaj variabil, complex, al unui anumit număr de trăsături distinctive care trebuie mai întâi percepute, sincronice, în sistemul general de lectură al unei epoci și, analitic, prin disocierea factorilor multipli a căror ierarhizare este variabilă." (Lejeune, 2000: 6)

the level of poetics, Lejeune argues, “we must fight against the illusion of permanence, against the normative temptation and against the dangers of idealization” since “one cannot really study *a genre* unless the stepping out of its boundaries is accepted.”⁴ (2000 [1996]: 6)

Paul Cobley shows that the category of genre in ancient Greek criticism opposed the non-dramatic genre of epic to the dramatic ones, namely tragedy and comedy. However, since ancient times, genres came to be regarded as “objective categories associated with the formulas to be found in narratives”, and, more recently, as “sets of expectations harboured by readers about given narratives and their verisimilitude” (Cobley, 2001: 231). Literary critics usually mean by *genres* the three major types: *the epic*, *the lyric* and *the dramatic*, or, respectively, *fiction*, *poetry* and *drama*. It was in 2002 that Root and Steinberg (xxiii) first suggested the existence of a fourth genre, namely that of creative non-fiction, and pointed out that:

“the idea of three literary genres has, until very recently, dominated introductory courses in literature, generic divisions in literary textbooks, and categories of literature in bookstores. Everything that couldn’t be classified in one of these genres [...] was classified as ‘nonfiction’, even though, as Jocelyn Bartkevicius points out elsewhere in this collection, they could be classified as ‘nonpoetry’ just as well. Unfortunately, this classification system suggests that everything that is nonfiction should also be considered nonliterature, a suggestion that is, well, nonsense.”

In the preface to their anthology, *The Fourth Genre. Contemporary Writers of/on Creative Nonfiction*, Root and Steinberg state: “The readings in all three sections encompass the genre’s full spectrum: personal essays and memoirs, literary journalism, and academic/cultural criticism.” (2002: xv) As we can understand from this statement, the memoir and the personal essay are already acknowledged as belonging to this fourth genre. I will argue here that autobiography also belongs to this fourth genre, along with the self-portrait and the journal

⁴ “În „Pactul autobiografic”, demonstrez că acest gen se definește mai puțin prin elementele formale pe care le integrează, cât prin „contractul de lectură”, și că o poetică istorică ar trebui prin urmare să studieze evoluția sistemului contractelor de lectură și a funcției lor integrante. [...] Pentru a studia un gen, trebuie să luptăm împotriva iluziei permanenței, împotriva tentației normative și împotriva pericolelor idealizării: la drept vorbind, nu poate fi posibil să se studieze *un* gen decât numai dacă se acceptă ieșirea din perimetrul lui.” (Lejeune, 2000 [1996]: 6)

Fiction, as opposed to **non-fiction**, is a term used to refer to the range of narratives which are the product of imagination, and, as such, do not purport to be rendering truthful reality. However, the distinction between the two above-mentioned terms is often blurred, generating problematic classifications, like the “non-fiction novel”, or “creative non-fiction”. **The non-fiction novel** began to develop in the 1960s, in the United States, through the works of Truman Capote, William Styron and Norman Mailer, whose novels rendered actual documentary subjects by means of fictional techniques, such as characters, plot, thematic complexity, scenes, physical atmosphere, dialogue and stylistic congruity. **Creative non-fiction** is a much larger category than the novel, and has been characterised as “malleable” (Robert Atwan), “mercurial” (Root and Steinberg), and even “protean” (O. B. Hardison). Even though the term *creative nonfiction* has only recently been coined, the tradition of literary nonfiction dates back several centuries. Root and Steinberg’s focus of analysis is the essay, which they locate “within the boundaries set by neighbouring genres, not only “the three creative genres” of fiction, poetry, and drama but also the “expressive” genres of diary, journal, and autobiography and the “objective” genres of traditional (as opposed to literary) journalism, criticism, and polemic and technical writing.” (2002: xxiii)

Here are the most important elements common to the works of creative nonfiction, as outlined by Root and Steinberg (xxiv-xxix):

- personal presence
- self-discovery and self-exploration
- the use of literary language
- flexibility of form
- veracity

I will now take these elements one by one, and show that autobiography as a genre displays them all.

One of the fundamental elements of creative nonfiction is **personal presence**: in autobiographies the reader is offered glimpses into the mind and personality of the authors, who purport to be telling the truth and take responsibility for the statements they make. The presence of the authors is utterly felt, as their voice is not omniscient, but personal, individual, identifiable. This voice, just like the essayist’s, shapes an identity that “will cast a shadow as dense and ambiguous as that of an imaginary protagonist” (Rosellen Brown, quoted by Root and Steinberg, 2002: xxiv) Most clearly, in the autobiography, like in the essay, “[t]he self is surely a created character.” (Brown, 1994: 5, quoted in Root and Steinberg, 2002: xxiv) **Self-discovery** and **self-exploration** could well be seen as essential themes of the

autobiography. Telling their lives forces the writers to consider the events that shaped their personalities, to reflect on the meaning of their response to different stimuli, to explore the emotions caused by various happenings. The process of writing helps them impose order onto their lives and thus discover possible hidden meanings of their existence. Phillip Lopate's description of the essay (Lopate, 1994: xlv, in Root and Steinberg, 2002: xxv) as "an enactment of the creation of the self" rightfully describes autobiography as well.

For Root and Steinberg "literary language" means "figurative language" that is not "dull and diffuse", but "expansive", "intimate", able to "move the written work beyond presentation into conversation", often by means of retaining first person narrative. (2002: xxviii) On the one hand, although there are some examples of autobiographies written in the form of third-person narration, most feature autodiegetic, first-person narration. On the other hand, no one can deny that the language employed in the autobiography is literary.

By "flexibility of form", Root and Steinberg understand the use of narrative techniques, along with "expository, meditative, and argumentative elements". These may characterise not only the essay, but also the autobiography, which is progressively assimilating techniques that we tend to associate with the domain of fiction, and this stylistic signal confounds the readers' reception. Moreover, the term *literary autobiography* features a paradox, a crucial double code centred on the tension between referential transparency and aesthetic pursuit. Autobiography, argues Abbot (2002: 188), is "another one of those porous concepts", and "the field abounds in narratives that seem to fall in a generic no-man's land between autobiography and fiction, as in James Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* or Maxine Hong Kingston's *The Woman Warrior: Memoirs of a Girlhood among Ghosts*." Therefore, I would state, with reference to autobiography, what Lennard Davis argued about the novel, namely that it has always had fictional overtones, being somewhat ambivalent, both fictional and referential⁵. (Hutcheon, 1997: 19)

And thus I come to the final defining element: **veracity**. Creative nonfiction, claim Root and Steinberg, "sometimes draws on the material of autobiography, history, journalism, biology, ecology, travel writing, medicine, and any number of other subjects", so it is "reliably factual, firmly anchored in

⁵ "Poate că, așa cum Lennard Davis (1987: 225) a demonstrat în mod convingător, romanul a fost inerent ambivalent încă de la începuturile sale: el a fost întotdeauna și ficțional, și referențial". (Hutcheon, 1997: 19)

real experience". (2002: xxvi) Then, however, they mention David James Duncan's concern about the difficulty of rendering events accurately:

"We see into our memories in much the way that we see across the floor of a sunbaked desert: everything we conjure, every object, creature or event we perceive in there, is distorted, before it reaches us, by mirages created by subjectivity, time, and distance... The best that a would-be nonfiction writer can do is use imperfect language to invoke imperfectly remembered events based on imperfect perceptions". (David James Duncan, 1996: 55, quoted by Root and Steinberg, 2002: xxvii)

This perfectly justified concern is echoed by Annie Dillard: "You can't put together a memoir without cannibalizing your own life for parts. The work battens on your memories. And it replaces them." (Dillard, 2002: 242, in Root and Steinberg) And, although Root and Steinberg (2002: xvii) conclude that even if "[t]he truth may not necessarily be veracious enough to take into court or into a laboratory", it is enough for the nonfictional work to be "veracious enough to satisfy the writer's purpose and the art of writing.", Dillard's statement is less lenient: "The elements in any nonfiction should be true not only artistically – the connects must hold at base and must be veracious, for that is the convention and the covenant between the nonfiction writer and his reader." (Dillard, 1988: xvii, quoted in Root and Steinberg, 2002: xxvi) This "convention" is obviously the equivalent of Lejeune's "autobiographical pact" (2000: 24-27), a "reading contract" between author and reader, signed by authenticating, either in an implicit or in an explicit way, the identity author-narrator-hero.

The required condition of veracity imposes, in the case of autobiography, restraints on creative freedom, norms one must follow, rules one must obey, lines one cannot cross. If one does, fact turns into fiction, and autobiography becomes a novel, autobiographical, indeed, but still a novel. Truth and memory are not fixed but mobile, their planes may shift, as a result of emotional response. Is the emotional truth less worthy than Truth? Is remembered experience enriched by imagination, less valuable than Experience proper? But even if one does remember, is whatever one remembers true, just because one remembers it? Can't one remember something in a manner quite different from the way in which it actually occurred? And if this happens, is that particular work still powerfully true, or just hopelessly false? How can one avoid subjectivity, accidental or purposeful, in narrative, be it essay, memoir, journal or autobiography? These are questions pertinent to any work of creative nonfiction. Even if the

author is desperately trying to preserve the authenticity of the sections of her/his life s/he chooses to present in a book, at times s/he must take an imaginative leap, in order to strengthen the story, to give it more weight and relevance. All those who write literary works, whether they belong to the realm of fiction, or to that of factual writing, are bound to take some fictive leeway at one point or another in the creative process of writing. This freedom can be daunting to literary critics attempting to give clearly cut definitions and to establish neat categories. Therefore, in light of the inevitable fallacy of memory, and given the impossibility to reach neutrality and objectivity, shouldn't autobiography, just like genres closely related to it, namely the memoir and the journal, be seen as belonging to what is called *creative non-fiction*?

Since the memoir has already been included in the fourth genre, let me draw a comparison between autobiography and memoir(s), in order to point out how unjustified the exclusion of autobiography from the field of creative nonfiction actually is.

According to the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, while BIOGRAPHY is a book about someone's life, AUTOBIOGRAPHY is "the story of your own life, which you have written yourself". The term MEMOIRS covers "the story of your own life, which you have written yourself, especially about your involvement in important political or military events". So far, a book of MEMOIRS seems to be merely an AUTOBIOGRAPHY with a political/military touch. Here is another set of definitions from the same dictionary: AUTOBIOGRAPHY is "a book in which someone writes about their own life"; MEMOIR is "a short piece of writing about a person or place that you knew well, or an event that you experienced", and MEMOIRS "a book by someone important and famous in which they write about their life and experiences". The distinction made here refers either to the length of the work, considerably shorter in the case of the MEMOIR, or to the author's status, in terms importance and fame, in the case of MEMOIRS.

The same status-related distinction is made by the authors of the *Cambridge Advanced Dictionary*: AUTOBIOGRAPHY is "a book about a person's life, written by that person", MEMOIR is "the US word for MEMOIRS", or "a book or other piece of writing based on the writer's personal knowledge of famous people, places or events", and MEMOIRS "a written record of a usually famous person's own life and experiences":

Roget's II: The New Thesaurus, enters the MEMOIR as "a narrative of experiences undergone by the writer: commentary (often used in plural), reminiscence (often used in plural)". According to *WordNet* the noun

MEMOIR has two meanings: either “an account of the author's personal experiences”, or “an essay on a scientific or scholarly topic”. The first meaning, just like the *Thesaurus* definition, points to the diminished length and relative incompleteness of the MEMOIR when compared to the AUTOBIOGRAPHY. The second meaning might justify Root and Steinberg’s classification, as it is precisely the essay that they are concerned with in their collection. Still, they are both American, and therefore must have been aware of the second meaning. Moreover, a quick look at the selected works in their volume would clearly show that quite a few of the authors use the word with its first meaning.

The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language offers five different definitions of the word MEMOIR:

1. An account of the personal experiences of an author.
2. An autobiography. Often used in the plural.
3. A biography or biographical sketch.
4. A report, especially on a scientific or scholarly topic.
5. The report of the proceedings of a learned society.

The first meaning and the fourth outline differences I have already discussed, while the second actually proves my point.

Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia, draws our attention to another level of difference:

“**Autobiography** is biography, the writing of a life story, from the viewpoint of the subject. [...] Where an autobiography focuses on the “life and times” of the character, a memoir has a narrower, more intimate focus on his or her own memories, feelings and emotions.”

And here’s a second definition from the same source:

“A **memoir**, as a literary genre, forms a sub-class of autobiography. Memoirs may appear less structured and less encompassing than formal autobiographical works. They are often about part of a life, and often a public part of one's life, rather than one's whole life, from youth to old age. Memoirs are commonly written by political and military leaders.”

Nevertheless, these are slight differences that cannot account for the inclusion of the memoir(s) in the fourth genre, and the exclusion of autobiography, particularly since the former is said to be a subclass of the latter. Being a literary genre, autobiography is creative, and it is precisely its nonfictional character that distinguishes it from other literary genres. Therefore, it would be only natural to accommodate it under the umbrella-

term of *creative non-fiction*, especially since Root and Steinberg themselves admitted that “creative nonfiction centers in the essay but continually strains against the boundaries of other genres, endeavouring to push them back and to expand its own space without altering its own identity.” (2002: xiv)

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THE ORIENT IN DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON'S *RASSELLAS*
AND
WILLIAM BECKFORD'S *VATHEK*

GÖNÜL BAKAY*

ABSTRACT. Dr. Samuel Johnson's *Rasselas* and William Beckford's *Vathek* reflect their authors' aims to create authentic tales about the Orient. Johnson's *Rasellas* relates the story of Rasselas, the prince of Abyssinia, who travels all over the world with his sister and with Imlac, the philosopher, in search of happiness and contentment. He returns to his homeland concluding that happiness and contentment are unattainable on earth. In *Vathek*, Caliph Vathek mother aims to get limitless power and wealth in life with the help of his sorcerer. He becomes the servant of the devil (Eblis) but ends up by being destroyed in the hall of the Eblis. He realizes only too late that all the riches and the power in the world are meaningless without true love. Both books resemble each other in that no definite conclusion is reached and no moral message is given. This can be easy to understand since the human being's search for happiness and contentment has been going on since the beginning of time and, no doubt, it will continue till eternity. Both books are of interest today because of their endeavour to give an authentic view of the East.

Introduction

The second half of the eighteenth century witnessed a decline in the political power of Moslem nations. Turkey, after the war with Russia, was forced to accept a peace treaty with very humiliating terms. In Persia there was a period of anarchy which lasted till the peaceful reign of Kurd Karim Khan and in India the brilliant exploits of Clive marked the beginning of the British Empire in the East (Smith, 1977: 106). This age was meant an increased interest in the Orient and the Moslem religion.

The oriental tale flourished during the rise of the novel. The reason for its popularity may be explained by its constituting a genre on the periphery. In contrast to the realistic novel which aimed to take its subject and characters from every day life and describe things as they appeared to most people, the Oriental novel or tale was set in exotic places: strange, mystic settings where the supernatural often intervened. The increasing number of travellers and merchants going to the East resulted in a body of

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literature aiming to give a more authentic picture of the Orient. The Oriental tale, besides offering entertainment, constituted a counter discourse to the novel, questioning the Realism based on the familiar.

Beckford's *Vathek* is a tale about the East. It wouldn't be wrong to say in Naji B. Queijan's words that: "With *Vathek*, Orientalism in England reached a high degree of authenticity" (58). In the eighteenth century, there were translations of the authentic Oriental tales, such as *The Arabian Nights*, and translations of *The Arabian Nights* by Antoine Gallard and Petits de la Croix. There were also works that in Said's words: "expressed a certain will or intention to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even to incorporate what is manifestly a different (or alternative and novel) world" (12).

Authors, such as Addison, Steele and Johnson, aimed to create an Oriental tale shaped by English morality. Both Addison and Steele regarded the fantastic and the supernatural as low and disreputable. Beckford's aim was different. He would write a tale that would both criticize the Western discourse and the Oriental tale. In doing this, his aim was to use both Oriental and Occidental traits.

One of the most important factors contributing to book's authenticity was Henley's notes. Henley's 1786 translation displayed the author's serious scholarly attempt to explain many of the Oriental details in the book, such as customs, manners, but most of all the basic concepts and practices of Islam. Although, with these notes, Henley aimed to display his own scholarly work, still his contribution to the authenticity of Oriental details can not be denied.

Vathek

The story starts in the city of Samara. Vathek commences his trip for the unattainable knowledge and wealth of the palace of the subterranean fire. Before entering the visionary halls of Eblis, Vathek passes through and gives authentic descriptions of historic towns, such as Gulchissar, Shiraz and Rocuabad, The Valley of Fakreddin, Tigris, etc. In *Vathek* Beckford created an actual and a visionary world. The actual world is the world of his travels, the visionary world is the world of man's soul. As Fatima Mousse Mahmoud comments, such a world has no nationality. "It cannot be studied as oriental or occidental (Mahmoud, 74).

Beckford was seriously interested in the East. He learnt Arabic from a tutor called Zemir and when he was in Italy, he studied Arabic in order to be able to translate manuscripts. His book contains authentic descriptions of Oriental furniture, clothes, porcelain, etc. The characters were actual also. Vathek was the son of Motassem who had reigned between the years

837-842. One of the most interesting oriental elements of the book is the description of the Harem. The references to Arabic literature and authors show Beckford's genuine interest in Arabic literature and arts.

The fragments dealing with Islam show Beckford's considerable knowledge. One cannot help noticing the similarities between the inhabitants of the Hall of Eblis and the Islamic hell. Eblis is also an Islamic name. Religious rituals and funeral rites, especially after the supposed deaths of Nournihar and her cousin, are presented with authentic details: "Their bodies were washed with rose water. Nournihar's face was veiled. Every window in the valley was fastened. Prayers were recited by the imams" (Beckford, 113). One of the most remarkable aspects of *Vathek* was the care the author took to give authentic details of the Moslem religion. After she awakens from her deep sleep, Gulchenrouz says: "Where are we? Do you not see those specters that are stirring the coals? Are they Monkar and Nekir?" (Beckford, 113). According to Islam, Monkar and Nekir are two angels that will question the dead in their tombs about Islam. She also asks: "Does this fatal bridge cross this lake, whose solemn stillness perhaps conceal from us an abyss. In which for whole ages, we shall be doomed incessantly to sink?" (Beckford, 114). This is the famous bridge that, according to Moslem religion, will determine whether the dead will go to hell or heaven.

There are certain fragments where *Vathek* departs from the Koran. For example in his descriptions of Prophet Soliman. According to the Koran, Soliman is a respected prophet, whereas in *Vathek* he resides in the palace of Subterranean Fire. "There shalt thou behold, in immense depositories, the treasures which the stars have promised thee which will be conferred by those intelligences, whom thou shalt thus render propitious. It was from there I brought my sabres, and it is there Soliman ben Daud reposes, surrounded by the talisman that control the world" (Beckford, 64). Whereas in the Koran it is written: "We have disclosed of our presence as an inspiration to Noah prophet and also to others like Ezekiel, Jacob, Christ, Jonah and Soliman" (Öztürk, 103). Also in the Sad Prayer, there is a further reference to Soliman. God professed: "We have tested Soliman and left a corpse on his throne, after which he repented and was pardoned by us" (Öztürk, 416).

The descriptions of the Harem, the hall of Eblis and the Ottoman expressions contribute to the Oriental authenticity of the book. The murmur of the streams and fountains heard upon entering the harem served a purpose: to stifle the voice of the ladies of the harem so that their talk would not be heard by outsiders. Another detail about the harem is the situation of the

eunuchs. It is true that during the Ottoman period eunuchs served in the harem so that they would pose no danger to the virtue of the beauties there. The foods served in *Vathek* are also real. They are still served in the East. "Vathek found himself beneath a vast dome illuminated by a thousand lamps of rock crystal; as many vases of the same material filled with excellent sherbet (fruit juice boiled with sugar) sparkled on a large table, where a profusion of viands were spread. Amongst others were rice boiled in milk of almonds, saffron soups, and lamb à la crème" (203). (These foods are still commonly eaten in Turkey and other places in the East.)

The names and expressions used in the text also contribute to the authenticity of the text. The expressions such as the "delight and apple of my eye" and "slumber visiting the eye lids" are still in usage. The names such as Nouronihar, Gulchanrouz, Shaban and Sutlememe, are real names; though I have never heard anyone called by the name Sutlememe which means milky breasts. Kaf is the mountain boundary of the earth. In Islamic mythology, this mountain is inaccessible to human beings. Vathek cries: "What, are these dreadful rocks! These valleys of darkness, are we arrived at the horrible Kaf, is the Simurgh, coming to pluck my eyes as a punishment for undertaking the nonpious enterprise" (Beckford, 88).

The interest in *Vathek* increased with the praise of Lord Byron in the nineteenth century. Byron appreciated Beckford's serious scholarship of the East with the words. "For the contents of some of the notes I am indebted, partly, to Mr. D'Herbelot and as Mr. Weber justly entitles it the sublime tale of the Caliph Vathek. I do not know from what source of that singular volume may he have drawn his materials but for correctness of costume, beauty of description, and power of imagination, it far surpasses all European imitations and bears such marks of originality that those who have visited the East, will find difficulty in believing it to be more than translation" (Graham, 378).

In 1704 Antoine Galland translated *The Arabian Nights*. It was like a fresh bout of rain to minds steeped in Neoclassicism. The Orient represented to the West all that was new, different, mystic and exotic. Books about the East, such as Johnson's *Rasselas* and Beckford's *Vathek*, were the important travel literature of this period that were influential from different points of view. Johnson's *Rasselas* is important for the European reader because here, in many respects, the East is not an imaginary land of mystery and wonder, but a real world with normal people living in it. The important contribution of *Rasselas* to the tradition of literary works dealing with the Orient is its challenge of the prejudiced views of its predecessors. In this text, in Cairo,

Moslems and Christians mix and socialize in harmony. Although Johnson points to the differences between the East and the West he also elaborates on the common points.

Rasselas

In contrast to Beckford, Johnson had never been to the East. And yet with the travel and history books he had read, he created a complete tale of the East. *Rasselas'* popularity was due to several factors. The public had a taste for the tales of the Orient and, in this book, the East was a real world with genuine customs and culture.

Boswell's *Life of Johnson* shows the deep interest of Johnson in the Orient. This interest was much deeper than his works can show. Johnson observed in one of his talks with Boswell: "There are two objects of curiosity: the Christian world and the Mohammedan world" (Boswell, 335). When his pension was granted to him he observed: "Had this happened twenty years ago I should have gone to Constantinople to learn Arabic" (Boswell, 335).

Rasselas was written in 1759, at the end of the most active period in Samuel Johnson's writing career. The book had an immediate appeal and was translated into several languages. As W. Jackson Bate comments, some of the book's appeal may be due to its combining various archetypal forms: the Eastern tale, the fairy tale, the satire, the bildung's roman and the tales of pilgrimage, but more than that one believes the appeal is due to its reflecting the search of humanity for happiness and contentment. He also attributes the growing interest in Johnson to the immediate and permanent trust he arouses in people. There were diverging views about the philosophy Johnson aimed to reflect in his work. Some readers concluded that Johnson's aim was to stress the view that human life is filled with desolations about people and places and that only after renouncing the hope of finding happiness and contentment on this world and turning one's gaze to Heaven can one find the strength and will to bear the calamities of this world. Other readers concluded that the main idea stressed in the book is that people are never satisfied with what they have anywhere in the world. The view that people are the same all over the world is an Oriental idea. This view is stated in the Bakara prayer in the Koran: "East and West belong only to God. Wherever you turn your face, God's face is there" (Öztürk, 23). In *Rasselas* Johnson depicts human beings always dissatisfied with their life and always desiring what they don't have and envying others. *Rasselas* reflects Johnson's belief in imagination and curiosity as valuable constituents of human nature. The human mind is forever discontent,

always seeking new ways of finding solutions to problems. This could be encountered both in the East and the West. The astronaut and the artist who designed the flying machine were from the East. It is interesting to note that Johnson, unlike Orientalists, associated the inquisitive and analytical mind both with the West and the East. As William Bate observes, Johnson believed that the "inexhaustible capacity of the imagination (and, through it of wishing) is the source of all human desires, barring a few biological ones. If it is an indispensable ingredient for human happiness, when sufficiently kept open" and "regulated by reality" (Bate, 300), it is also the source of most human misery. Bate further observes that the problem confronting Johnson was: "How to use this prying capacity - the human imagination - in such a way as to get the most happiness or the least misery" (Bate, 301).

When the group visits the pyramids in Egypt, they cannot understand the incredible amount of time and labor spent to build an immense monument. The Pharaoh may possess wealth, power and yet he is not satisfied with what he has. He tries to achieve the impossible: permanence. "The pyramid seems to have been erected only in compliance with that hunger of imagination which prays incessantly upon life. Those who have all they can enjoy, must enlarge their desires. He that has built for use, till use is supplied, must begin to build for vanity... I consider their mighty structure as a monument to the insufficiency of human enjoyments" (Johnson, 60).

Unlike Westerners, the people of the East are more fatalistic. The Moslem religion teaches its believers to accept the calamities of life as being God's will. Moslems try to cooperate with the inevitable and aim at getting to a philosophical outlook, similar to the Chinese, in their life. "Don't resist like an oak, bend like a willow." However Johnson, in *Rasselas*, does not point to a major difference between the Eastern and the Western philosophies of life. In contrast to this Eastern fatalistic philosophy, the characters in *Rasselas* are never satisfied with their station in life. "Every man recounts the inconveniences of his own station and thinks those of the others less, because he has not felt them. Thus, the married praise the ease and freedom of single state and the single fly to marriage from the uneasiness of solitude. Whoever feels great pain, naturally hopes for ease from change of posture" (45). The importance of *Rasselas* is that, in this work, the Orient is not an idealized place but a real one filled with real flesh and blood people. Although in *Rasselas* Johnson tries to show the differences between the Orient and the West, he also tries to show the common points. One of these common points is that everywhere people seek to find happiness and contentment.

The prince, the princess and Imlac try to find the meaning of life. On their way, they pass through fields where shepherds tend their flocks and conclude that: "This is the life which has been often celebrated for its innocence and quiet: let us pass the heat of the day among the shepherd' and know whether all our searches are not to terminate in pastoral simplicity" (38). The shepherds are not content because they consider themselves forced to work for the luxury of the rich. They enter a rich man's home and find out that he is not happy either because his life is in danger because of his prosperity. Bassa of Egypt wants his riches. They meet a hermit and ask him about life and whether the happiness and contentment that cannot be found in public life could be achieved in solitude. The hermit tells them that, when he started to live the life of solitude, everything delighted him. He considered himself lucky to be away from the "snares, discord and misery" (40). But after the novelty wore off, he became discontented and restless, and doubted that he was led into solitude because of resentment rather than devotion. He even adds: "Solitude if I escape the example of bad man, of want likewise the counsel and conversation of the good have been long comparing the evils with the advantages of society, and resolve to return into the world. The life of a solitary man will be certainly miserable, but not certainly devout" (41).

It is relevant to compare Edward Said's views about the West with dr. Samuel Johnson's perspective. The eighteenth-century writer makes Imlac take about the positive sides of the West. Imlac observes that Europeans, through their interest in the natural world, could have greater power over it. "..... They have roads cut through their mountains, and bridges laid upon their rivers" (23). He adds that they found remedies for the illnesses that Orientals were dying from. They had also invented machines to do the work that was done by hand in the East. Pekuah claims in *Rasselas* that the Westerners: "are more powerful... because they are wiser; knowledge will always predominate over ignorance as man governs the other animals. But why their knowledge is more than ours, I know not what reason can be given, but the unanswerable will of the Supreme Being" (23). However, when asked whether the Europeans are happy Imlac answers that "the Europeans are less unhappy than we, but they are not happy. Human life is everywhere a state in which much is endured and little to be enjoyed" (24).

An important point made by Johnson is that there is not much variety in the world. As Imlac voices: "On every part of the world subordination supposes power on one part and subjection on the other and,

if power be in the hands of men, it will sometimes be abused. The vigilance of the supreme magistrate may do much, but much will still remain undone. He can never know all the crimes that are committed and seldom punish all that he knows" (17).

In his book, dr. Samuel Johnson aims to give an authentic picture of the East. The writer is interested in Oriental customs and manners. Eastern hospitality is one of the subjects Johnson elaborates upon. The Arabs kindling of fire to guide lost and hungry travelers and give them shelter is one such example (77). Also, after the travellers left the happy valley, some shepherds in the field offered the group milk and fruit and when they reached the Arab master's house, rules of Eastern hospitality allowed them to enter and the master welcomed them like a man liberal and wealthy. In addition, the reverence they show to the aged and the hospitality shown to the guests are typical oriental customs. However, if we consider Turkey, we must admit that some of these nice customs have changed in the big cities. In the olden days, similar to *Rasselas* it was the custom to treat all guests, even strangers, with civility. It was the custom to call them "God's guests" and give them food and shelter especially at times of religious holidays. Now most people consider religious holidays as a time for rest and travel. However, this nice custom is still preserved in certain places in Anatolia.

Perhaps one can find a similarity between the philosophies of the story recounted by Dale Carnegie in his *How to Stop Worrying and Start Living* and *Rasselas*. A student of Carnegie's is always dissatisfied with life and unhappy. In the end, he decides that travelling to a far away place will bring him happiness and tranquility. His father gives him a letter and asks him to open it when he arrives at his destination. The letter is as follows: "Dear son: you are 1500 miles away from home and I am sure still feeling the same. The reason is you have brought with yourself something that hasn't changed - your outlook on life. When you realize this, please return home, for you will be cured" (Carnegie, 141). Perhaps another conclusion we can draw from *Rasselas* is: "Happiness is the byproduct of doing a hard job well". Johnson wrote his work in just ten days, to procure the money necessary for his mother's funeral. One should not overlook the fact that besides emphasizing a rather ambiguous moral lesson he also wrote to entertain the reader. The satisfaction of concluding a hard job well was no wonder.

Conclusion

To conclude we can say that the importance of *Rasselas* and *Vathek* reside in their being among the first works that resulted from a serious

study on the East. With the complex contradictions of *Vathek*, Beckford aimed to explore chaos as a characteristic of the human condition. The ending of the book aims to subject the fallible, often the erroneous human world, and the divine scheme to an ironic scrutiny. The world of the supernatural, the world of peris, djinns, angels and Eblis is also there to test and question the futile human endeavour for happiness and contentment. In a mythic frame that comprehends many of the work's polarities and subversions in a perspective that encompasses the beginnings of time, the chaotic world of human agony sometimes rises to nobility and self-sacrifice, but more often to foolishness and savagery. In his work *Rasselas*, Johnson, although taking an Oriental setting for his work, portrays human beings much the same all over the world. Humans everywhere are on a search for happiness and contentment. The books resemble each other in that no definite moral message is given in the end and no conclusion is reached. Perhaps this was inevitable since the human beings' search for the meaning of life, happiness and contentment has been going on ever since the beginning of time and will no doubt continue in the future. The books are of interest today partly because they deal with timeless subjects: envy, curiosity, discontent and the human search for happiness, and the meaning of life. But most prominently, these books are appreciated because they challenged the prejudiced view of their predecessors and they both initiated a literature that aimed to give an authentic picture of a culture and religion that was not inferior but only different from its Western counterpart.

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NOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN PROPAGANDA LANGUAGE AND ADVERTISING

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ABSTRACT. This investigation of two remarkable features of the noun phrase – its ability to operate as an independent clause at sentence level and its complex and unorthodox internal structure – brings to light two opposing tendencies: on the one hand, the complexity of the noun phrase's inner structure and, on the other hand, its simplicity of structure across sentence boundaries. Nominalization implies both morphological and syntactic processes; in generative grammar it implies the operation of transforming the sentence into a noun phrase.

1.0. Advertising compounds and propaganda language differ from the more traditional forms of linguistic expression in their unusually high level of productivity. However, differences can also be very important; on the one hand, the vivid, colorful and often quasi-comical constructions of the advertising language add dynamism and impact to an advertising message that has to compete with countless other advertising messages, whereas propaganda language implies processes of hyper-codification. Nevertheless, they share processes of violent changes of the code, characteristic to the language of persuasion, be it advertising or ideological propaganda. This, of course, means that similar constructions can be coined in discursive English and Romanian, but since the objective of advertising is to sell a product or promote a service, copywriters are encouraged to use more unusual and bizarre formations to attract the consumer's attention (Rush, 1998: 164) whereas propaganda implies the transformation of individuals or groups of individuals into a silent mass through successive changes of the signification. On the other hand, we cannot discuss about the ideological discourse without stressing the preference for noun phrase constructions achieved through various means of lexical, morphological or syntactic nature. As a means of carrying the advertising message or the totalitarian ideology, we will analyze not only the marked interest in the noun, but also the opportunities to incorporate in the noun phrase premodifiers of adjectival, pronominal or verbal character.

This investigation of two remarkable features of the noun phrase – its ability to operate as an independent clause at sentence level and its complex and unorthodox internal structure – brings to light two opposing tendencies: on the one hand, the complexity of the noun phrase's inner

structure and, on the other hand, its simplicity of structure across sentence boundaries. Nominalization implies both morphological and syntactic processes; in generative grammar it implies the operation of transforming the sentence into a noun phrase.

Another feature common to both advertising English and propaganda language worth mentioning is the relatively high number of premodifiers within a single noun phrase. In Romanian, where the natural position of modifiers is after the head noun, the premodification turns the determiner into the center of the syntactic construction, at the same time diminishing the value of the head noun. The process is two-fold: first, it assures the importance of the modifiers and, second, it imposes the same quality to a certain class of objects. This is a process of hyper-codification anterior to the discursive act which imposes a number of sign-functions, identifiable and analyzable from a syntactic point of view.

Bache (1978: 11) claims that the maximum number of premodifying adjectives likely to occur is limited to an upper range of six or seven, the average number being two or three.¹ He attributes this limitation in length to “psychological” and “semantic collocational restrictions”. When there is heavy premodification in the noun phrase in advertising English, the number of elements usually stays within Bache’s established nom, i.e. between six to seven premodifiers.

A question that comes to mind is why writers of adverts and those of texts for propaganda tend to use long strings of premodifiers in their descriptions of the product/social situation, rather than postmodifying free syntactic combinations. It seems that one of the advantages of using premodifiers in the noun phrase lies in their conciseness of form as compared to the elaborateness of free syntactic combinations: for example, *unique, sure-grip handle* (Gillette Sensor for Women) is paraphrased “a handle with a unique

¹ Anca Greere (2002: 65) discusses premodification of nouns and establishes that in English the order of such elements should respect a certain pattern: (1) determiner/pronominal adjective, (2) noun in the genitive, (3) *first/last*, (4) numeric adjective, (5) general descriptive adjective, (6) *little*, (7) adjective of size, (8) adjective of age, (9) adjective of shape, (10) adjective of color, (11) past participle, (12) adjective of nationality, (13) adjective of provenance or style, (14) noun used as adjective. The number of elements stays within six to seven: *Several very good Romanian TV programs for teaching foreign languages, his brother’s first two international car-race victories*. Rush (1998: 165) mentions a remarkable excerpt from James Joyce’s *Ulysses* where sixteen adjectives in a string appear. It is true that all these are *-ed* adjectives denoting parts of the body and this might explain the absence of any semantic collocational restrictions.

and sure grip".² Another advantage of using premodifiers is that the "compression of meaning" of these premodified noun phrases often produces a certain degree of vagueness, permitting a "metaphorical connection" to be established between compound formations and the head (Leech, 1966: 139ff).

By contrast, simplicity of structure is achieved at sentence level by the abundant use of independent nominal groups. Leech describes these constructions as "sub-logical", that is to say, the logical relations are not overt, as in a proposition, but implied. The discourse effect of these simplified structures is to lend an impression of informality to the ad similar to informal speech.

1.1. We intend to use the complex concept *text-discourse* in our attempt to reveal both aspects that are related to *co-text* and aspects related to *con-text*, which are of syntactic and pragmatic nature and are more adequate in stressing inter-textuality. Inter-textuality will be approached not as a manifestation of different phenomena of cognitive nature but as a manifestation of the referentiality of propaganda language, which through its syntactic, semantic and pragmatic structure refuses syntactic, semantic and pragmatic alternatives. The objects, qualities, actions and circumstances of propaganda language seek the status of linguistic ritual for a definite historical period and for a strictly delimited area.

The ideology does not represent the exclusive property of a social or political system, but it represents the ever present addition, which varies quantitatively and qualitatively and is supported by the social structures and by the cultural contexts, and last but not least by the political contexts. The system of values, norms and attitudes represent variables of the dominant ideology, which according to the basis of ideology will determine and direct the modalities of expression both at the level of speech acts and at the textual level (van Dijk, 1980).

What is not mentioned explicitly by van Dijk, but which is extremely important for the analysis of texts generated by and saturated with ideology is the adverse action, directed from the expressive level, organized on three strata (syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic) towards the lower levels with the explicit (or implicit) aim of modifying them function of the modifications operated on its own arguments by the dominant ideology.

1.1. Syntax (or the syntactic level) has, from the semiotic perspective, the task of approaching the relationships that signs establish within their own universe. From this perspective, syntax analyses the relationship 'sign

² Some expressions are even impossible to paraphrase: *top-of-the-stove cookery*, *top-of-the-tree flavor* (Leech, 1966: 140)

+ *sign'*, the chain of signs becoming a sufficient and exclusive domain of research. Such a perspective is the result of the opening of semiotics towards a formalized language which extracts the common denominator from situations of communication extremely heterogeneous from the point of view of their form and substance (anthropology, culture typology, image semiotics, form semiotics, etc.). This interpretative preference of the relationship '*sign + sign'*' is justified by the common origin of semiotics and generative grammars on the one hand and of semiotics and structuralist approaches, on the other.³

The semiotic levels identified in this way are first mentioned in Morris's *Foundations of the Theory of Signs* (1938) under the influence of Pierce's theory according to which the defining elements are: the sign, the denotatum and the interpretatum. From a semiotic point of view, syntax focuses on elements of formal logic in B. Russel's and R. Carnap's tradition. In studying the logical and grammatical structures of natural language, syntax imposes a formal approach with its own formation/transformational rules.⁴

The required theoretical identifications referring to the distinction between sign and symbol as operators of semiotic levels were introduced by Hjelmslev (1961: 227). For Hjelmslev language represents a network of functions of semiotic nature whose proper functioning is guaranteed by the homomorphic and heteromorphic relations established between the expression level and the content level. As a fundamental domain in studying the relationships among signs and in studying their own generative process, syntax reflects, from the perspective of textual grammars, the *cohesion*. It organizes supra-ordered units, as well as syntagmatic substitutions that maintain the identity of recurrent references. Propaganda language and, sometimes, the language of advertising assure, through generative structures, a global cohesion which can be considered a partial argument of intertextuality, on a par with the semantic level. All morphologic and syntactic classes undergo modifications, not at the structural levels, but at the level of selection of these structures which will subsequently support the process of hyper-codification because "where the code offers significations to some

³ In fact a clear-cut distinction between these approaches is not a problem of their nature, but of quantity and of interpretation of linguistic data as ideal models for studying the human communication acts, including the cultural dimension.

⁴ The syntactic level is characterized by a marked process of abstractization where objects are emptied of their own essence in order to become elements of a semiotic discourse. Such an approach of the communicative process is theorized strictly for Chomsky's syntactic presentation (1957) which promotes the concepts of competence and performance, correlated with the speakers' capacity of producing and understanding an unlimited number of utterances on the basis of syntactic rules that operate according to rules and principles that can be formally checked and presented.

minimal expressions, hyper-codification adjusts the meaning of macroscopic series" (Eco, 1982:182)

2.0. The representation of the syntactic level, as it is presented by Eco (1982), can be taken over in approaching the expression level, with direct reference to the formal nature of the syntax of propaganda language because this anticipates a scalar construction where exists the possibility of dominating phrase marker being considered realizations of dominated phrase markers. In this way there appears a continuum of expression from where the speaker will extract the expression units which will become markers of an individual usage of language, as potential indices in establishing a textual typology.

Accepting two formal criteria which refer to the frequency of some syntactic structures, i.e., fixity and rigidity (Eco, 1982:350), we will analyze those structures of the propaganda language that are susceptible to identify the typical expressions from a formal point of view. In representing the ideological levels Van Dijk (1980:17) suggested that for the discursive textual level there should be a symbiosis between the morphological classes and the syntactic structures, reuniting them under the umbrella of style.

2.1. The ideological discourse cannot be approached without mentioning from the very beginning the preference for nominal constructions, realized through various means of lexical, morphological or syntactical nature. As a vehicle of totalitarian ideology, propaganda language shows a marked interest not so much in the use of the noun, but in the possibilities of converting adjectives, pronouns, verbs, etc. into nouns. It means that the class of objects assimilates elements that express quality, circumstance, action, etc. Nominalization implies both morphological and syntactic processes.⁵ It extends, through conversion, to the majority of morphological classes, assimilating them to the class of objects, so it can be defined as a "procedure of reification because it focuses on some specific themes. It makes actors and agentivity disappear and tends to present processes as things" (Thomson, 1987:20).

Nominalization through determination is a general process in propaganda language which refers to the restriction of the degree of non-determination of the names. The relationship between referent and symbol is materialized through the reorganization of qualities, of relations of substitution, circumstances, etc.

⁵ In the generative grammar, nominalization indicates the process of transforming a sentence into a noun phrase, whereas in the lexicalist theories stress is laid on the set of morphological rules (affixation, derivation, conversion, etc.) which all concur to the realization of this phenomenon.

The first class to which this procedure is applied is the adjective. The modification of the object undergoes a topical mutation (in Romanian), being pre-positioned. This process intends to bring into stronger relief the quality which is associated with an additional connotation. In propaganda language, because of the frequency with which this procedure is used, changing the syntactic relationship and the intensity of the stress makes the expressive value null. On the other hand, the determiner becomes the center of the syntactic construction, concurrently with diminishing the value of the object (determined). The operation has a double end. First it assures the pre-eminence of the determiner and, secondly, it imposes one and the same quality to a whole class of objects. It is part of the process of hype-codification which is anterior to the discursive act that inaugurates a series of sign-functions identifiable and analyzable from a syntactic point of view.

Pre-positioning the determiner (in Romanian) has as a first goal to get fixed constructions that will later function independently: *pătrunzătoarele analize...*, *exprimă o înaltă grijă fața de...*, *...care înmănunchează într-o amplă sinteză, ...dă o nouă dimensiune și o nouă perspectivă...*, *într-un vibrant omagiu...* . Once they become fixed expressions (or markers of propaganda language), the adjective is effectively conversed, most occurrences tending to fill in the domain of the object. The great majority of these adjectives belong to the evaluative class (Kerbrat & Orecchioni, 1980:84), that is adjectives that constitute the support of the property and the subjective evaluation of that property. The evaluative adjectives express the favorable or unfavorable position of the locutor towards the object (Teodorescu, 1997:123). The conversion of this type of adjective imposes a process of syntactical nature, on the one hand, and a process with obvious pragmatic valences, on the other.

In this class we can include adjectives like *new, beautiful, good, valuable*, etc. The obsession of propaganda languages (or advertising language for that matter) for the adjective *new* is found in different occurrences and syntagms which have been imposed in time: *... sprijină cu pasiune noul...*, *pentru popularizarea noului...*, *pentru promovarea cutezătoare a noului...* . These examples prove that, through syntactic means only, the determiner excludes the object, the new construction been vague, undefined and indeterminate which makes it a very good tool for manipulation.⁶

⁶ Within the same sphere of conversion through manipulation we find other adjectives like: *old, heroic, great*, etc. and a number of pronominal adjectives and adverbs. Collocations like *sa facem totul* are present in each and every speech: *trebuie făcut totul, ...îndatorirea de a face totul...*, *vom face totul pentru...* . Special mention deserves the collocation *așa zisul, așa zisa, așa zis* which, within

As a means of enriching the vocabulary conversion functions in two main directions: first, it marks the switch from verb to noun and secondly, it implies the switch of the adjective to the morphological class of noun. In propaganda language the exaggerated use of conversion leads to obscurity of discourse because "it makes the action more abstract and, as it presupposes that the action is already performed, leads in certain texts to a strange effect" (Charandeanu, 1992:412). This phenomenon represents indeed a marker of propaganda language especially when verbs are converted to nouns because it is translated by a systematic replacement of adverb clauses by nouns preceded by prepositions (Thom, 1993:41).⁷

The syntactic phenomenon of nominalization, included with the category of conversion, produces at the level of the addressee a distortion in establishing correctly the reference. Though no longer an action, the phenomenon continues to identify itself with a process, especially when it is accompanied by a qualifier: *într-un înalt stadiu de desăvârșire a ei...*, *poporul pășește la înfăptuirea...*, *de amplificarea crizei...*, *de adâncirea decalajelor...*. In the position of attribute, nominalization of this kind preserves the process character, assigning the determiner a secondary position in the syntagm: *la luptă pentru împlinirea și depășirea noului plan...* It is obvious that the center of the syntactic construction is taken over, through processes of pragmatic nature, by the determiners *împlinire-depășire*, while the head noun loses its importance.

3.0. The noun phrase has the ability to operate as an independent construction in the headline, signature line and body copy (i.e. text) of an ad. A major difference observed between everyday English and advertising English is the frequent use of the noun phrase as an independent clause in advertising English (Rush, 1998:156). The grammatical peculiarity is particularly observable when used in advertising headlines⁸: **The Art of Writing** (Mont Blanc pens), **Every face. Every day.** (Clinique cosmetics). By traditional standards, none of these noun phrases are considered a grammatically complete sentence, yet in this context they clearly express a complete thought.

propaganda language, marks the switch, from a syntactic point of view, from a *neuter* discourse to a discourse strongly marked ideologically, which can be analyzed pragmatically.

⁷ In fact, here we witness a double process which, on the one hand, cancels lexically the effects of the action and, on the other hand, it presents an already performed action whose effects do not have to be further processed by the speaker.

⁸ This characteristic is also present in newspaper and magazine headlines, book titles, and public notices.

Advertising English makes such frequent use of this construction that it has become one of its most distinguishing characteristics. Ghadessy (1988:57) states that advertising English exhibits some pervasive trends, one of them being the “frequent use of ‘disjunctive’ syntax and incomplete sentences, with noun phrases [...] represented orthographically as independent sentences”. Likewise, Cook (1992:109) describes these constructions as “orthographic sentences” and Leech (1966:16) calls this independent use of the noun phrase a “minor clause”⁹, pointing out that it constitutes a “break with traditional grammar”, being equivalent to a clause in “function and meaning”. Leech further notes that the minor clause displays the phonological and orthographic signs of complete sentence status, and that it is essentially equivalent in function and meaning to a complete sentence. Indeed, stress patterns and the predominance of punctuation marks point to the noun phrase’s independent status in advertising English: *The art of being unique* (Cartier jewelers), *Masters of detail...* (Sedgefield Furniture).¹⁰

Advertising English makes frequent use of the brand (or trade) name in a noun phrase acting as an independent clause within the headline (Rush, 1998:157): *Crown Jewel of the Far East. The Hyperion Asian Trust*. (Hyperion CIBC Securities); *The Art Shoppe. A World without Boundaries*. (The Art Shoppe furniture store)¹¹ The frequent use of the independent noun phrase in advertising English is not restricted solely to the headline; it is found frequently in all areas of the ad, such as the subhead, the signature line and even the body copy. Sometimes two noun phrases are in apposition. In this case we cannot insert the linking verb *to be* between the two noun phrases. Apposition of two noun phrases – one of which names the product

⁹ In addition to the two clause systems, independent/dependent and finite/non-finite, Leech (1966:15) distinguishes a third clause system, major/minor. A major clause has a finite verb, or “predicator”, whereas a minor clause does not. The use of the term “minor clause” thus includes independent constructions like *Once a thief, always a thief*. Prepositional phrases and nominal phrase used independently also form part of the minor system.

¹⁰ Leech (1966:171ff) claims that this distinct use of the noun phrase as an independent clause originates in part in the “block language” of outdoor display advertising and in the desire on the part of the advertisers to save space and money. On the other hand, the noun phrase with independent status in standard English has an entirely different motivation: Moore and al. (1988:34) state that it is generally used to create a special effect, like emphasis and informality.

¹¹ The company name *Hyperion Asian Trust*, a noun phrase with independent status, relates to the preceding noun phrase *Crown Jewel of the Far East* as a subject to a subject predicative: *The Hyperion Asian Trust is the crown jewel of the Far East*. We find the reverse relationship in the other example: the company name *the Art Shoppe* relates to the following noun phrase *A World Without Boundaries* as a subject to a subject predicative: *The Art Shoppe is a world without boundaries*. (Rush, 1998:158)

– often implies “referential equivalence” (Leech, 1966:149). Any comparison of the relations between independent noun phrases and other elements in the text must obviously take into account possible variations in the ‘translation’ into discursive style, while still maintaining the implied meaning of the disjunctive expression.¹²

Very common has become “the no-frills advertisement”, a style, Ghadessy claims (1988:58), that is increasingly common in British newspapers. This “no-nonsense” style is achieved through an abundance of short sentences devoid of adjectival hype, which suggest in a simple direct manner a wide range of products. As Ghadessy notes, these no-nonsense ads avoid the flamboyance, the visual and verbal cleverness, and the linguistic innovations typical of luxury product advertisements, yet they still make use of common advertising features, like disjunctive grammar.¹³

Leech specifies (1966:127) that the most interesting part of the noun phrase is unquestionably the premodifying part, for it displays very unusual features of structure, for it displays unusual features of structure. According to Leech, the noun phrase has basically two forms of premodification which can be summarized as follows: the premodifies either imparts specific information about the product, hence it has a classifying function, or else it is used for an evocative, subjective effect and has a descriptive function.¹⁴

Specialty magazines, noted for their technical and scientific writing styles, make frequent use of classifying premodifiers; however, this use is not limited exclusively to technical magazines as the following body copy excerpts (Rush, 1998: 161) from ads in *US* and *Good Housekeeping* magazines show: ...*Sport-tuned suspension and a 1.5 liter turbocharged Alpha engine...* (Hyundai Scoupe Turbo), ... the new *Resistal porcelain enamel tri-layer base [...]*

¹² Rush (1998:159) offers two readings for the headline of an ad for ‘Cover Girl’. The headline has two noun phrases and a prepositional phrase: *Cover Girl. The most natural kind of beauty. For every kind of skin.* Possible readings for the two noun phrases are: *Cover Girl gives you the most natural kind of beauty* (where *Cover Girl* is the subject and *the most natural kind of beauty* is the direct object) and *You can get the most natural kind of beauty with Cover Girl* (both phrases are adjuncts to the verb *can get*: *the most natural kind of beauty* functioning as direct object and *with Cover Girl*, as a prepositional phrase). Variants will increase in number if the prepositional phrase is also brought into discussion. An example: *Cover girl gives you the most natural kind of beauty and is suitable for every kind of skin.*

¹³ This example for the L.L. bean catalogue (taken from Rush, 1998:160) is very convincing: *No traffic. No crowds. No hassles.[...] Turtlenecks and toboggans. Christmas trees. Christmas tweeds. All time classics and one-of-a-kinds. Toys for kids. Toys for kids at heart. Old favorites. New colors...*

¹⁴ This categorization follows grammarians’ traditional binary classification of adjectives, e.g. Curme (1977) designates adjectives as “limiting” and “descriptive”, Coates (1971) uses the terms “peripheral” and “central”, Marchand (1966), “transpositional” and “copula”, etc.

the new *Resistal* concept of *non-stick* cookware from T-Fal ... (T-Fal Resistal). Leech (1966: 127) points out that the use of “technical premodifiers” is particularly frequent in the copy of scientific and technological communications, and Quirk (1976: 172) notes that the use of this form of premodification has been subjected to much criticism and that post modification would be preferred. However, Leech (1966: 128) argues that the ‘translation’ of premodifiers into postmodifiers causes a semantic change.

While the classifying premodifier in advertising copy usually gives information about the product, the descriptive premodifier and postmodifier is mainly used to give colorful and attractive descriptions of the product and service, and so communicates more on an emotive level (Rush, 1998: 161). A common feature of the noun phrase in advertising English is the abundance of premodifying comparative and superlative adjectives: *this huge, better-educated, better-able-to-buy group, a healthier way to bake, dramatically clearer, smother, healthier skin*, etc.¹⁵

Another distinctive feature of the noun phrase in advertising English is the high frequency and variety of compound premodifiers. Leech (1966: 137) states that “in advertising English, lexical restraints on compound formation are less stringent than elsewhere”. The possibilities of creating new and unusual compounds in advertising copywriting are unlimited: *Its unique, sure-grip handle... those hard-to-reach places... Spring-mounted twin blades... plus the exclusive Lubra-smooth™ strip...* (Gillette)¹⁶

An unusual characteristic of advertising language is the tendency to place the product (or trade) name in first or early position in lengthy designations. A case in point is *the Gillette Sensor for Women refillable razor*. A

¹⁵ Rush (1998: 162) notes that the comparative adjectives used in the above examples share an unusual feature: the absence of a basis for comparison. Other typical characteristics noted by Rush are the frequent use of vivid premodifying adverbs: *noisily crisp celery, astonishingly quiet* (Whirlpool dishwashers), *touchingly fresh and healthy* (Jergens soap), the use of alliteration: *fabulously fresh french footwear*, or the use of repetition: *We've come a long, long way* (Virginia Slims cigarettes). The use of repetition, remarks Rush, in the noun phrase to evoke an emotive response in the reader is not, however, as frequent as the more common practice of combining a laudatory adjective (i.e. descriptive) with one or more adjectives with a concrete meaning (i.e. classifying): *gentle, hypoallergenic, waterproof protection* (Coppertone suntan lotion for children)

¹⁶ Beauty ads are notorious for their abundant use of premodifying compounds; *fashion fresh color, heat-activated proteins, ultra-nourishing Olay fluid*. The following formations are more exotic: *this patented, ours-only formula, a patent-pending Carecils Excellence brush*. For obvious reasons, words suggesting water and moisture, like hydration and its derivatives, are prevalent in beauty ads: *hydro-tinting emulsion, alpha-hydroxy system*, etc. Leech (1966:138) also mentions an interesting formation in which we have ‘compounds within compounds, that is, compounds which have another compound as first element: *farmhouse-fresh, coffee-pot fresh, brand-new-clean*, etc.

rather uncommon feature is the unusual position of the adjective *refillable* in relation to the complex proper name, *Gillette Sensor for Women*, which can be categorized as a noun modifier. As we have seen above premodifying nouns are normally placed immediately before the head of the noun phrase (Greere, 2002: 65), which is not the case here. By placing the brand name in first (or early) position in the noun phrase, the copywriter gives prominence to the identity of the company rather than the product's benefits or qualities.

Grammarians and linguists have attempted to explain the word-order of premodifying adjectives in noun phrases from various points of view: semantic, formal, generative, and psycholinguistic. However, in complex constructions (*New Purina Dog Chow* ®*Brand Dog Food Senior Formula*) the relationship between the premodifiers in unbroken constructions is not evident at first glance (Rush, 1998: 167). The unusual position of the trade and product names at the beginning of the noun phrase creates an ambiguity that is difficult to clarify. Quirk et al. (1985: 1343) specify that "obscurity in premodification exists only for the hearer or reader who is unfamiliar with the subject concerned and who is not therefore equipped to tolerate the radical reduction in explicitness that premodification entails".¹⁷

Finally, the following striking uses of complex premodifiers illustrate the high degree of flexibility allowed the advertising copywriter: 'Make Him Drop The Remote Control' Red (Clairol Ultress hair color), 'Kick Down The Door And Bedazle Him' Blonde (idem), or I Can't Believe It's Not Butter! Spray (Artificial butter spray). It is interesting to note that, despite these premodifiers' complexity, they still conform to the binary classification of adjectives: descriptive and classifying.

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¹⁷ Some more examples that further illustrate the complexity of nominal constructions with the product name or trade name: *the new Cover Girl Clean SkinCare Collection*, *the Whirlpool Quiet Wash Plus dishwasher*, *New Nivea Visage Advanced Vitality Crème*, etc.

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ONLINE IDENTITY OF A LOCAL YOUNG COMMUNITY

DIANA ROXANA COTRĂU

ABSTRACT. This paper aims to verify whether the discourse features of face-to-face teen talk are detectable in electronic interaction and whether a local group identity can be built online. With this in view, we chose to study the messages posted to a Romanian teen magazine Forum debate by a number of adolescent contributors.

INTRODUCTION

Teenagers construct or play out their identities mainly through talk. Congregating into same-sex or mixed-sex peer groups to talk while performing some sort of age specific activities is one of the main ways in which boys or girls learn the appropriate social and linguistic gender roles.

Studies on adolescent speech have revealed some age specific linguistic universals (especially among working class youth) delineating teen talk as a distinct variety. On the other hand, there is linguistic variation within the variety as determined by gender and the traditional binary roles teenagers are socialized into either by the significant others (parents, siblings, close relatives) or under peer pressure.

Offline adolescent talk has undergone consistent and insightful analysis by several sociolinguists such as William Labov, Jenny Cheshire, Jennifer Coates, Susanne Romaine, Janet Holmes, and Deborah Cameron. Most of them used ethnographic methods by focusing on marked groups to highlight the phonological, morphological, syntactic or semantic features that set off teenagers' speech as a distinct variety. In addition, they scrutinized the macrolinguistic peculiarities of teen talk such as verbal play and display, conflict talk or innovative propensities. More recently, however, new types of interaction as engendered by new modes of communication have emerged and dutifully fallen under the scrutiny of sociolinguists. Such online discourse forms as email, chat, weblogs or forum debates have provided rich ground for linguistic exploration (Crystal 2001; Herring 2000, 2001).

Teenagers in Romania, as elsewhere, were quick to pick up this new type of communication and with technical expertise they have managed to use it as an age-specific instrument for conveying private or public messages. Engaging in forum debates as a way of expressing individualities and thus

creating identities has become one of the reasons why many teenagers spend long hours in front of Internet terminals. In fact, communicating online has been, for some years now, one of the main articulations of teen activity. We intend to verify if online teen talk retains any of the gender variations of face-to-face teen speech as remarked upon by sociolinguistics. Our study will examine a local (Romanian) brand of Internet discussion and try to assess the validity of some of the recent sociolinguistic surveys on cyberspace communication theorizing that by comparison to face-to-face talk, Internet discussions are more democratic¹ and equable and gender variations are leveled almost to non-existence.

It is also our intention to check if, besides the gender characteristic markers filtering through a medium which affords quasi-anonymity, there's substance to another theory upheld by linguists: that teenagers have innovative powers as linguistic trendsetters (Trudgill) and that their technical know-how has produced solutions to linguistic interaction in a constraining medium (the screen has spatial limits, the medium doesn't allow for the paralinguistic cues which help along conversation: kinesics, proxemics and other backchannel behaviour).

METHOD

We have chosen to analyze the messages posted to the *Bravo* teen magazine electronic Forum debate at *bravonet.ro*. The *Bravo* Forum index featured 5 topics: *Welcome*, *Scoala* [School], *Artistul Favorit* [Favourite Artist], *Love and Sex*, *Fan cluburi* [Fan Clubs], each of which is subdivided into narrower subtopics at the users' suggestions. For our analysis we selected the topic *School* with the following subtopics: *Ce'i aia școala?????* [What is that ... school?], *Se apropie Bacul* [The Bacalaureate is approaching], *Literatura* [Literature], *Testele naționale* [National Tests], *Profi și materii kre nu ne plac* [Teachers and subjects we don't like], *Atei sau credeți în D-zeu?* [Atheist or do you believe in God?], *Glumitze nevinovate pentru profi și profe!* [Harmless jokes for teachers], *Amintiri din copilărie... un profesor ideal* [Childhood memories ... an ideal professor], *La ce licee vă bate gândul să mergeți??* [What highschools are you thinking of going to?], *Școala ideală* [The ideal school], *Care e cea mai mică notă luată de voi?* [What was your lowest mark?], *Ce materii vă plac mai mult la școală?* [What subjects do you like best at school?], *Materia preferată* [Your favorite subject]. The messages posted for subtopic one: *Ce'i aia școala?????* [What is that ... school?] provided

¹ Graddol and Swann (1989: 175) cf. Susan Herring in Jennifer Coates (ed.), *Language and Gender. A Reader*.

the material for our sociolinguistic analysis. At the time of our examination it featured a number of 48 replies over a period of approximately one month (March 25 - April 27, 2005).

RESULTS

We counted 19 authors of messages, of which 12 were identified as girls and 7 as boys. The main clue to their identification was the users' nicknames. The following were classified as female contributors based on the specifically feminine names and suffixes: *iullia*, *deiutza*, *flaviutza*, *carmina*, *kimalaya*, *linkin-parkytza*, ****sweetdreams*, *HotLips*, *siby*, *alina4blue*, *sweety*, *imaginary*. The 7 contributors identified as males were: *pushtyu*, *blondu*, *dj-oq*, *cr4zy*, *Guest*, *azazy*, *bogd_an*. There was some amount of uncertainty surrounding *tourMeQuin* and *imaginary*, whose nicknames alone did not suffice to positively identify him/her as either male or female. However, the messages posted by them contained deictic and pronominal clues that allowed for a secure classification as girls. Anyhow, the failure to correctly identify *tourMeQuin* or *Imaginary* as either female or male wouldn't have been likely to affect decisively the general results of our analysis.

Likewise, in what concerns their age range based on the contents of the messages we were able to neatly categorize them as 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th graders. What has facilitated such close identification was the fact that most of the debate referred to the Capacitate (the national tests taken by 8th graders in Romania for admittance to highschools) and its aftermath (comparisons between life in secondary and high schools and related issues).

We were able to supplement the identities of the individual contributors by means of their locations. Some of the online interlocutors informed exactly on their geographical residence: *București*, *Severin*, *Tg. Jiu*, *Iași*, *Rm. Vîlcea*. Others were more equivocal, vague or even cryptic about their provenance and location: *in the backstreets of a lost city*, *my name is Luca*, *I live on the second floor*, *Tokyo ☺*, *everywhere*, *home*, *somewhere in a club*.

Of the 48 messages, 18 were followed by directly addressed responses in a one-to-one type of interaction consisting in dyadic pairs, three engendered longer transactions with several interactants, while the rest were simply contributions to the overall debate without singling anyone out for their addressee. There were 10 mixed exchanges, 3 male-to-male and 5 female-to-female.

The length of the messages was overall more or less balanced. However, the messages posted by the female interactants slightly exceeded in number and length those contributed by the boys.

In terms of the lexicographemes we noticed the use of emoticons². Their incidence was distributed more or less equally between the girl- and boy-interactants.

Trebuie sa rezisti ☺ [You have to make it]

We also noted frequent instances of excessive punctuation:

Cum sa zici k ti-e dor d sc????????)))))) [How can you say that you miss school]

Copilaria = scoala!!!!!! [Childhood = school]

Or, alternately, lack of punctuation:

si sa se termine mai rpd capacitatea k o sa cadem psihic [let the capacitate finish sooner or we will have breakdowns]

Orthography rules are redefined and new norms are inaugurated and then reinforced through repetitive and, eventually, regular use.

There is a fair amount of play with capitals: *HotLips, tourMeQuin, SCOALA*.

The spelling of words is also innovative.

- one letter for one syllable: *k* for *că* in *dak* [if]; *k* for *ca* in *k-lumea* [cool]; *k* for *ku* in *akm* [now]; *d* for *de* [of]
- two letters for one phoneme: *tz* for *ț*; *sh* for *ș*
- letter replacements: *k* for *c* in *inkolo* [further on]
- acronyms and abridgements: *sc* for *școala* [school]; *pt* for *pentru* [pt]; *cls* for *clasa* [class, form]; *lic* for *liceu* [highschool]; *knd* for *cînd* [when]; *kr* for *care* [which, who]; *dekt* for *decît* [rather than]; *rpd* for *repede* [soon, quickly].

The slang of young people is the basic linguistic layer which the teenage debaters innovate on and play with in the messages posted. We have encountered 'classical' slang forms as well as innovations: *profu'* (short for profesorul) [teacher]), *Capacu* (for Capacitate), *fitze* [airs], *nașpa* [bad], *marfă* [cool].

² David Crystal has elaborated an almost exhaustive list of emoticons used in Internet interaction and their expressive equivalents. They are placed after the final punctuation mark, and are read sideways: : -) :- (or ☺)))) ☹(((((. They are used to get round the absence of kinesic and proxemic features: pleasure, humour: : -) sadness: :- (winking: ; -) crying: ; - (confused: % - (shocked: :- o sarcastic: :-).

DISCUSSION

The number of replies posted, as well as the consistency of the messages, is perhaps further proof to the observation that teenagers spend today large amounts of time in online interactions (Crystal, Calvert, Herring, Savicki). What is the appeal of this type of communication? One possible reason is that at an age when teenagers are psychologically sensitive to group affiliations, this medium supplies teenagers with a literally inestimable number of association opportunities and choices from among a global range. On the other hand, it enables them to disclose more self-assuredly some of their thoughts, for the medium offers them more protection than they can possibly have in face-to-face conversation. They can contribute to these debates anonymously if so they wish, they can build for themselves an imaginary identity or they can merely disclose a minimum of demographic details about their real persons. Thus, whereas the private/public divide is blurred and individual identities become flexible, the group identity, on the other hand, is construed and reinforced by the discourse features permeating all, or most of, the messages posted. They build as well as reproduce the identity of a virtual community of a sociocultural and genealogic group. This community is held together by shared understandings prompted by communal affiliations, and social and cultural beliefs all of which are manifest at language level.

At the discourse surface the communal linkage is ensured by the conventionalized forms of expression shared by the members of the community. These expressions can be in the form of emoticons, acronyms or language play. If taken separately, we can start with the emoticons and compare the findings mentioned in sociolinguistic literature so far with those in the present study. Besides functioning as substitutes for the expressive agents in face-to-face conversation, which are non-functional in the electronic medium, emoticons have been found to be used more often by girls than by boys (Witmer & Katzman). However, others (Rodion 1997) have argued against conceptualizing male and female language use in terms of binary opposition. Our study tends to agree with the risk of contrasting girls' and boys' use of emoticons. We have found that both use them, however, with functional differences. With girls emoticons are employed to express emotions and feelings, to initiate new lines of talk, to elicit talk or response. With boys, emoticons are used either to soften some of the forceful or imperative contributions: *scoala e ca armata ... trebuie sa rezisti ☺* [school is like the army ... you have to endure] or, to weigh down some of the patronizing overtones of the boys' messages. They are clearly

an effort to mitigate the opinionated and experienced online identities they assume within a speech community where girls ask for advice by self-positioning themselves as anxious, inexperienced or apprehensive.

A possible and a simplistic explanation for the high incidence of the abridgements are the spacial constraints of the medium and the time-consuming process of writing messages. Conveying a message in writing takes obviously more than it would take the same message in face-to-face communication. So, a possible explanation for abridgements is the wish to reduce the writing time and to save screen space. However, the medium constraints are not the sole agents responsible for abridgements. Some of the abridgements are consecrated, whereas others are novel and ingenious and may perform a different function. The abridged items, which can be easily decrypted by the online debate interlocutors, pose problems to the outsiders. On the one hand they may be unintelligible at first to non-members, on the other hand, their regular and conventionalized occurrence within the group is an online instance of speech convergence (Hudson) and accommodation.

The acronyms are equally ritualistic. They have a high incidence and are codified and are part of the interactional routines. For instance, *k-lumea* occurs 5 times in 4 messages by different posters. The reason for this could be the offline peer pressure that makes the in-group language of a teen speech community highly conventionalized. If in the 'real' world teenagers congregate in close-knit, albeit hierarchical (Labov, Goodwin), groups who share a large amount of inside information, in this virtual 'existence' the debate interactants are bound in a uniplex relation (Milroy). They only know each other to the extent to which they disclose demographic information about themselves (age, sex, location) and are bound by the common knowledge underlying their debate: school information and related topics - tests, secondary school and high school life, etc.

The language use is indeed gender marked. Most of the girls' messages featured hedges: *Mie una mi-e un pic frica* [I for one am a little scared], or questions by which they do not ask for factual information rather than solicit advice. As well, the girls were more likely to express and acknowledge their emotions:

e.g. *e cva nou si mor de frik knđ ma think la el!!!* [it's something new and it scares me to death when I think of it].

Other lexical items connoting emotions or more specifically fear, anxiousness, or reluctance are plentiful in girls' messages. It would seem that for most of the girls the goal of the debate is not to share their

experience rather than to vent or to work out their emotions in connection with school. To this end they use more cooperative³ language, inviting others to participate or even initiating particular lines for the discussion. By contrast, boys' contributions are constructed mainly as pieces of advice or forceful opinions delivered in a factual and concise language⁴:

SCOALA = Oz in chisoarea federala [school= Oz the federal prison]

tin sa te contrazic [I wish to contradict you]

cum sa zici k ti-e dor de sc??? [how can you say you miss school]

e cam mult spus copilaria=scoala!! [childhood=scoala is a bit exaggerated]

Boys' language is competitive⁵ rather than cooperative. In addition, they are more subversive than the girls in terms of spelling. Most of the boys' messages ignore the norms and parallel in their debate contributions their generally defiant attitude to school.

Mam gindit [I've been thinking]...*nam invatat* [I didn't study] ...
bucurate de moment [enjoy the moment]

CONCLUSIONS

Romanian teenagers, like teenagers everywhere, are spending more and more time on Internet interactions. Joining debate forums is one such favorite pastime offering them the opportunities to play with their identities, to express allegiances, and to form speech communities.

Most of the discourse features of face-to-face interaction are present in electronic discussion, too. However, teens have to use their special technical skills to substitute for the absent features of offline conversation in a constraining medium: proxemics, kinesics, back-channel behaviour. They find solutions to such hindrance that are innovative and spectacular, even while they break the traditional writing norms or even subvert them.

The repetitive breaking of norms and their replacement by novel ones as well as the conventionalization or codification of acronyms or

³ Coates, Jennifer *Gossip Revisited: Language in All-Female Groups* in Coates, Jennifer (ed.) *Language and Gender: A Reader*.

⁴ Pilkington, Jane, "Don't try to make out that I'm nice!" The Different Strategies Women and Men Use

when Gossiping" in Coates, Jennifer (ed.) *Language and Gender: A Reader*.

⁵ Smith, Dennis R. and L. Keith Williamson. 1985. *Interpersonal Communication. Roles, Rules, Strategies, and Games*. Wm. C. Brown Publishers Dubuque. Iowa.

abridgements are two of the agencies of construing a distinct variety that is typically electronic teen discussion.

Contributing with messages that cross the line between the private and the public to the debate of focal topics is a constitutive method coalescent of a speech community where cultural and social affiliations and shared understandings are the primary linking elements. This helps construe and consolidate online a distinct local identity for Romanian teens.

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“THIS IS NOT A NOVEL” BY JENNIFER JOHNSTON - DISSIMULATION OF THE CREATIVE ACT

DORINA LOGHIN

ABSTRACT. Identifying herself as an Irish writer because her "preoccupations are [those] of an Irish person," six of Johnston's novels contain elements of the Big House, featuring aristocratic Anglo-Irish families in decline; all her novels feature Irish settings. However, Johnston is resistant to labels because "we are all diminished" by them (Keynote Address, Culture 11), and she resists categorization as a Big House writer, a common critical response to her work, which she terms a "sort of backwater" (Perrick, Interview 3). Johnston's novels generally feature characters from privileged backgrounds; in fact, *Shadows on Our Skin* (1977) is her only novel to date to feature a working-class protagonist. Johnston loads her prose with literary allusions: Irish, British, Russian, and German authors are included, and she quotes from nursery rhymes and popular songs. Johnston's novels are characteristically delivered from multiple points of view; usually the story is told in part by the protagonist in the first person, by an outsider to the character's story, who watches the character's progress in life detachedly, or by the author herself, with pretended-detachment, this time.

Johnston's refusal to sentimentalize Ireland or the characters she creates forces her readers to deal with Ireland's complicated issues. Further, by creating female protagonists who themselves author texts, Johnston is revising a national literary tradition that has fictionalized women for political ends and has excluded women from active participation in public life, including literary work. She implicates the reader in the experiences she depicts through her stylistic and thematic choices: by disrupting conventional expectations brought by the reader to her texts, that reader is forced to reconsider his or her position—not only to the text but to the substance of the story as well. *This is Not a Novel* is one more example in this respect.

The genre known as "Anglo-Irish literature" - mostly written in Ireland by members of the English Protestant Ascendancy and by the emergent Irish middle-class - began, handily enough, in 1800 with *Castle Rackrent*, Maria Edgeworth's sparkling novella about three generations of roistering squireens. It set the benchmark for "the Big House novel", playing off the posh landlord classes against the wily peasantry. More recent elaborations of the theme are David Thomson's moving *Woodbrook*, Aidan Higgins's *Langrishe Go Down* (adapted as a fine TV play by Harold Pinter) and the novels of Jennifer Johnston and William Trevor.

What Andreas Huyssen famously, if prematurely, captioned as "after the great divide" remains a vexing boundary in this attenuated moment of the "post." Predicated on male mystique, the divide has long demanded tricky footwork of female scholars. Not only has it effectively positioned them on one side as women and on the opposite as intellectuals, but each side has also required additional manoeuvring, reminiscent of the sort of deft two-step performed by female modernists. We have only to recall Woolf, Stein, Mansfield, Barnes, and Rhys who denounced a male monopoly of the arts while they endorsed, if not embraced outright, the movement's strong anti-woman sentiment in their criticism of the cult of domesticity and in their striking ambivalence for first-wave feminism's championing of political reform as the primary means of enfranchisement.

The resulting legacy meant that the fissures present in the opening decades of the twentieth century carried over to later decades and generations of feminists, in particular academic feminists who claimed legitimacy in literature departments whose disciplinary status was beholden to high modernist ideology. Literature as a worthy object of analysis relied on modernist decrees on the autonomy of those celebrated urns and expressive icons the unique artist had fashioned.

In 2002, appears Jennifer Johnston's *This Is Not A Novel*, with which, one might think, the writer proclaims her declaration of independence to modernity and follow the 'natural' (?) line of progress towards postmodernism. But has this really happened? Has Jennifer Johnston listened to the 'impositions of the epoch' that urge the artist to follow the line and move towards dimensions which would comply to the norms of contemporary literature? Can this text be rendered postmodernist de facto? By declaring its text 'not a novel', one might be at once tempted to try to fit it into another area of *écriture* : an essay, an epistolary text, or perhaps the writer's own memoirs. The plate on the door may contain a misleading message, a carefully calculated strategy to challenge the reader to attentive investigation of a text which is declared from the very beginning non-fictional. Yet, after the first pages one will come to find out that the author's 'little trick' really functioned and has fulfilled its purpose: our interest has been stirred and we have set out on the quest of discovery. Novel or not, the book starts breathing, life pulsed through its veins and the reader is snatched away from his safe anchorage in reality and finds himself carried away by the fictional tide. Between the covers, the author proposes a world of memories, recollections of facts and people from times past whose function is to heal psychological wounds inflicted by distorted consciences. We only hurt

those whom we love and it is not unusual at all that love should make a tandem with suffering. Through a procedure of embedding, at least two levels of interpretation can be delineated while examining the text: the surface level, which pertains characters and facts with a rather personal reference – which may be regarded as autobiographic or may not - and a deep level, underlying it, with indirect historical and political reference. Whoever reads any of Jennifer Johnston's texts, realises how overtly keen her concern for the troubled Irish history is, especially its shameful and painful separation from the rest of the island. Imogen's *cri de coeur* to reunite with her brother after those thirty years of absurd separation is, in fact, Ireland's ardent supplication for reunion with the mother land after three hundred years of political troubles and moral instability.

Imogen's appeal is an appeal full of expectation and hope. Hope that some day her expectation will come to an end. The exile will return. Whatever we call it, the pain is the same for those who leave no less for those who remain behind.

Her intuition tells her that her brother is still alive, waiting to return to her. She strongly believes that after a life-long expectation, they will finally be reunited, this time for good.

Imogen's story may step out of the commonly-accepted patterns of the novelistic genre and may be fashioned according to the reader's *universe d'attente*. This is not a novel, this is history, written out in a common, by common people. Unacknowledged historians whose only story is that of their own life. But by offering the story of their often unspectacular life, they contribute in the grand act of forging the history of their nation and that of mankind.

Imogen, Erin-Ireland and Johnny, Albion. Separated still, but not forever. The errors of the past (the German intruder), the ancestry (the mother and the father- either betraying or too weak to count) no longer have the last word in the matter. The past remains behind, only the future counts now; this is what Imogen has learnt from the lessons of the past. She has always felt that her brother belongs by her and time has only come to confirm this. She reaches out across the sea to take Johnny back from his exile. It was high time she did that.

Perhaps contrary to our expectations, the text reveals almost from the outset the already familiar Johnstonian fictional environment. It welcomes us with the clear-cut notification - which its author wishes "to make perfectly clear" - that "this is not a novel". With this gimmick, Mrs Johnston's accomplishes her purpose. Our interest has already been stirred. We are already standing at the door, just about to open it and peep inside a room with a view so

different, yet so alike previous other rooms we have already been in. We are about to explore a space proclaimed from the very beginning different from what we might expect it to be. In fact, Mrs. Johnston constructs by deconstructing, playing with our imagination and insinuating her purpose in a very personal way.

This time, not a novel. "I want to make that perfectly clear." For the sake of variation, I have decided to make a difference. I have grown tired of [Thackery's technique of] playing the old puppet master, and "tweak and push those wretches, who, like us, have never asked to be born..." So, if "I'm not sure into what category this piece of writing should fall", you do the trying and guess. Go ahead, you may hit it right, after all. Just a little hint, if I am permitted, my new stuff is about recalling, about going back and re-living times past, old experiences, listening to old voices, re-visiting old rooms. So, we'll blow the dust off the photo album and, eyes wide shut, indulge into what once used to be. For, now and then, we should all listen to our heart's desire, its "*cri de coeur*, a hopeful message sent into the world, like some piece of paper in a bottle dropped into the sea." A necessary ingredient in all her writings, Jennifer Johnston could not have omitted to add it again to the literary landscape of this book. This time to mark a separation and also to connect two halves which have been rendered apart abusively. Events and characters, they all come and go with the tide, swinging gently with the comings and goings of the water, of the mind.

Whatever the nature of the text, Jennifer Johnston's sea, is always there, to help, to comfort or merely to witness mutely personal or universal tragedies or successes.

On the look-out for diversification, perhaps, the author herself acknowledges that not unlike other 'craftsmen', she has adopted the 'denial' posture – perhaps a wish for stylistic diversity, for 'otherness' in style? "Nothing here is what it seems to be. *Ceci n'est pas une pomme!*"

If this is the message, then we should take it into careful consideration and put aside any preconceived ideas that we may have about it and read it accordingly. "This seems to be the only way in which I may be able to manage to send my brother a message. Tell him how much I love him and how for years I have longed to see him home again." The message becomes a long letter enclosed in a bottle and thrown out into the sea. The letter becomes literature. An artist, once again, face to face with the world.

Jennifer Johnston's novels are sprinkled with hints or explicit references to isolation. Estrangement, isolation, whatever one chooses to call it, it is a *cri de coeur*, a heart telling the world how much it would like to

un-isolate itself. And to speak out about its uniqueness and ‘otherness’, not to attract attention on them or something but simply to tell the world that it is prepared, that it is **ready** to join in. Ready to disclose sweet or bitter experiences, to tell to whoever may want to listen to it about its satisfactions or its disappointments about its loves and its betrayals, about cheating and repenting, fighting or fleeing the battle field. About life, about the world according to not to Garp, but to Stella, to Laura, to Alexander, or Grace. About the world according to the Irish people. About losing battles but never, never be defeated. Lessons of how to win the war this time, without being commander or general or king. Lessons about history.

And if we manage to see it this way, then we are very likely to start reading this book without expecting it to be a novel and then it will reveal to us its covert intention. For what difference should there be if we raked the burning coals to see some glow that may not even be there at all? Instead, we could enjoy the fire without bothering too much of its source. Wouldn’t it be much simpler?

Therefore, if “nothing here is what seems to be”, instead of attempting to make some critical anatomisation of the text - which would probably get us to conclusions undesired by either the writer or the reader – we could better take the author’s advice for granted and simply ‘swim with the text’s tide.’

We are invited to read a ‘message in the bottle’, literally speaking, as the appeal addressed to someone who has already been missing from home for too long a time.

The author having established the direction, her text takes shape right under our eyes making use again of the confessional –epistolary style, this time from the perspective of the twenty-first century high modernist writing.

Once more, the author assumes the role of character-narrator every single information being filtered through her own consciousness. The events Imogen Bailey unfolds in front of the readers’ eyes look like clippings from an old diary, which she conjured back to reality by re-living things past. The film of the character’s youth winds back to her teenage, a period which ended abruptly when her brother left the family and swim across in a gesture of self- exile. From that moment on, nothing was ever the same for any of the Baileys. Something broke irreparably, the apparent domestic equilibrium was upset. The one who will probably suffer most will eventually prove to be the strongest. As if not wishing to deny her fictional ancestry, Imogen recovers from her trauma and will try to remedy a seemingly irreversible situation by bringing her brother back to where he belongs. Emotionally similar to Imogen, are Laura Quinlan in *The Invisible Worm*, or Alexander

Moore in *How Many Miles to Babylon?*, or Caitlen in *The Sanctuary*. Stubborn in their wish to preserve their inner realm unspoilt by misunderstanding and brutal external intrusion and stubbornly determined to rebuild it when threatened or fissured or even shattered. Like her kin-characters, Imogen will be brought down to knees by life's cruel moves, but will gather up her strength to get up and, do their best to, at least, survive. They are real models of survival, examples of endurance and determination to remedy situations seemingly without solution.

Jennifer Johnston's style never really changed significantly. Although her themes broadened in range and complexity, she continued to write in the same intricate, evocative, idiosyncratic manner which was perfectly suited to her delicate rendering of places, objects and colours and their effects on the lives of her finely delineated characters. It has often been regarded as crisp and decisive, entirely appropriate for someone who still has such affection for the secure world whose disappearance she understands and laments. But the very humane clarities of this attitude do not easily survive the very different complexities of the contemporary Northern Irish troubles. In trying to come to terms with that situation in this book too, she revealed how closely dependant upon the genre of Big House fiction such a stalwart morality is.' (quoted in Nichola McFall, UG Essay, UU 2003.)

In the interview taken in October 2002 which appeared under the title 'It all worked out rather well', in *Books Ireland* (October 2002), pp.270-71, Shirley Kelly, relates that the title of the new novel, *This is not a Novel*, is an allusion to a Magritte painting, 'Ceci n'est pas une pomme' and quotes Johnston: 'So I thought, well, if that's not an apple, this is not a novel. Instead of working the joke into the text, I decided to put it on the cover. Of course a novel can be almost anything, but I did want this to be somewhat different to my previous novels. It is, in some ways, a sideways look at my family history, which is not to say that it's autobiographical, but there are some strong references to my family.' (p.270.) Johnston speaks of a letter from her maternal uncle to his father just before his death at the battle of Suvla Bay; novel set in 1970s, recalling circumstances in which Harry was forced to enlist by his father, having given scandal (presumably) through homosexuality; central character Imogen, a traumatised young woman in a mental asylum whose brother Johnny, a champion swimmer, commits suicide; speaks of World War I and its effect on Ireland; also of 1916: 'The men of 1916 were heroes, but if only they'd bided their time we wouldn't have had this endless fall-out.' (p.271.) Quotes: 'My parents' life, when I was a child, was quite turbulent, but my brother and I were protected from all that by nannies and

maids. [...&c.]. Johnston speaks of having wished to become an actress and joining Trinity Players, and consequently 'slung out'; Johnston speaks very frankly of her children and grandchild, the son of Lucy (who went to India and eighteen and returned married), now 'fallen into a big hole' who is now 'twenty, beautiful but uneducated and without any desire to do anything.' And yet, despite all this conspicuity, Johnston does not intend to write autobiography. She simply writes, The way a story - Teller should do.

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'DISSECTIONS' OF THE VERBAL MODE IN NEWS(PAPER) DISCOURSE: AN IMPRESSIONISTIC SURVEY

EVELINA GRAUR

ABSTRACT. In a period of increasing semiotic fragmentation and crossover, the fall of monomodality proclaimed by Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) in their new theory of communication is not meant to suggest any cataclysm in our daily experience of language opened by news(paper) discourse. Even if language may have lost some of its powers to the advantage of the visual mode - which is worth a thousand words - the verbal mode remains the default option for representing the world in news(paper) discourse. This article identifies some language-related issues raised by the discourse of news.

Much of the work in discourse analysis is substantiated by the assumption that *discourse* relates to language or exists in language. In a very real sense, *discourse* has to do with 'speaking' and particularly with 'speaking about'. News(paper) discourse essentially implies 'speaking/writing about' events, things and people, while the major function of newspapers as *carriers* of news discourse is referential and epistemic.

An important investigative direction in dealing with news(paper) discourse is represented by **stylistic** and **linguistic analyses**. As Norman Fairclough observed, "[w]ays in which language is used in the media may be of interest to linguists for their own sake, as evidence, for instance, of particular types of grammatical structure or particular intonation patterns" (1995: 21). Thus, many authors have looked for lexical, morphological and syntactical features that may distinguish news reporting from other styles of language; some others sought to reveal the rhetorical potential of various types of grammatical structures, punctuation and even typography.

A typical example is Crystal and Davy's early contribution in *Investigating English Style* (1969). Their ambition was to determine whether *journalese* could be a distinct style of English. Confining themselves to the language of news reporting (as opposed to features, editorials, or reviews), they reached the conclusion that "the concept of the "language of newspaper reporting" is not as meaningful as is generally assumed" and that "[t]here is not one, but a number of 'journaleses'" (1969: 172). A contrastive analysis of two articles selected from a tabloid and a broadsheet resulted in the

identification of several features: the reading tempo undisturbed by commas, the frequent use of quotation marks to indicate attributed material or merely draw the readers' attention upon individual items, a certain propensity for alliterations, which ultimately blurs the distinction between written language and spoken language, the reversal of normal subject position in the context of quotations, the frequent placement of adverbs at the front of the sentence in order to vary emphasis within a given sentence, a much more complex pre- and post-modification in the nominal group than normally encountered in speech and writing.

A more recent preoccupation involved the use of contracted forms (CFs) in British newspapers. Mike Reynolds and Giovanna Cascio (1999) investigated whether the prescriptive tone in the manuals for journalists regarding the usage of auxiliary and negative contraction squared well with practice. Looking at three distinct genres in three British newspapers (450 articles from 1996/7 and 80 articles from 1976), the authors detected an obvious change in the 'linguistic manners' of journalism, namely an increase in the usage of CFs in the past 20 years. However, they could not say for sure to what extent this tendency could be regarded as "evidence of a general social phenomenon, of a relaxation from formality" (1999: 193).

Starting from the assumption that the events reported in newspapers should be both new and true, Torben Vestergaard (1999: 89) was concerned with how particular syntactic constructions could be put to use in newspaper discourse in order to "help confer the appearance of truth upon the claims made in the news report". Observing that free adjunct constructions are extremely popular with newspaper discourse, the author was intrigued by the semantic indeterminacy of some free adjuncts and interpreted the phenomenon as "an effect of their form and position, which in a great many cases make it possible to leave the nature of the semantic link between the matrix clause and the dependent clause unspecified" (ibid. 94). He argued that the free adjunct construction in newspaper discourse "helps establish the basis of facticity for the more spectacular claims which are the *raison d'être* for the news story" (ibid. 102). Besides the very large group of adjuncts indicating temporal or casual links (*Speaking in Bonn, Mr Zyuganov said: [...]* or *A complex and intriguing man who once wanted to be a Latin teacher, and who hikes for pleasure, Cohen does not quite fit in either political party...*), some others could be classified as specification, circumstance or addition. Considering the example *At 38, Hoddle will be the youngest England manager and the least experience [...]*, Vestergaard comments: "the function of the free adjunct is

clearly to provide evidence (Data, in Toulmin's terms) for the assessment (Claim) made in the matrix clause, and interestingly, whereas the information given in the free adjunct is factual, i.e. information about which there can in principle be absolute certainty, one of the two claims in the matrix is an evaluation, i.e. a claim about which there can never be absolute certainty" (ibid. 97-98). Vestergaard also argues that although free adjuncts are basic suppliers of factual background to evaluations and interpretations, there are also cases "where the free adjunct expresses the consequent rather than the antecedent in a causal relationship"; hence the roles played by the adjunct and the matrix clause are reversed, that is the adjunct expresses interpretations or evaluation, while the matrix clause provides the factual background: *Hong Kong has lost 30 per cent of its British population in just nine months, abruptly reversing what had been an end-of-empire gold rush* (p. 99).

One type of free adjunct that "lends itself admirably to supplying the kind of fact that journalism is so fond of" is called "accompanying circumstance" (e.g. *Born 88 years ago in the terminal London suburb of Enfield, Lewis himself now lives outside Braintree in a parsonage*) and its high frequency among the author's selected examples is related to "its capability of providing factual background information to the more salient information central to the story" (ibid. 100).

Even more puzzling examples such as the following one are not dismissed as language abuses: *Born in Hungary in 1951, Schiff can earn over \$8,000 a performance, and half the year travelling the global concert circuit pays for flats in London and Florence, plus New year jaunts up the Nile* (ibid. 101). Vestergaard notes that although the information offered propositionally is factual, one may distinguish degrees of factuality involved. Thus, the fact conveyed in the non-finite adjunct clause is "absolutely unremarkable" as compared to the more spectacular facts related in the finite part of the sentence. "What this means is that the adjunct clause in such cases serves to provide the neutral background of facticity in which the more sensational information given in the rest of the sentence is anchored. Finally, in this case, there may also be pragmatic implicature at work, in that the information of (b)-(d) [*Schiff can earn over \$8,000 a performance; This pays for flats in London and Florence plus New York jaunts up the Nile*] somehow appears surprising seen against the background of the information of (a) [*Schiff was born in Hungary in 1951*]. Thus, the very lack of noteworthiness of the proposition conveyed by the adjunct clause in itself contributes to making the information of the matrix sentence all the more noteworthy and hence tellable" (ibid. 101).

Rolf Herwig (1999) is convinced that 200 years of news reporting in *The Times* can provide enough evidence for how several generations before us linguistically coped with dramatic events such as war. Following Finegan’s idea that “linguistic features serve particular communicative purposes and that functionally related linguistic features tend to co-occur in particular kinds of texts”, the author investigated the linguistic profile of war reports from 1792 to 1982 by checking a selection of six texts (of comparable length) against the following list of features:

- connoted lexical items: formal and informal
- adjectives and adverbs expressing emotion/evaluation
- disjuncts indicating speaker attitude
- unconventional expressive metaphors
- technical war vocabulary
- markers of validity of content (disjuncts, epistemic modality)
- first and second person reference
- rhetorical questions
- exclamations
- sentence complexity

The table below presents a summarized version of his findings in which all values are to be read as mere tendencies at a certain moment.

Table 1.

Changing language in war reports published in *The Times* (after Herwig 1999: 230)

1) Features expressing emotion/evaluation	Text 1 1792 (988 words)	Text 2 1854 (796 words)	Text 3 1863 (1112w ords)	Text 4 1917 (724 words)	Text 5 1944 (919 words)	Text 6 1982 (799 words)
• adj., adv., metaphors per 100 words;	1.5	1.3	4.1	3.4	2.5	1.1
• formal per 100 words	3.1	0.2	2.7	0.8	0.6	0.3
• informal per 100 words	4.6	2.2	6.9	4.8	3.1	1.5
All features of 1) per 100 words						
2) Technical war vocabulary per 100 words	1.0	1.6	1.2	1.5	2.3	2.3

3) Reference to sources; epistemic modality per 100 words	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.2	0.3	3.2
4) Sentence complexity	27.0	21.7	43.4	19.2	33.0	19.2
• words/sentence	3.5	2.1	4.1	2.4	2.2	9.6
• subord. - coord. ratio in clauses	2.5	2.2	1.7	3.4	3.8	2.5
• finite-non-finite ratio in clauses						
5) First/second person reference per 100 words	0.4	6.0	0.8	3.1	0.3	0

Starting from the assumption that linguistic categories should be studied in real discourse, Linda R. Waugh (1995) approached the problem of reported speech in journalistic discourse. Given the high informative nature of news reporting and its focus on issues related to referentiality, truth, reliability and accountability, reported speech has developed its own functional nature, different from that performed in fictional narrative or face-to-face conversation. Thus, it was first interpreted as "an index of [...] a specific, really existing, original text (outside of the quoting text) which was created by some other real person or persons at a real given time and place, that is, in a real, original speech event" (1995: 135). Besides attesting the reality of the original text, reported speech also "claims that it is really affected by the object represented in terms of its representation of it" (ibid. 136).

From a representational point of view, direct speech performs a metonymical function, allowing another voice than that of the journalist's to be expressed in the text. The other major type, indirect speech, is less generous with the introduction of textual voices, allowing only that of the reporter, the reported speaker's voice being deprived of autonomy.

The categorial orthographic distinction between the two major types of reported speech - direct speech is visually distinguished by its placement between quotation marks and/or printed in italics, while indirect speech remains undifferentiated typographically - is linked to a set of grammatico-syntactic-discursive characteristics:

- prototypically, both direct and indirect speech are clausal; the typical instance of reported speech is accompanied by a framing clause with syntactic identification of the reported speaker. Journalistic texts, however, often deviate from these formats by displaying non-full clausal instances of direct and indirect discourse. The most common type distinguished is that in which direct and indirect speech are combined to make a full clause. The prototypical mixture is given by “a sentence which begins with indirect speech (or indirect speech with the journalist’s report) and then ‘slips’ [...] into direct speech” (p. 148).

- direct speech is typically paratactic, while indirect speech is typically hypotactic; deviations from these formats are frequent in journalistic texts and include instances of direct speech which are paratactic, possibly including deictics shifted from the original, as well as instances of indirect speech which are hypotactic and which often resort to the inclusion of deictics anchored to the reported speech event.

Waugh also distinguishes an iconic status of reported speech in that “it claims some similarity between the instance of reported speech and the original utterance” (p. 155). In this respect both direct and indirect speech are iconic indexes. This similarity, however, reads differently in that direct speech is more isomorphic and replicative than indirect speech, which is more selective, transformative and interpretative. As Waugh has put it, if indirect speech “says ‘here’s my [i.e., the journalist’s] rendition of what the person said’, [...] direct speech says ‘here’s what the person said’” (p. 156).

As language is a profound social phenomenon, all linguistically oriented approaches have gradually started to consider in more detail the correlations between variable linguistic features and variable aspects of social context. Thus, some authors have embarked upon **sociolinguistic analyses** of news(paper) discourse with the aim to discover lexicogrammatical reflexes of various social categories.

A. H. Jucker (1992), for instance, explored the differences in the style of down-market, mid-market and up-market newspapers as a reflex of the class-based readership profiles of their target audiences. Investigating the variation in what he terms “noun phrase name appositions” (nominal groups which include both a proper name and some descriptive material typically identifying the individual in terms of his/her vocation or some other social category), he discovered that the appositions stratify according to the three categories of newspapers identified: the down-markets favour pre-posed appositives with zero articles, the up-markets prefer post-posed appositives

and the mid-markets follow the down-markets in preferring the pre-posed form, yet not so consistently as the down-markets.

Interactional sociolinguistic studies aimed to investigate the social construction of the person in discourse. Rejecting the idea of a direct-line communication between journalists and any audience, Ron Scollon (1998) proposed the view of newspaper and television news stories as polarized social interactions. Thus, at the production end, journalists and their subsidiary personnel carry on their social interaction as a spectacle for the consumption of readers and viewers; at the reception end, readers and viewers are using the spectacle as an active component of the construction of their own social environments and social interactions. In television and newspaper discourse, producers and editors are constructed as framers of communicative events, the stories themselves. Presenters and sub-editors are constructed as those with the power to delegate authorship and principalship rights to reporting journalists on specific topics. Bylines are interpreted as forms of "delegation frame" and not as author signatures. Even if they identify reporters, they project the voice of the editor and not that of the author: "[t]he function of bylining may be argued to be that of delegation of the following space and (apparently) of the sentiments and ideas expressed there to the author thus named. It is a way of setting this space apart from the generalized editorial space otherwise assumed to be the territory of, and to express the voice of the editor of the newspaper. It not only sets apart, it also positions the author of what appears in that space as secondary to the editors who set the frame" (1998: p.194). Newsmakers are constructed with only a limited voice as delegated by reporters, and no authorship rights. Moreover, they are frequently handed full responsibility or principalship for the words crafted by journalists as their own.

Critical linguists such as Fowler (1991), Hodge and Kress (1993), or Fairclough (1995) were particularly attracted by the ideational and the interpersonal function of language. They generally adopted a multifunctional view of news(paper) discourse, always simultaneously representing the world and enacting social relations and identities. Their basic premiss was that "coding events in language entails choice among the models [...] which the grammar makes available, and that such choices are potentially ideologically significant" (Fairclough 1995: 25). Hence the constant consideration of news texts as *linguistic constructs* carrying ideological implications. Ultimately, what matters to most readers of news texts is perhaps not *what* journalists say about the world, but *how* they decide to say it.

Starting from the newspaper coverage of the salmonella-in-eggs affair in the winter of 1988/9, Roger Fowler (1991) gradually noticed a very active participation of the press in constructing and developing “the food poisoning scare” sustained by a hysterical discourse characterized by:

- a vocabulary of ‘hazard’, ‘risk’, ‘confusion’, ‘negativity’, ‘danger’
- a multiplicity of rather unfamiliar technical and medical terms designating ‘types of bacteria and viruses’, ‘infections and diseases’, various ‘chemicals and minerals’
 - a mechanism of simple and memorable formulaic phrases (e.g. Determiner + Modifier + Head - *the salmonella crisis, the salmonella affair, the salmonella-in-eggs crisis, the salmonella-in-eggs affair, the salmonella-in-eggs scandal* ; Determine + Head + Modifier- *the increase in salmonella, the threat of salmonella; more complex patterns such as Britain’s worst water pollution case, Britain’s worst food poisoning epidemic*). Referring to this proliferous linguistic mechanism, Fowler notes: “[t]he importance of formulaic patterns in a connected body of discourse is threefold. First, formulaic patterning is cohesive in effect: recurrent patterns provide a set of stylistic ‘templates’, homogenizing the discourse. The existence of formulae in the food poisoning (etc.) discourse, and their widespread dispersal through the language of all the newspapers, provides a ‘cue’ to readers to recognize all of this as *the same discourse*. Second, formulaic phrase patterns are generative. They are an important mechanism in facilitating the generation of new instances of ‘it’ in the discourse. [...] Just to mention the third implication of formulae, they have a levelling or equating effect, causing different matters to be perceived as instances of the same thing” (1991: 173-174).

- a rhetoric of animation in which the metaphors of ‘war’ and ‘battle’ were predominant
 - a rhetoric of quantification (the readers were bombarded with very high numbers and series of recurrent verbs or nouns derived from verbs designating changes in numbers).

Semiotic analyses represent another type of approach designed to relate various linguistic properties to higher-level features of society and culture. Hartley’s *Understanding News Discourse* (1982), for instance, focuses upon the semiotic codes and conventions underlying both linguistic and linguistic aspects of news stories. The scholar discusses the impact of news values upon the treatment of topics, the role of journalists as *mediators* of reality and *translators* of news into the common-sense terms of various audiences, the personalized character of news stories, as well as the

numerous oppositions on the surface of news texts which may be assimilated to an underlying opposition between 'us' and 'them'.

Teun A. van Dijk's approach to news discourse may be located within a **cognitive theory of text comprehension**. Central to his analysis of news discourse is the concern with modelling the cognitive process by which readers understand the various elements of a text as contributing to a set of broader topics, or, in his terms, *macropropositions*. He proposes several rules of deduction or summarisation by which these macropropositions are extracted from a text – the selection/deletion of information, generalisation (1988b: 30). In the cognitive theory of discourse processing, these rules operate as effective macrostrategies that enable the reader to derive the topic from a sequence of sentences. These operations also depend on our knowledge of the world. If it were not for our shared script of a military attack, for instance, we would find it difficult to subsume proposition sequences like "US planes flew to Libya. They bombed the harbor of Berrghazi..." under a macroproposition or topic like "The US attacked Libya" (van Dijk 1988a: 14). Van Dijk's model of the news item is therefore oriented to such issues of comprehension and summarisation rather than to a close description of lexicogrammatical properties. In this light, he argues that the broad semantic structure is closely paralleled by "some kind of overall syntax" which he terms *news schemata*. The role of such a schematic superstructure is to define the possible forms in which topics can be inserted and ordered in the actual text. Such a schema consists of a set of characteristic categories and a set of strategies that specify the ordering of these categories, "which may be specific for different discourse types and conventionalised and hence different in various societies and cultures (1988b: 49).

The news schema proposed by van Dijk is theoretical in the sense that many news texts do not display all categories. Strictly speaking, only Summary and Main Events are obligatory in a minimally well-formed news discourse. Categories such as Background, Verbal Reactions or Comments are optional, while others may be recursive, such as Main Events, which may be subsumed under a higher level episode node; others may be simultaneously attached to the same textual sequence.

This canonical structure is rooted in the contextual routines of news production. Thousands of news reports are produced every day under heavy constraints imposed by news gathering routines, copy editing rules, available personnel and deadlines, so there is no wonder that parts of the news text exhibit some more or less fixed and obligatory schematic functions.

Some of the proposed categories refer to actual textual spans, while others are constructs of information deduced or derived from the text through the process of interpretation. The first element of the schemata is what van Dijk, in keeping with journalistic practice, terms the *Headline* and *Lead*. With respect to these two categories, he concurs with the journalistic vocational training literature which considers them to operate in tandem and perform a summarizing function. He states: "Together they [the headline/lead] express the major topics of the text. That is, they function as an initial summary. Hence as in natural stories, we may also introduce the category *Summary*, dominating *Headline* and *Lead*. The semantic constraint is obvious: *Headline* + *Lead* summarise the news text and express the semantic macrostructure" (1988b: 53).

Other components typically invoking journalistic formulations are *Main Event*, *Consequences*, *Previous Events*, *Verbal Reactions* or *Evaluations*. The category of *Main Event* is an example of a cognitive rather than a textual category. The reader is supposed to piece together the *Main Event* from elements discontinuously presented in the unfolding text. The *Main Event* is thus not a stage in the text but an informational construct extracted from the text.

A key insight of van Dijk's analysis is that the various elements of the schemata, and especially the *Main Events*, are provided discontinuously and in instalments as the text unfolds. Thus, all the elements of the *Main Event* are not necessarily presented in one stage or textual span, but may be provided piecemeal, with interruptions, for example, by descriptions of consequences, previous events and so on. Van Dijk states: "One of the most conspicuous and typical features of topic realization or elaboration in news discourse is its instalment character. That is, each topic is delivered in parts, not as a whole, as is the case in other discourse types" (1988b: 43).

According to van Dijk, the specific ordering of these instalments is determined by "the top down principle of relevance organisation in news. This principle says that news discourse is organised so that the most important or relevant information is put in the most prominent position, both in the text as a whole and in the sentences. This means that for each topic, the most important information is present first" (ibid. 43).

In his notion of the "the top-down principle of relevance organization" as determining the structure of the news item, van Dijk recalls the "common-sense" formulations of the journalistic training texts. The notion of importance, even if construed in common-sense terms, may be incompatible with actual

story structure. Without a multifunctional theory of language, van Dijk is confined to an essentially informational view of communicative functionality.

Conclusions

There is no escape from the multifunctionality of language. With its unique capacity of doing several things at the same time - *construe human experience, enact human relationships and create discourse* – written/spoken language will continue to haunt us all.

News(paper) discourse remains one of the most powerful discourse types in contemporary society, influencing the terms of many political, economic and cultural debates. The Americans have recently come up with the idea of re-contextualizing news discourse by placing it in a special museum. The myth of news as a *transparent window onto the world* is turned visible to anyone by the relocation of the *Newseum* in a *glass building*.

Traditionally, news is *read, listened to, watched, sold and bought, written, made, produced or told*. And yet, this verbal paradigm is bound to enrich because the museum in question is ready to become another “site of engagement” (Scollon 1998) in which news, undistinguishable from its medium of reception, lends itself to a more *contemplative* type of appropriation. Unlike the traditional news-stand which guarantees the ‘freshness’ of news, the glass museum will have an embalming effect upon news(papers). Losing their aura of daily chronicles or heralds, newspapers end up substantiating - for as long as they are kept on display - the very events that were selected to represent the world. The glass summoned to dissolve optical barriers reiterates the physical distinction between *inside* and *outside*. Even if our eyes are solicited inward, our bodies remain excluded.

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LANGUAGE LOSS AND HISTORY (THOUGHTS ON THE CAUSES OF THE ASSIMILATION OF ETHNIC GERMANS IN HUNGARY)

GIZELLA T. MOLNÁR

The most significant problem for Hungarian minorities – including the German minority- is assimilation and the loss of identity: the role of the ethnic language, the cementing force of ethnic culture, has considerably weakened, despite the fact that after the changing of the political system in Hungary in 1989, the process seemed to be slowing down. This statement can be justified by the results of several investigations, according to which "*despite the differences between them, all our ethnicities have to face assimilation at an increasingly advanced level. Assimilation can be considered the main enemy for all our ethnicities...*"¹

Assimilation is a very complex process, and it can often be explained by a variety of natural causes. The mutual interrelatedness of cultures, living side by side and their possible mingling are well-known facts in cultural history. Minority cultures can enrich the culture of the majority, but most frequently the dominant culture and language have the more significant impact on the minority, thus its culture and language are forced into the background. This process is sometimes accelerated by other factors, including the growing number of mixed marriages or the effects of urbanization. These phenomena after a time might lead to a gradual identity loss in themselves, but for the minorities forced assimilation is much more abrupt and dangerous.

The spectacular loss of identity of Hungarian ethnic minorities and the decrease in the use of minority languages are to be explained within the framework of historical and political context. It was the decades after World War II when forced assimilation afflicted the minorities of Hungary and most ethnic groups were affected. Immediately after the war events the German minority found itself in a very difficult situation. Owing to the language spoken by its members as well as their family background ethnic Germans were denied of all their rights. The war was still going on in certain parts of the country when part of the ethnic Germans was deported

¹ Kende, A., Kosztandinidisz D. and Szilassy E. *Asszimiláció és kisebbségi identitás*
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to Soviet labour camps. When in 1945 the land was distributed among farmers the problem of the lack of available land for this purpose was solved by confiscating the land property of ethnic German families. Later, toward the end of 1945 there was a tendency to disown and expel ethnic Germans from the country as well. The contemporary Hungarian political system also played a role in this event: after 1945 Hungary was part of the Soviet sphere of interest and the Hungarian inhabitants were also subjected to the disadvantages of that situation." *The democratic rights of the majority are inseparably intertwined with the democratic rights of the minorities – including the German minority.*"²

The postwar measures against the ethnic Germans did not only represent the government's attempt for forced assimilation, but it was also an attempt to remove and translocate the ethnic Germans applying Stalin's principle of collective responsibility and guilt. Although, this plan was fortunately not fully completed, the deprivation of ethnic Germans of their rights resulted in the radical decrease of their number and the dramatic loss of the ethnic identity of those, who stayed within the country.

On December 24, 1945 the decree No. 12,330/1945 M.E. was proclaimed.³ Its first paragraph accused the German minority of guilt and aimed at punishing all Germans without any attempt to differentiate. " *Any Hungarian citizen is to move to Germany, who declared himself an ethnic German, or anyone, whose mother tongue was indicated as German according to the last census paper; or anyone who changed his Magyarized surname to a German name, or someone, who was a member of the Volksbund or of other German armed force (SS).*"

The decree was the outcome of a decision by the Allied Controlling Council. It was dated on November 20, 1945 and its formulation was influenced by both the international political scene and the system of interests. Although the Potsdam meeting of the Allied Powers, which took place in 1945, did not clarify the notion of collective responsibility, it made the decision that " *measures need to be taken to remove ethnic Germans from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary and they need to be relocated in Germany.*"⁴

The conference charged the governments concerned with the execution of the scheme. In Hungary the Allied Controlling Council was made responsible for the program and it was the decisions of this Council that determined for the Hungarian governments what duties they had and

² Bellér B.: *300 éves együttélés*. Budapest: 1987. p., 171.

³ Magyar Közlöny. December 29, 1945.

⁴ *Nemzetközi szerződések 1918-1945*. p. 656.

what actions were to be taken. This paper is not aimed at taking a stand concerning the often contradictory opinions of researchers on the issue of responsibility. Some of them blame the contemporary international obligations, while some others raise the question of the responsibility of the Hungarian government. Mihály Korom for example underlines the decisive role of the Allied Controlling Council, while Ágnes Tóth argues for the responsibility of the contemporary Hungarian government.⁵ On the other hand it needs to be noted that the measures which would be taken against the German minority were targeted at politically innocent people and later on the same idea of the collective punishment of an ethnic minority was applied to ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia as well. The decree was especially harmful in relation to the credibility of census procedures, since the lists of people, who were designated for translocation, were compiled using the theoretically confidential census papers. Once the trust of the people was lost it was never regained.

The execution of translocation schemes was begun in the German settlements by compiling lists of the people concerned. It was followed by action which included transporting them to the nearest railway station by force. Having been entrained the German people were to depart for Germany with one small bundle of belongings as their only possession, leaving behind everything they had possessed or achieved in life. Many of them, unable to cope with the situation, evaded the law and escaped. They tried to find refuge in the homes of Hungarian families, waiting and hoping for a better turn in their lives. They also lost everything they had, their homes, lands, all their belongings, and still, could consider themselves lucky, since they were able to remain in their homeland. Later several translocated families left their designated German homes and returned illegally to Hungary.

By decree 12,330/1945 M.E. the translocation of ethnic Germans from Hungary to the American occupation zone of Germany started in January 1946 in Budaörs and continued until June, when translocation was suspended for some time. According to an agreement, which was concluded between Hungarian and American authorities in August, translocation resumed in November 1946, but then it came to an end by late December.

⁵ Korom, M.: Az Atlanti Chartától a potsdami kollektív büntetésig. In: *A magyarországi németek hozzájárulása a közös haza építéséhez..* Academic symposium on the 50th anniversary of the expulsion of the German minority from Hungary. Budapest, 1996. and Zielbauer, Gy., Tóth Á. (eds): *Telepítések Magyarországon 1945-1948.* Kecskemét: 1993. p. 51.

In 1947-48 the process started again, but this time the destination was the Soviet occupied zone of Germany. These events were also linked to the exchange of population in Slovakia. The Hungarian families, who had to flee from Slovakia, were given new homes in the houses of the translocated German families.

In September 1948 it was Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun, Bács-Bodrog and Baranya Counties, from which whole trains of German families were sent to Germany; these actions represented the last ones in the series of the many forceful removals of ethnic Germans from Hungary. It was on October 1st of the very same year that this process was eventually terminated.⁶ Legally the status of ethnic Germans was only settled one year later. Several provisions were made in 1949-50 as to the recognition of the equal status of ethnic Germans by Hungarian law. As provided by decree No. 4,248/1949 M.T. the translocation of ethnic Germans from Hungary was officially terminated.⁷ Decree No. 4,364/1949 M.T. contains provisions regarding citizenship and ownership.⁸ Those ethnic Germans whose relocation had been ordered but was not enforced and also those who had stayed in Hungary, eventually were granted equal rights with the Hungarian population regarding place of residence and work. The new Hungarian Constitution, which was introduced in 1949, granted equal rights to all Hungarian citizens. Decree No. 84/1950 M.T. was the one, which, by revoking all former provisions regarding that issue, officially put an end to the forced translocation of ethnic Germans.⁹ Paragraph No. 3 (1) was of special significance for those Germans who had stayed in Hungary, for those who had refused to leave or who had later returned to their homeland, because it provided that *"all persons who were not subjected to removal and also those who were removed but when current provision is to take effect stayed in Hungary and reported themselves to the Hungarian authorities as required, are to be considered Hungarian citizens and have equal status with other citizens of the Hungarian People's Republic on every account."*

Despite the fact that the status of the German minority was legally regulated in 1950, the life of the people themselves did not show any considerable improvement. The main reason was the lack of democracy in the country itself, a condition, which afflicted all Hungarian citizens, including

⁶ Fehér I.: *A magyarországi németek kitelepítése 1945-1950*. Budapest:1988. p. 160.

⁷ Magyar Közlöny, September 23, 1949.

⁸ Magyar Közlöny, October 1, 1949.

⁹ Magyar Közlöny, March 25, 1950.

ethnic Germans. It took long until the status of ethnic Germans and of other ethnicities could stabilize in Hungary. Owing to the existing legal regulation the people, who had been driven away from their homes, were able to return to their home villages and they could try to adapt to the new circumstances. Those, who had refused to obey and did not leave the country, or those, who had returned from Germany with their families, were given assistance by their relatives and friends until they could regain their footing and were able to start a new life. Some families returned from Germany as early as the beginning of the 1950s while others came back in the early and mid-1960s. It took ethnic Germans several years to consolidate their situation in Hungary and start a new life.

Undoubtedly the most dramatic chapter of the joint history of Hungary and its German ethnicity was the years during and after the second world war. Sándor Balogh¹⁰ was right when saying that there are several major factors to determine the life of ethnic Germans in Hungary. These factors include the role of Hitler's Germany in Europe in the second world war, the provisions of the allied forces relating to the future of ethnic Germans in Europe, the political decisions of the allied forces regarding Central Europe, the policy of the neighbouring countries towards national minorities, and, finally, the main goals and the political ambitions of the Hungarian coalition parties. All these factors need to be considered when trying to understand the reasons why a false image of ethnic Germans came into being after 1945, which was of no help whatsoever in preventing the sorrowful events to come.

As early as before and during World War II, due to the recruiting activities of the Volksbund, part of the German minority in Hungary was accused of treason, but no idea of collective accusation emerged that early. The loyalty of ethnic Germans to the Hungarian state was not yet questioned in that period. It was only later that the entire German population of Central and Eastern Europe fell under the suspicion of treason, and it was the consequence of Hitler's ideology, according to which ethnic Germans were considered organic part of the great German nation. This idea, upon the completion of the war, logically led to the conclusion that all Germans were sinful, since they all had betrayed their own country and had joined Hitler's fascists. Consequently, the initiative of expelling the 'fascists' from Hungary, which in practice meant the forced translocation of ethnic Germans, was considered the victory of democracy in that period. Today it

¹⁰ Balogh, S.: Jelenkori népvándorlás. In: *História* 1981/3.

is evident that it was not the case. The German minority became the victim of the principle of collective responsibility, an idea, which is totally unacceptable in all modern democracies. The events that took place in postwar Hungary in relation to ethnic Germans represent a sorrowful part of Hungarian history. In addition, the opinion of Béla Bellár¹¹ is also to be noted in this respect. According to him the issue of forced translocation was not merely the problem of ethnic Germans, but it was also the problem of Hungarians, as much as it was related to the lack of democracy in the entire country.

Minority policies have always been part of the official politics, consequently, the government, which does not grant rights to any of the country's ethnic (or religious) minority is to violate the majority's rights to democracy. In addition, it also needs to be acknowledged that the sovereignty of the Hungarian government also had its own limits in that period and this condition also had an impact on the final outcome of the events.

The consequences of the principle of collective responsibility of all, of ethnic and non-ethnic Germans, an idea that dominated the political ideology after the second world war, caused irremediable damage, the consequences of which are effective until today. Hungary lost the significant majority of its German population, a minority, which used to be the largest one in the country. Researchers agree that population loss was due to war casualties, forced labour and translocation schemes, but they seem to disagree as to the extent of the loss. When calculating the loss Loránt Tilkovszky¹² seems to be the most realistic; he noted a 50% population loss. The economy and culture of Germans, who, during and after the second world war, were lost for the country for various reasons, represented an organic part of the country's economy and culture, consequently their loss represents an irreparable damage for the whole country.

As it is attested by a variety of reasons the acceleration of the process of the assimilation of the German minority in Hungary is to be considered the after-effect of forced translocation and of the enforcement of the principle of joint responsibility.

The distrust in census procedures has already been referred to in connection with the census of 1941. In addition to the fact that the German minority could no longer believe in census secrecy, the experiences of 1941 as well as the feeling of being intimidated led to the situation that the number of those who declared themselves ethnic Germans has considerably

¹¹ See footnote No. 2.

¹² Tilkovszky, L.: Botránykő, vagy hídpillér? In: Világosság, 1990/4.t

decreased. Following the population census of 1945 there was a considerable decrease in figures: less and less people declared themselves ethnic German than it had been expected when considering their actual background. Despite war casualties, forced labour and translocation schemes, approximately half of the ethnic German population remained in Hungary, all the same only a few ten thousands declared and declare themselves ethnic Germans on census papers. This is an intriguing problem, even if ethnicity and native language represent some of the most private issues of any person's life. The worst figures were those of the census data of 1949, according to which only 22,455 people were registered in Hungary with German as their mother tongue, as opposed to the figure of 475,491 given by the census of 1941. Furthermore, only 2617 people declared themselves ethnic Germans on the basis of family background. Later the situation improved slightly, but the general tendency remained and still remains unchanged.¹³

Number of ethnic Germans in Hungary

1941	1949	1960	1970	1980	1990	2001
475,941	22,455	50,765	35,594	31,231	37,511	33,792

The tendency of population decrease manifests itself not only in census figures but also in the minority's everyday life. The majority of ethnic Germans in Hungary gave up the use of their mother tongue, also abandoned their traditions and customs and brought up their children – mainly with the aim of granting them the possibility of a brighter future – to be Hungarians. Several generations of ethnic Germans grew up who did not speak German at all. (There are several examples that in certain families those children who were born before 1945 learnt the Swabian (German) language from their mother, while those children within the same family who were born after that year learnt Hungarian as their mother tongue. Thus they did not have a common language with their siblings.) The contemporary Hungarian government also contributed to the loss of the German language by closing down the ethnic schools all over the country, an act, which was justified by the officials on the one hand by the decreasing number of Germans due to translocation schemes, and, on the other hand, by the 'collective guilt' of the Germans, who, according to the

¹³ Census figures taken from Történeti statisztikai idősorok 1867-1992. Budapest:1992 and nepszamlalas2001.hu/hun/kotetek/04/tartalom.html

official ideology, needed to be punished for this. At the same time there was a general tendency to discourage the use of the German language in every sphere of life, in local administration, even in everyday discussions on the street. In addition to the strengthening of the tendency of attacking the church in general, local churches also stopped offering German-language services to the members of the community. All these factors resulted in the weakening of the position of German as mother tongue, a fact, which contributed to the acceleration of the process of assimilation. This process is often called voluntary but it can only be called so by those who do not have an in-depth knowledge of the situation. Seemingly the decision to abandon the use of mother tongue was made by the individuals and their families, but it was done for self-defense. The most important factor in establishing self-identity for any minority is the language; speakers of the same language form a language community. If this community becomes dysfunctional and the continuity of ethnic socialisation is disrupted, it means that the space for ethnic socialization will also become limited and will eventually break up.¹⁴ The loss of the minority language, resulting from the previously detailed situation, eventually led the ethnic Germans to the questioning of their own ethnic identity and eventually to its gradual loss.

Assimilation was also facilitated by changes that occurred in the settlements themselves in the post-translocation era. On the one hand the traditionally closed ethnic communities ceased to exist and the formerly pure German settlements were increasingly inhabited by mixed population. There were also examples that the Germans were outnumbered by other ethnicities and they became a minority in their formerly pure German villages. On the other hand, due to existential uncertainties, many ethnic Germans had to seek employment in other regions of the country. This meant additional pressure from the majority of the inhabitants within the community and it also reinforced and accelerated the process of the 'Magyarization' of the original German population. Due to the stigma of 'collective guilt' ethnic self-consciousness and the self-respect of ethnic Germans suffered serious damage.

The formal ethnic policy has also strengthened the tendency described above. Although the emancipation of citizens took place immediately after the translocation ended, ethnic Germans before 1955, when the

¹⁴ Radó, P.: A nemzeti kisebbségek nyilvános nyelvhasználata Magyarországon. In: *Regio* 1992/3. p. 135.

Association for Ethnic Germans came into being, did not have a school, a cultural or any other organisation of their own. Although after 1955 some new schools were opened, but the German language was only taught in a few lessons a week, and these schools did not offer any general German-language education.

The government's ethnic policies also afflicted other ethnic groups.¹⁵ In Hungary the one-party system was formed by 1949; the country's economy, society, government were all reorganized on the Soviet model; every field of life was permeated by the official ideology, and the inhabitants in the meantime were continually exposed to control and intimidation. In this political atmosphere no comprehensive and democratic concept could emerge which would focus on the settlement of the status of ethnic minorities. Those provisions were also cancelled which would have been able to slow down the general tendency toward assimilation and would have been able to grant the preservation of the mother-tongue and the culture of the minorities. Despite the fact that the establishment of the network of the institutions of minority education and culture was initiated as early as the 1950s, and, in addition, the associations for ethnic minorities also began to operate in that period, all these organizations had only limited rights. These organizations as well as their activities were rather formal, disregarding the real needs and interests of the ethnic minorities in question. The government managed easily by offering alibi solutions because from the late 1940s to the early 1970s the Hungarian political elite expected the 'question' of minorities to be solved automatically. *"This means that no distinct ethnic question exists, or rather it is to vanish automatically when class conflict breaks off, and the rights of the majority are automatically provided for all minorities"*¹⁶. This opinion made it possible to disregard the real needs of the minorities to have cultural and educational rights, and, at the same time, the government counted on the fast and complete assimilation of the country's minorities. This way the processes of the loss of identity and language, which were already remarkable in the late 1940s were further accelerated. Some changes occurred only in the 1970s when the principle of the automatism of ethnic processes was replaced by assigning the role of a 'bridge' to the minorities and this change required a new strategy. Although

¹⁵ Summary on the basis of *Az 1949 utáni magyarországi nemzetiségpolitika jellemzői* (ed and introduction by Tóth Á.): *Pártállam és nemzetiségek (1950-1973) Forrásközlemények VI.* Kecskemét, 2003.

¹⁶ Tóth Ágnes 2003. 6.p.

these changes resulted in more freedom, the processes of the loss of the language and identity could not be halted. After the changing of the political system in 1989, on the occasion of the census of 1990, based on the changed social and political conditions many researchers assumed that an increasing number of ethnic Germans would admit to their identity and mother tongue. Many were under the illusion that the problems of ethnic identity would and could be repaired by some magic. Those who expected this radical change had to be disappointed in their expectations: the number of ethnic Germans was not found considerably higher than on previous occasions. Only a slight improvement can be observed.¹⁷ A further decrease in population numbers was observed when analysing the census figures of 2001. Although, at the same time, about 120,344 people declared their relatedness to ethnic German roots, a number, which is treble of those whose mother-tongue is German.¹⁸ When studying the reasons several factors can be emphasized. Although the process of democratization which occurred after the changing of the political regime had a favourable impact on the ethnicities, it is to be feared that the changes were too late to have a considerable effect. The democratic changes have strengthened the ethnic sense of identity, and made it possible for the minorities to enforce their interests. In this regard the passing of the bill of LXXVII (On the rights of the national and ethnic minorities) was of special significance in 1993. The provisions of this bill were able to strengthen people's bonding to their minority group and they could associate less fear and more positive experience with the minority existence. However, this change cannot alter the fact that the German identity has lost importance in many ethnic German families and that generations have grown up without learning their mother tongue or participating in ethnic education. It is also evident that still many Germans turn away from public life and keep a distance from politics, and, instead, they are turning inward toward family issues.¹⁹ Positive changes have had less influence on the loss of the German native language. While ethnic Germans who lived in Hungary were able to keep their national characteristics and preserve their identity and language for several centuries, owing to the previously described historical and political

¹⁷ L. Az 1990-es népszámlálás Budapest: 1992. On this topic see also: Tilkovszky: Botránykő, vagy hídpillér? In.: Világosság 1990/4. és Dávid Z.: A magyarországi nemzetiségek 1990-ben In.: Valóság 1993/10.

¹⁸ See footnote No. 13.

¹⁹ Kende, A., Kosztandinidisz D. and Szilassy E.: Asszimiláció és kisebbségi identitás. www.bolyai.ro/tarstud-558k-

reasons, linguistic assimilation has dramatically accelerated in the last fifty years. In addition, several other general characteristics can also be identified, which can also be related to other ethnic groups as well.

First, we have to understand that the public use of the ethnic language has been driven into the background during the last decades, a fact, which can be explained by the above-mentioned political background and also by the effects of modernization, of increasing urban employment and a different way of life. The ethnic language is still used locally in smaller villages, but in larger settlements and towns the language of communication is Hungarian. At places of work also the Hungarian language is the dominant, the only exception is agriculture. In office work it is also the Hungarian language which is used; in smaller settlements of ethnic Germans oral communication might be conducted in the German language, but even in this case all the written documents are filled in Hungarian. . The use of language in church liturgies is also a matter to be investigated thoroughly; there are only a few settlements in the country where religious services are held in German, or where the congregation can at least partially participate in certain parts of the liturgy in their ethnic language. Moreover, secularization also has a controversial effect. The use of the ethnic language is most often confined to the private sphere of life: those who use the ethnic language as a mother-tongue, use it when talking with their relatives and friends. This feature does not leave the language unaffected. The prestige of the ethnic mother tongue is diminished by the fact that the use of the language functionally disunites: it is not used in formal communication, only informally in the family and within the walls of family homes. This fact leads to the emasculation of the minority language, since it is only used within a very narrow circle of communicative situations.²⁰

Generational differences can also be observed in the use of the ethnic language. The older generation is the one, which preserved and still speaks the mother-tongue, despite all contrary influences. When speaking in public the members of the older generation also use Hungarian, but in familiar conversations they use the ethnic language. The generation of middle-aged people, although learnt the language from their parents, tend to use it less and less frequently in public, and with the ethnic education being driven into the background– they had to get accustomed to using the Hungarian language at schools and later at their places of work as well.

²⁰ Radó, P.: A nemzeti kisebbségek nyilvános nyelvhasználata Magyarországon. In: *Regio* 1992/3 pp. 138-141.

So they only speak their mother-tongue when communicating with their their parents or elderly neighbours; they understand the language but do not use it. The final stage of language loss can be seen when their children are taken into consideration, who have never been taught to speak the ethnic language. The young ones between 15 and 25 years of age do not understand the grandparents. The disintegration of families, the result of modernisation play a significant role in this process: the younger generation tries to succeed in towns, and the grandparents did not have the chance to participate in the linguistic socialization of their grandchildren. Moreover, the young generation is encouraged to use the Hungarian language by their schooling and their work environment. At the same time it is also true that this generation is the one, which is the most willing to learn German. The international prestige of the language also contributes to this ambition, and it is further motivated by Hungary's ascension to the European Union. These days nobody questions the importance of learning German as a foreign language and more and more people are willing to learn it, among them many ethnic Germans. This tendency on the other hand does not mean the preservation of the ethnic language and culture, still, it can be considered a favourable development. Actually, the main question today is not the language of grandparents. The main difference is the one represented by the standard German called "Hochdeutsch" and the local dialectal variants called "Mundart". In case of the Hungarian German minority, "Mundart" is the collective name of Frankish, Bavarian and Swabian archaic dialects, which were brought to Hungary by the arriving ethnic groups at different times and from different places.²¹ This is an extremely vast cultural heritage, which seems to be getting lost with the language assimilation. The loss of the language does not simply mean the loss of the German language, but it also means the loss of an archaic language tradition. The members of the young generation acquire "Hochdeutsch", standard modern German, and they learn it as a foreign language. The falling tendencies in the data of the census of 2001, relating to the use of the mother tongue cannot be explained by political issues, but it is to be feared that the tendency rather means the slow extinction of the generation that is familiar with and speaks this language. By losing them and losing their language an irreplaceable value will disappear from Hungarian culture.

²¹ Földes, Cs. Nemzeti és etnikai kisebbségek Magyarországon. www.lib.jgyustf.u-szeged.hu/adatbazisok/nemzetiseg.html

Partly owing to historical and political events, and partly to other socio-cultural reasons, the German ethnicity has assimilated, but it possesses a dual identity, although it has lost its ethnic mother tongue. At the same time, the ethnic languages and cultures, as well as the appreciation of minority identity are present in many spheres of present-day life. It is now the responsibility of the majority population and the government, which way this process goes on and which effect will be more powerful in the future.

THE ISLAND BETWEEN HETEROTOPIA AND DYSTOPIA: JULIAN BARNES'S *ENGLAND, ENGLAND*

PETRONIA PETRAR

ABSTRACT. Focussing on Julian Barnes' *England, England*, the paper examines the way in which parodical reversions of the most celebrated loci belonging to contemporary culture turn into dystopic signals of the dangers of homogenization that paradoxically lurk behind postmodern difference and heterogeneity.

Introduction: subversive spaces and reversed heterotopia

Michel Foucault describes the evolution of spatial perceptions in terms of the transition from the "localized" medieval space (carefully divided into sacred and profane, and therefore immutably hierarchical) to the seventeenth-century infinite extension discovered by Galileo and eventually to the contemporary "placing" – the image of a network of relations among neighbouring elements determining each other¹. He goes on to assert that, in spite of the fact that space reveals itself today as a web of formalized relationships (while time appears as one of the many possible distribution games among elements), it is far from being totally secularised, preserving something of the heterogeneous organization of traditional spaces. There are two main types of "different" spaces – defined by their capacity to subvert and displace all the relationships they establish between themselves and the rest of the world – *utopias* and what he names "*heterotopias*".

Utopias are distinguished from heterotopias in that they are spaces deprived of reality, defined against real social spaces by means of direct or reversed analogy, while the latter may be actual locations, presumably easy to identify on the map, but functioning to both to represent, and to challenge, even reverse, the identity of real spaces. There seems to be no type of human culture that does not establish its own heterotopias, which act to challenge or even abolish, both mythically and historically, the space of our everyday life. One of the defining features of heterotopias is that they bring together both places and times that are in themselves incompatible – museums and libraries, as well as fairs and holiday spaces provide some instances in this respect. Postmodern literary heterotopias seem to share

¹ Michel Foucault, *Theatrum philosophicum*, Cluj-Napoca: Casa Cartii de Stiinta, 2001

even less reality, as a later interpretation of the term points out. In a famous preface to the English edition of *Les mots et les choses*, Foucault describes the syntax-subverting energies of heterotopias brought about by a Borgesian text quoting the improbable and illogical classification of animals found in a "Chinese encyclopaedia". Heterotopias function either to criticize, or to compensate deficiencies of "common" space, because

[They] are disturbing, probably because they secretly undermine language, because they make it impossible to name this *and* that, because they shatter or tangle common names, because they destroy 'syntax' in advance, and not only the syntax with which we construct sentences but also that less apparent syntax which causes words and things (next to and also opposite one another) to 'hold together'. This is why utopias permit fable and discourse: they run with the very grain of language and are part of the fundamental discussion of the *fabula*. Heterotopias (such as those to be found often in Borges) desiccate speech, stop words in their tracks, contest the very possibility of grammar at its source; they dissolve our myths and sterilize the lyricism of our sentences.²

Foucault's concept has been taken over and successfully applied to the study of postmodern literary texts by Brian McHale, who uses it to define their spatial projections as heterogeneous and self-contradictory "zones" where the principle of the excluded middle ceases to be relevant³. However, the concept provides an immense potential in the study of older, even traditional literary *loci*, of which one of the best instances is probably the *island*. As a fictional motif, the island hardly needs any introduction. It fascinates because it represents a self-enclosed and self-sufficient space, standing apart from the entanglements of everyday life and offering itself as a mute critique of the former. If Foucault placed the mirror on the borderline between his two kinds of "different" spaces, the island's special status in the history of literature from *The Odyssey* to postmodernism highlights it as another obvious candidate.

Besides being the utopian space *par excellence*, the island constitutes various heterotopias, as well. In Bachelardian terms, it is the dreamed home of the self, surrounded by the primeval maternal waters of the unconscious and embodying the safety-creating values of the centre.⁴ The island can be a metaphor both for the isolated self and for the means in which this self is

² Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things*, London: Routledge, 1992, p. xvii

³ Brian McHale, *Postmodernist Poetics*, London and New York: Routledge, 1986

⁴ See Gaston Bachelard, *La Poétique de l'espace*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1984.

constructed and opened towards the world: often exotic, if not thoroughly invented, literary islands embody Heidegger's definition of space as availability and openness towards "the Other". On the other hand, in some sort of postmodern reversion, it may denounce the dangers of reduction and homogeneity that lie at the heart of self-satisfied insularity.

In the English literature, still haunted by founding texts like *The Tempest*, or *Robinson Crusoe*, the island becomes especially relevant, signalling a doubling of both the individual and the national conscience. In Julian Barnes's recent novel, *England, England*, the Prospero figure is ironically reversed in the grotesque character of Sir Jack Pitman, a successful businessman of uncertain origin (a myth is conveniently allowed to develop around his birth) whose plan to build a vast theme park on the island of Wight results in the gradual fading away of England from the map of Europe. With the help of a team of "specialists", including a renowned historian, Sir Jack intends to provide tourists with a consumerist version of English famous personages and myths, such as Robin Hood or the royal family. In the event, the replica replaces the original and is renamed England, England, while the old country exits the scene of history by returning to a pre-industrial stage. However, the ironical redoubling of the country's name draws attention to the fact that the novel is meant to be a parable of an actual situation, rather than a bleak vision of the future. As the text puts it,

Once upon a time this used to be the Isle of Wight, but its current inhabitants prefer a simpler and grander title: they call it The Island. Its official address since declaring independence two years ago is typical of Sir Jack Pitman's roguish, buccaneering style. He named it England, England.⁵

The novel stands as an example of the thin line that sometimes lies between regenerating heterotopia and bleak dystopia. As a radically negative non-locus, dystopia summons the unseen of culture and the impossibility of representation in order to voice deep-seated anxieties often taking the form of mourning the advent of technology and the disappearance of "Nature" – that "absolute" form of otherness that allowed self-definition. In *England, England*, however, both culture (the theme park) and nature ("Anglia") are exposed as historical constructs and essential elements in the generation of individual and collective identity. As the present paper intends to demonstrate, Barnes' text functions as a parody of the contemporary celebration of the heterogenous and of the "time-space compression" which

⁵ Julian Barnes, *England, England*, London: Picador, 1999

allows instantaneous access to any point in space and time. To quote Frederic Jameson, the consequence may be an unexpected and subtle form of homogeneity:

What we now begin to feel, therefore – and what begins to emerge as a deeper and more fundamental constitution of postmodernity itself, at least in its temporal dimension – is that henceforth, where everything now submits to the perpetual change of fashion and media images, nothing can change any longer.⁶

Englishness revisited

The novel shrewdly opens with Martha Cochrane's meditations on the elusive nature of memory and its unreliability in creating one's sense of identity, since the character openly confesses that her first childhood memory is also "her first artfully, innocently arranged lie"⁷. At the same time, Martha's invented (or rather, in the author's own terms, "processed") memory proves to be the text's first signal of self-consciousness, since the story it narrates contains what could be described as a self-reflexive enactment of one of its main themes: the manner of organizing and constructing human space and time. As a miniature mirroring the unfolding of the texts, the paragraph is well worth a closer look:

Her first memory, she said, was of sitting on the kitchen floor, which was covered in loosely woven raffia matting, the sort with holes in it, holes she could poke a spoon into a make bigger and get smacked for – feeling safe because her mother was singing to herself in the background [...] and there, spread on the matting, was her Counties of England jigsaw puzzle, and Mummy had decided to help her by doing all the outside and the sea to begin with, which left this outline of the country in front of her, this funny-shaped piece of raffia floor, a bit like a buggy old lady sitting on a beach with her legs stretched out – the legs being Cornwall, though of course she hadn't thought of that at the time, she didn't even know the word Cornwall, or what colour the piece was, and you know what children are like with jigsaws, they just pick up any old piece and try to force it into the whole, so she probably picked up Lancashire and made it behave like Cornwall.⁸

The irreverence of the representation of England as "a buggy old lady sitting on a beach with her legs stretched out" is ironically masked by its

⁶ Frederic Jameson, *The Seeds of Time*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1994, p.18.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 4

⁸ *ibid.*, p 5

attribution to a child's perception and by the association with the image of the mother. Yet the implicit challenge contained by means of rhetorical devices (double meaning and culinary associations) reverses this perception, focusing on displaying the manner through which the humanized, maternal figure of the country is involved in the construction of the child's identity at the same time that it is itself being constructed by means of playful social practices.

In a recent analysis very similar as far as the topic is concerned to Julian Barnes's novel, Anthony Easthope comments on the function of national identity in the process of gradual self-definition of the individual.⁹ Starting from the Lacanian description of the development of the ego as a process of internalization of the Other with which the subject identifies (beginning as early as infancy with the well-known "mirror stage") and from Derrida's contribution to determining the role of discursive practices in creating identity, Easthope emphasizes the desire for an ideal unity and permanence summoned by the self in the attempt to compensate its own lack. The concept of nation is particularly apt to answer such a need, enjoying the privileged support of various discursive formations through which "a nation imagines itself as an absolute and undivided self-presence". Identification with an external, objectified Other is therefore also presented as the means of creating collective – or, to be more precise, national – identity. Just like Barnes, Easthope selects the concept of "Englishness" as central to the problem:

From all the many ways in which English national identity is sustained in forms of identification I want to concentrate on one especially crucial and [...] deep-rooted object of identification: English identity as conferred by a specifically English discursive formation. Like water to the fish, a way of talking and writing is hardly visible but it is almost certainly the most insidiously effective for that reason. The desire for Englishness – the possibility of Englishness is intimately inscribed in the tradition of English discourse.¹⁰

It is precisely this sense of national identity as an "absolute and undivided self-presence" that Julian Barnes intends to subvert in his novel. The paragraph I am examining achieves this using a set of spatial representations belonging to semantic fields that range from the domestic and the trivial to geographical organization. The image of the little girl assembling her "Counties of England" jigsaw puzzle while sitting on the

⁹ Anthony Easthope, *Englishness and National Culture*, London and New York: Routledge, 1999.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 57

loose raffia matting is particularly interesting. It not only reveals the arbitrariness of topographical organizations, but it also points out at the essential role of the vacuum in delineating the space used to define the self. As N. Katherine Hayles pointed out in her *Chaos Bound. Orderly Disorder in Contemporary literature and Science*, the twentieth-century reevaluation of the concept of disorder both by the physical sciences and the humanities reinforced the older literary insights into the chaotic dimension of the individual self.¹¹ What was once excluded as a threat to the harmony of representation is nowadays celebrated as a foundation of the newly liberated forms of expression. If in order to become meaningful the fullness of the inhabited space posits the necessary presence of the void, the fullness of identity is achieved through the same processes.

To put it differently, in Barnes's novel gaps in the space and time act both as signifiers and as elements of the self both in its social (on a family, ethnical and even national level) and in its individual dimension. In the case of one character at least this is particularly obvious. The effect of Martha Cochrane's privileged (although not unique) textual perspective would be to single out her view and behaviour as the coherence-enhancing element of the novel. However, the frequency of empty locations in her narrative (the most important being the disappearance of the father) corresponds to the shifting positions she occupies and masks she puts on: the 'Appointed Cynic' and the lover, the head of the project and the retired old lady ending her life in the countryside of "Anglia".

The texts enacts a dialect of fullness and emptiness through which discontinuity, equivocation and arbitrariness mark the instalment of difference within what might seem as a spatial and temporal "continuum". The subjective and even unreliable character of the narrative is openly confessed: one's first memory "wasn't a solid, seizable thing, which time, in its plodding, humorous way might decorate down the years with fanciful detail"¹². Martha's admission of the fictional character of her memory points out to manner of the summoning of the past by the present that conditions the latter's sense of security, thus introducing a haunting theme of the novel: the invention of a national history and mythology mirroring the development of the individual self.

In this respect, I want to refer to a remark made by the author during an interview upon the publication of *England, England*, according to

¹¹ N. Katherine Hayles, *op. cit.*

¹² Julian Barnes, *op. cit.*, p. 3

which one of the focuses of the novel was “cross-epoch bonding”.¹³ This brings to mind not only the “repositioning” of the “primal” English mythological, (or, for that matter, historical) figures like Robin Hood’s gang or Nell Gwinn in order to make them more palatable for the contemporary ecological and open-minded consumerism. Thus, Robin’s “Merrie Men” are made to include women and homosexuals, while Martha, the “Appointed Cynic” of the Project, suggests that possible accusations of paedophilia could be counteracted by making Nell older, “los[ing] the other mistresses, and los[ing] the social and religious background”. On the other hand, the actors hired to impersonate figures of the past end up by identifying with their roles: Robin Hood’s band gives up ecological food and turns to hunting its own (red) meat, the actors hired to impersonate picturesque English smugglers start smuggling, while Dr. Johnson offers dictionary definitions as answers to questions and offends tourists by literally applying his character’s famous dictum “I can love all mankind except an American”.

Significantly enough, the case of “Dr. Johnson” is not entirely to be blamed on the game of shifting identities enacted by the project: it appears that not only had he worked as Samuel Johnson before, but he had even previously changed his name into that of the great “English wit”. In the words of Martha Cochrane, “It was just like a country remembering its history: the past was never just the past, it was what made the present able to live with itself.”¹⁴ In anthropological terms, what is happening to the actors in the entertainment park can be explained as the attempt to counteract the essential otherness of the past (whose distance from us can never be bridged) by means of representation. Anthony Easthope quotes Michel de Certeau in discussing the English contemporary historical discourse:

A gap is folded into the scientific coherence of a present time, and how could this be, effectively, unless through something that can be objectified, the past, whose function is to indicate alterity? Even if ethnology has partially relieved history in this task of a staging of the other in present time... the past is first of all a means of *representing a difference*. The historical operation consists in classifying the given according to a present law that is distinguished from its “other” (the past), in assuming a distance in respect to an acquired situation.¹⁵

¹³ idem, “Interview on his New Novel, *England, England*”, <http://gateway.proquest.com>

¹⁴ Julian Barnes, *England, England*, p6

¹⁵ Easthope, *op. cit.*, p 136

A discussion of the conditions in which this description can be extended at an individual level would far surpass the scope of the present paper. However, one of the main concerns of the text seems to reveal the way in which the official language interacts with the private discourse in the process of constructing identity. Again the voice of Martha: "The same went for individuals, though the process obviously wasn't straightforward." In the novel, the infantile regression of Sir Jack, the founder of the England, England project seems to parallel that of "Old England", which, after the extraordinary success of the replica, is gradually abandoned by businessmen and foreign political or economic partners and reverts to rural stage of its history where technology is consciously rejected and folklore is produced to supplement the loss of other forms of knowledge.

Frozen in the past, the old country, known as "Anglia", achieves the perfection of insularity: it strives to become a self-contained, utterly isolated entity shut off from any relationship with the exterior. Under the guise of a pastoral idyllic society and in a manner little anticipated by the hedonistic and consumerist principle guiding the functioning of the new state, Anglia takes exclusion to a literal extreme. The borders are closed, immigration forbidden (though emigration is allowed) and visitors subjected to strict control, while popular traditions are invented in much the same manner in which the project's committee "purged" undesirable elements from the legends in order to adapt them to contemporary requirements.

The changing perception of space and time in contemporary experience is informally explained by the author as follows:

[...] as we proceed towards the next millennium, there's an increasing level of fakery and replication. I mean, at the one extreme, there are large parts of England, for example, where you can drive for 50, 100 miles in any direction and not see anything that an ancestor of yours would have seen 500, 300, 200, even, years ago. And then at the other extreme, we're busy building replicas of things that exist in original form elsewhere, whether it be Michelangelo's David in the central square in Florence, which is a replica, or the replica Venice and Paris that you can go to in Las Vegas or the replica African village you can go to in Florida and so on.¹⁶

Images deprived of reference seem to have replaced objects. *England, England* represents a sardonic actualization of Jean Baudrillard's *simulacra*. The author's Baudrillard-like comment neatly summarizing the text corresponds to N. Katherine Hayles's insight into what has been repeatedly

¹⁶ idem., "Interview"

discussed as the “postmodern decontextualization”: the rift between “mundane reality” and human space and the sense of time less as a linear progression pointing towards a final event, than as a series of disparate points which the subject attempts to in order to maintain a stable identity (in the novel Martha describes the our sense of the real as a “memory now of a memory a bit earlier of a memory before that of a memory back then.”):

Whereas space stretches itself from mundane reality and forms a richly configured realm of its own, time skims into the media experience of constructed, repetitious packages and becomes a series of disconnected intervals. [...] The cutting loose of time from sequence, and consequently from human identity, constitutes the third wave of postmodernism. Time still exists in cultural postmodernism, but it no longer functions as a continuum along which human action can meaningfully be plotted.¹⁷

Conclusion

In such a view, the notions of “origin” and “end” are highly relativized. In this respect, the two rival territories, the old and the new countries, share the same pattern: one particular version of “the past” is summoned up in order to construct the present but ends up by engulfing the future. The case is clear as far as “Anglia” is concerned: the regression to traditionalism and parochialism needs little further explanation. The leisure domain of England, England is envisaged, in the form of the mediatic discourse heavily laden with Swiftian undertones, placed at the beginning of Part II of the novel, (a newspaper travel report on the tourist attraction of the island) as a kind of spatial and temporal palimpsest where the visitor can in the course of one day visit Stonehenge and Anne Hathaway’s Cottage, have dinner with Samuel Johnson and a chat with Connie Chatterley, but still see some of Wight’s old sights.

Contrary to the article’s claims, however, the island not-so-distant past has been turned into a remote exotic object now displayed as a curiosity: “In Bungallow Valley, Visitors may wander through a perfectly recreated street of typical pre-island housing”¹⁸. It is not only that the islanders can no longer recognize themselves as inhabitants of Wight, but also that, as Sir Jack proudly announces, they see no reason for changing things from now on. Past, present and future become indistinguishable in a kind of ironical end of history:

¹⁷ Hayles, *op. cit.*, p 279

¹⁸ J. Barnes, *England, England*, p. 180

Indeed, the repeated spatial characterization of temporality here, from Proust to storefronts, from urban change to “global development, now begin to remind us that if it is so that postmodernity is to be characterized by some essential spatialisation, then everything we have been trying to work out in terms of temporality will necessarily pass through a spatial matrix to come to expression in the first place. If time has been reduced to the most punctual violence and minimal irrevocable change of an abstract death, then we can perhaps affirm that in the postmodern time has become space anyhow.¹⁹

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¹⁹ F. Jameson, *op cit.*, p. 21.

LOGICĂ ȘI LIMBAJ. ASPECTE ALE FILOSOFIEI ANALITICE ÎN 'LECTURĂ' INTEGRALISTĂ

MARIA STEFĂNESCU

ABSTRACT. The article proposes to discuss some aspects of the logic-oriented theories of language, starting from E. Coseriu's claim that the relationship between logic and linguistics needs to be assessed differently on each of the three levels of structuration of language and with a constant awareness of the specificity of natural (as compared to formal/artificial) languages

În pofida optimismului teoretic pe care "cotitura lingvistică" inițiată de filosofia analitică părea a-l fi motivat într-un prim moment, tensiunile generată de incompatibilitățile între limbajul logicii formale și logica limbajului natural au devenit din ce în ce mai evidente în orientările semantice formale. Analizate din perspectiva integralismului lingvistic, abordările logiciste se expun obiecției de a nu fi sesizat faptul ca raporturile între logică și limbaj trebuie evaluate diferit la fiecare din cele trei paliere de structurare ale acestuia din urma. Departe de a fi coextensive, domeniul logicii și al lingvisticii se intersectează selectiv: vorbirea este determinată cu privire la 'logica generală' (a principiilor universale ale gândirii) și nedeterminată prin raportare la logica apofantică, limbile sînt nedeterminate sub ambele aspecte iar discursul este determinat în relație cu logica generală și, în cazuri particulare, cu aceea apofantică (Coseriu, 2001:144). Absența acestor distincții în filosofia limbajului în tradiție analitică și, mai recent, în semantica formală a condus la adoptarea unor poziții teoretice care adesea nu au sesizat în mod suficient de clar *specificul limbajului natural* în sine și în relația sa cu extralingvisticul.

Planul vorbirii în general

Importantă este, în perspectiva unei analize din unghi integralist a semanticilor logiciste, observația că a identifica limbajul cu logosul rațional și a considera *predicația* ca operație semantică originară (urmărind, implicit, evaluarea vericondițională a propozițiilor astfel formate) reprezintă deja o *reducție a limbajului la un instrument al gândirii logice*. În realitate,

"dans le langage en tant que tel, le langage non ultérieurement déterminé, on n'a pas encore, selon Aristotele, la distinction entre existence et inexistence, ni la distinction entre le vrai et le faux, distinctions qui ne se présentent que dans la 'proposition' (ou 'jugement'), c'est-à-dire dans le logos qui transforme les

rappports linguistiques en ‘rappports objectifs’ concernant les ‘choses désignées’” (Coseriu, 2001:22).

Semanticitatea nu rezultă din relaționarea limbajului la lume, ci se manifestă autonom, intrinsec limbajului, atât sub forma creației de semnificații cât și sub aceea a intuirii, prin semnificatul ontic, a statutului existențial al ‘stărilor de lucruri’ desemnate.

Faptul că în ‘fundalul’ vorbirii în general există o serie de presupoziii legate de cunoașterea lucrurilor, dar și a principiilor de coerență a gândirii, nu înseamnă că limbajul ar fi în vreun fel *limitat* de cerințele logicii clasice. Dimpotrivă, absurdul și contradictoriul sînt exprimabile în aceeași măsură ca și coerentul și logicul. Ceea ce surprinde în teoretizările chiar ale unor logicieni care, în principiu, admit că imposibilul poate fi articulat lingvistic, este distincția pe care par să o opereze implicit între ceea-ce-poate-fi-gîndit și ceea-ce-poate-fi-exprimat-în-limbaj. Poziția de pe care N. Rescher investighează statutul categoriei *impossibilia* este simptomatică pentru o întregă tradiție filosofică ce admite că gîndirea poate funcționa independent de limbaj:

“Even the impossible may well be described or stated, and need not be altogether ineffable. The key consideration is not that the impossible cannot be said, but that it cannot be said without in the final analysis espousing some sort of absurdity or contradiction: that it cannot correspond to a “meaningful thought” (Rescher, 1975:211).

În fapt, limbajul care exprimă imposibilul comunică, și acesta, un conținut semantic: nu există un ‘de negîndit’ în spatele a ceea ce este articulat într-o limbă.

Dificultățile ridicate de această situație teoretică sînt o consecință a nerecunoașterii dimensiunii funciar semantice a limbajului (a spune ceva înseamnă, de fiecare dată, a produce o semnificație, un “meaningful thought”) și a limbajului însăși *ca formă necesară de manifestare a oricărei gîndiri* (Coseriu, 2001:123). Or, implicit derivabilă din acest din urmă aspect, este calitatea limbajului de mediator *sine qua non* în formarea conceptelor. Este evidentă, în acest punct, diferența dintre orientarea de principiu a logicienilor care se revendică de la tradiția analitică și perspectiva aristoteliciană preluată și dezvoltată în integralism. În argumentația lingvisticii integrale, conceptele țin de domeniul logosului semantic, pentru că nu afirmă sau neagă un fapt și nu sînt, în sine, evaluabile vericondițional (ibid. :124). Întrucît formarea conceptelor este înțeleasă *în/prin creația de semnificați* (Borcilă, 2002:21), devine evident că “un concept en tant que tel ne peut ni être actualisé, ni être identifié à une représentation, puisque cela reviendrait à le transformer en object, c’est-à-dire à faire de lui autre chose que ce qu’il est” (Coseriu, 2001:44). Dimpotrivă, în tradiția analitică se manifestă o

tendință de *reificare a conceptelor*, consecință a preferinței pentru eleganța și rigoarea tehnică a limbajelor extensionale. Inițiat de G. Frege, prin caracterizarea conceptelor ca funcții nedeterminate (este de reținut însă faptul că Frege a formulat rezerve, în ultima perioadă a activității sale, față de gestul de a fi admis "the passage from concepts to their extents"¹), procesul culminează cu elaborarea de către R. Montague a unei semantici *pur extensionale* care reprezintă acum modelul standard, acceptat de majoritatea teoreticienilor lumii posibile, și în care conceptele sînt definite ca funcții dinspre lumile posibile înspre entitățile relevante.

Ține de constrîngerile impuse de paradigma logicistă în investigarea limbajului, faptul că aspecte definitorii ale acestuia fie rămîn la periferia zonei de interes a cercetării, fie sînt explicate dintr-o perspectivă insuficient de adecvată. Este cazul argumentației lui Rescher în favoarea tezei că obiectivitatea limbajului este cea care permite 'constituirea' posibililor nonexistenți:

"Nonexistent possibilities thus have an amphibious ontological basis: they root in the capability of minds to perform certain operations – to conceive or describe and to hypothesize (assume, conjecture, suppose) – operations to which the use of *language* is essential, so that both thought processes and language enter the picture. Their foothold in language is the factor that gives to unrealized possibilities the *objective* ontological basis which they undoubtedly possess. *It is the actuality of minds capable of deploying by way of hypotheses and assumptions the descriptive mechanisms of language that provides the ontological basis of nonexistent possibilities*" (Rescher, 1975:208).

Există, într-adevăr, o obiectivitate a semnificațiilor care permite constituirea oricăror *possibilia* – și a cuvintelor abstracte în general –, dar această obiectivitate nu își găsește fundamentarea în împrejurarea că *un* individ 'utilizează' mecanismele descriptive ale limbii pentru a referi la o entitate posibilă dar nonactuală. În realitate, obiectivitatea limbajului *este condiționată de intersubiectivitate* (Coseriu, 2001:135): tocmai faptul că semnificațiile nu sînt absolute ci intersubiective, împărtășite într-o anumită comunitate, permite 'crearea' de obiecte lipsite de corespondent în realitatea empirică. Garanția de obiectivitate a posibililor nonexistenți este, într-adevăr, limbajul, dar numai prin investiția de încredere pe care o presupune dimensiunea alterității.

Planul limbilor istorice

În planul limbilor istorice, ceea ce caracterizează abordările din perspectivă logică este tendința de a acorda un rol central referinței extralingvistice în comparație cu semnificația dată de limbă. Faptul că în limbajele

¹ Pentru întreaga discuție vezi A. Dumitriu (1998:83) și, în special, C. O. Hill (1991:117,122)

formale se operează, în general, cu domenii date, în care toți denotații potențiali sînt *postulați* ca existenți, a influențat tratamentul aplicat limbajului natural înspre supralicitarea dimensiunii designative. Teza potrivit căreia înțelesul unui nume este chiar obiectul la care referă numele este formulată de Russell în momentul de triumf al atomismului logic, și rămîne una din pozițiile teoretice redutabile în dezvoltările ulterioare ale filosofiei limbajului în tradiție analitică. De aici, ‘scandalul’ logic reprezentat de numele fără referent real și eforturile mereu reluate (teoria russelliană a descripțiilor definite marchează, cronologic, prima încercare, teoria lumilor posibile, una din cele mai recente) de a remedia această presupusă ‘deficiență’ a limbilor naturale².

O abordare a limbajului din perspectiva care îi este proprie nu poate însă absolutiza designația ignorînd semnificația, adică tocmai elementul primar, *intralingvistic*, în raport cu care existența obiectelor desemnate prin intermediul său nu este esențială (și nici măcar necesară). De asemenea, nu trebuie ignorat faptul că “la langue ne se détermine pas à partir de la réalité, mais que, au contraire, la réalité est conçue au moyen de la langue” (Coseriu, 2001:126). Semnificațiile sînt ‘arbitrare’, în sensul că limitele lor nu sînt motivate de realitatea extralingvistică (ibid.:149), or, din punctul de vedere al unei analize propriu-zis *lingvistice*, importantă este tocmai modalitatea în care o limbă particulară structurează posibilitățile de desemnare. Desigur, logicienii care lucrează în tradiția analitică au remarcat capacitatea limbajului de a descrie aceleași fapte empirice în maniere diferite, dar, întrucît faptele însele (sau veridicitatea lor) reprezentau centrul de interes, au preferat să ignore semnificațiile de limbă. Poziția enunțată de Frege rămîne simptomatică:

“A sentence can be transformed by changing the verb from active to passive and making the object the subject at the same time. In the same way the dative may be changed into the nominative while ‘give’ is replaced by ‘receive’. Naturally such transformations are not indifferent in every respect, but they do not touch the thought, they do not touch what is true or false. [...] It is just as important to neglect distinctions that do not touch the heart of the matter as to make distinctions which concern what is essential” (Frege, 1918/1994:322).

² Este semnificativ, în acest sens, comentariul fregean cu privire la dezavantajele limbajului natural față de cele formale: “Now languages have the fault of containing expressions which fail to designate an object [...] This arises from an imperfection of language [...] A logically perfect language (*Begriffsschrift*) should satisfy the conditions, that every expressions grammatically well constructed as a proper name out of signs already introduced shall in fact designate an object and that no new sign shall be introduced as a proper name without being secured a reference. The logic books contain warnings against logical mistakes arising from the ambiguity of expressions. I regard as no less pertinent a warning against apparent proper names having no reference” (Frege, 1892/1994:152).

Dar, dintr-o perspectivă autentic lingvistică, aceste distincții sînt recunoscute ca atingînd chiar miezul problemei: nu este indiferent ce semnificați categoriali și structurali sînt selectați și nici deplasarea de sens pe care modificarea acestora o produce într-un enunț³.

Desigur, Frege însuși nu a ignorat faptul că o coincidență în designație nu implică identitatea semnificațiilor. Disocierea pe care o operează între sens și referință, este menită să explice tocmai situațiile în care acelorași circumstanțe empirice le corespund conținuturi de limbă diferite. Este posibilă identificarea, pînă la un punct, a unei intuiții comune care motivează atît binomul fregean sens-referință cît și distincția coșeriană între semnificație și designație, deși faptul că Frege nu a clarificat suficient accepțiunea în care folosește cuvîntul 'sens'⁴ face dificilă stabilirea unor corespondențe precise. Rămîne, în orice caz, decizia teoretică importantă de a acorda atenție nu doar dimensiunii extensionale a unei expresii, ci și celei intensionale, recunoscute ca ireductibilă la prima. Or, tocmai posibilitatea acestei distincții se pierde ulterior cînd, în semantica lumilor posibile care se revendică de la R. Montague, intensiunile sînt definite ca funcții dinspre lumi posibile înspre extensiunile relevante. Problema, numită a "a echivalenței logice" – și pentru care nu a fost găsită încă o soluție satisfăcătoare – derivă din faptul că, odată ce propozițiile sînt definite ca funcții dinspre lumi posibile înspre valori de adevăr, iar proprietățile ca funcții dinspre lumi posibile înspre seturi de obiecte, nu se mai poate face disocierea în planul sensului între proprietățile coexemplificate și nici între propozițiile echivalente din punct de vedere logic. Întrucît acestea sînt, prin definiție, adevărate sau false în *aceleași* lumi posibile, consecința complet contraintuitivă și inacceptabilă din perspectiva unei analize *lingvistice* este că toate propozițiile care sînt în mod necesar adevărate sau false înseamnă 'aceiași lucru'⁵.

Teza centrală care unifică orientările din filosofia limbajului în tradiția analitică este formulată în termeni apodictici de J. Hintikka:

"the notion of truth is the single most important semantical relation, that is, relation between language and the world. [...] A sentence means what it means by telling you what the world would be like if it were true" (Hintikka, 1996/2003:95).

³ De altfel, semantica lumilor posibile inițiată de Montague face acum posibilă recunoașterea structurilor sintactice diferite ale unor propoziții care referă la aceeași stare de lucruri: aceste structuri sintactice sînt interpretate prin regulile semantice corespondente care, dacă sînt corect formulate, trebuie să trimită la aceleași condiții de adevăr, "though via different compositional routes" (v., pentru întreaga discuție, Partee, 1989:109-10).

⁴ A se vedea observațiile critice în Kripke, 1972/2001:55

⁵ Dificultățile care decurg din 'problema echivalenței logice' sînt discutate în Partee, 1989:112,119.

Că relația între limbaj și lume poate fi elucidată, neproblematic și fără rest, în termeni de corespondență între o realitate obiectiv prezentă ‘în sine’ și limba care o re-prezintă cu mai multă sau mai puțină fidelitate nu constituie însă o evidență decît pentru o tradiție de gîndire puternic realistă și care, mai mult, se dezvoltă (începînd cu Frege) în umbra și în respectul abordărilor formaliste. Or, în timp ce semantica limbajelor logice funcționează în mod firesc pe un singur nivel și este interesată doar de stabilirea valorilor de adevăr ale propozițiilor sistemului, semantica autentic lingvistică nu poate decît să își asume ca obiect de studiu *întreg limbajul* înțeles ca *logos semantikos*. Acesta este motivul pentru care, din perspectiva integralistă, este inacceptabilă aplatizarea celor trei semantici – referențială, a limbilor și a textului – într-una singură, focalizată unilateral pe relația între limbaj și realitatea extralingvistică.

Planul discursului /textului

Nivelul discursului/textului este singurul care permite, în mod legitim, o examinare a raporturilor între limbaj și logica *apofantică*, cu specificarea că vor trebui luate în discuție *doar enunțurile (asertive) care aparțin universului de discurs ‘obiectual’*, adică “les discours dans lesquels on se rapporte à une réalité considérée comme donnée en dehors des discours mêmes, et non pas dans les discours au moyen desquels l’on suppose une réalité” (Coseriu, 2001:159). În aceste limite, analiza apofantică a faptelor de limbă se justifică pe deplin, puțînd fi aplicată textelor prin evaluarea vericondițională a propozițiilor care le compun (ibid.:160).

În numele preciziei tehnice, logicienii au extrapolat însă, adeseori, analiza apofantică de la aserțiunile formulate în interiorul universului de discurs obiectual la alte tipuri de enunțuri, în particular cele aparținînd ficțiunii, cu consecința că aceasta a fost percepută ca *deviantă* în raport cu ‘normalitatea’ comunicării lingvistice. Cînd teoreticienii lumilor posibile au extins aria de aplicabilitate a analizei vericondiționale de la propozițiile asertive la contrafactice, enunțuri modalizate și întrebări, s-a încercat integrarea, prin analogie, a discursul ficțional în recent cuceritele noi teorii ale logicii apofantice. Modul în care D. Lewis își formulează ipoteza centrală în studiul asupra adevărului în ficțiune ilustrează paradigmatic acest tip de atitudine:

“Reasoning about truth in fiction is very like counterfactual reasoning. We make a supposition contrary to fact [...]. We depart from actuality as far as we must to reach a possible world where the counterfactual supposition comes true (and that might be quite far if the supposition is a fantastic one). But we do not make gratuitous changes. We hold fixed the features of actuality that do not have to be changed as part of the least disruptive way of making the

supposition true. We can safely reason from the part of our factual background that is thus held fixed" (Lewis, 1978:269).

Validitatea analogiei între creativitatea literară și procesele imaginative care intervin în construcția situațiilor contrafactice este privită ca de la sine înțeleasă și, prin urmare, nu este susținută de nici o argumentație. Or, deja la nivel pur intuitiv⁶, lumile posibile ale ficțiunii sînt percepute ca altceva decît posibilități nerealizate ale lumii actuale. Există, desigur, o familiaritate cu 'lucrurile' cunoscute empiric care devine relevantă în comprehensiunea unui text ficțional, dar există, în egală măsură, posibilitatea de a *suspenda constrîngerile realului* ceea ce, nici din punctul de vedere al creatorului operei literare, nici din cel al receptorului, nu se reduce la o simplă îndepărtare graduală, la limită maximală, față de caracteristicile lumii actuale. Remarca lui P. Claudel că în poezia sa cuvintele rămîn cuvinte de fiecare zi ale limbii franceze, dar nu mai sînt aceleași, traduce o intuiție esențială: procesul de creație poetică (literară) poate folosi materialul brut al limbii și cunoașterea realului dar, *ca proces de creație, se situează încă de la început într-un plan absolut autonom*. Eventuala comparație între lumea reală și lumile proiectate la nivel designațional de textele poetice (în sens larg) nu poate reprezenta decît un moment ulterior și facultativ.

În mod evident, opțiunea logicienilor de a acorda lumii actuale statutul privilegiat de reper ontologic și platformă de pornire în construcția lumilor posibile (inclusiv cele ale literaturii) este motivată de dorința de a se menține în limitele onorabilității filosofice a actualismului (o excepție rămîne D. Lewis care, deși realist modal, propune gradul minim de distanțare față de lumea actuală drept criteriu primar în identificarea lumilor ficțiunii; o alta, în sens opus, J. Hintikka a cărui conceptualizare a actului de creație ca joc liber cu mai multe posibilități îi permite să admită autonomia unor sisteme de reprezentare nonmimetice). Dar, cîtă vreme 'problema' ridicată de specificul ficțiunii este percepută doar ca dificultate de a oferi drept de rezidență, în granițele unei ontologii moderate (actualistă, de preferință), posibilităților nonactuali și de a evalua vericondițional discursul care îi menționează, recursul la lumea reală ca termen necesar al comparației nu poate fi evitat.

Rămîne un fapt incontestabil că elaborarea semanticilor formale care operează cu noțiunea de 'lume posibilă' a permis reconsiderarea problemei adevărului în și despre ficțiune dintr-o perspectivă care nu mai indică lumea

⁶ Observația este formulată de R. Ronen în următorii termeni: "It seems counter-intuitive to treat fictional worlds as non-actualized states of the world we actually inhabit, or as possible situations that did not take place" (Ronen, 1994:51)

reală drept unic cadru legitim de evaluare vericondițională. În conceptualizarea lui D. Lewis (1974:*passim*) propozițiile care relatează ‘fapte’ ficționale sînt prefațate de operatorul “În ficțiunea X” și apoi apreciate, în funcție de criterii specifice (conținutul explicit relatat ca ‘known fact’ și informația de fundal), ca adevărate sau false în lumile posibile relevante. În elaborarea lui G. Currie (1990:73-92), structura logică a adevărului în ficțiune este determinată prin analogie cu aceea a opiniilor și convingerilor: ceea ce e adevărat într-o operă de ficțiune va fi dedus din credințele ‘autorului ficțional’, atît cele enunțate direct în text cît și cele inferate de cititor. Poate fi observată însă, în cazul ambilor logicieni, limitarea interesului cercetării la conținutul (adevărul) strict *factual* al operei literare⁷. Or, din perspectiva integralistă, ceea ce se obține astfel este doar un prim nivel de analiză, un complex al designațiilor, fie ele situații, evenimente sau personaje, care, în sine, nu reprezintă înțelegerea autentică a textului. Desigur, se poate rămîne pe acest plan, după cum se poate citi *Metamorfoza* lui Kafka reținînd doar ceea ce ‘se întîmplă efectiv’ în povestire (Coseriu, 1981/1997:77), dar întreruperea procesului hermeneutic la nivelul *expresiei* textuale are drept consecință ratarea sensului operei.

Analiza din perspectivă logicistă (în termenii, în studiile menționate, ai semanticii lumilor posibile, adică prin izolarea a ceea ce contează ca ‘factual’ adevărat în lumile posibile ale povestirii) pare să producă rezultate semnificative doar cu privire la momentul inițial al construcției sensului textual. Dar, dacă logica științelor umaniste este logica interogației⁸, întrebarea care se referă la *ce*-ul operei literare (ce personaje?, ce evenimente?, ce acțiuni? etc.) nu își găsește justificarea și temeiul decît în întrebarea complementară care trimite la *pentru ce*-ul conținutului referențial. Or, tocmai această finalitate internă a oricărui text literar de a *crea sens prin intermediul dar într-un plan diferit de cel al semnificatelor și designațiilor* scapă complet (și, de fapt, nici nu reține atenția) analizelor inspirate de teoria lumilor posibile. Semantica ficțiunii așa cum este concepută de orientările logiciste rămîne, din perspectiva lingvisticii integrale, o semantică pur referențială care nu poate explica decît nivelul bazic de articulare a sensului în opera literară.

O separație clară se impune a fi operată și între sensul în care teoreticienii ai lumilor posibile (Currie în particular) definesc ca intențional gestul de producere a ficțiunii (autorul decide să elaboreze un text *care nu*

⁷ De altfel, Currie admite explicit că nici un alt tip de adevăr nu face obiectul investigației sale: “Perhaps *A la Recherche du Temps Perdu* expresses important truths about love, time, and memory. In that case there is much truth in Proust’s novels, and in this sense the truth in Proust’s fiction is genuine truth. This sense of “truth in fiction”, which appears prominently in literary evaluations, is not the subject of this chapter” (Currie, 1990:53).

⁸ H. G. Gadamer 1975/1979:333

descrie o stare de lucruri reală) și accepțiunea integralistă a intenționalității. În fapt, în momentul primar al construcției de sens, creația literară (ca, de altfel, orice tip de creație în limbaj) este indiferentă la localizarea referinței în sau în afara lumii reale. Dar, întrucât semanticitatea nu poate fi izolată în stare pură (Coseriu, 2001:128), caracterul intențional al actelor discursive particulare constă tocmai în orientarea lor înspre una dintre cele trei finalități – apofantică, pragmatică sau poetică – ce vor determina, ele însele, maniera în care receptorul se raportează la text. Ceea ce distinge lectura unei opere literare de aceea a unui text neficțional nu este, *pace* Currie, simpla atitudine pe care o adoptă cititorul față de conținutul factual, “make-belief in one case, belief in the other” (Currie, 1990:21). În mod fundamental, recunoașterea, într-un text, a finalității poetice creează în receptor expectații legate de *modalitatea specifică de construcție a sensului* deși, firește, convențiile raportării la opera literară (printre care celebra suspendare voluntară a neîncrederii⁹) vor fi, la rîndul lor, activate.

Recunoscut drept gestul fundațional al filosofiei analitice a limbajului, “the linguistic turn” nu a însemnat însă, așa cum părea să indice, reorientarea înspre ‘faptele’ vorbirii ca atare și nici efortul de adaptare a perspectivei investigaționale la specificitatea ireductibilă a obiectului de studiu. Dimpotrivă, susținută de convingerea că rigoarea și precizia limbajelor formale reprezintă avantaje a căror absență nu poate fi decît deplorată, atunci cînd este cazul, în limbile naturale, filosofia analitică nu și-a orientat interesul asupra limbajului, într-o primă etapă, decît pentru a-l ‘disciplina’, impunîndu-i rigorile logosului apofantic. Deși cercetările mai recente de semantică formală au urmărit extinderea capacității explicative a modelului logic pentru a include cît mai multe ‘fenomene de limbă’ în aria de acoperire a limbajului formalizabil, rămîn o serie de dificultăți teoretice de fond care vulnerabilizează abordările logiciste la obiectia de *inadecvare principială la obiect*. Din perspectiva disocierilor introduse de lingvistica integrală, diversele variante de semantică formală se limitează la a oferi instrumentele pentru caracterizarea planului designației, fără a acorda suficientă atenție palierele semnificației și sensului, iar această absolutizare a laturii referențiale atrage

⁹ Dar, se impune subliniată, împreună cu Martínez-Bonati, *distanțarea ironică* pe care cititorul o adoptă față de ‘exersarea’ încrederii sale în chiar momentul în care acesta are loc: “Of course, this credence is given only with a more or less clear ironic awareness of this artifice of the imagination. Strictly speaking, such an unreserved out-pouring of faith is possible only because it operates within the awareness that what is narrated is fiction” (Martínez-Bonati, 1981:34-35).

după sine ignorarea dimensiunilor creativă, cognitivă și intersubiectivă ale limbajului, adică la eludarea specificității limbajului ca atare.

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TRANSYLVANIA- AN INTERCULTURAL AREA (A HISTORICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH)

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ABSTRACT. This paper presents Transylvania as an intercultural area with specific issues deriving from this status. But, beyond the description proper of the historical and sociological situation, our intent is to underline the importance of multiculturalism in Transylvania, given the present context of Romania's efforts towards the accession to the European Union. Transylvania is already a province characterized by diversity. By insisting on the issue of its national minorities, we will attempt to infer whether Transylvania is truly prepared for a new multicultural challenge.

As Romania is preparing to enter the European Union in 2007, we consider useful to describe Transylvania as an extremely important cultural area. It is a known fact that the European Union promotes multiculturalism and it aims at being a "unity in diversity" (Smith, 2004:1). Romania has always been a territory where history, culture, languages, and people meet. Transylvania, in particular, has always been a house of civilizations, due to the heritage of its national minorities which preserved and also adapted their culture, customs and languages. Transylvania must be looked at by analysing its defining elements, such as religion, ethnicity, tradition, and language. But, what brought about this multiethnic situation, what defined this society? The answer is to be found by scrutinizing the past. The combining social, emotional, and cultural factors that characterize Transylvania today have strong historical roots.

1. Transylvania – An Overview

Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia are the three medieval countries that emerged on the territory of ancient Dacia. Transylvania had a different status from the very beginning, as it has always been an area of transition, which is also proved by etymology. The name Transylvania comes from the Latin *trans* = across, beyond, and *silva* = forest. The Germans called it *Siebenbürgen* or, in Latin, *Septemcastra*, meaning "the seven boroughs". The Hungarians and the Szeklers called it *Erdély*, while the Romanians referred to it as *Ardeal*. Transylvania proper is the region surrounded on all sides by the Carpathians and located in the centre of Romania. Its boundaries were finally

set up after several waves of migrations and dominations: the Romans, the Hungarians, and the Germans. According to the census of 2002, Romanians in Transylvania represent 74.7%, Hungarians 19.6%, while the rest are German, Roma, Ukrainian, Serb, etc. (Data provided by the www.insee.ro). After relative independence, these provinces united in the modern era in order to form the country known as Romania. As Jean Nouzille (1996:11) explains:

As it has always been an area where different peoples, languages, and civilizations met, Transylvania has been for centuries the theatre of confrontations among Romanians, Hungarians, Slavs, Austrians, and Turks.

According to George Em. Marica (1997:229, our translation):

Transylvania is considered the cradle of the Romanian people, as it was here that its foundations were laid. It was here that the Romans came and lived with the Dacians and left their permanent marks.

2. Formation of Transylvania

2.1. The Romans

The Roman Empire had a very important contribution to the formation of the Romanian people and language. As a proof, Romanian is a Romance language. The Romans left to Transylvania permanent elements of their culture, religion, folklore, tradition and language.

2.2. The Migratory Peoples

After the withdrawal south of the Danube of the Roman administration and of parts of the population, several invasions of the migratory peoples took place; thus, the Goths, Visigoths, Vandals, Huns, Gepidae, Avars, Slavs, Magyar, and Tartars came on the Dacian territory until the middle of the 13th century, slowing down the natural evolution of the native society. As Ioan-Aurel Pop (2004:18) says, 'only the Slavs eventually settled in the region'. They left traces on the Romanian language, but those were not defining. This is perfectly normal, as it is a known fact that the Slavs only came to Transylvania from time to time and, consequently, they could not influence that much the structure of the already consolidated language of the area. However, they could not alter the ethnic structure of the Romanian people, its way of life, or the Latin character of its language. The Romanian language, in its vocabulary, has been affected by cohabitation or contacts with other peoples, by borrowings from Slavic, Magyar, German, Turkish, and Greek, but has retained its basic character as a Romance language. (Bodea, Căndea, 1982:4)

2.3. *The Hungarians*

The Hungarians also played an extremely important role in defining the structure of the administration and institutions in Transylvania. Today, the Hungarians represent a very important minority in Transylvania. Most of the Hungarians living in Transylvania speak Romanian, while an important number of the Romanians in the area know Hungarian. We speak here about bilingualism. However, the Romanian language only has very few Hungarian elements. This is perfectly explainable, as the Hungarians arrived in Transylvania at a time when the formation of the Romanian language had already been concluded. Still, the intonation and the accent of the Romanians in Transylvania are influenced by the Hungarian language.

According to Nouzille (1996:80) 'The exact date when the Hungarians occupied Transylvania is not known: it seems, however, that the occupation occurred gradually'. Small bands of Hungarians began to settle in Transylvania. The Hungarians, 'a Finno-Ugric people (with Turkish influences) which originated in Asia in the area between the Altai mountains and northern Iran' (Bodea, Căndea, 1982:6), reached the Pannonian Plain and the regions between the Danube and the Tisza around the year 896, after crossing the Northern Carpathians. From here, Hungarian tribes led by "Duke" Arpad began raiding the surrounding regions. 'They turned towards Transylvania where they met the resistance of the local Romanian political units'. (Bodea, Căndea, 1982:6). The Hungarian raids against Transylvania resumed after the year 1000, at a time when the Hungarians had taken the Christian religion from the West and had established a kingdom according to the German model. As Pop explains (2004:19):

Between the second half of the 11th century and the year 1200, the Hungarians managed to subdue the whole Transylvania. Banat, Crișana, Sălțmar, etc. became part of Hungary proper, while Transylvania (the ancient area once controlled by Gelou) remained a voivodate in the Romanian-Slavic tradition, included nevertheless in the Kingdom of Hungary.

The Hungarian kings started to colonize Transylvania, bringing in foreign settlers. The first step was to bring in groups of Hungarians, especially noblemen, from the west, but their number was insufficient. (Pop, Porumb, 2004:19). Consequently, the kings brought Szekler colonists to Transylvania to use them as sedentary border guards. 'They were quartered in the Bihor, where they left traces until late'. (Edroiu, Pușcaș, 1996:13). In the 12th century the Szeklers were transferred to the south-eastern part of the province (the Târnave-Mureș line), 'where their descendants still live'. (Nouzille, 1996:84). As Pop describes (2004:19):

In the 14th and the 15th century, the Szeklers established seven territorial units called seats (*sedes*), led by sheriffs and captains. Among them Telegd, Kézdi, Sepsi, Orbai, Ciuc, Mureş, Arieş. For centuries, the Szeklers managed to preserve their traditional archaic society, partially agricultural, based on a powerful military structure and located in a cold, mountainous region.

2.4. *The Germans*

Like in the case of the Hungarians, the German elements did not play a decisive role in the formation of the Romanian language, as it had already been consolidated at the time when the German colonists were brought in.

Pop (2004:19) presents the arrival of the Germans in Transylvania:

In the 12th and the 13th century, the Hungarian kings brought in Transylvania large numbers of Western colonists, mostly German, which developed here urban and rural centres. The Germans were brought in from the Rhineland, Moselle, Flanders, Luxemburg, etc. and they occupied a compact area located in southern Transylvania, between the valleys of the Târnava and Olt rivers, but also near Braşov and Bistriţa. The Germans were generically designated as Saxons (*Sachsen*). They were skilled farmers, craftsmen, miners, and traders, representatives of an advanced civilization. For crusading purposes, other Germans were invited into Transylvania around the year 1211: the Teutonic Knights.

Sorina-Paula Bolovan and Ioan Bolovan tell us that (2000:16, our translation):

Although they were given privileges, the Teutonic Knights had conflicts with the Hungarian King, as they had built their own castles and coined their own money;

Moreover, they did not recognise the authority of the Catholic bishopric of Alba-Iulia and colonised without permission German population from the territories they had been offered for use. Consequently, they were banished in 1225. (Bolovan, Bolovan, 2000:16, our translation).

The great majority of the Saxons were peasants who cultivated the land and bred cattle. However, some of them were craftsmen, as shown by the documents of the beginning of the 13th century. (Bolovan, Bolovan, 2000:22, our translation). The second half of the 13th century meant a decisive step in the process of the craftsmen's separation from the peasants. (Bolovan, Bolovan, 2000:23, our translation). 'The Saxons also established seven marks (Sibiu, Sebeş, Cincu, Orăştie, Nocrich, Rupea, Miercurea)'. (Pop, Porumb, 2004:19). The first big urban centre was Sibiu (Hermannstadt); later, it was followed by Mediaş, Bistriţa, Cluj, Sighişoara and two districts (Braşov and Bistriţa). During the 15th century, the Saxon political-administrative community

was given the name *Universitas Saxonum*, or the "Saxon University". (Pop, Porumb, 2004:19). It met once or twice a year in order to adopt decisions related to general issues. (Bolovan, Bolovan, 2000:21, our translation). At the same time, it represented the Saxons and regulated their relations with other political and administrative institutions. (Bolovan, Bolovan, 2000:22, our translation). It is worth mentioning the activity of the democrat scholar Stephan Ludwig Roth.

According to Nouzille (1996:95):

The Saxons may have given Transylvania the name of Siebenbürgen (Seven Citadels) by virtue of the existence of these seven citadels serving as seats. The lands of the Szeklers and the Saxons escape from the authority of the Hungarian Voivode.

As Edroiu and Pușcaș describe (1996:13):

The leaders of some clans who distinguished themselves in battle received lands and offices in the newly conquered territories and settled with their families around the royal castles and around the main settlement of the feudal domain they had received from the king.

The Hungarian state and the colonists introduced in Transylvania the institutions of Western Christianity. Thus, at the beginning of the 14th century, the ethnic and religious structure of medieval Transylvania was composed of the Orthodox Romanians, on the one hand, and the Catholic Hungarians, Saxons, and Szeklers, on the other hand. To quote Edroiu and Pușcaș again (1996:14):

The Hungarian penetration left in the ocean of Romanian population small ethnical islands, which were to expand in the following centuries through a demographic influx from Pannonia and through natural growth.

Here again, we can see another important characteristic of this area: *the ethnical diversity*.

Transylvanian *towns* represented not only a socio-economic, demographic and political issue, but also an ethnical one. The township privilege granted by the Hungarian King to the foreign ethnic groups, colonised or brought into Transylvania after the conquest, resulted in the foundation and preservation of the towns as ethnical islands spread over territories with a different population.

As Pop states (2004:20) in the Preface of *Patrimoniul Cultural al României. Transilvania/ The Cultural Heritage of Romania. Transylvania*:

Paradoxically, the originally Neo-Latin Romanians eventually turned towards Constantinople rather than towards Rome when it came to their religious identity. Rome was simply too far and the Romanians found

themselves isolated from it [...]. It was mainly the Slavs that mediated between the Romanians and Byzantium, and it was from them that Romanians took the language of their religion and culture (Old Slavonic) as well as the elements pertaining to the ecclesiastical institutions.

Moreover, 'the Hungarian Crown became committed to the mission of fighting 'the heathen, the heretics, and the schismatic', trying to impose their conversion to the Catholic faith'. (Pop, Porumb, 2004:20). Beginning with the year 1351, the Orthodox faith was gradually taken outside the law. 'The clergy and aristocracy of Orthodox faith, that is the Romanians, were excluded from the country's political life'. (Bodea, Căndea, 1982:15). The new comers received collective and individual privileges and considerable advantages, while the Romanians were forced to defend their old customs and liberties. (Pop, Porumb, 2004:20).

In 1437, faced with the Ottoman threat and with the risk of internal rebellions of the serfs, the Catholic elites (nobles, Saxons, Szeklers) organized a union known as *unio trium nationum* ("union of three nations"), which consecrated a system of Transylvanian leadership that completely excluded the Romanians from power. (Pop, Porumb, 2004:20)

The Ottoman threat helped diminish these ethnic-confessional differences and conflicts. The Late Crusade of the 15th century brought together Orthodox and Catholics, Romanians and Hungarians, Serbs and Croats, Greeks and Bulgarians, Szeklers, Saxons, Poles, etc. in an anti-Ottoman struggle against the Turks.

It is more than obvious that at that time the nations in Transylvania became united in front of the dangers they were facing. The principle "unity in diversity" (Smith, 2004:1) is confirmed once again.

John of Hunedoara (1441-1456) got the fame of a great Transylvanian voivode. He 'was also one of the foremost military leaders of his age'. (Bodea, Căndea, 1982:17). Thus, he became Governor of Hungary. Pop describes him and his son, King Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490):

They became symbolic figures for both the Hungarians and the Romanians, as they descended from a Romanian family that had embraced the Catholic faith and had managed to gain the highest honours in the Hungarian Kingdom. (Pop, Porumb, 2004:21)

Matthias Corvinus ruled for 32 years, a period marked by a brilliant cultural and artistic Renaissance.

The Turkish victory at Mohacs (1526) led to the division of old Hungary in 1541 (Bodea, Căndea, 1982:19) between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburgs. 'Of the entire Hungarian Kingdom, only Transylvania and few neighbouring counties were saved'. (Pop, Porumb, 2004:21). This contributed to

Transylvania's becoming an autonomous principality under Ottoman suzerainty. In 1552, most of the Banat became a Turkish pashalik. (Pop, Porumb, 2004:21).

Military and feudal obligations and heavy taxation led to violent rebellions, such as the revolts of the Romanian, Hungarian, and Szekler peasants occurred in 1437 and 1514. A code of laws called Werböczy's Tripartitum was passed in 1517, which contained the entire legislation of the principality after the dissolution of Hungary. In this way, Transylvania saw itself an almost independent country, feeling the early influences of the modern world. (Pop, Porumb, 2004:21).

The Porte regarded the province as a political entity different from Hungary and consequently subjected Transylvania to a regime similar to that of the two Romanian states, Moldavia and Wallachia. The Ottoman suzerainty ended in the late 17th century. The principality was ruled by a prince, elected by the Diet and confirmed by the Porte. The Transylvanian prince ruled with the assistance of the Council (*Consilium*) and the Diet. Rights and privileges were granted only to three political nations (nobles, Saxons, and Szeklers) and four recognized religions (Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, and Unitarian). (Bodea, Căndea, 1982:20). The Romanians did not participate in public and political life and their Orthodox religion was not recognized.

The Renaissance and the Reformation brought new cultural alternatives, new artistic trends, and new denominations, consecrating writing in the national languages. The printing presses from Sibiu, Braşov, and Cluj printed books in German, Romanian, and Hungarian. These events were interrupted for a brief period by the rule of Michael the Brave (1593-1601) in Wallachia. 'A military genius, courageous and determined, Michael the Brave brought together Wallachia with Transylvania (1599) and Moldavia (1600)' (Bodea, Căndea, 1982:22). The Romanian Church in Transylvania became subordinated to the Metropolitan See of Wallachia and he managed to obtain approval from Vienna to bring the Orthodox faith among the official denominations of the principality. Consequently, he was removed from power, accused of breaking the rules and of elevating his Romanian subjects to an undeserved position. Although the Union lasted for a short period, from May 1600 until August 1601, it made the Romanians conscious about the existence of the three principalities as one people with common language, religion, customs, and ideals (Bodea, Căndea, 1982:23). He was turned into a Romanian national symbol by the historians of the modern era.

3. Development of Transylvania

During the 17th century, Transylvania experienced a time of relative prosperity. 'The Diet passed a new legislation, *Approbatæ* (1653) and *Compilatae*

Constitutiones (1669), which consecrated the establishment based upon three nations and four religions'. (Pop, Porumb, 2004:24). Transylvania began its emancipation from under Ottoman sovereignty.

'In 1688, Transylvania practically became part of the Hapsburg Empire, and in 1699, after the Peace of Karlowitz, its new status gained official international recognition'. (Pop, Porumb, 2004:24). Transylvania's constitutional status within the Hapsburg Empire was determined by the Leopoldine Diploma of December 1691. It would serve as the constitution of the country for the next 150 years. According to it, the political system based on the three privileged nations and the four recognized religions was maintained. However, it was meant to make Transylvania part of the Empire and state clear obligations. Pop (2004:24) further describes the events:

After the annexation of Banat (taken from the Turks in 1718), the imperial authorities decided to organize the region and brought in new colonists collectively designated as Schwaben, or Swabians. As opposed to the Transylvanian Saxons, the Swabians were Roman-Catholic.

The centre of governance and the seat of the Diet was Alba Iulia. It was later moved to Sibiu and, after 1790, to Cluj. A Transylvanian Court Chancellery was established in Vienna in 1694. In the 18th century, the imperial authorities instituted a new, modern order in Transylvania, following the model of enlightened despotism, during the reign of Maria Theresa (1740-1780) and Joseph II (1780-1790). 'These measures were meant to increase religious tolerance, to modernize education and administration, to limit the abuses of the nobility and even put an end to serfdom'. (Pop, Porumb, 2004:24). According to official statistics, the Romanians represented two-thirds of the population at that time. They 'felt encouraged by the new reforms'. (Pop, Porumb, 2004:24). 'Interested in the stability of the empire and in the loyalty of its citizens, Vienna encouraged the Romanians to embrace Catholicism'. (Pop, Porumb, 2004:24). The Romanians were expected to get closer to the Church of Rome. The most important was the recognition of Papal Supremacy. In exchange, the authorities promised imperial patents granting the Romanians equal rights with the other nations. Thus, after 1700, some of the Transylvanian Romanians became Greek-Catholic (Uniate), while the rest decided to remain Orthodox. The new Church, with its central see in Blaj, would become known as the Romanian Uniate, or Greek-Catholic Church. (Pop, Porumb, 2004:25).

The 18th century also recorded the beginning of the political struggle of Transylvanian Romanians to win recognition as a nation. Hungarians, Romanians, Germans, Szeklers, Serbs, etc. defined their national ideology

and goals, established institutions and 'tried to gain their national freedom and establish independent nation-states'. (Pop, Porumb, 2004:25). In Transylvania the struggle was opened by bishop Inochentie Micu Clain (1692-1768) and it was based on the Leopoldine promises related to religious union. Together with Petru Maior, Samuil Micu, Gheorghe Șincai, Ignatie Darabant, he asked official recognition of the Romanian nation, equal rights with the other Transylvanian nations, right of free movement, access to education and crafts, official recognition of their language, etc. 'He also invoked the superiority of the origin, the antiquity and continuity of the Romanian people in Transylvania'. (Bodea, Cârdea, 1982:36). The ideological and cultural movement of the Romanian intellectuals from Transylvania was called the *Transylvanian School*. It started at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. Its leaders contributed to the formulation of the *Supplex Libellus Valachorum* of 1791. As Nouzille (1996:209) describes it:

It was meant to inform the Court of Vienna on the claims of the Romanians in Transylvania and ask for fully equal rights with the three privileged nations (the Hungarian, Saxon and Szekler noblemen) and a representation in the Diet proportional to the tax-payers' number.

Bodea and Cârdea (1982:37) draw a clear conclusion:

The Transylvanian School played an important role not only in affirming the cultural and national rights of the Romanians in Transylvania, but also in the ideological preparation of the entire Romanian national movement of the 19th century.

The 19th century - 'the century of nations' (Pop, Porumb, 2004:26) - found most peoples of Central and south-eastern Europe 'still deprived of their nation-states'. (Pop, Porumb, 2004:26). Starting with the 16th century, the Ottoman and the Hapsburg Empire, later joined by Russia, had divided among themselves this part of Europe. 'The climax came after the year 1800, when the democratic ideals of the French Revolution and the national German spirit became known' in (Pop, Porumb, 2004:26) Transylvania. The priority was national freedom. (Pop, Porumb, 2004:26).

Marica (1997:252, our translation) describes the people from Transylvania:

The people here are very active and well organized, while they follow traditional and modern trends. The Austrian administration was one of the best in Europe by its spirit of order, civilization and progress, which led to a better life standard.

Consequently, 'Transylvanians became ambitious, proud, cultivated, optimistic, strong, courageous and conscious about their own value'. (Marica, 1997:252, our translation). The various nations of the empire intensified their struggle for emancipation, culminating in the Revolution of 1848-1849. Pop (2004:26) presents briefly the situation:

In Transylvania, it involved Romanians, Hungarians, Szeklers, and Saxons, who all condemned Austrian absolutism and the feudal order still existing in the country. In Transylvania, the Romanians fought for their own ideals and against a Greater Hungary, deemed more dangerous than the existing Greater Austria.

National ideals remained unfulfilled in 1848, but it meant a first step. After the repression of the Revolution of 1848-1849, the system of absolute governance was reintroduced throughout the Hapsburg Monarchy until 1860. 'The Diet of Sibiu of 1863-1864 enacted the "Law of equal national rights" for the Romanian nation [...] and recognized the Romanian language as official language of Transylvania'. (Bodea, Căndea, 1982:53).

National equality lasted only until 1865. To prevent a collapse, the Hapsburg Empire experienced an Austrian-Hungarian dualism (1867-1918). (Pop, Porumb, 2004:26). Transylvania was placed under direct Hungarian rule. 'As discrimination increased, the struggle for national emancipation intensified'. (Pop, Porumb, 2004:26). 'The Romanians in Transylvania wanted to unify with their brothers from Wallachia and Moldavia, as they spoke the same language and had common roots'. (Marica, 1997:267, our translation).

During the First World War (1914-1918), and especially towards its end, this struggle took new proportions. In October-November 1918 new states emerged, mostly on the ruins of Austria-Hungary: Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria, Poland, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, Romania. Transylvania, by the will of a majority of its inhabitants, the Romanians, joined Romania (Wallachia and Moldavia) on 1 December 1918. 'The union was decided at Alba-Iulia by 1,228 delegates appointed by the Romanian communities from Transylvania, Banat, Crișana and Maramureș'. (Pop, Porumb, 2004:26). In 1920, by virtue of the Paris Peace Treaty signed by the Allies and Hungary in the Palace of Trianon, the union between Transylvania and Romania received international recognition.

The consequences of the 1918 Unification are underlined by Marica (1997:269, our translation):

The Unification of 1918 had many important meanings. It brought changes in the psychological, social, and political structure. The Romanians in Transylvania left the circle of Central Europe and German culture and

entered the south-eastern European space, thus being under the French influence. As Cluj detained a central position, it became the seat of the province. Together with Timișoara, Oradea, Sibiu, etc., it was the social and cultural centre of the new Romanian life.

The feelings of the Hungarians are described by Edroiu and Pușcaș (1996:23):

Being now an ethnic minority within Greater Romania [...], the Hungarians of Transylvania were hostile to the Romanian authorities arrived in the province and from the very start accused them of practising a policy of "assimilation".

Thus, the Hungarian policy between the wars was oriented towards 'the denunciation of the Peace of Paris, the cancellation of the Treaty of Trianon, and the revision of the northern borders, in the name of some pretended "historic rights" '. (Edroiu, Pușcaș, 1996:23).

'Until 1918, the Hungarians had preserved their privileged status by means of an overwhelming presence in the Transylvanian cities, which gave them control of the essential economic levers'. (Edroiu, Pușcaș, 1996:24).

After 1918, a natural process of evolution affected the ethnic structure of the urban population, consequence of an economic developed that involved the Romanian element, present until then in an overwhelming proportion mainly in the rural areas. (Edroiu, Pușcaș, 1996:25)

Before the First World War the, due to the centralist tendencies of Budapest, there were almost no discussions about a cultural life and a literature of the Hungarians in Transylvania. (Edroiu, Pușcaș, 1996:26). The young talents were attracted by the perspective of a career in the capital and the few writers who remained in Transylvania were almost forgotten by the Hungarian public. After Transylvania's unification with Romania, the situation changed. The old literary societies knew a revival and new ones were born. (Edroiu, Pușcaș, 1996:27).

The minorities in Transylvania started to create associations and political parties. On December 28, 1922, *the Hungarian National Party* is created by the merger of two parties. (Nouzille, 1996:245). On September 18, 1921, the Saxons regroup themselves into *the Union of Germans in Romania*. (Nouzille, 1996:245). The Romanian Constitution of 1923 adopted the principle of equality of rights for all ethnic groups. 'The law of 1924 on education provided that, in cities where languages other than Romanian were also spoken, instruction be also given in the respective languages'. (Bodea, Câdea, 1982:72).

Between the two world wars, the minorities living in Romania accounted for 25% of the total population and enjoyed full civil and political rights, as granted by the Constitution of 1923.

Even though it signed and applied the provisions of the treaty of 4 June 1920, the Hungarian government did not abandon its aspirations to reconstitute the kingdom of Saint Stephen.

(Bodea, Cârdea, 1982:74).

During the Second World War, between 1940 and 1944, the north-eastern part of Transylvania, 'inhabited by a Romanian majority, was temporarily ceded to Hungary' (Pop, Porumb, 2004:27), at the unilateral decision of Germany and Italy (the "Vienna Award" of 30 August 1940). Bodea and Cârdea (1982:78) explain:

The Vienna Award forced Romania to cede to Hungary a territory of 43,492 square kilometers which included the towns of Salonta, Oradea, Satu Mare, Baia Mare, Sighet, Dej, Năsăud, Bistrița, Cluj, Tîrgu Mureș, Miercurea Ciuc, Sfîntu Gheorghe, and others and a population of 2,667,007 inhabitants of whom 50.2% were Romanians, 37.1% Hungarians, and the rest members of other nationalities. Later, after the Peace of Paris (1946-1947), the international community once again recognized Transylvania as part of Romania.

The Paris Treaty of 1947 re-establishes the Romanian-Hungarian border as it used to be on 1 January, 1938. The Greek-Catholic Church of Transylvania was banned in 1948 and restored only in 1989, after 40 years of persecution during which all of its hierarchy and some of the believers were imprisoned, tortured, or deported.

'In 1959, the Hungarian university of Cluj merged with the Romanian one, creating the "Babeș-Bolyai" University, with Hungarian departments for every discipline'. (Edroiu, Pușcaș, 1996:28). Socialist Romania works on the assumption that it is necessary for nations and states to establish new relations based on total equality of rights and mutual respect of independence. The Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania of 1 August 1965 states that the co-inhabiting nationalities are encouraged to use their mother tongue at all levels. (Bodea, Cârdea, 1982:86). In the districts inhabited mostly by a non-Romanian population, all institutions will also use the language of the respective nationalities and appoint functionaries from the latter. (Bodea, Cârdea, 1982:86). The cultural life of the co-inhabiting nationalities is an organic part of Romania's culture and enjoys material support from the state, providing a large network of cultural, scientific, and educational

institutions in their mother tongue. However, the co-inhabiting nationalities also learn Romanian in order to acquire a correct knowledge of it.

Even before the Romanian Revolution, Romania supported the issue of minorities, by promoting multiculturalism and multilingualism through schools and administration.

The Romanian Revolution of 1989 put an end to communism, which restrained the Romanian people and damaged the country's foreign relations. The new Romanian Constitution from 2003 is favourable to the minorities.

Present-day Romania, on its way to the European Union, 'managed to preserve a valuable historical and artistic heritage, representative for all the nations that have been living on its territory'. (Pop, Porumb, 2004:27). The Transylvanian issue is important for the whole country. It is a national subject because of its central position on the Romanian territory. Transylvania was important in the past, for the genesis and the affirmation of the Romanian people, but it is still important today, by its links with the West.

In the context of Romania's efforts to integrate in the European Union, there is one question that has to be asked: what will be the future of the European Transylvania? We can only speculate on that, but, given its turbulent history, its cultural and linguistic wealth, Transylvania seems to have the prerequisite to tackle European multiculturalism. The experience gained throughout the ages in such matters as cultural tolerance, linguistic acceptance, folkloric adaptation has no doubt prepared the people of Transylvania for what shall be 'extended European multiculturalism'. Culturally, Transylvania qualifies as ready to enter the European Union and compete with the other member states in the chapter "unity in diversity" (Smith, 2004:1).

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Lucia Gorgoi, *Hermann Hesse, Sucher und bewahrer*. Cluj, Casa cărții de știință 2004, 210 seiten

1. Einleitung

Hermann Hesse war in Rumänien stets beliebt, jedoch bis heute nicht ausreichend bekannt. Ein Rezeptionsanstieg ist im letzten Jahrzehnt trotzdem zu verzeichnen; die eingehende Beschäftigung mit ihm an den Germanistikabteilungen der philologischen Fakultäten bringt langsam erkennbare Resultate. Die Popularität der Hesse-Sekundärliteratur zu unserer Zeit beweist, dass die zweite Welle der Hesse-Forschung wirklich etwas Wertvolles für die deutsche Literatur gebracht hat: die Wiederaufnahme der Ideen einer merkwürdigen, absonderlichen, zugleich aber lehrreichen Weltanschauung eines vielseitig begabten Autors.

Das Buch *Hermann Hesse. Sucher und Bewahrer* ist das Zusammenfassung bisheriger Forschungen von Lucia Gorgoi, einer Hesse-Forscherin aus Klausenburg. Die Verfasserin des Buches hält neben ihren Vorlesungen zur modernen deutschen Literatur auch Vorlesungen zum Thema Hermann Hesse am Lehrstuhl für deutsche Sprache und Literatur der Babeș-Bolyai-Universität in Klausenburg. Sie hat im Laufe der Zeit mehrere Artikel über Hesses Werk veröffentlicht. Die Zusammenfassung und Fortführung diesen Artikel ist ihr Buch, welches mit dem oben erwähnten Titel im Verlag „Casa Cărții de Știință“ erschienen ist.

2. Über Hermann Hesse. *Sucher und Bewahrer*

Das Buch von Lucia Gorgoi ist für Philologen verfasst, es bietet eine neue Hesse-Betrachtung, einen Entwurf und auch die Erörterung einer Reihe von neuen Gedanken, und wirkt als Wegweiser (wie die Verfasserin selbst ihr Buch nennt) in dem Bereich der ziemlich komplizierten Labyrinth der Hesse-Romane.

Das Buch konzentriert sich auf folgende Themen: die Suche, die Bereicherung durch die Aneignung und Bewahrung fremden Gedankengutes.

„Die meisten Protagonisten aus Hesses Erzählprosa schreiten auf einem Weg entlang, der zur Erlösung führt.“ (Gorgoi: Hermann Hesse. S.204.)

Das Hauptziel der Verfasserin ist die Darstellung der Suche nach dem eigenen Ich bei Hesse; aus der Struktur und dem Inhalt des Buches können wir entnehmen, dass die Suche nur dann einen Sinn hat, wenn der Suchende auch bewahren kann, worum er sich beworben hat.

Die Einordnung der Kapitel spiegelt einen analytischen Aufbau der Grundkonzeption; Lucia Gorgoi schreitet mit Bedacht vorwärts, sie ist sich dessen bewusst, wie sie ihre Theorie beweisen kann. Sie weiß, welche Bereiche der Literatur für die Leser besser bekannt sind, und auch dessen ist sie sich bewusst, dass manche neue Ideen nur dann einen soliden Grund in den Augen der Leser haben können, wenn sie angemessen

eingeführt und aus vielerlei Hinsicht überprüft worden sind. So analysiert Lucia Gorgoi das Grundmotiv der Suche aus verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten, sie beginnt mit den Vorbildern von Hermann Hesse, mit Friedrich Nietzsche und C.G. Jung, und versucht auf die Spur der Einflüsse von diesen beiden großen Autoren bei Hesse zu kommen. Sie untersucht, wie die beiden Schriftsteller das Gesamtbild der Weltauffassung von Hesse verändert und bereichert haben.

Die Schilderung der neuen Thesen stützt sich vor allem auf die folgenden Romane von Hesse: *Demian*, *Der Steppenwolf* und *Narziss und Goldmund*. Anhand dieser Romane hat die Verfasserin untersucht, wie das Apollinische und das Dionysische bei Hesse auftaucht, was Hesse unter Herden- und Herrenmoral versteht, wer die „Unsterblichen“ oder die „Diener des Geistes“ sind, also mit welchen Steinen der Weg der Suche nach dem Selbst bei Hesse gepflastert ist. Die Überlegungen zum *gnostischen Gedankengut* und zu den *Philosophien des Fernen Ostens* bieten Varianten der menschlichen Theorien über die Seiten der Persönlichkeit, über Polarität und Antinomie im menschlichen Leben, über das Prinzip der Versöhnung, letztlich über das Mutterbild als versöhnende Kraft. Die Autorin hat sich über Gnostik, dieser synkretistischen philosophisch-religiösen Bewegung sehr ausführlich dokumentiert, es gibt in ihrem Buch keine Widersprüche, alles wirkt überzeugend und kann auch überprüft werden.

Die Beschreibung der *Tabula smaragdina* des Hermes Trismegistos ist eine vernünftige Idee: Wer die Prinzipien der hermetischen Philosophie kennt und versteht, kann auch über Hesses Suchen eine bessere Übersicht gewinnen. Aus den Betrachtungen über diese Philosophie erwächst ein besseres Verständnis der

Gestalt von Abraxas, einer Gottheit, die alle Gegensätze in sich vereint, und als Bewahrer fungiert.

Hesse hat sich um das Verstehen anderer Religionen (indische, chinesische) und Glaubensformen bemüht (dies kommt auch in seinen Romanen zum Vorschein). Die fremde Anschauung und Gedankenwelt wirkten auf Hesse stärker als der christlich-pietistische Glaube des Elternhauses – behauptet die Verfasserin des Buches; sie unterstützt ihre Behauptung mit biographischen Daten von Hesse und mit einer ausführlichen Forschung nach den Merkmalen dieser Philosophien in den drei schon erwähnten Romanen von dem Autor. Die fremden Anschauungen öffnen die Tür zu einer neuen Welt der Erfahrung, bedeuten die Entwicklung der Helden von Hermann Hesse.

3. Suche nach dem Neuen

Eine neue Bearbeitung von Hesses Romanen ist nicht nur vom Standpunkt der Literatur oder der Philosophie aus vorteilhaft, sondern auch in Hinsicht auf die Entwicklung der Gesamtkultur des Lesers. Das Buch enthält mehrere Informationen, die man sich nur schwer „besorgen“ kann, deshalb möchte die Mehrheit der Menschen auch nicht nachsehen. Für die Fachleute könnte es eine Herausforderung bedeuten, welches die vier Wahrheiten Buddhas sind, worin die hermetische Philosophie besteht, wie das Bild der Unsterblichkeit bei Nietzsche aussieht, worum es sich in der Baghavadgita handelt, und wir könnten jene fachspezifischen Informationen weiter aufzählen, die höchstwahrscheinlich aus der Fundgrube der Fachleute fehlen.

Die Hesse-Rezeption von Lucia Gorgoi hilft uns, eine neue Sichtweise über Hesses Romane zu entwickeln. Wenn man die Artikel und Würdigungen

über Hesses Werk mit der Hypothese von Gorgoi vergleicht, kann man merken, dass in der Hesse-Rezeption der Begriff *suchen* vorhanden ist, aber der Begriff *bewahren* fehlt. Auch *suchen* kommt selten vor, z.B. in einem Artikel von Horváth Géza (Die Umwelt bei Hermann Hesse – Außenwelt oder Innenwelt? Einige Aspekte der Umweltgestaltung in Hermann Hesses Prosawerk. In: Budapester Beiträge zur Germanistik. Budapest 1993. S.141-146.) oder von Martin Buber (Hermann Hesses Dienst am Geist. Neue Deutsche Hefte 1957/1958).

In persönlichen Briefen von Hesse oder in Geständnissen über das eigene Werk kommt der Begriff *suchen* öfter vor. *Bewahren* jedoch fehlt auch bei ihm.

Der Sucher von Lucia Gorgoi erscheint bei Alfred Wolfenstein als *Revolutionär des Ichs* (siehe Die Weltbühne. 1927. S.273.ff.), der Prozess des Suchens bei Dieter Zimmermann als *Ich-Findung* (siehe Hermann Hesses Doppelgänger. In: Text und Kritik. Hermann Hesse. S.34.), und bei Fritz Axel als *Selbsterkenntnis* (siehe Neue Lernprozesse als Alternativen zum bürgerlichen Bildungsweg im Werk Hermann Hesses. In: Budapester Beiträge zur Germanistik. Welt und Roman. Budapest 1983. S.283.)

Bewahrer aber gibt es nur bei Lucia Gorgoi. Diese Tatsache betont eine neue Seite der Hesse-Forschung: die Entwicklung kann nicht als etwas Abgeschlossenes behandelt werden. In jedem Alter entwickelt sich der Mensch anhand der Kenntnisse und Erfahrungen, die in den vorigen Lebensetappen gesammelt worden sind.

Beim Lesen des Buches von Lucia Gorgoi fällt es uns schwer, darüber zu entscheiden, ob die Fachkenntnisse, die ausführliche Dokumentation und der Fleiß oder die Kenntnisse der Verfasserin

aus dem Bereich Gesamtkultur die bessere Verwirklichung des Forschungsziels erleichtern; das Werk steht in diesen drei Hinsichten auf solidem Grund. Wieder ist es schwer zu entscheiden, ob die literarischen, religionswissenschaftlichen oder philosophischen Kenntnisse der Verfasserin am meisten diesem Ziel dienen.

Vielleicht können wir die Essenz des Ziels von *Hermann Hesse. Sucher und Bewahrer* mit diesen Worten beschreiben: Bejahung der Einheit in der Vielfalt.

4. Dokumentation

Wenn man Hesses Lebenswerk besser verstehen möchte, wäre es sehr nützlich, die von Ralph Freedmann geschriebene Biographie (*Hermann Hesse. Autor der Krisis.*, aus dem Amerikanischen von Ursula Michels – Wenz, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1991.) über diesen vielseitigen Autor zu lesen. Diese Biographie enthält wichtige Informationen, anhand welcher der Leser die Werke Hermann Hesses aus mehreren Gesichtspunkten analysieren kann. Lucia Gorgoi verzichtet nicht auf die Daten aus dieser Biographie, sie erkennt einige Aspekte aus dem Leben von Hesse in den Romanen des Autors, und anhand dieser Aspekte nimmt sie die Entwicklung der Helden unter die Lupe.

Das Bild einer seltsamen Welt bei Hesse wurde schon von Michael Limberg (*Zwischen Eigensinn und Anpassung – Außenseitertum im Leben und Werk von Hermann Hesse*, Bad Liebenzell: Bernhard Gegenbach 1999.), auch von Bernhard Zeller (*Hermann Hesse mit Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten*, Reinbek: Rohwolt 2002.) untersucht, aber als ausführlichste Dokumentation über einen Roman von Hesse sollte das Buch von Walter Jahnke (*Hermann Hesse: Demian. Ein er-lesener Roman*, Paderborn: Schöningh 1984.)

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gelten. Er analysiert Hesses Roman *Demian* aus mehreren Gesichtspunkten, entdeckt darin Züge, die nachweisen, dass Hesses persönliches Menschenbild, wie es aus den Schicksalserfahrungen seines Romanhelden hervorgeht, eine allgemeine Gesetzmäßigkeit für die ganze Menschheit darstellt. Die Einsamkeit, die Meditation, die positiven oder negativen Einflüsse der Außenwelt, die Religion, der freie Wille, der Aufstieg in höhere Regionen durch christliche Werte, der

Traum sind Diener der menschlichen Entwicklung, nötige Mittel auf dem Weg zur Entwicklung, aber letztendlich bestimmen sie nicht das Schicksal des Einzelnen. Die einzige Instanz, die für das Schicksal des Menschen verantwortlich ist, ist der Einzelne selbst.

Fazit: Vor allem Philologiestudenten/Innen sollten unbedingt das Buch lesen.

SZELL ANITA

Mariana Neț, *Alexandre Dumas: Le pays où il fait mort. Un exercice de lecture (Alexandre Dumas: Tărâmul unde se moare. Un exercițiu de lectură)*, Viena, Institut für Sozio-Semiotische Studien, ISSS, 1997, 312 p.

Rodul a douăzeci de ani de cercetări, volumul Marianei Neț se constituie într-o „provocare” adresată cititorului, după cum precizează însăși autoarea în „Concluzia” cărții. Departate de a fi un studiu exhaustiv al operei lui Dumas – lucru imposibil, fie numai și din cauza vastității acesteia –, demersul Marianei Neț propune „reabilitarea” scriitorului Alexandre Dumas, reșezarea sa pe locul ce i se cuvine în istoria literaturii universale.

Considerându-l pe Dumas „unul dintre geniile cele mai interesante pe care cultura tuturor timpurilor le-a produs” (p. 305) și având la dispoziție un bogat material bibliografic, autoarea încearcă să găsească valențe inedite operei lui Dumas și sugerează, chiar dacă pentru aceasta ar fi necesară rescrierea istoriei literare, o re-integrare a acestei opere într-un alt circuit decât acela al paraliteraturii, al melodramei și al romanului popular, în care ea a fost încadrată până acum. Este cuprins aici și motivul pentru care subtitlul acestui volum este „un exercițiu de lectură”.

După cum mărturisește autoarea în „Cuvânt către cititor” (p. 7), materialul volumului se organizează în funcție de anumite „linii directoare”, care vizează părțile și capitolele, precum și în „fișiere” de ordinator, care vizează subcapitolele. În majoritatea textelor studiate (în jur de 200 de volume), M. Neț descoperă un model al operei lui Dumas guvernat de o constantă: tema morții. Această temă centrală este exprimată, înainte de toate, de titlul

cărții, inspirat de un text al lui Dumas, *Călătorie în Rusia*: sintagma „tărâmul unde se moare” („le pays où il fait mort”) sugerează un univers intermediar, ireal, situat între viață și moarte, dar care este în același timp virtual, *putând* să se concretizeze.

Volumul este structurat în trei părți, precedate de un „Cuvânt către cititor” și un „Cuvânt înainte” și urmate de „În loc de concluzie...” Titlurile celor trei părți: *Constante*, *Textele în care el (se) exprimă* și *Textele în care se ascunde*, precum și titlurile celor trei capitole ale fiecărei părți și ale subcapitolelor exprimă cu elocvență conținutul acestei cărți, respectiv temele și motivele operei scriitorului francez, concentrate în jurul temei morții, cu variantele sale.

Lectura textelor lui Dumas propusă de către M. Neț este o lectură „în oglindă”, discursul autorului fiind, așa cum se precizează în „Cuvânt înainte” (p. 9), „un macro-discurs pe cale de a se face sau de a se deconstrui, un labirint închis asupra lui însuși și deschis” în același timp. Fiecare text este considerat drept un text „avatar”, exprimat printr-o scriitură care copiază sau recopiază, prin contragere sau expansiune, alte texte. Acest amestec de modele duce, consideră autoarea, la o alterare a regulilor prestabilite și chiar la negarea problemei „genului” și a „speciei” literare; Dumas însuși ezită uneori să-și includă textele într-o categorie generică prestabilită sau inventează specii literare noi. În acest context, dialogul dintre autor și cititor este calificat de către scriitorul

francez drept „flecăreală” („bavardage”), termen ce sugerează, dincolo de o aparentă facilitate, relativitatea limitelor interpretării și deschiderea textului de interpretat.

Opera lui Dumas surprinde mai mult decât o viziune de tip romantic, caracterizată printr-o logică fantastică a universului și prin modelul mitico-discursiv utilizat. Ea revelează chiar o latură tragică a existenței umane. Lumea sa este o lume a absenței și a imposibilității comunicării, iar personajul suportă dedublarea și ruptura dintre identitate și alteritate, infernul Sinelui. El există doar în imaginar, într-o lume situată între „dincolo” („l'au-delà”) și „dincoace” („l'au-deçà”), într-un timp trecut sau viitor, niciodată în prezent.

Principiul de analiză mărturisit și urmat de către M. Neț în interpretarea semantismului operei lui Dumas este acela de a lua cuvintele din text în sensul lor propriu, *à la lettre*. Astfel, autoarea surprinde teme-simbol precum moartea, cu variantele ei, visul, halucinația, coșmarul, nebunia, călătoria, vânătoarea; copilăria, timp al amintirilor, al unei alte realități și deci al neimplicării; cuvântul (în variantele: carte, scriitură, literă, scrisoare, semnătură, nume); creația (ce apare ca: portret, fotografie, statuie); dragostea, cu varianta căsătoriei, mitul, sub forma basmului sau a povestirii. Toate aceste teme, cu variantele lor, se subsumează celei a morții.

Personajele operei, în opinia Mariane Neț, sunt întotdeauna figuri ce „revin”, „fantome” („des revenants”), chiar dacă iau diverse aspecte: manechine, statui, portrete. Ele sunt stereotipuri ce pot exista doar prin ficțiune, (re)însuflețite de un magician care le transformă în personaje inițiate. Tema dublului (a gemenilor) și motivul oglinzii exprimă perfect statutul acestora: morți vii, ce nu trăiesc niciodată în prezent și care

asistă, prin non-implicare, la spectacolul propriilor vieți, la „theatrum mundi”.

Chiar dacă autoarea acestei cărți nu o afirmă în mod explicit, ea aduce în prim plan o trăsătură a textului lui Dumas de o surprinzătoare modernitate: ficționa-lizarea și teatralizarea lumii are un caracter autoreferențial. Prin autoironie și auto-teatralizare, subiectul Dumas pune sub semnul întrebării însuși statutul său de creator și pe cel al creației. Așa cum universul ideatic al operei este situat între „dincolo” și „dincoace”, așteptându-și materializarea prin imaginația creatorului, la fel se poate afirma că această operă își așteaptă interpretul pentru a fi concretizată și chiar re-considerată în istoria literaturii universale. Iată de ce ea rămâne, asemenea cărții Mariane Neț, o provocare adresată cititorului și generațiilor prezente și viitoare de cititori-interpreți.

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