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EAST MEETS WEST
EASTERN VOICES IN WESTERN DISCOURSE

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ABSTRACT. In our times with the opening of the world, intercultural communication has become a topical issue. But despite mastering a common language, communication often fails to achieve its purposes. The paper attempts to demonstrate that cultural gaps and lack of interest in the *other*'s culture are major causes of miscommunication. Three contemporary British novels which can be grouped under the title *East Meets West*, provide illustrations of such instances of failure in communication.

Background

In recent years, specialists in various fields concerned with intercultural/ crosscultural communication have focused primarily on attempting to answer the basic question: when language, as far as linguistic competence is concerned, is no longer a barrier, what factors enhance or hinder felicitous communication between representatives of culture A and culture B.

As the commonest materialisation of verbal communication is the **conversation**, its study has been tackled beyond its purely linguistic manifestation.

Philosophers and pragmaticians [Brown & Levinson (1987), Grice (1985), Sperber & Wilson (1986)] have seen conversation as a cooperative venture to communicate **meaning** beyond its propositional and literal meanings. Sociologists [Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson (1974)] and ethnomethodologists have demonstrated that the conversational structures are organized in socially meaningful ways, while sociolinguists and conversational analysts [Gumperz (1977, 1980), Tanner (1989, 1990)] have pointed out the socio-cultural loading of verbal interactions.

These specialists argue that cultural variables are not only localised in the speaker's style, ways of structuring arguments and sequencing information, but the

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cultural variables made manifest in attitudes, opinions, values and prejudices are more important than the purely linguistic aspects.

If the linguistic and communicative competences are activated at the surface level of the conversation, cultural behaviour is central to the outcome of the interaction, in the way it leads to communication or miscommunication or even non-communication. One major manifestation of cultural behaviour is **politeness**. Sociolinguists argue that **politeness** is culturally determined, and even if Grice's Cooperative Principle or the Politeness Principle are valid for each culture, there are cultural variations from one culture to another which make extension and adjustment of these principles necessary in order to facilitate intercultural communication.

Hypothesis

One of the sources of miscommunication lies in the false assumptions that representatives of culture A and culture B have made about each other; these false assumptions are due either to cultural gaps that need to be filled appropriately, or to lack of interest in the other culture, made manifest in violating strategies and principles otherwise more or less strictly observed within one's own culture.

Intercultural communication becomes apparent not only in face-to-face interactions between native–non-native speakers in various professional or other encounters, but also in the ways in which novelists of one culture make use of the knowledge and attitudes of their fellow-countrymen about and towards another country, its people and culture.

With the fall of the Iron Curtain, Central and Eastern Europe made its way towards Western Europe, and this encounter on native grounds brought to light problems of communication, due not so much to linguistic problems but to the sociocultural and ideological aspects that are imbued in verbal behaviour.

To illustrate the case in point we will refer to three novels: *A Season in the West* (1988) by Piers Paul Read; *The Long Shadows* (1997) by Alan Brownjohn, *Kitty and Virgil* (1998) by Paul Bailey, and discuss samples of dialogues (conversations) between Easterners and Westerners in matters of conversation structure, cooperative and politeness principles.

What brings together these novels, although *A Season in the West* is previous to 1989, is the experience of three young Eastern European intellectuals with the British society of the '80s and '90s.

Perhaps the two novels which fit best into the *East Meets West* context are *A Season in the West* and *Kitty and Virgil*, as the two protagonists, the Czech Josef Birek and the Romanian Virgil Florescu, are young dissident intellectuals who escaped to the West in the hope that they would enjoy the values of a free democratic society, but they both fail in doing so. On the other hand, in *The Long Shadows* an Englishman's encounter with the East in pursuit of his fellow-countryman's (Philip Carson) experience as a novelist in Romania, contains some excerpts from the latter's novel *A Time Apart*, in which the female character Katrin meets the West as a visitor to England.

Meeting the Brits

All three newcomers meet the West/ England as guests in their homes. Birek is introduced to a mixed company of emigrés and British people in the house of Laura Morton, his translator and protector. Virgil is invited by Kitty Cozier (his protector and lover) to meet her family while Katrin "enjoys" a dinner party offered in her honour by her host family, exiles too.

The dinner parties' main purpose is that of introducing the newcomer to *genuine, authentic* English people. But from the offset the *emotional setting* and the *mood* of the party is either unamiable, indifferent or at best dominated by faked curiosity.

> Then Birek arrived. (...) She [Laura] took charge of him and led him around the drawing-room, introducing him to the different guests, some of whom greeted him in Czech and some in English, but all of whom were *visibly delighted, not just because a writer had escaped to the West, but because all that awkward waiting was over*. (...) While most of these friends of the Mortons had no more interest in the Czech dissident than in a Buddhist schismatic, *he* [Birek] *was fascinated by them*... (*A Season in the West*, p. 34)

This lack of interest borders on mockery in Birek's first meeting a group of writers:

> A waiter led them to a table where three men sat drinking Negronis. Eldon introduced Birek. Geoffrey Bartle, who sat squatly at the head of the table, waved to an empty chair next to his and Birek sat down. Henriot, a leaner, furtive-looking man, gave a twitch which might have been a smile, only the American, Ashton Lowe, got to his feet, clasped Birek's hand and said: "Welcome Birek, welcome to the West." (...) Bartle glanced at Henriot and raised his eyes as if to say: "What kind of goose have we here?" (*A Season in the West*, p. 90-91)

In *Kitty and Virgil*, the family's interest (Kitty's sister's interest) lies more in Virgil being Kitty's lover and/ or would-be husband than in his dissidence. So the opening of the conversation refers to his natural and social background.

> "You are our first ever Romanian, Mr. Florescu. He is, isn't he, Cecil?"
>
> "Not quite. I had a Canadian Jewish Romanian financier pass through my office once..."
>
> "Then Mr. Florescu is our first complete Romanian. You're not Canadian as well, or are you? Or Jewish?" (*Kitty and Virgil*)

Having come with very strong convictions and high expectations, and also being a visitor not a potential intruder, Katrin is more sensitive to the lack of interest people openly manifest; and subsequently she will be more aggressive in interacting with them.

> Katrin wondered when a proper conversation would begin. All the rapid talk around the table, about the food (Dora's hors d'oeuvres), about people she could not have known (ignoring her lack of acquaintance with them), about the prices people were paying to buy their houses in Fieldenhurst – it all felt like a preliminary to something. And then, she thought, I am not a famous person and I do not expect

> special honours, but perhaps some sort of small welcome, as coming from a very different country, landing among strangers and feeling a little uncertain, would be in order? Then they might feel they could ask me about my country, which they were no doubt shy to do without being given the licence? (*The Long Shadows*, p. 74)
>
> (...) Now that she was actually wishing the meal could end, she had resolved that if no one spoke to her by the time they were drinking coffee she would begin herself to ask questions. She had not come to England to sit in silence as the anonymous, ignored foreign girl who could not possibly appreciate their sophistication. (p. 76)

This attitude of lack of interest is best explained by John (Katrin's host), an emigré who has got British citizenship and has lived long enough in England to express some kind of generalisation. Talking about his wife Dora and himself in this British environment, he sadly says:

> She doesn't know that people don't comprehend our past. She thinks she looks as English as the rest of them because they accept her. (...) I know I am not; you know, they are not even interested in understanding. You would want them to ask all the time, but *most English people never ask at all*. (*The Long Shadows*, p. 34)

So, if most English people do not ask questions, *a) Who asks questions in these encounters?* and if they do, *b) What sort of questions are these?*

In *The Long Shadows* Katrin resolved to initiate a conversation in which she wanted to participate actively, and so she starts out aggressively challenging her interlocutors with a difficult question: "'There is something I'd like to know', she said firmly. 'I am a stranger in this country. *What is your purpose in life in England?*'" (p. 76). Following doggedly this topic, which obviously baffled the company, Katrin pours out question after question: "What is the meaning in your lives in England?" (...) "But is it possible just to 'live' if you are an intelligent person? Not to think about why you are living?", being quite oblivious of the timid attempts to answer her questions so that when challenged to talk about freedom in her own country she quite impolitely bites back: "I am very happy to talk about freedom in my country – after we have decided what we think about the freedom in your own country, which is where we started. Can we finish one subject first?" (p. 78).

The abruptness and directness of her questions, the power position she takes in controlling the conversation make her hosts feel that it has become embarrassing and subsequently it is politely interrupted by suggesting another topic (drinking coffee). But then Dora also wondered about Katrin's tenacity and her daring resources. "There had obviously been more thoroughness in her Party education than appeared on first meeting this quiet, old-fashioned young woman." (p. 78).

The kind of verbal interaction – structuring the conversation on question-answer pairs, the particular use of questions eliciting information, no insertion of formulas to achieve some mutual understanding – is indicative of a communicative behaviour imbued with Party ideology and unawareness of adjusting to cultural and communicative variables.

In *A Season in the West* it is also the newcomer, Birek, who initiates the conversation in which he himself could participate actually interrupting one on

rather trivial matters. His intention in meeting the writers is to discuss literature. His first question: "Tell me, (...) do you feel that the concept of God, and of the miraculous, can any longer be brought into the realistic novel as, for example, in the novels of Graham Greene?" is met with comments, reformulations and opinions (11) none of which illuminates the Czech's question. The lack of interest in talking about serious literary matters makes them turn to other topics like sexual relationships and Aids. While the English are extremely talkative, Birek comes up with the most politically incorrect questions and remarks about the Blacks. The climactic point of the exchange is Bartle's shifting to another register, imitating the speech of the Blacks, which leaves Birek perplex. The kind of conversation that is going on is some sort of mockery, mocking at the foreigner's incompetence in English and at his ignorance of the problems that exist in the West.

In fact, Birek fails in efficiently communicating with his interlocutors when first meeting the Brits in Laura's house. There, too, he initiates conversation, but this time by abruptly starting to talk and provide information about his own country. Being fascinated by the stockbroker, he starts out with statements and value judgments about living in a communist country which materialise in a kind of soliloquy; he is moved on by very slight attempts of encouragement from his interlocutor. Within this frame of conversation, moving only in one direction, Birek blurts out a question which baffles his interlocutors: "Here, is there an ideology of liberty, or no ideology at all?" As this risks to move to a dangerous direction, another interlocutor attempts to answer the question and by doing so, he takes the lead and starts asking questions: "You could read *The Economist* in Prague?", "Is it allowed to go to the British Council?", "Where did you learn your English?". All these questions seek to elicit information, mostly about the newcomer, rather than on the political and economic situation in a communist country.

The second question: *What kind of questions do the English people ask?* is partly exemplified by the above-mentioned ones, which point to the interest (real or fake) in the person one is talking to, trying to make out something of him and his reasons to be there. In *Kitty and Virgil* the conversation is initiated by the Englishwoman, Daisy, Kitty's twin sister – a wifey kind of woman, asking for approval and agreement from her male interlocutors, like: "Do you approve of our house, Virgil?". But it is her husband, Cecil, who initiates the 'serious' conversation by asking the most important question: "How did you manage to leave Romania?" and then moving to more vulnerable ones with reference to Virgil's status: Why does he do menial jobs to earn a living? Is he a famous poet in Romania? All these questions are answered politely but briefly (he left Romania by "ways and means") by Virgil, who does not even notice Cecil's ironical undertones when repeating his answers as echo-questions. The conversation moves on with the children participating too, introducing new topics like Sherlock Holmes or Count Dracula, and eventually the conversation they have had is labelled as "fascinating" by Daisy.

This foursome interaction the centre of which is Virgil is a sequence of communicative events which can be translated into a fact-finding trip into Virgil's life. He cooperates, offers the necessary information, only that he interprets everything literally. Virgil's mild politeness, readiness to answer the questions, show the other facet of the Easterner: when asked, you should answer. But having had some experience already in the West, he is reluctant to provide relevant information to clarify his social status. For instance the way in which he escaped to the West remains a mystery until after his death.

Conclusions. Who talks to whom?

From the three samples of conversation one can notice that the desire to talk moves from East to West, the Easterner is eager to initiate conversation, and even if he is not the initiator, he is the **topic** of the conversation. He talks about democratic values, which he craves for – liberty, freedom, high culture – and the regime he has left. He echoes childhood memories, talks about education, regimentation, the whole of political, social, historical background that shaped him. The interaction between the two parties, though materialised in conversations, some of them quite long, seems to break down at some point and leads to nowhere, however "fascinating" it might have been. At one end of the line, the Easterners have made false assumptions about the English, at the other end the English are not really interested in the defectors or Eastern visitors.

The Easterners flout the cooperative principle of quantity in providing information (Birek and Virgil), leaving blanks in their respective pasts, which does not help in forming an accurate picture of their own personalities or the countries they come from. The Westerners seem to flout the principle of politeness (the writers and Dora's guests), they participate in the conversation with some reluctance, and when they do, their contribution is made up of very short answers, fillers and reformulations or echo-questions.

The Eastern voices could not escape the social, cultural and ideological background in which they were moulded and they still sound strange and unconvincing to Western audiences.

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE STATUS OF HUMOUR IN THE THEORY OF FICTIONALITY. FICTIONAL, FICTITIOUS, FAKE-FICTIONAL, MOCK FICTIONAL.

CRISTINA TĂTARU

ABSTRACT. The paper analyses the status of humour in the framework of the general theory of possible worlds, proposing the introduction of two new categories: *fake-fictional* and *mock-fictional*, which it defines and illustrates upon a corpus of English and Romanian humorous verse; this corpus has been selected having in view, as it is further demonstrated, that humorous verse is the area where most mechanisms of humour appear.

Assuming that any description in literature involves fictionality and can thus create possible worlds, the necessary prerequisite of this discussion, which will refer to humorous verse as illustration, would be a delineation regarding literary genre. It seems that fictionality is likely to appear preferentially in non-lyrical genres, since it involves the description (albeit incomplete – Eco, 1996, p.234) of a world. No lyrical passage in any work of fiction could be said, perhaps, to directly define one of its basic rules as a possible world. On the other hand, figures of speech (both in the metaphorical and the metonymical group) could be, in at least one of their aspects seen as "Meinongian objects" (Toma Pavel's term, see Pavel, 1986, p.27), which not only have a function in the poetisation of the existing world, but also create, at times, salient worlds, in themselves.

Humorous verse tends, by definition, to be epical, perhaps because even a mock ode implies a situational or literary intertext standing for a *fabula*, which makes it cease being an ode and become a satire or some other species aggressive to the human condition of its receiver. Even the (physically) shortest types of humorous verse (the limerick, the epigram or the humorous epitaph) textually delineate or contextually imply some fable[1].

An example of humorous epitaph (quoted by Evan Esar, who contends that it might contain unintentional humour) could prove this point:

> My wife NAOMI STANWOOD lies here,
> All my tears cannot bring her back.
> Therefore I weep. (Esar, 1978, p.242)

The "epicalness" of humorous verse may be a result of the fact that it either formulates an alternative world, in some way incongruous to the existing one, or activates some area of normal expectation, to which something should become incongruous. It is clear that incongruities do not exist outside a context; the formulation

[1] W.S. Baring-Gould suggests that a limerick contains all the moments of a narrative (introduction, crisis, suspense, climax – Baring-Gould, 1993, pp.12-13).

of, or reference to some context (which normally appears as a more or less complete set of rules defining a possible or existing world) is normally likely to imply some kind of "epicalness"[2].

The problem of humour in drama (more specifically in comedy – which is, theoretically, a non-lyrical species) raises the question whether verse comedy could be considered humorous verse. Since structurally there appears to be no difference between linguistic mechanisms of humour in verse comedy and humorous poetry (i.e. there are no mechanisms appearing in comedy which could not be present in humorous verse), it might seem that the two species could be assimilated in this respect. This can and will be done in this discussion (some linguistic mechanisms of humour might be illustrated with examples from Shakespeare, for instance); yet, the following observations should be taken into account:

A. Verse comedy uses humorous verse in order to delineate character, situation, etc., in other words, humorous verse is a *means* to create a possible world and not a *purpose* in itself, as it is with humorous verse proper. This *collaterality* characteristic of humorous verse in comedy is, perhaps, what makes possible its free alternation with prose stretches (or, rather, non-versified stretches), which is present both in Shakespeare and in Alecsandri, for instance.

Humorous verse proper, on the other hand, does not only observe verse patterns throughout, but also turns them, at times, into a source of humour; this fact proves that it is humorous *per se*, as compared to comedy, which uses humorous verse *in se*, collaterally to its main purpose which is different. (Maybe the reason why verse drama exists is that rhythmicity is not only mnemonic, but also dramatic to a certain extent, which could confirm our hypothesis that verse in drama serves a purpose different from that of verse in itself).

B. If all linguistic mechanisms of humour present in verse comedy can appear in drama as well, the reverse of this situation is not valid. Since verse can alternate with non-versified stretches, licenses from versification patterns are not likely to turn into a primary source of humour in comedy. But the main difference lies in the fact that, since verse comedy is meant for hearing and not necessarily for reading as well, an entire class of graphetic, orthographical, more generally, most graphically-based mechanisms of humour cannot and will not appear in drama.

A short illustration of this point might be offered by the following examples:

> I often sit and medit8
> Upon the scurvy trick of f8
> Which keeps me still a celib8
> Oh, what a f8!

[2] However enticing, a discussion on the "seriousness" of the lyrical, it is beyond our purpose here. Two observations could, nevertheless, be made: first, that traditional genre delineations are fluidified by the protean character of humour; second, that, as Wayne C. Booth mentioned, there is, at least theoretically, a potential ironical reading for any text; yet, the present discussion is not one focussing on authorial intentions alone.

Or:

> A little buoy said: "Mother, deer,
> May eye go out two play?
> The son is bright, the heir is clear,
> Owe, mother, don't say neigh!"[3]

Such mechanisms of humour are not likely to appear in verse comedy, since the primary purpose of any drama is staging and the quatrains do not combine the graphetic mechanism of humour with any other mechanism which should be independent of spelling; in other words, the humorous effect is lost in the oral form.

In this respect humorous verse proper (*per se*) could be said to be a larger category than its manifestation in drama. An immediate consequence of this is that *no study of humour in drama can cover all the linguistic mechanisms of humour in verse.*[4] Since the reverse is not valid, this may also account for the choice of our field of analysis.[5]

If the mechanism of *alphanumerics* can be, theoretically, a source of humour in Romanian (its basic mechanism is homophony and the latter is a linguistic universal, at least in Indo-European languages), no humorous verse has so far developed on its basis, although there is a fair chance for such developments in the near future. Perhaps, under the pressure of Anglo-Saxon media, alphanumerics have started appearing in advertisements, after 1989 ("O 9 idee", or "Xtraordinar"; the latter example proves the Anglo-Saxon influence in the alphabetical reading of "X" as "eks" and not "iks").

On the other hand, *homonymic verse* cannot appear in Romanian for the time being, because of the phonetical spelling of our language.

The field of mechanisms of humour stays larger in Romanian, as well, in the case of humorous verse, as compared to other literary species, because versification licenses can turn into sources of humour in our language as well. A popular distich which started circulating before 1989, "Foaie verde de dudau/o sa fie si mai bine", uses the oxymoronic character of the inferable rhyme as a grudge against communist propaganda. Graphetic mechanisms can also appear in Romanian: "De ce din soiul alb si galben,/Imi iese tot un peste galben?/ imi iese tot un peste gALBen?/ si de ce, ah, din alb si albastru,/ m-aleg cu, numai, peste ALBastru?… » (Serban Foarta, *Istoriile unui matroz intors de pe planeta roz*, in *Simpleroze*, Ed.Facla, 1978).

If, as was previously assumed, there is a strong likelihood for epicalness to be involved in humorous poetry, and epicalness is bound to imply some fictional construct, the problem of fictionality in humorous verse should be reconsidered. Moreover, it is *humour as an artefact* that should be involved in this construct.

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[3] The examples are quoted in Esar's *Comic Encyclopaedia* under the heading of *alphanumerics*, respectively *homonymic verse* (Esar, 1978, p.47 and, respectively, 354).

[4] At least, therefore, studies like Sister Miriam Joseph's or Brian Vickers', which try to cover Shakespeare's wordplay, could not offer an exhaustive model of analysis for humorous verse.

[5] Humorous verse contains, in our opinion, the maximum of possible linguistic mechanisms of humour, since prose (meant for reading, even) is also a narrower field of analysis, having no mechanisms that cannot be found in verse, as well.

Two basic concepts seem to underlie the different types of possible worlds: *credibility* and *conceivability*. The former establishes conventions regarding ontological status, placing fiction into the existing world; the latter (manifestly or not) defines possible worlds other than the existing one, implicitly or explicitly taking the existing world as a constant point of reference. Our purpose here is not to give a summary of the theory of possible worlds; we shall adopt for this discussion the classification Eco provides (Eco, 1996, pp. 236-240). According to him, possible worlds fall into the following categories:

(i) Worlds that seem true-to-fact and credible and which we can conceive of (Eco's example is of a future world in which his study would be translated into Finnish; but also a past world in which the characters in *Treasure Island* could have been persons navigating in search for it);

(ii) Worlds that do not seem true-to-fact and are little credible in point of our experience (as, for instance, possible worlds in which animals could talk);

(iii) Incredible (unconceivable) worlds – possible or impossible – beyond our capacity of understanding, because their supposed individuals and laws violate our logical and epistemological habits. (Eco's example: worlds furnished with square circles that can be bought for a sum in dollars corresponding to the greatest even number);

(iv) Impossible possible worlds (whose extreme case are the incredible worlds mentioned above), which Eco defines as: "worlds which the Model Reader should conceive of only as much as is necessary for him to understand that it is in fact impossible for him to do so". Here, Eco quotes Dolezel's concepts of "self-voiding texts" (which apply conventional validation procedures to bring narrative entities to life, but then the status of their narrative existence is uncertain because the very founding of the validation mechanism is undermined) and "self-disclosing meta-fiction" (which offers simultaneously both the illusion of a coherent world and the sensation of an unexplainable impossibility). "Impossible possible worlds", Eco argues, "do not simply mention something that is unconceivable. They build up the very conditions of their own incredibility". Finally, he mentions that "in verbal texts, the representation of impossible possible worlds can be superficially considered as imaginable for pages on end, until the contradiction they contain is noticed." (Eco, 1996, p.239)

It results that ***a possible world is always a construct implying (if it is described by a verbal text), at least up to a certain point the conventions of coherence and cohesion***. Except for self-voiding texts and self-disclosing meta-fiction, coherence and cohesion work, throughout the text, in a *bona-fide* manner. In the case of the two categories, it might seem, at first sight, that no coherence and cohesion appear in the text (says Eco: "These impossible narrative worlds include internal contradictions" –

p.237 and, further, "In order to make the sensation of lack of equilibrium more embarrassing, these texts can resort to various syntactic strategies" – p.239).

Any "syntactic strategy" can be supposed to establish a kind of coherence and cohesion in a text, even if it is different from the syntactic strategies used in plainly communicative contexts. Moreover, a marked syntactic strategy is likely to be the vehicle of style; should we consider any syntactic strategy the output of the generative system the human mind is, **a *marked syntactic strategy could be considered the output of a strong generative system*.** The latter, definable as lacking at least one element of the censorship-system dictated (in our case) by the linguistic norm, can be attributed, among others, to the artistic mind.[6] Possible fictional worlds could, then, be depicted by possible syntaxes, which could be deviant in the system of reference of *normal norm* (that of a "real" language, which becomes the language of reference, Wo), but are not so in the system of reference represented by the *possible norm* (the norm defined for W_1, W_2,…). ***Style could be defined, in this light, as the linguistic norm of a possible world.*** The condition for this statement to be valid derives from another feature of style: *consistence* (systematic character), which allows defining it as a set of style markers, in their turn characterized by *recurrence*. In other words, coherence and cohesion should be universals of any text, be its syntax "normal" or "possible".

If coherence and cohesion are implied, incongruity seems to be excluded, regardless of the type of norm (N_o – of an existing language or N_1, N_2, … - of a style). No humorous effect is then likely to appear.

On the other hand, judged in the system of reference of an existing language (which is always there at the backdrop of our expectation), a deviant syntax is not a source of humour, but one of the absurd; our sense of the absurd depends on a "meta"-judgement, always implying the extrapolation into another system of reference than normal expectation.

If salient worlds are not incongruous in themselves, they can become humorous when constantly judged against the existing world, on condition that the incongruity(ies) they present as against "real reality" should be humorous. And, since constant reference to the existing world is and should be made in the case of fiction, it results that ***all fictional worlds are allegories of the existing one***.

Still, some of them are *manifestly mimetical* (historical novels, autobiographies…); others contain elements of self-constitutive description (postulating the rules which are different from those of the real world) – such are the utopia, the fable, the allegory, science fiction, etc. The fact that they contain one or more self-descriptive (meta-) elements points at their being *manifestly* ***fictitious*;** among the latter, some are *impossible* (since unconceivable, self-voiding or self-disclosing, among other types of impossibility). Self-voiding texts and self-disclosing meta-fiction could also be regarded, as against the general laws of fiction, to be ***fake-fictional***. Fake-

[6] Other strong generative systems could be: children's, those of the mentally disturbed, etc. The difference between an artistic and/or a rhetorical generative system and the former, lies in the fact that the latter intentionally abolishes rules.

fictionality differs from fictitiousness in that, while the former destroys the pretence of ontological status (indirectly postulated by the consistent submittance to a sort of rules, be they those of the existing world, with "plain" fiction, or those of a possible world, in the other cases), the latter – fictitiousness – abides by a set of rules which allegedly describe some ontological state of being and, therefore, are consistently pursued. Considering the fact that all fiction can be read as an allegory of the real world (W_0), fake-fictionality appears, by reference to W_o as absurd, whereas fictitious worlds may appear as fairy tales, utopias, etc.[7]

Such a grouping of possible worlds into:

a. manifestly mimetical

b. manifestly non-mimetical,

considering:

b'. fictitious worlds

b'' fake-fictional worlds (absurd worlds)

to be subcategories of b., would more or less cover Eco's classification quoted above.

The place of humour in this discussion should be established, both for the purpose of this paper, and because it has been left aside by most theories of possible worlds.

In its hybrid form (i.e. combined with other mechanisms of incongruity, which are not humour proper), humour can appear in all the categories above; a realistic novel (like Dickens' or Thackeray's), an epic (like *Tiganiada*), falling under type a. above, or, on the other hand, stretches of fairy tales (like *Pied Piper*, *Ivan Turbinca*) or of Lewis Carroll's *Alices*, falling under b. above, clearly combine humour with other elements in order to achieve their effect. As demonstrated above, at least theoretically, any piece of writing can have humorous overtones, on condition that humorous incongruities should appear in it.

What is important for the present discussion is the fact that, ***since the credibility and conceivability of fictional worlds is a function of their coherence and cohesion (in other words, of their consistency), an incongruity of any type, humorous included, will become a marker of fictionality, since any incongruity in a text of fiction points at authorial intention.***[8] (All figures of speech, "syntactic strategies" and inconsistencies in register, sociolect, idiolect, etc., could thus be seen as markers of fictionality).

As markers of fictionality, humorous incongruities are *collateral* to the constitutive rules of the fictional world, yet, on the one hand they combine with the former, yielding hybrid species; on the other hand, humorous incongruities put the

[7] The term utopia is used here in the broadest sense: that of possible world engendered by a consensus author-reader that at least one truth-condition of the world of reference (normally, the real world) is replaced by another sentence.

[8] The detectable authorial intention in these contexts is towards the effectiveness mentioned above, in other words, such textual markers question the would-be ontological status of the world described, marking off fictional worlds from the more general category of possible worlds.

constitutive rules of the fictional world into question, so much the more that they have laughter as an effect, as well as the catasthatic[9] function of all humour, be it pure or hybrid.

A humorous incongruity can, nevertheless, be one of the rules describing a possible world; in such cases it is no longer collateral, but *constitutive, creative* of a world. Whenever this occurs, the world created is ***mock-fictional***. A mock-fictional world cannot be consistent, because its basic rule is an incongruity; it will function only if the incongruous element is replaced by some other rule in the real world, after a process of inference (Eco prefers the term *abduction*), oriented either logically or linguistically.

A mock-fictional world is neither fictitious (because it postulates no ontological status pretending to be real) nor only fake-fictional (because it destroys a would-be ontological status, *in order to drive the reader back into the real world*, a step which is not there either with self-voiding or self-disclosing texts.

The fact that something mock-fictional is, ultimately, non-fictional could be demonstrated as follows:

a. Theoretically, some rules of incongruity should function in any possible world (fictional or non-fictional) on condition that the world in question should have been described to such an extent as to imply some kind of expectation in its entities. In this case, humour should have a description different from that in our world.
b. Possible worlds with a description (and expectation) radically different from ours are inaccessible to us (perhaps, since inconceivable-of).
c. An incongruity, in any conceivable world, is likely to be solved in the system of expectation pertaining to the world of reference (W_o); in our case, an incongruity in a fictional world will be judged in the system of reference of normal expectation, pertaining to the real world, because no other world has been as completely described as to create a radically different system of expectation in human beings. A humorous incongruity in a fictional world intentionally aims at provoking laughter (just like humorous incongruities in the real world can unintentionally provoke laughter).
d. If laughter (and catastasis of the human receiver) is aimed at, these can only take place in the context of and by reference to real-world expectation; moreover, they actually are phenomena that take place in the real world.
e. It results that mock-fictionality reverts the parts played by the fictional and humour, in the case of hybrid humour; ***if with hybrid humour humour is collateral to the fictional and functions as a marker of fictionality, with pure humour the fictional becomes collateral to humour; it comes to life (as mock-fictionality) in order to form the cotext of a humorous incongruity which, in its turn, by feedback into the normal system of expectation, creates laughter.***
f. Obviously, mock-fictionality can only be the output of an intentional act, and is an artefact.

[9] Catastasis, as postulated by Aristotle, is the comical counterpart of catharsis in tragedy.

Consequently, the movement of fiction is from the real world towards a possible world, whereas humour pretends to create a fictional world in order to shift back into the real world and induce a response which has an *ontological status* (laughter).

From the point of view of the receiver, if any fiction is a potential behavioural model, staying in the realm of the possible, humour gives rise to immediate behaviour in the real world.

In point of authorial intention, on the other hand, the fictional outlines (pure) humour may be apparelled in are only a pretext, their function being to form the cotext of a humorous incongruity, therefore a pretext for inducing laughter.

This hypothesis may be checked if we compare from this point of view any other work of fiction with an anecdote or a joke (or, in our field of analysis, with an epigram or a limerick).

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DOCUMENTATION COMPETENCE: THE ABILITY TO SYSTEMATIZE TRANSLATION PRACTICE

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ABSTRACT: In the present study we evaluate 'documentation competence' as a sub-competence enhancing the translation profession. We analyse the benefits of proper documentation of the translation process and the end product. We pinpoint organisational difficulties and detail the development of documentation tools designed and compiled by the translator for individual usage.

Introduction.

Fox (2000: 116) in referring to translation teaching methodology finds it necessary to develop in trainees 'the ability to keep an accurate documentary record of decisions'. This ability can be considered a sub-competence to translation competence, as systematisation of both the translation process and the end product (TT) will help the translator in his professional endeavour to solve future translation tasks.

By documenting the experience gained with each translation task, by systematising solutions into translation tools, the translator becomes a better professional. Already possessing previously documented material, the service offered becomes more efficient, not as time-consuming, more reliable as the methodology and the transfer solutions have been repeatedly verified and the translator becomes more self-certain regarding his performance, his capacity to fulfil commissioned tasks. Also, clients will better appreciate a translator who has documented collaborative contact with the client and can on future occasions readily use a particular in-house style without repeatedly requesting specifications from the client with each task commissioned.

Documentation competence is the ability to document 'collaborative' and 'textual contact' (Greere, 2003:81) by systemising the translation process and the transfer solutions reached for the purpose of re-using such material in order to fulfil future tasks which are either commissioned by the same client or by a different client. Documentation competence entails knowledge and experience of tool design (i.e. tool structure), information processing (i.e. tool content) and referencing (i.e. tool links). However, documentation is also an organisational skill, entailing knowledge and experience in organisational techniques. The former refers to the questions of 'what?' and 'how?' to document, while the latter component refers to 'when?' and 'how?' to document.

Organising Documentation.

In order to efficiently decide 'what, when and how?' to document, the translator must be able to evaluate the benefits of a detailed systematisation against

the present-moment time-consumption. The processing of data for inclusion in term banks, the design of diagrams indicating term relations, the relevant filing of full-size texts into corpora, additional research for complete tool development, though rewarding in the long-run will undoubtedly be time-consuming. Consequently, the translator must decide for a systematisation method which may prove most beneficial as compared to the difficulties it raises.

Depending on the elements and their documented status, the translator may opt for (a) systematisation throughout the translation process, (namely the inclusion in systematisation tools immediately as elements are being research and partial or final solutions developed), (b) for a winding-up systematisation, which follows the translation process and may be completed exhaustively, also by engaging in additional research and (c) for additional documentation sessions-independent of individual task. Generally, (and mainly for time considerations) systematisation will be undertaken as a winding-up stage to be completed after task fulfilment, i.e. after the translator has presented the client with a TT. However, (a) and (c) may also be employed as efficient documentation methods in particular situations.

(a) *Systematisation throughout the translation process.* The usefulness of this systematisation method is limited to such situations where elements are encountered that can easily be documented without affecting the global flow of the translation process- otherwise (b) is used. For example:

(i) When a definite transfer solution is elicited without any contextual implications, the translator may find it more convenient to file it in a glossary or term bank immediately.

(ii) The same holds good for elements which prove to nicely complete existing diagrams which the translator continues to build on from previous tasks.

(iii) Reference/collaboration cards or corpora may also be added to during the translation process. This is recommended when during research the translator comes upon information which is irrelevant for the given task but the translator evaluates it as potentially relevant for competence enhancement.

(b) *Winding-up systematisation.* This method is the most common. The translator, having fulfilled the task, is now no longer constrained by the deadline and he can use his time to systemise his findings.

(c) *Additional sessions.* Ever so often, a good professional will revision his translation tools in order to update the information he has systemised by validating partial solutions marked unreliable and re-evaluating solutions on the basis of more recently acquired knowledge. Such revision sessions may include research undertaken irrespective of a given task. This type of research derives from the translator's competitiveness. His professional urge to better his translation competence and his translation tools, results in an increased output potentiality for tasks to come.

During systematisation, the translator will decide what to retain from the knowledge gained during research, which tools are appropriate for particular items, whether further research can be undertaken for a previously marked item to reach the desired reliability level within the translation tool and how to efficiently counterattack drawbacks in tool-development. In other words, he must decide for the tools which accept the inclusion of new items, he must evaluate whether he can further process elements which he has previously marked as 'not sufficiently validated' for translation purposes and he must update tool-design and referencing between tools, if required.

The most relevant criteria for decision-taking are: the type of information gained and the degree to which the information was processed for the given commission. Such a decision-making process may lead to more complex situations, as presented below:

(i) Through research, the translator may elicit more information than is required for individual task fulfilment or less information than is required for a complete/fully-reliable translation tool development. Thus, in the former case, the translator may choose to systemise only some aspects encountered and to merely reference others. In the latter, however, if the translator wants to include an item (he has come across) in a systematisation tool in a processed, reliable form, he may have to extend the research beyond the translation task proper. The research completed for one task may not be sufficient to obtain a high degree of reliability for future usage. When this happens, the translator may further the research after task fulfilment in order to gain the information necessary to process the item into a final tool-appropriate form (to comply with the existing tool characteristics), or he may merely note the existence of the item and its potential implications and leave the processing for a future date; in which case, he must mark the unreliability of the item and its processing necessities. By doing so, he ensures that future usage of that item will, at least, be accompanied by a prerequisite validation.

(ii) Situations may also appear where individual items determine a re-evaluation of tool characteristics on the whole leading to a change in the design of the particular tool. For example, if the translator has previously filed a term in a glossary and now it surfaces that contextual implications also apply, he may move the term in the term bank and rethink the content fields of run-ons in that entry. Additional information regarding filed terms may lead to a gain of fields in a term bank, or to a change in the relation categories of a diagram. By access to new original material, the translator may rearrange the corpora he has compiled on other (more varied/ refined) criteria or he may simply design new reference lists.

(iii) Some elements may prove suited for more than one tool-type. For example, a term may be included in a term bank (as it requires extensive contextual explicitation) but also in an equivalence diagram or a relation diagram. A parallel text elicited in an authoritative reference work in a given domain may be included in a corpus as a full-size text, but it may also be referenced in the reference list on characteristics of subject-matter. When this happens, it is recommendable that appropriate links are designed between the translation tools for more productive re-usage.

As part of translation-tool development, the process of referencing may also entail decision-making. For more efficient time-management, referencing can be subject to encoding. The translator may encode specific information items so as not to provide full publication details every time a reference is required. For this purpose, the compilation of bibliographical lists added to a given corpus or reference lists (designed as an individual translation tool) are of particular importance. These lists summarise the publication details of the works used during research, making referencing potentially less elaborate. Additionally, on the basis of the lists compiled, the translator may decide to design a specific system of encoding to be used for references throughout all the translation tools. This is possible as such translation tools are for internal usage and the translator develops the system he feels more comfortable with, and one which allows for a speedily administration of the translation tools. For example, if the items in the lists are numbered, the referencing process can be reduced by substituting in the reference the invariable pieces of information (e.g. the author's name, the year of publication) with the number which corresponds to the number the publication holds on the list (i.e. instead of (Slorach & Ellis 1998: 53) the translator will write (5:53)). Note, however, that for this encoding option, the alphabetical update of the reference list or its renumbering is highly damaging. In the case of rearrangement, the numbers used in the references stop indicating the work they were substituted for initially. Consequently, if the translator adopts this system, he must make sure that the list is added to as new elements are introduced, without any rearrangement, otherwise the whole system can backfire and it will result in a counterproductive systematisation.

For efficient referencing, the translator will have to consider in detail the advantages and disadvantages of a system to be adopted, as any subsequent changes in the encoding approach are not easily made especially if systematisation has already resulted in sizeable translation tools. If he doesn't feel comfortable in manipulating a particular encoding device, he should either reference each time in detail or change the system to something he can more easily relate to. In either way, he will avoid ulterior professional misfortunes that could render his work futile.

Developing Translation Tools.

The information that is most often documented pertains to transfer solutions employed in the end product such as vocabulary matters, layout conventions, and subject matter specificity. But equally important is the systematising of process findings such as client recommendations or requests regarding the transfer methodology

and the transfer solutions, and also supplemental materials encountered during research (model/parallel, comparative and background texts). Supplemental texts may be systematised as individual items or they may be compiled into corpora organised on specific content or form issues. Such materials sustain the validation of solutions and can also be re-used in the future as research material for other tasks.

Documenting solutions by maintaining the research material they were derived from will help the translator in recontextualizing the solutions as found in the original material. Documentation containing the original context of usage will enable the translator to accurately decide on re-usage of transfer solutions for the production of other target texts commissioned under different task descriptions. Even more efficient, textual systematisation in the form of corpora compilation allows a contextual comparison, which can help in validating solution choices.

Thus, depending on the macrotextual or microtextual items to be systemised, the translator may use tools such as: (1) task catalogue- containing task-relevant information, (2) vocabulary/term banks: glossaries- containing equivalence lists with context independent solutions or terminologies- containing more elaborate term information including contexts of usage, linguistic restrictions, etc, (3) diagrams- designed to indicate subject/ equivalence relations, (4) corpora- with full-size texts, (5) reference catalogue- indicating subject-relevant authoritative works with publishing details and pages of interest, and, where desirable, (6) collaboration catalogue- documenting collaborative contact.

Through research the translator will have gained in (domain-specific) knowledge. Some such knowledge will have been transformed in ready-usable solutions throughout the translation process (to be included in (2), (3) or (6), while other research results may only be systemised (in (4) or (5)) as raw material for other tasks, (i.e. as a starting point for research or solution design) or they will have to be researched further in order to become suitable for inclusion in a translation tool of the type (2) or (3).

All these translation tools will require additional time and work, separate from the translation process proper. While (2), (3) and (6) require straightforward extensive time and effort for the translator to process the information so as to make it tool-compatible, note that even (1) and (4) which are seemingly easy to compile may prove time-consuming. For the former, the information obtained through analysis and research has to be filtered and reorganised so as to correspond to the translation tool standard as designed by the translator. For the latter tools, the texts exist and they will be filled separately (for (1)) or added by consideration of some criteria to a stack of other texts (for (4)). However, the mere filing of textual material without any translation orientation will not be efficient. For this reason, the translator will have to work on these texts as well before he includes them in (1) or (4): he will mark such texts according to their usage potential, he will highlight (by use of coloured markers) specific transfer relevant characteristics, he will reference the texts, etc.

To be efficient, translation tools designed by the translator should be added to and adapted with each task in order to ease the fulfilment of future potential tasks that can be encountered in the translator's profession.

(1.) *Task catalogue.* It is advisable that each task be documented properly. Repeated task systematisation will result in a 'task catalogue'. The 'task catalogue' groups together individual 'task files', which can be easier accessed, especially if the catalogue is designed to contain a contents list.

The 'task file' contains the details/results of a particular task. Such files will include –among others- a task description, any client-specific requests, the ST and the TT produced, any additional hard-copy textual material obtained through research, and references to relevant background texts or internet sites. Subsequent to the compiling of the task file, the results of the research in terms of competence enhancement (both product and process competence) will be redistributed -after having been relevantly processed- into other translation tools, which are useable in any translation tasks. Microtextual transfer solutions will be included in glossaries or terminologies, or they may be placed in appropriately designed diagrams. Macrotextual transfer solutions are reusable by corpora analysis, thus full-size texts exhibiting format conventions foremost will be included in corpora specifically designed on categories to suit transfer needs. Bibliographical references to particularly relevant texts accompanied by key-words indicating subject-matter/ text-genre information will be filed in a 'reference catalogue'. In addition, tasks commissioned by the same client may determine the translator to compile a 'client file' containing the specifics of the recurrent client.

As they contain relevant information on subject-matter and textual conventionality, task files will support future translation tasks which exhibit a degree of similarity to the filed task. Even remotely similar tasks may be prompted forward in terms of transfer methodology and transfer solutions.

For trainee translators or translators starting out in the translation profession, it is recommended that a task file be compiled after the completion of each task until they gain a particular ease in dealing with translation tasks, until they develop sufficient translation competence and until their own translation tools are fairly consistent. Experienced translators may choose to redistribute the information obtained through research directly to the translation tools they have developed which contain information synthesised from all previous tasks. However, if systematisation time is limited, even experienced translators may more readily opt for the compilation of a task file instead of updating other translation tools. By doing so the translator stores the information in a less processed form than he would if he were to reliably update other tools and he will process it at his leisure, when he is less constrained time-wise.

Drawbacks. As the ST and other textual material come as hard-copy, it is quite difficult to develop a task catalogue in electronic format. A mixed format (i.e. electronic and hard-copy), though possible, may be confusing unless well administered.

For these reasons, the task catalogue is in hard-copy format, fact which will determine a drawback in usage, namely 'difficult handling'.

Difficult handling: Task files are efficient in terms of information storage as they allow the translator to store everything rapidly; however, as the translator fulfils more and more tasks for which he compiles task files, these may become, in time, quite cumbersome to handle especially due to their hard-copy format. Thus, their efficiency is reduced, as their re-usage potential is affected by time considerations. This can be avoided, if the translator develops a useful system of cataloguing such files, if he references elements in the task file, linking them to other tools and if he systematically reviews the information filed and redistributes it in other translation tools after which he may reduce such components of the task files which have become redundant. By doing so the task catalogue becomes less extended in size and the information within is made more accessible.

(2.) *Vocabulary/Term Banks.* Vocabulary equivalences elicited by the translator for individual, context-bound vocabulary items can (and should) be systematised by the translator either in (a) glossaries (lists of equivalences) or in (b) terminologies (containing definitions, sources of context, etc.) Vocabulary entries may be noted in alphabetical order in notebooks or on cards (which the translator keeps as his own GL or domain-specific dictionaries/terminologies); however, the most efficient way of systemising vocabulary is on the computer. The translator may use a simple text editor (e.g. Miscrosoft Word) or more specialised translation tools (e.g. Trados Multiterm) to design a terminology with the fields he considers relevant. Systemised in electronic form, entries will be more easily updated and the structure of the glossary/terminology more easily redesigned, if need be.

(a) *Glossaries.* The glossary includes an equivalence-based list of those terms that regardless of contextual combinations will always be equated with the same corresponding TL word. Because of this feature, no additional specifications are required during the completion of a glossary entry.

During translator training, trainees are often asked to compile glossaries. As they acquire a certain ease in handling and developing glossaries, they tend to favour this tool as they enter the translation profession, especially for the following reasons: (i) the translator does not have to provide detailed comments; hence, less work and (ii) the amount of time allotted for filing information into a glossary is insignificant. However, if professional enhancement is aimed at, this tool will be extremely inefficient.

When the time allotted for systematisation is restricted, a glossary is chosen over other translations tools at the risk of decontextualising the vocabulary item. Though seemingly efficient, such an approach will prove its ineffectiveness in the long-run. It is true that, there are cases of unique equivalence (i.e. with only one transfer solution being possible regardless of contextual usage) where glossaries may be compiled, but generally, a bilingual table containing a list of contextless

equivalences will not be very helpful for the translator to solve future tasks as most equivalences are context-related and task-determined. Thus, the glossary entry can be highly misleading, especially if relevant contextual details are simply omitted for temporal reasons rather than subsequent to a relevance evaluation.

For these reasons, we do not recommend the development of this tool as an individual tool, but we suggest the inclusion in a term bank of the terms processed (in the form of a term bank entry), even if –for the given moment- there are no explanations that can or have to be added. Such an approach will reduce time consumption in the long-run. After further research the translator may need to add to a particular glossary entry, which might have seemed at first unproblematic equivalence-wise. If so, that entry will have to be deleted from the glossary and moved to the term bank or directed towards the term bank by adding a link to the glossary with an additional unreliability mark. This means that apart from completing the entry in the term bank, the translator must waste time with the update of the glossary; otherwise, he risks reusing the glossary entry as if it were valid.

Drawbacks.

(i) Reliability: Though easily managed, this tool is restrictive in termsof appropriate contextualisation making its entries questionable.

(ii) Difficult content/structure update: The translator will have difficulties in carrying out any update resulting from subsequent research, which invalidates a particular entry because of new contextual information.

(b.) *Terminologies.* A term bank allows for a better administration of terms for future re-usage. Properly designed it will include, apart from the equivalence, highly relevant linguistic and extralinguistic information processed accordingly so as to sustain future TT production. This additional information will not only indicate the restrictions of particular transfer solutions, but it may indicate other usage criteria as well. Thus, the translator may want to introduce different fields to account for the item's affiliation to the SL or the TL, and for equivalence-related information. Such fields may contain: semantic information (e.g. a definition field), grammatical peculiarities (e.g. number, gender, etc fields), contextual peculiarities (e.g. collocation field- to indicate collocative restrictions/ phraseological usage/ domain specificity), exemplifications (e.g. example fields), referential information (e.g. source fields: for the item, for the definition, for the context; reference fields: with links to other relevant texts, to other entries in the terms bank, to other translation tools containing similar or related information; collaborator fields: relating information to specific collaborators, restricting equivalences to given clients, etc). Note that not all entries will have all the fields completed. Depending on the importance of the field for a given entry and on the information the translator has obtained, the field may not even be included in the entry (although it exists as a plausible filed for the term bank) or it may remain blank until the proper information is gained.

Term banks may be domain exclusive (i.e. designed to contain only terms pertaining to a particular domain) or domain inclusive (i.e. including in a larger

general language data base also domain related terms with their domain-relevant specifications). Term banks may be designed as monolingual (i.e. focussing on SL or TL usage) or bilingual (i.e. also providing SL-TL equivalences described as context-dependant). As a translation tool, bilingual term banks are more appropriate, particularly for time considerations, as the relevant information is compiled in one tool. Thus, the translator saves time, instead of having to consult two or more term banks.

A comprehensive term bank is generally obtained after fulfilment of a substantial number of tasks resulting in solutions worthy of systematisation. Each element to be included in the term bank may affect the existing term bank format to some extent, depending on its linguistic/pragmatic/domain characteristics. Modifications may be content-related (i.e. having to do with the fields designed, with the content which is systemised with each new entry) or layout-related (i.e. influencing the order of information, the arrangement of particular fields). When a modification is called for, the translator will evaluate the time and effort implied by the full rearrangement of existing entries and whether this is possible content-wise. That is to say that, if he introduces a new field, existing entries may not contain information to be subscribed to that field. So, if the field is to be completed, the translator will have to engage in research. Similarly, some fields may prove relevant for individual entries but totally irrelevant or implausible for others. For these reasons, a full-rearrangement is rarely acceptable (especially in term banks with a great number or entries); however, if the translator assesses a modification as an improvement, he will surely redesign the term bank for future usage, even if -for efficiency reasons- existing entries are not updated format-wise. Note that any major modifications will undoubtedly not be part of the systematisation stage determined by an individual task, even if they have been induced by the translation process for the fulfilment of that particular task. Such modifications will be done within other working sessions initiated by the translator for better professional management.

Drawbacks.

(i) Time-consumption: A term bank is the result of extensive research and information processing.

(ii) Restriction towards modification: An ulterior modification of the term-bank design (in terms of content and format of term fields) is very difficult to carry out. For this reason, from the beginning, translators must be very resourceful in designing the term bank. After an evaluation of relevant fields, he may decide for a more specific approach by leaving some fields out as a justified choice and including others, or he may try a more general approach and include as many fields even if they may prove irrelevant for some terms. The latter situation is an attempt to avoid problems which could result from a modification in the design of the term-bank; however, it is not an optimal solution as the term-bank will be more difficult to work with as it gains in size. Electronic term-bank development tools offer the translator an alternative to term-bank entries designed as hard copy. Though more costly

such tools are very easily managed and they will more readily accept a design modification.

(3.) *Diagrams.* Diagrams may be designed to express relations of equality/coordination, subordination, superordination, etc. among vocabulary items or specific concepts/realities. When a number of terms are identified as being related for translation purposes (either through a relationship based on equivalences or in terms of subject-matter), the translator may want to capture the relations by designing an appropriate diagram that can evidence clearly the relevance of those relations.

Diagrams may be (a) monolingual or (b) bilingual. Generally, equivalence based diagrams focus on SL-TL equivalences, while subject/domain diagrams may also be designed as monolingual, focussing on the enhancement of domain competence.

(a) *Monolingual diagrams* will contain only SL or TL items. Such diagrams are basically meaning-focussed enhancing comprehension (i.e. they are designed to contain denotations, connotations etc.,) or usage-focussed eliciting contexts of usage, collocative values, etc.

(b) *Bilingual diagrams* are designed to contain the SL-TL equivalences by consideration of their context peculiarity. Such diagrams are transfer- orientated, focussing on the SL-TL transfer and the contextual adequacy of equivalences.

Some translation-oriented diagrams may seem fairly uncomplicated; however, regardless of the visual impact of the outcome, the amount of work that goes into a diagram can be considerable. Firstly, the translator must elicit the connection, then he must validate the relations, and finally he will design clear, logical links indicative of the relation type (i.e. the diagram design proper). Information items, which have not been fully processed in terms of their connections to other items part of an already existing diagram framework, will be included only when accompanied by 'unreliability' observations (i.e. why and to what extent they are unusable), otherwise they will compromise the reliability of the diagram. Through subsequent research induced by further translation tasks or by additional working sessions, an existing diagram may be constantly updated, both in terms of content and format.

Diagrams are an important translation tool, and a very efficient one. If properly designed, their usage will lead to minimal time consumption during TT production, but maximum reliability. Due to a well highlighted format and a highly processed content exhibited by translation-relevant diagrams, the connections of a term with related domain information are easily elicited and can be reliably applied in TT production.

Drawbacks.

(i) Time-consumption: Completed diagrams are obtained after elaborate information processing. Additionally, the formal design of the diagram can be exceedingly complex.

(ii) Reliability: The inclusion of elements without 'reliability' marks or additional explanatory notes –where appropriate- will render the usage potential of the diagram unsteady.

(4.) *Corpora.* Corpora are collections of (SL and /or TL) full size texts compiled on particular characteristics that prove relevant for the fulfilment of translation tasks.

Corpora compiled for translation purposes will generally focus on original textual instances. Depending on systematisation needs, corpora may also include texts resulting from a translation process, i.e. target texts produced by the translator or other professional translators; in which case, the ST must also be included in the corpus alongside the TT.

Original textual material is generally quite hard to come by. Consequently, when the translator finds reliable parallel, comparative texts or relevant background texts that may support a given transfer, he should not let them go to waste, but he should file them according to his professional needs. Sample/parallel and comparative texts may be filed in full, as (annotated) photocopied material. Background information may be filed as photocopies of published material (containing highlights of particular items or/and –if necessary- comments on the side as to the text's usage potential), or as conclusive notes taken by the translator after evaluating original texts or/and after consulting authoritative background texts. There are also cases when the translator chooses to merely include a reference indicating a relevant source. This approach is reliable if and only if the translator has permanent access to the source. If there is any reason to suspect a limitation in access, the translator should photocopy the material straightforward. Photocopying is the least time-consuming and will ensure that the translator has unconditioned access to the relevant text.

Once collected, individual textual instances may be arranged into corpora according to (a) subject-matter (such corpus may be strictly monolingual) or (b) text-genre specificity (such corpus is generally bilingual, containing parallel texts; it may also contain target texts). These texts will then be reused when a new translation task calls for research into subject-matter or text production/reception specificity exhibited by the corpus. Note that both types will accept the inclusion of background information (as annexed texts) to sustain the textual analysis of the authentic texts compiled.

(a) *Corpus category: Subject-matter*. A corpus may be compiled to contain authentic texts or background texts in either the SL or the TL with the purpose of evidencing domain/subject relevant information. Such a corpus documents both content (for a better comprehension of domain-specific information, for proper elicitation of term usage, etc.) and form elements (for elicitation of conventional layout, nonverbal features, accepted order of information, etc.). In other words, when the corpus is arranged according to subject matter, it provides support for the translator in order to solve comprehension difficulties and to elicit subject-specific

style, especially in terms of subject related grammatical (i.e. tenses, word-order) and lexical features (i.e. collocations, subject-bound vocabulary items).

(b) *Corpus category*: *Text-genre*. This type of corpus may be monolingual; however, for translation purposes, it is advisable that such a corpus be bilingual, systemising authentic parallel and comparative texts in both languages, thus documenting by comparison the drafting techniques in the two lingua-cultures as well as domain-appropriate terminological usage. Background information may also be included in this type of corpus for a better identification of textual standards.

This corpus will help elicit conventionality features of content and form alike. Consulting a corpus designed on text-genre similarity will provide answers to questions like: what information is introduced, how are presuppositions dealt with, what is the conventional order of information, what is specific in terms of layout or non-verbal features, etc.

Texts compiled into corpora will have to be processed accordingly so as to better serve translation purposes. In processing texts for corpus-compilation, the translator is advised to mark the relevance of the text for the given corpus and to provide reference links. A text may receive translation-oriented marking from the translator (i) who additionally titles the text with some generalizing concepts to indicate what the text represents within the corpus: e.g. 'translation to text 2', 'original SL text', 'parallel text for text 'Memorandum of Association'', etc., (ii) who includes comments alongside the text which mark content or structural features that have been identified through textual analysis and (iii) who (differentially) highlights relevant elements in the text with special markers, e.g. terminology elements - with red, background information -with green, or crosses out irrelevant information (when the text is a photocopy). Reference marks are also of paramount importance. Each textual insertion in the corpus must contain clear and complete bibliographical references. If the corpus has been designed to contain a bibliography including the works which the texts or notes were taken from, then the bibliographical references can be encoded instead of providing full publication details. The same holds good for cases where the translator uses reference catalogues as a translation tool. Apart from references pinpointing the source of information, it is recommended that the translator provide also reference links to other corpora and to translation tools of a different type where related information may be elicited, thus reducing the time dedicated to research.

As far as the structural design of the corpus is concerned, we find relevant the inclusion of (i) a list of contents to be updated periodically or after each modification in the structure of the corpus and (ii) an annexed bibliography list, in case separate reference catalogues have not been compiled with publication details. Apart from making the research easier, the content page may also have reference value. Because a text may be pertinently included in more than one corpus, the translator may choose to systemise full-size texts in the task file separately and simply add a reference link in the content page of the corpus. In this way he avoids unnecessary photocopying

of a text in order to include it in each corpus where it proves relevant. As far as the bibliography list is concerned, the translator is the one who evaluates the effect of the annexed bibliography list against the use of a separate referencing system and makes a pertinent choice. Furthermore, for easier corpus administration, note that, texts should be filed so as to permit a rearrangement according to new criteria, which the translator may find more adequate as he completes more and more research.

Drawbacks.

(i) Competent Processing: Although a corpus of texts provides valuable information for the translator, corpus compilation is an elaborate job if texts are to be processed properly so as to increase research efficiency. Collecting texts without any translation-oriented processing is extremely inefficient. Thus, when time constrains exist for a given task, the translator should recall upon a compiled text and process it after task fulfilment.

(ii) Extensive Referencing: Referencing, too, may be problematic as well as time-consuming. Bibliographical references may be encoded leaving no room for rearrangement of the bibliography list, while the informational links between tools have to be carefully sought out and a referencing system must be designed for such links.

(iii) Problematic structural update: Bibliography lists added to a given corpus are subject to the referencing system developed; their ulterior update is possible only in relation to the reference code.

(5.) *Reference catalogue.* The reference catalogue allows for easy referencing in the translation process by systemising the identification details of the sources of information used in the translation transfer.

When referential information is collected properly, it will help the translator considerably in future tasks. It is very important for the translator to speedily retrieve source coordinates, as this permits the translator to label information systemised as reliable and to design other solutions, without having to seek for additional relevant sources. In other words, the source of information will help validate previously-designed solutions and research others. Additionally, the reference catalogue enables the translator to use an encoding system throughout the translation tools to avoid having to repeat source information.

Referential information may be systemised as (a) reference lists or (b) reference cards, which build up the 'reference catalogue'. The reference list is particularly appropriate as an annex to a corpus, while the reference cards are useful for referencing among translation tools of all sorts. For this reason, both may be used simultaneously with increased efficiency.

The sources documented may be textual (most often), but they may also be collaborative (i.e. indicating a collaborator as a source of information). As individual collaborator files/ cards are designed to provide full identification details and a

competence evaluation of the collaborator, collaborative sources may merely be named on reference lists or linked by other methods to the collaboration catalogue. There is no utility in reiterating collaborative source information in either (a) or (b) or mixing textual references with collaborative references in (b); appropriate links will serve their purpose.

(a) *Reference list.* The reference list may be compiled to contain subject /domain relevant bibliographical works (with full publication details), internet sites (or search methods) and the names of collaborators (where appropriate). The list should be titled according to subject and the items should be numbered preferably in the order of consultation and not in alphabetical order. We recommend the former, as such a numbering system allows for the inclusion of encoded reference links in other translation tools, encoding which will reduce time consumption. The items may also be accompanied by subject-relevant key-words which may help the translator in the future to identify such items that provide pertinent information for a new task.

(b) *Reference cards.* The systematisation of source details on cards is very efficient as they can be easily accessed and rearranged. Reference cards will systemise bibliographical works with full publication details or internet sites. Collaborative sources will be systemised on collaboration cards designed for each collaborator. One reference card will contain one source only. The card should be numbered (in the order of filing) and it should be accompanied by key-words or other descriptive devices which may indicate the general content of the particular item. Reference cards need not be grouped according to subject matter; if grouping is called for, larger domains should be chosen.

Drawbacks. A reference catalogue containing reference lists documenting subject matter is difficult to work with. For such lists to be usable, the translator will have to rewrite the source details over and over again in all lists which are related to the source in terms of subject-matter. To avoid this fault in tool administration, the systematisation of reference details in lists should be used only as an additional structural element to corpora. Apart from this situation, source details should be filed on reference cards to facilitate the inclusion of links among translation tools. The reference catalogue on cards will play the role of an (annotated) comprehensive bibliography list for all tools developed for a given domain, even for reference lists annexed to corpora. Consequently, efficient referencing will make use of both source systematisation methods, namely the reference list and the reference card.

(6.) *Collaboration catalogue.* The ‘collaboration catalogue’ is a tool that groups relevant information about collaborators encountered throughout the translation profession. Depending on the amount of information to be systemised, the translator’s collaboration with particular collaborators (e.g. clients, domain-experts, etc.) may be documented in the form of (a) collaboration cards or (b) collaboration files. Collaboration cards systemise general information and they should be completed

for each collaborator irrespective of whether a collaboration file will also be provided for a particular collaborator. Collaboration files are compiled in addition to collaboration cards and they allow the translator to systemise more extensive information linked to individual collaborators.

(a) *Collaboration cards.* Collaboration cards are designed to indicate identification details of collaborators (i.e. name, job position, address, phone-number, e-mail, working hours, etc.) and particular competences (e.g. limited/full domain knowledge, SL-TL domain knowledge, access to relevant material, etc.). This information is important as it allows the translator to evaluate the usefulness of a collaborator for a given task.

Collaboration cards sustain the referencing system among translation tools, particularly in those situations where transfer elements are linked to collaborators rather than to textual material. (For example, in documenting a transfer solution which has been designed with the help of the client or a domain-expert, a reference to these collaborators will have to be included in the term bank. Or, if a parallel text has been obtained from another professional translator, a link to this collaborative source must be made in the corpus where the text is filed. etc.)

(b) *Collaboration files.* Collaboration files contain more extensive information on the collaborator. Generally for 'domain-experts' or other collaborating translators the information systemised on cards is sufficient. However, collaboration with specific clients may determine the translator to develop a 'client file' in addition to the 'client card'. In those cases when the client is very important or potentially recurrent a client file will be developed. A client file will include any explicit requests made by the client (in terms of layout, vocabulary transfer etc) or any solutions which are the direct result of negotiation with the client on matters pertaining to macrotextual and microtextual features alike. Note, that the information synthesised in these files may also be scattered throughout other translation tools (e.g. in a terminology a transfer solution which has been specifically requested by a client may be marked by indicating the client) or simply referenced, in order to avoid time-consumption and redundancy.

Drawbacks. There are no drawbacks with the design and completion of collaboration cards. Collaboration cards are not only helpful but also very necessary. However, collaboration files may raise the following problem. For example, the compilation of a client file is time-consuming and the translator cannot accurately assess whether a client will request further tasks (unless he is specifically told so). Consequently, the translator must evaluate the efficiency of a 'client file' against time-consumption. In order to avoid working in vain, he can always complete a collaboration card and wait to see until the client comes back and only then develop a 'client file'.

Conclusion.

To conclude, we will say that translation-oriented systematisation is a complex process which can be undertaken professionally, when and if the translator possesses 'research competence' (Vienne 2000:96, Schäffner 2000:146) and 'documentation competence'. Through well-focussed research the translator gains information which if appropriately systemised will enhance his professional efficiency. Though linked to a given translation process, documentation exceeds the space of a translation stage as it becomes an intrinsic part of the translator's professional development. The design of translation tools, their update in terms of form and content, additional referencing among tools are all activities which sometimes become supplementary to individual tasks.

In designing the translation process to include systematisation based on the translator's documentation competence, the translator has a better chance of succeeding in his profession, by facilitating rapid and appropriate results which ensure client satisfaction.

Translation being viewed as a service governed by rules of the business world, task fulfilment for client satisfaction is the ultimate aim of the translation process. Documentation competence developed and employed properly can and will sustain the translation goal.

Note that inexperienced translators will most often be reluctant to put the necessary effort into the systematisation of information. This approach is highly inefficient and will result in repeated extensive research with each individual task. It is true that it takes time and experience for a translator to learn how to compile translation tools, but, once he understands the mechanisms, his research will be considerably reduced in terms of time and effort.

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WRITERSHIP IN IRELAND: „INNER EXILE" OR THE JOURNEY OF THE EXILED SELF (THE CASE OF PÁDRAIC Ó' CONAIRE)

SANDA BERCE

ABSTRACT. The paper is an inquiry into Irish literary canon formation as it appears in the „writership" of Patrick O'Connor (Pádraic Ó'Conaire) whose novel Exile, written in Gaelic in 1910 is the first modernist novel in Irish literature. It was translated in English only in 1929 and although in many ways it reminds one about James Joyce's „A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man", it definitely did not influence Joyce. It was only the „Irish canon" that the two writers might have shared. The paper focuses on the main important aspects of this canon. Redefinition of the world and of the self in the dificult process of modernization of Ireland's troubled history is another issue of the research.

„From the sixteen century when Edmund Spencer walked the plantations of Munster, the English have presented themselves to the world as controlled, refined and rooted; and so it suited them to find the Irish hot-headed, rude and nomadic, the perfect foil to set their own virtues. No soon had these stereotypes taken their initial shape than they were challenged by poets and intellectuals writing in the Irish language, and they rapidly learned to decode those texts which presumed to decode them."

Declan Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland*

„If it were true that I had been created by some miscivious fiend as a caricature of the human race"

Padràic Ó'Conaire, *Exile*

Should the world be "a theorem of divine power and love and universality"(J.Joyce, 2001:115), that is a construct, then indeed the individual's chance to become singular and define himself/herself could only be achieved by contrast, which means *redefining world in his/her own terms* in order to make it adaptable to the inner self. Yet, interpretation and ideology prove to impose limits on each other and on the individual. Ideology is a matter of distortion, interpretation is a matter of distortion as well: the former because it represents *imaginary relationships* of individuals to real existence, the latter because it represents relationships of individual readers to *imaginary worlds* created by other individuals. The joyce-an "*I* shall express *myself* as *I* am" defines the individual not the experience and its reality found false and unacceptable; an

evolution from the "boyish conception of the world" to the refusal of mimesis through language and, in the end, to an inner and organized world. The author as "Authority" may be dead but the author as "Authenticity" is born, the Individual is born assuming its condition as an "absent presence": "within, or behind, or beyond, or above his handiwork, invisible, refined out of existence, indifferent"(Joyce, 2001:166). The change does not consist in language only. Instead of language there is silence, *exile*. And exile if one of the legitimating stories in the modern Irish literature, both inner and outer exile set against the "heroic"self-image that the Irish people has created throughout centuries.

In an interview of 1998, Terence Brown defined canon and "inner exile" versus "the heroic ideal" as sources of the literary canon in Ireland. A comprehensive analysis of the 20th century cultural fact in Ireland is connected with finding how many people "inhabited the world view that censorship was predicted upon them and how many people lived with it as if they were inhabiting some sort of totalitarian reality[…], a kind of subterranean cultural life"(T.Brown, 1998:136). But more pertinent would be the analysis of the nature of "inner exile" "that affected the relationship between fathers and sons, mothers and daughters, men and women.

"A culture where the fact of sexuality can't be mentioned in public", says Terence Brown, in the interview we have quoted from, "in public discourse, what that does to the actual social, cultural, psycho-sexual reality"(idem,1998:136). In order to discuss how was censorship related to the unspokenness of some reality, how "inner exile" prevents them to accept themselves for what they really are and, in exchange they have projected stereotypes created by the English, Terence Brown replaced the 'heroic ideal' of the 19th century by the *consciousness of the 20th century Ireland as a metaphor of political hope*. Emergence of that "consciousness" is assuming and accepting the hybridity of self-image, of the "hybrid quality of the human existence and humanness":

"…the notion of hybridity whether territorial, political, sexual and emotional. Without the sense that we're made of a bit of the other and developing discourses and capacities to negotiate between those, we're in serious trouble. A hybrid quality of human existence and humanness, personhood, seems to me something we have to built on[…] We have *to develop a philosophy, a way of seeing the world, an ideological sense that says that everything is partial*. We've inhabited a century of rampant commitments and they've got us nowhere"(T.Brown, 1998:137). In this context, *canon* is of high rank use not only because "the human person is a canon former […] as we tend to collect information, facts, detail and we tend to make value judgements": "So, to talk about canon formation is merely to acknowledge that the *human species is a species that makes judgements* and prefers one thing to another or says one thing is superior to another […]. Canon has been usefully adjusted and added to by what has taken place, but the impulse of humans to inhabit a world in which

they think that certain things are superior to others will remain unchanged"(idem, 1998:137). Irish literary canon formation has, among other values and meaning, the historicist value: "A strong sense that history happened and that while we don't have total access to it, we have the capacity to reconstruct it to a degree that is representative of something that did actually occur […] that it wasn't part of rhetoric or discourse of some fictive reality that can be adjusted or can be recreated in a kind of postmodernist guise".(idem, 1998:132). In his novel *Exile* (1910/1929), Pádraic Ó'Conaire 'reconstructed' the sources of anxiety, loneliness and inner exile of the "urbanized", "modernized" Irish, who, at the outset of the 20th century , is forced by circumstances to leave his place and to learn to accept insecurity, loneliness and despair as the necessary condition of the change he was in search of. He also learns to fight back the stereotypes the Other created about him, adjusting the 'pieces of the cracked glass' as to represent him and his lot, with their experiences of hunger, displacement, of shame turning into anger, *turning his life into a circus show* and trying *to cope with a hybrid inner identity*, while its counterpart in physical existence is the half-man, one leg and one arm. The *circus* is the conventional/traditional place of the game of pretence and it can be successfully applied to the structure of the novel. It is not a diary; it does not tell the personal story of an individual written by himself, but the symbolical story of a nation dominated by "hunger". Historically, during the Great Famine and in the years after that migration took away more Irishmen than hunger. People formed and lived in 'colonies' in the suburbs of great cities, trying to find a way of survival: they became uprooted, homeless strangers. Therefore, the symbol of hunger functions at different levels in the story, biologicaql and spiritual, an unfulfilled longing for a home, for a centre, as a source of anxiety and feeling of insecurity (" I was hungry that night, with a hunger that was not only of the body, but of heart and mind and soul").

If the *source of anxiety is the feeling of insecurity* in a world that inner exile affected the Irish and if this world redefines itself as permanently changing, hence modern, then the source of fury, anger, wrath, comes to assert the extreme human reaction against limits, including those of organized systems. The evolution of human identity finds a different way each time it undergoes a crisis, the result of insecurity.

When thinking of emerging traditions and revolutionary innovations, the *individual needs to accept change in a world* of ambivalent significance where limits become permeable. Illusion/reality, external/internal, active/passive are viewed as sides of human comprehension of a world extended beyond the limits of perception. The main theme of Pádraic Ó'Conaire's novel *Exile* is *insecurity* ("*I don't want a place to live, either. I really don't know what I want. I never know. And aren't there many more in the same predicament?*" [P.Ó'Connaire, 1994: 49]) and the main reason for insecurity is loneliness ("*But even though the crowd was huge, I was lonely there. Lonelier in a way, among the large crowd*

than in my little room in the old place" [P.Ó'Conaire, 1994:17]). If Michael Mullen's words have a familiar ring with them it is because both insecurity and loneliness are symptoms of modernity. What is extraordinary however is the urgency with which a relatively unknown Irish writer who wrote this novel in Gaelic at the beginning of the 20th century (a novel that came into the public knowledge only when it was translated in English in 1929) alluded to these two contemporary ills almost one century ago.Just like Michael Mullen, the contemporary society is consumed away on account of the same hunger of mind, body and soul which ultimately turned his life into a nightmare and his death into waste. Joyce had forewarned us on the urgency of the decline and Ó'Conaire had done it as well. In fact the entire Irish race had forewarned us, because by the beginning of the 20th century they had already had a taste for the future:

> "Irish society did not have to await the twentieth century to undergo the shock of modernity: disintegration and fragmentation were already part of its history so that, in a crucial but not always welcome sense, Irish culture experienced modernity before its time. This is not unique to Ireland, but is the common inheritance of cultures subjected to the degradation of colonialism"(Luke Gibbons, 1998: 6).

The book appeared in 1910 and the story ends in 1907. The story ends when the life of the one who narrates it ends. In order to provide the reader with a denouement, a second person is needed and its voice is discretely heard in the last lines, significantly set apart through a printing device. It seemed compulsory that the end be an intriguing one that leaves place for speculation. Ambiguity is in the tradition of Modernism and not only. There is a question raised as to how Michael died, by accident, murdered or willing to. The concern for authenticity introduces the hand behind the last paragraph, a hand supposed to have collected the papers on which the story is written and which is responsible for publishing them under the form presented to the reader. It is still a convention with a double purpose this time: one is that of providing an acceptable end, and the other of contributing to the impression of verisimilitude/authenticity. And yet, the book invites from the start to an allegorical reading. Although the novel does not focus on the social and political changes of turn of the century Ireland, the circumstances surrounding the steps Michael takes are to be read in accordance with verifiable historical situations that the author's contemporaries could easily identify. O'Conaire's intention was not exactly a debate on the social issues but on the political issues into as far as they concern Michael-"an Irishman in London", the place where the tragic accident occurs: Michael remains a cripple, a freak of nature. From that moment, behind the subjectivity involved by the first person narrative and by the physical and mental oddity of the narrator, there is a certain reality which underwent literary processes of representation, but which, once filtered and purged by the devices of *écriture*, is still recognizable.

Like many other Irish people, Michael is in search for a source of income that would allow him a decent living and the possibility of marring and supporting a

family. As his situation is not an exception, it reveals the social and economical crisis of poor Ireland, incapable of stifling the effects of poverty, and even more surprising, of the Great Hunger of just some decades ago: The word *hunger* haunts the story and reveals its reminiscent connotations:

> "Hunger! But why am I so hungry? Didn't I eat a meal yesterday?" (P.Ó'Conaire,1994:84).

And yet, the permanent sensation and frustration with direct response on the physical level, bears more meanings as it evolves on the spiritual one: "*I was hungry that night with a hunger that was not only of the body but of heart and mind and soul*" (P.Ó'Conaire, 1994: 81).

The end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century meant for Ireland a period of political emancipation leading up to the introduction of Home Rule Bill which did not pass the House of Lords until 1912. Ireland fought for political emancipation envisaging this as an Irish Parliament in Dublin, separated from Westminster – with powers to legislate on Irish domestic matters only. It was also a period of great turbulence and the beginning of violence in Ireland. To oppose the introduction of Home Rule, Westminster manipulated the already present fears of the Protestant Irish from Northern Ireland Nationalists and Ulster Unionists began a confrontation that was to last all through the 20th century. The Irish political emancipation began after the Great Famine, when it became obvious that the union between England and Ireland did not function for better and for worse. The need of a government in Dublin with powers to legislate on domestic issues was seen as a solution of the Irish problem. The largest social category in Ireland was the tenant farmers, people who depended on their landlords and their rented lands for a living. After the Great Famine migration to America and to a smaller scale to the city (Dublin, London) became a temporal solution. Hence, the feeling of being uprooted, without a centre, without a family was not unfamiliar for the people of those times. Gradually, this feeling became dominant in cities, and the condition of city-dwellers worse than that of the farmers: "The slums of Dublin were the worst in Europe and the wages of those who lived there was extremely low (Kee, 1995: 142). Ó'Conaire was familiar with this situation; he also lived bin Ireland and then returned to Ireland to fight for independence. London resembles well the Irish situation, especially as there seems to be a part that perpetuates the Irish conditions of life:

> "Six months ago that part of London in which I was now living was, in itself, a little Irish world. The English used to call it Little Ireland" (Ó'Conaire, 1994:104).

The loss of a homeland- associated with hunger and the lost honour of the people of Europe who experienced the sense of displacement as a horrible reality- and the disillusionment reality produces brings forth the more acute individual crisis, especially as it is the poor, not the intellectual class. The only attitude or response to the rough conditions that change the individual identity

into a crippled and incomplete one is shame turning into anger. Far from being the promised-land, the City recreates its inhabitants into a hybrid inner identity, while its counterpart in physical reality/existence is the half-man, one leg and one arm, Michael Mullen. Studies in sociology underline different phases of exile, the first one is isolation-or trying to maintain a feeling of home by keeping in touch with people of the same origin and living in the same condition. Michael, the character of *Exile,* is confronted with both exterior and "inner exile". His condition as social and ethnic exile is aggravated by his physical handicap. The character is harmoniously constructed to serve the authorial intention: he is a cripple, a social outcast and a freak living in the only place where monstrosity might go unnoticed, or as familiar, a place in which monstrosity generates itself, that is London. It is monstrosity acting at every level of the human condition. Although there are touches of monstrosity in almost every other character, it is Michael who subsumes all the horrors of the world. The situation is all the more frightening since he is the only one who questions the universality of the evils gathered in him:

> " If it were true that I had been created by some mischievous fiend as a caricature of the human race" (Ó'Conaire,1994:94),

and, definitely, all these profound changes that turn Michael from a tranquil young man into a "horror" can be traced back to the two major disappointments-loneliness and exile:

> "That night, lying on my little bed, I examined my conscience. I went over every little thing that had happened to me, and everything I had done since I had lost the use of limbs. I had been realizing for some time that a great change had come over my disposition, my heart and my mind; that my mind, in fact, had changed much more than my body; that hatred and disgust, and depression and wretchedness, would be my companions for the future; that I should have gloom for a spouse until the day of my death" (Ó'Conaire,1994:16).

The individual's journey from the idyllic countryside of Galway County, in Ireland, ideological idyllic, with the symbol of the family as the balance of Irish social life, to the chaotic city in search of improvement is still questioned against the limited space one has to be confined to, even if at the heart of the city, the Self no longer finds a centre but in his own consciousness: "I shall have to stay in this great, ugly house from morning till night, from Monday to Saturday, from Saturday to Monday, till the day of my death" (Ó'Conaire, 1994:18).

Biographical details of Pádraic Ó'Conaire (and the connection with the point-of-view expressed by the narrating- Self) may help anyone realize that the spiritual loss was not uncommon for "the Irish race" who contemplated a similar fate when living in exile. Social reality is present in the subtext of the novel without its being the major concern of the writer. The whole 'reality' represented in

Exile seems an extension, beyond one's consciousness, of obsessive poverty, insecurity, displacement – revealing the monstrous condition of the self. The change is represented by the *power of the individual to adopt an active, response*/ attitude to the world instead of passive existence such as those of the "types" the characters represent. Instead of being given names, the characters are given descriptions (Big Red-haired Woman, Fat Lady, Little Yellowman) while the construction of the novel is related to the metamorphoses of the individual into the City. The modernity of the approach lies in the *break with the proclaimed realism of the description*, a reality known to the omniscient authorial point of view. The 'real' in the case of the omniscient point of view depends on the authority of the writer, a writer situated outside/above the text but omnipresent. The device is laid bare for the reader, whose position in the interpretation of the novel is assigned by the author of the text. In the case of *Exile* the authorial "I", the narrator "I" depends upon a pact with the reader. The "I" is invested with authority by the so called editorial note at the end of the novel. The life story of Michael was written by himself in the form of diary. The diary ends with the end of the life of its author. The editor prepares the material for publication and keeps it oru of sight. Exile is a 'fictional diary' and thus the authority invested in Michael without suffering a complete loss, is to be understood symbolically within the framework of fictionality. The text betrays its intention when retaining only Michael, the sole character named properly, while all the rest are named symbolically. The single character of the novel to be properly named becomes the plot itself, a plot that ends with the symbolic death of the character. It is also important to understand that "the autobiographical pact"rests upon a way of reading, but in this case the reader is also confronted with the fictional pact. In this context the story of Michael may be understood as a process: from the beginning of the novel to its end the character assumes different identities. In the beginning Michael oscillates between happiness for being alive and anger for the accident that he suffered. After spending all his money, he is made into public spectacle and he joins Little Yellowman's circus and on his return to London he is further driven into lower and lower circles in internal struggle for life and against the life prescribed according to the social norms. Painfully aware of his country's desolation, Pádraic Ó'Conaire, the initiator of Modernity in Irish literature saw no hope but desolation or, as Decland Kiberd put it

> "…in 1907 Irish people were estranged from the past, a nation of exiles and migrants[…] Too mobile, too adaptable, the Irish were everywhere and nowhere, scattered across the earth and yet feeling like strangers in their own land"

(Kiberd, 1996:328). In this context, the "powerful tentacles of the City", a place strange to the SDelf, where humans are part of the giant whose hatred and anger becomes part of a homeless, insecure existence, requires for isolation and distance, in the middle of the crowd for a clear, unromantic view on the life of

the outside. “Inner exile” is a necessary condition for the birth of the modern subject *out of* and not *from* the ashes of illusions, falsehood, traditions in the modern subject’s attempt to redefine the singularity of the self. Distance is needed and then development from interpretation and assertion. In 1916, Joyce came up with the answer: “This race and this country and this life produced me. I shall express myself as I am ”(Joyce, 2001:242). And if this was not enough, he further elaborates on the matter in 1922:”Every life is many days day after day. We walk through ourselves meeting robbers, ghosts, giants, old men, young men, wives, widows, brothers-in-love. *But always meeting ourselves*.”. And, like in retrospect, Pádraic Ó’Conaire, impersonating the narrator of *his story*, anticipated the encounter of the Irish with themselves in 1910 when he wrote, in Gaelic, *Exile*:

> “These sheets of paper on which I had been writing are scattered all around me on the bed, but I am unable to continue with my story at present. The thoughts I was hoping to put into words are fast slipping away from me. As if I cannot keep hold of them. I am uncomfortable and dissatisfied with myself and with the world.” (O’Conaire, 1994: 160)

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THE PORTRAIT OF BRITISH COMMUNITY

in Alan Bleasdale's "Boys from the Blackstuff" and Hanif Kureishi's dramatic work

DORIN CHIRA

ABSTRACT The present paper is an attempt to prove that the works of the above-mentioned authors are meant as portraits of the underclass or third-world component of the British community; it is centred on issues such as unemployment, racism or ethnicity. However, this does not mean it is restricted to them; in describing one component of a society, one subtextually refers as well to the other member of the relationship, namely the so-called "local community" of English speakers, with their sociologically analysable habits and responses to life stimuli.

Alan Bleasdale's work is conceived as TV drama. The typical TV drama is the best medium to express ideas and mirror the social changes within a society. Such a drama has a specific mark or emblem; the characters usually belong to the lower or lower-middle wage group; the themes are often related to a social or personal problem that is immediately recognisable.

The social change can be achieved through the working class and, therefore, there is need to write about and for them:

> "I didn't write it for the bishops and knights and queens and people who have got castles. I wrote it for and about the pawns...those who are down there, who have had to suffer unemployment, accept and acknowledge and like it. That was the basis behind it."[1]

The impact the series "Boys from the Blackstuff" had on readers or audience was terrific; it showed people things they already knew and made them think a little bit deeper about them. Words prove to be mightier than a weapon:

> "...a typewriter or the pen can be mightier than the sword if you get it right...I think all I can do is to show and get people to understand. If they understand, then there might be change."[2]

I am posive it is true; it helped many people understand that unemployment is not their fault and has helped them to regain dignity and self-esteem.

Alan Bleasdale's work is precise, clear and direct. Liverpool is in decline, affected by desindustrialisation, factories are closed, docks are empty. His fictional characters are based on real people; all of them are people endowed with abilities and skills but they are not given the chance to use them. Some of them have become

[1] Bleasdale, Alan, "Boys from the Blackstuff", Hutchinson, London, 1987, p.14
[2] ibid., p.14.

symbols, e.g.Yosser, a symbol of unemployment and frustration. Being on the dole makes you feel ashamed; it makes you hide from people; it does affect your life.

The five fifty-minute episodes bitterly reveal the unpleasant consequences of unemployment. Alan Bleasdale traced, with biting sarcasm, the desperation and madness of Yosser, Chrissie, Dixie, George or Snowy, and of all that group of unemployed Liverpool men and their families. All of them live in poverty, surviving only on supplementary benefit. In "Shop Thy Neighbour", Chrissie, who is short of money, rows with his wife because they haven't got food for their children; there is only one chance:

> "Angie:Next time have a look in the butcher's bin for us."[3]

Their condition as unemployed leads to personal troubles. Increased conflicts between Chrissie and Angie are expressed in violence; their quarrels arise partially because of financial worries, partly because of Chrissie's demoralisation:

> "Chrissie: I'm a second-class citizen.A second-rate man.With no money and no job...and no...no place."[4]

With the gass supply disconnected,they row again; another row leads to Chrissie's nervous breakdown.

Boredom, sickness, sleeplessness, isolation, anxiety and loss of self confidence are the main complaints associated with Bleasdale's characters. The effect is terrible because the protagonists are men and the impact is greater for men than women, and even greater for married than single. Yosser even tries to commit suicide; the connection may be a direct one- it may be the poverty caused by unemployment, or maybe domestic stress, that brings on the deliberate infliction of injury on himself. From a psychological point of view, Yosser's hitting the wall with his head connotes despair that takes man out of himself, but in a self-destructive way; it is a grown-up's version of a child hitting the object that has hurt him, an act of revenge. But Yosser's revenge is a way of venting his own anger against both the adverse reality and himself. He is hitting the wall - a symbol of the hard reality that refuses itself to Yosser's apprehension.

Bleasdale asserts that the most representative character in" Boys from the Blackstaff" is [5]Chrissie, a man always ready to fight again:

> "He represents all of us…..he's the common man, quiet, gentle, generous and peaceful."[5]

In our opinion, of all that group, the most representative character is Yosser. His obsessive cry of “gizza job” or “I can do that” becomes the nation's most dramatic vision of unemployed misery. He does express the tragic sense of life in men. The purpose of his ethics is to act in such a way that each man makes himself

[3] ibid., p.128.
[4] ibid., p.177.
[5] ibid., p.15

irreplaceable; no one can fill his place when he dies. For Yosser, a good life is a vital one-centered in action for others.

In "Boys from the Blackstaff" no one is "special". We forget specific characteristics or even their names. What really matters is their general dispositions and it is these that we remember. This work contains some element of "representativeness"; it is about Liverpool and therefore stands for or equals "the quality of life in England".

The documentary factor in "Boys from the Blackstuff" is not only prevailing, but accepted as being natural. Bleasdale's work is about man and his environment. The motivation is not to impress upon the audience the facts of that environment but its lack of justice and righteousness; Bleasdale wants to incite to personal or public action; he is a writer, and writers do not want to change the world; they can help us understand things. So, the heroic- this work has its heroical aspects, different from traditional ones - has become institutionalised in the sense that we are moved by the sight of an individual or group in confrontation with a system. Here the central conflict is between the individual and the State; or the Evil against the Good. The DoE, the social services or the police join together to make the unemployed obbey the Government regulations. Virtue is represented by an emblem or by a set of attitudes or beliefs deriving from a political or social faith. The heroism of Bleasdale's characters lies in the extent to which they addict themselves to their faith which is to reveal the enemy:

> "Snowy: My beliefs are right. I've been brought up by my dad to support what's worth supportin'...I can't stand working with someone who has no pride...no pride and principles. I don't get jobs just because of me politics, y'know"[6]

The geographical concentration of unemployment does have some political explanation in that areas of high unemployment (Liverpool, in our case) tended- and tend-to be involved with the Liberal Party or SDP:

> "George: I,m very involved with the local Liberal Party. And the SDP, of course. The Alliance,you know"[7]

But the structure of Bleasdale's series questions whether Malone's iddeology of class solidarity is still relevant to 1980s Britain. In our opinion it is not. The trade-union movement is strong but not sufficiently united and it is now in decline. The extremist parties are not well represented and the Labour are considered to be traitors of the working-class; this, of course, creates confusion. George seems to be optimistic; his dreams give him some hope and faith in his class. Snowy Malone has some analysis of why mass unemployment has returned:

[6] ibid., p.54.
[7] ibid., p.238.

> "Snowy:...they swing to the right, tax relief for the rich...redundancies for the poor...poverty...the curtailing of freedom starting with the unions...it's all heading for one thing...a fascist dictatorship and a police state...and it sounds just like Russia..."[8]

Chrissie, Yosser or Dixie have only their innate discernment, which, unsustained by any community or educational training, can lead to ecstasy and excitement. But education is no longer the way to escape from the working class; the danger is not alienation from one's roots and the perspective of class betrayal which it brings. Education might be just another instrument of control-one may become, say, a DoE worker or join the police; for others, education might be a stereotyped activity in which both teachers and pupils conspire together. The difference in these two perspectives is an authentic reflection of social change.

Though the community radiographed in "Boys from the Blackstuff" is, socially speaking, an underclass of hoboes, it is its working habits, not its class label habits that gives form to the discourse. It is interesting to see the fatidic plight of all these would-be workers who have not the least chance of working decently in the British society:

> "Chrissie: I wanna be a working man again...and not have to hide it from anybody"[9]

> "Yosser: Look, here I am, a man. With no job. Looking for one. I'd be all right if I had a job"[10]

They have a right only to repression; that is their sole human right in that society. And it is evident in the first episode when the representative of the state police appears only to threaten the blackmarket workers because they had worked. The message is profound and clear: never express your point of view or ideas and beliefs unless the law makes provision for such a discourse; otherwise, the law will turn against you, it will annihilate you. If you have a job you have to accept compromise and the denial of your own individuality.

On a symbolical level "blackstaff" comes to stand for this characteristic refusal of society to let them work where "light" is, where shared community life is in a legal context. Yosser's case is more desperate since death is refused to him - unlike Snowy, lucky enough to find his own death. If, in Snowy's case, death was equated with a kind of dignity, what we get in Yosser's case is the refusal, the denial of it. In fact, the sequence of episodes contains a sociologically interesting picture of the whole range of alternatives to the human dignity which is the central value for an organised society. But for non-members the alternatives are endless, absurd, heartbreaking rows. The force and intensity of the language used by Bleasdale's characters is not so much a change or transfer from rebel to reactionary as a change in the tone of voice. Words are

[8] ibid., p.40.
[9] ibid., p.66.
[10] ibid., p.143.

important and they have to be made to work because language defines class and more importantly, a sense of nation (Yosser, for example, is shaped by his language).

The British society is unequal, with those at the bottom of hierarchy having many disadvantages. Black immigrants are part of this class structure and they share class disadvantages with many white people.

Hanif Kureishi was born in London, of mixed parentage (English mother and a Pakistani father). He grew up without feeling that he was different from his classmates and friends; he thought of himself as an Englishman, not as a Pakistani:

> "...from the start I tried to deny my Pakistani self"[11].

But the current concern with the problems that affected Asians-racism, violence, class inequality, unemployment or national identity-caused him to examine "the other" aspect of his heritage:

> "I wasn't a misfit. It was the others, they wanted misfits; they wanted you to embody within yourself their ambivalence"[12].

In the 1970s racists gained confidence, Asians were insulted; the word" Pakistani" has become an insult . "The Rainbow Sign" is a wonderful piece of writing. Reading it, one can realise that the human subject is deprived of its fundamental link with others. Deprivation of this link creates a loss comparable to the emotional loss of a child separated from its mother. Although the culture of immigrants may separate them out of the white community, the children of emmigrants will gradually become assimilated into white society, into the wider working class and some into the middle class. To the extent that black people are not assimilated into white society, the obstacle will be the way that they preserve a separate cultural identity.

The disadvantages suffered by black people are the result of white racism and the discriminatory practices of racial discrimination that flow from it. It is white racism that keeps ethnic minorities at the bottom of the hierarchy and separated from white society as a whole.

> "The English misunderstood the Pakistanis because they saw only the poor people, those from the village, the illiterate, the peasants, the Pakistanis who did not know how to use toilets, how to eat with knives and forks because they were poor. They saw them dirty, ignorant, worthy of abuse and violence. If the British could only see them, the rich, the educated, they wouldn't be so hostile"[13].

The racism is very profound, going to the roots of British society. It is visible in racial attacks or the activities of the National Front. Kureishi sees racism as failure of sense, ignorance, prejudice. In"Borderline", this issue is evident:

> "Susan: All people I've spoken to have been beaten or burnt or abused at some time...you speak to them, they say they like England, it is democratic, or just or

[11] Kureishi,Hanif, "My Beautiful Laundrette" and "The Rainbow" ,Faber and Faber, London,1986, p.9.
[12] ibid., p.11.
[13] ibid., p.28.

good. And then they say what's been done to them here. Such a viciousness in England"[14].

Yasmin, a member of Asian Youth Movement, asserts that it is the Torry Government that is down on black people:

"...they're pumping money into the race relations industry. It's probably the only growth area in the country, like hospitals in a war"[15].

In "My Beautiful Laundrette", Salim blames white people:

"....they are nothing. But they abuse people. Our people. All over England Asians are beaten, burnt to death. Always we are intimidated"[16].

It is believed that black people have no culture of their own or that what there is will impede their attempts to "get on" in white society. The political implication is that blacks should be self assertive and proud of their identity and not rely on well-meaning attempts to assimilate them into white society. Education is, for Kureishi's characters, a very important means by which black people become integrated into the mainstream of white British life. British cultural values will enable them to assimilate. Papa asserts that "for us education is power"[17]. The same prophetic character tells Johnny "...Omar must have knowledge. We all must now. In order to see clearly what's being done to whom in this country"[18]. Haroon tells Amina "...we've got to get educated and get inside things"[19].

It is, therefore, a question of black children "fitting into" the educational system. But why do they fail to integrate? Failure could be due to the way that black children are suspended between two worlds. Or, the fault doesn't lie with black children or their families, but with the white teachers who label black children as failures. Among other things, racism is "a kind of snobbery, a desire to see oneself as superior culturally and economically, and a desire to experience and enjoy that superiority by hostility or violence. When the superiority of that culture is unsure or acknowledged by the other, it has to be demonstrated physically"[20].

There probably exist reasons for reacting to black immigrants in this way. Britain was an imperial nation. Until relatively recent, the British benefited from lordship over large numbers of people in different countries, most of whom were black. So, the British have learnt to identify blackness of skin with inferiority and strangeness. The decline of Empire has made these attitudes more pronounced. Ravi ironically comments:

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[14] Kureishi, Hanif, "Outskirts and Other Plays" ,Faber and Faber, London, 1992, p.139.
[15] ibid., p.115.
[16] Kureishi, Hanif, "My Beautiful Laundrette", as above, p.102.
[17] ibid., p.59.
[18] ibid., p.94.
[19] Kureishi, Hanif, "Outskirts...", as above, p.118.
[20] Kureishi, Hanif, "My Beautiful Laundrette", as above, p.29.

"The houses are small here. People look small. They ruled in my country for so long, I thought they'd be bigger"[21].

For Kureishi, writing about Pakistanis in England is also a way of writing about the English and the way England has changed. "The great master was fallen. It was strikebound, drug-ridden, riot-torn, inefficient, disunited"[22]. For Anil, England is "a cemetery", "a crematorium"; for Ravi, England is "nudity, pure nudity". Physical assault or verbal violent expressions of racial hatred are part of their daily life. Banoo, Amjad's wife, goes shopping when it rains because there are few people in the street. Kureishi's characters feel insecure and anxious, feelings which, in turn, promote the formation of black community and self-defence organisations. Amina, Anwar or Yasmin, the other members of the community have a cause to fight for; they have problems to talk about; they are a new modern kind of Pakistani; they have to defend their "little Pakistan". The community has its own problems; a new form of racism manifests itself inside this racially oppressed community. Haroon's father exploits his own compatriots, Omar's uncle is a collaborator with the white man, Asif the rich, spoilt Asian in" Birds of Passage", despises poor Pakistani immigrants. Immigration from Pakistan takes the form of a chain; the early settlers (Nasser or Amjad) encourage family and friends to follow them because, as Nasser says, "it's a little heaven here"[23]. Mutual support is necessary in a hostile environment. The existence of strong ties of family and friendship is very important:

"Salim: Years ago your uncles lifted me up. And I'll do the same for you"[24].

The patriarchal structure of the families in "My Beautiful Laundrette" or "Borderline" reinforces the integration of the whole unit. The father or elder brother (Amjad or Papa) makes important decisions for the whole extended family. Papa, "the Patriarch", "the Prophet", is a warrant of the social identity of the Pakistanis. He gains in status from the beginning towards the end of the play. At the beginning he is a derelict old man too weak even to piss comfortably when he is alone in his slum house. Then he becomes more consistent through uttering his discourse. His words begin to show more and more deep human strength; we can see, for example, how much he is on the side of his son, helping him all through the play. The old man rises to the status of a legitimate reisonneur in the games of that Pakistani world. Papa is the humane brother that his decadent brothers all need.

Culture and religion also serve to integrate the immigrant community. Pakistani parents are very anxious to bring up their children in an Islamic culture and regard this as a key issue in decissions as to whether or not to stay in England.

[21] Kureishi, Hanif, "Outskirts...", as above, p.101.
[22] Kureishi, Hanif, "My Beautiful Laundrette", as above, p.28.
[23] ibid., p.107.
[24] ibid., p.67.

Papa, Cherry or Banoo are sustained by "the myth of return", the belief that they will return to Pakistan:

> "Cherry: Karachi is my home. Could anyone in their right mind call this silly little island off Europe their home?"[25].
>
> "Papa:We should go there. Home!"[26].

They all hope to return to the place where they belong. Banoo buys cigars from the airport, to think of going home. There, it is thought, they are welcome. But there is much illusion and falsity in this view: " Pakistan has become a country to go away from. How much disappointment and unhappiness is involved in going home, only to see the extent to which you have been formed by England and the depth of attachment you feel to the place, despite everything"[27].

The generation of Papa, Amjad, Bilquis or Banoo are deeply rooted geographically and culturally; their lives grew out of hard work; they all try to maintain an Asian way of life. Omar, Zaki, Amina or Farouk have adopted the English morals and attitudes. They have become English and England is their home. More than that, they are rich, their families belong to the " leisure class ". Possession of wealth becomes the basis for esteem. The leisure class cultivates archaic traits of character in its members: ferocity, self-seeking, clannishness, free use of force. As far as Kureishi's characters are concerned that is true indeed. Bilquis, Cherry or Banoo can perform leisure on behalf of their husbands; they demonstrate that the head of the family has the pecuniary ability to maintain people in leisure.

Kureishi's characters swing between humiliation and ambition, obscene talk (Amina feels strong when using dirty words) and love, money and spiritual release, Englishness and Asianness, racism and violence, class inequality and national identity. Life goes on, reality goes round.

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COINCIDENCE, IMITATION, AND INFLUENCE IN POETRY (ON SOME BRITISH AND RUMANIAN POETS)

IOANA SASU-BOLBA

ABSTRACT. The article deals with *human communication* in the literary field, that is to say in poetry. Taking place on various levels, most of them visible and concrete such as words, but also on a deeper and more subtle one, that of the subconscious, the author considers the process of communication in poetry asbeing a complex one, and developing into a kind of hierarchy that includes termslike *coincidence*, *imitation*, and *influence*. The arguments brought in favour of this process particularly aim at the deepest level, that of *poetic thought.*

1.0 Coincidence is closely related to chance. Theoretically, literary events might take place by chance, but in our lives nothing happens by chance. We live in a perfect universe. The hand that has built up this universe, is guided by an omniscient brain we usually call God. God does not create anything by chance, including **people** and their **means of communication**.

In the world of literature which mostly is a world of ideas and imagination, coincidences are very few, and, therefore, they can be overlooked.

Imitation is a constituent part of communication but, at the same time, a proof of some sort of inferiority. Obvious imitation may prove **spiritual poverty**.

Influence is positive. It is also part of communication but, unlike imitation, it has, as Umberto Ecco says, **an open angle**. Influence includes imitation, but it also includes **inspiration** (e.g. new sources of inspiration, ways for increasing the vocabulary, etc.), and **new areas** for **imagination** to work on.

Having reached this point in our analysis on what we may call **literary communication**, it seems worth mentioning that there also is an even deeper level on which influence acts in its most subtle forms, namely that of the **subconscious**.

1.1 L.Ron Hubbard says that **art** is a word that makes a synthesis of the quality of communication, that is to say, it refers to **how** we communicate.

Within its domain, **poetry** stands apart, as it has always been one of the most subtle artistic forms and, consequently, a somehow privileged, but also occult field concerned with **human communication**.

Good poetry[1] has very often been for an élite only.

While reading poems, we come across various ideas or themes which seem familiar to us. Often, we are even sure that we already read this or that, some other time, and somewhere else. All these texts often tempt us to take them for convincing arguments, able to support the idea of a possible literary influence. But, even so often, research proves that they are nothing more than simple coincidences.

However, a serious study should be taken into account before deciding which is which.

2.0 The interference between various cultures and civilizations is but a natural phenomenon that habitually takes place between human societies. A study

of literary interferences between British poets and Rumanian poets, during the inter-war period, offers interesting examples.

In Rumania, the first decades of the 20th century were characterized by an increased interest in foreign literatures (including British poetry), but also an interest in what we call **the diversification of the possibilities** by means of which British poetry came to be known in Rumania.

2.1 From **translations** and **imitations** to direct poetic debates, Rumanian literature itself underwent a **process of qualitative evolution** including **commemorative articles**, **reviews**, **books** on lives of foreign poets, articles on the **theory** and **practice of translation**, complex **travel-books**, etc.

They all were meant to make easier the understanding of English poetry, a rather difficult poetry for readers on the Continent at the time.

It is worth mentioning that all this was done only to the extent to which Rumanian writers and critics considered it (the process) to be helpful for the development of national literature, and also able to improve the Rumanian literary language.

But, besides all these elements, a very interesting aspect was neglected by literary criticism for quite a long time. It is neither concrete, nor direct. It is not even visible, as it is acting, as we already mentioned, on the mysterious level of the human subconsciousness. It is the **world of parallels**.

2.1.1 Besides the relationship Al.Philippide established between Coleridge's **Rime of the Ancient Mariner** and **Riga Cripto şi lapona Enigel**, by Ion Barbu, published in his volume **Joc Secund** (1930)[2], the direct influence of British poetry upon Rumanian poetry is rather difficult to be established, because such a relationship supposes not only similar building backgrounds, but also genuine poetic creation based on vast general knowledge, and not excluding any of the other great poets in world literature.

Doubtlessly, in no such case the influence is an imitation, but is felt as such with various great themes, ideas and forms of expression. On the other hand, there is no longer a unique influence but a sum of influences which act in an almost phsychological way. Thus, one of them is stronger, and it becomes the **dominant** one in a particular poem. It is chosen according to the poet's spiritual structure or even according to his mood at a certain moment.

2.1.2 Emil Botta offers a good example of what this actually means. In his poem **Ordine, dezordine**, Poe's influence is present: *în grandiosul castel,/ stă piticul chel.// Şi ce mai vis,/ ce mascarade, ce parodii./ Văzui o evă, frumoasă coz, miss Anabell,/ fluturând negrul drapel,/ Cap de mort, grațios fluture!*. There actually are many poems in which E.Botta admits that he was inspired by foreign poets such as French, English, Spanish or Latin. Some other times, he takes lines from English poets and uses them as mottos. This is the case of his poem **Cuvinte,** that has as a motto the very title of one of Keats' poems: *Bright star! Would I were steadfast as thou art*. In the English poem, the star watches, from above, everything happening on earth. It is watching the poet's sweetheart as well: *No – yet still steadfast, still unchangeable,/ Pillowed upon my fair love's ripening breaast,/ To feel for ever its soft swell and fall,/ Awake for ever in a sweet unrest,/ Still, still to hear her tender-taken breath, / And so live ever – or else swoon to death* (**Last Sonnet).** The star

possesses the great quality of being able to watch love aloof, without being emotionally implied. The Rumanian poet asks the same thing: *dăruiți-mi liniştea voastră, / aulice stele, misterioase armate...*

Emil Botta's poem **Duo**, has the motto: *...Shakespeare – Henry IV*. It has Prince Henry as its main character. The poem begins: *Cu Prince Henry am stat / cu Dragoste, hoinarele*, but the dialogue reminds us of Goethe's **Erlkönig**. Affinity is shown for Coleridge, whose name is the very title of one of his poems; for Milton, whose lines: *Sing, heavenly Muse!* he uses as a motto for his own poem **Mierlă, delir înaripat,** but also for Robert Frost, whose poetical ideas are almost quoted in **Oberon**.

Emil Botta proves English influence as well in the technique he applies in some of his poems. To make the meaning of his verses more relevant, he uses a great number of allusions-proper names which he inserts in his own poems such as: *Prospero* (**Nenumărații**), *Volpone* (**Despre...**), etc.

2.1.3 Some of the best translations made by Petre Grimm, are those from the poetry of Robert Burns[3]. In the small volume with his translations, he also included the poem entitled **Chemarea lui Vodă** by I.U.Soricu[4]. At first sight, there is no special reason for having included this poem among his translations. But, there also is a foot-note Grimm put to the translation of the poem **Bannockburn. Robert Bruce's Address to his Army**[5]. In the foot-note Grimm explains that Burns's poem had influenced Soricu, who, in his turn, wrote the poem during the great Rumanian war.

2.1.4 With Emil Botta and I.U.Soricu there is what we may call a "transferred form", as well as an overtaking of ideas expressed by means of allusions. But there are some instances when a certain relationship exists, and can be established at a different level, that of **literary themes**. In this particular case, a distinction between **influence** and **coincidence** is even more difficult to be established. A special example is that of Vasile Voiculescu and his volume entitled: **Ultimele sonete închipuite ale lui W.Shakespeare, în traducere imaginară de V.Voiculescu**, where the relationship with Shakespeare's sonnets is obvious, but exists only at the level of **poetic thought**.

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[1] It nis very difficult to say what is **good** and what is **not good**, as this qualification is entirely relative, depending on variouzs historical moments, nations, etc. However, it is advisable to think of it in terms of common sense. We always **feel** if what we do or say is good or not. From this viewpoint, **good poetry** is that type of poetry which follows the laws of human ethics and morals, and is written on high aesthtetic standards. Here: opposed to an average standard of writing.

[2] Al. Philippide, **Tradiție clasică şi tradiție națională** (1936), in "Considerații comfortabile", Bucureşti, 1970, p.206-208; also se: Ion Barbu, **Poezii. Antologie, prefață, tabel cronologic şi bibliografie** de George Gibescu, Bucureşti, 1979; Ioana M. Petrescu, **Ion Barbu după două decenii**, in "Viața românească", XXXIV(1981), nr.6, p.115-118.

[3] **Robert Burns, poetul țărănimei**, Poezii traduse din englezeşte cu o notiță biografică de Petre Grimm, Cluj, 1925.

[4] I.U.Soricu (1881-1957) is known both as a poet and a writer of literature for children. He mostly wrote traditional poetry (vol.**Florile dalbe**, 1912), but also poems in which he praises the heroism of the Rumanian people during World War Ist. (vol.**Doine din zile de luptă**, 1917).

[5] The poem is translated with the title: **Apelul lui Bruce înaintea bătăliei de la Bannockburn**, in **Robert Burns, poetul țărănimei**, p.18.

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GENDER-DETERMINED ADVERTISING

MIHAI MIRCEA ZDRENGHEA

ABSTRACT: The use of sex in advertising is a two-edged sword. Although it is extremely powerful and effective when aimed at one gender, it often does so at the social expense of the other. Since humans live in a social world, consideration must be given to the feelings of either gender in that world.

1.0. Advertising is the purchase of space in publications or time on the electronic media (radio, television and internet) to publicize the organization, service or product. With the purchase of space and time, the advertiser gains some valuable benefits, the most important being getting control of the message content and timing. Advertising is the best-known publicity element and for many small businesses it is the only known tool or method for getting a message to the consumer of that business' products or services. It is obvious that advertising works, even though quite often we think that they do not work on **us,** dismissing advertising language as trite discourse written for the uneducated.[1]

Advertisements are forms of discourse which make a powerful contribution to how we construct identities. At the same time, for adverts to work, they must use our commonly shared resources of language in ways that affect us and mean something to us. These two aspects of analysis should be inextricable – part of the task of looking at the message should involve paying attention to how it is delivered.[2] Good, creative advertising sells a product and reflects positively upon the organization sponsoring it. Shoddy or tacky advertising can damage the image of the sponsor and may have a negative influence on sales.[3]

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[1] Although advertisements are ephemeral in that each one is short-lived, their effects are longstanding and cumulative: they leave traces of themselves behind, which combine to form a body of messages about the culture that produced them. These messages can then function both to reflect and to construct cultural values: they can reflect the values of the powerful groups in society who produced the texts, but the reflection itself can then harden to become the touchstone for everyone.

[2] Major corporations spend millions of dollars on advertising. The smallest local businesses – particularly those in retail selling of products and services – spend a high percentage of their cost of doing business for advertising. It is a necessary ingredient for success in selling. Beyond an expense, advertising is a very important long-term investment, because it builds reputation and name recognition in addition to performing its primary selling role.

[3] Take the example of the Benetton group, well-known for their shocking advertisements. After years of controversy over ads such as AIDS, war, interracial relationships, and priests kissing nuns, people thought it was time for them to campaign about clothes. But in 2000, their new advertising

1.1. Advertisers try to keep pace with the new developments in research methodology. They also explore aggressively all possible means of reaching their audiences. The modern consumer wants to know what product he is buying, what its detailed characteristics are, how it can expect it to perform, what alternatives he is faced with and why he should pay the offered price for it. Steyn (1996, 13) concludes that "there is therefore no doubt that interactive marketing is helping to overcome practical database and direct marketing problems while building more rewarding customer relationships".[4] It is estimated that there is more than five million commercial pages on the Web, more than a hundred companies are going online daily and the 'net-watching' has become a dedicated function within more progressive firms. Furthermore, companies that are online are more inclined to use this facility as a means for communicating new product developments (Rath, 1997). Web advertising is becoming a more and more vital component of a firm's advertising budget and therefore demands sensible and rational consideration and planning. The dynamics of Web advertising makes it crucial that the progressive business draw up a comprehensive advertising program.

The Web can be transformed into a research tool, a brand builder and an advertising medium in one swoop, something not offered by other media. Unlike other media where the advertising agency is the only link between the client and the media owner, the Web allows the client to become the media owner. Another competitive advantage of this medium is that it provides advertisers with reassuringly detailed demographics about who actually saw their advertisement, turning it into a marketing research as well as advertising medium.

The introduction of interactive marketing and specifically interactive advertising heralds the beginning of an era where customers will choose the advertising they wish to see, when they want to see it. This proves to be a hallmark of the contemporary consumer who is far more informed than his predecessors have been. Consumers of today are evermore demanding personalized attention from businesses that wish to serve them. The introduction of interactive marketing and specifically interactive advertising heralds the beginning of an era where customers will choose the advertising they wish to see, when they want to see it. This proves to be a hallmark of the contemporary consumer who is far more informed than his predecessors have been. Consumers of today are evermore demanding personalized attention from businesses that wish to serve them. Furthermore, the very fact that the modern consumer is better informed fuels his need for informed transactions with businesses. Here comes psychology onto the stage!

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campaign was not about sweaters and pants but about convicted murderers in the USA. Everybody was outraged and Sears, who had the rights to sell the Benetton line, apologized to their customers and pulled Benetton designed clothes from all 400 of its stores selling the Benetton USA line.

[4] Anyhow, the internet as a shopping mall has not enjoyed a favorable reputation as it is seen as a golden opportunity for sophisticated thieves to obtain credit card numbers from the cable. As a result businesses have shied from any net-based commerce.

1.2. The purpose of advertising is to convince people that products are of use to them in one way or another. If people agree, they will buy them. However, advertising must do the job quickly; it does not have time to go into details or explanations. Selling? Persuasion? In advertising they are synonymous. Most definitions in advertising do not differentiate between advertising and selling, between selling and persuasion, or among advertising, public relations, and publicity.

One of the most important new developments at the beginning of the 20th century psychology was the application of psychological theory and method to problems of everyday life. For the first time issues in vocational guidance, mental health, child rearing, education, law, and business were subjected to systematic psychological analysis. The prevailing view, at the time, was that consumers were rational. Given information about the product and reasons why it should be purchased they would respond appropriately. The minority view held that consumer response to advertising was non-rational. To be effective, advertising had to make a strong impression, appealing less to readers' understanding than to their wishes and desires. The dominant concept in the analysis of social influence was that of 'suggestion': every normal person was subject to the influence of suggestion, and suggestion, not reason, was the primary determinant of human action.

The implication for advertising was clear. Effective advertising must implant the thought of purchasing the product in the mind of the consumer without raising interfering thoughts. To help advertisers achieve this goal, psychologists assessed the relevance of what was then known about the basic psychological functions, including memory, feeling, sympathy, instinctive action, volition, habit, and attention, to the design of advertisements that would maximize the power of suggestion and minimize interference. With regard to memory, it was emphasized the importance of four principles believed to increase the memorability of an advertisement. These were **repetition**, **intensity** (e.g. use of vivid colors, placement in the initial or final position in the publication, request for action such as filling out a post card), **association value** (especially with the readers' personal interests and motives), and **ingenuity** (e.g. choice of names reflective of the nature of the product). Feeling was discussed in terms of pleasure and pain and their effect on suggestibility: to be successful, advertising must be designed to elicit pleasure in the reader.

It is now obvious that advertisers must understand psychology. The more they know about it the better. They must learn that certain effects lead to certain reactions and, consequently, they have to make good use of that knowledge to increase results and avoid mistakes. Watson (1969, 87) said that "as a psychologist, I decry the fact that we are all trained so much alike – that there is so little individuality in the world. But, as an advertising man, I rejoice; my bread and butter depends on it".

But the first development of significance in market research was not to see the common elements in human nature but to see the obvious differences: especially to recognize that there are two sexes and that women, not men, are the primary consumers

in nowadays society. Women are the 'purchasing agents' of their families.[5] There are endless phases to psychology. Some people know them by instinct. Many of them are taught by experience. But we learn most of them from others. When we see a winning method we note it down for use when occasion arises.

As the means or media through which advertising messages are conveyed evolve, it is important to stress that the fundamentals of effective communication simply need to be adapted and expanded to fit these new forms.[6]

Rather than dreary, the future of advertising is bright and unlimited. As unlimited as the imaginations of the marketing communication professionals who are constantly seeking more effective and efficient means to promote the brands and companies they represent. Advances in computer and communication technologies are opening up unprecedented opportunities for the advertising industry.

2.0. Advertising has to get attention and the first principle of advertising is that it needs to stand out. That is why advertising uses a variety of attention-getting devices, the best known being sex and humor. In addition to these there are other more subtle elements that almost involuntarily capture attention. Ten to fifteen percent of all TV commercials are estimated to contain humor. It varies by country and culture so that, in the UK for example, estimates put the figure as high as 35 percent. In the last fifteen years there have been many opportunities to track humorous ads. These are the advertisements that make us laugh; they appear more often on television or radio but every now and then a print campaign comes along to be tracked that also make people chuckle.

Advertisers who import sex into an advertisement and use it purely as an attention-getter when it has no intrinsic relationship with the product certainly gain attention. Sex is a natural attention-getter that is fairly widely used and so many products are bought partly because we want to feel more attractive and advertisements like these simply provoke us: "*Nothing comes between me and my Calvins*" for the Calvin Klein jeans, "*Are you wearing any protection*?" for Bolle sunglasses, or A Jaipur perfume advert showing a nude female from the back, 'handcuffed' by Jaipur.

The main principle of advertising is that it has to break through, to get noticed. Among a diversity of attention getting devices, the best known are sex and humor. There are, of course, other elements that increase the audience attention, such as: emotional characters, small children and animals. Humor enhances the

[5] We learn, for instance, that curiosity is one of the strongest human incentives. We employ it whenever we can. We learn that cheapness is not a strong appeal. Americans, for example, are extravagant. They want bargains, but not cheapness. They want to feel that they can afford to eat and have and wear the best. Treat them as if they could not and they resent your attitude. That is why, successful businesspeople must know not only the *what*, *why*, and *how* of advertising, but the *when* and *where* to advertise and *to whom* to direct the ad message.

[6] For example, the fundamental principles of effective persuasion articulated by Aristotle some 2,350 years ago can be applied just as directly to selling high tech gadgetry via interactive advertising on the internet as they can to a public debate in ancient Athens.

capacity of a commercial to attract attention, entertain the audience and diminish counter arguing. But, at the same time, it runs the risk of distracting us from grasping the message.

Marketers who use sex for a commercial succeed only if this element is not merely an attention getting, but it is also directly relevant to a commercial's primary selling point. Sex is rather widely used as a natural attention-getting, many goods are purchased because of our desire to look more attractive and due to their 'natural' association with our drive for sexual attraction. Clothing, lingerie, jewelry, fragrances and body lotions are often linked to this 'natural' element: Victoria's Secret (lingerie), Jewelry.com (jewelry), Level (body lotion).

2.1. For many products it is possible to find (or invent) a sexual connection. However, the sexual connection is much easier to set up for men than for women. In advertising it is easier to get a man's attention by using women's bodies and generating the idea that it is natural to get the woman if he buys the product. This means playing on his instinctive rather than intellectual view of the world. Adverts spend no time discussing a woman's qualifications for sexual desire – her mere existence is enough. Thus, advertising shows the woman and sells the product on the basis of "women want this 'product' in a man. Get the product, get the man."

On the other hand, the use of sex in advertising to women is a much more difficult proposition. Although they might have an instinctive sexual reaction, their intelligence strongly affects it at the same time. The use of healthy, fit men in advertising may indeed attract their attention and create desire, but their willingness to engage in intercourse is rarely around strictly because of a man's body. For a woman, sexual desire is a complex mixture of factors, most of which are extremely difficult to inject into an ad in the time and space available. A man's physical appearance plays a role, suggesting health and strength, but her instinctive concern is the long-run, not the short-term. She must see that he is capable not only of sexual activity, but can father healthy children, support and nurture her during pregnancy and birth, and herself and the child after birth, plus assure that the child will be better off than any competition it might have.[7] However, these factors are almost impossible to put in any one advert; there is no enough time or space to set up the appeal and sell the product. Thus it is rare for advertising to use sex as an appeal for women. Women are interested in sex for what it can mean in the future. Advertising cannot take advantage of a woman's instinctive sexual desire, because advertising's job is not to build for the future, but to sell the product NOW.

If advertising uses the sex appeal, it must be carefully aimed and tastefully done. There is no sense in appealing to one sex by offending the other. To sell to a

[7] Many of these factors are also learned in the culture and society. Money, power, prestige, etc. are factors that culture defined as extremely valuable (although rarely placed in the context of being valuable to future children). The woman learns their importance and adds them to her criteria for male sexual desirability. She will often consciously consider these factors when deciding or not to have sex with him.

woman, advertising relies on that modern idea about how men and women relate: romance. Romance fits into the woman's intellectual view of relationships since its major element, courtship, is the discovery of how the male does or does not satisfy her societal criteria for a suitable sexual partner.[8] Thus, it is clear that sex is a strong appeal to use in advertising. However it is gender-linked appeal. Sex easily sells to men; it is an adjunct to women.

Whether this works or nor in practice depends on the product. Advertisers aim products and services at a specific audience, a target, at those most likely to buy the product or service. Since many products or services are intended for one gender or the other, the use of sex appeal varies. For adverts aimed at women, they can achieve the romance through using stereotypical images: roses, soft light music, and a doting man. The ad sells the product on the basis that its purchase will give the woman this feeling of romance in her life.[9]

2.2. Changes in advertising are, of course, determined by society changes. Women in today's society are much more liberated in their sexual mores than they were in the past. Advertising, realizing this change in women's perception of sex and sexual activity, is beginning to alter its approach to sex as a selling tool for women.[10] For ads aimed at men, courtship and romance are not a primary approach. Instead, the approach is sex without any complications or difficulties. Sex appeal is the second strongest appeal, so it makes sense to use it to make a certain beer more attractive to males: the easiest way to do this is to show how attractive a man can be to beautiful women if he drinks that beer.[11] Note that in these ads, there is no indication that the women are anything but beautiful (i.e., sexually desirable) and become receptive because the men are drinking a particular beer. They don't speak, show no signs of money, position, power or intellect – they are simply beautiful. This is not to imply that all beer commercials use sex to differentiate their products; many use self-esteem,

[8] Rarely does the romantic appeal contain the blatant sexual messages that appear in ads aimed at men, since such messages would counter the intellectual view. Although an ad may use a man's body as an attention getting device, he is usually shown in a romantic rather than sexual context.

[9] For example, diamond advertisements use a romantic approach. Although men buy most diamonds, they buy them for women; in general, she makes the purchase decision. Thus it makes sense to aim the advert at the woman. The images are of soft lighting, elegant surroundings, and an obviously well-to-do man (who is also sometimes a supportive and nurturing parent) offering the gift of diamonds. These images satisfy a woman's societal criteria for a desirable man: money, status, taste, and sensitivity to her wants and needs. If there are any sexual undertones, they are extremely subdued and non-threatening.

[10] For example, an ad for Coors Light beer begins with a model in a bikini walking toward the camera while the narrator says "Because if you don't watch your figure … who will?" This is a clear indication that the woman's concern is attracting the attention of men from which to choose, and that using the product will aid her in her quest. Any suggestion of sex is subtle and non-threatening, with the woman in total control, attracting attention but not arousing him.

[11] Four men sit alone at the beach. Three beautiful women in bikinis walk by and ignore the men's invitation to join them. The beer arrives. Immediately, those same women join the men, sitting on their laps or hugging them. Obviously, it was the beer that convinced the women that these men were desirable.

personal enjoyment, or even altruism. Nonetheless, sex is a powerful and easy method of getting male attention and making their product desirable.[12]

The use of sex in advertising is a two-edged sword. Although it is extremely powerful and effective when aimed at one gender, it often does so at the social expense of the other. Since humans live in a social world, consideration must be given to the feelings of either gender in that world.

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[12] Occasionally, ads will use innuendo and double entendre in the copy. For example, a commercial for Tiparillo small cigars was set on a train. A man and a woman sat in a compartment across from each other. The slogan is, "Does a gentleman offer a lady a Tiparillo?" As she smiled and accepted the cigar, the train was seen plunging into a tunnel (a Freudian symbol for sexual intercourse). The implication was clear: if a gentleman offers a lady a Tiparillo and she accepts, she is accepting him for sex as well.

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SHAKESPEARE: THE TIME OF HIS LIFE

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ABSTRACT. William Shakespeare inevitably dominates the age and continues to dominate British and world literature. Taking into account Christopher Haigh's assessment of the Elizabethan times – the time of Shakespeare's life – a tarnished Golden Age – we focus on aspects of dissident representations in his work. Marin Sorescu's poem on Shakespeare comes to emphasize in mid-twentieth century the permanence of intellectual excellence.

William Shakespeare's name is connected to the Elizabethan age or vice-versa. "To remote posterity the memorable fact about Elizabethan England will be that it produced the plays of Shakespeare. It is not merely that the greatest of mankind happened to be born in that age. His work would never have been produced in any other period than those Elizabethan and early Jacobean times in which it was his luck to live." (G. M. Trevelyan, p. 216).

The current account of the age insists that the court was both the royal household and the centre of government, headed by the Queen, whose capacity to rule amounted to genius. She was a unique phenomenon, a Protestant "Virgin Goddess" Queen who was not only a multilingual scholar and astute politician, but a woman who relished the pleasures of life: hunting and hawking, music-making and dancing, theatrical performance and conversation. She was *perfect*! Her realm was perfect. Her subjects happy. That is the current cliché. However, a year after Shakespeare's death, one of his contemporaries, Fynes Moryson, published an unsuccessful *Itinerary* containing his ten years of travel through twelve European "dominions" – from the Low Countries and Germany to Poland, Italy and Turkey, but above all England, Scotland and Ireland. A clumsy combination of a traveller's guidebook in the form of a diary and a systematic account of each of the countries he visited, it gives Moryson's own impressions of the state of his nation at that time.

There had been less glamorous aspects of English society recorded as early as the 1560s: "Yet there is much execution, but it helps not. It is the excess of apparel. Hose, hose, great hose! Too little wages, too many serving men, too many tippling-houses, too many drabs, too many knaves, too little labour, too much idleness." (*A Dialogue Against Pestilence*, 1564). Fynes Moryson's account is but a reiteration of all that: "I cannot deny that, out of this natural addiction to pleasure (or idleness if

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you will so call it) and out of natural boldness less to fear death than want, more persons are executed in England for stealing and robberies by the highway than in many vast kingdoms abroad." But the English are strongly addicted to all kinds of pleasure above all other nations. The cities, towns and villages "swarm with companies of Musicians and Fiddlers" and they love "setting up maypoles, dancing and like Plebean sports in all which vanities no nation cometh any thing near the English." (*Itinerary*, pp. 476-7).

It is a different point of view: a less perfect society, a world of tension and want, unsafe roads and, as we shall soon learn, unstable social life. Because the Elizabethan world was also an age of plots and conspiracies – real or imaginary – of uprisings and famine, draught and floods and plagues. What was it like to actually live in those times? What was it like to be a chronicler of the age? It is Noam Chomsky who points out that "What you often find is that intellectuals are the most indoctrinated part of the population. They are the ideological managers, so they have to internalize the propaganda. They have to believe it!" Now, in that respect, where does Shakespeare stand? Was Shakespeare an "internalizer" of Elizabethan propaganda, was he "remote from it" or was he "a dissident mind"?

Nowadays biography seems to be a burden for Eastern European authors because it carries a *sense of guilt* or a *scare of guilt*; one may put it both ways. So, Happy Homer, Happy Shakespeare: no biography by comparison. What do we know about Shakespeare's life: Grammar School, Anne Hathaway, taking care of horses outside the playhouse, than suddenly at the top of *Who's Who* in London in the 1590s, and very much aware of his powerful rhyme and gift. Let's quote at random:

> But were some child of yours alive that time
> You should live twice in it, and in my rhyme.
>
> (*Sonnet XVII*)
>
> So long as man can breathe or eyes can see
> So long lives this, and this gives life to thee.
>
> (*Sonnet XVIII*)
>
> And yet to times in hope my verse shall stand
> Praising thy worth despite his cruel hand.
>
> (*Sonnet LX*)

He had secured his room at the top at the turn of the century, when he must have completed his sonnet sequence. We also know a few details from Ben Jonson who in 1623 prefixed his praise to the Folio Edition: "small Latin and less Greek", but still a scholar, a natural genius, a hard worker who stroke a second beat on Muses' anvil and was "not for an age but for all time" – summing up Shakespeare's opinion about himself.

The Elizabethan age was a golden age in English history, no question about that, but it seems that the last ten-fifteen years of that age, the years following the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots were not that golden in terms of social relations and politics, a time when history was written with the sword and dagger. It was at

that time that Shakespeare wrote *Julius Caesar* and *Hamlet*, and in both of them there is a cry of discontent and revenge fuelled by the ardent question of the succession to the throne, a fear that "captive good" would not necessarily replace "defeated ill", that something worse could follow. And Caesar's fate, the aftermath of his assassination, was a good case in point. And Shakespeare, using ancient Rome as background had an eye on his Elizabethan London, clad in Roman garb. The same holds good for Denmark and England. We should bear in mind that in the first performance of *Hamlet*, actor Shakespeare played the Ghost and it is said that he would cry "Revenge, Hamlet, revenge!" so loudly he simply scared the audience; revenge against whom? Why "cursed spite" that has called him to set things right? Why is there so much human betrayal and treachery? Will Rosencrantz and Guildenstern ever be dead? Why was Polonius sent to "a congress of political worms"? Very bad things...

The fact is that nowadays, a remarkable book that came out in the early nineties – Christopher Haigh's *Elizabeth I*, in the Glasgow series "Profiles in Power" – is extremely close to Hamlet's point of view, or Fynes Moryson's for that matter. One should keep an eye on the ever-youthful and radiant image of the Virgin Queen, as we quote at random: "... if Elizabeth was to be seen at all it was in pictures, carefully controlled and widely distributed. [As early as] in 1563 a proclamation was drafted, forbidding further pictures of the Queen until a master portrait had been painted for others to copy. The proclamation was not issued, but there were approved versions of her portrait which were widely copied." (Haigh, p. 148). (For Romanians it may ring other bells) Because the royal portrait "was now a means of propaganda, not of representation". Elizabeth's courtiers began to wear jewelled cameos of the Queen and her poorer subjects could acquire base-metal medallions to wear as expressions of loyalty. In the 1580s "woodcuts and engravings of Elizabeth became more common in books, and in the next decade many separate printed pictures were produced for sale. But the more widely the royal image was displayed, the more important controls became. There appears to have been some official decision in about 1594 that Elizabeth should be pictured as eternally youthful, presumably to prevent fears for the future." (Haigh, p. 148).

But expressions of loyalty were to be carried by verse, too. Those of her subjects "who could not buy the picture might at least learn simple ballads of loyalty. The ballads were both unofficial propaganda weapons and opportunities for individuals to share by singing in public devotion to the Queen." (Haigh, p. 149). They were love songs to Elizabeth and ballads in the form of hymns of thanks to God for her rule and her achievements – "The noblest queen/ That ever was seen/ In England doth reign this day."

The poor quality of the verse would not stop the *internalizers of propaganda* to have it reprinted for good sale. Still, Elizabeth died unloved and almost unlamented: "... she ended her days as an irascible old woman, presiding over war and failure abroad and poverty and factionalism at home" (Haigh, p. 164). As the gap between

image and reality widened, so resentment spread, for the English had never loved the *real* Elizabeth – they had loved the image she created and the promises she had made. In the 1590s a politically bankrupt Queen seemed unable to prevent the old image from being tarnished, while the old promises were shown to be hollow.

It was at the turn of the century that Shakespeare completed his sonnet sequence. One may wonder what he was doing all that time. He was not a cogwheel of the propaganda machine, he was part of Fynes Moryson's England. He travelled a lot on horseback commuting from Stratford to London and he knew the highway and its creatures. After the performance of *Richard II*, that so enraged the Queen, and following the execution of Earl Essex, he sort of disappears from public life; he went home because Stratford-upon-Avon was safe: the river and the woods, swans and blackbirds, and the beautiful nature he had the time to hold a mirror up to. He was probably busy writing the great plays of the first decade of the new century, and, why not, he might have had a hand in the final version of King James' Bible – those Psalms are just too perfect, too exquisite the pen that gave the final touch, and still but a conjecture, no clear indication, no proof. A remarkable mind in search of truth, torn by questions generated by the time of his life:

Two loves I have of comfort and despair,
Which like two spirits do suggest me still.
(*Sonnet CXLIV*)

or

Let me not to the marriage of true minds
Admit impediments; love is not love
Which alters when it alteration finds,
Or bends with the remover to remove.
(*Sonnet CXVI*)

But the sonnet that he wrote as a cry against all the inequities of the age was *Sonnet LXVI*:

Tir'd with all these, for restful death I cry;
As, to behold desert a beggar born,
And needy nothing trimm'd in jollity,
And purest faith unhappily forsworn,
And gilded honour shamefully misplac'd,
And maiden virtue rudely strumpeted,
And right perfection wrongfully disgrac'd,
And strength by limping sway disabled,
And art made tongue-tied by authority,
And folly (doctor-like) controlling skill,
And simple truth miscall'd simplicity,
And captive good attending captain ill:
  Tir'd with all these, from these would I be gone,
  Save that, to die, I leave my love alone.

I leave my love alone. Which one: of comfort or despair; or is it love of life?

What is *Sonnet 66* after all? It is an inventory of evils. It is a statement of dissent. There is nothing good, nothing worth praising in the poet's world; but, on the other hand, there is no aspect that he does not touch upon. He who deserves is born a beggar; the needy nothing, the useless, the incompetent is trimmed in jollity; faith is forsworn, honour is misplaced, virtue is strumpeted, right perfection is disgraced, strength is disabled by limping power, art is tongue-tied by authority – read it censorship, and folly like a shrink controls the mind, simple truth is a joke, and outright lie is called truth; and, above all, captive good – skill and endeavour, intellectual drive and honest urge – is in bondage. The poet wants to go away "save that to die" he leaves his love alone: he has to live up to his promise, his verse has to stand to time and tell the true story. And whatever Shakespeare wrote matches modern history. The history of mentalities that in the twentieth century opened new avenues for our minds and the understanding of historic growth says a lot about how right Shakespeare was – a man for all time. He has proved to be a source of inspiration and intellectual support for enlightened minds across lands and seas. He has worked as a reliable source of information, a repository of knowledge, because he had the deeper insight of the poet who is a man speaking to men who are willing to listen, a man endowed with a better understanding of life, who has that ability of reaching down into the depths of the human heart.

All great poets, from Ben Jonson and John Milton to twentieth-century poets have paid their tribute – they did write "a Shakespeare poem", because Shakespeare's rebellious mind had been ahead of his time, always ready to give advice to potential peers, no matter the native tongue. The poetic urge that he should be living at any hour and be a witness of his predictions. Marin Sorescu's tribute is perhaps the poem worth mentioning.

Marin Sorescu
SHAKESPEARE
Shakespeare invented the world in seven days.
The first day he engineered the sky, the mountains and the chasms of the heart.
The second day he chartered the rivers, the seas, the oceans
And the other feelings and sentiments –
And lent them to Hamlet, to Julius Caesar, to Anthony and Cleopatra and Ophelia,
To Othello and others.
For them and their offspring to possess for good
Till doomsday.
The third day he brought together all the human beings
And taught them taste.
The taste of happiness and love and despair,
The taste of jealousy, the taste of glory and all the other tastes
Until he ran out of tastes.

It was then that a few other humans arrived, who had been late.
The master creator compassionately caressed them,

And told them that the only thing to do was to turn into
Literary critics
And contest his works.
The fourth and fifth days he dedicated to laughter.
He let loose the jesters
In order to let them jest,
And allowed kings and emperors
And other unhappy souls to have a good time.
The sixth day he attended some administrative problems:
He plotted a tempest
And taught King Lear
How to wear his crown of straw.
From the days of that genesis some debris had been left
And he conceived Richard III.
The seventh day he looked around to decide if there was anything else to do.
Theatre directors had covered the globe with posters,
And Shakespeare surmised that after such heavy toil
He was entitled to attend a performance himself.
But above all, because he was so weak and weary,
He chose to walk into that good night for a while...

(Translated into English by Ioan A. Popa
Seattle, Wa., May 1972
Cluj-Napoca, 1992)

For how long did he go into the good night, why did he not rage against the dying of the light? He knew that he would return, for good...

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SCOTTISHNESS: TRADITION, CULTURE AND IDENTITY

ADRIAN RADU

Scottish cultural discourses: distorted myths (?)

> *It has become an idée fixe of many Scottish intellectuals that Scotland suffers from a deformation of its culture; that it has sold out its political birthright for a mess of cultural potage.*
>
> (Nairn, Beverige and Turnbull)

The cultural content of Scottish variety of nationalism is relatively weak, when compared with other forms of nationalism (e.g. Welsh, Irish, Catalan or Quebec). In these instances we have an alternative 'imagined community' (McCrone, 1992: 174). Unlike in the territories mentioned above, in Scotland nationalists look sideways – this being one of the reasons why Scottish nationalism is considered relatively weak as compared to other forms of nationalism – rather than backwards, the justification being that by looking backwards what they find there are negative motifs, a distorted and deformed past, mythologies. Even so, because Scottish identity could not take a political form of expression, the only thing left was this subversion into a cultural backwater of cultural nationalism (McCrone, 1995: 63). On the other hand, in the cultural representations of Scotland we have to remark an obsession with what has passed, rather than with the present and the future.

As McCrone remarks (1995: 7) the iconography of Scottish nationalism is replete with such objects as flags, emblems, with constructs as tartanry, Bonnie Prince Charlie, Mary Queen of Scots, Bannockburn (often juxtaposed with Culloden), kailyard, etc. The commercialisation of culture has led to pastiche and simulacrum, allowing such stereotyped representations as tourist attractions based on spectacle. Over this situation P. Womack rightfully remarks:

> That all Scots wear tartans, are devoted to bagpipe music, are moved by the spirit of clanship, and supported Bonnie Prince Charlie to a man – all these libels of 1762 live on as items in the Scottish tourist package of the century. (Womack, in McCrone 1995: 201)

David McCrone (1992: 174) considers that there are two dominant discourses in Scottish culture, to which we would add two film constructs born out of the social necessities of modern cultural expression, namely: tartanry, kailyardism, brigadoonery and clydesideism

Before we start analysing these mythic discourses we shall examine the importance of having such constructs in the history of Scotland.

David Caughie (1992: 94), referring to Scottish mythology, considers that each society has certain defining mythologies by which it defines and constructs itself. They have material effects and are foundational for the concept of nation and

national memories. Therefore, though distorted, the Scottish past should not be uncovered and disconsidered, but discovered and carried around as cultural baggage. Caughie, who relies on arguments from popular feature film and television, pleads for a recovery of the past and considers that 'for Scotland the myths are to be recognised as the myths that people carry around as cultural baggage.' (1992: 95)

Although McCone's attitude seems different, he also agrees that Scottish culture is not necessarily deformed and the motifs, not necessarily distorted, are nevertheless unavoidable. He reports on Tom Nairn's analysis of Scottish culture (in *The Breaking up of Britain*) and he concludes that, according to Nairn, Scotland is divided between the 'heart' (past, romance, 'civil society') and 'the head' (the present, the future the British state). In other words the Scottish 'heart' was severed from the British 'head', i.e. the national, with its over-emphasis on the past was separated from the practical, with emphasis on the present and the future. The result is, consequently, the impractical, reminiscent, often nostalgic and mythical aspect of Scottish culture.

Nairn terms Scottish culture as 'cultural sub-nationalism', a culture not straightforwardly nationalist – that is to say, *it is not a direct substitute for political action*, whereas *its nationalist content is expressed indirectly, rather than directly* (in McCrone 1992: 195). It came to be so because the intelligentsia of the 18th and 19th centuries had a diminishing role as they migrated, if not physically at least spiritually, to the bigger metropolitan culture of the Anglo-Britain (Adam Smith, David Hume, John Stuart and James Mill, Thomas Macaulay, Thomas Carlyle, John Ruskin, William Gladstone). For him the Scottish Enlightenment was the result of the Union and 'arose as a deformed culture' (1992: 195). In spite of all these Nairn and McCrone see the previously named personalities as universal, as the result was that *a national culture of a region developed into a sub-national variety*.

For Andrew O'Hagan, another supporter of the schizoid personality of Scottish culture, such recurrent images as the 'wee bit hill and glen' are always dominant and represent, together with certain workerist tendencies, an antimetropolitan attitude and insubordination. Scottish culture is *a culture of old attachments* and few new ideas, whereas the writers' opposition to mainstream British culture is more fun, out of point or showy than real. However, in spite of all tendencies that come from the South what opposes them is the much criticised 'workerist, Presbyterian, tartan-dimmed' tendencies (1994: 26).

From these grounds we can conclude that these myths, though deformed representations of Scottish culture are unavoidable and constitute, as such, markers of the past that, accordingly, must be uncovered and preserved, as the carriers of Scottish national identity.

The fall and rise of tartanry

The dictionary definition underlines the derogative application of the concept of **tartanry** as 'the excessive use of tartan and other Scottish imagery to produce a distorted image or sentimental view of Scotland and its history' (according to *Collins English Dictionary*).

Nairn calls it 'the Tartan monster', though he admits that it is not treated as seriously by Scottish intellectuals as kailyard. He does not find a single serious analysis of the phenomenon in spite of the existence of a great number of studies of the history of the tartan. Dacre (in Nairn and quoted by McCrone, 1992: 181) even considers that tartanry, invented by an Englishman to do the Highlanders[1] a favour, has no basis in history:

> […] the kilt is a purely modern costume, first designed and first worn by an English Quaker industrialist and that was bestowed by him on the Highlanders in order not to preserve their traditional way of life, but to ease their transformation, to bring them out of the heather into the factory.

Andrew O'Hagan considers that tartanry is the most notorious and, in its tourist form, the most embarrassing manifestation offering recreation to people who, thus, profit from the work of factories. But, in spite of its obsessive presence and use in airport terminals, along roads, in High Street souvenir shops and Hollywood movies (as tartanry also means export) he admits that it represents 'real mythic confrontation between progress and tradition, nature and culture, rationality and romance.' (1994: 95) Nevertheless, tartanry still remains a popular form of culture due to the development of music-hall and vaudeville in the 20th century. McCrone also considers that tartanry can be equated with the garish symbols appropriated by Music Hall in the 1920s and 30s. (1995: 50)

Since the tartan is probably the first sign that, in spite of all protests, points to Scotland, it would be of interest to briefly show how it came to be so. Tartans originally were 'a highland garb of history' (McCrone 1995: 50), but with time the original significance was diluted and came to be sentimentally associated with the lowland Scots, as well. After the Union of the Crowns of 1603, when, after the death of unmarried and childless Elizabeth I, James I was generally accepted as the rightful heir to the throne, in 1707 followed the Treaty of Union, equivalent to a parliamentary i.e. a legal and administrative fusion. After the defeat of the Jacobites at Culloden in 1746, The Proscription Act of 1747 forbade the wearing of tartans, until 1782 when this act was repealed. This coincided with a Romantic movement of searching for a 'noble savage', a primitive people, closer to nature, but indirectly meant the incorporating of the Highland landed aristocracy into the British élite.

> The kilt and tartan came to signify the mystery of primitive society and consequently what had been lost since 1746 or had never been known was simply invented. (McCrone, 1995: 51)

Walter Scott even persuaded King George to wear a kilt set off by pink tights (!) during the latter's visit to Edinburgh in 1822. The result was multiplication of the

[1] Tartans are intrinsically linked with the **Highland tradition**, another very frequently exploited cliché, of: romantic bens and glens, the lone shielding of misty island, purple heather, kilted clansmen, battles long ago, an ancient and beautiful language, claymores and bagpipes and Bonny Prince Charlie – we know all that, and we also know that it's not real. (Womack, in McCrone 1995: 56)

tartans that became the fashion of the day. The weaving company of Bannockburn proliferated the tartans without worrying too much about authenticity as the pattern employed rose up to 80. In 1848 Queen Victoria acquisitioned Balmoral and, after she and Prince Albert had had one pattern designed especially for them, the tartan enterprise was given royal approval and became soaring business up to now. We have to add the incorporation of tartans by the British state as part of élite army uniforms 'to kit out its erstwhile enemies while in its military campaign' (McCrone 1995: 52).

Though this form of dress and design started as authentic for the Highlands of Scotland, when it descended to the Lowlands and was claimed as distinctive element of culture in a period when Scotland's economic, social and cultural identity was ebbing away, the development of tartanry showed less genuineness and more concern for heritage industry.

Nowadays the attitude that the Scots have to tartan is ambivalent. It is, on the one hand, a ceremonial way of dressing at weddings or graduations, and, on the other, it offers the football fans the possibility to stand out in cheering their favourites. Many critiques consider that the 'tartan monster' or 'the cultural sub-nationalism of tartanry' (Nairn) has slowly made its way towards commercialisation and deformation of the notion of Scottishness, verging on ludicrous and being the high fashion:

> It has a 'yuppy' image not only in Britain, but throughout Europe and North America. Tartan is chic, and cool, and the uniform of the affluent. (McCrone 1995: 56)

Kailyard culture

The term **kailyard** – also spelt as *kaleyard* – is coined from *cauld kail*, i.e.. 'cabbage patch' – designates the often overemotional manifestations in Scottish culture which flourished between about 1880 and 1914, where the past becomes rosy and nostalgic, and which took the character of a national popular tradition, celebrating Scottish rural quaintness, presenting sentimental and homely aspects of the life in the Lowlands.

Tom Nairn considers that:

> Kailyardism was the definition of Scotland as wholly consisting of small towns full of small-towns characters, given to bucolic intrigue and wise sayings. At first the central figure were usually Ministers of the Kirk (as were most of the authors) but later on schoolteachers and doctors got into the act. Their housekeepers always have a shrewd insight into human nature. Offspring who leave for a city frequently come to grief, and are glad to get home again (peching and hosting to hide their feelings). (Nairn, in McCrone, 1995: 61)

As seen, McCrone underlines (1992: 179, and 1995: 61) that the parish, the local community, the minister, the school teacher and the boy of academic talent, son of a crofter who had little financial means, the *lad o'pairts*, were given underscored cultural expression. All these representations embody such virtues as independence, hard work and 'getting on'.

The term kailyardism is attributed to the critic George Blake who also describes its essential elements: domesticity, rusticity, humour, humility, modesty, decency, pity and poverty.

Key writers who belong to this trend, at least partially, are: 'Ian McLaren' (John Watson) (1850-1907), S. R. Crockett (1860-1914), J. M. Barrie (1860-1937), with the notable exception of R. L. Stephenson. As characteristic formulas of this school mention should be made of omniscient narrator, rural setting, episodic format and, as shown above, emphasised roles for the minister and the school master.

Very often, as in the case of tartanry, kailyard was meant for a wider American market with its vogue for religious, fictitious and sentimental retrospection – as in the case of MacLaren, Crockett and Barrie. Hollywood industry was such an insatiable digester of Scottish myths in order to transform them into other myths.

Brigadoonery

The concept of **brigadoonery** is closely connected with the original film *Brigadoon* (1954), a Hollywood movie (directed by Vincente Minelli, music by Frederick Loewe and choreography by Gene Kelly) about a 'bogus' Scotland, or such films as *I Know Where I'm Going* (1945 – written, produced and directed by Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger), a ' gentle piece of imagined romance' (Hardy 1990: 62), cases in point, as they display a backwards looking Scotland and contain samples of kailyard culture and tartanry, export Scottish clichés, about which Hardy writes (1990: 62)

> The popular conception about Scotland appears to be of a wild mountainous country, picturesque glens, heather-clad-moors, with deer on the hills, eagles hovering overhead, and shaggy Highland cattle by the lochside. Kilted Highlanders will be there, gillies driving grouse towards sportsmen in hides, and above all, all the sound of the pipes. Abandoned castles on islands in lochs, forbidding keeps in the borderland, once-great abbeys in ruins. Perhaps Geordian Edinburgh. Perhaps granite Aberdeen. Everything in strong colour, except when wrapped in mist.

Minelli failed to find in Scotland the 'real Scotland' he was looking for, that is a place in the Highlands where everything remained unchanged, 'I went to Scotland but I could find nothing that looked like Scotland' he stated (in McCrone, 1995: 49). Therefore, he decided that it was the Hollywood studios that could best represent genuine Scotland and this is how *Brigadoon* was born – containing most of the discourses listed in Hardy's quotation above – and together with it a whole direction, especially in visual arts, illustrated by films like *Bonnie Prince Charlie* (1948) or *Kidnapped* (1960). It was a Romantic and bucolic representation but, at the same time, a means of escapism from the dull and destructive life in modern cities.

Brigadoonery marks the assimilation of tartanry and kailyard into the process of filmic representation of Scotland. The counter-reaction to this process was the movement called **clydesideism**.

Clydesideism and the workerist tradition

If tartanry and kailyardism were more or less the Romantic expression of the 19th century and brigadoonery their continuation in the dream world of films, clydesideism is the expression of twentieth century Scottish labour, often considered a reaction and an antidote to tartanry and kailyardism and – as mythology of male industrial labour (O'Hagan 1994: 95) – reeks of football grounds and overcrowded pubs. For O'Hagan it is a celebration of soiling factory work beneath polished surfaces, garden festivals and Cities of Culture (e.g. Glasgow), therefore strongly gender oriented.

In fact, a closer analysis of these three mythologies (i.e. tartanry, kailyardism and clydesideism) reveals that all are male gender oriented and there is little place for women. Tartanry is a often a male-military image (don't forget its appropriation by the British army), clydesideism shows the skilled male-worker who was man enough to care for his womenfolk and home (McCrone 1995: 69).

For John Caughie clydesideism seems the only real and consistent basis for a Scottish national culture. It is resonant of socialist realism, a 'historic discourse' with its appeal to 'industrial masses and masculine culture' (in McCrone 187). This myth is, in fact, based on another fast-disappearing myth, that of the working-class culture.

Clydesideism is the Scottish *Neorealismo*, the fictional expression, basically in film-making, of the industrial Glaswegian workerist tradition of the 20th century. If the other two myths were warm, soft hued, clydesideism is mainly black and white.

Conclusions to cultural discourses

Andrew O'Hagan points out that the birth of these mythological frameworks is the result of significant transformative moments in Scottish history: the break-up of the clan system and the taming of the wilderness in the 18th century, followed by the 19th century brutal industrialisation process,

- the great disruption in the Church of Scotland and the resulting shifts within the community in the 19th century,
- to which we would add a further political one:
- the unification of the Scottish Crown and Parliament and the result of the British metropolitan action and the Scottish counteraction.

Each of these myths has its negation and underside. O'Hagan even suggests comparing Scotland of art, as romanticised frontier territory in Europe with the American West as idealised epic ground in popular fiction and film (1994: 96)[2].

Both tartanry and kailyardism have not been accepted uncritically, comprehensively and homogeneously. The trouble with them is that they did not become wider political project. Often, the feeling of 'inferiority' that accompanies these manifestations

[2] The association has become so stereotyped, that in a film – a Western Spaghetti, *Sette Pistole per i MacGregor*, an Italo-Spanish coproduction, made in 1965 – the opening scene set in Texas, during the Civil War shows an attack of Mexican bandits, wearing sombreros round their neck, against homesteaders arguing about whiskey, with homes hung with tartans, 18th century pistols and claymores, and even gags about thriftiness (McArthur, 1990: 94).

arises from a form of dependency from the metropolitan English power. However Scottish culture cannot be denied and has to be rescued and uncovered from intellectual pessimism (in McCrone 1992: 190)

Identity in contemporary Scottish culture

After the argumentation above, the natural question may be raised about reasons for this obsessive search for national identity. To which the only obvious and immediate answer may be given that, since all societies worthy of name should be given a distinctive culture, so does Scottish society. Moreover, as Scotland's culture has been veiled and distorted for such a long time its true spirit awaits discovering and correct deconstruction. *The search for the true Scottish culture must necessarily be unbiased and retrospective*.

David McCrone emphasises the split personality of Scottish culture: we can speak about the separation of low and high culture, with low culture as 'bastard product', partially indigenous and partially maintained by the British imperial mechanisms (190). The collapse of the British Empire gave birth to indigenous literatures in the USA, Canada, Ireland. The situation could not have been much different in Scotland. Except that Scottish culture is always a celebration of the past. 'Low culture' as concept was mentioned previously. But what is 'low culture' nowadays? If we consider culture making as a constant succession of social practices, therefore also a political process involved in the redistribution of various forms of social power (Fiske 1989: 1), we may deduce that 'low culture' also means the system of meanings devised by many subordinated or disempowered people out of the resources provided by the social system whose product they are. On the other hand, 'low culture' has been identified by many with popular culture and its consumerist aspect, with all negative connotations (viz. low = bad) originating from the balance high culture vs. popular culture removed. Taking into consideration that all the previously mentioned arguments characterise any form of culture in general and not Scottish culture in particular as 'low' / popular form of culture, then, what we witness in Scotland today is but another, let us call it *local aspect of the universalism of the contemporary cultural experience*.

A pertinent analysis of contemporary Scottish fiction, constitutes a case in point for the whole Scottish culture. The new internationalism in the handling of themes, the more reader-oriented and market-directed tendencies, the stronger influence of market rules are also at work in the Scottish novel. What has then become of the old traditional icons? Have they been altogether abandoned? The analysis we have mentioned will give the answer that this could not have happened. On the contrary, they have been given new expression, they are new images, and though less pivotal than previously they spring up or are, at least, felt in the background.

An important characteristic of modern culture is its greater variety through radio and TV. Nowadays the carriers of culture are no longer literary, but comprehensively artistic: folk music, tunes and instruments included. Though bag

pipes and round dances at *ceilidhs* are still familiar, Scottish culture can no longer be reduced to the discourses of tartanry and kailyardism (McCrone, 1992: 197).

Scottish film-makers in quest of Scottishness

In this section we will exemplify the quest for national identity with the individualised detection of the 'Scottishness' of some older and newer film creations. As shown below, the stereotypical Scottish myths found in literature are still present in movies to a greater or lesser extent: kailyardism, tartanry, clydesideism and the *lad o'pairts*, together with the familiar symbols: the kilt, the bagpipe, heather, whisky, haggis, Highland, cattle and the thatched cottage by the lochside (enumerated by Hardy, 1990: 205) the two folms already mentioned.

In this respect *Brigadoon* or *I Know Where I'm Going* are cases in point.

Bill Douglas and his film trilogy (1972-1978). Bill Douglas, a Scottish film maker who had the fortunate experience of acting in London with Joan Littlewood, was a student at the London Film School for two years. He is well-known for his trilogy, the Bildungsroman he dedicated to his childhood, a good example of clydesideism located in Newcraighall, a typical Scottish mining village to the south-east of Edinburgh in the rationing after-war period. The films, that make up this 181 minute-long black-and-white triptych: *My Childhood* (1972), *My Ain Folk* (1973) and *My Way Home* (1978), with Stephen Archibald admirably playing the leading part are made up of bitter memories starting in 1945, when there were still German prisoners-of-war working in the fields. The central character is Jamie, an unwanted and unloved child, who lives with his patronising grandmother and elder brother Tommy, who never knew his father and whose mother is confined to a mental hospital. Rejected by all and forced to fight his deprived life in harsh circumstances, he comes to terms with himself only when he gets into contact with literature and the arts. This autobiographical film accepts no compromise, the gloomy realities it narrates about are borrowed from clydesideist creations, the spectator should not feel sympathetic with Jamie (in fact, watching the film becomes a painful activity), even words are reduced to minimum, in an attempt to show the cruelty and injustice the hero had to suffer in his formative years of future artist.

David Puttnam and *Chariots of Fire* (1981). The Oscar winning production of David Puttnam, directed by Hugh Hudson, is a modern cinematic illustration of the *lad o'pairts* myth embodied by Eric Liddell (played by Ian Charleson), the innocent with missionary zeal who becomes the all-acclaimed winning athlete at the 1924 Paris Olympic Games, the dream hero of every Scottish schoolboy. Apart from David Watkin's excellent photography the film benefited from Vangelis's music of great effect.

Bill Forsyth and *Local Hero* (1983). *Local Hero* (1983) is a 'Scottish' film made by David Puttnam as producer and Bill Forsyth as script writer and director and on whose credits sonorous names like Burt Lancaster, Pieter Rieger and Denis

Lawson contribute to the (relative) success of the picture. Bill Forsyth was not at his first script or at the first film that he directed (see: *That Sinking Feeling* and *Gregory's Girl* below) and, as in other cases, he had had to work for money, but with the attainment and with the energy of the enthusiast. In an interview with Liz Taylor he declared:

> You are allowed one chance in Scotland and if you blow it, that's your lot. It is just luck if it comes off. Afterwards, you are terrified, but at the same time you don't realise what's happening. (in Hardy, 1990: 176)

That Sinking Feeling (1979) is a comedy about contemporary Glasgow that narrates the story of a group of unemployed teenagers who plan the 'perfect crime' – the robbery of a warehouse containing stainless steel sinks. In spite of some imperfections (some long-drawn scenes) the film introduces Glasgow as character and proves once more the author's affection for the Scottish metropolis (Hardy, 1990: 176).

Gregory's Girl (1980), 'a romance about being modern in a New Town environment' (Forsyth quoted by Hardy, 1990: 176) is placed in Cumbernauld near Glasgow. The main hero, Gregory, whom everybody is making fun of, is a teenager who lives in a world of imagined heroism, a Francis Macomber with juvenile pimples and in the apparel of a football star, whose final 'awakening' is the fact that he loses his place in the football team to a girl who is better than him (Hardy, 1990: 177). With this film Forsyth's style seems crystallized: an amiable sense of humour and of the detail where didacticism pervades, as he confesses:

> I'm really a didactic film-maker and I like a serious message in a film. But I have to put in jokes as that's what audiences like. (in Hardy, 1990: 177)

Local Hero (1983) displays the same set of characteristics – plus the small community at odds with the crushing American industrialism, but this time with more professional skill and on a larger scale, with an important budget (£3 million), a diversified crew of technicians, a more international cast with Burt Lancaster playing the Texan oil tycoon in a film for which Forsyth himself wrote the script from an idea suggested by Puttnam. The basic idea is announced by Bill Forsyth himself:

> I saw it along the lines of a Scottish Beverly Hillbillies – what would happen to a small community when it suddenly became immensely rich – that was the germ of the idea and the story built itself from there. It seemed to contain a similar theme to *Brigadoon*, which also involved some Americans coming to Scotland, becoming part of a small community, being changed by the experience and affecting the place in their own way. I felt close in spirit to the Powell and Pressburger feeling, the idea of trying to present a cosmic viewpoint to people, but through the most ordinary things. And because both this film and *I Know Where I'm Going* are set in Scotland, I've felt from the beginning that we're walking the same … treading the same water. (quoted by Hardy, 1990: 178)

A very important scene in the film is the trans-continental phone-call from an outside booth, the night of the *ceilidth*, when the 'Scottish'-American (of Hungarian parentage!) trouble-shooter McIntyre (Peter Riegert) describes a Scottish Aurora Borealis – the materialisation of the 'cosmic viewpoint' – to his American boss obsessed

with astronomy (Burt Lancaster). After watching this episode two questions naturally arise: How important is it, after all? Where can we place it in the main conflict of the film: the industrial American world meets and is about to crash a local rural community? Because the ultimate effect is opposite: the winner is the Scottish community after the ecological metamorphosis of the all-potent Americans.

As usual with Forsyth, there is always a feeling of innocence and an optimistic 'there's hope' with, at the same time, the typical humour.

With *Comfort and Joy* (1984) Bill Forsyth returns to Glasgow to discuss, in a less humorous way, the theme of marriage break and the fact that the main hero who works as a disk jockey with a local radio station has to continue being merry and do his job (to broadcast silly advertisements for sweets) in spite of everything.

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SPRE O SEMANTICĂ A VERBELOR DE PERCEPȚIE

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ABSTRACT: Starting from an analysis of verbs of perception, we try to show that pragmatic inferences are the common product of two general factors: semantic oppositions within the lexical and grammatical systems (between the sense that is expressed and the senses that could have been expressed) and the knowledge and presuppositions the speaker has about the nature of the actions to which reference is made.

1.1. Multe din proprietățile verbelor de percepție fizică nu sunt incorporate în structura lingvistică, ci sunt mai degrabă inferențe pragmatice bazate pe cunoştințele noastre despre natura evenimentului la care face referinţă complementul. Complementele verbelor de percepție fizică sunt caracterizate de faptul că ele par să fie propoziții în adevarata accepție a termenului, dar subiectele lor sunt în cazul acuzativ (în engleză doar pronumele sunt marcate pentru cazul acuzativ). Analiza corectă a verbelor de percepție fizică este mai complicată decât apare la prima vedere deoarece aceste propoziții comunică mai mult decât rezultă din combinația sensurilor lexicale. În procesul de comunicare intervine inferența pragmatică făcută de fiecare vorbitor în parte.[1]

În engleză verbele din această clasă acceptă complemente directe exprimate prin infinitiv sau gerunziu: *I heard Mary sing in the bathroom; I heard Mary singing in the bathroom;* pe când în limba română avem predicativă suplimentară: *Am auzit-o pe Mary cum cântă în baie* şi element predicativ suplimentar: *Am auzit-o pe Mary cântând în baie.* Pe de altă parte, verbele de percepție mintală acceptă, în engleză, propoziție completivă directă sau construcție "acuzativ cu infinitiv": *I feel that he is growing rather hostile; I feel him to be growing rather hostile,*[2] iar în română completivă directă: *Simt cum devine ostil* şi predicativă suplimentară: *Îl simt că devine ostil*. Ultimele propoziții sunt identice din punct de vedere semantic aşa că pot fi considerate parafraze, dar este evident că verbul *to feel / a simți* (= percepție fizică) trebuie interpretat complet diferit de verbul *to feel / a simți* (= percepție mintală). Verbele de percepție fizică comunică o percepție directă, în timp ce cele de percepție mintală urmate de o propoziție completivă directă introdusă de *that* sau de o construcție

[1] Termenul **inferență pragmatică** nu este folosit in acest articol pentru a se referi strict la deducția logică, ci mai degrabă la exercițiul uman de a trage concluzii, de a umple golurile în comunicarea lingvistică şi non-lingvistică. Este evident că acest proces depinde de cunoştințele împărtăşite de vorbitor şi adresant.

[2] Unele exemple în limba engleza sunt preluate din lucrarea lui R.S. Kirsner şi D.A. Thomson (vezi bibliografia)

"acuzativ cu infinitiv" (în engleză), sau completivă directă sau predicativă suplimentară (în română) comunică un raport indirect sau o deducție.

Pentru a sesiza mai bine diferența, să analizăm următoarea pereche de propoziții: *I heard that Susan passed her exam / Am auzit că Susan a trecut examenul* şi **I heard Susan pass the exam / *Am auzit cum Susan trece examenul.* Este evident că aceste două propoziții nu sunt sinonime. Cea de-a doua este greşită pentru că este imposibil de identificat o situație în care auzul poate sesiza trecerea unui examen. Exemplul românesc este mai clar dacă verbul de percepție este la prezent: **Aud cum Susan trece examenul.* Aceste exemple vin să confirme ipoteza că verbele *feel / a simți, see / a vedea, hear / a auzi* (= percepție fizică) sunt diferite ca sens }i interpretare de *feel / a sim]i, hear / a auzi, see / a vedea* (= percepție mintală). Primele comunică percepția fizică propriu-zisă, pe când cele din grupul doi implică o interpretare a acesteia.[3]

Dacă luăm în considerare următoarele propoziții: *We can see that Thomas solved the problem / Putem vedea că Thomas a rezolvat problema* şi *We can see Thomas solve the problem / Putem vedea că Thomas rezolvă problema* remarcăm că rezolvarea în sine nu este un act ce poate fi văzut şi deci va trebui să analizăm verbul *see / a vedea* (=percepție mintală) şi verbul *see / a vedea* (= percepție fizică) ca o interpretare a ceea ce este perceput. în propozi]ia *We can see Thomas solve the problem / Putem vedea că Thomas rezolvă problema* vedem că Thomas face ceva din care deducem că este rezolvarea unei probleme (nu putem avea acces în mintea lui pentru a "vedea" procesul de rezolvare). In celălalt caz nu este nevoie să vedem nici un fel de acțiune; putem vedea doar rezultatul unei acțiuni: nişte foi scrise, cifre pe o tablă, etc. Contrastul între percepția directă şi deducția din ceva perceput mintal este o problemă de interpretare, dar contrastul dintre cele două tipuri de percepție este evident.

Analizând contrastul dintre perechile de propoziții menționate mai sus, putem oferi o explicație a faptului că multe propoziții cu verbe de percepție care conțin propoziții completive directe nu au echivalent în propozițiile care au complemente infinitivale sau gerunziale. Primele exprimă informație dedusă, fără o percepție directă: *Percy felt that Margot really wanted to marry Jim / Percy simțea că Margot vrea să se căsătorească cu Jim* şi **Percy felt Margot really want to marry Jim / *Percy simțea cum Margot vrea să se căsătorească cu Jim.* A doua propoziție nu descrie o acțiune percepută direct şi de aceea complementul este inacceptabil pentru un verb de percepție fizică.

Dacă ne reîntoarcem la propozițiile cu o construcție "acuzativ cu infinitiv" (engleza) ca în *I feel him to be growing rather hostile,* şi predicativă suplimentară

[3] Astfel de propoziții pot fi interpretate şi în alt fel. *Am auzit/am aflat cum trece (Thomas) examenele* poate fi parafrazată astfel: *Am auzit/am aflat modalitatea prin care trece examenele (= Mi s-a comunicat felul prin care Thomas a trecut examenul.* Acest lucru este valabil doar dacă referința se face la trecut. Dacă verbul este impersonal, se paote folosi prezentul (istoric): *Am auzit (= ştiu) cum se trece la examenul de lingvistică.*

(română): *Îl simt că devine ostil*, observăm un contrast semantic identic cu cel prezentat mai sus. Ca şi în cazul propozițiilor cu *that* / completive directe, propozițiile cu "acuzativ cu infinitiv" / predicative suplimentare (*I feel him to be growing rather hostile / Îl simt că devine ostil*) se deosebesc de cele cu complemente infinitivale şi gerunziale / element predicativ suplimentar (*I feel him growing rather hostile / Îl simt că devine ostil*) prin aceea că ele comunică o deducție a stării de fapte, în timp ce ultimele relatează o percepție directă. Când contextul exclude posibilitatea percepției directe, construcția cu complement infinitival sau gerunzial (= percepție fizică) este exclusă: *From what Anne told me about her meeting with Bobby, (a) I feel that he is growing rather hostile* şi *(b) I feel him to be growing rather hostile / Din ceea ce mi-a spus Anne despre întâlnirea ei cu Bobby, (a) simt că devine tot mai ostil* şi *(b) simt cum devine tot mai ostil,*dar nu putem accepta **I feel him growing rather hostile / *Îl simt devenind ostil.* Dacă însă acțiunea descrisă de complement este percepută direct, construcția infinitivală sau gerunzială este cea corectă: *Cindy felt the cold stethoscope glide across her shoulder blades / Cindy a simțit cum stetoscopul rece îi aluneca peste omoplați,* dar nu **Cindy felt that the cold stethoscope glided across her shoulder blades /* sau **Cindy felt the cold stethoscope to glide across her shoulder blades.*

1.2. Există câteva probleme care trebuie analizate în legătură cu aceste verbe. Mai întâi ne punem întrebarea dacă subiectul complementului verbului de percepție este în acelaşi timp şi complement direct al verbului de percepție sau nu. Luând în considerare exemplele: *I smelled the bacon cooking / Am mirosit şunca prăjindu-se* şi *We saw them cross the river / I-am văzut cum trec râul,* suntem tentați să confirmăm că *the bacon / şunca* şi *them/i (pe ei)* au într-adevăr aceste două funcții. Dacă vorbitorul a mirosit şunca care se prăjeşte, probabil că putem spune că a mirosit şunca; la fel în cel de-al doilea exemplu: cineva trebuie să perceapă şi oamenii dacă vrea să-i vadă trecând râul. Dacă însă privim dincolo de aceste exemple foarte clare, observăm că **We saw them crossing the river (but we didn't see them) / I-am văzut trecând râul (dar nu i-am văzut)* este incorectă în timp ce *We saw the invisible nerve gas kill all the sheep (but of course we didn't actually see the invisible nerve gas itself) / Am văzut cum/că gazul invizibil a omorât toate oile (dar de fapt noi nu am văzut gazul invizibil*) este corectă.

Ultima propoziție ne arată că este posibil să percepem global un eveniment, în felul specificat de verbul de percepție, fără să fie necesar să percepem la fel şi referentul individual al subiectului-complement. Prin urmare, unele evenimente pot fi percepute numai global, deoarece subiectul-complement nu poate fi obiect direct. Dacă analizăm propozițiile: *I have seen faith accomplish miracles / Am văzut credința făcând miracole* şi **I have seen faith / Am văzut credința* sau *I have watched poverty ruin many farmers / Am văzut sărăcia ruinând mulți fermieri* şi **I have watched poverty / *Am văzut/privit sărăcia* remarcăm că nu subiectul-complement, ci întregul complement trebuie să fie considerat obiectul direct al verbului de perceptie. În

concordanță cu această părere, subiectul-complement poate fi interpretat ca obiect direct numai dacă evenimentul sau situația la care se referă acesta este percepută în sensul literal al verbului de percepție, lucru care, evident, ne conduce spre pragmatica acestor construcții.

În *We heard the farmers slaughter/slaughtering the pig / I-am auzit pe fermieri cum sacrifică / sacrificând porcul* probabil că ceea ce auzim de fapt este porcul, nicidecum fermierii. Un alt exemplu care ne poate conduce spre concluzia că obiectul direct al verbului de percepție poate fi întreaga construcție este: *Freddy heard it thundering / Freddy a auzit cum tună.* În engleza *it* este un element lexical fară încărcătură semantică şi deci nu putem spune **Freddy heard it.*[4] La fel, în cazul *We saw there arise over the meadow a blue haze / (Am văzut cum ceața se ridica deasupra pajiştii)* nu putem interpreta pe *there* ca obiect direct al verbului de percepție deoarece *there* este lipsit de încărcătură semantică: **We saw there.*

1.3. Observații similare pot fi făcute în legatură cu faptul că verbele de percepție îşi implică complementele. Dacă este aşa, adevărul din *We heard them come up the stairs / I-am auzit urcând (cum urcau) scările* implică adevărul din *They came up the stairs / Au urcat scările.* Acest lucru pare să fie adevărat deoarece propoziția **We heard them come up the stairs, but they didn't come up the stairs / I-am auzit urcând scările, dar ei n-au urcat scările* este inacceptabilă şi se comportă similar cu propoziții care conțin verbe implicative autentice (*force / a forța, manage / a reuşi*): **Emily forced George to eat the soup but he didn't eat it / *Emily l-a forțat pe George să mănânce supa, dar el n-a mâncat-o* sau **Thomas managed to open the jar, but he didn't open it / Thomas a reuşit să deschidă borcanul, dar nu l-a deschis.*

Totuşi ştim că oamenii pot percepe lucruri care nu există sau evenimente care nu au loc: *The delirious patient saw the room spinning around him, but we know it wasn't spinning / Pacientul în deliriu vedea camera rotindu-se în jurul lui, dar noi ştim că de fapt nu se rotea.* Dacă verbele de percepție ar fi implicative, această propoziție ar fi incorectă. Propoziția este corectă şi acest lucru ne face să considerăm că verbele de percepție sunt ne-implicative.

2.1. Un alt aspect deseori discutat de lingvişti se referă la interpretarea care poate fi dată complementului infinitival şi celui gerunzial în engleză. Mulți sunt de părere că cel dintâi se referă la o acțiune completă / încheiată, pe când complementul gerunzial se referă la o acțiune în desfăşurare: *I saw him cross the street* şi *I saw him crossing the street.* În română, predicativa suplimentară: *L-am văzut cum a trecut strada (? Am văzut că a trecut strada)* se referă la o acțiune completă, iar elementul predicativ suplimentar la una în desfăşurare: *L-am văzut trecând strada.* Este

[4] Propoziția *Freedy heard it* poate să aibă sens dacă *it* are un referent: *I hoped that Freddy hadn't heard the bad news, but sure enough, he (Freddy) heard it.* În *Freddy heard it thundering* referentul nu este identificabil şi, deci, propoziția *Freddy heard it* este incorectă.

adevărat că multe exemple vin să susțină acestă părere. Se poate observa că negarea enunțului din prima parte este incorectă în cazul **I saw her drown, but I rescued her / *Am văzut-o cum s-a înecat (am văzut că s-a înecat), dar am salvat-o,* dar este corectă în *I saw her drowning, but I rescued her / Am văzut-o înecându-se, dar am salvat-o.* Sunt însă multe cazuri care nu pot fi interpretate astfel: *We saw her just sit there / Am văzut-o cum şedea acolo* şi *We saw her just sitting there / Am văzut-o şezând acolo.* Nimic nu ne obligă să interpretăm şederea ca o acțiune încheiată.

În cazul complementelor infinitivale şi gerunziale considerăm că interpretarea sensului poate aduce explicația corectă: contrastul dintre cele două forme poate fi explicat în termenii demarcației temporale a evenimentului. Forma de infinitiv (engleză) sau predicativa suplimentară (română) implică o **limitare în timp** pe când forma gerunzială (engleză) sau elementul predicativ suplimentar (română) nu implică o astfel de limitare. Este evident că de fapt toate evenimentele se petrec **în timp** şi sunt **limitate în timp,** dar nu întotdeauna acest lucru este relevant pentru vorbitor. Dacă alegem forma infinitivală o facem pentru că socotim că **limitarea temporală** este relevantă pentru comunicare (dorim să accentuăm începutul sau sfârşitul acțiunii sau să vedem acțiunea ca un întreg), dacă alegem forma gerunzială, minimalizăm importanța limitării temporale pentru mesaj şi ne concentrăm atenția asupra **desfăşurării** acțiunii.

Contrastul dintre sensul complementului infinitival / predicativei suplimentare şi a celui gerunzial / a elementului predicativ suplimentar se mainifestă şi sub alte forme. Putem interpreta propozițiile *We saw Nancy blink / Am văzut-o pe Nancy ca a clipit* (=o dată) şi *We saw Nancy blinking / Am văzut-o pe Nancy clipind* (= de mai multe ori) ca o opoziție "complet" / "incomplet", dar credem că interpretarea trebuie să fie "o acțiune" opusă la "mai multe acțiuni" (repetat / nerepetat). Este evident că soluția corectă pentru interpretare este dată de analiza verbului *to blink / a clipi.* Ca şi în cazul verbului *to drown / a se îneca,* verbul *to blink / a clipi* indică o acțiune încheiată odată cu sfârşitul ei.[5]

Dacă se alege complementul gerunzial / elementul predicativ suplimentar, care implică repetarea acțiunii (sau nelimitarea ei în timp), există cel puțin două soluții interpretative: o serie neterminată de clipiri, care, în principiu, poate dura oricât, ori ca o singură clipire, surprinsă între momentul de început şi cel de sfârşit. A doua interpretare poate fi posibilă doar în contexte speciale: de exemplu când momentul a fost surprins de o fotografie – *In this photograph you can see Nancy blinking / În această fotografie o poți vedea pe Nancy clipind),* dar nu putem spune **In this photograph you can see Nancy blink / *În această fotografie poți vedea cum clipeşte Nancy*. Ochii din fotografie sunt parțial sau total închişi. Dacă ar fi deschişi, nu am putea identifica o clipire. Acest lucru ne face să ne gândim că, de fapt, complementul infinitival este cel care implică mişcarea, dezvoltarea temporală şi nu cel gerunzial care surprinde un moment al dezvoltării.

[5] Putem vedea, în contrast, construcții ca *to draw a circle / a desena un cerc, to write a letter / a scrie o scrisoare* unde sfârşitul acțiunii nu înseamnă necesar şi îndeplinirea ei *i.e.* terminarea scrisorii, desenarea cercului, etc.

O interpretare deosebită, dar consistentă cu cea de mai sus, este cerută de un complement care este el însuşi opus ideii de schimbare. Astfel, dacă subiectul complementului este inanimat (i.e. este incapabil de a face voluntar o acțiune), construcția gerunzială / element predicativ suplimentar este acceptată: *I saw the girl lying on the bed / Am văzut fata zăcând pe pat* şi *I saw the glasses lying on the bed / Am văzut ochelarii zăcând pe pat,* dar construcția infinitivală / predicativa suplimentară este acceptată doar cu subiectul-complement animat: *I saw the girl lie on the bed / Am văzut cum fata zăcea pe pat,* nu şi cu cel inanimat: **I saw the glasses lie on the bed / *Am văzut cum ochelarii zăceau pe pat.*.

Se pare că în engleză *We saw her just sit there* şi *We saw her just sitting there* au o interpretare diferită. Prima propoziție poate fi interpretată ca un refuz încăpățânat, pe când cea de-a doua ca un enunț despre inactivitate. *We saw her just sit there* ne comunică faptul că ea refuză **activ** să facă ceva. Această interpertare este justificată doar de existența unei acțiuni, al carei subiect este animat, deci sugerează un potențial actor/agent.

Complementele gerunziale / elementele predicative suplimentare şi infinitivale / predicativa suplimentară ale verbelor de percepție pot, în concluzie, să fie interpretate în funcție de sensurile "limitat temporal" şi "nelimitat temporal" care implică sensurile "complet" / "incomplet", "repetat" / "nerepetat" şi "încăpățânare" / "neîncăpățânare". Inferența pragmatică se dovedeşte astfel crucială pentru explicarea relației dintre formă şi mesaj. Putem să postulăm un sens invariant pentru semnalul lingvistic, dar o mulțime de mesaje care pot fi deduse de cei care folosesc limba, adică identificarea unui mesaj unic în diferite contexte lingvistice şi situaționale.

2.2. Până acum am discutat despre felul în care sensul verbului complement poate influența interpretarea mesajului. Acum vom face câteva referiri la sensul verbului de percepție şi la felul în care acesta la rândul lui influențează interpretarea mesajului. O propoziție care conține un verb de percepție are înțeles dacă starea de fapt indicată de complement este percepută aşa cum indică verbul, i.e. *I saw it snowing outside / Am văzut cum ninge afară* sau *I heard it thundering outside / Am auzit cum tună afară* au sens deoarece zăpada poate fi văzută, iar tunetul poate fi auzit, pe când propozițiile **I heard it snowing outside / *Am auzit cum ninge afară* şi **I saw it thundering outside / *Am văzut cum tună afară* nu pot fi acceptate pentru că starea de fapt este incompatibilă cu anumite feluri de percepție, lucru exprimat şi de natura verbului. Prin natura lor anumite sensuri impun anumite cerințe asupra percepției.

Vederea oferă, în mod normal, mai multe detalii despre o stare de lucruri sau o acțiune decât mirosul. Astfel, dacă atât percepția vizuală cât si cea olfactivă pot informa un subiect despre o anumită actiune ce are/sau nu are loc (de exemplu, faptul că o friptură se arde), imaginea vizuală oferă o informație mai exactă despre cât de avansată este acțiunea. De aceea nu este de mirare că verbul *to see / a vedea* este mai uşor compatibil cu verbe ce indică îndeplinirea acțiunii: *Michael saw Susan spray the living room / Michael a văzut cum Susan spray-ează camera* decât *to smell / a mirosi: ?Michael smelled Susan spray the living room / Michael a mirosit cum se spray-ează camera*. Dacă este vorba însă de o acțiune neterminată, în desfăşurare,

ambele verbe pot fi uşor acceptate: *Michael saw Susan spraying the living room / Michael a văzut-o pe Susan spay-ind camera* şi *Michael smelled Susan spraying the living room / ?Michael a simțit-o pe Susan spray-ind camera.*.

3.1. Un alt aspect important în interpretarea verbelor de percepție este **gradul de control** exercitat de subiect asupra percepției. Astfel, verbele *to watch / a privi* şi *to listen to / a asculta* sunt verbele care corespund verbelor *to see / a vedea* şi, respectiv, *to hear / a auzi,* în caz că subiectul are control asupra percepției, când el îşi îndreaptă atenția voit asupra a ceea ce vede sau aude. Aceste verbe sunt compatibile cu adverbe ca *intentionally / intenționat* sau *conscientiously / conştient,* pe când *to see / a vedea, to hear / a auzi* acceptă combinația cu adverbe ca *inadvertently / întâmplător: The policeman inadvertantly saw / *watched the children cross the street / Polițistul a văzut involuntar / *a privit involuntar cum trec copiii strada,* dar *The policeman conscientiously *saw/ watched the children cross the street / Polițistul *a văzut conştient / a urmărit conştient cum trec copiii strada.*

Faptul că subiectul are sub control procesul de percepție, că el îşi concentrează atenția voit asupra acțiunii face ca agentivitatea să devină un factor relevant. Percepția intenționată implică o acțiune mai complexă decât percepția neintenționată implicând (1) direcționarea atenției si (2) percepția propriu-zisă. De aceea, orice inferență despre complementul acestor verbe depinde de relația dintre aceste două procese. Subiectul este responsabil de percepție; percepția nu ar avea loc dacă subiectul nu ar face un efort. Astfel *to watch / a privi* şi *to listen / a asculta* implică faptul că o acțiune foarte scurtă este într-un fel anticipată: *I watched the flash of light / Am privit raza de lumină* sau *I listened to the burst of machine-gun fire / Am ascultat zgomotul mitralieirei,* dar este greu de acceptat: *?I watched a flash of light / ?Am privit o rază de lumină* şi ?*I listened to a burst of machine-gun fire / ?Am ascultat un zgomot de mitralieră.* Dar acest lucru este acceptat cu *to see / a vedea, to hear / a auzi: I saw a flash of light / Am văzut o rază de lumină* şi *I heard a burst of machine-gun fire / Am auzit un zgomot de mitralieră.* Deoarece *to see* şi *to hear* nu implică faptul că subiectul este responsabil pentru procesul percepției, ele pot fi folosite pentru a descrie situații unde evenimentul perceput nu este anticipat: *I saw a flash of light / Am văzut o rază de lumină* sau *I heard a burst of machine-gun fire / Am auzit un zgomot de mitralieră.* Folosirea verbelor *to watch / a privi* sau *to listen / a asculta* în aceste contexte este improbabilă: ?*I watched a flash of light / Am privit o rază de lumină* sau ?*I heard a burst of machine-gun fire / Am auzit un zgomot de mitralieră.* Folosirea articolului definit, însă, permite interpretarea acestor două acțiuni ca fiind anticipate, ceea ce încurajează folosirea verbelor *to watch / a privi, to listen / a asculta: I watched the flash of light / Am privit raza de lumină, I listened to the burst of machine-gun fire / Am ascultat zgomotul mitralierei.* Evident că prin natura lor şi verbele *to see / a vedea* şi *to hear / a auzi* pot fi folosite în context cu articol hotărât: *I saw the flash of light / Am văzut raza de lumină, I heard the burst of machine-gun fire / Am auzit zgomotul mitralierei.* Astfel putem

concluziona că propozițiile cu *see / a vedea* şi *hear / a auzi* sunt neutre sau sugerează că acțiunea-complement este neanticipată, pe când folosirea verbelor *watch / a privi* şi *listen / a asculta* sugerează că acțiunea este anticipată. Faptul că un adverb care accentuează caracterul întâmplător al acțiunii (*accidentally / accidental, unexpectedly / pe neaşteptate*) este acceptat doar de *see / a vedea* sau *hear / a auzi* vine să confirme această concluzie: *John heard Bill accidentally break the glass / John a auzit cum Bill sparge accidental paharul,* dar nu se poate spune: **John listened to Bill accidentally break the glass / *John a ascultat cum Bill sparge accidental paharul.*

Este interesant de remarcat că acțiunile de mai lungă durată pot fi percepute involuntar la început şi apoi subiectul poate deveni interesat de ceea ce se întâmplă. Percepția pare să fie mai lungă cu verbele *watch / a privi* şi *listen / a asculta* decât cu *see / a vedea, hear / a auzi: Opening the door, Sue heard the phone ring/ringing / Deschizând uşa, Sue a auzit telefonul sunând; Opening the door, Sue listened to the phone ring/ringing / Deschizând uşa, Sue a ascultat cum suna telefonul* sau *Turning his head, Tom saw Joan crossing the street / Întorcând capul, Tom a văzut-o pe Joan trecând strada; Turning his head, Tom watched Joan crossing the street / Întorcând capul, Tom a privit-o pe Joan cum trece strada.*

3.2. In concluzie putem spune că inferențele care sunt făcute sunt produsul comun a doi factori generali: al opozițiilor semantice din cadrul sistemului lexical şi al celui gramatical (între sensul care este exprimat şi sensurile care puteau fi exprimate) şi al cunoştințelor vorbitorului şi al presupozițiilor lui asupra naturii acțiunilor la care se face referință.

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THE ROMANIAN SUPINE AS A REDUCED RELATIVE CLAUSE

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ABSTRACT. The analysis of the Romanian supine from a Relational Grammar perspective reveals the fact that there are no morphological differences between the supine and the participle, which invalidates the terminology used in the Romanian traditional grammar, which presents them as different non-finite forms. Actually, what we call "the supine" in Romanian is a chomeurized participial form. The only distinction to what we traditionally call "the participle" in Romanian is the presence of the prepositional complementizer/ marker 'de' which signals that in the case of the "supine" the entire lower clause is chomeurized, not the internal predicate alone. The Romanian supine-based reduced relative clause supports such an analysis provided that we treat the noun phrase as a sub-clausal structure.

1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ON SMALL CLAUSES

In Generative Grammar literature a small clause is defined as a clause with no tense and no agreement, just a subject and a predicate.

[1] SC→ NP, XP

This pattern satisfies a series of constructions that are difficult to account for in terms of finite/ non-finite clauses. Consider the following sets of parallel constructions:

[2] a. Maria believes [$_{CP}$ that John is innocent.]
b. Maria believes [$_{IP}$ John to be innocent.]
c. Maria considers [$_{SC}$ [$_{NP}$ John] [$_{AP}$ innocent.]]
d. SC→ NP, AP

[3] a. Maria believes [$_{CP}$ that John is an idiot.]
b. Maria believes [$_{IP}$ John to be an idiot.]
c. Maria considers [$_{SC}$ [$_{NP}$ John] [$_{NP}$ an idiot.]]
d. SC→ NP, NP

[4] a. Maria believes [$_{CP}$ that John is in trouble.]
b. Maria believes [$_{IP}$ John to be in trouble.]
c. Maria got [$_{SC}$ [$_{NP}$ John] [$_{PP}$ in trouble.]]
d. SC→ NP, PP

[5] a. Maria saw [$_{SC}$[$_{NP}$ John] [$_{VP}$ leave.]]
d. SC→ NP,VP

Evidently, the small clause structures in 2,3,4 and 5 are of different types. The small clause in 2 consists of an NP (subject) and an AP (predicate), whereas in 3, 4, and 5 the predicates of the small clauses are an NP, a PP, and, respectively, a VP. This suggests that the category label of the small clauses introduced above should also be different.

The suggested proposal (Haegeman 1991:113)[1] of the Government and Binding theory is to consider the SC node as a super-projection of the predicate of the small clause as represented in 6.

[6] a. AP → NP, AP
b. NP→ NP, NP
c. PP → NP, PP
d. VP→ NP, VP

Given the case filter, the subject NPs of the small clauses must be case marked. Similar to their infinitive counterparts, the subjects of the small clauses seem to be a case of exceptional case marking, that is, they are case marked by the matrix verbs, which suggests that the super-projections SC are transparent for outside government.

Relational grammar (RG) has offered a somewhat different perspective on small clauses which allows a monoclausal analysis of the sentences containing small clauses, and, at the same time, explains the case marking of the internal-SC subjects as nothing exceptional.

Multi-predicate structures which display more than one predicate and an overall clitic climbing, such as the auxiliary, modal or causative constructions, prove that the arguments of the inner predicate assume new syntactic status with the main predicate. Relational Grammar, which is based on multistratal syntactic structures and a hierarchy of grammatical relations, proves that such multi-predicate constructions involve distinct predications in distinct strata and not subordonation. Nevertheless, such a succession of distinct predications implies a series of successive stratal revaluations which requires the use of the notion of *chomeur*. This notion was initially introduced as a result of the multiple stratal revaluations RG operates with, which leads to the unacceptable situation of different terms bearing the same grammatical relation at the same time (*Stratal Uniqueness Law*). For example, an initial direct object can be advanced to the subject position (passivisation) demoting/ displacing at the same time the initial subject to a chomeur position. The chomeur can be re-marked, as it happens to the subject-chomeur in Romanian (re-marked by preposition 'de') or in English (preposition 'by') or they can retain their term marking, as the DO-chomeur does in most of the cases of IO-DO advancement. The chomeur relation has been extended also to predicates, which allows a monoclausal analysis of passive, auxiliary, even modal sentences as *predicate unions*.

As we can see in the examples below, which display similar structures in both English and Romanian, with the exception of the Romanian clitic 'îl'-3rd pers.sg and the Accusative morpheme 'pe', the nominal ‘John' is taken to be the argument of the adjective ‘innocent’ in 7 or the noun ‘idiot’ in 8. Both the adjective and the noun behave as predicates with a single term valence: the initialization of a 2 (direct object), as RG considers both adjectives and nouns as unaccusatives. Therefore, in the stratal diagrams 7 and 8 the nominal ‘John’ is initialized as a 2, according to the valences of the predicates. The matrix predicate 'consider' is introduced in the second

[1] Haegeman quotes from Stowels, T. (1983) "Subjects across categories" The Linguistic Review, 2, 285-312

stratum, chomeurizing the initial predicate, inheriting the argument ('John') of the demoted predicate, and initializing its own subject 'Maria'. Also, as a final 2, the Accusative case-marking of the nominal "John" can no longer be considered exceptional.

[7]
		2	P
1	P	2	Cho
a. Maria	considers	John	innocent.
b. Maria	îl consideră	pe Ion	inocent.

[8]
		2	P
1	P	2	Cho
a. Maria	considers	John	an idiot.
b. Maria	îl consideră	pe Ion	un idiot.

[9]
		1		P
1	P	2		Cho
a. Maria	got	John		in trouble.
b. Maria	l-a băgat	pe Ion	în	bucluc.

1.1 Ascension

[10] a. Maria saw John leave.
b. Maria l- a văzut pe Ion plecînd.

[11] a. Maria saw John leave the station.
b. Maria l-a văzut pe Ion părăsind stația.
c. Maria l-a văzut pe Ion părăsind-o.

As for examples 9 and 10, involving the PP and VP small clauses, a predicate union analysis may raise some problems. First of all, the initial predicate, the PP 'in trouble' initializes its argument as an initial 1(subject), not a direct object. Therefore, the main predicate which chomeurizes the SC predicate inherits a 1 and not a 2. Nevertheless, the nominal 'John' ends up as a final 2. A possible explanation is that the chomeurizing predicate initializes its own subject and the inherited argument falls into the direct object position by default.

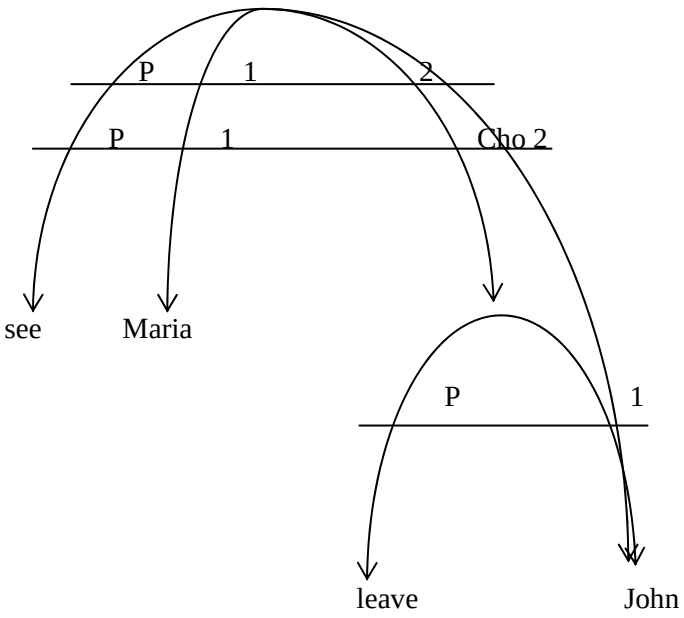
The VP small clause structure, though, does not allow a predicate union analysis. A transitive inner predicate (see 11) shows that its direct object argument is not inherited by the chomeurizing predicate[2], which does not qualify for a monoclausal analysis. Thus it leads us to the conclusion that VP small clauses behave like infinitival ones. The proposed GR biclausal analysis is the ascension of the SC-subject 'John' to the DO position in the main clause, chomeurizing the initial 2, that is the infinitival clause/ verbal SC.

The diagram in 12 gives a more detailed account of the ascension process in example 10. The initial stratum of the main clause is transitive. Therefore, the ascension of the nominal ‘John’ as a 2 puts the complement clause into chomage. This is due to the *Relational Succession Law* (RSL), which states that a nominal promoted by an ascension rule assumes the grammatical relation borne by the host out of which it ascends. The RSL is controlled by the *Host Limitation Law* (HLL), which asserts

[2] See 11c: the Romanian feminine accusative clitic “-o” does not climb to the higher clause.

that only a term grammatical relation can be host of ascension (Blake 1990: 94). The small clause, the host, bears a 2 relation, as it has been initialized by the transitive 'see', and the ascendee nominal ‘John’ assumes the 2 relation in the main clause according to the RLS putting the SC into chomage.

[12]



So far we can assume that small clauses in English and Romanian are chomeurized initial predicates as a result of either predicate union or ascension.

2. THE ROMANIAN SUPINE-based SMALL CLAUSE

2.1 Supine small clauses as adjuncts

The Romanian supine has been defined as a non-finite mood/form which has a double nature: verbal and nominal (Gramatica academiei I 1963: 233), resembling in this respect the Romanian long infinitive. Phonologically, the supine is identical to the (past) participle form. The main difference is that the supine is preceded by a preposition, most of the time by the non-semantic (in the supine context) preposition 'de', which seems to resemble more or less the English preposition/marker 'of'. When preceded by semantic prepositions, such as 'la' [to], 'după' [after/for], or 'pentru' [for] the supine small clause occupies an adjunct position as a reduced purpose clause.

[13] a. Ne poftiră [$_{CP}$ la [$_{SC}$ căldat.]]
(They) us invited to bathe-supine
‘They invited us to bathe.’

b. Am venit [$_{CP}$ pentru [$_{SC}$ spălat haine.]]
(I) have come for wash-supine clothes.
'I came to wash clothes.'

c. Au plecat [$_{CP}$ după [$_{SC}$ jefuit.]]
(They) have left for plunder-supine
'They left to plunder.'

d. Hainele erau [$_{CP}$ la/de [$_{SC}$ spălat.]]
clothes-the were to wash-supine
'The clothes were for washing.'

The "purpose" meaning is strictly rendered by the semantic prepositions, and not by the supine form. This would imply that the semantic prepositions listed above are actually prepositional complementizers taking a supine based small clause as their complement (Avram 1999: 242).

[14] a. la: ____ SC
b. pentru: _____ SC
c. după: _____ SC

As for the non-semantic preposition 'de', which, as we can see in example 13d, can sometimes behave in supine contexts as a semantic preposition, we propose a similar description.

2.2 The Romanian supine as a reduced relative clause

The relationship between the head noun and its relative clause is a puzzling one. It would be difficult to describe this relation as either modification or complementation. The theory of predication, which involves the head- argument theta-role assignment, with the head as a theta-donor and the arguments as theta-recipients, fails to account for the relation between the head noun and its relative clause.

[15] the man$_i$ [whoi I saw t$_i$]

In 15 the head noun- relative clause relation can be described only in terms of non-head and non-argument, all the theta-role assignments being solved inside the relative clause by the verb 'see'. All three items, t$_i$, who$_i$, and NP 'the man', are assigned the theta-role 'patient' by the predicate internal to the relative clause. Or, in other words, this may seem to be a paradoxical situation in which the external head of a clause is the argument of the internal head of the modifying clause. The question that remains is the nature of the relation between the head-noun and its relative modifier. One of the proposed answers (Williams 1994:8) is the so-called A-bar predication, a type of predication which is not based on theta-role assignment, rather it involves a requirement that the modifier be "about" the head.

A similar situation can be identified in analysing the relation between a raising verb and its subject.

[16] a. It seems that Mary is tired.
b. Mary seems tired.

The raising verb 'seem' does not assign any theta-role to either its expletive subject, or its CP-complement in 16a, or to its lexical subject in 16b. The only theta-role assignment, and proper predication, is done by the adjective tired.

Similarly, we assume that the head- relative clause relation might involve a process of movement.

Uli Sauerland (1998: 66-67) proposes two possible interpretations of the relative clause structure: the *matching* and the *raising* interpretation. The matching analysis assumes that the external head and the internal trace are not related via movement. Therefore, the external head is represented in the relative clause external position at LF, but not literally in the relative clause position, or, in other words, none of the lexical material of the external head is represented in the relative clause internal position. The raising analysis assumes that the relation between the internal trace position and the external head of the clause is one of movement.

[17] a. 1, Relative P 2
[$_{NP}$ maşina$_i$ [$_{CP}$ care$_i$ [$_{IP}$ t$_i$ spală haine]]]
machine-the which washes clothes

b. [$_{NP}$ maşina$_i$ [$_{CP}$ de [$_{SC}$ t$_i$ spălat haine]]]
machine-the of/for wash-supine clothes
'washing machine'

In 17a, which is a relative clause structure, we can identify two relations: the one between the external head and trace t$_i$, and the one between the trace and the relative operator 'care', whereas in 17b the reduced relative clause displays only the external head- internal trace relation. The Relational grammar analysis of the relative clause introduces the overlay relation of **Relative**, which is held by the relative operator in addition to the central relation of subject (Blake 1990: 20). Such a relation can not be accounted for in 17b, as the reduced relative clause does not display a relative operator. Our analysis of the reduced relative clause should tackle the nature of the relation between the head and the Romanian supine-based reduced relative clause, and also, the matching or the raising nature of the external head- internal trace relation.

Relational grammar treats the noun phrases as sub-clausal structures, with a predicate relation and argument relations. The head noun is multiattached, bearing at the same time a predicate relation, and a term relation (a 2 actually, as a noun predicate is always unaccusative), which reflects the fact that a noun, not only refers, but predicates something of its referent. This hypothesis fits in with the fact that the head of a noun phrase can be the scope of a local phrase. In clauses the scope of a local phrase is either a predication or an initial 2 (Blake 1990: 124-126). In this frame of interpretation the possessive is initialized by the predicate head noun as an initial 1, as the corresponding clause in 18 suggests .

[18] 1 P 2
a. Mary analyses the problem.

1 P 2
1 P,2 Cho
b. Mary's analysis of the problem.

Such an analysis raises another interesting problem, which actually explains why the patient of the head noun is an *of*-phrase. RG interprets it as a chomeurized initial 2, which implies two important things. Firstly, that the head noun makes two initializations in two successive strata, and, secondly, that the ascribing of the 2 status to the head noun takes place in the second stratum, thus chomeurizing the initial 2, which is re-marked as a chomeur by preposition/marker 'of'.

The Romanian NP displays an even more interesting structure. In 19b the ascribing of the 2 relation to the head noun takes place only in the third stratum, as the initial 2 moves to the 1 position[3] displacing the agent to the 1-chomeur position, marked as in all Romanian passive constructions by preposition/marker 'de'. If the P,2 multiattachment of the head noun took place in the second stratum, displacing the 2 to the 2-chomeur, then we could no longer have the 1-chomeur 'de către Maria'. The Romanian structure shows, in my opinion beyond doubt, that the P,2 multiattachment of the head noun is not stratum initial.

[19] 1 P 2
a. Maria analizează problema.
Maria analyses problem-the

P 2 1
P 1 Cho
P,2 1 Cho
b. Analiza problemei de către Maria.
Analysis-the problem-Gen. by Maria

This interpretation of the Romanian noun phrase provides a new insight into the head noun- reduced relative clause relation, which we discussed earlier. RG offers a series of central relations such as subject (1), direct object (2), indirect object (3), which are proper term-predicate relations. Another central relation provided by the framework of RG is the chomeur relation, which is a very useful tool in explaining the nature of agents in passive construction, the nature of the theme in the so called "double object" constructions, or the position occupied by infinitival or small clauses as a result of ascension, or predicate union.

In my opinion, the relation between the head noun and its relative clause/reduced relative clause is puzzling because it seems to be many things at the same time. It seems clear that the relative clause modifies the head noun, but at the same time we cannot identify a clear predication relation, but something more like "aboutness". If we compare it with the situation of the agent in passive constructions, we find that we deal with the same type of ambiguity: a nominal which is obviously "about" the agency

[3] 'Problemei' is in the Genitive case, so we assume that it falls into the possessive position in the NP.

of the predication, but which cannot be directly traced to a predicate-term relation. As for the external head-internal trace relation, a possible model of interpretation is the ascension of an inner term followed by the chomeurizing of its host, which we discussed before. But the ascension model [$head_i$ [t_i supine]] presents a flaw when applied to relative structures, on the account that it is the alleged raised element that is actually the predicate of the higher clause. Therefore, the only acceptable interpretation is the matching analysis [$head_i$ [e_i supine]], which assumes that the external argument-internal trace chain is not the result of movement, but of something similar to Equi NP Deletion.

2.2.1 Cross-clausal multiattachment or Equi NP Deletion

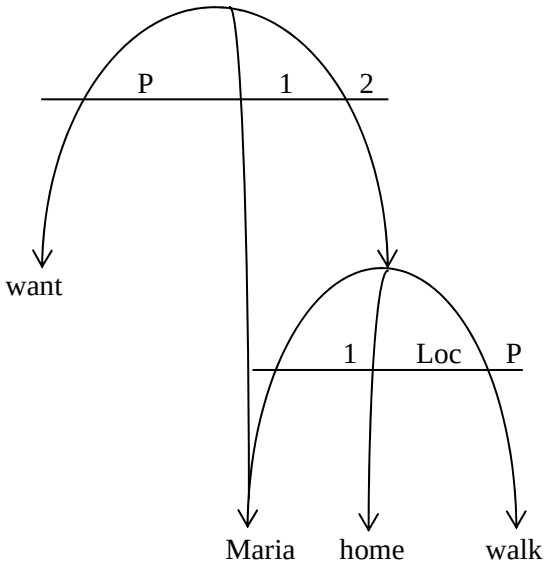
In the following sentences there are non-finite complement clauses:

[20] [Maria wants [to walk home.]]

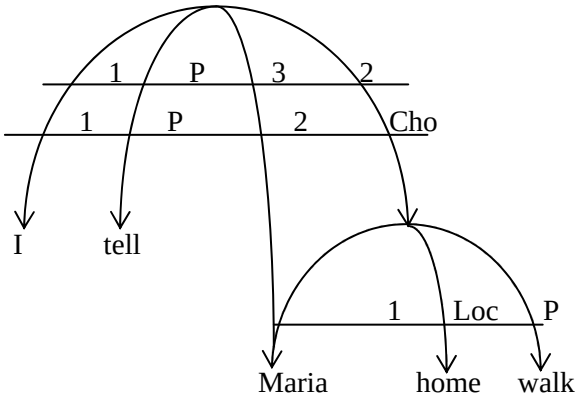
[21] [I told Maria [to walk home.]]

In both complement clauses the missing subject is determinable. In 20 the missing subject is co-referential with the subject of the main clause and in 21 it is co-referential with the direct object of the main clause. In Generative Grammar the phenomenon is called *Equi NP Deletion*, which means that the NP in the deep structure has been deleted in the surface structure because of its identity with the NP that controlled it in the governing clause (Blake 1990: 90). In Relational Grammar Equi is interpreted as cross-clausal multiattachment, which means that the same nominal may bear term relations in both the main and the complement clause (Blake 1990: 91).

[22]



[23]



In 22 the nominal ‘Maria’ bears the subject relation in both the main and the complement clause. In 23 the nominal ‘Maria’ bears a 3 initial relation in the main clause and a 1 relation in the complement clause. This is called *cross-clausal multiattachment*. The complement clause in both 22 and 23 is initialized as a 2. The revaluation in the final stratum of the main clause is due, not to multiattachment, but to the 3 to 2 advancement of the beneficiary in English.

Therefore, the model we propose for the Romanian supine-based small clause modifying a noun involves a matching description of the external head-internal trace chain and a chomeur relation[4] for the description of the head noun-reduced relative clause relation We assume that in 24 the head noun 'maşina' displays cross-clausal multiattachment, as the predicate in the initial stratum of the higher clause (NP) and the subject of the predicate 'spală' in the lower clause. At the same time, the nominal 'maşina' in its predicate capacity initializes the supine relative clause as an initial direct object in the initial stratum[5]. As we have discussed in 18 and 19, the head noun displays P,2 multiattachment in the second stratum of the higher clause as a result of its double nature as both referent and predicate. Consequently, the lower clause is demoted to the 2-chomeur relation. In the diagrams below 2-SC and Cho-SC mean that the entire small clause bears the 2 and the chomeur relation and not one of its constituents.

[24]

	1	P	2 (lower clause)
	P	2-SC	(higher clause- initial stratum)
	P,2	Cho-SC	(higher clause-final stratum)
maşina	[de	spălat	haine]
machine-the	of/for	wash-supine	clothes
'washing machine'			

[4] Such a relation also explains the presence of the prepositional complementizer 'de', which marks the 1-chomeur in Romanian.

[5] In noun phrases the initial 1(subject) is always the possessor.

[25] a. 2 1 P (lower clause)
P 2-SC (higher clause-initial stratum)
P,2 Cho-SC (higher clause-final stratum)
haine [UHS/PRO de spălat]
clothes for wash-supine
'clothes to be washed'

b. 2 1 P (lower clause-initial stratum)
1 Cho P (lower clause-final stratum)
P 2-SC (higher clause-initial stratum)
P,2 Cho-SC (higher clause-final stratum)

haine [UHS/PRO de spălat]
clothes for wash-supine
'clothes to be washed'

The nature of the initial subject of the lower clause in 25 depends on the context in which the NP appears. It can be either a PRO in 'Am haine de spălat.' [I have to wash the clothes.] or a UHS (unspecified human subject) in 'Sînt haine de spălat. '[There are clothes to wash.] and they have a similar syntactic behaviour.

In 24 there is an initial subject of the lower clause that is relativized. In 25 we try to discuss the relativization of an initial direct object of the lower clause. There are two options. The first, 25a, suggests a P,2 cross-clausal multiattachment of the external argument, whereas the second, 25b, shows a 2 to 1 passive advancement of the nominal 'haine' in the lower clause, and, hence, a final P,1 cross-clausal multiattachmeant. The issue of the "voice ambiguity" of the Romanian supine has been often debated. As we can see in 25b, a 2 to 1 passive advancement, which implies a 1-chomeur (unaccusative advancements are also 2 to 1, but they don't demote a 1) could account for the passive meaning. Therefore, the supine's voice ambiguity is in fact a matter of structural ambiguity.

We may conclude that the Romanian supine-based reduced relative clause accompanied by the non-semantic prepositional complementizer 'de' is a chomeurized lower clause, as a result of the P,2 multiattachment of the head noun, which also displays cross-clausal multiattachment. Such an analysis is confirmed by the fact that preposition 'de' seems to be *the* chomeur marker in Romanian, as it marks 1-chomeurs in passive clauses and in noun phrases. Hence, we can argue that when it occupies the complementizer position of a CP, the marker 'de' signals from this position that the CP is a chomeur.

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STUDIA UNIVERSITATIS BABEŞ-BOLYAI, PHILOLOGIA, XLIX, 1, 2004

LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY MISOGYNY, HOMOPHOBIA AND HETEROSEXISM

ALINA PREDA

ABSTRACT. We use language to play games of power and status with one another. The way we use it, publicly and privately, mirrors our understanding of ourselves and the society we inhabit. Consequently, any interpretation of semantic language change must take into account changes in the social and historical context, in people's mentality. But even though we may be aware of misogyny, heterosexism and homophobia in society and in language, the remedy is still not obvious. Some do not even think a remedy is needed, and until this need becomes apparent to the majority things will not change. The language war and the war against stereotypes, prejudice and hate of "the other" still have a long way to go before, hopefully, ending in integration and reconciliation, once we have managed to find a new common language and a new understanding of the world and life.

> *"When I use a word", Humpty Dumpty said, in a rather scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean – neither more, nor less." "The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean so many different things." "The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be the master – that's all."*
>
> Lewis Carroll (1960) – *Alice Through the Looking Glass*

> *"Naming is an act of power. In Genesis, Adam's first recorded act of domination is naming, assigning the symbol, the act of I-am-he-who-tells-you-what-or-who-you-are. It is the ultimate gesture of paternalism. The infant child is named. Similarly, the first response to the other, to the outsider, is to assign a name. The one who assigns is the insider, the decider, the winner."*
>
> Judge Gary Strankman, cited in Hinton (1994: 155)

Language is a means of communication essential to the organisation of human societies. It expresses, transmits and shapes the assumptions, behavioural models and values held by its speakers. When performing an analysis of language change we need to look at language closely, and not to stop with language, but to take into careful consideration the complexity of cause and effect in the relationship between language and society, in order to understand how we are affected by particular uses of language.

> "In every language, some linguistic forms are said to be "marked", their correlates "unmarked" [...] Unmarked forms tend to be both semantically and morphologically simpler than their marked counterparts. In English, semantically marked forms have more complex endings than their unmarked counterparts. Marking implies extra meaning and complexity. [...] "Gender" is a grammatical category subject to marking and, traditionally, "masculine" has been unmarked, "feminine" marked. This distinction shows up in the grammar of English in many places." Lakoff (2001: 44)

In the case of animal species the term for the male is unmarked and it is this form that we employ to speak about the species in general: *The lion* (not "the lioness") *is a carnivore*. When the names for males and females are not derived from the same source, it is usually the female term that designates the species as a whole, probably, as it has been argued, because the female members of these particular species are more numerous and enjoy larger visibility than their male counterparts: *a flock of ducks* (not of "drakes"), *a gaggle of geese* (not of "ganders").

Marking can therefore shift, and it does so in the human sphere too, this being a proof that gender-based markedness is not solely a morphological formality. In the case of humans the male is seen as the norm, although there are more women than men in the world, in our days at least, and the situation seems to be based on "largely psychological "fact" or social construct." (Lakoff 2001: 46) (Exception – from a morphological point of view only: "widower"-"widow") Man means both "male" and "human being", thus speakers are encouraged to see men as normal humans, and women as less-than-human, or not-fully-human. Woman is the marked term in this pair. But this situation is not a linguistic universal, and even in German, a language closely related to English, there are two different words for "male" and for "human being": *Mann* and, respectively, *Mensch*. However, as Lakoff (2001: 45) points out, we cannot argue that "speakers of German are less sexist than speakers of English". Actually, Lakoff (2001: 287) shows that "English got into its current predicament by historical accident." In Old English there were two words as well, one for "male" = **man**, and one for "human being" = ***wer*** (preserved in "werewolf"). In time, ***wer*** dropped out of the vocabulary, leaving **man** to perform both functions, and it would be hard, though not impossible, to argue that this was due to the sexism of early English-speaking society. Starting from this example, Lakoff (2001: 46) explains that gender markedness in language has been used as a scapegoat by some feminists, who blame it for the gender inequality at work in our society, as if it had been the language to create that reality and "change in language per se" could improve the situation.

On the one hand, it is clear that language itself can never be sexist, if by language we understand the grammar internalised by the speakers, of which they are not conscious (what Chomsky called 'competence'). On the other hand, the use humans make of their language knowledge (what Chomsky called 'performance') **can**, and often **is** sexist. Therefore, if we want to find instances of sexism mirrored by language

change, we should look not at the basic grammar structure, which is neutral, but at the lexicon and at semantic language change. There are many examples in point.

If the word **woman** is the female equivalent of **man**, then why do we find that, in the following example, 1 and 2 are not completely parallel constructions? Instead, sentence number 3 functions as the equivalent of 1:

1. He's only 14 but he's already a **man**.
2. She's only 14 but she's already a **woman**.
3. She's only 14 but she's already a **lady**.

And here are more examples in point:

4. **Old man!** used with reference to a woman = perceived as mistaken identity
5. **Old woman!** used with reference to a man = perceived as an insult

compare, also, **tomboy (+)** versus **sissy (-)**

Woman is negatively marked, and now the original equivalent of **lord**, namely **lady**, which has suffered a "democratic levelling" (Lakoff: 1975), seems to perform its function in such contexts. The pairs of sentences below, show that even the same word becomes marked (gaining, usually, sexual connotations) when used in connection with females:

6. He's a **professional**. (a lawyer, a doctor, etc.) – wide scope
7. She's a **professional**. (a prostitute) – narrow scope (often sexual)

Lakoff (1975: 30)

(The same goes for Japanese and French !!!)

8. He's a **tramp**. (a homeless man, a beggar)
9. She's a **tramp**. (a prostitute)

The English language thus confines women to negative semantic space. Consider the following pairs, quoted by Spender (1994: 17-18), where the feminine words have lost almost all connotations of status, rank and power:

bachelor (independence) vs. **spinster** (old maid)

governor	**governess** (used almost exclusively in a domestic context)
Baronet	**Dame** (used derogatively – AU particularly)
courtier	**courtesan** (prostitute)
Sir	**Madam** (in charge of a brothel)
Master	**Mistress** (lover) – an **old master** vs. an **old mistress**
king	**queen** (an effeminate person, a homosexual man)

Words that, in Middle-English usage, portrayed women positively or referred to persons of either sex have suffered systematic semantic derogation, and have, in Modern-English usage, offensive sexual connotations:

tart = **biddy** = **whore** = **slut** = **harlot** = **wench** ~ prostitute (offensive)
= a woman whose sexual behaviour is considered immoral
= a woman who has sex with a lot of men
= a woman who has sex for money
= an all-purpose insult for women

tart and **biddy** used to be terms of endearment
whore meant a lover of either sex
slut referred to "a person negligent in *his* appearance"
harlot was "a fellow of either sex" used especially of males
wench was "a child of either sex" examples quoted by Schultz (1975: 68-70)

Lakoff (2001: 287-288) identifies another kind of example and analyses it:

> "We are fond of reviling women in bad repute with the epithet "queen": quota queen, welfare queen, queen of mean. While there have been men who did equally opprobrious things, there is no comparable epithet for them. I suspect the "queen" epithet is effective because it captures our outrage at a woman who has usurped overweening power. A man who does that [...] isn't nearly so infuriating (since the behaviour is "normal"), and therefore "king" would not pack the equivalent wallop. So both the fact that only women are subject to this term of abuse and the popularity of the term itself are influenced by cultural frames."

The concept of "frame" was developed in the 1970's by cognitive theorists as a way of analysing how experience and language affect each other. It could be defined as a set of expectations allowing us to make generalisations and predictions, or, in the words of Levinson (1983), as "a body of knowledge that is evoked in order to provide an inferential base for the understanding of an utterance". When the interlocutors do not perceive the frame involved as one and the same, or when a sudden frame-shift occurs, there can be a misunderstanding, but one can adapt to the shift. However, the feeling of not sharing a frame with somebody is disconcerting and re-framing is distressing. Any process of social and cultural change triggers antagonistic processes of defending old frames and creating new ones through language.

Let us consider, for example, the case of visibility through naming, more precisely words like **racism**, or **sexism**. The first cited occurrence of the word **racism** is dated 1907, but the word does not have an entry in *The Oxford English Dictionary* first published in 1933, though that was the time when Nazism was on the rise; it only appears in 1970 in a Supplement. However, no one could argue that racism as a phenomenon did not exist among speakers of English before 1907, or that it occurred so sporadically before 1933 that it did not make the main dictionary. As Lakoff (2001: 50) points out, the logical explanation is that "it was not until recently that our culture evolved enough to enable us to step outside the frame in which such behaviour was normal, and so invisible. Racism could only be named when speakers could imagine a world in which it did not exist." The same explanation applies to sexism: the constellation of attitudes and behaviours constituting what is called "sexism" have existed for centuries, at least, long before its appearance in our dictionaries as a result of the raising of female consciousness witnessed from the 1960s till now.

Sexism, misogyny, heterosexism, and homophobia clearly existed before the words entered the language, and their presence is still felt, even in language, and obvious when one considers dictionary entries and semantic shifts.

- to the best of my knowledge, it was only in 1994 that the word heterosexism entered the world of English dictionaries, by way of *The Hutchinson Dictionary of Difficult Words* UK: Helicon Publishing Ltd. (reprinted in 1996 in the US as *QPB Dictionary of Difficult Words* New York: QPB Club)

  heterosexism = discrimination against homosexuals

- however, although relatively new, *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners (*2002) has no entry for **heterosexism,** but mentions **homophobia**, which cannot be found in most dictionaries published in the 90's, though they have entries for **claustrophobia**, for instance, not to mention the fact that the word was coined by George Weinberg in the 70's.

  -phobic = suffix used for making adjectives meaning disliking or afraid of someone or something very much: homophobic (= afraid of or disliking homosexuality)

  phobia = a very strong feeling of disliking or being afraid of someone or something: homophobia (= hate or fear of homosexuals)

- in spite of the open-minded example pointing at the fact that heterosexuals take very much for granted and are allowed to do just that, the *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary* (1987) London and Glasgow : Collins Publishers, **does** show signs of **heterosexism**, though the word as such was not 'granted entry': the definition of **heterosexual** focuses on (or, at least, begins with) the "relationship", while the definition of **homosexual** focuses on the sexual attraction, the "relationship" part being considered unworthy of a numbered "sub-entry" (sic)

  heterosexual = 1. a **heterosexual** relationship is a sexual relationship between a man and a woman; 2. someone who is heterosexual is sexually attracted to people of the opposite sex; ***Heterosexuals*** *rarely give their sexuality a second thought.*

  homosexual = someone who is **homosexual** is sexually attracted to someone of the same sex as them; used of the relationship that homosexuals have e.g. *They had a* ***homosexual*** *relationship that lasted for seven years.*

- however, since the word **heterosexual** appeared as a result of Kertbeny's coinage of **homosexual** in 1868, one would expect a greater symmetry and a better suited logic of the two contrasting definitions. Karoly Maria Kertbeny, a writer publishing under the name K. M. Benkert, published, in 1869, two pamphlets containing the word **homosexual**, which he had used in his letters one year before. He opposes to it the term **normalsexual**

which, however, did not survive, being replaced later by **heterosexual**. Kertbeny also coined the terms homosexuality and homosexualism. The latter has today, in French, the negative connotation of seeing everything through the eyes of one's sexual preference. See Povert (1998: 176-177)

- the QPB Dictionary of 1994 preserves the focus on sexuality when defining **homosexual**, but at least it treats the other term, **heterosexual**, in the same manner:

  heterosexual = sexually attracted to persons of the opposite sex

  homosexual = (person) having sexual desire for persons of the same sex

- So does *The Hutchinson Dictionary of Ideas* (1995) UK: Helicon Publishing Ltd. (reprinted in 1996 in the US as *QPB Dictionary of Ideas* New York: QPB Club)

Interesting enough is the definition of **heterosexuality.** Is the word 'mainly' used in this definition because, even if they acknowledge some attraction towards their own sex, most people prefer to identify as heterosexual, due to the advantages this majority enjoys?

heterosexuality = sexual preference for, or attraction ***mainly*** to, persons of the opposite sex. Long regarded as the only acceptable expression of sexuality, this has been challenged by both feminists and the gay rights movement as oppressive. (highlight is mine)

homosexuality = sexual preference for, or attraction to, persons of one's own sex; in women it is referred to as lesbianism. Both sexes use the term 'gay'. Men and women who are attracted to both sexes are referred to as bisexual. The extent to which homosexual behaviour is caused by biological or psychological factors is an area of disagreement among experts.

- focus on sexual aspects is also present in *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* © Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 2002

  homosexual = attracted sexually to people of the same sex. In ordinary speech, it is more usual to describe homosexual people as gay.

  heterosexual = sexually attracted to people of the opposite sex

- But, you may ask, isn't this all right? Is not homosexuality only about sexual attraction? Maybe this way of defining the word may be logical and perfectly warranted according to the principle of compositionality, but in terms of real life it is not. The homosexual lifestyle encompasses not only sexual involvement between persons of the same sex, but emotional, affective, and spiritual aspects as well, and it centres on issues that all individuals face on a daily basis, regardless of their sexuality.

The tendency to focus on the sexual aspects of gay people's life may seem puzzling if we take into account the semantic shifts suffered by words such as **queer** or

gay, which do not, in form, focus on sexuality, and which *have been*, and, respectively, *are now* used in ways that cut off their connection with sexual orientation by generalising their perceived negativity on all aspects of life, animate and inanimate alike.

queer =

1gay, bisexual or transgender

1a. an offensive word for describing gay people: *a queer studies program*

1b. used in a positive way for referring to people who are gay, bisexual or transgender, especially by people who are members of these groups

2 (old-fashioned) strange: *with a queer expression on his face*

3 (old-fashioned) physically ill

4 **in queer street** (British old-fashioned)

someone who is *in queer street* does not have very much money, or owes other people a lot of money (*Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* © Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 2002)

gay =

1 someone who is sexually attracted to people of the same sex (mainly used about men)

2 (old-fashioned) happy, excited, cheerful, brightly-coloured or attractive: *Louise is young, beautiful and gay. He gave a gay laugh. The village was gay with Christmas decorations.*

(adapted from *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* © Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 2002)

3 relatively new uses (since the early 90's): something generally derogatory, even without reference to human agents:

3a. stupid: *Wasn't that a gay question?*

3b. boring, a waste of time: *That movie was so gay!* – said of a film that did not deal with homosexuality in any way

3c. annoying: *We can't use the gym because the basketball team is practicing. That's so gay!*

3d. not cool: *That was the gayest party ever!* – said of a party that was in fact complained about as being 'too straight'

3e. cheesy: *That show is wicked gay!*

3f. not right: *That was a gay throw.* – in basketball

3g. plain bad: *"This class is totally gay."* - from the TV show *South Park*

3h. not nice: *Doesn't this shirt look gay?*

3i. feeble: *Don't be so gay! Stand up to her for once.*

3j. worthless: *Her new boyfriend is so gay!*

3k. clueless: *Jane is too gay to understand.*

3l. disgusting: *"Eeuw, kissing a girl! That's gay!"* – from the Simpsons, where Nelson kisses Lisa, causing the disgust of a friend of his.

As Alison Hennegan, former literary editor of *Gay Times* points out, " 'Homosexual' is medical in origin, pathologizing in tendency, imposed from the outside and, linguistically speaking, a pseudo-Greco-Roman mess. 'Gay' is self-chosen, affirms its own mental health and, linguistically speaking, is plucked from the heart of the language, for which its enemies can never forgive it (as in 'They've stolen our beautiful word!'). (in the *New Statesman*, December 1983; cited in Higgins (1993: 224) However, sadly enough, this century may see the word **gay** re-undervalued. It would be difficult to argue that the source is not homophobic, even if the current uses may be unconsciously so. It seems to have started out as a slur addressed to members of a sexual minority and then, probably by ignorance, it came to be used as a general put-down. Thus, although this use does stem form an originally homophobic expression, it has clearly lost this connotation in the above examples. Even if this may not be a universal tendency, it is quite wide-spread: for quite some time, German speakers, especially children and young boys, have been using **schwul** (the German for "gay male") as a fairly all-purpose term of abuse. The situation is the same in Finland, where children use the synonyms for **homosexual** for anything bad or negative to such an extent that the original meaning is forgotten. Romanian speakers use the much more offensive word **homalău** as a general insult.

The attempts of the homosexual minority to re-value the word queer and to reclaim the word gay are constantly undermined by the majority, with the result that the members of this sexual minority find it increasingly difficult to define their identity. I find the return of **gay** to the province of negativity, of markedness, highly regrettable. This process of semantic change triggered by speakers' investing their prejudices and biases into the words and their meanings mirrors society's heterosexism and homophobia. These particular semantic shifts spring from the majority's reluctance at accepting difference, at changing their conventional cultural frame, to include alternative life-styles. Since feelings of love and emotion **are** part of the heterosexual frame, acknowledging same-sex bonding, affection and love as part of the homosexual life-style would bridge the gap between the two parties. In order to avoid this, they act on two defence lines:

1. by stripping the meaning of **homosexual** of all nuances evoking fully human emotions, focusing solely upon sexual aspects
2. by inducing semantic change in the words, non sexual in form, that homosexuals tend to use to describe themselves more accurately

As Jill Johnston (1973) points out, "Identity is what you can say you are according to what they say you can be", which means that identities do not belong to individuals but are social constructs, "suppressed and promoted in accordance with the political interests of the dominant social order" which establishes "what identities are and are not appropriate for the oppressed (on the basis of what is convenient in maintaining the status quo)". Naming, language, is an extremely important means of expressing identity. Therefore, dictionary definitions should not obscure, but emphasise the similarities that bring so close together the heterosexual

and homosexual lifestyles, both being representative for human relationships, and neither reduced to sexual activity.

Sexual markedness has lead to semantic derogation of words in the case of both women and sexual minorities, by way of association or transitivity, according to the following pattern: +feminine/effeminate = –masculine/manly = negative

category	masculine/manly	norm/normal	fully human
man	+	+	+
woman	–	–	–
homosexual	–	–	–

We use language to play games of power and status with one another. The way we use it, publicly and privately, mirrors our understanding of ourselves and the society we inhabit. Consequently, any interpretation of semantic language change must take into account changes in the social and historical context, in people's mentality. But even though we may be aware of misogyny, heterosexism and homophobia in society and in language, the remedy is still not obvious. Some do not even think a remedy is needed, and until this need becomes apparent to the majority things will not change. The language war and the war against stereotypes, prejudice and hate of "the other" still have a long way to go before, hopefully, ending in integration and reconciliation, once we have managed to find a new common language and a new understanding of the world and life.

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STUDIA UNIVERSITATIS BABEŞ-BOLYAI, PHILOLOGIA, XLIX, 1, 2004

CONSTRUCTING YOUTH IDENTITY. ROMANIAN YOUTH ORIENTED RADIO - A CASE STUDY

DIANA COTRĂU[*]

ABSTRACT. This paper's aim is to establish the linguistic devices through which Romanian youth oriented radios identify, shape and construct the young local audience by catering to their needs in a language of solidarity. The examination of the particular case of ProFM intends to demonstrate that the subcultural status of the addressee is legitimated and their subcultural expertise is acknowledged through the use of youth language by the radio hosts. We have sampled the typical output of this niche medium: the morning show, whic specialises in narrowcasting to young audience, with the intention of recording the measure of congruency between the two types of discourse: the encoder's (radio hosts and editors) and the decoder's (call-in listeners and the 'passive' audience). The parallels drawn between the two discourses rely on the analysis of the radio hosts' inputs, on the one hand, and on the consecrated sociolinguistic finds regarding youth linguistic habits and patterns. Such instantiations as were found at the level of text functions, discourse patterns and strategies, rhetoric and linguistic items, testify that this particular niche medium text addresses the community of young consumers by programmatically cloaking its cultural message in a language of solidarity.

Niche Media and Youth Subculture

The symbiotic connections between the media and subcultures have some history that has been identified and minutely followed by anthropologists, ethnographers, scholars of cultural and media studies with an interest in subcultures, alike. The media-subculture relationship has not been an unproblematic one and positions and theories in the scholarly field have varied over the years to the point of contradiction. The main queries engaging this issue revolved around the effects of the media on the audiences, the functions of the media in general and television in particular, and on the issue of passive/active audiences. All have tried to answer the question whether the media is manipulative and has a narcotysing effect on a passive mass audience (Lazarsfeld and Merton) or on the contrary, whether audiences are active and use the media to their own benefit[1] with the media fulfilling some basic psychological needs (Katz et al), individual or collective.

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[1] Refers to the 'uses and gratification' theory which is criticized for seeing the media as having only positive effects for the audience.

Recent theories regard audiences no longer as an undifferentiated mass of individuals but as a complex structure of socially organized individuals forming a number of overlapping subgroups. Still, any and all analyses should also make a note of an element which complicates an apparently simple picture: the new media technologies increasingly address a sort of 'technologically sophisticated bricoleur'[2], the individual viewer that can negotiate the polysemic meanings of the media texts, absorb the surplus information, and rework them to his own pleasure/benefit. The particularly young individual has been hailed as the champion of multitasking[3]. He/she can consume simultaneously several media - accomplishing such feats as listening to the radio, watching television, e-chatting with friends, and interacting with TV shop channels all while doing their homework. Young viewers have been established to be the most adept and literate users of media and sophisticated code-switchers between the diverse media discourses.

But where does language fit into this equation? It has been suggested that the primary relationship for analysis is that between linguistic and cultural codes and patterns of class, race and gender[4]. Just as at language level divergent norms work to create opposing definitions of the prestige language, the same phenomenon can be identified at the level of media texts. The new niche media have been created to cater not to mainstream rather than to ethnic, social, cultural low-status groups. This is performed mainly through linguistic empathy (in addition to topic and programme format choice): language is used to signal social and cultural affinity with polarized groups.

The symbiotic connections between media, language and subcultures become evident in the process through which the text constructed by the encoder reaches and impacts on its addressee. If the process is viewed from the addressee's end, it can be called consumption. Media consumption by young people is today one of the main articulations of subcultural activity and combines with other focal interests to create an identity for the young people. The latter's media consumption patterns – for instance, watching/listening to a programme with friends or sharing the same taste in media products and genres – re-enforces their group identity[5]. The media, then, fulfill a socially aggregative function[6]: through the language of their texts they position and construct a young community of viewers. So this complex process is not linear or left-to-right directed. Even while the media products are consumed the effect of the consumption is immediate in the form of congregating consumers into groups defined by their media taste or (sub)cultural orientation.

[2] Collins in Marris and Thornham eds. *Media: A reader*, 1988, p.372
[3] Lull 2000, p 250.
[4] Denis Quail in *The Television Audience: A Revised Perspective* in Marris and Thornham op.cit.
[5] Jonathan Bignell, *Media Semiotics. An Introduction*, 2002, p. 173
[6] The functionalist tradition sees the media as fulfilling four functions: informative, editorial, entertain-diversion, socialization.

Our effort in the following has been to establish how the radio medium can identify and construct a local young audience through linguistic agency. We have, thus, focused on the linguistic cloaking of a ProFM morning radio show which we regard as iconic for Romanian youth oriented radio stations. A special note was made of the fact that radio texts build on two symbolic systems – language and sound –, so our survey will combine linguistic, textual and intertextual analyses. The intention is to identify the generational markers of youth language – correlative linguistic displays and strategies, interactional patterns, rhetoric and discourse strategies – and to show how they supply the resources for this niche medium to target and cater for the needs of its young audience. Our intention is to establish the extent to which the niche media 'language' facilitates the meanings produced by the encoder – the preferred meanings - to coincide with those decoded by the young consumer[7] thus eliminating all potential disjunction. We intend to prove that the linguistic code choice is a language deliberately coincidental with youth language and rather than having a mainstreaming[8] effect this niche radio is actually integral to subcultural formation, to the "way we create groups with words"[9].

Radio ProFM – a Case Study

(The radio show sampled for analysis can be found in transcript in the Annex with its English translation. The numbers used for the exemplification correspond to the numbered lines in the Annex).

Radio stations in Romania have proliferated in the period following the collapse of the communist regime and the tendency has been to import or draw on radio formats and programming policies validated by tradition in western societies. The radio show monitored was broadcast on ProFM radio station and is typically hosted by two young male radio stars enlisted among the local radio trendsetters. Like other radio stations with similar orientations: Radio Contact, Radio 21, the late Radio Uniplus, CD Radio, Radio Star, ProFM is a station that overtly addresses a young audience. This is visible in the general format as well as in such particular features as the choice of shows, the news presentation, the density and orientation of music display, all of which create a badge of identity for the radio.

Given the nature of the medium our analysis will not refer strictly to the linguistic output, but will also make a note of music as an iconic sign that completes the radio text. The music displays, which can be either hits, jingles functioning as signals of identity for the radio station, frames for the programme, or boundary markers between distinct segments of the flow of communication, are an important element in the construction of the radio message. Yet there is another attribute of music that

[7] According to media theorist David Morley the decoding can be in line with the preferred meanings or negotiated based on the distribution of decoding competencies across different sections of the audiences.
[8] Lull, James, *Media, Communication, Culture*, 2000, p. 50
[9] Pierre Bourdieu quoted in Sarah Thornton, *Club Cultures. Music, Media and Subcultural Capital*, 1995, p. 6.

pertains to our analysis: music plays an important role in the socialization of adolescents by helping them identify with a peer group[10] and "supersedes all other cultural products that help teenagers identify with a community of taste"[11] . In conclusion, the singers featured on the show and the other musical displays fulfilling the several functions already mentioned frame the programme as a self-contained product definitely addressing a young audience.

The verbal performances of the two male hosts, Mihai Dobrovolschi and Wildmark, two popular radio presenters and trendsetters, makes its debut through a form of address *'neața, 'neața* [morning, morning] (1) that draws on two important elements typical of and mandatory in the verbal exchanges of young people: the overall solidarity with the community of listeners and the power – subordination ratio, which will be alternating throughout the show. Thus, although the two radio presenters are obviously empowered by the nature of the medium to control the flow of what is an asymmetrical conversation, they will allow the call-in listeners, the metonymies for the larger audience, to be creative and stage their own media performances during the radio contest (90-102, 103-109, 123-141). The forms of address produced by the hosts and the call in listeners seem symmetrical at face value. Thus the forms of address and greetings used by the presenters *'neața, măi, salut, salutis, dragelor şi dragilor, ciau-ciau* [morning, a regional form of 'you', hi, dears, bye] coincide with those of the call-in listeners *'neața, salut băieți* [morning, hello boys] (105, 123) and thus indicate the solidarity between the two interacting parties implying shared values and currencies. On the other hand, the forms of address have different interactional goals[12] when used by the radio hosts. They are used to end the turn of the call-in listener '*Neața* [morning] (103) and *Pa* [bye] (121) or as frames for the beginning and the ending of the show and are thus linguistic instruments of signaling the power of the dominant conversationalist. The farewell (203) by one of the hosts is an urge to subvert the commonsensical meaning of *fiți buni* [be good] and reevaluate it within the subcultural context as a youth currency: *fiți nebuni* [be crazy], which would be a pledge of loyalty both to the radio station and the larger community of non-conformist young people. The other host's formula of farewell *Ciau-ciau* [bye-bye] (205) evaluates the verbal encounter and the effect it has had on the relationship of the interlocutors, deciding that the social distance has not increased[13].

Besides functioning as linguistic social markers (social distance or closeness in asymmetrical discourse), the greetings and farewells also act as discourse organizers

[10] Strasburger V.C., *Adolescents and the Media,* 1995, p. 81.
[11] Crockett, Lisa J. and Silbereisen, Rainer K., *Negotiating Adolescence in Times of Social Change,* 2000, p. 78.
[12] John J. Gumperz, *Discourse Strategies. Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics 1,* 1982
[13] Goffman discusses greetings and farewells as structured patterns. Greetings show whether the relationship existing at the end of the last encounter is unchanged, while farewells sum up the effect of the encounter upon the relation.

for the entire radio show, which despite its apparent spontaneity created by the multiple hesitations, fillers, interruptions, pauses and other paralingual behaviour and sounds supplanting pauses, is nevertheless an edited radio output. They structure the show's flow of communication and discipline the length of each interlocutor's turn.

The textual characteristics of the radio sample reflect three different functions of the media texts in general and of the niche media in particular: entertainment, information and social aggregation. The entertainment function is realised through the choice of topics drawing on general knowledge and cultural references covering the domains of film, music and other trivia, through formats such as contests, and discourse topics and strategies peculiar to story-telling (63-74), joking (84-86, 167-168), rhyming (158), puns and double-talking (106). The overall discourse has a chat-like quality to which the audience can sporadically contribute during the time slot allotted to the contest. Apparently the radio speeches are listener-directed but the overall structure is that of a private conversation between two interlocutors on which the audience can 'eavesdrop'. There is private talk (190-197), which apparently excludes on-listeners, which is obviously impossible. There is sexist talk through the choice of topic (160-171), which is listener inclusive but addresses a gendered audience. Both are reversed strategies, for the radio output is produced *for* the listeners. Both types of discourse are instances of how the new media negotiate the private and the public discursive practice, which are mingled in a new type of radio discourse. By opting for these reverse discourse strategies, the radio editors operate an oblique polarization of the potential audience into young and old, for it is commonsensical to assume that young people will instantly establish their affinity with such discourse patterns and stay tuned.

One other linguistic pattern familiar to young listeners are the English insertions (42-43; 54; 55; 183). They are concretized either as an entire turn: the imitation of Sean Connery (42-43) or the imagined line by the Darth Vader character in Star Wars (183), or as exclamations (79: *Wow*), identifications of characters in a movie (54: *The One*), the original titles of movies (55: *Matrix Reloaded*) or terms naming tools used in a age-specific activity (15: *joystick* – the metonym for a choice of leisure pursuit). They are not translated on the assumption that they are understood by the community of listeners, who thus gain a 'communal sense of self'[14] by sharing a discursive space based on their radio, television and cinema literacy. This discursive space is articulated by an intertextual network of TV programs, films, books and other popular material. Thus the English linguistic sequences or isolated items fulfill both a referential and an aesthetic function.

The two radio hosts' linguistic performances prove them to be what Sarah Thornton[15] calls *aficionados*: "the writers or editors of subcultural press who at one point or another have been participants in subcultures and still espouse versions and variations of the underground". Their obvious penchant for colloquial forms and

[14] Ken Gelder and Sarah Thornton (eds.), *The Subcultures Reade,*1997, p. 474.
[15] Sarah Thornton, op. cit., p. 153.

idiomatic uses, which are linguistic taboos in the mainstream media, combined with the numerous instances of overlapping and interruptions, suggests that they rally symbolically through language with their young audience.

The overlapping and interruptions are features of the verbal displays typical of young speakers. The main orientation of youth verbal exchanges and conversations is towards conflict talk. As in this case, sociolinguistic studies of argumentative talk at older children have found that most conflict exchanges (Goodwin, Labov, Kochman) are used to meet such goals as displaying verbal skill and maintaining status hierarchies within groups, which is termed conflict talk in the specialty literature. Far from impeding the flow of conversation, they supply a duet-like quality to the verbal exchanges of the two hosts each reinforcing the message in the other's turn, albeit in what might be mistaken for a conflicting manner. Thus one such instance of conflict talk can be shown to display a circumvallated interactional goal. What appears to be simply vying for dominance will be clarified a few turns later.

192 D: Eşti populist. Eşti populist. [cântat]
193 W: ⌈Sunt popu' ce?
194 D: ⌊Ta na na na!

English translation

192 D: You are a populist. You are a populist [in a sing-song voice]
193 W: ⌈I'm a popu' what?
194 D: ⌊Ta na na na!

The apparent conflict cloaks an opposing or radical ideological stand towards mainstream issues and topics. 'Serious' matters like the News can be appropriated and subverted. The singsong: *ta, ta* (206-207) in *În câteva clipe la Ştiri indicatorii bugetari pe anul viitor sunt îmbucurători. Ta ta! Inflaţia coboară sub 9%! Detalii la ora zece!* [In a few minutes on the News the budget indicators for next year are encouraging. Ta ta! Inflation drops to under 9%! Details at ten o'clock!] ridicules what it senses as a forced optimistic tone in the political discourse. This final verbal contribution by one of the hosts anticipates the oncoming newsreel by retrieving over several turns the metaphorical accusation 'You are a populist' (192) addressed to his co-host. This is the appropriation of a political concept whose negative connotation is nevertheless preserved through its association with the stereotypical image of the politician, who as a representative of the dominant ideology, is thus sabotaged through language.

The radio discourse of the two hosts features many colloquial characteristics ranging from the choice of topics which corresponds to the focal interests of young people, conversation strategies and patterns such as the use of direct commands, quick repartees and short turns, to the use of vernacular lexical variants *'neaţa* (morning) for *Bună dimineaţa, acu'* [now] for *acum* (6), *ăsta* [this one] for *acesta* (19, 85), *măi* [you](44, 63, 110), *ăia* [they] for *aceia* (78), *fain* [nice] for *frumos* (186) and idiomatic forms *mă am* [Im good at it](45) for *mă pricep, nu m-am prins* [I didn't get it] for *nu am priceput* (124) and pronunciation *s-auzim* [let's hear] (124) for *să auzim*. These lexical, semantic and discourse features are 'stigmatized'

as low forms or vernacular and have been established (Cheshire, Goodwin, Romaine, Coates) to correlate in youth talk. Their dense presence in this media discourse acts towards obscuring the message for the mainstream outsiders and constructing instead a community of listeners, whose sense of communion is re-enforced through language.

The programmatic use of this particular code, which shares many of the features of what Bernstein has termed the restricted code[16], shows that the encoder-decoder pair belong to a common socio-cultural space. Actually, the verbal performances of the host and the call-in listeners do not entirely play to the much criticised restricted-elaborated dichotomy, but rather slide along a continuum, with degrees of dense or diluted vernacular use throughout the radio show, for all media texts are submitted to some form of linguistic discipline or censorship. Nevertheless, the overall orientation is toward the concrete, descriptive and narrative rather than the analytical or abstract and its major function is to reinforce the form of the social relationship reflected by the restricted code – a warm, inclusive relationship[17].

The radio advertisements that complete the radio flow also target specifically young listeners. They are basically of two types: self-contained and embedded in the editorial material. Their content: ads for driving schools, electronic devices, music events, music television, cell phones, beverage, coffee, cars, frame a socio-cultural space inhabited by the young and their interests and practices. Their textual content shares the characteristic of most ads: they encourage the listeners to decrypt their message. What particularizes them as ads for this specific radio format on a youth directed radio station is that they draw on youth linguistic practices such as rhymes, puns, idiomatic uses and double-talk, and play on the young listener's cultural knowledge and experience of other media texts[18]: film, television, the printed press. The wording of the advertisements helps anchor the message[19] in a medium that has no visibility. Language combines with music and builds on intertextuality while it also fulfills a poetic function (Jakobson). We can conclude that the discursive practices and linguistic features that the show and the advertisements share ensure the continuous flow of a specifically youth directed radio product, as signaled by the radio identity jingle.

CONCLUSIONS

The youth directed niche radios in Romania draw heavily on imported models, which, however, are re-contextualized in a new socio-cultural context to suit the local tastes of the Romanian young people. A defining feature of the local in contrast to the imperial media is that although they adopt the foreign dominant ideology, they cloak it in

[16] In Bernstein's definition, the restricted code, complementary to the elaborated code, reflects the social organization of working class defined by a common set of closely shared identifications and communalized roles.
[17] John Fiske and John Hartley, *Reading Television*, 1992, p. 118.
[18] Bignell, op. cit., p. 43
[19] David Barrat, *Media Sociology*, 1994, p. 116

a language that reflects both the extent of their borrowings as well as the membership of the Romanian audience of a geo-linguistic discursive space. Thus, they acknowledge the existence of a young local audience that they also helped shape and construct and with which they espouse a socio-cultural solidarity through language.

This linguistic solidarity materializes at the levels of the socio-cultural references, the discourse strategies and patterns and the linguistic variants of the oral discourse. The congruence between the linguistic codes of the encoders and the audience is explicable by the fact that the radio uses primarily an oral discourse and code which reflects a common set of closely shared identifications and communalized roles, which are the underlying socio-cultural frame of youth networks. Although the media are subject to some linguistic discipline, and their codes are primarily mainstream and encode dominant meanings, the niche youth oriented radios establish a dialogue with their young audience by drawing on the vernacular of young people and by adopting the discourse strategies that have been found to correlate in young people's verbal displays.

In conclusion, the linguistic encoding of subcultural taste by the Romanian youth oriented niche radio is effected primarily through the use of a language of solidarity and a dialogic discourse, which although formatted on foreign imperial models, credit the originality, creativity and media literacy of the active young Romanianaudiences.

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ANNEX

Transcript of the ProFM radio programme 'RONDUL DE DIMINEAȚĂ' of October 13, 2003*

1 D: 'Neața, 'neața, ⌜neața
2 W: ⌞'neața 'neața.
3 D: S-a făcut nouă şi vreo zece minuțele. Iată-ne din nou aceeaşi….
4 W: Ce facem azi?
6 D: Ce facem, ce facem? … Să vedem acu' că ne-am trezit.
7 W: Aşa. Să-ți spun de maimuțele alea.
8 D: Maimuțe?
9 W: Ce-au făcut? Le-au conectat la electr 320 de volț pe una din⌜ maimuțe.
10 D: ⌞ Aşa.
11 W: La cealaltă cred 60 sau 80. Cea cu 320 de Volți şi-a mişcat brațul… ăăă în prima
12 ⌜etapă…
13 D:⌞Daaa… deci avea un joystick în mână…înțelegi.
14 W: [pauză]
15 D: Înțelegi? Maimuța era ghidată din creier şi din joystick.
16 W: Şi a reuşit să facă interactivitate cu jocul acela care-l avea în fața ei…
17 D: Bine s-a folosit şi sistemul acela cu mâncare . Dacă reuşea o mişcare i se dădea de
18 mâncare. Un fel de …Pavlov ştii…telekinezia asta.
19 W: Auzi…şi sistemul ăsta …şi sistemul ăsta…înseamnă că îl vom folosi la oameni ca
20 ⌜să … cu handicap… şi aşa mai departe…
21 D: ⌞Mai încolo, da.
22 W: Hai să ne facem o instalație de asta. Să ne punem un braț, o mână. .⌜aaa.
23 D: ⌞Şi facem un
24 Skandenberg….
25 W: Skandenberg….
26 D: Oh ye, ye!

……..

Music: radio identity signal

……..

27 D: Actorul britanic Hugh Grant a zis că vrea să nu mai joace în superproducții pentru că îi
28 este jenă de ce se întâmplă acolo. Are 43 de ani. A fost prins cu o prostituată într-o
29 maşină. Nici măcar nu ne ⌜ interesează.
30 W: ⌞ Acele lucruri le-a zis şi cel care a apărut în Liga.
31 D: [pauză]
32 W: Sean Connery.
33 D: Aaaah. Corect.
34 W: Sean Connery. Este? ⌜ A zis.
35 D: ⌞ Nu mai fac! Nu mai fac!

* The programme is hosted by Mihai Drobovolschi and Wildmark, whose turns are marked as D and W. Call-in listeners turns are signaled Fc1, Mc1 and Mc2 as females or males respectively. The commercial and music breaks are marked by dotted lines interrupting the flow of turns between hosts and call-in listeners. Square brackets are used to note paralingual behaviour and other sounds. Overlaps and interruptions are signaled with the sign [.

W: Până la filmul ăla cu Zeta Jones, nu?
D: Când era un fel de [hoț.
W: [Nu mai fac! Nu mai fac!
D: Ei, a mai apărut el în 3-4 filme. Și Anthony Hopkins [a zis la fel.
W: [ei, Anthony Hopkins.
Pardon.
D: Voila. [imitates the voice of Sean Connery] *I won't be doing any more movies because I don't think today's movies are based on real fact, on real art.*
W: Măăăă, să știi că-i semeni.
D: Mă am, așa-i?
W: Da.
D: Buuuun…. despre o pasăre care a fost prinsă de poliție într-un mod foarte ciudat în câteva clipe. Deocamdată însă avem concurs.

Muzică – reclamă cafea, mașini de lux, TV cablu, agenție turism, service mașini, șampanie, magazin, închirieri video, dance club, reclamă pentru propriul post de radio

D: 9 și 22 dragelor și dragilor vă spuneam de o pasăre în Germania care a început să [atace oameni… mmm… era o cioară…cioară, cioară
W: [Din Germania.
D: Care era în Dortmund, ataca pietonii…. Venea așa … în picaj…[imită avion în picaj]… un fel de Neo … The One…
W: [Nu chiar… în filmul Matrix… Matrix Reloaded ….
D: [Matrix…
W: Erau de fapt oameni… Nu erau nişte păsări… Când l-au atacat pe Neo… Erau [oamenii …. aceia…
D: [Oamenii.
W: care l-au atacat.
D: Asta era cioară, cioară.
W: Cioară?
D: Da, măăă. În Germania. Să nu fim iar acuzați. [râde]. Ei, ofițerii i-au pus mai întâi mâncare pentru pisici. Au vrut s-o prindă cu mâncare pentru pisici. Nimic. I-au dat grăunțe. Nimic. Până la urmă… un polițist mai … cu rădăcini în Ardeal, a zis: Auzi, ia dați-i la cioară nişte schnaps.
W: Da.
D: A venit cioara, a băut, s-a îmbătat pe loc, a căzut și au prins-o.
W: Zău.
D: A început cioara să zboare în zig-zag… Înțelegi? …[imită avion] … crrr… crrr… crrr … hâc…
W: Da [râde]
D: Și au reușit s-o prindă și s-o ducă la un azil pentru animale.
W: Uite-s fluture. Sunt fluture. He! He! He!
D: Rămânem tot la animăluțe mici. Uite, în Japonia un tren a fost oprit de mmmmiriapozi… ăăă cum se numesc ăia?
W: Omizi. Omide.
D: Miriapozi. Cu o mie de picioare. Ăia au acoperit patru sute de metri [de șină.
W: [Wow!
D: Pur și simplu stăteau pe șină...și n-avea cum să treacă trenul că ar fi alunecat pe ei.

W: Patru sute de metri [e foarte mult.
D: [Patru sute .....Da.
W: Şi cu ce scop se aflau ei acolo?
D: Aşa pur şi simplu. Aşteptau şi ei verde la macaz. Acum mă gândeam şi eu la un miriapod de ăsta. Dacă sună un miriapod la alt miriapod şi zice: Bă, salut bă, ce faci? Şi ăla-i zice: Îmi bag picioarele. Şi ăsta îi răpunde: Atunci te sun peste două luni.
W: [râde].
D: Cât îi ia unui miriapod să-şi bage picioarele? Şi acum concursul nostru Ness Brassero. Aşteptăm telefoanele cu interpretările voastre. Da. Cu cine avem de-a face?
Fc: Cu Gabriela.
D: Hai [Gabriela!
W: [Gabriela!
Fc: [sunet de obiect metalic lovind sticlă] …. Vă dau un indiciu?
D: Nu ne dai nici un [indiciu.
Fc: [Voila!
D: Numai eventual dacă avem[nevoie.
Fc: Bine! …. Vă dau un indiciu. [sunet de maşină de cafea expresso].
W: Eu ştiu despre ce melodie e vorba.
D: Aaaaaa! …..Trrr…trrr….trrr.. Aia de la Nescafe!
W: Da, e tipic [de la Nescafe.
D [Da, Gabriela?
Fc: Da.
D: Buuun….Rămâi în concurs, da? [Bun. Iulian din Bacău. ‘Neaţa.
W: [Salutis.
Mc: Salut, băieţi.
D: Bate, bate.... Bate inima. Ţi-e rău?
Mc1: Poftim?
D: Hai, hai. Începem?
Mc1: [sunete de clopote reproduc o melodie].
W: Îmi stă pe limbă, mă. [rîde].
D: E melodia aia de la barieră.
W: E melodia de scos vaci la păscut.
D: [[rîde].
W: [[rîde].
D: Zi. E barieră sau vaci?
W: Poftim?
D: E aia de la barieră sau de [vaci?
W: [[rîde].
Mc1: Nu,nu. Uitaţi care era. [fredonează melodia].
D: Măi, da ce seamănă. Ce seamănă. E vina mea.
W: Ma faute, ma faute. Nu m-am prins. Bine, Iulian. Pa.
D: Lucian din Slatina. ‘Neaţa!.
Mc2: ‘Neaţa!
W: Hai, s-auzim melodia ta.
Mc2: [sunet de tobe obţinut din lovirea unor obiecte].
D: [în şoaptă] Asta-i Celine Dion.
Mc2: S-auzit?
D: Da. Da. Lasă-mi toamnă ochii tăi, nu? Margareta Pâslaru.
Mc2: Da.

D: Da?!
Mc2: Da. Da.
D: Hai s-o cântăm împreună, da? Un… [doi …trei…şi!
W: [doi… trei .. şi!
D: [cântă] Lasă-mi toamnă ochii tăi…
Mc2: Nu ştiu aşa bine.
D: Ai instrumentele. Hai cu instrumentele.
Mc2: N-am nici voce…
D: Hai. Tu cu instrumentele şi eu din gură.
Mc2: OK.
D: Lasă-mi toamnă ochii verzi, ochii mei să nu mai vezi…
Mc2: [bate ritmul].
W: Noi chiar trebuie să facem concursul ăsta?
D: OK. E bine. Gabriela e prima care a fost.
W: Eu zic că e Grabriela. Părerea mea.
D: Gabriela e alta sau aceeaşi? Prima Gabriela? Deci, care au fost cei trei concurenţi?
W: Eu zic Gabriela. Detaşat [Gabriela.
D: [Gabriela.
W: Da.
D: Bun, Gabriela ce va face? Se va gândi acum şi dacă ascultă, să ştie, la trei întrebări pe care să le pună Ncoletei Luciu.
W: Aha, bun.
D: Şi vom face un interviu la Rondul de dimineață cu Gabriela şi Nicoleta Luciu.
W: Gabriela va fi gazda emisiunii Rondul de dimineață şi o va avea ca invitată pe [Nicoleta Luciu.
D: [Nicoleta Luciu.
W: Şi va trebui să-i dăm cafea pentu chestia asta?

……..
Pro FM identity signal

D: Pro FM Rondul de dimineață. Dragelor şi dragilor, hai să mai ascultăm şi puțină musique. Avem KMC cu Sunday Belle, copil tembel. Vrei?
W: Da merge.

…….
Music
……..

W: Auzi, ştii ce citesc eu aici?
D: Daaaa…
W: Sânii mari – fericire sau sinucidere? Cercetătorii nu pot stabili dacă dobândirea de sâni mari duce la fericirea sau la determinarea femeilor să se sinucidă.
D: Sânii mari?
W: Da. Sânii mari.
D: Spune.
W: Gata. Atâta. De ce să se sinucidă o femeie care tocmai şi-a făcut un superimplant?
D: Pentru că ea stă la etajul zece şi nu se poate uita în jos şi nu vede că se termină balconul.
W: [rîde].
D: S-a terminat. Buuuuuuf!…

.....
Reclame
.....
W: Fii atent o ştire ciudată în România, sau nu mă miră că sunt mulți fani. În România se înființează fan clubul Star Wars. Consiliul Jedi anunță că inaugurarea va avea loc vineri la un club de lângă Sala Palatului. Detalii se pot afla de pe site-ul www.jedi.ro. Te interesează? Eşti fan?
D: Nu. [Stai aşa.
W: [Nici eu.
D: Ăăăăă…. Star Wars sau Star Trek? [Stai aşa, să ne înțelegem.
W: [Star Wars.
D: Star Wars, aşa mai merge. Star Trek sunt toți tocilarii de la liceu.
W: Stai puțin. Eu nu mă prea pricep, dar nu sunt unu şi acelaşi lucru?
D: Star Wars şi Star Trek? Nu, dar am putea face un serial în care Vader îi zice lui Picard [imită vocea cavernoasă din film] *Picard, you are my mother*.
W: [râde]
.....
reclame
.....
D: Dragelor şi dragilor e zece fără zece. A fost aşa o plăcere să fim cu voi. A fost aşa de faaaaaain.
W: Timpul trece atât de repede.
D: Dacă n-ar fi aşa devreme. Da aşa.
W: Auzi, eu propun să ne culcăm mai devreme.
D: Ce? Şi viața ta personală? Eşti şi tu …[cu o fată….
W: [Nu contează. Cel mai important e ascultătorul.
D: Eşti populist. Eşti populist.
W:[Sunt popu' ce?
D: [Ta na na na!
W: Este respect față de ascultători.
D: Da' ce respect ai față de ascultători dacă o să trăieşti luni de zile ca un prost singur în casă? Nu mai ieşi nicăieri. Lumea o să te creadă un tâmpit şi cine o să te mai asculte?
W: Păi, pot să dorm şi după-masa.
D: Nu poți.
W: Ba, eu pot. Na!
D: Du-te, mă, şi te culcă.
W: Eu mă duc şi fac nani.
D: Până una alta – fiți buni şi fiți nebuni. Ne vedem mâine. Suntem Mihai Dobrovolschi şi Wildmark.
W: Ciau, ciau.
D: Rămânem cu Kim Wilde. În câteva clipe la Ştiri indicatorii bugetari pe anul viitor sunt îmbucurători. Ta ta! Inflația coboară sub 9%! Detalii la ora zece!

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

D: 'Morning, 'morning, ['morning
W: ['morning, 'morning.
D: It's nine and about ten minutes. Here we are again, the same….
W: What to do today?
D: What to do, what to do? … Let's see now that we are up.

W: Well. Let me tell you about those monkeys.
D: Monkeys?
W: What did they do? They connected them to electro… 320 de Volts… one of the monkeys.
D: I see.
W: The other at 60 or 80. The one on 320 Volts moved its arm … uhhh…in the first tage
D: Yeees… so it was holding a joystick in its hand… you see.
W: [pauses]
D: You see? The monkey was guided through the brain and the joystick.
W: And it managed to interact with that game …it had in front of it.…
D: Well…they also used that system with food. If it made a successful move it was given food. A sort of Pavlov, you know this telekinesis thing …
W: Hear, hear… and this system…this system…does it mean that we are going to use it on people with handicap… to …with handicap… and so on…
D: Later, yes.
W: Let's make an installation like that. We build an arm, a hand …. uhhh.
D: And we do a Skandenberg….
W: Skandenberg….
D: Oh ye, ye!

……..

Music: radio identity signal

……..

D: British actor Hugh Grant said he will no longer play in suprproductions because he is embarrassed by what is happening there. He is 43 years old. He was surprised with a prostitute in his car. We are not even interested.
W: The same was said by [the actor] who played in Liga [The League].
D: [pauses]
W: Sean Connery.
D: Aaaah. Correct.
W: Sean Connery. Is it? He said.
D: No more! No more!
W: Until that film with Zeta Jones, right?
D: When he was a kind of thief.
W: No more! No more!
D: Well, he acted in 3-4 more films. And Anthony Hopkins he said the same.
W: well, Anthony Hopkins.
Excuse me.
D: Voila. [imitates the voice of Sean Connery] *I won't be doing any more movies because I don't think today's movies are based on real fact, on real art.*
W: Heeey, you know you sound like him.
D: I'm good at it, aren't I?
W: Yes.
D: Fiiiine…. About a bird which was caught by the police in a weird way in a few minutes. For now we have a contest.

…….
Music – ads for coffee, luxury cars, cable TV, tour agency, car servicing, champagne, DIY store, video rentals, etc.
…….

D: Twenty two minutes past nine my dear gilrs and boys. I was telling you about a bird in Germany which started attacking people ….mmm… it was a crow…crow,
W: [crow / In Germany.
D: Which was in Dortmund, attacking passers-by….It came like this…[imitates a looping plane]… a sort of Neo … The One…
W: Not really … in the film Matrix… [Matrix Reloaded ….
D: [Matrix…
W: They were in fact people… They were not birds… When they attacked Neo…It was people ……[they…
D: [People.
W: Who attacked them.
D: This was a crow. A crow.
W: Crow?
D: Yes, maaaan. In Germany. Don't want to be accused again. [laughs]. Well, the officers first placed cat food. They wanted to catch it with cat food. Nothing. They gave her birdseeds. Nothing. Eventually…a policeman that … with roots in Ardeal, said: Listen here, give the crow a drop of schnaps.
W: Yes.
D: The crow came, drank, got drunk on the spot, fell and they caught it.
W: Really.
D: The crow began zig-zagging….See? …[imitates the sound of an airplane] … crrr….. crrr…crrr … hiccup…
W: Yes [laughs]
D: And they managed to catch it and take it to an animal home.
W: Look I'm a butterfly. I'm a butterfly. He! He! He!
D: Let's stay with tiny animals. See here, in Japan a train was stopped by centipedes…uhhh …what are they called?
W: Caterpillars.
D: Centipedes. Having one thousands feet. They covered four hundred metres of [rail.
W: [Wow!
D: They simply lay on the rail...and the train could not pass because it would have skided.
W: Four hundred metres [is very much.
D: [Four hundred .....Yes.
W: And for what purpose were they there?
D: Just like that. Waiting for the green lights. Well I was thinking of a centipede like this. If a centipede called another centipede saying: Yo, hi Yo, how are you? And the other one answered: I'm getting my feet into it [literal translation]. And this one answers: Well, then, I'll call you in two months.
W: [laughs].
D: How long does it take a centipede to get his feet into it? And now our Ness Brassero contest. Waiting for your calls with your performances. Yes. Who are we dealing with here?

Fc: With Gabriela.
D: Go ahead [Gabriela!
W: [Gabriela!
Fc: [sounds of metal rod hitting glass] Shall I give you a clue?
D: Don't give us any [clue.
Fc: [Voila!
D: Unless we really [need one.
Fc: Fine! …. [I'll give you a clue [sound of coffee spurting from an expresso].
W: [I know the melody.
D: [Aaaaaa! …..Trrr…trrr….trrr.. The one for Nescafe!
W: Yes, typical [for Nescafe.
D: [Yes, Gabriela?
Fc: Yes.
D: Gooood…You are runner up for our contest, yes? Good. Lucian in Bacău. ['Morning.
W: [Salutis.
Mc: Hi, guys.
D: Beat, beat.... heartbeat. Feel well?
Mc1: Excuse me?
D: Go on, go on. Let's start, shall we?
Mc1: [sounds of bells reproducing a melody].
W: It's at the tip of my tongue. [laughs]
D: It's the melody you hear at the railway crossing.
W: It's the meoldy for taking out the cows grazing.
D: [laughs].
W: [laughs].
D: Tell us. Is it the crossing or the cows?
W: Excuse me?
D: It's the one for the crossing or for [the cows?
W: [[laughs].
Mc1: No, no. This is what it was. [hums the melody]
D: Boy, do they sound like alike. They do sound alike. My fault.
W: Ma faute, ma faute. I didn't catch on. Good, Lucian. Bye.
D: Lucian in Slatina. 'Morning!
Mc2: 'Morning!
W: Go on, let's here your melody.
Mc2: [drum-like sound of hitting objects].
D: [in a whisper] This is Celine Dion.
Mc2: Did I make myself heard?
D: Yes. Yes. 'Lasă-mi toamnă ochii tăi', no? Margareta Pâslaru
Mc2: Yes.
D: Yes?!
Mc2: Yes. Yes.
D: Let's sing it together, yes? One… [two …three…and!
W: [two… three .. and!
D: [sings] Lasă-mi toamnă ochii tăi…
Mc2: I don't know it very well.
D: You've got the instruments. Join me with the instruments.
Mc2: I don't have a voice either…
D: Come on. You with the instruments, me with the voice.

139 Mc2: OK.
140 D: Lasă-mi toamnă ochii verzi, ochii mei să nu mai vezi…
141 Mc2: [beats the rhythm].
142 W: We really have to hold this contest?
143 D: OK. That's good. Gabriela was the first.
144 W: I say it is Gabriela. My opinion.
145 D: Gabriela is another or the same? The first Gabriela? So, who were the three [contestants]?
146 W: I say Gabriela. By far [Gabriela.
147 D: [Gabriela.
148 W: Yes.
149 D: Fine, Gabriela what is she to do? She will think, and if she should be listening now, let
150 it be known to her, of three questions for Nicoleta Luciu.
151 W: Aha, good.
152 D: And we shall have an interview on Rondul de dimineață with Gabriela and Nicoleta Luciu.
153 W: Gabriela will host the programme Rondul de dimineață and she will have for her guest
154 [Nicoleta Luciu.
155 D: [Nicoleta Luciu.
156 W: And we shall have to serve her coffee for this?

…….
Pro FM radio station identity signal
……..
157 D: Pro FM Rondul de dimineață. My dear girls and dear boys, let's listen to some
158 musique. We have KMC with Sunday Belle, stupid child. Would you like to?
159 W: Yes, it will do.

…….
Music
…….
160 W: Hear, hear. Do you know what I'm reading here?
161 D: Yeeees…
162 W: Big breasts – happiness or suicide? Resesarchers can not establish if acquiring big
163 breast leads to happiness or determines women to commit suicide.
164 D: Big breasts?
165 W: Yes. Big breasts.
166 D: Say more.
167 W: That's it. Why should a woman commit suicide when she has just had some super implants?
168 D: Because she lives on tenth floor and she can't look down and she can't see the edge of
169 the balcony.
170 W: [laughs].
171 D: It's the margin. Puffff!…

…….
Advertisements
…….
172 W: Listen here to some strange news for Romania, but in fact it doesn't surprise me for
173 there are many fans. In Romania they have established the Star Wars fan club. The Jedi
174 Council announces that the inauguration will take place on Friday in a club near the Sala
175 Palatului. More details can be found on the site www.jedi.ro. Are you interested? Are you a fan?

176 D: No. [Wait a minute.
177 W: [Neither am I.
178 D: Uhhhhh…. Star Wars or Star Trek? [Wait now. Let's get it straight.
179 W: [Star Wars.
180 D: Star Wars, that's something else. Star Trek are the school swots from highschool.
181 W: Wait a minute. I'm not too good at this, but aren't they one and the same thing?
182 D: Star Wars and Star Trek? No, but we could make a series where Vader says to Picard
183 [imitates the original cavernous voice of the Vader character in the movie] *Picard, you are my mother*.
184 W: [laughs]
……
Advertisements
……..
185 D: My dear girls and dear boys, it is ten to ten. It's been so nice being with you. So
186 niiiiiiice.
187 W: Time flies by so quickly.
188 D: If only it weren't so early… But this [early].
189 W: You know, I suggest we should go to bed earlier.
190 D: What? And your private life? You might be with … [a girl….
191 W: [Doesn't matter. What counts is the listener.
192 D: You are a populist. You are a populist.[in a sing-song voice]
193 W: I'm a popu' what?
194 D: Ta na na na!
195 W: This is respect to our listeners.
196 D: What kind of respect to your listeners if you live for months like a fool alone in your
197 home? You don't go out at all. People will think you an idiot and who will be listening to you then?
198 W: Well, I could always nap in the afternoon.
199 D: You can't.
200 W: Oh yes I can. [There!
201 D: Oh, why don't you go to bed!
202 W: I'm going for a little nap.
203 D: Well then, be good and act crazy. See you tomorrow. We are Mihai Dobrovolschi and
204 Wildmark.
205 W: Ciau, ciau.
206 D: We stay with Kim Wilde. In a few minutes on the News the budget indicators for next
207 year are encouraging. Ta ta! Inflation drops to under 9%! Details at ten o'clock!

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EUPHEMISMS

SORIN UNGUREANU[*]

ABSTRACT. What are euphemisms? Where do they (keep) coming from? What is their role in today's social exchanges? What is the mechanism behind their astonishing ubiquity? – And why, oh, why are they so successful? Can one get on his bike and still wear the breeches?... These, and a few other related topics in "Euphemisms", a PhD report presented in 2003 at the Cluj School of Letters, under the supervision of Professor Mihai M. Zdrenghea, PhD.

Preliminaries

Flexibility is a permanent need in communication. One practical option is to adjust one's choice of words to the must of sparing, protecting the interlocutors from any 'unnecessary stress'. The word to describe that option is *euphemism*; it seems then but reasonable to speculate that these have been with us for as long as we have felt the urge to avoid issue messages that are too blunt, or too direct – even more specifically, for as long as the vocabulary that one community shared would allow for the use of such options to neutral speech. Euphemisms have been here all the speaking way...

But what are, more precisely, euphemisms? Dictionaries tell us that they are words or phrases that are less offensive and less direct than others that we could use in our discourse. Is it that 'nice' words and euphemisms are the same? Or is it that 'anything [which serves the purpose] will, please, do'? Karl Popper (in *Unended Quest*, 1986) warns: "Don't ever argue about words and word meanings!". This classification dilemma is an indicator of how *relative* the class of euphemisms is: one issue to be dealt with in further investigation below. Nevertheless, R. W. Holder, the author of *a Dictionary of Euphemisms* adds some refinement to those definitions:

> As I increased my collection, it became apparent that we use euphemisms not for a single purpose, but for four: it is the language of evasion, of hypocrisy, of prudery, and of deceit. Some of the entries might be classified as dysphemisms by other writers and I am sure that Allan and Burridge must be right when they tell us that *Euphemistic dysphemisms and dysphemistic euphemisms have locutions that are at odds with their illocutionary point (*Euphemism and Dysphemism, *1991)*. I would only add that one man's euphemism can be another woman's dysphemism.
>
> (Holder, vii)

There is more, therefore, than being mere circumlocutions to avoid hurting feelings or damaging face (pragmatically speaking); at the core of the corpus of euphemisms, and an important factor in their history is the notion of *taboo*. Taboo is correlated with indirectness or avoidance in social behaviour, and various scholars

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(among them, Howard, op. cit., 100) cite the old Greek *Eumenides*, 'the good-tempered ones' (i.e. the *Erinyes* or, in Latin parlance, the *Furies*); or *the Euxine*, 'the sea that was kind to sailors' (i.e. the Black Sea, originally called *Axeinos*, 'the inhospitable'). Although most visibly embedded in archaic, highly conservative cultures/societies, taboo is preserved in the subconscious of modern (synchronically speaking) societies as well – such as the Anglo-Saxon, or English-speaking world of recent times, as made apparent by the immensely large group of contemporary English euphemisms. Philip Howard wilfully admits that "Euphemism is the British linguistic vice", adding to the examples: "The word and the rhetorical figure of calling a spade an entrenching implement passed from Greek into other European languages." (Howard, 100).

More striking than it is that so often euphemisms substitute offensive words and phrases (i.e. in taboo and related situations), is that some of these are actually their opposites: dysphemisms. 'Euphemisation' of one's speech is part of what it takes to stay out of trouble in social encounters, which most of us will do on a voluntary, routine basis. In cases where the interlocutor is the (main) cause, we are talking about *saving face*, a politeness strategy. Erving Goffman describes such relations in terms of *deference and demeanor*. Obviously, the speakers subjected to such types of compulsion when wording their messages. The indirectness of expressing oneself, then, can be acquired by taking the trodden path of classic euphemistic expressions; but also by improvising according to the context, or to one's own conversational style.

This study is an approach to euphemisms with a view to future treatment of *political correctness* in English – parallel social, psychological, or cultural conditions underlie both linguistic phenomena. Euphemisms will be tackled from different standpoints: lexicology (formation, types of euphemisms); semantics (sense relations with(in) euphemisms); pragmatics (euphemism as a device to carry out different conversational strategies).

Lexicology

* *euphemism* n. a mild or less direct word substituted for one that is harsh or blunt when referring to something unpleasant or embarrassing.
(Concise Oxford Dictionary)
* *euphemism* A word or phrase substituted to soften an offensive expression.
(Brewer, 384)
* A *euphemism* is a mild or roundabout word or phrase substituted for a more blunt or painful one.
(Norton)

Three definitions taken from three different sources all evince common features: (i) a euphemism is a substitute; (ii) the substitute is 'mild', or 'less direct', or 'roundabout'; (iii) the substituted word or phrase is 'harsh'/'blunt'/'offensive'/ 'painful'. We can easily imagine that other definitions will give similar descriptions. But the definitions say nothing of *how exact* the substitution shall be made; indeed, they couldn't, for speech situations such as those requiring substitution are quite

frequent. Nonetheless, by studying the mass of euphemisms, on the one hand, and by judging things from the perspective of the experienced language user, on the other, the following defining features are inferred:

(a) All parts of speech are involved in the formation of euphemisms;
(b) There are no exceptional restrictions in the ways of combining words into English; euphemistic expressions, excepting those naturally encountered in
(c) Euphemisms are either (i) 'euphemisms as such' (included in dictionaries, identifiable with or without the help of a context by owners of linguistic competence at any given time), and (ii) 'instant euphemisms', which are less frequent, but may be more spectacular than euphemisms proper.

Definitions (a) and (b) above are proven right by means of statistics, for a group of lexical units that are counted by the thousands in English. The third, (c), is worth further analysis, in particular for its second part, naming euphemisms that are neither found in dictionaries nor circulated on such a large scale as euphemisms proper are.

What we have in mind here is the *special vocabulary* that individuals produce in limited environments such as a family, a class of schoolchildren or students, an army squad or platoon, a club or a public house, a small group of co-workers, etc. The conditions for the existence of such vocabularies for 'internal usage' are few but strict: group intimacy (the tighter the bonds among the individuals, the more likely they are to produce such terms); limited size of the group (the less numerous – the more productive, but from some point down, a smaller group size will be counter-productive); constancy of membership within the group (limited circulation of members, as well as constancy, help to preserve propitious conditions). "The history of the English language offers plenty of examples of words that have been coined deliberately by various writers, scientists, etc." (Levițchi, 68, in a passage on "conscious, deliberate coinages" – but 'Nobodys' also produce such 'nonce words', although their coinages are not recorded in books that would render them fame).

The reason lies in the natural tendency under such circumstances to establish, preserve and develop a well-defined set of manifestations, diverse in type and nature, and meant to ensure the cohesion of the group, to create and maintain its identity. For most of the cases, the individuals' efforts to contribute, as well as the very contributions, come from the sub-, or un-conscious self, by way of spontaneous, automatic actions – just like it casually happens with the use of euphemisms.

That is not to say that all similar manifestations in the linguistic mode are rendered as euphemisms; only some part is represented by them (exactly how sizable that part is, depends strictly on circumstances and people). Since, furthermore, special vocabularies in use in limited and selective groups as those mentioned above are *cant*, *idiom*, *jargon*, *slang*, etc, it is unavoidable that parts of the latter will be covered by euphemisms. It should be so, as jargon or slang and euphemisms have something highly characteristic in common: indirectness of expression, avoidance of the norm in what lexical choice is concerned from the point of view of neutral speech. Another similar possibility is the *diminutive*, which does not function with

such evident indirectness (most of them derive from 'normal'/neutral words, e.g. *birdie* < 'bird'); instead, that fundamental feature of euphemisms which is mildness, or nicety, is highly characteristic of diminutives as well.

Taking language facts in this manner (only a relativistic one in the sense given by the very nature of euphemisms), we notice that functional word classes overlap: in context, lexical units with such affiliation as diminutives, idioms, slang, or jargon, very often count as euphemisms. Context and usage, intention and effect are the determining factors in judging a discourse as euphemistic; but a more detailed discussion will follow with the pragmatic treatment that is to be attended below.

To end with, the great variety of euphemisms is made evident by their ubiquity, from as far apart as colloquial English, and political/ideological texts. Variety is ensured by the use of 'normal' words in special contexts, often in specially devised combinations, with a particular sense thus attached – e.g.: 'AC/ DC' (i.e. indulging in both heterosexual and homosexual practices); 'B' (i.e. anything taboo beginning with the letter B – the common candidates are Benzedrine, bitch, bloody, and bugger); 'to concoct' (i.e. to falsify); 'demographic strain' (i.e. too many people); 'emergent' (i.e. poor and uncivilised – mainly of former colonial territories in Africa); 'flying low' (i.e. inadvertently having a trouser zip undone); 'to get on your bike' (i.e. to be dismissed from employment); 'hospitality' (i.e. free intoxicants); 'indisposed' (i.e. either menstruating or drunk); 'jewels' (i.e. the male genitalia); 'known to the police (i.e. having a criminal record or being suspected of crime); 'liberate' (i.e. conquer); 'mole' (i.e. a conspirator or spy within an organization); 'night job' (i.e. a contract in which a prostitute devotes the entire night to a single customer); 'the other side of the tracks' (i.e. the poor section of a town); 'Potomac fever' (i.e. – American – a desire to be elected to Federal office); 'questionable' (i.e. immoral or illegal); 'railroad Bible' (i.e. a pack of playing cards); 'shoot blanks' (i.e. be sexually impotent); 'twenty-four hour service' (i.e. we have a telephone recording device); 'under the daisies' (i.e. dead); 'vital statistics' (i.e. the measurements of a woman's chest, waist, and buttocks); 'to wear the breeches' (i.e. to be the dominant partner in a relationship); 'you-know-what' (i.e. any taboo subject within the context); or 'zoned out' (i.e. drunk or under the influence of illegal narcotics) (All examples from Holder)

Howard gives the clearest picture of what euphemisms are about:

> The subjects of euphemism vary slightly from age to age and culture to culture. The methods of euphemism are manifold. You can abbreviate as in w.c. You can veil your meaning in the decent obscurity of a learned tongue, or a foreign tongue, as in *lingerie*, the French for the linen from which the unmentionable garments are made. You can use litotes, as in 'You don't look too great.' You can use a vague phrase, as in 'Commit no nuisance.' You can use an elaborate circumlocution, as in 'Please adjust your dress before leaving.' There can be a poetry in euphemism, but mainly when Shakespeare is doing the euphemizing. You can use a significantly concomitant circumstance, as in to remove, when what you mean is to rub someone out. You can be bombastic, as in emolument. You can tell a straight lie, as in, 'I'm just going to powder my nose.' You can use understatement, as in, 'I've had a glass or two.' i.e. 'I'm smashed.' You can hint,

> as in, 'That's a carefully researched piece,' when what you mean is that it is plagiarized. You can direct thought in the right direction, as in honorarium. You are not always wrong to use euphemism. But you are wise to recognize that you are using it.
>
> (Howard, 115)

Semantics

A semantic analysis of euphemisms can be carried out in at least two different ways:

(a) In terms of semantic properties that such words share – they being substitutes *par excellence*; therefore the semantic relations that explain them are *homonymy/ polysemy*, *synonymy*, and perhaps *antonymy* too (the last, at least for stylistic reasons). We should add that, of all these, synonymy is the most relevant.

(b) Euphemisms, then, can be considered with a view to their shared features as utility words that promote certain meanings in attitudes, made manifest by the intended 'softness', or 'smoothness', or 'appeasement'. But here, due to their relative condition, the real problem is how to identify a real euphemism from a fake one – the solution is a pragmatic one.

What is left for semantics? To describe and assess meaning relations among euphemisms and other words, as in (a) above. To start with, synonymy certainly *is* the real explanation and quantifier for euphemisms. It is fundamental, as the formation of euphemisms itself is based on the rules of equivalence that are the source of substitution in language in general. That can be demonstrated by applying the rule that accounts for synonymy: A ('normal' word) and B (its euphemistic replacement) are synonyms if (and only if) there is mutual entailment between the two sentences S1 (including A) and S2 (including B), which makes them paraphrases of each other (i.e. there is identity of sense between two words A and B, filling for the same predicate). E.g. "Takes a real sailorman to know how to get [drunk=] blasted." (Holder, 32, quoting Tom Clancy, *Red Storm Rising*)

It is relevant to consider synonymy when dealing with euphemisms, chiefly since simple rules as that in the paragraph above are not universal in real life, where there are no 'perfect synonyms'. That is how ambiguity can appear, if we only think of the following instance: "It's the rosy guy we met yesterday" (euphemistic *rosy* = [also] drunk). Ambiguity, if not intended, can occur as an accident, a flawed communication in any context, and when using any means of expression; but with certain euphemisms, the probability that the message should 'misfire', as in the latest example, is considerably bigger. We consider here euphemisms arrived at by addition of a new sense to words already existing in the vocabulary, as with a dictionary entry of the following type:

Rosy 1. ...; 2. ...; 3. ...; n. ...; n+1. drunk (euphemism)

Therefore, partiality or relativity in synonymy (and that should *not* be a problem) is one major possibility with euphemisms; this can work as *polysemy*. But other sense relations may appear along with euphemisms: *homonymy*, e.g.:

Hardware[1] whisky.

Hardware[2] any modern armament.

When it comes to *antonymy* and euphemisms, the word 'antonym' encourages us to look in just one direction; oppositeness here is not that of meaning (as euphemism = synonym), but of tone. The unpleasant realities that we have to put in words and send out for others to know what we think and how we feel about things are often compulsive; we therefore replace casual words with others less offensive. But to obscure a meaning (although thus making it more bearable) does not result into a change in reality, it will sooner or later lose of its load of 'appeasement' – even turn into a *dysphemism*; Howard explains the growth and fall of euphemisms:

> Two similar changes are happening all the time with euphemism. First of all the euphemistic metaphor very quickly acquires the precise meaning that it is meant to veil, and becomes improper and rude. So the Bowdlers and Mrs Grundys of every generation have to go looking for a new euphemism, which in its turn at once becomes explicit. This endless purity-hunt may be frustrating for prudes; it is funny for the rest of us. Second, the sacred subjects about which we are inclined to be euphemistic change from age to age and society to society. First it was God that was taboo; the it was sex; now it is money, and class, and death. I dare say that one could make a case for arguing that euphemism is increasing rather than decreasing. There is certainly a lot of it around. It does not do much harm, provided we have a free press that allows us to mock it occasionally. Indeed, a world in which everybody spoke the exact truth all the time, without euphemism or metaphor, would be a bleak and ghastly place worthy of the pen of George Orwell. The English language is continually changing through its euphemisms. It always has; and it always will. There is no harm in the process, provided that we recognize that it is going on.
>
> (Howard, 118)

It is the fate of words, like humans', to appear, have a life, and fade out. Geoffrey Leech, citing S. I. Hayakawa (*Language in Thought and Action*), brings into discussion the relativity of words: there are potentially offensive words (*snarl words*) – "[...] whoever is using them is simply capitalizing on their unfavourable connotations in order to give forceful expression to his hostility [...] 'communist' or 'fascist' are particularly prone to degenerate into snarl words." ...and their opposites (*purr words*) – "[...] 'democratic'; other potential political purr words are 'freedom', 'human rights', 'patriotic', 'fatherland', 'equality'." (Leech, 44) 'Purr' and 'snarl' words have such a successful life because their connotative meanings obscure their denotations. Our times are more ideological than at any other times before, not just because extremely influential political systems are in opposition, but also due to the hyper development of media, which instantly and profusely circulates messages impregnated with words used either derogatorily or appreciatively.

The class of snarl words is a reservoir for dysphemisms. That is so that even in *pc* vocabulary – a collection of euphemisms, after all – dysphemisms may be found. The high ideologization of the social movements that promote political correctness accounts for the use of dysphemisms in the acute struggle to achieve goals; for example, a 'male chauvinistic pig' is one favourite option in naming and blaming the *enemy*

(supposedly, a member of the D[ead]W[hite]E[uropean]M[ale] Establishment, the *Oppressor*). 'Chauvinistic'/'pig' are dysphemisms originated in *snarl words*.

Leech admits that "A euphemism is in a way the opposite of a snarl word: instead of maximizing the unpleasant associations of a term, one tries to purge the subject of its affective associations." He cites the case of *lavatory*: one after another, *fashionable* were *privy*, *water-closet*, *toilet*, *cloakroom*, *restroom*, *comfort station*, and *loo*. Other terms – both euphemisms that are part of 'private'/group vocabularies, and 'instant' euphemisms – are certainly in use on a large scale. For Leech, euphemism is a matter of associative engineering' ("The technique consists of replacing a word which has offensive connotations with another expression, which makes no overt reference to the unpleasant side of the subject, and may even be a positive misnomer [...]"). This theory confirms other linguists' considerations, as well as the definitions to be found in dictionaries. The aim is for "people [to] find it possible to live with, and talk about, things that would otherwise shock or disturb them." (Leech, 45)

Extreme views, as those found over the last several decades in western democracies – chiefly the US – have led to extreme forms of euphemistic discourse:

> The PC Police are professionals in the art of euphemism. By 'euphemism' we mean the saying of something in a gentler, more indirect way and one less likely to offend. I am inclined, therefore, to describe PC phrases as, for the most part, 'euphemisms with *attitude*' (in the current sense of that word), because they are not just softer, less offensive ways of saying things: they make, in addition, statements over and above their meanings. But in seeking to avoid giving offence of a racist, sexist, or other kind, to certain minorities, they often smell of calculation and compromise.
>
> Worse, the word derived from the Greek *euphemos* meaning 'fair of speech' but most modern euphemistic coinages are not fair-sounding at all. What *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Second Edition) calls 'the substitution of comparatively favourable implication or less unpleasant associations, instead of the harsher or more offensive one that *would more precisely designate what is intended*' (my italics) more often than not leads to coinages that are contrived, clumsy and lacking the vigour of speech that has evolved through us rather than enforcement. In fact, my chief objection to the political correctness movement and to political-ly correct phraseology, on grounds other than its frequent ludicrousness, is that through them direct, colourful words are invariably being replaced by dull, lifeless ones. PC words lack the true-life vividness of natural coinages. Invariably, also, by seeking to avoid some imagined offensiveness, words and phrases are produced that are less precise in their descriptiveness.
>
> (Rees, xii)

Finally, for Jim Norton, there are three major modalities to create euphemisms:

(a) jargon ('lie' > *strategic misrepresentation*; 'tax increase' > *revenue enhancement*; 'civilian casualties' > *collateral damage*);

(b) by draining the emotion from a subject ('genocide' > *ethnic cleansing*; 'layoffs' > *downsizing*);

(c) by turning bad into good ('layoffs' > *rightsizing*; 'obscene' > *adult*).

About situation management, and how to turn a conversational necessity into a deliberately euphemistic turn of phrase, there is more in the next subchapter.

Pragmatics

Pragmatics must have a say on euphemism: it can explain how it works out evasion, appeasement, indirectness, understatement, concealment / "evasion, hypocrisy, prudery, and deceit"; pragmatics can tell what the goals and effects are to use euphemisms.

To 'make sure' that a word is a euphemism, one would have to put intention and result (if quantifiable) in balance, and judge words in a context; therefore, what all dictionaries can do is to suggest what words *can* work as euphemisms. Speech act theory may account for the force implied by verbal exchanges which include euphemisms, the theory of politeness and the Gricean Maxims – for what lies behind the choice of such words (instead of others).

1. Speech Acts.

The *locutionary* act of uttering a euphemistic piece of discourse is in no way different from any other. The *illocutionary* act, on the contrary, will bear a number of implications, namely it will slightly (at times: radically) alter the function of the utterance. Suppose the speaker has a proposition in mind, such as:

this child be stupid or
this child be naughty

To issue a meaningful utterance, the speaker issues a normal/neutral sentence:

A1: This kid's either naughty or plain stupid!,

Which is offensive – but there is always the option given by the euphemism:

A1: This child is maladjusted (isn't he?)

The *perlocution* is also subject to modification when opting for a euphemism. The A1 utterance above is likely to produce anger or embarrassment to the hearer (the restless child's mother); A2 will probably inspire (to the same hearer) amusement, or even bewilderment, suspicion, frustration etc, if the euphemistic 'maladjusted' is not known, or easy to understand in context (as it seems realistic to expect from anywhere between one and four fifths of our contemporary speakers of English – natives or not).

2. Pragmatic force.

Sound scholar work on subjects such as *euphemism*, *political correctness* or *language in use* is rather difficult to find. This could account in part for Jenny Thomas's remarks about the emergence of pragmatics:

> It is extremely easy, with the benefit of hindsight, to pick holes in earlier approaches to the study of pragmatics. In the discussion which follows it is

> important to bear in mind that the 'pioneers' in the area of pragmatics were reacting against an approach to linguistics which was strongly biased toward meaning in abstract rather than meaning in use. But disciplines evolve and our definitions, theories and methodologies must also change in order to respond to new concerns and insights.
>
> (Thomas, 21)

The two components of *speaker meaning* – utterance meaning and force – are of major relevance with euphemisms; as shown by Thomas, there are four possibilities: i. understanding both utterance meaning and force; ii. understanding utterance meaning but not force; iii. understanding force but not utterance meaning; and iv. under-standing neither utterance meaning nor force. The reaction that such special substitutes may trigger in the interlocutor will fall into any of the four situations for A2:

(a) The mother understands both utterance meaning ("Indeed," she thinks, "my kid is much of a brat these days...") and force ("How misbehaved he is, even to strangers!")

(b) She understands the utterance, but not what lies behind it ("'Maladjusted'!! You mean as in 'my dear child has done anything to you, brute!'")

(c) The mother is able to infer from the (quite sarcastic) tone used and from the context (the child is fretting, stepping the stranger on his toes) the man's displeasure – but fails to recognize 'maladjusted'.

(d) She cannot comprehend either what the words addressed to her might mean (because she is dead-tired and unable to 'compute'; or because she is not paying attention; or simply because she is a foreigner) or what the attitude of the person who is addressing her may be (out of a variety of motives).

A set of possibilities as in (a) – (d) is not uncommon; we have to admit that it may happen with other communications which do not involve euphemisms. But it is, somehow, characteristic to ambiguous discourse, as it is the case with euphemisms.

3. Politeness.

Much gloss can be made on politeness in linguistic contexts – and some applied commentary may have a starting point in the analysis made by Thomas, following Fraser, Leech, Brown and Levinson (Thomas, 158-80):

(a) "*Politeness expressed in terms of principles and maxims*"

i. "...something which is, by its nature, likely to cause offence to the hearer" is difficult to express, but attainable by means of ambivalent euphemism:

> ([public notice] at a very expensive gourmet restaurant:)
>
> If you want to enjoy the full flavour of your food and drink you will, naturally, not smoke during this meal. Moreover, if you did smoke you would also be impairing the enjoyment of other guests.
>
> (Thomas, 159)

In this way, "The pragmatic force in each case is ambivalent and it is left to the readers [of the sign] to decide (α) what the precise force of the message is, and (β) whether or not it applies to them."

ii. The Politeness Principle ["Minimize (all things being equal) the expression of impolite beliefs; maximize (all things being equal) the expression of polite beliefs."] (Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics*, Chapter 4) seems specially designed to describe euphemisms. But Leech, Thomas considers, "is only talking about the **expression** of impolite beliefs – what a person is thinking or implying is a very different matter and it is perfectly clear [...] that the speaker has impolite thoughts and feelings, which she has not hesitated to convey **indirectly**." Still, only talking about 'the expression of impolite beliefs', Leech's Maxims ("which, he claims, stand in the same relationship to the P[oliteness] P[rinciple] as Grice's [...] stand to the C[ooperative] P[rinciple].") (Thomas, 160) in their turn appear as designed to describe euphemistic speech. Tact, Generosity, Approbation, Modesty, Agreement and Sympathy altogether follow that functional principle of euphemism, to allow for the speaker's playing *submissive*.

(b) "*Politeness and the management of face*"

The major role of euphemism in all walks of life is evidence that to *save face* / *avoid to damage face* (Brown and Levinson) is a principle that covers, in various degrees, all situations pertaining to potential confrontation and, most often in English, resulting in submission. By using euphemism, face-threatening acts are avoided, or tackled with the possibility to preserve 'undamaged face'.

(c) "*Politeness viewed as a conversational contract*"

The 'conversational contract', as Fraser sees it, is what constrains people in interaction; this 'contract' governs employment of politeness, but it is "... renegotiable in light of the participants' perception and/or acknowledgements of factors such as the status, the power, and the role of each speaker, and the nature of the circumstances". (Fraser, in Thomas, 177)

4. Grice's Maxims.

The four conversational maxims are in different degrees relevant to euphemism status, as follows:

In terms of *quantity*: substitution means more words (rather than the other way round) – *enjoy Her Majesty's hospitality* (be in prison), *exchange this life for a better* (die), *fall off the back of a lorry/truck* (be stolen), etc; statistically, rather irrelevant.

Quality: how many times do we have to euphemize and "say what we believe is false", or "say that for which we lack evidence"? That flouts the Maxim of Quality.

Relation ("Be relevant"): Relevance may be negotiated in a double balance: i. if mildness prevails over indirectness, then still there is room for relevance; ii. if indirectness prevails, relevance is at a loss. Hard to quantify the two factors, anyway.

Manner: 'Obscurity of expression', 'ambiguity', 'unnecessary prolixity' and 'disorder' often occur with euphemisms – many are obscure and ambiguous; prolixity is another possible impediment for discourse, along with disorder.

Pragmatics is (with semantics) the key discipline to interpret euphemisms and to assess their role in contemporary English; it is the fundamental tool, along with sociolinguistics and the philosophy of language (and cultural studies) to deal with PC.

5. Stylistics

Euphemisms are words with a career. If "style has to do with making choices, conscious or otherwise, which are not entirely determined, or not so far as we can ascertain determined" (Turner, 24, on Swift's and Buffon's definitions of style), then style is very much a matter of euphemisms, and euphemism use is to a high degree a matter of style. This indirectness of expression originates in taboo:

> Taboos in a language change, the genteelism of one generation becomes the vulgarity of another, or the good old straightforward words of a past age coming back into favour until they lose force again. [...] Even the topics to which taboo words attach are apt to change; once it was sex and now it is race. We shall probably live to see expurgated editions of *Othello* where the word ***M..r*** is avoided.
>
> The search for euphemisms to avoid taboo words may promote a chronological succession of names for a single thing, resulting in a stylistically graded list of terms, becoming more genteel as they are newer. [...] A euphemism is a stylistic variant of a more direct word, but the smallest room in the house, the loo or gents or dub or bog, seems to have no stylistically neutral name, only a constellation of stylistically marked variants. In 1962 a pottery manufacturer stated that in England 65 per cent of the people used *toilet*, 15 per cent *lavatory*, 14 per cent *bathroom*, 4 per cent *W.C.* and 2 per cent family names.
>
> (Turner, 115-16)

Here are, therefore, the several essential elements: i. words have lives of their own (this we have already learnt), then they fade out and die (but may be brought back to life); ii. the same happens with the taboos behind euphemisms; iii. style is not restricted to individual users, communities of speakers *share* (although one individual may adopt several different styles, according to his presence in one company or another); iv. there is a competition between words, with newer, fresher (i.e. not yet aged) ones scoring higher in popularity charts; v. some eccentric cases (e.g. 'toilet/.../lavatory') lack a stylistically neutral, 'connotation-free term.

Today's *PC Police* have their 19th century ancestors in Thomas Bowdler (editor of *The Family Shakespeare* in Britain) and Noah Webster (of the *Webster Bible* in the US). Today, Deborah Cameron makes a serious point referring to, for instance, misplaced denominations for the ill fated; but 'equally' right is Nigel Rees:

> Opponents of political correctness (PC) were, however, quick to invoke the terminology of the imagined excesses of totalitarianism as portrayed by George Orwell in his novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1949). 'Newspeak' – the ambiguous, euphemistic language designed to meet ideological needs – is just like PC-speak. However, Newspeak's vocabulary is designed to shrink year by year, the ultimate object being to make heretical thought impossible, whereas politically correct language actually increases the vocabulary with its ever more verbose attempts at achieving the inoffensive phrase. 'Doublethink' – Orwell's term for the ability to hold two contradictory thoughts in one's mind at the same time – could also no doubt be found among the PC, if one bothered to look. Everyone has seen fit to liken the would-be enforcers of PC to the 'Thought Police' who ensured subservience to Big Brother in *1984*.
>
> (Rees, x)

The canon battles are waged with fierceness. The use of 'snarl words' such as *Big Brother*, *Thought Police*, *Minitrue*, *doublethink*, etc is meant to divulge and discredit PC Police; but PC-people use similar methods to annihilate the influence of their opponents. Orwell's writings, given the history of the 20th century, will still be classics for experts in discourse analysis, in studies of ideology and manipulation.

6. Conclusions

The story of euphemisms is a fascinating one. It tells of how people seek and find ways to beat about the bush in the post-modern world, to come to terms with the neighbours in the Global Village.

Euphemisms are replacements of unwanted words. In the substitution, the new word must be less offensive than the previous; also, the message is less direct. The effects on communication range from friendlier discourse (enhanced understanding) to obscured meaning (the message does not get through); these happen out of a variety of reasons governing social relationships – pragmatically speaking, through *face management*, in politeness strategies. The stylistic implications are worth considering. As euphemized discourse is more and more inextricably related to PC speech and to the ideology of the New Left, conservative thinkers find associations with the Orwellian world of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Finally, from a philosophical perspective, these phenomena belong at the core of Postmodernism, helping copiously to define it.

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NB. The *Google* instant offer: 48,100 sites that include information on euphemisms.