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SUMAR - CONTENTS - SOMMAIRE - SOMARIO - INHALT

STUDIA UNIVERSITATIS BABEŞ-BOLYAI, PHILOLOGIA, XLV, 2, 2000

FOREWORD

LESLEY HAYMAN
DEPUTY DIRECTOR, BRITISH COUNCIL, BUCHAREST

It is with considerable pleasure that I find myself in the position of writing a few words to introduce this volume on British Cultural Studies written by lecturers on the MA in British Cultural Studies at the Babes-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca, Romania.

It is only since the beginning of the 1990s that the British and the British Council began to develop the area of "British Cultural Studies". Romania was one of the countries where this development was most enthusiastically taken up and the Babes-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca was the first to establish a separate MA in British Cultural Studies. The British Council worked closely in partnership with the Cluj team to prepare the programme. Following a 10-week course in Warwick University in 1993, the first cohort of students joined the programme in September 1994. Nigel Townson, the British Council's adviser in British Cultural Studies based in Cluj-Napoca helped the team to develop new approaches to writing the curriculum and a new student-centred model of teaching. A modest library of books was donated by the British Council.

The programme broke new ground, not only was it a highly innovative cross-disciplinary programme spanning history, politics, cultural studies, literature, applied linguistics and language, but it was one of the very first MA programmes to be set up in Romania. It is encouraging to see that the current volume continues to reflect this diversity.

The MA programme in Cluj-Napoca has been one of the British Council's success stories in Romania. Although we no longer support the programme directly, we are delighted to see that the programme is still thriving, and that the demand for places is still high. New challenges await the programme; as Britain and its conception of itself continues to change rapidly as Nick Wadham-Smith outlines in his survey article, the course will need to adapt to these changing realities. However, British Cultural Studies in Cluj-Napoca takes its distinctive identity not only from its contact with Britain and British Culture but from its location within Romanian culture. We can therefore expect the evolving programme to be mediated by changes in Romanian society and culture together with reconceptions of Romanian identity. This volume takes a significant step in this direction.

STUDIA UNIVERSITATIS BABEŞ-BOLYAI, PHILOLOGIA, XLV, 2, 2000

ADVERTISING AS POPULAR CULTURE

MIHAI MIRCEA ZDRENGHEA*

ABSTRACT. This essay tries to investigate ways in which approaches to "reading" advertisments have been historically located within those wider debates about popular culture. In particular, it examines the ways in which a reductive notion of populism has more recently emerged at the centre of critical debates. Advertising is undoubtedly the most symptomatic phenomenon of contemporary culture as it reflects the society by reinforcing the image that society projects of itself, more often a positive image in which it tends to indulge.

Advertising deadens the nerves of civil society. It seduces citizens into using and discarding some things and into disregarding others. Private desires stifle public spirit: nobody cares a nickel about anybody but themselves. Profanity, mildnessness, glitz and waste triumph. In sum, advertising not only encourages individuals too wallow in commodities which they actually do not need. It also manufactures a product of its own: the consumer, perpetually unsatisfied, restless, anxious, and bored. Advertising serves not so much to advertise products as to promote consumption as a way of life. (Keane, 1991:85)

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1.0. Quite often television falls into the category of low culture, perhaps even "despised culture". For "despised culture" and low entertainment, read also **popular culture.** Popular culture has been critically regarded largely in one of two ways. One body of opinion with a long history constructs the products and practices of popular culture as part of some economic, political and philosophical categories of disapproval. These include capitalism, commerce, consumerism and conservatism. Popular culture for such groups can be morally offensive and culturally inferior. Many across the political spectrum of elite cultures share in this hostility to the popular. The second way in which popular culture has been critically condidered is more recent and far less hostile to the popular. There is a genuine concern to investigate areas of popular culture with sympathy for the mass audiences who appear its willing consumers.

The term "populism" has entered the critical vocabulary in recent years. It represents a political tactics of only an imagined alliance, an ideological construction calling up a mass audience to an identity with ruling class interests. Historically, the idea of populism has been assciated with forms of political demagogy and in recent years embodied conservative political exponents like Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher. The more obvious cultural dimensions of populism were as widespread as its political composition. As a consequence of its social and democratic culture, political populism was founded in an incorporative language, with a transparent vocabulary of inclusion and exclusion. It died as a political movement before the twentieth century, being integrated in part and in complex ways into configurations of belief and culture spread across different groups of opinion.

Much of the antipathy to popular culture in Britain is fundamentaly an antipathy to its populism. But the hostility of the British elite cultures to the popular is not merely a hostility to its Americanisation as much as to the act of an invasive cultural colonisation. Yet non-elite groups in Britain, especially urban working communities have taken to American and American-derived popular culture as their own. As a cultural mode, cultural populism has to be seen to embody the experience and aspirations of socially marginalised groups in its language of collectivity.

1.1. Popular culture arises as a synonym for modern consumer society (Dyer, 1982:79). Both are based on the assumption that social order belongs to a middle class which is quantitatively dominating and economically the largest market. The transformations have been resisted for fear they might bring about disorder instead of a new democratic, social, cultural and economic order.

Fowles (1996:67) remarks that "the gradual unfolding of a democratized culture, with sufficient leisure for the enjoyment of consumption and popular culture by the many, is feared and resisted. The decline of subordination as a predominant principle of social order, a principle that once legitimated the superordination of the strata of intellectuals and culture crisis (...) is sensed by the critical community to invite disorder that Matthew Arnold warned about over a century ago".

Popular culture works constantly on two levels: that of personal, individual feelings and that of social standards. On the individual level it attempts to conform to the expectations and wishes of a certain type of individual. On the social level, popular culture appeals to a (social) code and system of symbols and connotations widely accepted and easily decodable.

Again Fowles (1996:109) observes that" popular culture is readily comprehended because these internal and external concerns are represented in symbols that for the most part are of some standing, having long been accepted by spectators. Members of the audience have grown up learning not only their mother tongue and the prevailing social codes but also the lexicon of popular culture. The task of the popular culture industries is to reassemble these customary symbols into entertainment discourses that are familiar enough to invite predictable reactions but not so overtly familiar and trite as to elicit boredom".

The contemporary society and the position of the individual within it have heightened private anxieties regarding the self-identity. Popular culture and advertising, as the twin pillars of public culture in modern times (Fowles, 1996:66), are the domains which come to persuade the audience that they can offer applicable solutions (programmes, products, ideas, etc) for the interior and exterior problems of every modern person. Adverts, in order to fulfill their purpose (persuading people to consume the advertised products, whatever they are) have to know and deeply understand their audience's needs and wishes. Sometimes the means for persuasion are not quite "orthodox" and, as Dyer (1982:77) points out, they seem to imply allusions to usually hidden desires: "many advertisers will even argue in justification of their more exaggerated ads by suggesting that they are providing wanted and needed fantasies to some of their audiences".

The advertisments create productions similar in nature and purpose to popular culture, offering an alternative to reality (Fowles, 1996:17ff). This tries to be the reality of our desires and fantasies. This world created by adverts promises the audience that all their desires can come true by purchasing the products they offer. The public sees in this shining world a way of life, a personality they only dream for. The world created by advertisments "projects

the goals and values that are consistent with and conducive to the consumer economy and socializes us into thinking that we can buy a way of life as well as goods" (Dyer, 1982:77).

Light entertainment is a universal television form. Examples can be found in any nation's broadcast system. The same programme format can even be found in different national examples. "Dating Game" in the US becomes UK's "Blind Date" and there are at least three national versions of "The Price is Right".

Light entertainment is a common, varied and popular television form of a wider popular culture, with culturally central antecedents and a set of formal convention and innovation. The issue of populist subjects is central to game shows and talent shows, where members of the audience have a chance to perform. More recent game shows have introduced populist knowledge into the game show format (Turner, 1992:137)

2.0. A consumer society/culture is revealed as a type of society, a way of life where people want to fulfill their needs and desires. They seem to evade or to try to get rid of that part of reality which does not meet their wishes. The idea is not new and it did not emerge only from the analysis of commercial television and mass media but it has characterized other compartments of contemporary life.

This essay tries to investigate ways in which approches to "reading" advertisments have been historically located within those wider debates about *popular culture*. In particular, it examines the ways in which a reductive notion of populism has more recently emerged at the centre of critical debates. Advertising is undoubtedly the most symptomatic phenomenon of contemporary culture. One could discover countless facts about attitudes and behaviour, morality and values, on the material and psychological welfare characteristic of a particular society only by watching the advertising produced in that society. Advertising reflects the society by reinforcing the image that society projects of itself, more often a positive image in which it tends to indulge. Incredible energies are concentrated into promotion campaigns, involving the best artists and writers.

Many argue whether advertising has recently become a form of art due to the considerable input of individual talent as well as the undeniable aethetic appeal to the great public. It has everything it needs to be awarded the status of an established art: precise laws, gifted artists who abandoned promising careers in cinema, music or writing to dedicate their talent to this new genre, there is a devout public, and a generous, though not philantropic patronage.

Besides its traditional function, advertising is more and more taken into consideration and spoken about as creating a new artistic trend, basically a new television genre, autonomous in its rules and with an impressive public support. In order to understand the mechanism involved in the process of advertising one should take into consideration a vast amount of factors describing society and analysing the psychological background of this type of communication. Social psychology is such a comprehensive science that can simultaneously deal with society and individual as the scientific study of the way individuals think, feel and behave in social situations. The systematic study of advertising reveals a whole range of concepts specific to the field of social psychology.

Marketing in advertising has been using concepts borrowed from social psychology: society was divided or segmented in groups that are analysed, classified according to age, sex, class, education, way of thinking, intensity of emotions or capacity of their memories. Such data are processed with the help of sociology and statistics in order to create the most efficient and cost effective advertising possible. The importance of such a scientific approach is further enhanced by the fact that most political campaigns are today fought alongside the same lines as a product promotion but with a far more important stake.

Every campaign, whether political or commercial, aims for success: that is, to make people do something they have never done before (drink a Coca Cola, vote for Labour, etc.) or to do something else than they would usually do (drink a Coca Cola instead of a Pepsi Cola, vote for Labour and not for the Conservatives). To try something for the first time or to abandon an old habit involves a change in attitutdes which determines a change of behaviour. In marketing warfare "competing companies go to war. Their battlefield is the marketplace; the weapon is advertising" (Brehm and Kassin, 1990:438).

Rotschild (1987:16) identifies a three-stage process in the functioning of any advertising: **awareness** (when the consumer is presented the product or service), **change in attitude** (he becomes convinced that the product offers him certain benefits) and **new behaviour** (he goes out and purchases the presented product). *Persuasive communication* is the language of advertising. It would be logical to assume that advertising favours the peripheral routes to persuasion because of the characteristics of an emotional appeal to the consumer's feelings. It has all the components of a typical communication: source, message and audience. All three have specific roles, but an equal importance in influencing persuasion. Attitude change is greater for messages that emerge from a source that is high rather than low in credibility. Two factors contribute to credibility of a source: competence and trutworthiness. Competence referes to speakers' ability to communicate.

People who are knowledgeable, smart, well spoken, or who have the right credentials are persuasive by virtue of their expertise. Experts often have a remarkably disarming effect on people; when they speak, people listen and often yield without much scrutiny. For example, in a toothpaste ad a dentist is explaining how that particular brand helps avoit cavity formation. Even if most of us suspect that that man is in fact an actor impersonating a dentist, the white coat and professional approach do the trick every time: people trust him because a "doctor" must know what he is talking about.

Attitude change is also greater when the source is likable. Research shows that similarity and attractiveness contribute to a communicator's likability. Similarity is used by advertisers when they choose the character in the commercial to look just like the guy next door. Consumers are inclined to feel at ease with people who resemble them in behaviour, attitudes, speech, or mentality. Attractiveness is also considered an efficient way to enhance credibility: we all tend to be friendly with attractive people, seek their company in order to be perceived, by association with them, equally attractive. Advertising practices suggest that beauty is highly persuasive.

Billboards, magazines and TV commercials are filled with models who are tall, slender (for women), or muscular (for men) glowing in their complexion, unreal in their perfection. As if that were not enough, they all have facial features that look like they were carved on a statue. Celebrities are particularly attractive, endowed with either physical beauty or attractive personalities, amplified by the glamour of their profession. Advertisers are conscious of this and have used celebrities from the beginning to endorse a product.

The message also carries a great deal of weight. Sometimes lengthy messages are persuasive: "the more facts you tell, the more you sell" (Rotschild, 1987:88). Some other times length works only if the added information does not dilute the message. Repetition can also be effective, but only up to a point. That is why advertisers prefer the serialized story when the same product is presented by the same characters, but each time in a different setting or a different scenario in order to avoid rejection of the message due to repetition.

It is here that advertising comes to be associted with other popular products (soaps, etc.). Humour and sex are advertisers' secret weapons. They are very efficient, widely used and usable in every situation, and after all, people can never be tired of too much fun or too much sex, the ingredients used in soaps. Possibilities are unlimited, especially that they have not been used until very recently and even a combination like humorous sex can be a good approach.

Some analysts think that humorous appeals are much more persuasive than any other form of persuasive messages. One explanation is that humour distracts and as a consequence consumers do not put up perceptual defences, do not evaluate the message with a very critical eye, and do not develop counterarguments. It also seems that humour enhances the credibility of the source. However, a major shortcoming of humour is that it wears out quickly through repetition. That is why a campaign using it generally makes several episodes that are rotated, to avoid wearout. It goes without saying that it has to be quality humour.

Sexy commercials are a major hit in many European countries (though in Britain and the United States sex in advertising is still surrounded by controversy and is used with a lot of precaution). Scantily dressed (or even undressed) models of either gender have an almost hypnotic power to attract the attention and help to persuade the consumer of the implicit and explicit benefit of gaining sexual or sensual attractiveness through the use of the product. Obviusly, there should be a careful selection of products which are presented with a sexy commercial: perfumes, beauty aids and various articles of clothing. However, recently, other products, especially expensive ones, are presented in a sexual (sensual) atmosphere: cars, jewelry, cruises, malt whiskies, etc.

Wit, humour and originality are obligatorily blended with traditional approaches This explains the Britishness of all ads produced in the UK, and also the high quality and insularity of these ads. The cultural contextualization plays a very important role in these ads, which is an explanation for the little appeal that the adverts produced in UK have abroad. Conversely, many foreign multinational companies advertising in Great Britain have difficulties with their so called international commercials (in fact American Hollywood productions) and are obliged to produce in Great Britain new versions.

3.0. Despite all the disputes about creation and creativity of advertising, they do not create myth. They use and test against us the present mythologies (Fiske & Hartley, 1992:43); changes in the immediate social situation bring a change in the mythology. Adverts reflect these changes and the need for a more dramatic change becomes more pressing. This makes us think that advertising belongs to popular culture.

The signifying structure of adverts is highly conventionalized in advertising. For example advertising photographs usually have no foreground and have a very obscured background in order to focus the viewer's attention to the product.The colours, the camera angle, lighting, etc. present us a glamorous or wishful presentation of the products. Television advertising is theoretically

the "most effective way of advertising because it is dynamic and makes use of words, sounds and pictures. The connotative meanings of a television painting can be changed by the background music accompanying it. Music used in advertisments has the same effect, it can build familiarity with the brand, put the viewer in the right mood and raise memories (Berger, 1972:35). In recent years advertisers realized how successful old melodies are in manipulating the moods of the viewers.

The successful campaigns of Levi's are probably the best example to illustrate the conventions of advertising at work. According to Fiske's (1994:4-13) research on *jeaning of America,* jeans were originally associated with the cowboy and the mythology of the West. More concretely with freedom, naturalness, toughness and hard work, but also with progress and development, and above all Americanness. The semiotic richness of the jeans allows the manufacturers and advertisers to exploit the contradictory forces of the present in popular culture: jeans can mean both community and individualism, unisexuality and masculinity or femininity.

The change in the immediate social situation of the people and the relevance of the changing character of everyday mythologies can be detected by looking at some recent adverts and comparing them with the old ones. It is worth noting how advertisers emphasize one or the other of the inherent meanings of the jeans according to their relevance to our present. The new trend emphasizes social openness and the demolishing of gender stereotypes. The meanings come to seek us personally; they are addressed to our personal understanding. Adverts are what some critics (Dyer, 1990:114) call "specific representational practicies that produce meanings that cannot be found in reality". These meanings are produced for us because "we are not materialistic enough; consumer advertising presents its goods along with other personal and social aspirations" (Dyer, 1990:7) and thus offer an exchange value between these products and our lifestyles.

In fact, as advertising "tries to control the cultural meanings of commodities by mapping them as tightly as possible onto the workings of the financial economy" (Fiske, 1990:31) it uses a number of devices combining myth and connotation on the one hand and cultural meaning on the other. On the level of meaning deliberate choices and manipulation of connotations is relevant to the language of advertising. Often emphasis is put on brand names, which guarantee half of the success of the advertising campaign.

Language plays a major role in a successful advertising campaign. "Unusual or stylish words and short, crisp sentences which are easy to repeat " (Dyer, 1990:139) are the characteristics of this kind of usage. Advertising

adjectives, for example, are key components because they can "stimulate envy, dreams and desires by evoking looks, touch, taste, smell and sound without actually misrepresenting the product (Dyer, 1990:149). We read the adjectives looking forward to the noun at the end of the phrase to appear. In order to create the right effect they have to be short and effective, they improve rhythm, helping to make the advert memorable. Comparing the adjectives used these days with adjectives used in the mid-sixties we realize that adjectives like *natural, low-fat, light* (in connection with food and drink) point out changes in people's eating habits and their increased awareness of the dangers of overweight and calories. Adjectives like *delicious* or *crispy* almost disappeared being replaced by adjectives with a vague meaning. (A *rich and vibrant* scent can mean any quality of the scent ranging from fresh to sweet, etc.).

3.1. It is true that advertisments promote consumption as a way of life. They cannot achieve this aim by simply making the products look more attractive but they have to link them with our aspirations, dreams and make objects and these values interchangeable. However, this does not always prove effective. As Fiske (1994:91) points out "there is so much advertising because it can never finally succeed its task". This failure can be explained if we look into the nature of popular culture and the nature of advertising. Advertisers tend to categorize people, analyse their choices and preferences in order to create "buyer groups" to which their adverts are aimed. Generalisations of this kind might certainly work. Lifestyle reserach is based on audience monitoring. Negrine (1989:15) points out that "advertising is the only part of mass communication where audience intervention takes priority to the process of message construction".

It was also proved that people generally tend to include themselves in prefabricated groups which helps them both in self-identification and in integration in society. We build images of ourselves and others. It is true that nobody belongs to only one group. Factors such as person's class or family relationship act like filtering mechanisms or protective screens around an individual and any potential influence of much of the output of the media is therefore somewhat limited.

People widely tend to understand advertising as propaganda which means that they recognise it as "the discourse of the dominant culture" and they resist to it. Advertisers would exploit any tactics to attract attention of the bored viewer, who understands adverts mainly as propaganda and shock tactics was a good way to do it. However, the viewer is not a "cultural dope" and understands very well that even if the shocking adverts are banned, the protest against them drive the publicity machine onwards.

The art of popular culture is the art of making do. The people's subordination means that they cannot produce resourses of popular culture but they do make their culture from those resources, Commodities make the economic profit for their producers and distributors. All commodities are produced as much for their meanings as they are for their material functions (Fiske, 1994:132). Although advertising does not have a direct influence to persuade us into buying products (especially not as a direct reaction to a stimulus), but as popular culture its effects and side effects have changed both our lives and culture.

Adverts make images seem like reality and as a result they confuse our experience and our perception of the real world by offering spectacular illusions (which ultimately do not satisfy). The colours, the number of shots, the sound effects and the language employed might be similar with our reality, but the fact that all this is jammed into a few seconds changes our perception. The fact that advertising is produced in such a way as to make products and values, aspirations and dreams interchangeable might suggest to us that the possession of a certain object, product, etc. will suddenly change our lives.

There is strong evidence that advertising is a versatile and sophisticated form of social communication. It provides the symbolic tools for the circulation of everyday meaning. Advertising is among the most important means for presenting, suggesting and reflecting an unending series of possible comparative judgements.

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BRITHISH STUDIES IN 'THE NOUGHTIES'

NICK WADHAM-SMITH•

ABSTRACT. This article analyses the current phase of British Studies and establishes that it has its origins in a period which has seen both national redefinition and dissolution. Several factors can be seen quite clearly: the response to geopolitical change; the growth of interdisciplinary research; distinct trends in foreign language teaching; the changing role of culture in society; the relation of new media to the artistic, cultural and educational spheres and finally an awareness of differently motivated pedagogic approaches in secondary and tertiary study.

It is always rash to attempt a survey of something as mercurial as an academic subject especially when, in the case of cultural studies of Britain, the nature of the study itself and its object are both in so much dynamic change. I should say immediately that, being based in Britain does not grant me an especially privileged access, from which to construct an overview. There is nothing inherently authoritative about my views on 'what Britain or British mean?' or on any of the other canonical questions of area studies, for that matter which derive from my residence in Britain. The moments when I do feel nearest to insight about social change have to do with perceptions of inconsistency, incongruence, disarray and contradiction when effects at the surface signal deeper structural realignments of the British State and the individual's relation to it. These moments often have something to do with an awareness of other discourses about Britain from outside: outside in the sense of being extraterritorial or simply in the sense of not being considered part of a defining centre. Perhaps this is an instance of what the thinker Homi K Bhabha has termed 'creative anxiety'.

• **Nick Wadham-Smith** was born in London in 1954. He studied English Language and Literature at the University of Oxford with Terry Eagleton. Before joining the British Council in London, he worked as an English language teacher in the UK and in Egypt. Since 1992, when he founded the British Council's international magazine *British Studies Now,* his work has been exclusively concerned with British Studies. He has also edited two anthologies based on the magazine (1995, 1999) and manages a British Studies website with an on-line bibliography and e-mail discussion group, EDBRITS-L. In 1997 he started the *Re-inventing Britain* project with Naseem Khan and Homi K. Bhabha. It examines British identities, transnationalism and the arts. In 2000 he co-edited *British Studies: Intercultural Perspectives* with Alan Mountford.

The kinds of activities I engage in as the British Headquarters part of the British Council's work in this field do tend to provoke reflection. I edit an international magazine for British Studies teachers, British Studies Now; my most recent conference was on English identity in the context of UK devolution; with my former colleague, Alan Mountford, I have just edited and introduced a collection of international contributions for a book called British Studies: intercultural perspectives (Longman, 2000); I manage a project about transnationalism and identity called Re-inventing Britain and I have a website and two e-mail lists dedicated to the subjects which bring me in touch with hundreds of colleagues doing British Studies in some shape or form around the world. So I am in good company in pondering the question of Britain: here I seem to be thronged by individuals and institutions doing it with an unprecedented intensity. One interesting example of institutional transformation at the behest of new Britishness is the dramatic change at the Tate Gallery in London. I think it illustrates very well the coincidence of the national and the transnational.

In May of this millenial year, at the converted power station on the Thames at Bankside, a new gallery devoted to modernity and Britishness will open: Tate Bankside. In London, the largest collection of national art will stand divided by the river Thames on two sites: the new gallery is to be called 'Tate Modern' at Bankside, whilst the original building at Millbank has been named 'Tate Britain'. The situation is symbolic: the re-dedication of a building associated with an industrial past to the new cultural industries which have superseded it; the separation of the river spanned by a new bridge at Bankside in the millennial year when the time of the nation seems more than ever embodied by the Greenwich meridian.

Tate Britain was launched by a short conference surveying Britihsness from different perspectives. This was called 'Britain and Modernity', a title which placed considerable confidence in the currency of both terms whilst some might have felt easier with 'post-Britain and post-Modernity'. The first exhibition of work in the building was by the British sculptor Mona Hatoum. One of her pieces, the one selected for the Tate's website, in fact, is a work which questions the concept of the national in a way which radically undermines the sense of tradition bounded by geopolitical space.

'Continental Drift 2000' is the most subversive and transgressive of structures: a flat 10 foot disk representing the globe with countries represented by iron filings. These are randomly disturbed by a magnetic armature sweeping underneath the telluric surface in the manner of a radar screen. Each sweep disturbs the alignment of the filings and although the geopolitical divisions remain demarcated, the suggestion is that each filing has its own alignment to a deeper force or global orientation.

The current phase of British Studies has its origins in a period which has seen both national redefinition and dissolution and several factors can be seen quite clearly: the response to geopolitical change; the growth of interdisciplinary research; distinct trends in foreign language teaching; the changing role of culture in society; the relation of new media to the artistic, cultural and educational spheres and finally an awareness of differently motivated pedagogic approaches in secondary and tertiary study. I would contend that the start of this phase, can be dated, from the time that received notions of Britain became inexplicable in terms of a contemporary political and cultural reality, that is from the mid 1980s.

This was co-eval with an acknowledgement of a definitive post-colonial period which has transformed British society. Chairing the Re-inventing Britain conference in 1997, the pre-eminent cultural theorist, Stuart Hall put it as follows:

> '..the notion of cultural diversity [...] does not leave the mainstream of British art and culture and the main locations of British identity untouched. Cultural diversity is not something that is coming in from the outside, it is also something that is going on, inside, in relation to Britishness itself. After cultural diversity, Britishness cannot be what it was before [...] . It suggests that there is no fixed and ready British culture or 'English identity' in the singular, which can be displayed as if it did not have dislocating or transforming impulses working on it in the context of the era of globalisation'.
>
> (www.britishcouncil.org/studies/reinventing_britain/hall_1.htm)

The initial phase also co-incides with the growing power of multinational corporations and the re-making of the European political map following the implosion of the Soviet Empire. The implications of this period for the time inhabit now we in Europe, are only just starting to become clear. However, I would like to speculate here on the way that British Studies will continue to change in step with these extensive changes.

Absolutely central to any vision of education in the next decade must surely be the concept of 'the citizen'. The quiet but fundamental erosion of the nation state as underwriter of individual identity has had one extremely clear result: it has swivelled the spotlight of political thinking onto the role of the citizen with a brightness perhaps not felt since the days of the Athenian State. The role of education, at best to liberate and at worst to repress the productive potential of the individual in the service of the state, are being re-thought as we ponder an inescapable question: just what political entity do individuals in society currently identify with. In the light of these multilayered possibilities of identification – with family, interest group, nation, region, social movement,

religion, or in the case of refugees and economic migrants, a transnational community – it becomes unclear which will be chosen. Multiple affiliation will be most likely for many. Ronald Stade of Malmo University formulates the question very clearly in a paper given at the recent 'Conceiving Cosmopolitanism' conference at the University of Warwick:

> 'The question we are faced with is what kind of belonging human rights refer to.What entity do we belong to as transnational citizens? Where is the cosmopolis into which we are incorporated? What kind of world society will provide human rather than national security?'

Writing scathingly in the Guardian (12 Januay, 2000) about the possibilities of an English nationalism, the commentator on British social affairs, Polly Toynbee, was of the opinion that 'Whilst supporting people's desire for self determination, we should quitely demonstrate an English disdain for nationalism as a meaningful creed'. Not everyone would agree, but many more might sympathise with her when she continued to argue that 'a democratic social contract binds people together in nations but their identity derives far more from their world-view than from their passport'.

So, the educational project of citizenship will be crucial in strengthening the role of civil society in new forms of governance. This important emphasis perhaps explains why so much attention in British Studies is currently being paid to programmes of teacher education in the wider Europe: the media education materials project in Brandenburg, Germany; the web-based materials project in Poland under the British Council's SPRITE project; the extensive and radical cultural studies project in Bulgaria's English medium schools network; highly innovative groups of teacher educators in Russia (Moscow, St Petersburg and the Volga Basin) and the work of Mark Andrews, Uwe Pohl and their teacher education projects in Hungary. France, through the teaching of philosophy and 'civilisation' and Italy through the school subject of 'Civilta' have been conducting citizenship education for some time.Textbook production has been very evident in these countries but also, conspicuously successful and innovative in the Czech Republic and in Romania itself where the fruits of mature work in the tertiary sector is now benefiting secondary education.

Citizenship education will take place across many curriculum subjects as students learn how to understand their rights and responsabilities in society. However the place of foreign language education will be privileged. I believe this is due to the psychodynamic effect of learning another language which brings students in touch with cultural difference in a uniquely motivating way. This learning encourages reflection on the home culture as much as it opens a window on external societies. It is interesting to note the involvement of the

Council of Europe's researchers in this area. The work by Byram and associates on 'intercultural communicative competence' parallels the pioneering work on communicative language teaching done by van Ek which culminated in the Threshold Level publication in 1975 ('The threshold level in a European unit/credit system for modern language learning by adults' Strasbourg 1975). The results of this current, decade-long research, often influenced by anthropology and ethnography, are likely to be influential on the whole curriculum project of citizenship education. Byram's book "Teaching and assessing intercultural communicative competence' (Multilingual Matters, 1997) is a profound, practical and lucid statement of issues.

In conclusion I would like to plead for the critical importance of research and the application of that research to both school and university curriculum. A co-ordinated and holistic approach is nedded to provide a continuum of quality educational experience spanning the student's primary, secondary and tertiary career. For example, if the innovative student-centred teaching of high-school is followed by a relapse into the passivities of cognitive learning when that student enters university the sequence of learning and development which leads to fulfilment will be needlessly broken. Many actors have a role to play here: perhaps the principal is that of ministries and funding councils in the recognition and reward of pedagogic research and publication. It seems sure thet British Studies will continue to challenge and be challenged by whatever the first decade of the millennium has in store. With less barriers to communication across Europe, we should be able to meet those challenges with greater creativity and success than ever before.

STUDIA UNIVERSITATIS BABEŞ-BOLYAI, PHILOLOGIA, XLV, 2, 2000

SPONSORSHIP, THE MEDIA AND FOOTBALL VIOLENCE

NIGEL TOWNSON[•]

ABSTRACT. This article tries to answer the question: what enables the newspaper to hold its audience in a field where it is results that matter, and the results are already yesterday's news by the time they appear on the breakfast table? The answer seems to indicate that newspapers have changed their focus; they offer the in-depth interview or analysis, in the case of broadsheets, or, in the case of tabloids, the sensational behind-the-scenes story. Newspapers, then, tend to sensationalise because television has stolen the news element from them. But because of this eagerness to sensationalise, the media have often been held partially responsible for the violence that blighted English soccer in the seventies and eighties.

1. Television and Sponshorship.

Sponsorship and television were made for each other. Of all the various media for exposure through sponsorship television is the most effective and constitutes a relatively cheap form of advertising. Carlsberg beers, for example, might sponsor Liverpool Football Club to the tune of two million pounds, but, if the team has a successful year, the distinctive Carlsberg logo will be seen on our television screens for the full ninety minutes of a dozen or more league and cup games. Other games will have their highlights shown, plus the best goals will get repeated *ad nauseam*, so there could well be upwards of thirty hours of television time in which we are constantly reminded that Carlsberg beers are the sponsors of Liverpool F.C.

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Of course, it is not just through television that this sort of sponsorship pays off. Replica kits have become big business and although the youngsters [mostly] who buy the shirts might pay more attention to whether or not they have the name 'Macmanaman' or 'Fowler' on the back, they will be carrying the Carlsberg logo around with them every time they dress in the colours of their heroes. One has to wonder at the effect on the teenager bombarded with such advertising - are we to expect that he or she is going to grow up to be Carlsberg lager drinker? Are there more instances of teenage drunkenness in cities like Liverpool than in Manchester, where the city's two main teams are sponsored by an electronics giant and a computer hardware company?

Despite the undoubted importance of this sort of spin-off advertising, television is where the real impact is made. Television commercials are expensive, and the current limit on advertising on **ITV** is only six minutes in every hour. With the sponsorship of sports events, company names are on the screen almost constantly for anything from one and a half to eight hours in a day. Sponsors such as Cornhill Insurance, who support the test matches [internationals] involving the England cricket team, have almost unlimited advertising at a fraction of the normal cost. They have developed the art of raising public awareness to such a degree that they have even managed to profit from cricket's traditional enemy, England's weather. Whenever there are rain interruptions, the umpires may be seen inspecting the pitch under the cover of huge umbrellas, which are emblazoned with the Cornhill Insurance motif and bear the company's distinctive gold and black colouring.

Public awareness of Cornhill Insurance rose from 2% to around 17% in only four years through their sponsorship of the England cricket team [Lawrence:10]. Their name appears in every conceivable location, most of which appear on the television screens. There follows a list of places where one might see the name Cornhill at a test match: the list does not include items like tickets and programmes, which would not normally be visible on our screens.

- *On the grass - at each end of the pitch the name appears at a point where the camera will focus on the bowler, which it does on average once every forty seconds during play in a test match.*

- *On the perimeter fences - every time the ball is stuck to the boundary, which might be once every ten or fifteen minutes in a one-day match, less often in a five-day match, the camera focuses on the perimeter fence.*

- *On umbrellas - courtesy umbrellas are carried by players, officials, umpires, etc. in the event of bad weather.*

- *In the seating areas - the boards which separate the seated areas carry the logo, and is often in focus.*

- *At press conferences - the cloth which hangs noticeably in front of the table, and the board on the wall behind the speakers both bear the name.*

- *On '4' and '6' cards - it has become traditional for supporters to brandish these cards every time a player hits the ball to or over the boundary, scoring four or six for doing so: the cards are given out free before the game.*

- *On the scorecard - when the score summaries are flashed on the screen, the name Cornhill appears before them: the BBC has agreed to refer to the matches as 'Cornhill tests'.*

- *On the hospitality tent and boxes - the insurance company gives out a lot of free gin and tonics in these, which both bear the company name, and the tent also has Cornhill flags fluttering from it: during lulls in play, the camera will occasionally focus on the rubicund features of the better-known guests as they stand, glass in hand, before the logo.*

The dramatic increase in public awareness of what was a relatively minor City of London insurance firm is one side of the coin, and signals success, but there is another side, and the price of failure can be high. Failure to interest the television companies in a sporting event can scare away sponsors, who see little return on their investment if it is only the spectators who actually attend who get to see the advertising. Hargreaves[119] cites the actual cancellation of the world squash championship in 1978, when no suitable sponsor could be found - predictably, there had been a number of companies interested, but they all withdrew when it was announced that the event would not be televised.

2. Media Sensationalism

The sporting press has long been an important aspect of Britain's sports culture. Football 'pinks' and 'greens' have been with us for a century; in the 1930s one page in six of the Sunday papers was devoted to sport; in 1955 an astonishing 46% of the *Daily Mirror* was given over to it [Mason,1989:1:3]; in the mid-eighties an average of 18% of tabloid newspaper space was dedicated to sport [Hargreaves:139]; yet, today all the quality newspapers have separate sports sections on Sundays and, in some cases, on Mondays. In fact the British public has been surprisingly constant in its reading of the sports pages, given the strength of the competition from other media.

From the mid nineteen-fifties, televised sport became an increasingly important part of the sports fan's diet, and it offered something that the newspapers could not - live action and immediate results. Television, in effect, turned sport into a mass-audience spectacle to an extent previously unknown. More recently, the increased sports coverage on radio - BBC's Radio 5 is very sports oriented - and the advent of first, teletext and then, satellite and cable television channels have further challenged the relevance of the back pages of the morning paper. Yet these sports pages continue to hold their fascination for the millions of Britons, despite everything the other media can do to displace them: indeed, the market for specialist sports magazines has never been healthier.

What is it then, that enables the newspaper to hold its audience in a field where, after all, it is results that matter, and the results are already yesterday's news by the time they appear on the breakfast table?

The simple answer is that the newspapers have changed their focus. The match reports and the results are still there, and we read them even if we know the scores - the reports give us, perhaps, a different perspective on the game, and the results include statistics, such as crowd figures, winning [or losing] sequences and top-scores tables, which may interest us. Certainly, the league tables can be perused in a more leisurely manner than that afforded by television, but these also appear on teletext, and, on their own, do not provide a reason for many of us to turn immediately to the sports section.

What the newspapers offer us which the television and radio stations do not, or at least not in as much detail, is the in-depth interview or analysis, in the case of the broadsheets, or, in the case of tabloids, the sensational behind-the-scenes story. The tabloid press easily outsells the quality press, with *The Sun* and *The News of The World* the biggest-selling daily and Sunday papers, respectively: and the tabloid sports regimen is one of scandal, scoop and lack of subtlety. Sex, bribes, drugs, booze, player-transfer scoops, manager-sacked scoops, why-England-must-beat-Zimbabwe-or-go-home-in-disgrace specials: all of these sell newspapers, whether or not they are factually accurate, relevant, fair or even well-written.

Punning headlines with an increasingly tenuous connection to the English language have become the norm, and many of them are personally insulting and even vulgar; occasionally they are funny. Banner headlines such as 'load of Pollocks', 'Pollocksed' and 'grabbed by the Pollocks' were all predictable responses to the poor England cricket display against South African fast bowler, Shaun Pollock, in 1995. Graeme Taylor, the hapless former manager of the England soccer team, was subjected to a sustained and vindictive personal

attack from the tabloids which visibly altered his public persona and no doubt caused considerable pain and upset to himself and his family - 'turnip' was one of the kinder epithets used about him.

Newspapers, then, tend to sensationalise because television has stolen the news element from them. Brailsford [1992:131] is of the opinion that the tabloids, in particular, use the individual as the focus of their attention, rather than the team, and that the aim is to build that person up and then knock him or her down. The higher the pedestal they are put on, the further they have to fall, so it is in the papers' interests to cultivate the individual so that when the sensational story comes - *"Giggsy bonked me three times in a night", says top model,* or *Gazza's drunken orgy in the dentist's chair!* - it is seen as an item of national scandal, rather than the crass and often inaccurate intrusion into an individual's private life that it actually represents. Brailsford also makes the interesting claim that the tabloids are virtually incomprehensible to someone not familiar with British television culture, and work undertaken with students in Romania on deciphering sports stories would tend to validate his theory. Yet sensationalism of this sort, however much it intrudes into private lives, does not constitute a social menace: the same cannot be said of the media's attitude to the hooligan problem of the seventies and eighties.

3. The Press and Hooliganism

The media have often been held partially responsible for the violence that blighted English soccer in the seventies and eighties. Holt [1989:326] cites the effect of sensationalist headlines, which encouraged the people to take a moral stance, but which also supplied a role for the fans to act out. However, he qualifies this [ibid:328] by conceding that this may have been the case in the seventies, but the violence of the eighties needed no amplification. He believes that, at the height of what has been referred to as an 'epidemic', the press actually under-reported events to deny hooligans publicity. Haynes, however, blames the press [1993:13ff], and incidentally, the police, for incitement of the 1990 riot involving Leeds United fans in Bornemouth, even using Baudrillard to support his argument. He then goes on to illustrate how *The Daily Star* proudly reminded us that they had predicted the trouble before it occurred; their headline [May 7th] was 'WE TOLD YOU SO'. They did not, of course, suggest that they themselves might have had any degree of moral responsibility for having built up the confrontation in the same way as they would a world championship boxing match.

Hooliganism at football matches is not a new problem. Dunning [8] believes that the press is responsible for the 'de-escalating the problem... in the inter-war years and escalating it from 1960s onwards'. He also believes that they invented the so-called 'National Front conspiracy theory', which led us to believe that right-wing extremists and racists were behind organized violence. Ironically, xenophobia has traditionally been a feature of the British press. Dunning [ibid:167] refers to a *News of The World* report from 1967 [coincidentally also on May 7th] which tells us:

"For years we have despised the Latins for their hysterical and violent behaviour. In 1967, British fans are themselves held in disgrace by the rest of the world."

More recently, and therefore more disturbingly, *The Mirror*, in an ill-advised attempt to undo even *The Sun* for tasteless jingoism, caused a storm by picturing members of the England football team in a battle gear before the Euro '96 semi-final game against Germany. For several days, headlines and reports were filled with metaphors of war and anti-'Hun' xenophobia abounded. That the game passed off as peacefully as it did was a relief and, under the circumstances, a credit to the supporters of both teams.

Dunning's most telling attack on the media [ibid:150/4] is over the astonishingly naďve invention of the 'league table of violence' which created a 'national hierarchy of football hooligans' [he cites the worst culprits as being *The Sun, The Mirror* and *The Mail*]. The league tables listed the worst-behaved fans in the country, in order of violent conduct, and was, unsurprisingly, a catalyst for more trouble between those near the top of the list: pride demanded that rival teams had to be taken on and beaten in order to climb up the table. But it was not just the tabloids who were to blame: *The Observer* also ran articles based on knee-jerk reaction to a non-violent demonstration [ibid:174/5], pandering to the public's appetite for moral outrage. In his conclusions, Dunning stresses that we cannot blame the press for the whole issue, but that they must bear some responsibility [ibid:241]: he claims that the media is 'one of the factors at work in shaping the specific character of the football hooligan' and refers to a 'media-orchestrated moral panic'. Hargraves [148 ff] focuses on the same topics; the sensationalism of the tabloids, the fixation of the media - including television- with pictures of violent scenes, and the attitude that hooliganism is 'part of the moral decline of the country': he is particularly bothered by excessive use of close-up photography after the Heysel Stadium disaster of 1985.

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VERBS AND IDIOMS: THE LINGUISTIC AND/OR CULTURAL SHIFT

ANCA LUMINIŢA GREERE•

ABSTRACT. Verbs and Idioms. The Linguistic and/or Cultural Shift. The study analyses the partial or total shift in meaning which occurs in the forward and back translation of idioms from English into Romanian. This shift takes place on different levels depending of the specificity of the two languages. These levels are of a semantic, grammatical or pragmatic nature. The study will also focuss on the changes occurring when a componential transposition -mainly of the verbal component- is attempted.

This study proposes to analyse verbs and the shift in meaning occurring when verbs become components of idiomatic units[1]. According to Kay:

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[1]The term **idiomatic unit** will be preferred over that of **idiomatic expression**, as reference will be made mainly to less complex idiomatic expressions that center on the verb as a main component. We will define the term of **idiomatic unit** as that unit formed by more words that together give one meaning. If one analyses the meanings of each word that makes up the idiomatic unit, it will be very hard through a simple componential analysis to come up with the intended meaning given by the whole, though not impossible depending on the nature of the idiomatic unit. **Idiomatic expression** is a term generally used for fully idiomatic expressions. The fact that this paper will not be dealing only with such expressions has determined us to adopt the term idiomatic unit. Idiomatic unit is viewed as a broader term incorporating fully idiomatic expressions and not fully idiomatic expressions.

> *"we think of a locution or manner of speaking as idiomatic if it is assigned an interpretation by the speech community but if somebody who merely knew the grammar and the vocabulary of the language could not, by virtue of that knowledge alone, know (1) how to say it, or (2) what it means, or (3) whether it is a conventional thing to say. Put differently, an idiomatic expression or construction is something a language user could fail to know while knowing everything else in the language."*
>
> *(1997:6)*

So verbs, as a component part of most idiomatic units -though there are also idiomatic expressions or idiomatic units (see footnote 1 on difference) containing no verbal element- undergo a linguistic shift when they enter in a relationship with other elements forming thus the idiomatic unit. As Kay notices a fully idiomatic expression i.e. one that does not allow decoding by analysis of its components, will disregard the semantic behaviour of its components, which lose thus their individuality and will take its meaning from the whole, irrespective of the lexical units[2] that build up such idioms. Fully idiomatic expressions are not interpretable without prior knowledge regarding the meaning of the idiom and the context of usage.

There is also another category of idiomatic expressions that should be considered as being not fully idiomatic as they may be interpreted without prior knowledge regarding the idiom. The understanding of such idioms is conditioned only by underlying linguistic competence.

Whether fully idiomatic or not. linguistic expressions pose problems due to the connotative value they render to their components (Garaza-Cuaron: 1991), and also due to the very strict structure they impose on their components. The language users are not entitled to change the grammatical structure of an idiomatic unit even though a change may result in the same meaning. The structure of an idiomatic unit is in many cases fixed what concerns the word-order and also the grammatical elements.

The shift that occurs when verbs enter a combination of a fixed structure with other items may not be of a strict semantic nature, there are cases when the verb undergoes a pragmatic change, for example a change regarding the illocutionary force of that verb in context.

[2]**Lexical units** are referred to here as being formed of one word with its inflexions.

The basic assumption underlying the present study is the fact that the shift a verb undergoes when it enters an idiomatic structure is a pluri-dimensional one involving semantic, grammatical and pragmatic levels concerning idiomatic units. The focus will move from a one-language analysis of the idiomatic phenomenon to an analysis involving a context of translation, where two languages participate in the conversational interaction. We will be looking at the cultural shift involved in the translation of verbs and idiomatic units containing verbal elements.

The cultural shift will not necessarily be defined as having to do with cultural issues proper but also with linguistic issues that arise due to the interaction of the two languages belonging to different cultures, or even one language used in different cultures e.g. American and English culture with its English variants.

All three possible dimensions of the idiomatic analysis are preserved in the cultural shift and will be subject of this paper.

1. Verbs and Idioms: Semantic Dimension

Verbs do not necessarily have to be part of a broader structure in order to create difficulties for a language user, whether he[3] is a native speaker, non-native speaker or translator. Take for example the verb *to take* that has no less than 82 entries in the Random House Webster's Electronic Dictionary, not counting the phrasal and purely idiomatic entries. It is not that easy for a language user to infer what meaning is being used even with contextual decoding data present.

Individual verbal lexical items may be problematic in a context of translation if a transposition is available due to the context of utterance. For example verbs that are part of a pair of false friends i.e. words that have similar forms in two languages but have totally different or only partially different meanings will be difficult to identify as such. Knowing the difference and the similarity is very important in translation. It is important for the translator to identify contexts where false friends may interact and to know the appropriate equivalent to use otherwise he might make way for possible misunderstandings in the way an utterance is evaluated. It is also important for the translator to use as much as possible the conventional version not to create his own system of usage, which is wrong and proves lack of linguistic competence on the part of the translator.

[3] The pronoun 'he' and its grammatical variants will be used throughout this study as a generic term incorporating both gender types. This will be done with the sole intention of fluidizing the argument.

The following pairs the English *copy* - Romanian *a copia,* English *to present*- Romanian *a presenta* are incompatible from the point of view of usage. The equivalent for the Romanian *a copia* would be the English *to crib,* and for Romanian *a presenta* one would have to use *to introduce someone to (e.g. Sa ti-l prezint pe John* has as English translation *Let me introduce you to John).*

When verbs become part of idiomatic units the linguistic shift contains a semantic dimension which will be furthered by a cultural one in the case of translations. But as has been exemplified, in a context of translation, even individual verbal lexical units may undergo a cultural semantic shift, that can impair communication between cultures if one of the interlocutors is a non-native speaker, or if the communication process is liased by a not-so-competent translator, who will use as translation method transposition[4].

2.1. Verbs in Phrasal Verbs

Verbs help to create new semantic items of an idiomatic type just by becoming phrasal verbs i.e. just by adding a particle. Sometimes phrasal verbs are totally idiomatic as is for example *to draw up* meaning *to write in legal form, to take in* meaning *to provide accommodations for,* or *to take up* meaning *to start to learn* which are meanings hard to come by if they are not known prior to their encounter in a context.

Of course at times the context is a good decoding clue for those who are extremely competent in the language, but this is not always so. A question of the type: *Will you take me in tonight?* might mean a lot of different things, but unless the hearer identifies the phrasal verb with the above-mentioned meaning he will fail to comprehend the request i.e. what is actually asked of him. By agreeing without knowing exactly what he has agreed to or by assuming some other meaning, he might find himself in a situation of no return. Also *I have taken up German* makes no sense unless one knows that *to take up* in this specific context of usage means *to start learning a specific subject.*

[4]The term **to transpose** will be used here to refer to the process where in a translation context, the translator treats words individually and simply adapts them phonetically and grammatically, sometimes even lexically using the dennotation in the target language. In opposition the term **to translate** will be used to refer to that process where the utterance will be treated as a whole in trying to convey its meaning in the target language and the equivalent utterance in the target language may or may not keep the initial words as semantic units. The equivalent utterance will be of such nature that the hearer will be able to infer from the variant that is presented to him what was behind the words of the initial utterance, what intention did the speaker have and what effect was expected.

Phrasal verbs may be the result of a partial shift in meaning. In such situations it is not that hard to infer the appropriate meaning and to observe the possible shift. For example *to take away* or *to take apart* or *to take back,* all of them from the verb *to take,* are phrasal verbs whose meanings are more or less obvious. It must be added that even these phrasal verbs have meanings which are not inferable: *to take apart* in the context *He took Mary apart at the hearing* cannot be understood by a simple analysis of the component parts[5] as would happen in the combination verb *take* plus particle *apart* in the example *The baby took the toy apart* which preserves the meaning of its components. For the interpretation of the utterance *He took Mary apart at the hearing* a language user needs to know that this combination verb plus particle also means *to criticise severely*.

In many cases the meanings of a phrasal verb are incompatible as regards the context of usage, leaving no space for misinterpretation from the point of view of interchangability but just for incomprehension. But there are also cases when the contexts are apparently connected and may provide the hearer with the chance of misinterpreting because he assumes one meaning -the componential one- rather then the one intended by the speaker, which he is not familiar with. For example *I drew up the model* might very well mean *I sketched it* or *I wrote down the details*. This example fosters ambiguity regarding the meaning of the verbal phrase due to the lack of detail regarding the type of model.

Another example that may be interpreted both componentially and otherwise is *to take away,* only this phrasal verb does not have an uninferrable meaning in its verbal form but it has such a meaning when it becomes a noun determinant: *a take-away meal*.

It is actually very hard to differentiate between phrasal verbs that might or might not be interpretable without prior knowledge of the semantic unit they represent as most phrasal verbs undergo a partially total shift, or if not have more meanings attached to them, one inferable, the others not. This paper does not intend to classify phrasal verbs according to their ability to be or not decoded, it merely wants to attract attention to the difficulty they pose to language users.

Understanding such utterances becomes a difficulty even for native-speakers who are not familiarised with specific phrasal verbs and it is also a difficulty in situations where they interact with other native speakers who

[5]The meaning resulting from a process of inference on the basis of a componential analysis will be termed here **componential meaning**.

do not belong to the same culture e.g. *a take-away meal* is the British version for the American *a take-out meal.* So an American and a British may fail to communicate in such instances, they may experience a break-down in communication due to cultural-specific expressions that are not compatible with the other's culture.

When translation proper is involved phrasal verbs are very difficult to be dealt with. Romanian does not have a grammatical system for phrasal verbs so translating them becomes very hard. They will have to be translated into Romanian with one or more lexical units expressing the meaning, units where a transposition of the verb rarely functions. For example: *to take in* translated with *a caza, to put up with somebody* translated *a suporta, to take after somebody* translated *a mosteni pe cineva (dpdv. al fizicului sau al caracterului), to draw up a document* translated with *a intocmi* or *a redacta un document.* There are also situations where the transposition may function: *to take off* translated with *a decola* or with an expression containing the transposition of the source verb: *a-si lua zborul, to take for a fool* translated with *a lua drept prost.*

Even if one may infer the meaning of some phrasal verbs without having prior knowledge about them, no language user will be able to use them without having heard them before, without being acquainted with the context of usage, not even if he is a native speaker. So it is safe to say that even if they may be understood, they will surely not be used without prior knowledge, no matter whether they have a totally different meaning than the componential one or a partially componential meaning.

2.2. Verbs in Collocations

Verbs appearing in collocations abide by what has been said in the prior paragraph. Collocations should be viewed as a form of idiomatic expressions that are not fully idiomatic, but that oblige the user to a certain word sequence, to certain combinations of words that, most often may be componentially interpreted. The problem with such expressions lies mainly in the difficulty of usage not interpretation. Unless a language user knows the appropriate combinations he will not be able to come up with the use variant, even if he may say something to convey the same message, that something might not be the conventional thing to say.

Collocations are usually a part of the language that a speaker does not even think about as they come natural in language usage. Collocations pose problems for non-native speakers as they have no way of knowing what verb combines with what to express a specific reality. Mainly the solution a non-

native speaker adopts is transposition from his mother tongue. He will equate the verb in the collocation of his mother tongue with the target language verb, which might not always correspond with the verb of the collocation. Usually this is not an impediment in communication as it is fairly easy to identify the meaning even if the collocation is not well provided. In cases of transposition of collocation the only disadvantage is given by the fact that the interlocutor will consider the speaker who adopted this method of expression as less competent in the language of the conversation. This becomes a problem in the case when the conversation is liased by a translator as the interlocutors expect the translator to be sufficiently competent to provide the proper collocation instead of transposing from the mother tongue.[6] If the source language is the mother tongue there is a high risk of transposition but if the target language is the mother tongue, then once having heard the appropriate collocation of elements in the source language it is not that difficult to identify the collocation and to equate it with the target collocation, if the mother tongue is the target language.

Here are just some collocations with their proper equivalents in Romanian and possible transposition into English from Romanian and into Romanian from English:

English Version	**Romanian Version**	**English Transposition from Romanian**	**Romanian Transposition from English**
to see a doctor	*a merge la doctor*	*to go to a doctor*	*a vedea un doctor*
to take a walk	*a face o plimbare*	*to make/do a walk*	*a lua o plimbare*
to draw blood	*a lua singe*	*to take blood*	*a trage singe*
to ride a bike	*a merge cu bicicleta*	*to go with a bike*	*a calari o bicicleta*
to deliver a lecture	*a tine un curs*	*to hold a lecture*	*a furniza un curs*
to defend a thesis	*a sustine o teza*	*to sustain a thesis*	*a apara o teza*
to take a picture	*a face o poza*	*to do a picture*	*a lua o poza*
to go bankrupt	*a da faliment*	*to give bankrupt*	*a merge la faliment*
to ask a question	*a pune o intrebare*	*to put a question*	*a intreba o intrebare*
to start a fire	*a face focul*	*to make the fire*	*a incepe focul*
to run tests	*a face analize med.*	*to make analysis*	*a derula teste*

The transpositions above sometimes make sense in the target language but they lose the meaning of the collocation. For example the transposition of *to see a doctor, a vedea un doctor* means *to see him on the street or anywhere*; it no longer has the meaning of *to consult a doctor*. The

[6]We will consider that a translator is a native speaker of one of the languages involved in translation.

same holds good for *a lua o poza* which will be interpreted in its literal meaning: *to take a picture from the table*. Others may make no sense whatsoever, may be totally inappropriate for the target language, and not only this but they will lead to incomprehension as no target reference is provided. Such examples are * *a lua o plimbare, a furniza un curs*.

There are instances when the target language does not have a corresponding collocation, when the source collocation has to be replaced with either a verb or a whole sentence describing the situation. For example *to run a bath* has no corresponding collocation in Romanian so in order to translate it, the translator will probably have to explain what has been meant: *a da drumul la apa in vana*. On the other hand, there are situations where the verbs correspond and a simple transposition leads the translator to the correct collocated version e.g. English: *to draw a conclusion,* Romanian: *a trage o concluzie*, although *a trage* may also be translated with *to pull*.

Cases lacking correspondents or fostering incorrect correspondents will lead to incomprehension but not to misinterpretation. When somebody notices that he has not understood he will most likely inquire about the source of his misunderstanding, clearing up thus the situation. But if somebody thinks he has understood as he has come up with a meaning that suits the context, there will be no clue to attract his attention to the fact that he might have misunderstood. Sometimes collocations with different meanings will suit the same contexts and will provide a transposition that might be misleading. This is a case when collocations interact. For example the English *to take an exam* would be transposed in Romanian with *a lua un examen*, which means more than the English version. In an utterance containing this collocation of the type:

Source utterance: *I took the exam yesterday.*
Translation through transposition: *Am luat examenul ieri.*

The transposed version actually provides more information and makes out the utterance to mean not only that the speaker took an exam but also that he passed it. The proper translation for the collocation *to take an exam* is *a da un examen,* while for *a lua un examen,* the correspondent is *to pass an exam*. Due to this enhancement in meaning the interlocutor will be made to believe more than is actually the case. The same happens for the English *to give an exam* which can be transposed in Romanian with *a da un examen*. The English version provides the information from the point of view of the examiner while the Romanian transposition is equivalent to the

English *to take an exam* which centres on the student, the examined. Both these examples will lead to misunderstanding on the part of the hearer, who can identify no clue to attract his attention towards this cultural semantic shift. Such situations are very tricky as they open the door for manipulation.

2. Verbs and Idioms: Grammatical Dimension

The idiomatic shift includes not only the semantic dimension but also a grammatical one. The verb entering the structure of an idiomatic expression will be subject to the grammatical rules of that structure, a grammatical form will be imposed on it, form, which cannot be changed at will by the language user. It is a fixed grammatical form that has to remain the same in order to convey the message of the expression. For example in the expression *a spitting image* the verb is limited to the '-ing' form though apparently a past participle would also suite the context: * a spit image as the meaning of the valid expression can be seen as *an image that has been spit by somebody*, metaphorically speaking as our focus is on the grammatical aspect not on the semantic accuracy. Compare this expression with *a splitting headache*, where the '-ing' form seems to be justified by looking at the possible explanation behind the meaning: *a headache that splits the head*, again it should be viewed metaphorically. So in the first case we have used the passive voice in the explanation, making the past participle as the main option in the reduction, while in the second an active form was used which usually leads to reduction to an '-ing' form. No matter what analysis we would make, the reality remains that both expressions employ the '-ing' form for the verb, whether they are grammatically justified or not.

So in idiomatic expressions the grammar as well as the combination of lexical items from a semantic point of view does not need any justification, they should be viewed as a unit without processing the material provided by the expression componetially.

Similarly in the example *The night started kicking in*, which is used more or less idiomatically, an infinitive form would be just as appropriate from a grammatical point of view. But the fact that this expression uses the '-ing' form allows room for no discussion. Using this expression with the infinitive would be wrong, as it is not used conventionally so.

Other examples of idiomatic units imposing a strict structure, though other structures might also convey the message are:

operating room	NOT	*operation room*
opening hours	NOT	*opened hours*

opposing teams NOT *opposite teams*

Verbal structures that are used with the passive form, and the passive form only, are a special case exemplifying the grammatical strictness of idiomatic units. Two such idiomatic units are *to be taken ill* and *to be taken in by something or somebody* (e.g. *I was taken in by his words* with the meaning *to be deceived*). The phrasal verb *to take in* has a lot of meanings which are dependant on the context and may be used both in the active and the passive: e.g. *Charlie took John in for the night* with the meaning *to provide accommodations for*, and the passive form corresponding to this utterance: *John was taken in by Charlie for the night.* In both cases *to take in* means *to provide accommodations for,* and there is no usage restriction regarding the grammatical category of voice. But *to take in* with the meaning of *to deceive* is restricted to the passive voice.

Unless language users are aware of the grammatical structure imposed by the language use on a specific idiomatic unit, they will not be able to successfully use such expressions. The strategy of assuming that another grammatical form will also suite the context will lead to incorrectness, inability on the part of the speaker to identify the idiomatic unit the speaker has in mind, incomprehension and possibly misunderstanding of the utterance which the idiomatic unit is part of.

In situations where non-native speakers or translators are involved the strictness of an idiomatic unit regarding its grammatical structure, in general, and the grammatical form of the verb, in particular, may also result in cultural incompatibilities between idiomatic units.

There are cases when the grammatical form is maintained in both languages e.g. English *forced landing* - Romanian *aterizare fortata*. In this example not only may the verbs be a result of transposition, but also the grammatical form of the verb may be transposed as both require the past participle. The word order is changed but this is due to the specificity of the languages: English takes the determinant before the noun, while in Romanian it is usually postpositioned. This is, of course, the least problematic situation in what regards translation. But there are also cases when the grammatical forms are not interchangeable, are not identical. In such cases it is very difficult for a less experienced language user to come up with the appropriate, conventional solution. In the Romanian utterance: *Acest magazin are aer conditionat (*in English: *This store has air-conditioning)* the Romanian *aer conditionat* uses the participle[7]. If this is transposed into English, we will get *air-conditioned* not

[7]The Romanian grammatical system does not have both present participle and past participle, it only makes reference to *participiu* which is identical with the English past participle. What is the English present participle and gerund are both incorporated in the Romanian grammatical concept of *gerunziu*. This is the reason why in this paper we have not differenciated between present participle and gerund in English, as the common notion of *'-ing' form* has been used.

the conventional *air-conditioning*. Such a transposition proves also lack of grammatical knowledge, because if *aer conditionat* is identified as a noun, then this provides sufficient information for a translator to come up with the right term. In English the '-ing' form is the one that may have substantival value, may be used as a noun, not the participle form, so if the translator transposes the notion of noun, he should come up with the correct translation, if he possesses sufficient grammatical knowledge to know what the '-ing' form may stand for.

There are also cases where actually no semantic or grammatical equivalent expression can be found. For example for the English *spitting image* or *splitting headache,* there is no expression in Romanian that might somewhat preserve the meaning or the grammatical form. These idiomatic units do not allow transposition as there is no similar Romanian version. So in order to translate these idiomatic units, the translator will have to come up with other expressions preserving the meaning but not the form of the units. The Romanian *a semana leit* and *o durere ingrozitoare de cap* would prove good solutions in translation.

Sometimes when a translator comes across idiomatic units he might have to come up with something totally specific, adapting his needs to each individual idiomatic unit. But there are situations where a pattern may be observed. For example notice the change in Romanian in the following translations of English idiomatic units:

Group 1.

English	**Romanian**
meeting place	*loc* ***de*** *intalnire*
shopping list	*lista* ***de*** *cumparaturi*
bathing suit	*costum* ***de*** *baie*
boiling point	*punct* ***de*** *fierbere*
reading lamp	*lampa* ***de*** *citit*
sewing machine	*masina* ***de*** *cusut*
driving lesson	*ora* ***de*** *condus*

This group has as translation pattern the preposition *de* followed either by a noun or by a participle form (as in the last three examples), otherwise the semantic transposition functions except in the last example where *lesson* has been replaced with *hour*, because *hour* is used in Romanian conventionally with the meaning of *lesson*.

Group 2.

English	Romanian
breath-taking view	*priveliste* ***care*** *iti ia respiratia*
hair-splitting person	*persoana* ***care*** *imparte firul in patru*
heart-breaking news	*veste* ***care*** *te cutremura* sau *veste cutremuratoare*
missing clue	*indiciul* ***care*** *lipseste* sau *indiciul lipsa*

In this second group, the English form is still '-ing', as it is in the first group, but the pattern changes from using a preposition to transforming the information of the '-ing' form into a relative clause. Of course one may encounter more than one conventional possibility of translation.

All these examples go to show that grammatical restrictions on the verb in idiomatic units will pose problems for the translator or the non-native speaker who will have to either interpret or use such idiomatic expressions. The greatest risk is that of transposition from the mother-tongue, because this may lead as in the case of semantic restrictions to incomprehension on the part of the interlocutor or to misinterpretation. Grammatical structures are rarely transposable and it usually happens that non-native speakers or translators pay more attention to semantic aspects of the cultural shift than to grammatical aspects. These are more difficult to be spotted if knowledge regarding the grammatical system is lacking. But they are as important in the process of communication and translation as are semantic discrepancies.

3. Verbs and Idioms: Pragmatic Dimension

Another dimension in the shift a verb undergoes when moving from an individual status to a status of component in an idiomatic unit is the pragmatic dimension. A verb may change in terms of its pragmatic value when becoming part of an idiomatic unit. For example the English verb *to cry* if used individually in a sentence will usually not render an illocutionary force (see Mey: 1993). An utterance like *I cried for him* can be seen as a simple statement, while *I cried out for him* is also a statement but one inferring the notion of request. *To cry out* has a totally different meaning incorporating a request. The same holds good for *to shout at somebody* which has the implication of expression of anger combined maybe with an order. *To shout* does not have this implications as one might shout to get somebody's attention, not necessarily to show anger.

A pragmatic shift is to be identified also in cases of translation employing transposition as method of dealing with verbs that are part of idiomatic units or where non-native speakers are participants to a conversation. Take for example *to pay a visit,* in the example *I would be happy if you paid me a visit sometime,* if the interlocutor is a non-native speaker who is not familiar with this expression, by taking the components literally he will surely misinterpret the situation. He might think that he is asked to pay for the speaker's visit and might even be offended because of this bold request. The utterance changed speech acts (Vanderveken:1990) from an invitation to a request in the cultural shift that evolved in a pragmatic discrepancy.

Concluding Remarks

The aim of this paper was to attract attention to the shift verbs undergo when becoming components of idiomatic units. The three dimensions described are never alone, they are mostly simultaneous with the semantic dimension of the shift being the most frequent, accompanied by a possible grammatical dimension and in specific cases by the pragmatic dimension. At times the idiomatic unit may possess no grammatical restriction regarding the verbal form i.e. this might be adapted according to need within the utterance, reducing the complexity of the shift to two dimensions as is the example *to pay a visit,* which may be adapted grammatically, but where *to pay* has suffered a semantic change which enhanced the pragmatic change as well.

We have tried to demonstrate that such a linguistic shift is pluridimensional and that when the context is enlarged by contact with another language in a conversation liased by a translator the linguistic shift may be doubled by a cultural shift. The interaction between the two cultures and between the two languages may give rise to difficulties in understanding the pluridimensional verbal shift. A misunderstanding of the verbal shift may result in a wrong solution for conveying the message in another language. That is why it is extremely important to analyse all dimensions of such a shift in order to infer the cultural equivalent correctly, not by simply adopting transposition as a means in translation. Transposition can prove to be very tricky as the verb once undergoing the change of the shift will in most cases not preserve its transposed correspondent. An assumption that the verb will preserve its semantic, grammatical and pragmatic characteristics when becoming a component in an idiomatic unit will lead most often to poor translations fostering incomprehension and misunderstanding.

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AMBIGUITY, NUMBER AND/OR LUCK, HAZARD

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ABSTRACT. **Ambiguity, Number and/or Luck, Hazard.** In this article we return to an interpretation that has gone through several stages of elaboration because, from our point of view, the signification of the text is dependent on strategies that achieve *ambiguity*. A critical as well as a stylistic investigation can lead to a change of perspective. The critical investigation reveals a consesus as far as Lefter Popescu – from the short story **Two Lottery Tickets** – is concerned. On the other hand, the stylistic investigation proves that Lefter Popescu is not the victim of any error. Using concepts like *text truth, authorial instance, narrative sequence, authorial sequence,* we identify the stylistic parts of the text with a view to showing that the author presents in the first interventions as true the concordance between the numbers and the lottery tickets, which makes Lefter Popescu a true winner. Being interested by the mechanisms of autentification and those of ambiguisation, we stop in this study at he sequences where Lefter Popescu is a winner according to the truth of the authorial intervention so that we can discover a logic of the process of ambiguisation, which will be discussed in detail in a future study.

Literary criticism gave Lefter Popescu's attempt to find his fortune the signification of an act that implies his being in confrontation with Destiny. Seeing in Caragiale a *specialist in the act of misleading, which is done by Destiny itself,* M. Petroveanu blamed the malicious will for the existence of a whimsical game according to which *Lefter, from* ***Two Lottery Tickets,*** *the closer he seems to be to his goal, the further he is in reality*[1]. Discussing Zarifopol's opinion, Ştefan Cazimir accepts Lefter's failure as a consequence

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[1] M. Petroveanu, **Caragiale şi destinul**, in *Viaţa românească, nr. 6, 1962.*

of a *derisive destiny*, a *farce meant to turn the belief in fortune into a sceptic soul, then to overwhelm him by revealing the hoax*[2]; B. Elvin[3] thinks that Lefter Popescu could be a tragic character because he has the courage to fight the implacable and, though he is conscious that he is *obstinately* followed by *ill luck*, he *banks everything on hazard* when he *has the nostalgia of a sudden ascent*. V. Fanache[4] decodes Lefter's attempt depending on a *mechanism of the human imagination* which makes the hero *unable to reject the illusion that in a certain circumstance he has been in the proximity of luck*. According to the same line of interpretation, Lefter's quest for luck is seen as an *error,* made because *he is devilishly dancing to the tune that his specious fortune plays*[5] or because he generalizes the *possibility* without understanding that in ***if*** there could be found the levels of the *chimaera* not the levels of the real[6]; according to Ion Vartic[7], the character's error also consists in the fact that he ignores the status revealed to him from the very beginning, namely the disjunction between him and fortune, and yet, he believes in the possibility of changing this relationship; his attempt to change his luck is, for Vartic, a *challenge,* an act through which Lefter succeeds in awakening *from torpor the hidden* ***demoniacal*** *potentialities of the reality*; and in V. Fanache's interpretation, the textual sequences confirm a participation of the demonic in the creation of the error and in the projection of this error's consequences on the character who thinks that living *in the proximity of chance is almost similar to really enjoying it, and the fact that this thing doesn't happen equalizes the*

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[2] Ştefan Cazimir, **Caragiale. Universul comic**, Editura pentru Literatură, 1967, p. 183-184.

[3] B. Elvin, **Modernitatea clasicului I. L. Caragiale**, EPL, Bucureşti, 1967, p.141-144.

[4] V. Fanache, **Caragiale**, Editura Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, 1997., p.61-62.

[5] I. Vartic, in I. L. Caragiale, **Momente, schițe, amintiri**, Biblioteca Apostrof, Cluj, 1997, p.LXXX.

[6] V. Fanache, **op. cit.**, p.62.

[7] I. Vartic, **op. cit.**, p. LXXXVIII and the following, where the character's error is presented as an unconscious conformation to the tradition, because Lefter Popescu *puts in the lottery borrowed money, as a superstition* and thus changes his destiny with captain Pandele's destiny, making, as the critic says, Lefter's ill-luck full of good-luck be similar with his fellow's, Pandele, good-luck full of ill-luck. In a previous version of our interpretation we were tempted to think that Lefter Popescu is living, due to this change, somebody else's destiny and that the character's tragic sense and also his guilt can be found in this act of changing his fate with captain Pandele's. A careful analysis of the textual sequences places the guilt beyond the being, constantly turning us towards an identity which, in Zarifopol's opinion, can be identified in that *malicious will*, the generator of a *climax of ill-luck*, and in I. Vartic's interpretation we can identify it in the demon equalized by the critic with the ill-luck giving will.

absurd[8]; the character's error is encouraged first of all by the tools he operates with in his attempt to modify[9] the primordial destiny; when we discussed the meanings of the term *destiny* for Caragiale's heroes, we considered that the personal act through which are achieved the discovery of the destiny and the assuming or the ignoring of the predictions, in order to build a spare ideal and, at the same time with a view to putting this action in accordance with this saving ideal, belongs to the *objects* of Caragialian heroes' *interests* and not to their *inner being*; the irony shows that, for Lefter Popescu, the most important instrument in his confrontation with the destiny and, implicitly, in recognizing the error, is *the lottery ticket,* an object beyond Lefter's being, as its semantic equivalencies confirm[10]; as "**lot**"

[8] V. Fanache, **op. cit.**, p. 61.

[9] I. Vartic**, op. cit.**, p. LXXIX, where I. Vartic thinks that Lefter's error, based on his intention to run away from the destiny revealed to him, brings into the character's *biography* the Oedipian pattern; Oedipus, says I. Vartic, *is the one to whom the destiny accidentally reveals from the very beginning, and he promptly reacts to this, trying, by going from Corinth to Theba, to make himself another destiny, which finally proves to be exactly the initially given one*; Lefter appears, according to the same opinion, as the character who *bestows himself another* destiny and he is even glad seeing the deceptive signs of the chosen fate, until he is shown that the new destiny ready to be accomplished is exactly the one which was bestowed to him; a series of combinations are possible depending on what is true or what is false in the revealed destiny of the two characters; first, if Lefter is an unlucky man, as I. Vartic calls him, and Pandele is a lucky man, then*, the new destiny ready to be accomplished is exactly the one which was bestowed to him* and Lefter didn't change anything in his fate with captain Pandele because he didn't enjoy Pandele's luck; then, less probably, if Lefter is *a lucky man* who changed his destiny with that of unlucky Pandele, he's living somebody else's destiny and tragically and blindly enlightens a fate which is strange and damaging to him; finally, and more likely, if Lefter and Pandele are unlucky men, then one *changes* the ill-luck with the other without priducing any modification in the players' destiny; Ion Vartic prefers to consider Lefter as bearing an ill-luck full of luck and Pandele as a lucky man full of ill-luck so as this combination would make *their destinies simultaneously seem winner and loser*, there where everything *is under the sign of zero*, namely the *good-luck full of ill-luck cancels the ill-luck full of good-luck*; and were it so, the victim would be Lefter again, because he borrows *a good-luck full of ill-luck* and gives away *an ill-luck, yet, full of good-luck*; Zarifopol noticed that another of Caragiale's heroes, namely Stavrache, *believed he had this luck more than he really had it*; this feeling is common to the whole world imagined by Caragiale.

[10] Starting from Johan Huizinga, I. Vartic, **op. cit.**, p. LXXXI, affirms that "**lot**" doesn't mean *lottery ticket,* but *it means, in fact, fate, destiny, share.* In this way I. Vartic offers the best explanation for both the short story's dual structure and the symbolic recurrence of *two* in the economy of the text; *two* are the tickets*, two* are the destinies, *two* are the authorial alternatives for the end of the text; it is possible that Caragiale knew what "**lot**" meant or, in G.I. Tohăneanu's opinion, we have to deal with a case of *synonymy beyond the word*, the semantic equivalence ***"lot"****, destiny, fate, share* is significant for Caragiale's symbolic vocabulary; as we've seen so far, in the syntagms of the work, where we meet the search for luck, there occurs as *share*, as *fate*, or as *destiny*.

means also *destiny*, and the notion of destiny *interweaves with the demonical notion of luck*[11] the character's error should be found in his incapacity of identifying the destiny itself in the objects of his interest; being blind to the essence of the available objects, Lefter Popescu would be, this way, in I. Vartic's opinion[12], guilty because he has not got the time to be *suspicious* and because nothing worries him, he doesn't question for a moment the *value of the objects* he worships; and, after H. Zalis[13], Lefter is the guilty protagonist of the *story of a prize lost from imprudence*. G. Călinescu also sees in Lefter a guilty man because he has done the error of acting when he found the tickets, *without closely examining them* ; such a guilt is accepted by Zarifopol, too[14], who accredits the idea that Lefter is the character through which Caragiale illustrated the climax of ill-luck, making him *find himself with two lottery tickets* in the manner of *viceversa*; from here there evolved a direction[15] of interpretation which credits the final sequences of the text giving a value of absolute truth to the banker's statement: *- Look, sir: you're wrong... and this comes from... you have... It's a strange thing, that's true... How did it happen! I'll be damned!... You have at one of them the winning number of the other...* What Al. Călinescu calls *the truth of the text* asks for a reading which

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[11] **Ibidem**, p.LXXXI, where for Ion Vartic, after E. R. Dodds, **Grecii și iraționalul**, Meridiane, 1983, p. 42, the demonic origin of luck is set in agreement with the becoming of the demon which *evolved from the figure of "personal giver" of destiny for the individual, to that of impersonal luck*. In order to find out when the development of this sense took place, we show that E. R. Dodds refers to a kind of demon which *represents the individual destiny ruler at Homer, but in a personal shape which corresponds to the imagination of those times. Frequently, it doesn't seem to be more than the luck or the fate of a man; but this luck is not conceived as an external accident – it is as much a part of the native endowment as the beauty or talent are.* It is worth mentioning that E. R. Dodds notices the evolution of the *destiny ruler to an impersonal "given"* and of *the* '*daimon*' *from a personal "giver" to an impersonal "luck"*, as we also have to show that another sense mutation noticed by E. R. Dodds at ancients, regards the equivalence between destiny, character and judgement. It depends on the quality of the '*daimon*' and not on the quality of the judgement if *everything you undertake is destined to failure.*

[12] **Ibidem**, p. LXXX.

[13] Henri Zalis, **I. L. Caragiale**, Editura Recif, Bucureşti, 1995, p. 143.

[14] Paul Zarifopol, **Introducere**, in I. L. Caragiale, **op. cit**., tom 1, p. XXXVII.

[15] I. Vartic explicitly emphasizes the final sequence's value of truth, asserting in **Modelul și oglinda**, **op. cit.,** p. 28: *Two Lottery Tickets is under the sarcastic sign of "viceversa"*. V. Fanache, **op. cit.**, p. 61, considers that *the tickets around which a destiny rises and falls are completely out of the significations awarded to them*, the tickets being mere instruments necessary to Lefter for living *the illusion of a lost illusion* and, consequently, they can't be considered criteria for the truthfulness of the character's assertions.

could *balance the freedom of the interpretation and textual compulsions*[16], in order to identify the true relationship between destiny and fortune, and also between numbers and fortune. It explains why the sequences before the revelation of the tickets' value could be credited in the same manner; good-luck and ill-luck, and also Lefter's error are parts of the assembly of textual sequences and that's why we can't discredit the authorial interventions before the part in which Lefter appears as the possessor of the winning tickets, one instead of the other; two interventions of this kind come to give Lefter's attempt the value of another truth; the first section, neuter in relation to Letter, and placed as a strictly narrative sequence which does not involve the character's perception, only the truth of the world in which Lefter lives, is undoubtedly specified: *The Lotteries, many times postponed, were finally chosen both the same day. At the first one (The lottery of the "Society for the Foundation of a Romanian University in Dobrogea, at Constantza") the greatest prize*[17] *of 50.000 lei* ***was won by the number 076.384****; and at the second (the Lottery of "The Association for the Foundation and the Equipment of an Astronomical Observatory in Bucharest"), the greatest prize of 50.000 lei, too, was won by the number* ***109.520***". In the very next section, which –once again- has nothing to do with Lefter's perception, or with the possibility to make a confusion, because the authentication is of authorial nature and the occurring verbal moods do not place the statement into the sphere of the possible, the potential or in the sphere of an assumption, but, strictly into the sphere of the stated truth, the *numbers* which *won* remain associated with the same tickets: ...*the captain lays on the table the official lists and next to them his notebook. Indeed, the notebook sounds exactly as the lists: 076.384 University - Constantza, 109.520 Bucharest - Astronomy.* Caragiale seems to deliberately give to this part the chances of the highest credibility; he places the whole display of numbers under the sign of the *undoubted* and instead of verbal and adverbial expressions with the area of meaning correspondent with the official lists and the captain's notebook, Caragiale resorts to the expression: *the notebook sounds exactly as the lists.* In the third sequence there takes place a change both at the level of the speech and at the level of the association of the tickets with the numbers which *won;* if in the previous

[16] Al. Călinescu, **Caragiale sau vîrsta modernă a literaturii**, Editura Albatros, București, 1976, pleads for the correspondence between the reading and *the truth of the text*, suggesting that the analyst of Caragiale's work *should choose some of the possible directions of the reading.*

[17] We don't think that it is insignificant that the ticket values 50.000, namely a number which, because of its symbolic significations sends us to the idea of the *limitation of destiny,* as we saw when we discussed number **five.**

sequences the speech belonged to the author, this time, two of the text's voices, of which one is Lefter's, come to confirm the truth of his winning tickets, and the other the banker's, which is called to certify the correspondence between numbers and tickets; Lefter interferes in the immediate succession of the authorial sequences about the truth of these, and he clearly asserts: *we have once: zero - seventy - six - thousands - three - hundreds - eighty - four at University - Constantza,* and then *one - hundred - and - nine - thousands - five hundreds - and - twenty Bucharest - Astronomy;* if in the first two sequences, previously separated, we have a certain order of the winning numbers, similar with the official lists, and also with Lefter's legitimate claim, in the last sequence, in the banker's intervention, the association seems in agreement with the logic of the *viceversa*; in the banker's statement *zero - seventy - six - thousands - three - hundreds - eighty - four* is the winning ticket at *Bucharest - Astronomy,* while *one - hundred - and - nine - thousands - five hundreds - and - twenty* is the winning ticket at *University - Constantza;* the ambiguity of the structure is given, first of all, by the reading of the numbers digit by digit; these do not *sound* any longer either as in the official lists, or as in the captain's notebook because they are not numbers conveyed through figures, but literal expressions of some numbers. However, beyond this ambiguity, the *truths* of the numbers prove to be absolute: 076.384 appears in three textual sequences, of which only one belongs to Lefter and two to the authorial instance, as the winning number at *The lottery of the "Society for the Foundation of a Romanian University" in Dobrogea, at Constantza* and this thing is upheld by Lefter, also in front of the banker; **109.520** appears in three textual sequences of which only one belongs to Lefter and two to the authorial instance, as the winning number at *The lottery of "The Association for the Foundation and the Equipment of an Astronomical Observatory in Bucharest"*, and this thing is upheld by Lefter, also in front of the banker ; it *sounds* the same with the one in the official lists and in captain Pandele's notebook; the same thing happens with the other number; an error took place somewhere, in the game of the numbers or of the destiny, but the authorial instance cannot be suspected of such an error and, consequently, neither can the official lists, nor captain Pandele's notebook, for they *sound* like the official lists; in his turn, the banker, in his quality of giving the absolute authenticity of the ludic circumstance in which the Caragialian world exists has *its own truth*; an error of captain Pandele's is out of the question because of the correspondence between the numbers and the official lists, a correspondence which is confirmed by the author; Lefter's error which would make him have at a lottery the winning number of the other is excluded, too, because

Lefter's truth *sounds* as in the official lists, confirmed by the authorial instance in the first textual sequence; an authorial error is also excluded for this would invalidate the authorial omniscience; could Uncle Iancu have been wrong in his attempt to create *the climax of ill-luck*[18] and makes Lefter, by mistake, a true winner? It is true that we are never told how the numbers *sound* on the tickets, but a disagreement between the *tickets* and the *lists* is excluded because the *notebook* and the *lists* sound identical, and the authorial instance, in a neuter intervention, certifies the lists, calling them *official*; besides, Lefter repeats in front of the banker what seemed true in the first two sequences and the *misunderstanding* is not caused by what Lefter considers to be true, but by the relativity of the authorial truth; a disagreement between tickets and lists would make Lefter's adventure insignificant, because he would be, as H. Zalis asserts, the imprudent character ready to win a fabulous prize; but Lefter's claim is, during his whole evolution, in agreement with the *truth* of the authorial interventions; he *plays the numbers* we are told to be *winners*, in two sequences which have the position of objectivity, this means that, in his turn, Lefter has to be not only in the proximity of the prize, but a true winner.

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ENGLISH IN THE WORLD AND THE NEW MILLENNIUM

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ABSTRACT. English is now seen as the international "lingua franca" in the domains of trade, commerce, communication, international diplomacy, and economic development. But is its pre-eminence in these fields set to continue indefinitely? This article examines the current status of English, its dominance on the world-stage and the likelihood of its present monopoly continuing well into the new century.

In a globalized world how much uniformity can we tolerate without destroying identity and how much diversity can we stand without destroying globalization?

(Henry Kissinger)

1. Introduction

It is now commonplace to talk of English as the dominant language in the world today and, indeed, the geographically most widespread and functionally diverse lingua franca the world has ever known. No other language in history – Greek, Latin, Arabic, French, Spanish – has enjoyed the pre-eminence and linguistic hegemony English does at the turn of the twentieth century. Only English fulfils all the criteria for 'internationality': 'large demographic weight, strong economic backing, previously established international spread, international recognition, a high level of modernisation' (Truchot 1996: 7). In his study on English as a global language, David Crystal (1997) has pointed out that, whilst English may not be the world's most spoken language – that statistical accolade falls to Chinese, which has some four times

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as many speakers – it is the only truly global language in terms of territorial penetration and the world-wide distribution of its users. Roger Bowers, Assistant Director of the British Council, captured the significance of this distinction when he observed that: 'English [is] spreading across the world on a tide of functionality, Chinese on a tide of common culture and ethnicity' (quoted in Graddol 1997: 21). Yet, if the current pre-eminence of English seems unassailable, forecasts about its future role and continuing monopoly warn of likely changes in the linguistic balance of power: no commentator seriously doubts that the English language will remain a potent force on the world-stage well into the new century, but the scope of its influence and functional deployment will not go unchallenged and in some areas may well be usurped.

The rise of English is well documented (see, for example, Crystal 1997). By the mid-eighteenth century English had become a 'national' language. Two forces are customarily identified as being key factors in its dissemination transnationally: firstly, imperial ambition, with all its accidents of chance, haphazard development and rigorous exploitation of new-found resources and, secondly, the ever-greater political, cultural, technological and economic impact of the United States in the global arena in the last century, and especially after the second world war. When asked by a journalist at the very end of the nineteenth century, what he believed would be the decisive factor in modern history, the German statesman, Otto von Bismarck, remarked - with disarming prescience and customary frankness – 'The fact that the North Americans speak English' (Economist, 21/12/1996)! By the 1950s, given US global cultural, economic, and technological supremacy, its central role in the post-war foundation of international agencies and financial institutions (IMF, World Bank, etc.), with their global political agendas for economic regeneration, it was clear that American supremacy would ensure that English, specifically American English, would become the dominant variety world-wide. Crystal (1997: 79) records that some 85% of these agencies and institutions use English as one of their working languages.

It is salutary to reflect that, had these two 'historical mechanisms' (Graddol 1997: 4) failed to act with such remarkable synergy, English – American or British - might easily have been displaced following the demise of the British Empire or, for that matter, if the United States had succumbed to a greater military power. As Eco (1995: 331), (quoted by Graddol 1997: 8) has playfully suggested, had Germany won World War II and the USA 'been reduced to a confederation of banana republics, German would probably be used today as a universal vehicular language, and Japanese electronic firms would advertise their products in Hong Kong airport duty-free shops in

German'. Indeed, in a 1943 editorial, the Berlin newspaper 'Das Reich' envisaged as much: 'There is only one language that will be spoken by Europe in the future, and that language is German, which will be the international *lingua franca* between the nations of the New Order' (Harrison 1943: 55, 58 quoted in Bailey 1991: 119). This 'things being otherwise' scenario underlines the 'lingua franca principle': no language can establish itself as a lingua franca and retain its supremacy without the backing of superior military, economic and political might. In terms of their territorial scope and influence, the languages of other colonial powers, such as Portugal and The Netherlands, greatly diminished as these countries ceased to hold sway in their imperial domains. The super-power status of the US at the turn of the new millennium is incontestable, and has for the moment guaranteed the supremacy of English. There is no warranty that this state-of-affairs will continue unabated.

At times it has been suggested – and sometimes still is - that the pre-eminence of English in the world today is not so much the product of historical processes as the result of inherent qualities in the language, such as its 'clarity of expression', relative simplicity (compared, say, to an inflected language such as German or Russian), its flexibility and wealth of vocabulary. Popular sentiment regarding the superiority of English – especially British English – compared with other varieties of the language, let alone other languages, regularly surfaces in the media. Britain's populist tabloid 'The Sun' rose to the occasion in true fashion in its leader of 31 December 1999: 'We should never underestimate our place in the world. No country has a richer history... We [the British] have produced the world's greatest writers...'. Robust rabble-rousing rhetoric, perhaps, but wholly misleading: notions about the language itself and its cultural backdrop being somehow a 'cut above the rest' are spurious.

In the course of its historical development, English has come into contact with other languages down the centuries - Celtic, Latin, Scandinavian, Norman French, not to mention the numerous languages spoken across the former Empire – which have had a pervasive influence on its lexical and syntactic structure. Some 70% of what are called 'English words' are French, Latin or Greek in origin: it is precisely this capacity of assimilation that is a major feature of English as a global language. Thus speakers of other languages often recognise features reminiscent of characteristics of their own language. English is also grammatically flexible: it is relatively uninflected and frequently deploys the same word for different functions, with uncommon ease (e.g. 'work' or 'table' can be nouns or verbs, 'like' may be a verb, noun, adjective, preposition, or even a colloquial joiner – 'he talks like he knows what he's on about'). In short, very many English words are regularly used in two or more

word-classes, as nouns or verbs or nouns and adjectives. Features such as these have gone to make English a 'hybrid and flexible' language. But, as Crystal (1997: 6) has remarked, Latin was once a major international language, regardless of its inflections and gender distinctions; likewise French, Greek, Arabic, Spanish and Russian. 'Ease of learning is not an issue.' Furthermore, he warns (op. cit.): 'These ... traits of appeal are incidental, and need to be weighed against linguistic features which would seem to be internationally much less desirable – notably, in the case of English, the many irregularities of its spelling system'. One could add to this observation the difficulties surrounding the use of English verbs: as in German, in English the irregular verbs have higher frequency of use; and because of its structure and very syntactic flexibility, English is both complex and complicated. As Crystal (1997: 7) and others stress, the necessary pre-conditions for a language to become international and then global are due not so much to 'its intrinsic structural properties' as to the political, economic and military machine that drives it. 'The role English plays today is the result of historical processes which affected large parts of the world and are to some extent reflected in the language itself. This is an example of the dialectic of politico-economic development and the history of the language' (Verlag Enzyklopädie 1987: 11).

2. English and its users: shifts in the traditional paradigm

The American linguist, B. Krachu (1985: 12f) suggests that the spread of English 'be viewed in terms of three concentric circles' which he has labelled in turn: the 'inner' circle, the 'outer' circle (also 'extended' circle), and the 'expanding' circle. These three circles of world Englishes represent three types of English user, according to how the language has been acquired and how it is currently used.

The 'inner' circle corresponds to the regions where English is spoken as the primary language (US, Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand) and in each case a national variety of English is identified with the respective country. Crystal's estimates (1997: 54) put the total number of speakers in this category somewhere between 320 and 380 million speakers).

The 'outer' or 'extended' circle is to be understood in an historical context: it includes former colonial territories (India, West Africa, East Africa, Singapore) where English has the status of an élite second language and has become fully institutionalised, being often required for further education, government jobs, and general professional advancement. These institutionalised varieties share three characteristics. Firstly, the English used functions in 'un-English' or multilingual contexts where, in terms of territorial coverage, its cross-cultural spread is unprecedented among the languages of wider

communication (French, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish). Secondly, the language is used with varying degrees of competency for a complex of purposes, in a variety of domains, both as an intra- and international language. Thirdly, English has extended its functional range in a variety of social, educational, and administrative domains, and has also developed 'nativized literary traditions' in different genres (the novel, short story, poetry, etc.). Crystal (1997: 54) estimates that English is used as a second language by between 150 to 300 million speakers. Competence in the language varies greatly but in an L2 area English is used for internal/intranational communication.

The picture becomes more complex when the 'expanding' circle is taken into account: this includes territories which do not necessarily have a history of colonisation (by the users of the inner circle) but where the international status of English is recognised and endorsed rather than, say, its one-time rivals, French, Russian, Esperanto. This circle is the most volatile and its numbers the least easy to forecast; Crystal (1997: 54) suggests that there could be anywhere between 100 to 1000 million speakers forming this category. There is in fact no clear demarcation between the outer and expanding circles. In principle, the 'expanding' circle corresponds to the EFL category of learner although, as with L2, competence varies enormously.

It is becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish between L2 and EFL users, either in terms of their geographical distribution or the particular requirements governing their use of English for official or general communicative purposes. The two traditional approaches to the identification of L2 territories – one based on geographical or national boundaries, the other according to whether an institutionalised variety of English has developed in the L2 area – are problematical. For instance, assuming comparable levels of competence, is it meaningful to maintain that there is a difference in status, say, between a Danish non-native speaker in Denmark (traditionally defined as an EFL area) required to use English in the academic context and, say, an Indian non-native speaker in India (traditionally defined as an L2 area) to use English in an official, governmental capacity? In both cases, English is used intranationally and for official purposes. The very mechanism which has mobilised English as a transnational lingua franca – globalisation – entails that 'speech communities redefine themselves as cross-border affiliation groups rather than as geographic groups in national boundaries. Europe is a case in point, containing an increasing number of fluent speakers of English who do not conform to the traditional definition of L2 speaker and who are excluded from most estimates of L2 usage' (Graddol 1999: 67).

In fact, in many parts of the world, English is undergoing shifts in its status which will clearly have an impact on its future as a global phenomenon. Graddol (1997: 11) lists nineteen countries where the use of English for intranational purposes is increasing, especially in the domains of professional discourse and higher education. These include the Scandinavian countries, Argentina, Belgium, Costa Rica, the Lebanon, Netherlands, Switzerland, UAE, etc. He records that in many L2 areas there is a trend for professional and middle classes who are bilingual in English to adopt English as the language at home, thus adding to the total of traditional 'native-speaking' countries. In their turn, the number of new L2 speakers probably offsets the number (the children in L2 families who grow up as native speakers) of speakers shifting to L1 status. It is therefore suggested that the three circles actually overlap, as speakers shift from one category to the next, towards L1 status. And this constant process of language shift blurs traditional distinctions which ignore the impact of globalism on English its users alike.

It is immediately apparent that the majority of speakers of English outnumber first-language speakers and it is they who will increasingly decide the global future of English. English is being used for an ever greater variety of communicative functions by many L2 and EFL speakers and may actually come to replace some of the functions presently served by the speakers' L1. In L2 and EFL contexts, English exists alongside other languages but may well be used in preference to these because it is considered more appropriate for a given purpose. For instance, in many bilingual situations, use of the local language may signal intimacy and solidarity, whilst use of English heralds distance, formality and maybe even officialdom. Bilinguals can use code-switching as a communicative resource. In other contexts, such as the EU, a new regional hierarchy has developed; a 1995 survey prepared by the European Bureau of Lesser Used Languages (see Graddol 1997: 13) reported that 42% of EU citizens could communicate in English, 31% in German, and 29% in French. In EFL contexts, such as cross-cultural business negotiations, English is increasingly used as a lingua franca and shows no signs of abating. As in India, Europe is beginning to form a single multilingual area where, in terms of the access they give to material success, languages can be arranged hierarchically, with English holding sway for the time being, at the top.

3. English and the Future

It has already been remarked that the pre-eminence of English, whilst incontestable now, may not endure in the longer term. It was once said that 'almost everything in history almost never happened': could it be that, despite its 'internationality', to requote Truchot (1996: 7), its 'large demographic

weight, strong economic backing, previously established international spread, international recognition, a high level of modernisation' English goes into decline, either because it is rivalled by other languages, such as Spanish or Chinese, or because it is no longer congruent with personal material success and more general economic development? If American English is the dominant variety at present, how will its status be affected as Asian economies continue to grow and rival its power-base? Arguments that the language is now so well entrenched, its scope and influence so extensive ignore the fate of other lingua franca, once the forces that mobilised them went into steady, inexorable decline.

The scarcity of relevant and reliable facts makes global crystal ball gazing all the more difficult. For sure, the future of English rests with its users. Global trends in the relative size of L1, L2, and EFL populations will ultimately determine how English is used, and for what kinds of communicative need. It has already been suggested that the number of people learning English as a foreign language may be extremely volatile. According to Graddol (1999: 57f) projections for English native speaker numbers show that the growth of L1 speakers will slow in about 20 years time and that by 2050 there will be some 440 million. Although this figure shows an increase on the present figure (around 370 million), it will represent a decline in the *proportion* of English speakers who use it as their L1. This will be a consequence of the rapid population increase in areas of the world where English is not used as an L1. Whilst this may not entail a decline in the importance of English, it probably heralds a decline in the centrality of native speakers as norm-setters exercising a proprietary grip on the language.

The continuing use of English in international business will depend on the extent to which other languages become important as lingua franca for trade. In Europe, whilst English is the major business lingua franca it is by no means the sole lingua franca. The use of German, especially in Central and Eastern parts of Europe, is on the increase. Internal trade within Latin America will continue to favour the use of Spanish or Portuguese.

Changes in the economic order aside, technological innovation, such as the Internet, is having and will continue to have a profound influence on the way people communicate. Although English accounts for some 80% of internet traffic, this share is set to fall as other languages account for an increasing proportion. Localisation – the tailoring of products and services to suit local markets - will probably now spread as fast as the technology allows and the share of English will reduce accordingly to around 40% (Graddol 1997: 51).

In the longer term, the role of English as the world's lingua franca may well start to diminish; it is unlikely that it will continue to enjoy its present monopoly in the 21st century. Languages serving regional communication may well prosper, such as Spanish amongst the Hispanic population of the US, or amongst the inhabitants of Central and Latin America. Mandarin Chinese will probably consolidate its position within China and more generally in South-east Asia.

Whatever the outcome, it seems a balance will need to be struck between the uniformity a world lingua franca implies and the diversity of cultures, needs and aspirations its users represent. To recall Henry Kissinger's epigraphic remark: 'In a globalized world how much uniformity can we tolerate without destroying identity and how much diversity can we stand without destroying globalization?'

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THE BRITISH PARAMOUNTCY IN INDIA

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ABSTRACT. The study tackles the delicate Anglo-Indian relationships from a socio-cultural perspective following the positive and negative aspects of the British rule in India, later studying the process of transition from the colonial status of India to its independence.

The British Empire gained immeasurably by the long war against Revolutionary France and Napoleon, when it reaped a harvest of colonies from France and her satellites.

But in fact the English conquest of India had begun before the Revolution and it was a long and painful process that becomes intelligible only when we look at conditions in India which was a world apart.

Ever since their first conquest, in the 11th century, Mohamedans had ruled India though they were only a small minority of the population The Hindus, the great majority, were easily subjugated because they had no unity. They were divided unto many races, they belonged to different stages of civilisation and were split into a multitude of hereditary castes. As invasion after invasion swept down on them, empires rose and fell, and smaller states appeared and disappeared.

The first Hindu power to arise appeared in the west. This was the confederacy of Mahratta tribes which lasted until the mighty battle of Panipat near Delhi in 1761, when their power was smashed by invading hordes from Afganistan. In the very year of Panipat, the British chased the French out of India. By the peace of Paris in 1763 the British restored the French posts on condition that they were never to be fortified.

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At the end of the Seven Years War, the English East India Company acquired a shadowy political control and won the right to collect taxes in the territories under British influence with the tacit approval of the Parliament. The first governor of Bengal, Warren Hastings, was appointed both by the Company and the Parliament. He radically reformed the tax system, curbing the abuses and profits of the Zemindars (native tax collectors) primarily to increase the revenue, but also trying to prevent the oppression of the poor peasants. He established an efficient administration of justice with entirely new courts, manned by British magistrates, for whose guidance he asked learned Hindus and Moslems prepare manuals of their respective laws.

In 1773 the Company had to submit to the British government all problems dealing with political matters, the Governor of Bengal became Governor General with authority over Madras and Bombay, ruling with a council of five.

In 1784, Pitt passed an India Act that provided the main framework of British government in India until the end of the century when the Company ceased to exist.

This act prescribed two doctrines - no mingling in the native politics and the Zemindars should be accepted and left to their trade.

Soon the British power reached Delhi and covered almost all the rich plain of the Ganges; this was achieved after several bloody clashes first with the Mahrattas and then with Tipu, ruler of Mysore. After this temporary pacification the British returned suddenly to their so-called "policy of non-intervention which was rigidly enforced for almost a decade. Then the British moved again overrunning the native Gurkhas and reaching the edge of the Himalayas. At last, the whole of India with the exception of Sindh on the Indus was brought under effective British control. Numerous treaties were signed with local rulers who, in exchange for British protection willingly accepted the British supremacy. These princes ruling over small states with British consent formed the Rajputana, a semi-independent territory of India, but firmly watched by their protectors. This thing was not very evident in the small native states which preserved some resemblance of independence. In the rest of India British presence was very much in evidence, imposing an efficient administration, but respecting as much as possible the time-honored customs of the population and employing native officials who preserved the only form of self-government existing in India - that of the village community.

It was only in the first quarter of the XIXth century that the British revised their attitude towards India; apparently due to the lessons learnt in North America. This change can be observed in the Charter Act of 1833 "no

native of India, nor any natural born subject of His Majesty should be disabled from holding any place, office or employment, by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent or color"[1].

So India was beginning to be regarded not as a temporary possession but as part of the British Empire.

A thorough organisation followed in the administration; the British openly encouraged education for the natives who became eligible at least in theory for almost every office.

But it was introduction of English education which could be called the greatest thing which happened in India under the British rule. There had long been general agreement that the spread of enlightenment in the country was a British responsibility, and there had also been a growing recognition that education to fit Indians for responsible positions in the society was a British necessity.

A controversy arose over whether to build a public educational system or oriental or occidental writing and thought; the appointment of T.B. Macaulay as legal member of the Governor General's council introduced the man who put an end to it.

To Macaulay, who could see only one side of a question and knew nothing of oriental literature, the issue was between stagnation and progress, between the mentality of despotism and that of liberty; and he could not hesitate between them. England should bestow the most precious treasure of her heritage, the living conscious spirit of her civilisation, upon India. "The great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated to education would best be employed on English education alone."[2]

And it was along these lines that, for the next three years, he gave shape and substance to the policy thus laid down. There have been many criticisms of this policy. The exclusion of oriental studies from official support in a land of oriental civilisation was an error that had to be corrected. So also was the attempt to make English the only language of instruction. But there was nothing wrong with making it the regular language of instruction in a subcontinent which had more than two hundred languages - English in fact became in modern India what Latin was in medieval Europe - a common medium of communication between educated people.

The Indian Mutiny of 1857 precipitated the completion of a process that had begun three quarters of a century before an was nearly finished. Pitt"s India Act, and each subsequent renewal of the East India Company's charter

[1] A Short History of British Expansion, p. 85
[2] The British Empire and Commonwealth, p. 365

at twenty year's intervals, cut down the power of the Company and enlarged the authority of the Crown over India until the last renewal in 1853, left little more than the nominal sovereignty to be transferred from the Company to the Crown in 1858. One of the most important factors in increasing the control of the British Cabinet over the affairs of India was a revolution in communications. Meanwhile Parliament stated that the Company should administer India as a trust for the Crown until otherwise ordered, which might be at any time. Steps were taken further in this direction by reducing the number of directors and making a third of them nominees of the Crown depriving them of a great privilege they enjoyed - the patronage of India. From then on the civil service in India was to be recruited by competitive examinations open only to natural born British subjects.

Lord Dalhousie became governor general and during his mandate several annexations were made. The first was Punjab and gradually British rule came over Burma and reached Singapore; this way the Crown gained seven more native states under its rule. But the crowning of Lord Dalhousie's administration was the annexation of Oudh, the last Muslim sovereign state. The pretext was a desperate internal situation leading to a state of chaos. This fact, together with other innovations of Dalhousie's administration produced a more general disturbance in the society of India.

In the Punjab, in Oudh, the more recent annexed states, and elsewhere there was a thorough revision of the land settlements in favour of the actual occupants of the land, the tillers of the soil - at the expense of the old revenue - collecting aristocracy. It is most ironic that these progressive steps should produce and maintain a constant hatred of the British. Large sections of the wealthy, privileged and influential class had therefore good reason for hating the new administrators. The relentless pressing against such social evils as Suttee (the burning of the widows) and infanticide, and the passing of new laws allowing Hindu widows to marry again and permitting converts to inherit property, caused widespread unrest in an intensely conservative society. More provocative was the feverish activity in the public works. The administration opened the first railway in India and made plans which swept away the miserable postal arrangements replacing them with a cheap and efficient public service covering the whole country. Lord Dalhousie reviewed the whole problem of education and sent home recommendations calling for the errection of a "properly articulated scheme of education from the primary school to the university"[3], with scholarships to help the needy, with frank support for female education and with particular attention to practical knowledge throughout.

[3] Idem, p. 503

So the first universities of India were started at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

But all these progressive steps were taken too fast in a country which was the very antithesis of the spirit of the west with its restless change and relentless materialism. A vague uneasiness permeated Indian society and it found expression in all sorts of wild rumours of what the British were doing and were going to do. One of the most powerful of these, in a land ridden by ancient religions and religious feuds, was that the government was about to force Christianity upon all Indians. Another rumour of the time predicted that 1857 would see the crash of the British raj, in short the atmosphere of India was surcharged with distrust and suspicion. This affected deeply the native army of sepoys and became one of the direct causes of the Indian Mutiny in 1857.

The shock that the Mutiny administered to the self-complacency of Britain gave a deathblow to the dying East India Company. Palmerston introduced a bill to transfer the government of India from the Company to the Crown and a Secretary of State for India took over all matters concerning the country.

The new regime was inaugurated by a royal proclamation that had been rewritten to meet Queen Victoria's expressed wish that it "should breathe feelings of generosity, benevolence and religious toleration"[4]. This document set forth a pledge "to respect the rights, dignities and honour of native princes as our own"[5], it proclaimed the principle of religious freedom for all subjects, denying also the fact that the English wanted to impose the Christian faith in India.

Noble as the proclamation was, it contained nothing new. It was a timely and useful formulation of ideals that in one form or another - instructions, orders, legislation and administrative practice - had found scattered expression in the British government of India. It may be said, on the other hand, that the transfer from Company to Crown subjected the Government of India to continuous review by Parliament such was the theory, but most members of the Parliament were incapable of translating it into practice. India was too remote, too strange, too vast, too complicated. They left it to the so-called "experts".

India bore the whole cost of its government including the salary of the secretary of state in London and all the expense of the army that protected it from the enemies within and without. So India resembled the colonies in not being taxed to provide revenue for the British Exchange, but different from them in receiving no subsidies from the metropolis.

[4] The British Empire. Its Structure and Spirit, p. 284
[5] The Imperial Idea and Its Enemies, p. 185

The Mutiny dealt a blow to British government in India from which it never recovered. The fatalist doctrine that East is East and West is West dates from the Mutiny. The British in India never escaped from the haunting nightmare of the Mutiny. They were nervously conscious of being a small garrison in the middle of a population hostile to them. They withdrew from the society around them avoiding all contacts that were unnecessary. The Indians, likewise, drew in upon themselves and would cherish the memory of the Mutiny, as the awakening of their national spirit opposing British imperialism. This powerful belief would develop further in the next generation.

The British in India, thus isolated by a double reaction became a caste, the highest and tightest in that world of caste. They continued to perform their functions with punctilious efficiency, but it was the efficiency of a machine.

With the transfer of formal sovereignty to the Crown, the title of viceroy was added to that of Governor General, but the only change this made in the office was an exaltation of its dignity.

Another important effect of the Mutiny was a revolution of British policy toward the native independent states - the former stopped eating up the latter. But while the six hundred native states were thus perpetuated as an integral part of the Indian System, their relations with the paramount power underwent a subtle change. The native rulers were led to believe that their subordinate position was now more honorable - and they proudly assumed the new obligation of loyalty to the imperial Crown. The British government reciprocated by cultivating the bond in various ways, notably by conferring titles and other honors upon leading princes.

Another line of action pursued by the paramount power was the increasing of their influence and control by concentrating upon the early education of the rulers and the continuous presence of a British resident at their Courts.

This new process of unification at work in India was also reflected in the educational field. Like London University after which they were modeled, the Indian universities were for a long time only examining and degree-granting bodies, but as such they performed a most valuable function. They set and maintained high standard to which the scattered colleges that were affiliated with them had to conform. There was a keen competition between colleges and within colleges to rise the quality of instruction. There was also a rapid expansion of secondary education, public and private, to prepare youths for the university examination that would admit them to college. But the whole movement left the masses untouched. It was confined to the traditionally literate classes. The language of college instruction was English, for the curriculum was basically English and a

knowledge of that language was compulsory if one sought government service - therefore the schools were under pressure to provide training in the use of the favored tongue. But the last quarter of the XIXth century saw the rise of a new generation of Indians who found a new unity in their knowledge of English and in sharing the same outlook and ideas, literary and political. In every district they were the lawyers, the teachers and the administrative officials who dealt most directly with the people. As yet there were no journalists among them, for the newspapers published in the country were all written by Englishmen for Englishmen and were scarcely read by Indians.

Through language and education the Indians, the literate class, were bound together for the first time; more than that they became indoctrinated with British ideals of liberty, which sooner or later were bound to inspire the rise of the national consciousness and the challenge of the British rule. More than that, the Indians became aware that they were the heirs of a civilisation much more ancient and in many ways more splendid than that of England.

The seventies saw the rise of the native press, both English - languages and vernacular, Some of them seized the occasion of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 to praise Russia and attack Britain, suggesting the overthrow of the British rule. Therefore, the viceroy, lord Lytton, passed the Vernacular Press Act of 1878, putting censorship on this class of newspapers. The angry response of these rising generation of western educated Indians was another novelty in a land of traditional submission to authority. the act was also severely criticised in England particularly by Gladstone. In 1882 the Vernacular Press Act was repealed but the injury to the Indian feeling did not disappear and the native journalists became bolder and bolder.

The new viceroy, Marquis of Ripon, established a large measure of self-government in towns and rural districts, this object, he explained, was to train people in self government. He also altered the system of education. He inaugurated a policy of encouraging with the aid of public grants, district boards and private organisations to take over the work and expand it.

The first Indian National Congress - the use of the word "National" was significant - met in 1885 and from there on there was an annual session of this unofficial and loosely constituted body. Most of its members were delegates chosen by various societies and although the third Congress elected a Moslem president, the leaders of the Moslem community were openly suspicious of the movement and discouraged their followers from joining it. Moslems had not availed themselves of the opportunities to acquire a Western education in anything like the degree that Hindus had done and they were more sensitive to their minority position.

The membership of Congress was, therefore, mostly drawn from the community of educated Hindus in which Bengali and Brahmin influence predominated.

The express aim of the Congress movement from the very beginning was to evolve in India a system of self-government.

British bureaucracy reached its zenith and the Indian national movement entered a period of an increased militancy during the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon 1899-1905.

His administration ended with the partition of Bengal in 1905. Events in the outside world contributed much to this crisis, one of them being the Russo-Japanese war 1904-5. The swift triumph of a comparatively small Asiatic state over an apparently mighty European empire heralded for the doom of European domination in Asia.

A cry for complete independence was rallying the professional classes, college students, schoolboys, industrial workers and village headmen. The year 1909 saw the pre-war wave of the rise of national consciousness which aimed at weakening the British raj and hastening its end; it also saw the enactment by parliament of a statute designed to give Indians a greater voice in their own government. The bill to reorganise the government of India more than doubled the size of the various Indian legislatures and made them more representative. A few of the members of various governmental bodies were still appointed but most were to be elected. Indians were also added to the provincial executive councils.

But the anti-British spirit was growing in both of the Indian communities, the Hindu and the Moslem. The national movement was not united yet, - for instance the Moslems unilaterally declared themselves for self-government in 1913 - but the steady advance of both wings towards the same goal - independence - could be already seen when the World War I broke out in 1914. Politically the two communities were organised in the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League. In 1915, for the first time, Congress and the League met in the same city and fraternised and one year later they adopted a plan called the Lucknow Pact. It called for "full responsible government in accordance with the principle of self-determination"[6] and a statutary guarantee that this should be established in the whole of British India within a period of strain and struggle, a period dominated by a new native leader, whose spiritual force far surpassed that of any man India had produced for centuries.

[6] Idem, p. 226

The Congress had just found this phenomenal leader in Gandhi who gave it mass-momentum. Never in world history ghas any other man exercised in his life time such a wide powerful spell upon the popular imagination as Gandhi wielded from the end of World War I. His leadership transformed what had been a movement of the intelligentsia into a movement of the people.

Some weeks before the annual session of the Congress, delegates were elected in their respective provinces, met in their provinces, elected the president of the Congress and then selected one eighth of their number to represent them on the All-India Congress Committee, commonly known as the A.I.C.C. The Working Committee comprised the president of the Congress and about a dozen other members of the A.I.C.C.

Another and more vital feature in the operation of the Congress did not appear in its constitution at all. This was the supraconstitutional position of Gandhi. Officially he was president for one term only 1924-25 and for some years he was a member of the Working Committee, but from 1934 he held no office whatsoever. Nevertheless, no important decision was made without consulting Gandhi, and in the last report the will of the Congress was almost invariably his will. Jawaharlal Nehur aptly described Gandhi's position as that of permanent super-president. The masses worshipped him as the Mahathma or great souled one.

The Congress movement inspired by growing resentment against foreign rule, had reached a point when it was perhaps bound to repudiate the British raj and assert the inherent right of Swaraj, or self-rule. Yet, Gandhi undoubtedly hastened and sharpened the turn from an evolutionary to a revolutionary ideology and he dictated the special character of the new policy - non-violent noncooperation with the British.

The line that cut the deepest remained the one between Hindu and Moslem. It had been there centuries before the British entered India and the prospect of national freedom from British control accentuated the antagonism between these two major communities by precipitating a struggle for place and power against the day of the foreign arbiter's withdrawal. Though the League and the Congress agreed that the country should have an India - made Constitution with a parliamentary form of government, they parted company on two basic issues.

The League accepted the Commonwealth and sought equality within it, while the Congress rejected it as being derogatory of Indian nationhood.

Leaders on both sides saw grave dangers ahead unless they could come together and work out some mutually acceptable constitution.

The so-called Nehru Report embodied the first attempt by Indians to draft a constitution for their country, the frankest effort they had ever made and a public warning to the princess of the native states. It postulated "full responsible government on the model of constitutions of the self-governing dominions"[7] not as the end of gradual evolution which the British contemplated but as the next practical step towards the goal of complete independence. The Nehru Report suggested the possibility of federalism particularly in reference to the future relations of the princely states to British India, or the Commonwealth of India - as the name was adopted in the draft constitution.

Now the great question was whether India was capable of becoming a nation. The prince's failure to seize this opportunity, to become part of all - India federation was ultimately to cost them their thrones and here the British are to be blamed because it would have been much better if they had addressed themselves to the easier task of federating British India as a potential self-governing dominion which the native states might join.

The Congress had taken a firm stand against any British - made constitution and Jawaharlal Nehru who was elected president in 1936 openly suggested that the opportunity for such an assembly would come as soon as possible. In March 1937 after two days of debate, the All - India Congress Committee Asserted their desire to frame their own independent constitution by an elected constituent assembly.

But the Hindu Moslem tension mounted breaking into local rioting and sometimes bloodshed. India was rushing toward a crisis in which the supreme issue was what should take the place of the central government. Before 1937 the League, like the Congress, had condemned the federal scheme of 1935 for not grating complete self - government at once. After 1937 the League denounced it as an instrument that would enable the Congress to establish its tyranny over the whole country. The Moslems would fight rather than submit to Hindu domination. Seized by a growing fear for the survival of their religion, their language, their whole culture, they no longer took for granted the idea of Indian political unity in some sort of federation. Now a new idea was planted in their minds - the partition of India.

The concept of Pakistan had been traced to a small group of Indian students in England, who formulated it in a little leaflet that they privately circulated from Cambridge in 1933, but the seed did not begin to take root in India until the Congress cast off the League in 1937. At first the Moslem leaders regarded it dubiously, but they were thinking in terms of adjusting the Constitution of India to accommodate its multiple nationalities.

[7] A Short History of British Expansion, p. 303

Some went so far as to advocate a wholesale exchange of population. These suggestions naturally brought an angry answer from the Congress, whose leaders could not think of such a thing. They were looking forward to the opportunity to blow down the British raj and to build up a solid Congress raj over the whole of India. Little did both factions know how irrevocably they had split INDIA.

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CONTEXT OF AMBIGUITY

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ABSTRACT. Context of Ambiguity. The study analyses semantic, gramatical and pragmatic contexts generating ambiguities. The concept of ambiguity is viewed as a manipulatory means in communication and the above-mentioned contexts are described from this point of view.

Ambiguity in natural language has been acknowledged as a phenomenon that cannot be ignored if we are to describe natural language in its complexity. Linguistically speaking, ambiguity is generated, whether intentionally or not, on many levels: phonological, grammatical, both morphological and syntactical, semantic and on the level of pragmatics[1].

The aim of this paper is to see how different types of ambiguity, generated by different contexts may be used in communication with the purpose of manipulation. Ambiguity will be viewed not as a draw-back in conversation but as an important tool for gaining control within the conversation or even the general context which the conversation is part of.

This study will analyse ambiguity generating social or even cultural misreadings of a situation. Such ambiguities are very often not disambiguated

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[1] For the purpose of this paper I have chosen not to deal with problems regarding phonological ambiguity, not because I do not acknowledge the range of variation within ambiguity generated on a phonological level, spanning from homophones to problems of juncture and intonation, but indeed because of this, as this is a vast subject in itself that deserves more attention than may be provided within the limits of this paper.

by the context of the utterance, but quite oppositely due to the context, their nature may be regarded as ambiguous. Manipulation may be achieved only by anticipating a reaction based on the general context of utterance determined by situational and linguistic characteristics. In order to analyse ambiguity as *intention* and determine its pragmatic aim based on presupposition, it is not sufficient to analyse a sentence/utterance in isolation, out of context, but one needs to have the full description of the context of utterance to see whether the ambiguity may have a manipulatory function or not.

If a participant to a conversation is aware of the features of an utterance to mean more things than one, when found in contextual isolation, this theoretical knowledge, his linguistic competence regarding the specific utterance will not be enough to gain control by simply using this utterance. Most theoretical ambiguities will automatically be resolved by verbal context or by the situation in general in which communication takes place. So one needs to be able to find the specific context which will not disambiguate the utterance and only so will the use of ambiguity achieve its ultimate aim: **manipulation of the interlocutor.**

The context of ambiguity should be understood as being made up of those devices that will lead to ambiguity: be it of a linguistic nature or a pragmatic one. It is the context that facilitates ambiguity. Regardless of the type of context the result of ambiguity is the possibility of ascribing more than one meaning to an utterance. Ambiguity may be due to single lexical units that are part of an utterance or it may be due to the utterance as a whole and the way it may be perceived in a social or cultural context.

1. Semantic Ambiguity

An important source of ambiguity in natural language stems from lexical elements. Lexical elements may be characterised by a high diversity of meaning. But we cannot say that the degree of diversity of interpretation of an ambiguous sentence in actual use is a criterion for the degree of diversity of its inherent content. The fact that a lexical item may be used in different contextual surroundings to mean different things does not mean that that specific item can be considered to possess the meanings that have come out of those specific contexts also in isolation or in other similar or not so similar contexts. Sometimes a word will be given a specific interpretation in a context and there is no other context where the particular meaning will reappear, as is the case of idiomatic expressions. Semantic ambiguity arises when the contexts

and meanings clash, when a word may be used in different contexts, but with different or partially different meanings.

1.1. Polysemy and Homonymy

The concepts of polysemy and homonymy will be dealt with here together as there is much controversy where the line between them should be drawn. It has been considered by linguists that a lexical element can be regarded as homonymous when its different senses have no relevant component in common : e.g. 'bank' of a river and 'bank' as financial institution and it can be regarded as polysemous when the meanings are connected to some extent. The distinction between homonymy and polysemy has been much debated upon and the fact that it is extremely difficult to assert the point from which similarity in meaning stops and differenciality begins is a common aspect of many linguistic descriptions.

Regardless of the way we define homonymy as opposed to polysemy - far from me to state that I disregard the efforts that have been made to shed light on this distinction- important for the current study is the fact that ambiguity will arise when we are faced with a situation where meaning has to be assigned to a word when there is less contextual evidence and this word may have more meanings than one, whether they are related or not.

Assigning the correct or intended sense to polysemous or homonymous lexical items can be especially problematic for non-native speakers of a language because they may lack the cultural background knowledge[2] on which native speakers draw. Disambiguating such a context becomes thus even harder for less competent users of a language, who may be more or less easily manipulated depending on their reaction.

[2]The concepts of 'background knowledge' and 'shared knowledge' will be used here with the following implications. The concept 'background knowledge' will be used in this paper to refer to the knowledge that the participants in communication aquired prior to their interaction on the basis of their linguistic and non-linguistic experience. This concept will include pragmatic, social and cultural data stored in the memory of the participants. This concept should not be confused with that of 'shared knowledge', also termed 'common ground' (Clark,1996), that refers to the knowledge -also aquired prior to the conversation- that the participants have in common, that enables them to communicate, to make similar inferences regarding specific subjects. The term 'background knowledge' involves the individual and his ability to interact with a potential interlocutor in a potential situation, while the term "shared knowledge' involves the individual and his ability to interact with a given individual in a given situation. 'Background knowledge' is a wider term and it includes 'shared knowledge'.

Notice that many non-native speakers use words which in their native language are polysemous or homonymous in the same way in the target language. Sometimes homonymy and polysemy is preserved but at times this is not the case, which may lead to ambiguous situations for interlocutors of non-native speakers. For example in Romanian the word 'sot' meaning husband/ spouse is also used in a context to mean 'even' : *even number* is in Romanian 'numar cu sot' , literally translated as a 'number with a spouse'. Because in this case no analogy with the mother-tongue is possible a Romanian less competent in English who tries to translate literally will be misunderstood and will probably generate ambiguity and confusion among his interlocutors. Such fixed expressions need to be learned as such otherwise they will prove at all times ambiguous to the hearer. Such an ambiguity is derived out of language incompetence or ignorance regarding the polysemous and homonymic nature of lexical items and the unique combinations these may be engaged in.

The way to disambiguate ambiguities deriving from polysemy or homonymy is to weigh the alternatives against the situational context and speculate on any clues that may derive from actual conversation.

1.2. Partial Synonymy

Lyons states that "partial synonymy is to be distinguished from absolute synonymy -which is extremely rare- in terms of the failure of synonymous expressions to satisfy one or more of the following condition:

(1) Synonyms are fully synonymous if, and only if, all their meanings are identical.
(2) Synonyms are totally synonymous , if and only if , they are synonymous in all contexts.
(3) Synonyms are completely synonymous if and only if they are identical on all (relevant) dimensions of meaning.

Absolute synonymy occurs when all three are satisfied " (1981:50-51)

In generating ambiguity, the second condition seems more relevant. Using a lexical item in a context which is not specific to that lexical item on the assumption that it is synonymous with another lexical item that is characteristically used in that context may lead to ambiguity, due to the fact that such an utterance lacks the reference of interpretation. Such a usage can also be viewed in terms of relexicalization.

1.3. Relexicalization

The inferences we make about a conversational situation are based more narrowly on the language community we know our interlocutor belongs to. Lexical items will be thus chosen for usage according to the inferences about the shared knowledge (see footnote 2) of the participants in conversation.

Relexicalization is a phenomenon of redefining a lexical item within a specific situation/community and using it afterwards with the redefined meaning. The redefined meaning will bring at times just a shade of meaning to the lexical item, in this case it is easier to infer if contextual clues are sufficient or it will be a complete change of meaning, appearing in different linguistic contexts than usual.

An example is to be found in a rule from a swimming club notice (Fowler et al., 1979:27) which states: "Rule no.4 *Please respect the facilities and the equipment and take particular care with untrained children."* Unless one reads the whole list of rules the word 'untrained' cannot be interpreted appropriately. One will fail to understand what type of training the children require in order to enter the swimming pool. The first thing that would come to mind is "trained in swimming", but it turns out from another rule that swimming classes are provided by the club. The answer lies with rule number 5 which states: *The age limits of the club are six months to eight years.* From this we may interpret that 'untrained' in rule number 4 was referring to toilet-training. The item may be said to have been used by the author of the specific rule book in a relexicalized way, implying a specific meaning for this very special situation.

Relexicalization often generates ambiguity if a speaker purposefully uses a relexicalized item knowing that his interlocutor might not be aware of the relexicalization and this may lead to manipulation due to the impossibility of acknowledging the existence of the ambiguity -the hearer will not have two options, but just one option i.e. the meaning of the item before its relexicalization and he[3] will use this meaning as being a given. Thus the possibility of misleading the hearer is great, he might find himself agreeing to something just because he does not actually know what is being implied.

Relexicalization is a process where the speaker stops passing on knowledge to the interlocutor, but encodes knowledge in his own linguistic system or a system that has been to some extent institutionalised. If

[3]The pronoun 'he' and its grammatical variants will be used throughout this study as a generic term incorporating both gender types. This will be done with the sole intention of fluidizing the argument.

relexicalization occurs not just on one occasion but is a characteristic of a society, rather than not just an individual, then it can be viewed as institutionalized relexicalization.

The effect of relexicalization is control through the one-way flow of knowledge. Unless the newly-given meanings are perceived by the hearer or he has the chance to analyse a specific structure or context in order to extract this meaning, the hearer will have a good chance of misinterpreting the information that is given to him and this will most often open a channel for manipulation for the speaker.

Relexicalization as a manipulatory means is probably more powerful than the direct control exercised through commands given directly, in which case nothing is left hidden or open to interpretation. As mentioned before one of the reasons for which ambiguity is deliberately caused in natural language - not when it happens out of carelessness- is to evade taking responsibility for an action or for information that is passed on. When the speaker has some doubts regarding both the relationship with the hearer - who is in control?, who has the power to command?- and the veridicity of the information he possesses he may choose to be ambiguous. If the power relationship between participants is unclear then by a direct command the speaker will not necessarily obtain the expected reaction. An obstinate individual might offer resistance to direct interpersonal manipulation, as is the case when commands are used as linguistic means, but he will find it difficult to evade the control exercised through new terminology. This is mainly because the reaction cannot be as strong or as confident if the hearer is not sure whether he is being manipulated or not, because if he does not fully comprehend the sense of an utterance then it will be difficult to detect its intention, the illocutionary force behind it.

Relexicalization is a very efficient device for deliberate ambiguity as the hearer will most often attribute to the lexical item the meaning that is characteristic for that particular context without giving it second thought, without seeing any need for speculation or interpretation unless some clue attracts attention to the fact that the meaning might have been slightly or totally changed. This is the reason why this method poses no problems for the manipulator, if he infers that the background knowledge of the interlocutor will not permit him to acknowledge the ambiguity let alone disambiguate it.

1.4. Idiomacy

An idiomatic expression is an expression the meaning of which cannot except at the cost of artificiality be described as a compositional function of the meanings of its component parts and the structure of the expression. Idiomacy

is a special type of relexicalization. It does not involve a restricted speech community, but a broader background. Idiomatic expressions, in opposition to other types of relexicalization, cannot be interpreted by analogy with denotational or connonational data of the words involved in the context of usage, but will be decoded only if known or learned as such. Idiomatic expressions may lead to ambiguity and misunderstanding due to insufficient linguistic competence on the part of the hearer. A speaker who knows the degree of linguistic competence of his interlocutor will be able to use idiomacy as a manipulatory device, misleading the hearer into interpreting an idiomatic expression by analysing the lexical items that make up the idiom literally.

Take for instance:

A:*The old man kicked the bucket yesterday.*
B: *So what, what does this have to do with anything?*
A: *I was just saying....*

Speaker A knowing that B does not have sufficient linguistic knowledge to understand the implication of his utterance that the old man died, will use the idiomatic expression if he is not sure that in fact this is true and he awaits confirmation or a reaction towards this information. But B's utterance does not give him anything to go on, so he abandons the exchange, not wanting to state directly that he thinks, knows that the old man has died. If B's reaction had been *So what does this have to do with his being released from hospital?* the manipulatory device of using idioms with somebody who does not understand them in order to get information which one does not want to directly request would have succeeded. A who initially did not know the situation of the old man after the exchange knows that what he knew was wrong without having shown his interlocutor that he was wrongly informed. If A has the slightest doubt that B will understand his utterance, in this context he runs a greater risk than just proving that he is misinformed, he runs the risk of showing his disrespect towards the old man, due to the nature of this idiom to be highly informal and non-euphemistic. To avoid this he might use *pass away* as phrasal verbs raise problems for learners of English in the same way that idioms do. He can assume that this will not be understood anyway, only that no literal sense is to be derived from it. So if he uses 'pass away' he might find himself being directly asked what this meant and it is extremely difficult to evade a direct question. In the sequence presented, evading the question was easy as it was more or less a rhetorical question and the interlocutor was not under the

impression that he was dealing with an ambiguous situation and that he did not understand the utterance.

Idomacy will function to generate ambiguity only in such contexts where the addressee is not aware of the idiomatic usage of whatever expression is used, either because he is a non-native speaker or because he is not familiar with the way an expression is used inside a given community. In normal circumstances idiomatic expressions are rarely ambiguous as they have a fixed contextualized meaning that is not interpretable except if the degree of idiomacy is reduced and words can be misunderstood to be used in their literal sense. For example *blind date* should be viewed as a contextualized specialisation of "blind' that is completely and uniquely determined by its occurrence with 'date'. There is no other combination that will entail this meaning of 'blind=identity unknown beforehand'. So one either knows what this means or has to admit his lack of knowledge if he wants to fully comprehend the meaning of an utterance containing this expression. An interlocutor who does not know the expression and who considers that interpreting it literally does not result in a satisfactory meaning will be able to disambiguate the utterance either by direct confrontation, having to admit his inferiority in what language competence is concerned or he may pretend to fully comprehend the utterance and wait for the conversation to disambiguate the utterance on its own due to the course it will follow.

Idiomatic expressions may be interpreted literally in a seemingly satisfactory way, without apparently posing interpretation problems when attributing the literal meaning to them, e.g. *kick the bucket*. They may also raise question-marks when the attribution of the literal meaning does not lead to a satisfactory interpretation within the given context e.g. *blind date*. And there is a third case when attributing literal meaning will lead to a totally unsatisfactory result as the utterance will prove to be meaningless: e.g. *to run a bath*. While the first two may be used in order to manipulate as an ambivalence is noticeable due to the possibility of attributing also the literal meaning to the idiomatic expression attracting a more or less satisfactory interpretation, the last expression cannot determine deliberate ambiguity either on the part of the speaker or the hearer as the meaning is unique and non-interpretable.

2. Grammatical Ambiguity

Ambiguity as caused by grammatical issues is well worth analysing as it opens doors to diverse interpretations. Grammatical ambiguity relies on the possibility of assigning a sentence two (or more) distinct grammatical structures and thus two (or more) meanings, corresponding to the alternative interpretations available. The fact that either of them may be attributed to one and the same context will generate ambiguity due to their interpretable nature.

2.1. Homonymy

Homonymy is not just a characteristic of lexical items, grammatical structures may also be homonymous. When a sentence is regarded as grammatically homonymous, the difference in interpretation is not to be relegated to a difference in meaning between its lexical elements, they might very well not be homonymous or polysemous. So the fact that the whole is interpretable due to the structure or word-order does not mean that interpretability is a feature of the words that have built up the sentence. The sentence *They are flying planes* can be viewed as two different sentences with two different meanings assigned to them. In the first case 'flying' is to be viewed as part of the verbal construction referring to 'they', while in the second case it is part of the noun phrase determining 'planes', meaning 'planes that can fly or can be flown'.

The easiest way to disambiguate these types of constructions is to use different structures, to modify the structure so as to make the sentence more explicit regarding the meaning that was intended with it. Resolution of the ambiguity will under no circumstances be found in a lexical analysis of the items involved in the sentence but in the grammaticality of the whole. Of course, if the aim is manipulation and creating ambiguity there is no need to seek to disambiguate, on the contrary.

2.2. Nominalization

Nominalization is a transformation which reduces a whole class to its nucleus, the verb, and turns that into a noun usually by suffixation. Nominalization is used to a great extent in formal and impersonal language as a means of pushing aside the notion of agent. This is the prime aspect that may induce ambiguity in the case of nominalization, ambiguity regarding who is the doer of an action especially if that action is not favourable for the addressee or attracts responsibility for the agent.

Nominalization is a process of syntactical reduction, as well as potential relexicalization. The personal participants are deleted as the clause turns into a noun, so is the modality contained in the clause, if any. The nominalization of verbs permits deletion of reference to the persons responsible for and affected by the processes described by the verbs. These reductions can only be guessed at afterwards in trying to reconstitute the initial clause, so whatever interpretation the hearer will attribute to the sentence is bound to be highly speculative.

Nominalization in situations where something is expected by the addressee is manipulatory by inducing ambiguity especially in situations of written

text, where no possibility of inquiry exists. Thus vagueness is a way of gaining control of the situation, of imposing a power-relationship on the addressee.

e.g. *Missing more than 30% of the classes will attract immediate exmatriculation.* (in a university rule-book).

The author omits to say who exactly has the authority to exmatriculate, so that when one has to address somebody on the matter, he will either have no one to address until he is exmatriculated or anybody who might be questioned out of mere speculation on the part of the reader may deny responsibility. Nominalization may be here simple omission or it may be deliberate vagueness.

Nominalization apart from the situations where it leads to vagueness, thus creating ambiguity, can be in part a form of relexicalization as it derives from a certain context that is transposed in a noun form. The process is one of encoding a situation which can be decoded only if specific knowledge is accessed, knowledge which involves a set of concepts defined particularly by this system. The noun, result of a nominalization may be used with the meaning generally accepted - no relexicalization having occurred - but it may also possess some nuance or even another meaning that has to be known in order for the decoding to be possible.

2.3. Passivization

Passivization is another method of dodging responsibility, agents are reduced, the reader/addressee is manipulated into emphasising the object rather than concentrate on the subject. Thus a text may be vague and it may also lead to ambivalence regarding the verb-relationship. The syntactic structure may account for more than just ambivalence. It can do more than just cloud the relational responsibilities of the deep structure (who does what to whom), it may actually reverse the distribution of rights and duties. Thus someone who has something done to him by another can be made responsible for his own suffering. A newspaper headline read: *Rioting Blacks Shot Dead.* In a passive surface structure, the nominal designating the object is placed in the position of theme (thematization), normally the left-most noun phrase in the sentence, and this is a position commonly associated with the role of agent. The syntax strongly encourages one to read the first part of the passive sentence with the expectation that it is going to describe some action carried out by the object. The greater the distance between theme and verb, the more the illusion of agent will persist.

Utterances like: *I'm told that you are moving* are an interesting case as the speaker places himself in the foremost position, attracting the attention of

the hearer but he may not be made responsible for the utterance and not only this but mention of the actual agent is avoided. Passivization generates ambiguity through vagueness, which will lead to a state of confusion on the part of the hearer and he will become a possible 'victim' to manipulation, because ignorance will most often generate vulnerability.

2.4. The Verbal System / Tenses

The use of tenses in English may also prove to be an ambiguation criterion, as some tenses have apart from the main usage secondary usages that express nuances regarding a specific situation. If the language competence of a speaker is high then he may choose to use the secondary usages as means of manipulating a situation.

A: *Has John finished his homework?*
B: *Yes, I saw him doing it.*

This conversational exchange is proof of how different verbal forms may be used in order to manipulate even a native-speaker that might not be so sensible to shades of meaning or might simply not pay attention to them.

The manipulatory device in this example is made up of two elements. The first regards the fact that the question is answered positively thus diverting the attention of A as to what will follow because the question is a yes/no question and 'yes' will satisfy A and will not leave any space for any type of doubt. The second aspect is using the continuous form in this type of context. Grammatical descriptions (Zdrenghea & Greere, 1997) of the continuous form show that in this type of situation the continuous is used to show a momentary feature not one of duration, meaning that he did not see the whole process just that at one point the process was taking place. Actually what follows after 'yes' is in opposition with the affirmative, because B did not see the end of the activity of doing one's homework. So 'yes' is a result of his speculation and it is most of all a manipulatory device, distracting A's attention from the real nature of the situation. A will not stop to wonder how the sentence that follows has been constructed grammatically as to see what is actually intended by it. And therefore B cannot be made responsible in the case that John did not do his homework because he never said so. B's utterance was interpretable, at most, not to mention highly manipulative.

2.5. Word-Order

The word-order in a sentence is of course the most commonly acknowledged type of grammatical ambiguity as specific word-orders will entertain two or more interpretations all extremely plausible in a given context. Take for example: *He was walking among the students eating their lunches.* The most probable interpretation of this sentence is that 'the students were eating their lunches and that he was walking among them' , a strong clue for this interpretation is the pronoun 'their' and the plural form in 'lunches', but nonetheless an alternative interpretation is possible due to the word-order of this sentence : 'he ate their lunches as he was walking among them'.

The way to disambiguate such an utterance is to change the word-order, or to introduce new elements that will better define the position of the speaker regarding the utterance, making the intention of the speaker more clear. But again if manipulation is the aim then the speaker will choose to conceal his intention rather than to reveal it and thus the hearer will be left to weigh possibilities and try to find a match for the situational context.

3. Pragmatic Ambiguity

Ambiguity may also be potentiated by aspects of a pragmatic nature. Ambiguity may arise regarding the nature of illocutionary force, the pinpointing of deictic elements, the weight of social and cultural elements. So even if utterances are not ambiguous lexically or grammatically in some cases they may still be ambiguous and raise interpretation problems from a pragmatic point of view. In such cases we are faced with ambiguity stemming from situational data or lack of situational determinants.

There are also situations when lexically or grammatically ambiguous utterances generate a pragmatic ambiguity regarding that utterance. Such situations of combined ambiguity will not be dealt with here. We will be looking at pragmatic ambiguity proper not pragmatic ambiguity generated by lexical or grammatical ambiguity.

3.1. Speech Act Ambiguity

By uttering sentences in the contexts of use of natural languages speakers attempt to perform illocutionary acts such as: statements, questions, declarations, requests, orders, promises etc. and their attempts to perform illocutionary acts are part of what they mean and intend to get the hearers to understand in the context of their utterance. Direct speech acts are very difficult to be used as a means of creating ambiguity unless the utterances are grammatically or lexically ambiguous. Speech act ambiguity refers to the impossibility of assigning an illocutionary force to an utterance, weighing two or more possibilities regarding the intention with which an utterance has been made, having more alternatives of interpretation as to what the aim of an utterance is regardless of the lexical or grammatical elements encoded in the utterance. According to Vanderveken, who makes a detailed analysis of speech acts and the meaning generated by them, "every sentence expresses under any semantic interpretation with respect to each possible context of utterance one (or if it is ambiguous [the author refers to lexical or grammatical ambiguity] several) literal speech acts whose logical forms are entirely determined by the linguistic meaning of that sentence and by the relevant contextual features.

Thus, a competent speaker who understands the meaning of a non-ambiguous sentence, and moreover knows the relevant features of a possible context of utterance where the sentence is used, also understands *ipso facto* which illocutionary act the speaker of that context primarily means to perform if he speaks literally in the context. "(1990:11) Considering this aspect, it is highly improbable for a speech act to be misunderstood with regards to its content or illocutionary force.

Indirect speech acts on the other hand may prove to be ambiguous in what the illocutionary force stands for. People prefer using indirectness when they know that they are not completely justified to ask something of someone in a direct manner, or when they know that by being direct, they may determine an adverse reaction in the interlocutor. For example if a speaker is not in a commander-commanded relationship with his interlocutor, if this relationship is not socially acknowledged than he might choose to use a less direct means of ordering the interlocutor, maybe in the form of a question: *Would you kindly refrain from smoking?* instead of *Don't smoke!*. The first sentence apart from being extremely polite - politeness is an acknowledged means of manipulation, but not the subject of the current discussion - is meant to lower the impact of a direct command, embedding it in a question form while still maintaining the illocutionary force of command. As Vanderveken noticed a competent speaker will always view this sentence as an order having more or less intensity, rarely will he consider it as a simple question requesting an answer and not as an order addressed to the hearer.

A speaker will always make inferences about the situation he is in and the way the participants to conversation will interact on assumptions he makes about the background knowledge of his interlocutor and the shared knowledge they have about the specific situation they are engaged in and about issues in general. So before uttering a sentence he will weigh the possibilities of reaction and act accordingly as to obtain the most favourable - for him- reaction of the interlocutor. If the relationship between the two is not clear-cut regarding who is in control, then each will negotiate for power using linguistic means. Fowler *et al.* see a pattern in the way power is negotiated for: "as a general principle, we propose that the greater the power differential between the parties to a speech act of command, the more direct the syntactic form (imperative) which may be chosen. Someone who enjoys absolute power can afford to be abrupt. The smaller the power distance the greater the amount of linguistic effort "(1979:30) that will be put into trying to conceal the relationship that one or the other is trying to impose on the situation. The addressee will supply deleted -by the speaker- elements from his knowledge of the non-linguistic context in

which the speech act occurs in order to interpret it. The linguistic dependence on context makes the situation itself remarkably salient and palpable.

Indirect speech acts that contain deleted information regarding the power relationship through which the speaker avoids stating his power may breed counter-statements and thus facilitate insubordination. This insubordination may be a direct result of the ambivalence of the illocutionary force embedded in the speech act. If *'Why don't you close the window?* is responded to with *Because I don't feel like it,* this is a sign of insubordination where the interlocutor plays the ambiguity card pretending to have taken the initial utterance as a question, which is a valid reaction considering the nature of the utterance. In fact he has perceived it as an order but refuses to acknowledge his position as the commanded in relationship with his interlocutor. But if the response is *Who are you to order me around?* then if the first participant wants to retrieve from the position of commander which he was trying to negotiate but failed, he may do so admirably due to his initial ambiguous utterance: *I just asked you, I didn't say you should do it!* So in this case it paid off to use an indirect speech act in order to protect his position and be able to dodge the responsibility of trying to control the other if questioned about it.

As shown indirect speech acts are potentially always ambiguous as they represent a speech act without maintaining the illocutionary force common for that particular speech act e.g. a question not used as commonly expected as a request, but as a command. For the participants in conversation an indirect speech act will not pose any difficulty as acting on the background knowledge one will always be able to decode the intention, so the illocutionary force is more or less obvious. Interesting about indirect speech acts is the power they give to one or the other party to conversation to manipulate by pretending to interpret the speech act literally not with its inferred meaning, intention. So if the utterance is intended as something more than the situation permits both parties have a way out, neither is forced to assume a role he does not want to play, reactions may be anticipated and no matter how opposing they are the situation having been prepared with an indirect speech act will allow a way of evading responsibility and prejudiced assumptions.

3.2. Deictic Ambiguity

In order to interpret an utterance we have to attribute meaning to that specific utterance. The meaning of an utterance might be derived from either assigning sense to unknown words or assigning reference to words that have meaning but make no sense unless they are referential. We have to know how to derive the sense and reference which a speaker intends from a range of possible senses and references which a sentence might carry. It has been observed

that "most often, the process of assigning sense and reference are mutually dependent: unless you know what something refers to, you may not be able to work out the sense, and conversely, if you don't know the sense of a word or phrase, it is more difficult to work out what is being referred to." (Thomas, 1995 :13) Reference is extremely important if we are dealing with deictic expressions. Such expressions derive part of their meaning from their context of utterance. These expressions do not mean very much in isolation, they become truly meaningful only in the context of utterance. Virtually all deictic expressions, by their nature, cause problems of reference when removed from the original context of utterance.

Deictic expressions are a means of generating ambiguity of very different degrees: from time and place ambiguity to ambiguity determined by the difficulty to assign reference correctly to any utterance containing a third person pronoun since these have an almost infinite number of possible referents. In such situations the degree of ambiguity is very high and the possibility of disambiguating virtually nil. So that again one of the participants may choose to mislead the other into misinterpreting a deictic expression by decontextualizing it and thus by depriving it of its reference.

In actual conversation between two people it is almost impossible to isolate a deictic expression unless indirect speech is used as a tool. In reporting speech acts the participants may choose to maintain the deixis without providing additional information that might help the interlocutor to assign reference and thus to infer the correct meaning of an utterance. If A tells B that: *I met Mary in the park yesterday. She said that you two were going to the Opera and that she would meet you there beforehand.* 'There' in this context is ambiguous, as we may assume that A has transformed the direct speech in indirect speech according to the rules governing this transformation but in doing so the reference of 'there' has been lost. 'There' could in Mary's utterance have been 'here' meaning 'the park' where they found themselves at the moment of speech or it could have been 'there' meaning the Opera. This difference was lost in the transformation and it will give rise to confusion.

Or similarly, if A passes an undated note to B from Mary saying *I will meet you on Monday,* the easiest way to avoid them meeting is to delay giving B the note. No one will ever be able to accuse A of any bad intentions and he would have manipulated the situation in his favour masterfully. Also if A communicates this message to B in person saying *Mary said she would meet you on Monday* B will automatically infer that the note is about the Monday that is approaching, he will take it for granted that A has adapted the initial utterance to suite the situation at hand. If A deliberately wants to mislead he will not add

that this is what Mary said, exactly how she said it and that Monday might have already passed.

Actually using reference as a means of deliberately ambiguating an utterance is much more subtle a means of manipulation than that regarding the attribution of sense or rather misattribution of sense. In such cases the ambiguity is very seldom noticed, usually the hearer makes some inference of his own with which he will be satisfied to cover the essence of the situation without suspecting any misinterpretation on his part. Also the speaker cannot be condemned of having deliberately ambiguated a situation as it is much more plausible to omit referential knowledge than knowledge regarding sense or grammar.

3.3. Discourse Ambiguity

Discourse ambiguity is a phenomenon closely related to lexical ambiguity in the form of polysemy and homonymy involving domains of discourse. Within a conversation the topic may change involving a change in discourse typology. If this change is not perceived, or is intentionally made unnoticeable an interlocutor might attribute a meaning to a lexical item on the knowledge of the initial domain. If a hearer is in the wrong domain of discourse, the possibility of wrongly assigning sense is greater.

3.4. Social Ambiguity

Social ambiguity refers to those utterances that generate ambiguity as regarding the social status of those involved in conversation and also the way that the participants in conversation view the social status of their interlocutors. In English social differences are quite hard to distinguish from the linguistic devices available. There is no grammatical means of representing deference in language usage. What may be used to express one's position regarding the placing of one's interlocutors in the social structure is modality (Zdrenghea & Hoye, 1995).

Social opinion is not encoded in English in the language one uses to address somebody, but social identity is encoded in how language is used, what style of speech one adapts. English dialects are a means of distinguishing social class and even degree of education. Somebody is bound to be misjudged because he uses a dialect.

There is fairly little manipulation that can be obtained by invoking social ambiguity, exactly because social hierarchy is not precisely defined in the language system, the most one can do is be extremely polite so that the interlocutor will be made to believe that the speaker has a high opinion of him, that he places the other high up on a social ladder.

3.5. Cultural Ambiguity

Cultural ambiguity relies more on vagueness and ignorance than on anything else. Somebody may choose to be ambiguous by making reference to cultural knowledge only he possesses, by code-switching in conversation, using foreign words that are not translatable in the language the conversation takes place because the two realities differ in essence.

In code-switching, if the interlocutor does not know what the foreign word means, he may want to pretend that they have understood so as not to seem inferior, lacking knowledge. If the speaker uses a foreign word the hearer will presume that the speaker has used a foreign word because he assumes that the hearer shares this knowledge with him. Pretence is a possible reaction in this situation so as not to disappoint or reveal the truth about one's ignorance. This may allow manipulation on the part of the speaker.

Another way of using cultural concepts to create ambiguity is if the speaker will use a concept existing in both cultures with different meanings - partially or totally- misleading the interlocutor to believe that he is intending to generate the meaning of that concept in the culture of the conversation when actually the word is used with the meaning of the other culture, that might very well be the speaker's or even the hearer's. If it is the speaker's, his excuse is that he might not have known the difference between the two and if it is the hearer's culture that is reproduced the excuse of the speaker was that he wanted to enable the hearer to understand the situation fully. An exchange in English between an Englishman and a Romanian:

> Englishman: *I bought ten roses yesterday, I will have them delivered today.*
> Romanian: *To whom?*
> E: *To Mary.*
> R: *When did she die?*
> E: *What?*
> R: *I was joking.*

In both cultures offering flowers to women is customary, only in Romania an even number of flowers will be delivered to a dead person only, otherwise odd numbers are bought. It is considered an offence to deliver even numbers of flowers and people are very careful about it. In England even numbers are bought. So the Romanian plays the joke by pretending that he assumes that the knowledge conveyed corresponds to his cultural data, when the Englishman has no such intent. In this example cultural ambiguity due to the same customs but having different meanings assigned to them in the two cultures is used merely as a joke, but even this can be manipulatory as it shows

that the Romanian possess knowledge the Englishman is not aware of. The result of the joke is gaining control, determining the nature of the controlling-controlled relationship.

Concluding Remarks

In isolation words or even sentences are potentially more ambiguous than in a situational context where the determinant elements are better represented. Due to this fact a participant in conversation will find it that more difficult to be intentionally ambiguous with the aim of manipulation without being uncovered. Using ambiguity as a manipulatory device in the communication process is highly risky as the speaker needs to make a great number of inferences regarding the context of utterance and his interlocutor so as to anticipate any disambiguating clue and avoid it. The degree or even existence of ambiguity is dependant on the contextual and situational data and on the power of the speaker to anticipate the interlocutor's reaction towards a specific utterance. A correct assumption regarding this reaction is the key that will pinpoint the power relationship, it is the most important element in the process of negociation for power.

As pointed out, there are many types of contexts that may be interpreted as ambiguous, ambiguity may be spotted at different levels, but it is the characteristics of the situation and the contribution of the participants that will ultimately allow the ambiguity to evolve and be used as a manipulatory device in the power relationship and not be percieved as a mere disturbance, discrepancy in communication.

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ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNING IN ROMANIA: HOW DOES IT HAPPEN? WHAT DOES IT TEACH?

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ABSTRACT. The data for my study comes from ten English language learning accounts written by Romanian students who study for a BA in English and who will become teachers of English after graduation. The discourses of the students are a product of the context they were educated in, an educational system in transition. The aim of my research is to find out the institutional views, values and beliefs underlying the accounts of these students. (Learners' writing about their own language learning experience is a means of language learner consciousness raising and a valuable needs analysis tool for me as a 'teacher of teachers').I am looking for ideas connected to Knowledge about language, Language awareness and Critical language awareness in the accounts to draw a picture of the Romanian educational system at a time of change. The issues that I am looking at are: 1.) the image of the Romanian foreign language learning system compared to the Council of Europe Recommendation No. R (98) for learning modern languages, 2.) the view of foreign language and 3.) the beliefs about foreign language learning that are present in the language learning accounts. The accounts show the extent to which these students who will become teachers of English are aware of all these issues.

Most of the students who study English for their BA in English will become teachers of English after graduation. Being aware that talking about their own language learning experience is a valuable tool of consciousness raising for learners, I asked students to write an account of their English language learning experience. The accounts were written as 'homework' following a class discussion based on materials about language learning experiences; the wording for the task was: 'Describe your experience of learning English so far. You could write something that would help and/or amuse other learners of English. The accounts that the students wrote are to be found in the appendices of the paper.

The students' accounts were written three years ago. As I could not ask the students for permission to use and analyse their work for this research, I decided to refer to them only as letters of the alphabet: **A**, **B**, **C**, **D**, **E**, **F**, **G**, **H**, **J**, **K.**. Putting together the information from the accounts one can draw a picture of the place of foreign/English language teaching and learning in the educational system in Romania at present.

"Every discoursal instance has three dimensions: it is a spoken or written language *text*; it is an *interaction* between people, involving processes of production and interpreting the text; and it is part of a piece of *social action*." (Fairclough, 1992: 10) (my italics)

Learning a foreign language in the Romanian educational system starts before school in kindergarten. Then pupils study one foreign language in school at the age of eleven-twelve, but it is a language that the school offers according to the language teachers it has and not according to the children's choice. **A**: "It all began in kindergarten.... Nothing official for the next eight years. Our school had decided that French would do us more good than English.". **C**: "...I started when I was eleven at school." **E**: "after three years of learning English, when I was in 8th grade..."; **G**: "From my first contact with English, when I was twelve...my English teacher." **H**: "Unfortunately in our village school French and Russian were the only foreign languages that were studied,..."

In secondary school, 'high school' as the students call it, the study of a second foreign language begins and the study of the other one is continued. Pupils usually move to another school after the 8th grade as the secondary schools are mostly located in a different place and building and offer some kind of specialisation. **A**: "Then high school came and ...I could learn English in school! Only I had to start with the fourth year of study..." In this case the pupil had moved from the school where she studied French to one in which English was studied. **C**: "I attended intensive English courses in high school" Intensive English is only offered in some schools and it means that the pupils have more than two hours per week.

There are contests for students in all school subjects and therefore in English, too; this is mentioned by **C**: "But what made me study a lot was my participation in the English language contests (the Olympiads as we call them). I had the opportunity to compete with other students like me who liked English...". **C** was a successful learner as she won a prize at the national level English language contest, but there are also less successful ones like **E** who says that she was relying heavily on her deskmate's knowledge, actually cheating. Pupils will be pupils in any educational system, some more motivated than others.

Teachers differ too in what their requirements are concerned; this is due to the fact that they might move from one school to another as **F** mentions: "A new teacher came...", or be native English speakers. **B** had an American teacher of English. This teacher was different as he had "original ideas about how language should be taught". Some teachers teach private classes as **H** took "private lessons of English"; this gives pupils the opportunity to study outside the state school system.

The third element of the triad learner - teacher - textbook, the textbooks, are mentioned by **D** as a not too useful tool since they were old and mislead pupils by 'teaching' them "the splendid language of the 18th or 19th century" and not the language that is actually used. In order to avoid this problem the learner needs to listen to the radio and to read newspapers.

After graduating from secondary school the future students need to pass an entrance exam at the university in order to study for a BA. The difficulty of the exam is hinted at by both **A** and **H**. "I decided to try my luck by sitting for the entrance exam"(**A**) and "Up to now my greatest achievement was my passing the entrance exam" (**H**).

There are several kinds of degrees that one may decide to study for at several universities, but in these accounts besides the modern languages degree the only other one that is mentioned is a degree at the technical university (engineering degrees mainly). While attending courses for a degree at the university the study of one foreign language is compulsory, and this is usually English for Special Purposes in the field of your degree. **A** tells about this as she is a technical university graduate who is now studying for a second degree, majoring in English. Her account also mentions the possibility of learning foreign languages by attending courses offered by institutions specialised for this purpose.

Although the whole 'picture' of the Romanian educational system is more complex, this is quite a comprehensive image. Even the school buildings/ environment are referred to: "little red and white cups lined on shelves and us singing" - an orderly place and a warm atmosphere in kindergarten (**A**) and the less welcoming "large building of the faculty" with the stairs and halls and the crowds of students. The student (**H**) feels "lost", is always running, in a hurry, and has become a "figure". These feelings about the university could be both induced by the actual place, but also by the belief that this is the highest authority, the one that can provide all the solutions. **F**: "The more I knew the more I realised how much I did not know ...that is why I am here ..." and **A**: "I realised that amateurish English was not enough for me ... and here I am." The fact that the student is always running could be a comment about the far too

crowded timetable that the students have; they actually have very little time for study. The "crowds" of students are also a reality as the universities have accepted more students every year but the buildings are the old ones.

The image of the Romanian language teaching and learning system as it emerges from these accounts agrees with most of the requirements for language learning set by the **Council of Europe Recommendation R (98)**. It **promotes plurilingualism** as English is not the only foreign language that is taught: **A** and **H** mention French and Russian (German, Spanish and Italian are also offered). It appears that English is favoured by learners both because English is 'the' international language as "it was English that brought us together and made us feel like citizens ...of the world" (**C**) and because it has imposed itself as a dominant in culture: "the films were mostly English and American" (**H**), "the words in songs" are in English (**J**) or "he had heard a lot of beautiful things about it on TV", it being English (**E**). **Language learning starts at an early age**, at preschool and lower secondary level as it is mentioned by **A**, **C**, **E**, **G** and **H**. The students implicitly attach importance to language learning as they are studying it for a degree at university and they do not only recognise the importance of language proficiency but also try to achieve it. But the learners' taking part in **links and exchanges** is limited; **C** and **H** refer to such opportunities but these were very special as **C** had been on the trip to England as a prize for a national level competition and **H** went there to visit relatives. Some students had the possibility to communicate with native speakers of English (**A**, **B**, **C**, **H**) but others only 'dream' of visiting England (**D** and **G**). **Language learning is vocationally oriented** at university level (**A** learnt 'technical English' at the technical university) and **adult education** is promoted as people have the opportunity of studying for a second degree and there are other institutions besides school where languages can be learnt (**A**). When the effort of communication is only one sided the view of language is bound to be less than realistic.

The **view of language** underlying these accounts shows that most of the students are striving to achieve 'perfection', accuracy, by learning grammar and vocabulary and mainly by reading or translating. I believe this to prove that the kind of teaching that goes on in the schools is mostly non-communicative and also a result of the lack of real communication possibilities that the learners envisage. But there are among them some students who have learnt in a communicative manner and who had the 'luck' to speak to English or American people and for whom language is a means of communication not just grammar rules, vocabulary and books.

A started in kindergarten by singing in English which was the 'natural' way, but being then left on her own, not being helped by the school system, trying to fight the situation she started 'reading'. She considers the main reason for her lack of achievement the lack of grammar knowledge and this continues up to university when after learning "basic grammar" she "realised I needed more" and takes an intensive course and later studies for a degree in English. This account shows that although **A** started by learning vocabulary and grammar she realised in the end that she needed communication skills. She is critical about what schools offered her and tries to find the school that will provide what she needs and her view of what language is has changed, from language as an abstract pattern to that of language as a means of communication, although this is not directly stated.

B sees language as a means of international communication and recognizes its positioning effect in the sense that if you want to belong to the global community you need to know English. "They had come from different parts of the world: Arabia, Australia, Germany and Ireland..." and proved "to us that however different their accents were they were making themselves understood. That was the very first time when I really understood how important language learning was." **B** has also realised that there are different accents and that language does not necessarily conform to a norm.

C has the same feeling, that of being a "citizen of the world" because she was for three weeks in England where she could use the language not only with her hosts but also with participants from other countries: France, Switzerland, Austria, Norway, Sweden and Japan. Although she uses English to communicate she also believes that "solid knowledge of grammar and vocabulary" are what a learner aims for. She read books in English and this induced her interest in the language. I find this statement rather surprising, similar to that of **A**, that one can read in a language before one has learnt the language. Something important that is mentioned by **C** is the relationship of the language with the people who speak it and with their everyday life. It appears that **C** has started to understand the positioning value of language, you are a citizen of the world if you know English, it gives you the power to communicate, and that English is also connected to the civilization and cultural identity of the English.

D too sees the language as consisting mainly of grammar and vocabulary, but she realizes its power, I believe, even if only subconsciously, as she metaphorically calls it "a fortress which should be conquered step by step". She is also aware of the fact that one knows a language when one is able to speak and think in that language. Even in the case of speaking and thinking she

lays stress on the correctness of the language used. Because she realises the "gap in the knowledge of contemporary English" she tries to 'fill' it by listening to the radio and by reading newspapers; she has to find solutions by herself as school does not provide what she needs and what she needs is the 'living' language.

E only refers to the sound level of English which she is aware differs from the spelling ("wondering why we don't pronounce the words in English as we spell them") and by saying that her father had been conscious of the power of English, because he had understood it from television. She also seems to think that studying on your own out of books can be a solution for learning a language.

F's account tells about the strategies she employed in learning "I could not memorize just by hearing it, I needed to write it down or at least see it written down". She says that English seemed "easy to write, to talk and to read. After I understood the conditional sentences and the sequence of tenses ... there was not too much left to learn or maybe just some words." This student is aware of the communicative value of language and also of its structures and lexical levels and by mentioning that learning these was just the beginning she is perhaps aware that there is more than that to a language.

G is, in my opinion, the only one of my respondents who was taught in a communicative manner, who is aware of all the aspects of communication in another language and this is due to her teacher who "did a little bit of everything" with her pupils: language skills, language levels and cultural awareness. Although she has not had the chance of travelling to an English speaking country she sees the value of her knowledge of another language because she has gained access to another culture and is ready to become a teacher to impart this knowledge to others.

H could be said to have 'acquired' the language: she started by listening to films she did not make much sense of; then she learnt some words in English from some British relatives who visited the family. What she did next was to study under the guidance of a teacher whom she says she owes a lot to as "he helped me surpass my difficulties". She has used English for real communication as she visited England, was able to read literature in English, and understands songs and films in English and communicates in English with a penfriend. She is obviously aware that English is a real means of communication.

Beside the ideas about language learning present in the accounts of **A**, **B**, **C**, **D**, **E**, **F**, **G**, **H**, what is 'new' in **J**'s account is the frequent reference to translation. She translates everyday words and phrases, writes down words she

wants to remember, tries to think in English, makes "intelligent guesses about the meaning of unknown words" and "was not afraid of making mistakes" which has helped her in learning. She has also used reading and listening to improve her language ability. "I tried to be actively involved in the learning process" and not to rely only on the teacher. She gives a good description of her learning strategies, proving that she knows how important "individual study" is, but her knowledge of how language works is not very clear.

Another description of learning strategies is **K**'s account, which is not a personal one but rather a recipe. She is aware of most of the levels of language (pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary) and the skills involved in using it (reading, listening, conversation), but has a simplistic view of learning "All you need to know is what to learn and how to learn."

"So learning a foreign language is more complicated than it seems" is **K**'s conclusion. Most of the accounts also state that in one way or another: it "is not always easy" (**J**), "I have had a whole range of difficulties" (**I**), "My advice to a beginner... not to take into account the difficulties..." (**B**), "study a lot" (**C**), "Don't get discouraged from the very start, you have plenty of time for that" (**D**), "The more I knew the more I realized how much I did not know" (**F**). Only **G** seems to have had a less difficult time when learning English as she remembers it as a pleasant time, "a challenging game". This is, I think, the result of a different approach to teaching that **G**'s teacher had. The approach was more learner centered, less teacher dominated and therefore the learner besides having a better time while learning English is also more aware of the language and feels she has the potential to teach, which is not mentioned by any other of my students. Her teacher has managed to 'scaffold' and facilitate learning, which is also obvious from the fact that it is the only account in which the enterprise of studying English was accomplished through cooperation and not alone. "I felt a very strange attachment for this language and the only one to 'blame' for this was my English teacher...she was absolutely amazing at making us interested in her classes...if one day I become a teacher I do hope I will be at least half as good and loved by children as my first English teacher is."

"Writing, like all language, is embedded in its immediate social context. Context of situation must include not only the observable characteristics of participants, but also their interests, values, beliefs, commitments, allegiances, and their sense of self-worth." (Clark & Ivanic, 1997: 67)

These ten accounts were produced by certain people in a certain context and carry therefore their particular views, values, practices and beliefs. What may be important to mention is that they were written by students as

'homework', they are pieces of writing that were handed in to the lecturer and this may have influenced what the students wrote to a larger or lesser extent. They might have left out aspects that they thought are common knowledge between me and them and do not need to be made explicit. They might have written their 'language learning experience' taking account of the 'reader' who is their lecturer at university. Although there may be distortions produced by the fact that they were my students, the accounts are nevertheless written by students who were educated in our school system between the mid 1980s and now (2000) and their language learning experience has been taking place at a time of great changes in our educational system. There are traces of the older system and also of the newer one in the sets of values, practices and beliefs embodied in their accounts. The school system has adapted to European standards but these students have only partly benefited by this adaptation. The teachers who teach in schools are both older and newer ones and have adapted in varying degrees to the new requirements. The students whose identities have been shaped by a system in transition prove this fact in their views and beliefs about foreign languages and foreign language learning, especially in connection with English, in agreement with what Kress (1985: 94-95) says about education:

"Education is that social institution which is about the change and progression of its client members in the direction of mainstream culture, and into its classifications."(Kress, 1985: 94-95)

Their view of language varies, too, from that of language as an abstract system of patterns of sounds and structures to the one of language as means of communication which is the embodiment of a certain culture and which gives access to certain domains of cultural or economic importance. This awareness is only at its beginning in these accounts and still far from the critical awareness of language as well as from

"... the development of a critical awareness of the world, and of the possibilities of changing it" (Clark et al. 1991: 52)

which should be one of the aims of education.

"Identities are multiple, complex and change over time. People's identities are constructed by language: by the way they are spoken (and written) to, by the way they are spoken (and written) about, and by the way they are expected to use language. People also shape institutions by what they bring to them: including the use of language. As people move through educational (and other) institutions they may experience many and conflicting pressures to 'dress themselves' in different linguistic clothing - some of these pressures they may submit to, others they may resist." (Ivanic, 1998)

This kind of awareness will hopefully become one day part of my students' and part of everybody's knowledge both about their mother tongue as well as about any other language.

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APPENDICES

A. *It all began in kindergarten. I can still see it before my eyes: the little red and white cups lined on the shelves and us singing, "One little, two little, three little Indians..." Nothing official for the next eight years. Our school had decided that French would do us more good than English; I accepted this for a few years, but the need for English did not let me rest, so I did the only thing I could: I started reading in English. I did not understand half of what I read, not even if I used a dictionary. There were two reasons for my troubles; my dictionary was small and my grammar was non-existent. The TV and the movies have also helped a little. Then high school came and the miracle, too - or so I thought - I could learn English in school! Only I had to start with the fourth year of study and without basic grammar knowledge. The four years passed by without my really learning something. I kept up with my reading though, but when I first saw 'had had' in a sentence I was sure it was a misprint. The light at the end of the tunnel appeared at the technical university, where Mr.Xxxxxx knew that we needed not only technical English but also basic grammar and after a year of learning English from him, I realized I needed more, so I attended a ten -month intensive course in English in which I started from the beginning. This gave me more confidence in my English, but I also realized that amateurish English was not enough for me. As time went by I also had the chance to talk to native speakers of English and my desire of learning more became stronger. That is why I decided to try my luck by sitting for the entrance exam for a degree in English and here I am.*

B. *My class had the chance, in high school, to have as English teacher an American, who due to his original ideas about how language should be taught to foreigners, was called 'a free spirit'. I remember his entering the class once accompanied by some strangers whom he had picked up in the street. Each of them introduced himself to us in his own English. They had come from different parts of the world: Arabia, Australia, Germany and Ireland and our teacher had asked them to come to our class to prove to us that however different their accents were they were making themselves understood. That was the very first time when I really understood how important language learning was. My advice to a beginner would be never to quit studying the language and not to take into account the difficulties he or she might encounter because as Churchill put it a genius is 1% inspiration and 99% perspiration.*

C *I have been studying English for eight years now. I started when I was eleven at school. I did not care much about learning foreign languages then, so I only did what the teacher asked me to do, nothing much in fact. I started reading books in English when I was thirteen and it was then that I really became interested in learning it. I attended intensive English courses in high school and it was then that I started to get a clear idea about the English language and the English people. But what made me study a lot was my participation in the English language contests (the Olympiads as we call*

them). I had the opportunity to compete with other students like me who liked English and tried to do their best in learning it. The greatest reward was not that I acquired much solid knowledge of grammar and vocabulary, but the three weeks I got to spend in Cambridge on a scholarship which was the prize that I won for coming third in the national English language contest. It meant a lot to me: the experience of actually being among the English, of being part of their everyday life and, especially, of hearing and speaking English all the time. I was part of a group of students coming from all over Europe (France, Switzerland, Austria, Norway, Sweden) and even Japan. What I found most exciting about it was the realization of the fact that it was English that brought us together and made us feel like citizens not of one particular country but of the world.

D. *Learning a language is not as easy as it might appear at first sight. The system of a language is a fortress, which should be conquered step by step. The first one could be considered quite easy: not to starve on London's streets. But we assume we want more than that. First it is the grammar to deal with. Theory is good, practice even better. Knowing and understanding the grammar rules is the basics but there's a long way to come until speaking and thinking correctly in English. Supposing we successfully surpassed this problem we still have to build on the foundation which is grammar. Vocabulary is the most important part of learning a language, it is the main instrument of communication. But when it comes to learn it from the books or Romanian textbooks things get more complicated; we will at some point realize that we use the splendid language of the 18th or 19th century, but we look puzzled in a newspaper or understand nothing on the radio. Our system of learning English in schools has this flaw of creating a gap (not easy to fill in) in the knowledge of contemporary English. One possible way to avoid this situation is to read newspapers, to try to get used to that kind of vocabulary, to see phrases that had never crossed our imagination though we know all the words. Thus learning English at a different level than managing not to starve in England is not such an easy task. And I was really about to forget: Don't get discouraged from the very start, you have plenty of time for that.*

E. *After three years of learning English, when I was in eighth grade, I was a worse speaker of English than a cow is. (To be honest, I'm not a better one right now, but neither is the cow). I used to copy all the homework from my deskmate, and the same happened in the tests. I was a real torture to the poor girl, but she was a philanthropist and she took pity on me. So I found myself in the first year of high school still wondering why we don't pronounce the words in English as we spell them, the same question that had been my obsession up to that time. Seeing that I had no intention to fall in love with chemistry & physics and become a doctor (that was my parents' dream; a utopic one of course) my father decided that 'the child should know English'. This happened maybe because he had no idea of the language but he had heard a lot of beautiful things about in on TV. He came home once with a m3 (cubic meter) of English textbooks and throwing them into my arms he said very sweetly: "Study!" And I studied.*

F *When I started learning English it seemed easy to me because the teacher did not expect too much of us. Then a new teacher came who expected a higher level and who was quite severe. Then I got scared and realized how little my knowledge was. I did not give up and tried to do my best. When I reached a certain level, English seemed to be a very easy language, easy to write, to talk and to read. I could not memorize a word just by hearing it, I needed to write it down or at least to see it written down. After I understood the conditional sentences and the sequence of tenses even the grammar seemed easy. I thought I knew English and there was not too much left to learn or maybe just some words, to enrich my vocabulary. But little by little I realized that I was just at the beginning. The more I knew the more I realized how much I did not know or that there were things I knew in the wrong way. Maybe that is why I am here, to correct those mistakes and to learn as much as possible.*

G *From my first contact with English, when I was twelve, I felt a very strange attachment for this language and the only one to 'blame' for this was my English teacher. Not even now am I capable to define her style of teaching, but I can tell one thing: she was absolutely amazing at making us interested in her classes and now when I am looking back I see that not even two classes were alike. I suppose that was because we did a little bit of everything: listening, singing, reading and especially a lot of grammar. She brought us video-tapes and magazines so that we might find out interesting things connected with the everyday life of English-speaking people. So my first years of English seemed like a challenging game, a game I was playing with (or maybe against) myself (as I discovered later). I have never had the chance of travelling abroad or of meeting a considerable number of native English speakers to talk to, so I am much better acquainted with written English than with the spoken one. I could not step on solid English land, only on the spiritual land of the language and I find myself at a disadvantage from this point of view. I read all the books I could lay my hands on, trying not to give up when the style of the author seemed almost unapproachable. But I did not consider myself better than my classmates, merely more interested, so that duty-work became pleasure-work. I am still very far from my aim at the moment and I am not even very sure what I am going to do with my life and my English. But if one day I become a teacher I do hope I will be at least half as good and loved by children as my first English teacher is.*

H *If you happen to enter some time in the morning the large building of the faculty of modern languages of the university, you may notice a figure running along the halls, up and down the stairs, always in a hurry, always looking lost in the crowd of students. Yes, you are right... that figure is me. I passed the entrance exam to the university and I study English as my major subject. Why did I choose to study English? Well, there are several reasons. When I was a child I would watch the Saturday and Sunday evening films regularly. The plot did not interest me too much, neither did I understand much until I learnt to read, but the music of the words fascinated me and the films were mostly English or American films. My first lessons must have taken place when*

my cousins and relatives from England visited us in winter and I learned what 'good', 'cake', 'chicken' and 'how do you do' meant. Unfortunately in our village-school French and Russian were the only foreign languages that were studied, so I had to take private lessons of English. The three week long trip to England I went on was of great help for my English and I consider it to have been a crucial step in my study of this language. I think that anyone who studies English and is interested in it should take a trip to an English speaking country to' feel' the living language. I have read several books in English, too, and they helped me improve my vocabulary. The most important books that I read in English are Charlotte Bronte's 'Jane Eyre' and Shakespeare's 'Romeo and Juliet'. A teacher is very important when one learns a foreign language and from this point of view I think I owe my teacher a lot as he helped me surpass my difficulties with English, namely the phrasal verbs and the prepositions. Naturally I like using songs and films in order to improve my English. I also have a penfriend who is very helpful and with whom I share many common interests. Up to now my greatest achievement was my passing the entrance exam. Plans for the future I have several but I will tell you about them next time.

I *Learning English has been a wonderful experience for me. When I began studying this beautiful language I found it easy to learn even the most incomprehensible parts of it, as I liked it too much to stumble over such trifling matters as the Present Perfect aspect of the Present Tense, or whatever else one might think of as difficult. It has not been disappointing so far and, although I have had a whole range of difficulties as concerns its use in speech as well as on paper, the English language can offer intellectual satisfaction, as opposed to physical satisfaction. It is food for your brain and one of the best, too.*

J *I began studying English seriously when I was fourteen, and my only reason was that I liked it. At the beginning I was so enthusiastic about it that I expected to learn everything in a very short time, which was not possible. As I did not have anyone to speak English with except for my teacher in school, I was actually trying to think in English and began to look up all kinds of words and phrases. Every time I heard something in Romanian I used to wonder: "How do you say that in English?" I used to do a lot of grammar exercises and translations. When finishing a translation, I would put down the unknown words and repeat them regularly. When learning a foreign language it is important to have a teacher to help you, but individual study is even more important. I did not rely only on the teacher but I tried to be actively involved in the learning process and make, for example, intelligent guesses about the meaning of unknown words. I was not afraid of making mistakes; I have actually learnt a lot from my mistakes. Reading in a foreign language is also very important. Whenever I come across an unknown word I try to guess its meaning from the context; if I cannot I look it up or simply ignore it if it does not seem important to the whole meaning of the text. When watching an English or American movie on TV I try to understand the language without reading the Romanian translation. I also try to understand all the words in songs, which is not always easy.*

K *Learning a foreign language may be extremely exciting but sometimes it may be very boring. All you need to know is what to learn and how to learn. People say that one can learn a foreign language by reading books in that language. I agree, but I think one should learn some grammar first in order to understand the structure of the language. And only after studying the grammar structure one should go on to read books. This method is very efficient because one can see how the language works. After learning the grammar structure and a part of the vocabulary, one should start listening to tapes in order to practice his study skills of understanding texts. This method can also help you correct your pronunciation. Another piece of advice I can give to those who want to learn a foreign language is that they should have conversations on different topics in order to practice their skills of expressing themselves fluently. So learning a foreign language is more complicated than it seems.*

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A PASSSAGE TO NEW INDIA

IOAN A. POPA•

ABSTRACT. The twentieth – century British Literature has shown a keen interest in the Indian subcontinent. Rudyard Kipling, E. M. Forster and Paul Scott are among the outstanding authors in the field. Salman Rushdie, who may be considered the godfather of the authentic post-colonial novel, is the uninhibited master of a new approach that led to the revival of "the new British fiction" in the nineteen-eighties and nineties.

(Motto):
"…there is neither East nor West,
nor border, nor breed, nor birth…"
(Rudyard Kipling)

The twentieth century has produced quite a few authors with an interest in the Indian subcontinent. They are an outcome of Britain's manifold contacts with India. Rudyard Kipling and E. M. Forster have been singled out as telling examples in the first half of the century, Paul Scott in the second. Their approach – a fictional study of the British Raj from the height of its splendour to the non-glorious nineteen forties or the closing years of the British Raj – brings about contrasting views: Kipling, the voice of Imperialism triumphant, investigates the imperial grandeur; Forster investigates the imperial status quo, already shaky in view of impending tensions and misunderstanding, while Scott investigates the imperial decline marked in the end by the communal massacres that accompanied Independence and partition in August 1947. Their Indian experience and their capacity to take in the human landscape varied substantially.

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Kipling took advantage of a new background and captured its strange sights and colours, while seeing the East romantically as part of the White Man's Burden. In *Kim* the author set out to juxtapose East and West in the person of a boy who could live in both worlds at once and, by mediating between them, could represent the ideal of the united India. Kim's India is essentially the India distilled by the author's imagination at a time when the subcontinent was still considered the jewel in the British Crown. In Kipling's view the British Government was protecting that land of diversity against evil men, chaos and tyranny.

E. M. Forster chose to explore the Anglo-Indian relations. It was a corrective to Kipling, for with realism Forster showed not the romance of the East, but actual people and the difficulties they had in mutual understanding. He was not a keen observer but also "the grave spectator of the imperial scene". It is his entry into the minds of the central characters rather than natural description that made *A Passage to India* such a singular literary achievement. In the 1920"s the times were changing but British people in India were not, and the sensitive observer tried to translate what he saw and felt into fictional art.

A Passage was approached by its earlier readers as a political novel, with endless argument on whether it was "fair", and much resentment on the part of those who felt their community had been maligned. That included not only the Anglo-Indians, but also Indian nationalists. If we treat the novel as social history and not as imaginative fiction we have an intimation of what was really going to happen in the next few decades. A good deal of "the passage to India" is not about an American dream of democratic brotherhood (as the title excerpted from Whitman might suggest), but about what actually happened in that strange country. Forster foresaw the troubles of the world and could have written his novel to offer a solution to some of them.

Paul Scott takes one further step: he wanted to change people's thinking about the past and wanted to show the Indians as full people. The pressures of surrounding racial, social and religious crosscurrents are as much a part of a complex pattern of human affairs as is the personal psychological make-up of individuals. The documentary component of his account is reinforced by the gradual access to the plot of actual events enacted by real people, including the leading politicians of the time. He pretends his sequence to be narration of authentic fact. Paul Scott conceived his novel as a constant procession of characters and foils and witnesses crossed at essential points by "newspaper reportage" about real personalities and events. India, E. M. Forster once said, is not a mystery, it is a muddle; and herein it is very much like itself.

Indian English literature drew sustenance from Indian tradition: the Hindu myth and Muslin lore. But by the virtue of his education, the Indian English writer is heir to the mainstream of English literature from Shakespeare to post World War II literary developments. And what is of more immediate concern and relevance to him is how his predecessors wrote. How they crafted their thought and how they handled their problems of form and content. In other words, it is the moulding of one's thoughts to Indian realities that matters. The crucial question today is whether English literature with India as both background and subject matter represents Indian reality to a sufficient degree. This reality cannot be limited any more and he has to write authentically of poverty, squalor, slum life, hunger, religious intolerance, communal tensions, public corruption and stalemate, about achievements versus the limits of India's self-confidence. He is faced with a dual problem: that of detachment from his own milieu and experience and that of empathy, if he wishes to write about harsher aspects of life.

Salman Rushdie, who is perhaps "the godfather" of postcolonial writing, comes to illustrate at its best that new search for identity or rather indentities that are "at once plural and partial". Uninhibited by nationality he digs deeper into the Indian detail and steers his narrative to the quicksands of the times that followed independence in August 1947. His vantage point is quite obvious: the post colonial heritage can be perceived from the double perspective of the author's Indian and British experience: unlike Paul Scott, Rushdie is the exceptional product of two worlds and he can approach his subject without prejudices: thus, he can keep the contending forces of his narrative in balance. Authenticity of fact is not an obsession since in the field he is the most authentic witness.

Like all great novelists, Salman Rushdie is a master of narration; in his particular case "the story" of *Midnight's Children* is nothing but a history of modern India. Saleem Sinai-main character, narrator, omniscient witness due to the miraculous powers of his mind – is born in the city of Bombay on August 15, 1947, on the stroke of midnight – "at the precise instant of India's arrival at independence, I tumbled forth into the world" – and destined to be a chosen one. "Handcuffed to history", his destines are "indissolubly chained" to those of his country. Politicians ratify his authenticity and the Prime Minister himself promises that the country will watch his growth and nurse his coming-of-age; his life will be, in a way, the mirror of the whole nation's new life marked by developments and more than often dim the saffron and green colours of early hopes. He registers and retells many stories, "too many such an excess of intertwined lives events miracles places rumours, so dense a comingling of the

improbable and the mundane!". He is a "swallower of lives" who in fact makes the reader "swallow the lot as well" – a narrative *tour de force* beyond the boundaries of the individual into a commentary about human condition.

Midnight' s Children, dramatizing the history of independent India in the person of wildly extravagant Muslim, Saleem, is composed of elements of magic and fantasy, the grimmest realism, multi-mirrored analogy and a potent symbolic structure. All this is stamped into a unity by a powerful personality, which wrestles the language and the fiction down the masters is to serve a huge purpose, namely the personification of India and the realization of Indian Life.

The overall structural design and verbal wit grants credibility to the fictional autobiography of the protagonist-narrator. But *Midnight's Children* is more than mere autobiography, it is an autobiography of attitude covering three decades of life, three decades of inexorable reality. Time cannot be pickled in a jar, but chapters of one's life story can until the author reaches the end of his "long-winded autobiography" that has immortalized his memories, distortions included (they *are* inevitable), since "we must live with the shadows of imperfection".

Whatever else it is, autobiography stems more often than not from a need to explain and justify the self. To write autobiography one must take one's own life – or some major portion of it – seriously enough to find in it a significance that makes reconstructing that life valuable to others. Autobiographical narratives usually require a variety of authenticity devices, such as character references and reports of investigations into the narrator's past; without precise temporal, spatial and familial coordinates, "an autobiographer" remains in some sense unidentified and unidentifiable to readers.

The unbiased Salman Rushdie had one more asset at hand: the realistic tradition of the English novel which allows for history to intertwine with fiction and allegory is supplemented in Midnight's Children with the Indian oral tradition of perpetual story-telling, which in its turn allows for the unfettered passage from the realm of real fact to the fabulous realm of fancy and imagination, the deliberate choice of a denouement that may, at any instance, become a new beginning.

Rushie's magic realism helps him get past the threshold of individual biography. There is an organic growth and incorporates all the significant lives of the characters Saleem Sinai comes in touch with or gest acquainted. It can be read as fable or history or fiction. Extravagant myth-making alternates with passages of first – person political candour, while the author allows access to the plot of actual events – Independence Day, celebrations, political rallies, five-year

plans, the war with Pakistan, the emergence of Bangladesh, but above all the actual people who filled in "the blanks" created by the departed colonial administration. A westerner by adoption and choice, looking back on a country -his own – where he couldn't have written the type of prose he had invented, Rushdie reaches a complete identification with his protagonist. In a supervision of history, they speak of the inner apprehensiveness of the new age against the flimsy screen of external great expectations.

Considered at times not a mystery, but a "muddle" (Forster), an "abstraction" (Churchill) or simply described as "functional anarchy" (Galbraith), India *is* a national reality. In a recent essay occasioned by the 50th anniversary of India's independence, Salman Rushdie still finds room for celebration. He wants "to extol the most important thing that came into being on that midnight 50 years ago, the innovation that has survived all the history could throw at it: the so-called "idea of India" – the most innovative national philosophy to have emerged in the postcolonial period, worth defending against all its foes.

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THE BRITISH PUB – MORE THAN A DRINKING PLACE

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ABSTRACT.'*The Temple Inn'* or *'Cock Robin', 'Sale', 'Ches',* are wonderful places. Once I thought they were nothing but drinking places. This paper is an attempt to prove that pubs are actually more than drinking places; it concentrates on statements which describe the British pub as *one of the main centres of British life outside working hours* (Irwin:1990), *a major organisational form of society* (Borsay:1990), *one of England's great social institutions* (Humphreys:1997). References are made to pub names; a short list of beer terms tries to offer a taste of the British pub. Although I have mentioned the status of the alehouse during the Tudor and the early Stuart period or its position in the Victorian period, this paper in not a history of pubs.

"In many societies, there is a place that constitutes a sort of neutral ground where people can meet in a public place without the strains that come from being on someone else's homeground. In West Africa, it is the space under the village's meeting tree. In England, it is the pub."

Nigel Barley, **The Native Land**

You drink when you are thirsty, to cure it; or you drink when you are not thirsty, to prevent it. There are many places where you can cure or prevent your thirst. Pubs, for example. Why are these drinking places called public houses? Hospitals and almshouses also cater for people but they are not called public houses. I think that the very essence of the pub is to be found in its name: *public house*. It suggests that the pub has always been a second home for the British. It also describes a social reality: the pub as a house for the community, a house in the 'centre'of the community. The pub is more than a place where you can cure or prevent your thirst; it is more

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than a drinking place. It is a national institution and a myth of the British way of life. It is present in tourist guides, advertisements, literary works, etc. There is the old spit and sawdust, dirty, smelly pub; or the traditional and romantic image of the pub portrayed by all tourist booklets: a beamed bar and comfortable lounge, a small stone fireplace, easy chairs, people drinking pints of beer and happily conversing; some pubs have computer terminals, others are like continental cafes; some cater for families, others ban children; some are silent, others excel in disco music; some pubs are theme pubs (Irish theme pubs are mushrooming world wide).

Books concerning social history usually contain references to pubs.The most common one is that of the pub as a social institution, so the impact of 'going to the pub'as the most popular away-from-home leisure activity has been enormous. It is not common to talk about German or Greek tavernas, for example, as main centres of social life but in the case of the British pub we can vouch that its social role is a specific British phenomenon and the extent to which it has been involved in people's life remains unique in the world. Drinking places have always existed: inns, alehouses, taverns, pubs, bars.

Let's consider the following quotation from Peter Clark [1978:49]: *'At the top was the inn, a large establishment with a multitude of guest-rooms, extensive stables and warehouses.Frequently standing in the main street of town or village, it offered ale, beer and usually wine, together with quite elaborate food and lodging for the traveller. Increasingly important as a meeting-place for town merchants, county justices, and landowners, it was strongly identified with the social and political elite[...] The tavern was also a fairly select establishment...but without the extensive accomodation of the inn[...] At the bottom of the victualling hierarchy was the alehouse or tippling house, a much more basic establishment. Essentially it sold ale and beer...It also offered food and one or two beds for the foot traveller or lodger. Most ale houses were kept in ordinary houses, in a back room or in a cellar; alehouse-keepers and their customers tended to be drawn from the poorer classes'*. The quotation is nothing but an accurate description of the establishments existing in the 17th century. Each establishment created its own type of customers so we might be tempted to say that this hierarchy had its correspondent in the social division. However it would be wrong to state that going to a certain drinking establishment was strictly a matter of being associated with a social class. There are some other aspects which have to be taken into consideration. First of all, the idea of 'togetherness' or 'community'. Man is a social being and human history is the history of human forms of association.These forms usually describe a whole community of people brought together by economic, social,professional, religious, common interests;

these forms have evolved according to social needs and circumstances. The influence of the Church was, and still is, very important. Customs, feasts and major events in one's life were associated with the Church; the parish was at the centre of people's social life. Besides religious rituals there was eating and drinking. As Birley (1993: 21) noticed: *'...drinking, on its own or as a part of festivals and sporting activities, was the essential British leisure pursuit...'*

What followed was the appearance of drinking establishments where people had the chance to enjoy a drink and have a free and easy talk with other people. Little by little these drinking establishments became the other focus of the community. Jonathan Barry (1980:255) mentions: *'Poor tippling houses often had a communal or neighbourhood role, serving as the centre for more traditional folk rituals and attracting the lower orders away from church services.'*

Today many local feasts are associated with pubs. *Garland Day*, well illustrated in Martin Green's book (1993:65), is a flower custom which takes place at Castleton, Derbyshire on 29 May. The Garland King and Queen-chosen by the villagers-have to make a tour of the the village.The ceremony begins at one of the six pubs of the village; they have to stop at each of the pubs for some refreshment and when the ritual is over the participants go back to the host pub. Many other examples in Martin Green's book (1993) support the idea that pubs are not only drinking places but also factors that secure the identity and unity of the community. Nigel Barley (1989:17) quotes the example of Smallwood, Cheshire, where the pub is the main centre of the community: *'It is the pub that seems central to integration within the village[...] Smallwood people give loyalty to a single pub and questions may be asked if the regular of one pub is seen elsewhere[...]The pub, of course, is more than a place to drink. In Smallwood it runs a football team, golf society, an off-shore sailing club. Indeed, drinking is not accounted a major activity in the pub.'* The quotation points out another important feature of the pub: its main role in admitting people to the local community.

Thinking in terms of '*one*' pub, i.e.loyalty to a pub, is very important to the members of the community. Thus, there are 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. The 'insiders' are both those from the community -on grounds of residence or history- and the 'regulars' of the local pub. The 'outsiders' have to find acceptance with the community and in this case the pub plays an important role.

Richard Holt (1989:384) mentions a survey of a mining community in the 1950s which reported the following: *'Husband and wife live separate and in a sense secret lives[...] It is a point of honour among men to keep some time for drinking and attending sporting evevts with their mates'*.The same survey reported that 'after a year of marriage men return once more to the company of their mates'[1989:384].

These two features of the countryside pub (i.e.male-oriented structure and social function) have been the main features of town pubs, too. Artisans, associated in guilds, were famous for their drinking. Their pub-based culture was one of pleasure seeking, social, jovial.By the end of the 19th century this heavy drinking artisan culture restricted to certain trades and regions. F.M.L.Thompson (1990:302) argues that a new culture, a more respectable one, began to replace it: *'Middle-class observers of the early London music-hall delighted to see artisans...sitting at the tables with their wives. In perception the artisan was now becoming the 'labour aristocrat', a respectable, hard-working member of society who took his pleasures seriously'*.

But the pub-based culture did not disappear. New forms of urban culture emerged: clubs, societies, voluntary groups. These were often based around taverns, inns, public houses or churches. Pubs provided a pleasant background for informal debates so their choice as meeting places for such clubs and societies was not accidental. Not only urban elites but also working people from towns met in clubs and societies to debate their own problems.

Pubs also hosted drinking clubs. Borsay (1990:350) quotes Aikin's description of a Manchester club in 1720: *'There was an evening club of the most opulent manufacturers, at which the expense of each person was fixed at four pence-half penny, viz .four pence for ale and half-penny for tobacco'*.

In the 19th century pubs continued to be the centre of the community. Many societies and clubs asserted their pub origin. As Borsay [1990:350] argues, many public and subscription libraries had their origins in the public house or replaced similar public house function.

The convivial atmosphere and the integrative role played by the pub may be opposed to the exclusiveness of the English club: '*The great thing about an English club is its exclusiveness. One might think it is the duty of every member to make it as hard as possible for anyone else to become a member[...] He feels that he has passed all tests, and has therefore acquired in some mysteriously way a distinction which he is not supposed to share. Otherwise it would diminish his club's exclusiveness. A club must be above all things select.'*(Ingrams:156*).*

While upper-class clubs remain exclusive due to their class orientation, pubs are not class based. Pubs cater for everyone: students and workers, lawyers and MPs, gays and lesbians, actors and sportsmen,etc. The flexible character of the pub and its continuous adaptation to society and people's needs are now facts which can not denied.

The great social institution of the 19th century- this is a label at hand attached to the British pub by many social history books or tourist guides- resumed and developed the social pattern promoted by the alehouse. The *'alternative society'* suggested by the title of Peter Clark's study (1978) of the

alehouse should not be understood in a negative sense, though there is much evidence that alehouses had some connections with the underworld. The term should be associated with the way of life promoted by the drinking establishment. But this way of life can not be equalled with a cultural model. It was the pub that created an alternative popular culture-the male culture-based mainly on sporting activities and debating societies centred around pubs. The 19th century lifestyle of the Victorian working-class men could be described in other terms. During the Industrial Revolution the pub was a primary force that helped people integrate into urban life; it was a place of refuge in front of the social realities. The pub became the organizing centre of the sporting popular culture dominated by men. It was the social materialisation of the Victorian mentalities which excluded women from active social life. Drink and sport were emblems of masculinity and the culture centred around them borrowed their masculine features. The prohibition policy and thecultural differences in drinking habits complete the image of the pub in the Victorian period.

Pubs have developed according to social changes and have responded to their customers' needs, so it is obvious that pubs have not preserved their 19th century features entirely.

The pub ceased to be a 'men only' territory when women took up two major male activities, sport and having a career. The pub began to shelter a heterogeneous clientele, but it also had to face the challenge of several alternative opportunities: cinema, dancing halls, television, computers, etc. There are as many kinds of pubs as there are communities: city pubs specialising in lunches for businessme; large road-houses, providing restaurant-style meals; modern pubs catering for young people, with jukeboxes, live music or pubs that are family friendly and children-friendly, with menus for under 10s, high chairs, nappy changing facilities, indoor playing areas.It is again obvious that the pub is being adapted to the needs of its customers. You can have a pint of beer but also enjoy a good food;once, only a drinking place, now a meeting place; there are pubs where men are outnumbered by women; rules concerning the admission of children have been relaxed; you can drink ale, Guinnes, stout or porter but also lager, cider, wines, vodka and even bottled water. Even more, pubs have created some basic rules of behaviour (Millar:1996):

*there is no waiter service in British pubs-drinks must be bought at the bar

*to get served, you must attract the attention of the bar staff without making noise

*adopt an expectant, hopeful, even slightly anxious facial expression- contended customers don't get served
*buy drinks in rounds, not individually. Not getting your round is heresy
*don't tip bar staff- offer them a drink instead
*do not walk up to people and introduce yourself. Nobody cares if you are 'Chuck from Alabama
*don't be alarmed by the mad stampede to the bar after the last orders bell is rung
*the most important male ritual is the argument. Do not take it seriously and avoid heart-to-heart conversations

Pub signs and names are in themselves a fascinating study. One can pick up from them much of Britain's history as well as folklore, social customs, heraldry, etc. Many of them pay homage to famous warriors or battles: *The Waterloo, Oliver Cromwell, The Duke of Wellington*; royalty is represented by:*The Crown, The Prince of Wales*; literary names are there too: *Sir Walter Scott, Oliver Twist, Sir Richard Steele, Robinson Crusoe*; myth and legend are represented by: *Robin Hood, Apollo, Samson*; some pubs signs have a biblical flavour: *St John's House, St Patrick's Well, St Paul's Tavern, St Mary's Arms*; names of musicians and actors are less noticeable but still there is: *Paganini, Louis Armstrong, Charlie Parker's, Brahns and Liszt, Bogarts, Charlie Chaplin, Laurel and Hardy*; some very strange forms of expression occur in: *The World Turned Upside Down, A Bit on the Side, Bees Knees*.

The stories behind these names are also fascinating. Here are some illustrations of the subject: *The Five Alls* (consists of a king- I rule for all, a priest- I pray for all, a soldier-I fight for all, a lawyer- I plead for all, a farmer/John Bull- I work/pay for all); *The Swan with Two Necks* (said to be a corruption of 'two nicks' with which the Vintner's Company marks the beaks of their swans); *The Three Chimneys* (during the war with France in the 18th century, French prisoners were kept at a castle and were allowed to take a walk to where the pub stands at the junction of three lanes: *les trois chemins*).

The spectrum of British pubs is very large today. This variety is determined by a multitude of social factors already mentioned. Does the old pub belong to a dying tradition? Decay or modernisation? One thing is sure: irrespective of the name of the process, pubs will always take into account the surrounding social reality, the 'local feeling'. Pubs will always be true to themselves and the community they serve. Pubs do have character.

The story of this unique institution is the story of a continuous change and reinvention of itself. It is the story of numerous human communities which made the pub a 'home' of their own. A home which perfectly caters for them.

Glossary of Beer Terms

Ale	top-fermented beer; it has the characteristics of full malt flavour and is hoppedquite heavily. Included in this style are the barley wines.
Aroma	fragrance, usually in a pleasant sense when applied to beer.
Balance	the feature of a beer concerned with the harmony of various flavours and sensations.
Barley	the most suitable cereal grain for making malt beverages, it provides head, body, flavour and colour.
Barley wine	this term is usually applied to very high gravity beers, above 1060 original gravity. They should be consumed like a fine port or brandy.
Bitter	English term for well hoped ale, most often on draught. Colour varies from bronze to deep copper.
Bock	a beer traditionally brewed in winter, stronger and darker than regular beer
Body	the degree of density in beer. It has nothing to do with the alcohol content of the brew.
Dark Beer	has a full rich taste and a high percentage of roasted malted barley producing its coffee-like colour.
Gravity	a measure of the density of beer. Water has a gravity of 1000. Gravity readings are taken prior to fermentation and are often expressed as 'original gravity'. Pale ales are in the range 1035-1060,stouts and porters are higher.
Hops	a viney plant, the female bud of which is used as a preserving agent in beer.It also imparts a bitter taste in beer.They can also be very aromatic, esp. if added after the boiling of the beer.
Lager	the term derives from the German word that means 'to store' and refers to the long period of aging during the second fermentation.The aging is done near the freezing temperature for water and proceeds very slowly.
Light Beer	the term 'light' originally was used to distinguish pale pilsners from dark pilsners. The term is used more and more to indicate a low calorie beer.
Malt	is grain that is germinated, then dried to release starches.
Pale Ale	is only 'pale' in comparison to porter. It is usually amber or red.
Pilsner	this is a style of beer developed in Pilsen(Czech Rep.).Pilsners should be very pale and well hoped,but the term has become interchangeable with lager in most parts of the world.
Porter	was the first commercially brewed beer in England and was a dark ale.Today porter is quite refined and is making a comeback.It is heavy bodied and dark with a slightly sweet taste.
Stout	a high gravity,top fermented beer thick in consistency and dark in colour.The colour comes from from roasted barley and they often have a coffee or chocolate taste and aroma.

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CARYL CHURCHILL AND THE THEATRE OF OPPOSITION

ALINA PREDA*

ABSTRACT. Many a time the theatre has challenged the old traditional order of supremacist attitudes, making use of its power to translate experience into new forms, by offering its audience the opportunity to let go of a certain view of the world and embrace a new one. When artists challenge our dominant culture, and when their work is a site where sex, particularly gay sex is given coverage, or a place where sex and race intersect, they face resistance and censorship due to sexism, racism and homophobic reactions. But there are artists who do not allow the censors to compromise their freedom of speech: Caryl Churchill is one of these artists who constantly challenge that illusive and unstable line drawn between what should be censored and what should not. The dramas of Caryl Churchill are meant to incite, subvert, provoke and organise. She has broken the silences surrounding taboo topics such as sexuality and lesbianism, sexism, homophobia and racism in a play entitled Cloud Nine. The comprehensive picture of contemporary society that Churchill presents is really vivid, impressive and even touching at times, and makes the audience come to an understanding about the dangers of oppression and discrimination. The importance of Churchill's plays resides in the fact that they contribute to the creation of today's history and clearly mirror the fragmentation of our society into a number of value systems fighting for supremacy.

MOTTO: *'I am a child of every mother*
Mother of each daughter
Sister of every woman
And lover of whom I choose or chooses me.'
Elsa Gidlow

The theatre is a cultural institution likely to influence contemporary attitudes and behaviour. It has an important role, in this respect, because the image it presents to the audience may come to be considered as the epitome of the world's true values. The subtle manipulation at work in shaping opinion and

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behaviour is a recognised phenomenon of our time, and no one can neglect the possibilities of the arts for persuasion, so attempts should be made in order to exploit these possibilities to the fullest. Many a time the theatre has challenged the old traditional order of supremacist attitudes, making use of its power to translate experience into new forms, by offering its audience the opportunity to let go of a certain view of the world and embrace a new one. The theatre can both transform and transmit experience: it reflects and transmits a certain valuation of society, evaluates the social climate in its own terms, and uses its power of communication to promote or create the values of society. The role of the theatre is, actually, to perform the function of helping in people's reconciliation with society, by providing a realistic picture of our modern times. It is, therefore, its duty to present the new relationships and resonances with which the human psyche has to reconcile itself.

The direct contact with the audience, characteristic of the theatre, dramatically enhances the effects of our viewing experience. Therefore, the theatre is an art form particularly apt for treating one of the pressing questions haunting our time ~~ the search for one's inner self, one's identity, the doubts about one's sexual orientation ~~ a question that troubles the minds and souls of countless people, whether young or old, poor or rich, religious or atheist, male or female, black or white, etc.

It is only natural for individuals so long kept at the margin of their society to try to assert their individuality. And here the role of the theatre comes into question, because it has the power to heighten perceptions, reveal relationships, and bring with it a new view of everyday life. A theatre performance can facilitate a two way process, a feed-back between people and their environment, between people's inner and outer lives, giving rise to a particularly profound resonance in the audience.

The representatives of the hegemonic culture have superior freedom of movement, and their independence needs no detailing. When artists challenge our dominant culture, and when their work is a site where sex, particularly gay sex is given coverage, or a place where sex and race intersect, they face resistance and censorship due to sexism, racism and homophobic reactions. The people who have the power to form censorship legislation, as well as those who have the power to interpret it, and to enforce it~supposedly against oppression and on behalf of those who are disempowered~are, paradoxically, those in power! Censorship can therefore never help reduce oppression and domination, it can only add to it. But there are artists who do not allow the censors to compromise their freedom of speech and constantly challenge that illusive and unstable line drawn between what should be censored and what should not. Caryl Churchill is one of these artists who were brave enough to abandon, for

the sake of art, the concerns about public opinion and its implications for the future of their funding. Churchill's radio plays, *The Ants* (1962), *Lovesick* (1966), *Identical Twins* (1968), *Abortive* (1971), *Not Not Not Not Not Enough Oxygen* (1971), *Schreber's Nervous Illness* (1972), *Henry's Past* (1972), and others, are mainly concerned, as Helene Keyssar (1984:79) points out, with '[t]he corruptive power of ownership –of human beings as well as of property', revealed by 'astute and critical female voices.' Churchill's plays are very political and, at the same time, very personal. They are able to foster collaboration between individual and society, because Churchill does not ignore the social and cultural surroundings and their inescapable impact on people's lives. She understood that, in order to be compelling, theatre must exist within an understanding of the cultures that surround it. To do otherwise is irresponsible and egotistical. Thus, the personal connection of actor to audience, of a common shared space, of a modern ritual, are emphasised in Churchill's plays. An awareness of our culture is created in this way, an awareness so very important because it is the only thing that allows one to make changes. It is an awareness of cultures and situations that exist outside the theatre space, an understanding conveyed through a gestural language unrepeatable in film or television. Her plays are both a return to ritual and an exploration. An implosion of social taboos and an explosion of theatrical tradition. The dramas of Caryl Churchill are meant to incite, subvert, provoke and organise. They provoke questioning and have a sense of humour. They serve to awaken the imagination and enliven the senses of the viewers, to open their mind and embolden their spirit. Her work seeks to nurture respect and compassion for others, and to foster awareness, perseverance and hope. In these ways, Churchill's theatre is a tool in the evolution of the human potential towards enlightenment and positive action.

Michelene Wandor (1985:7) points out that although Caryl Churchill 'developed different ways of writing, and took up new ideas and techniques', one can recognise recurrent interests that give thematic continuity to Churchill's work. One of the most evident of these refers to the ways in which people are subversive, as Wandor (1985:8) pertinently argues:

> '*Vinegar Tom* and *Cloud Nine* demonstrate subversive sexual choices; it is often a life choice by characters who cannot find happiness in conventional ways, and by striking out and making new choices, find they are taking up a subversive relationship to society. [...] Alternative lifestyles are demonstrated in the second act of *Cloud Nine*, and the satirical use of character 'types' is something drawn on in a number of other plays.'

She has broken the silences surrounding taboo topics such as sexuality and lesbianism, sexism, homophobia and racism in a play written for Joint Stock Theatre Group in 1978. Entitled *Cloud Nine*, the play is the result of one of the usual workshops organised by the company, having as a theme sexual politics.

Caryl Churchill transfigures in *Cloud Nine* Jean Genet's conceptions of a play – the play as masquerade and, respectively, as ceremony. The characters not only act out their secret desires, but these desires are obvious due to the actors who play the respective roles. Betty is played by a man, and Joshua, the servant, by a white man, because they identify themselves with the oppressors and try to be, or to become, what the others want them to be, disregarding their real identities. Victoria is, in the first act, a doll, symbolising the girls' lack of independence, being at the mercy of their fathers' wishes. Edward is played by a woman, because, due to his father's authoritarianism, he is placed in a position usually reserved to women: having to obey and do what he is told, to behave as the man—his father—wants him to behave. He does not display the traditional masculine features, but Clive and Betty are trying hard to impose them on him. The fact that a woman was chosen to play Edward is like a prediction of his development later in the play, as he proves to be gay. Cathy is played by a man as she is a tomboy, and also, in order to reveal the fact that imposing a certain type of behaviour on girls, as different from boys is ridiculous. Thus, the play is a masquerade meant to show that men and women are very much alike, in spite of the superimposed gender roles. The character of ceremony is, first of all, given to the play by its origin and history, as during the workshop the actors were all talking about their own experiences, beliefs and attitudes to stereotypes. The songs sang in a chorus by the characters, and the lines that rhyme make the play look ceremonial. Moreover, through the very particular way of staging and its surprising but significant casting, the play is consciousness-raising and mirrors a situation real for the public – the postmodern condition, characterised by insecurity, paradox, antinomic drives, a continuous search for the true self. Thus, it triggers a kind of self-recognition, a discovery on the part of the public, as well as an awareness of the similarities and dangers of the colonial, racial and sexual oppression. *Cloud Nine* is a strong condemnation of ownership through the way in which it delineates the two kinds of slavery – racial and sexual. The following quotations illustrate the two kinds of slavery, the agent of which, in both cases, is Clive, the head of the family, the father and husband, the leader and master, who keeps in strict subordination the natives, as well as the members of his family, and in the latter case, not only the women, Betty and Victoria, but also his son, Edward, who stands for the gays oppressed by homophobic heterosexual men. Although the racial oppression makes itself felt all throughout the first act of *Cloud Nine*, the sexual oppression is far more persistent, and completely takes over in the second act. The very beginning of the play (p.251) strongly suggests the patriarchal relations characteristic of Clive's family, and of society in general, not only of the Victorian age:

'Clive: My wife is all I dreamt a wife should be, /And everything she is she owes to me.'

As a woman, Betty realises that she has three roles, and all of them are regarded as more important than her real self. She is condemned to live for the others and have no life of her own:

'Betty: Can't we ever be alone?
Harry: You are a mother. And a daughter. And a wife.' (p. 268).

The Victorian image of female sexuality, which, unfortunately, was hardly limited to the Victorian age, is made clear in the last scene of the first act, during the dialogue between Ellen and Betty:

'Ellen: Betty, what happens with a man? I don't know what to do.
Betty: You just keep still. Ellen: And what does he do?
Betty: Harry will know what to do. Ellen: And is that enjoyable?
Betty: Ellen, you're not getting married to enjoy yourself.' (p. 286).

As we can see, even during the sexual act women were denied action and initiative and expected to be passive. The man is the one entitled to act and use the woman for his own pleasure, while her pleasure does not even come into question.

The second act brings with it an important change as far as marital relations are concerned, as Victoria's marriage proves. However, the change is rather superficial, because when Victoria has the chance to get a new job in Manchester, Martin does not want her to take it. He believes his wife's place is in London with him and their son, Tommy. Although in one of their discussions Martin seems to agree with Victoria's departure, his words are full of a bitter sarcasm which reveals his selfishness:

'Martin: Whatever you want to do I'll be delighted. If you could just let me know what it is I'm to be delighted about.' (p.299)

Thus, he makes things very difficult for Victoria, who feels affected by the stereotypes dominating the patriarchal society, which are too deeply rooted to be overcome, even by an open-minded man like Martin. This is one of the reasons that make Victoria leave Martin and start a relationship with Lin, who understands her desire to be free and can offer her unconditional love:

'Victoria: Why the hell can't he just be a wife and come with me? [...]
I'm not like that with you. Would you love me if I went to Manchester?
Lin: Yes.
Victoria: Would you love me if my teeth fell out?
Lin: Yes.
Victoria: Would you love me if I loved ten other people?

Lin: And me?
Victoria: Yes.
Lin: Yes.' (p. 303).

Churchill's merit is to have shown that heterosexuality is not the only option, as there are alternatives, which are neither sick, nor abnormal, and which do work. Martin is open-minded enough to allow his wife the liberty to experiment; still, gay women are very likely to experience sexual discrimination, especially when it comes to divorce and child custody, and they are aware of it, as they are aware that it is not right:

'Lin: I left [my husband] two years ago. He let me keep Cathy and I'm grateful for that.
Victoria: You shouldn't be grateful.
Lin: I'm a lesbian.
Victoria: You still shouldn't be grateful.' (p.302)

Churchill also includes in her play facts about male homosexuality, and although in the first act both Harry and Edward are depicted as feminine, in the second act Gerry, Edward's lover, is not, and even protests against this 'camp'-like behaviour:

'Gerry: You 're getting like a wife.[...] Stop it. Just be yourself.
Edward: I don't know what you mean. Everyone's always tried to stop me being feminine and now you are too.' (pp. 306-307).

The play does not present a gay community, but the characters are realistic and not reduced to types, but endowed with a touching humanity, an impressive individuality, which nevertheless does not prevent them from being representative. Edward is the effeminate gay man, displaying so called feminine features, while Gerry is fiercely independent, as men are considered to be. Surprisingly, it is Edward, not Gerry, who also sleeps with women, like Harry, the one who initiated him in the mysteries of gay sex, also did. Gay men have to face discrimination as well, in a homophobic society that proclaims heterosexuality as the norm and homosexuality as deviant. Thus, one can't even trust those of the same sexual orientation, but fears them the more, as 'it takes one to know one', and this 'gaydar' can penetrate behind whatever mask one might wear:

'Lin: You're gay, aren't you?
Edward: I beg your pardon?
Lin: I really fancy your sister. I thought you'd understand. You do but you can go on pretending you don't, I don't mind. [...]
Edward: I wish you hadn't said that about me. It's not true.' (p.308)

Lin hates men, and raises her daughter as if she were a boy, totally disregarding the conservative conventions, while Victoria does not share this hate and sees it 'in a historical perspective in terms of learnt behaviour.' (p. 292). At Lin's statement 'I just hate the bastards.', she replies 'Well, it's a point of view.' (p. 292). They are both lesbians, as is Ellen, but they feel differently about men, so the play does not lead the public to the conclusion that 'all lesbians are men-haters. 'Ellen is a rather pale presence in *Cloud Nine*, but her tentative attempt at seducing Betty makes perfect sense in the general context of the play, and it is an episode that Betty remembers when she finally reaches the point where she accepts herself as a whole person, her sexuality as something natural, and her children for what they are:

> 'Betty: I used to think Clive was the one who liked sex. But then I found I missed it. I used to touch myself when I was very little, I thought I'd invented something wonderful. [...] I thought if Clive wasn't looking at me there wasn't a person there.[...] I thought I'd betrayed Clive.' (p. 316).

> 'Lin: Come on, Vicky, she knows we sleep together, and Eddy.
> Betty: I think I've known for quite a while but I'm not sure. I don't usually think about it, so I don't know if I know about it or not.' (p. 317).

> 'Gerry: I'm very involved with him.
> Betty: I think Edward did try to tell me once but I didn't listen. So what I'm being told now is that Edward is 'gay' is that right? And you are too. And I've been making rather a fool of myself. But Edward does also sleep with women.
> Gerry: He does, yes, I don't.
> Betty: Well people always say it's the mother's fault but I don't intend to start blaming myself. He seems perfectly happy.' (pp. 319-320).

The comprehensive picture of contemporary society that Caryl Churchill presents is really vivid, impressive and even touching at times. When Betty rediscovers the self so long suppressed in service of her husband and society's standards and reaches her admirably reasonable conclusion at the end of *Cloud Nine,* the audience also comes to an understanding about the dangers of oppression and discrimination. They become aware of the injustices that our repressive society does to those who are different, by imposing on everyone the acknowledgement of its distorted values. Having witnessed the evolution of Betty's mentality, from the chilling darkness of the unknown to the warm light of knowledge and understanding, the viewers feel that they have undergone a process of change themselves. Therefore, the play is consciousness raising.

Cloud Nine is both very political and very personal, due to Churchill's 'tendency to avoid differentiation between interior and exterior actions.' (Keyssar 1984:94). The play is very character oriented, but, nevertheless, socially significant, because all inner struggles are caused by societal expectations and echo the tensions underlying the new social stratification, that is forced to accept *the other*, but is reluctant to do so.

The importance of Caryl Churchill's plays resides in the fact that they contribute to the creation of today's history and clearly mirror the fragmentation of our society into a number of value systems fighting for supremacy. Given the irreconcilable views of what the normal lifestyle is, we should renounce shaping our whole existence around the binary opposition schemata so familiar to our everyday language, ~civilised/primitive, mind/body, reason/emotion, public/private, society/individual, normal/abnormal, heterosexual/homosexual, etc.—and adopt a more comprising vision, compatible with the diversity of postmodern society. The days of cutting and banning works of art have to be replaced with a more enlightened era of providing greater information with which audiences can make their own informed choices about what they want to watch. The theatre is already making more considered and complex gestures towards larger responses, and tries to reflect its place among other media (television, radio) and among other art forms (film, visual art). Rather than ignore its cultural surroundings, it seeks to support the diverse and ever-evolving individuals in their efforts to engage in a genuine interaction with their community.

Combining the playwright's words, the director's vision, and the elasticity of the actors' and audience's imagination Churchill's plays produce provocative, entertaining and original theatrical experiences. They invite debate, support the search for identity by challenging the conventions of the hegemonic culture and strive to reflect the plurality of experience. Founded on the assumption that the naive notion that all people share a common 'culture' or 'experience' should be done away with, her plays entertain while they enlighten, taking audiences beyond cultural borders, and encouraging a larger recognition of theatre as a force of good in this world.

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GROUP IDENTITY ISSUES IN NORTHERN IRELAND

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ABSTRACT. The aim of this paper is to present some aspects of group identity in Northern Ireland which can be used in order to explain the current situation in this region. The relationships examined here are those between the Catholic and the Protestant communities in Ulster, as well as those between the British and the Irish.

Group identity is established and maintained on the basis of shared beliefs about the world, about other (enemy) groups, etc. Stereotypes are an important aspect of shared beliefs about rival groups, and they tend to be handed down from one generation to the next in the same form, thus contributing to the perpetuation of conflict between them, as is the case in Northern Ireland.

Religious beliefs for instance have played an essential role in the conflict, as have nationalist ideologies and beliefs about the group's origin and ancestry. The language and beliefs about language have also influenced the development of the conflict to a certain extent.

Group beliefs: forging group identity

Group identity is determined by group beliefs and reinforced by more or less fictitious accounts of rival groups. Anglo-Irish and Protestant-Catholic relationships in Northern Ireland can be described from this perspective, with all the attitudes involved: distrust, condescending, ignorance, discrimination, the attitudes which made it possible to hear in Northern Ireland such a refrain as "If you kill a British soldier clap your hands".

Members of a certain group (always formed on the basis of shared beliefs, attitudes and values) tend to ascribe to themselves and to other groups certain distinguishing traits in order to assert their specific identity, and they use these set images to maintain the "'proper' social distance from the out-group"[1]. However, "although such classification schemes can provide a certain

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[1] Whillock, R.K. and D. Slayden (eds) (1995) *Hate Speech*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications,p. 34.

degree of understanding about others, they also deny individuality and heighten differences in ways that can produce fear and alienation"[2]. People use stereotypes on an almost daily basis. All types of human groups, at all levels, are set into frames of specific images. Like all other countries, Northern Ireland has had its share of images attached to it from the outside as well as from within.

Stereotypes are an important means of marking the boundary between two groups by helping define group identity in terms of comparison: "We are not like them. We are different". But in order for stereotypes to be produced at the other group's expense, the sense of group identity must already exist at least at the level where it is possible to acknowledge it and say "We are a group". This is a group's fundamental belief[3].

Shared beliefs motivate the constitution of groups. They define the group as unique and show that those who do not share them are different. The fundamental statement here is "We are what we are because they are not what we are"[4].

Not all common beliefs become group beliefs, only those "defined as convictions that group members are aware that they share and consider as defining their 'groupness'"[5]. They provide a feeling of belonging and psychological comfort and security. The beliefs held by a group express a number of psychological needs. The most important one is related to the organization of the world in a meaningful way. This implies the creation and assertion of a social identity, the clear-cut definition of status, of specific, individualizing traits, of boundaries between 'people like me' and strangers, and the statement of allegiance to one set of beliefs or another. The common background of the people in the group, similar experiences etc., explain the sharing of beliefs. All this determines group behaviour.

In the specific case of Northern Ireland the situation has become a text-book example. Protestant "groupness" is based on the one hand on beliefs related to the "Britishness" of this community. This sets a gap between them and the Catholics and also provides them with a definite, special identity within Northern Ireland. On the other hand it is based on a set of beliefs related to "King Billy" - William III, Prince of Orange - whose victories at Derry, Aughrim and on the Boyne are still celebrated today. Another important support of Protestant "groupness" is religion. This is also, of course, the case of the

[2] Whillock and Slayden, op. cit., p. 33.
[3] See Bar-Tal, D. (1990) *Group Beliefs: A Conception for Analyzing Group Structure, Processes and Behaviour*. New York: Springer Verlag.
[4] Tajfel, H. (1979) 'Individuals and groups in social psychology'. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 18, p. 183.
[5] Bar-Tal, op. cit., p. 19.

Catholic community, whose "we-ness" is also based on the commitment to the Irish Republic and its Celtic origins. Religious beliefs are fundamental group beliefs which characterize group identity and which can be misused in order to control and manipulate sectarian fears. Each community perceives the difference between itself and the other in terms of "religious beliefs and practices, language, a sense of historical continuity, and (...) ancestry or place of origin"[6].

Inter-group relationships are based on comparison. The in-group tends to perceive itself as 'better' than the out-group, the term of comparison. As a consequence they look down on and mock the others' patterns of behaviour.

Group beliefs can be changed in the course of time but they can also be handed down in the same form from one generation to the next. The latter phenomenon is more frequent, due to the fact that the rejection and change of group beliefs, especially central ones, may lead to the disappearance of the group as such. Thus, as Bar-Tal (1998) suggests,

> Group members do not easily entertain alternative hypotheses to group beliefs but tend to collect information which validates them.(...) Central group beliefs may become part of the group's culture and tradition and then they are especially enduring. Group members pass them from generation to generation.

The theory can be exemplified in the case of Ireland with the concept of "traditional enemy", which has caused immense damage to the relations between the two communities. Another example is the Protestants' permanent fear that the Catholics led by the Pope want to take away from them what they obtained through Reformation and annihilate them as a community and denomination.

Group beliefs are the rationale, the motivation of the group's actions and they offer an understanding of their behaviour. They may be inaccurate, irrational, or unrealistic, but they are considered by the group to be fundamental truths and therefore they are the guiding forces of that group. Bar-Tal quotes Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey:

> Man acts upon his ideas. His irrational acts no less than his rational acts are guided by what he thinks, what he believes, what he anticipates. However bizarre the behaviour of men, tribes or nations may appear to an outsider, to the men, to the tribes, to the nations, their behaviour makes sense in terms of their own world view[7].

[6] Ibid.

[7] Krech, D., R. S. Crutchfield and E. L. Ballachey (1962) *Individual in Society*. New York: McGraw-Hill, p. 17.

This explains, again, why the attitude towards the in-group is favourable and the one towards the out-group is biased. The differences between the groups tend to be exaggerated and superiority is especially asserted when the group feels threatened. And the "fostering of difference constitutes the social construction of ethnicity"[8] and can be the basis of further development towards ethnocentrism, hatred between the groups concerned and even violent conflict. Stereotypes come into play here, deliberately enhancing the differences. Individuals adapt their own beliefs to the group's, no matter how far-fetched the latter may be.

Anthropologists have acknowledged that within societies in conflict, especially in armed conflict and guerrilla war (which has been the case of Northern Ireland),

> The demonization of the enemy and the accusations against the Evil Other for their criminality and bestiality are related to the desire to purify our own culture and civilization. To see the Evil Other as the embodiment of irrationality is to be certain of our own rational cause and motives[9].

When the state of affairs between two groups reaches this level, hate appeals of Rev Ian Paisley's kind can be made on both sides without hindrance. Anger takes one step further, becoming outright hatred, aimed not only at individuals but at whole classes of people, while more and more reasons are found in order to justify actions against the other group. Each group is designated as the other's source of misery and individual actions become symbols of class behaviour, the reaction being directed against the whole class. Such is the case of the endless circle of attack and retaliation between the nationalist and loyalist paramilitaries in Ireland.

Religious beliefs

Religion is thought by many to be one of the main incentives, if not the main one, of the conflict in Northern Ireland and the driving force of the Irish society on the whole. Others rank nationalism first. Religious conflict is perceived as characteristic to Northern Ireland. Dr Brian Walker has proven this

[8] Hawthorne, J. (1989) 'Chairman's address'. In Crozier, M. (1989) *Cultural Traditions in Northern Ireland.* Belfast: The Institute of Irish Studies, The Queen's University of Belfast, p.3.

[9] Morley, D. and K. Robins (1995) 'Cultural imperialism and the mediation of otherness'. In Ahmed, A. and C. Shore (eds) (1995) *The Future of Anthropology.Its Relevance to the Contemporary World.* New York: ATHLONE, p. 45.

point wrong, arguing that a religious divide is to be found in many European countries (between Protestants and Catholics), the only difference being that these countries have come up with means of coping with it. It is not less important an issue than in Northern Ireland, it is only dealt with in a more effective manner. In fact researchers have shown that "religion, not class, is the main social basis of parties in the western world today"[10]. Religion is actually used as a value system, an ideological basis for politics.

In Northern Ireland not only have the religious differences not been accomodated, but they have been combined with the divisions over nationalism. According to Dr Walker it is this combination that is specific to the Northern Irish conflict and what it is primarily about.

As stated before, religion is an essential factor in forging a sense of identity. Religious beliefs are part of the group beliefs which define a given community. They "unite people on a denominational community basis"[11]. They strengthen the ties within a community but, as it happens with all types of group beliefs, they contribute to the widening of the gap between different denominations. This is due to the fact that the acknowledgement and assertion of identity is realised through comparison with and delimitation from another group. Statements about the out-group do not have to be true. They are used in order to enable the in-group members to say "They are bad. We are good. We are right" and to justify any measures taken against the out-group. This is an invaluable help to propaganda and hate appeals. Rev Ian Paisley's activity is a perfect example. He belongs to a long line of Protestant clergymen agitators, or "political priests" as Tim Pat Coogan calls them.

It is precisely the need to preserve the sense of identity that is being used in this type of endeavours. They give one side the feeling of being threatened by the other and prevent any dialogue from being realised. Sectarians fears are manipulated for the sake of political goals and the conflict is artificially kept going. For instance, the average Protestants in Ulster have been inculcated the belief that if the other side was to win and the border disappeared their community would be destroyed, that Catholic priests, headed by the Pope can hardly wait to trample Protestantism underfoot. For Protestants Home Rule meant "Rome Rule". At the beginning of the century there was some truth to the matter when the Ne Temere decree appeared, saying that marriages between Catholics and Protestants were null if the parents did not raise their

[10] Rose, R. and D. Unwin (1969) 'Social cohesion, parties and strains in regimes'. In *Comparative Political Studies* 11 (April 1969), p. 60, quoted in Walker, B. (1996) *Dancing to History's Tune*. Belfast: The Institute of Irish Studies, The Queen's University of Belfast, p. 38.

[11] Walker, op. cit., p. 47.

children in the Catholic religion. Starting from this a phobia was created which still is exploited today. It developed to such a degree that it was possible for a Protestant councillor, Roy Gillespie, to declare in 1991 that "Rome's aim is to destroy protestantism, our children, our children's children, our way of life and the Bible"[12].

No wonder fear and distrust are maintained in the two communities when a handful of people go to any lengths to provoke hostility, for gaining political capital. An example is the publication in the April 1967 issue of Rev Paisley's newspaper, the *Protestant Telegraph*, (and in the booklets that British soldiers were issued upon arriving to Ulster) of a fragment of an alleged Sinn Fein oath:

> These Protestant robbers and brutes, these unbelievers of our faith, will be driven like the swine they are into the sea by fire, the knife, or by poison cup until we of the Catholic Faith and avowed supporters of all Sinn Fein action and principles, clear these heretics from our land...
>
> At any cost we must work and seek, using any method of deception to gain our ends towards the destruction of all Protestants and the advancement of the priesthood and the Catholic faith until the Pope is complete ruler of the whole world...
>
> We must strike at every opportunity, using all methods of causing ill-feeling within the Protestant ranks and in their business. The employment of any means will be held by our earthly Fathers, the priests, and thrice blessed by His Holiness the Pope.
>
> So shall we of the Roman Catholic Church and Faith destroy with smiles of thanksgiving to our Holy Father the Pope all who shall not join us and accept our beliefs[13].

The central issue at stake is community identity, which the Protestants want to keep through the British connection and the Catholics through the link with the Republic.

Nationalism

As mentioned before, the main cause of conflict in Northern Ireland is the combination of religion and nationalism. This mixing of religious and political allegiances has led to a situation in Ireland (different from, for instance, France) where religion has become an ethnic marker. Researchers have found

[12] The *Irish Times*, 2 December 1991, quoted in Walker, op. cit., p. 37.
[13] Quoted in Coogan, T.P. (1995) *The IRA*. London: HarperCollins *Publishers*, p. 136.

that in subject communities (demotic ethnies) religion was the main mechanism which eased the transmission of the fund of myths, symbols, values and memories from one generation to the next, from one region to the other and from one social class to another[14].

Hechter and Levi[15] state that the sense of community promoted by the preservation of old rituals can become the fundament for collective political action - an ethnoregional movement, which can lead to the development of national identity and nationalism. This was the case in Ireland, a peripheral subject community, under the influence of the nineteenth century wave of movements for national self-determination in Europe, literary and political movements dedicated to the assertion and preservation of the peripheral culture's identity.

The main aim of nationalist movements is searching for an identity and demanding recognition of this identity as significant in the world. The common bond is the sense of common ascendancy, of a common past, and also common present misfortunes.

Nationalism, the search for a national identity, is based on the worship of ancestors. The heroes of the past are conferred almost mythical status. The dead of the Easter Rising became martyrs and acquired a type of halo. Revolution and religion are mixed and the devotion to the national cause takes on the appearance of a crusade. This is true for both Loyalists and Republicans in Ireland. As Louis MacNeice[16] says, "few of the Protestants or Presbyterians can see the Cross merely as a cross. Like a man looking into the sun through half-shut eyes, they see it shoot out rays, blossom in the Union Jack. And the Son of God goes forth to war in orange".

The memory of past deeds, which nationalism is based on, is highly selective. Amnesia is found on both sides, leading to distortions and deception. What has been taken, in the case of Ireland, as a special, very close relationship with the past, an obsession with past feuds, is in fact the use of this selective memory, as many historians agree. The belief in an Irish obsession with the past and an inability to let go of it is widely spread, and it is usually motivated by a conviction that Ireland has had a unique history. In fact there was no unique situation - other countries have had the same problems but have managed to cope with them. Historians state that in Ireland history is no more or less important than in other places. The fundamental difference is that people in

[14] See Smith, A. D. (1989) 'The origins of nations'. In *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 12/ 3.
[15] Hechter, M. and M. Levi (1979) 'The comparative analysis of ethnoregional movements'. In *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2/ 3.
[16] MacNeice, L. (1938) *Zoo*. London: Michael Joseph.

Ireland *believe* that it is. As Jack Magee[17] says, "the Irish are preoccupied with divisive and largely sectarian mythologies acquired as part of their political or religious experience". It is not actual history which influences present actions, but myths, which can be either "factually incorrect or highly selective"[18]. They respond to the needs of the modern world and are accepted in order to suit present purposes.

This view of the facts provides people with a sense of continuity and direction and, unfortunately, at the same time justification for violent action against the "traditional enemy", making it a noble cause. It provides role models and arguments against the other side's grievances[19]. The novelist Dermot Bolger has described this as going "back three centuries to explain any fight outside a chip shop"[20].

Language

One of the important issues when identity is concerned is the preservation of the language.

In Christopher Napier's opinion[21], the status of the Irish language in Northern Ireland is similar to that of the sacred cows of India. He reports that 90% of the Catholic population either consider it a closed book, have a slight level of knowledge of or interest in it, or "wish it well". However, despite this general attitude, every time the English or the Protestant community have "denigrated, slighted, interfered with the Irish language", there has always been a "sudden rush-to-arms of otherwise disinterested persons to protect what they see as a valued part of their heritage, although they themselves are not prepared to put themselves out in the slightest way to investigate this heritage for themselves".

The language has been used in social and political conflicts as a weapon against the other side. There is a common opinion that the Irish Protestant community has had nothing to do with the Irish language whatsoever and that the language marks a divide between Protestants and Catholics. Nothing could be further away from the truth: the Irish Protestants originally came from Scotland, where a variant of Gaelic was spoken, so that the two languages were extremely closely related. The linguistic heritage is definitely common, but it

[17] Magee, J. (1989) 'Response to paper by Roy Foster on varieties of Irishness'. In Crozier, M. (ed) (1989) *Cultural Traditions in Ireland*. Belfast: The Institute of Irish Studies, The Queen's University of Belfast.
[18] Walker, op. cit., p. ix.
[19] See Walker, op. cit., p. 60.
[20] The *Sunday Independent*, 16 August 1992.
[21] Napier, p. 43.

fails to be perceived as such by the vast majority[22].

In Northern Ireland the Irish language has been politicized. One of the damaging blows that the language has suffered is the association in the minds of the people of the linguistic revival movement with violent nationalist attitudes. The language has been taken out of the cultural context and has been transformed into a political weapon.

Anglo-Irish relationships

Negative feelings can also be the reason for creating the groups in the first place, not only the outcome of propaganda. Tajfel[23], suggests that "minority groups tend to emerge as a result of common attitudes or treatment by the outside groups which, on the one hand facilitates the perception of a common fate and, on the other hand, indicates the boundaries between the in-group and the out-groups". Other causes of group formation may be "common feelings of frustration, alienation, deprivation, exploitation and injustice"[24]. Such was the case of the Irish native community faced with the British colonists. This has been seen by some as a conflict between the values of the 'city', represented by the English, and those of the 'country', represented by the Irish. Stewart Parker suggested in "Northern Star"[25] the fact that Ireland was perceived by nationalists as a "field with two men fighting over it, Cain and Abel. The bitterest fight in the history of man on this earth".

Anglo-Irish relationships have been dominated by distrust from the very beginning. The British colonists saw the natives as a backward, primitive, "wild" people with disgusting habits, whom they tried to keep at arm's length. The Irish saw the Planters as greedy robbers of Irish land and the cause of great misfortunes. One of the Protestant myths is about having created a good, fertile, and prosperous land out of what was barren and primitive"[26]. In fact, in many ways they were much more similar than they liked or wanted to believe.

The Irish felt they belonged to an Irish version of apartheid imposed by the British, especially in the beginning years of the Troubles, in the 1970s. Internment of only Catholic men and women and the inhuman treatment of prisoners brought about violent protests against the British. The disregard of human rights in prisoner interrogation made the United Kingdom "one of the

[22] See O Snodaigh, P. (1995) *Hidden Ulster - Protestants and the Irish Language*. Belfast: Lagan Press.
[23] Tajfel, H. (1981) *Human Groups and Social Categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Quoted in Foster, op. cit., p. 10.
[26] Hussey, op. cit., p. 204.

worst human rights violators in Europe"[27] and brought it before the European Court of Human Rights. The feelings of revolt against discrimination pushed many Catholic young people into the arms of the IRA.

The Irish saw the British as trying to undermine everything native and wipe it out of existence. They did not integrate the Gaelic world and its traditions into their own system, and these were "simply condemned to inferiority and left to rot away into a cultural desert"[28]. This attitude of the British led D. P. Moran to say at the turn of the century: "All we can do, and it should be enough for us, is remain Irish in spite of her (i. e. England), and work out our destiny in the very many fields in which we are free to do so"[29]. This preservation of identity in spite of the British is the basis of Irish nationalism, what Tom Garvin (1998) called "noisy and romantic anti-British nationalism, constructed from a mixture of traditional elements and new radical ideologies coming from outside Ireland"[30].

In the same line of resentment there was a very popular trend in the early 1970s in the Republic, according to which Ireland had been more influenced by Europe than by England. It can be psychologically explained as a reaction to contempt, anti-Catholicism, etc. Roy F. Foster dismisses it as "grandiose self-delusion", "a desire to grasp at any argument that might support the idea of intellectual independence from a powerful and culturally aggressive neighbour"[31].

Many people among the nationalists and republicans believe that the British are also to blame for having exploited religion in order to keep the Irish people divided. Michael Collins said in 1921 that "as to religious intolerance, this was the product solely and entirely of English policy operating in Ireland"[32].

One of Julia O'Faolain's characters explains his adherence to republicanism and at the same time the old Irish view of the British intruders :

> (...) the English had no right being here and never had had. This was proven by the fact that the Irish always and always struggled against them. Their presence was therefore an interim, doomed, haphazard thing, no more disgracing to the

[27] *Amnesty International Report*, 1992, quoted in Coogan, op. cit., p. 598.
[28] Bord na Gaeilge, 1984, quoted in Hussey, op. cit., p. 491.
[29] In Foster, R. F. (!989) 'Varieties of Irishness'. In Crozier, M. (1989) *Cultural Traditions in Northern Ireland*. Belfast: The Institute of Irish Studies, The Queen's University of Belfast, p. 8.
[30] Quoted in Foster, op. cit., p. 16.
[31] Foster, op. cit., p. 15.
[32] Quoted in Walker, op. cit., p. 36.

> naive Irish than the presence of a cow who broke into your garden or of a neighbour who made a habit of walking through it. You had to stop cow and neighbour and assert your rights from time to time to prevent them establishing a right of way. That was the value of the old struggles. They kept us from being slaves who assent to their servitude"[33]

On the other side, in Britain there has been general indifference on the Irish topic. This is one of the reasons why the IRA carried out some of its campaigns in England - to show that the problems exist and that they should be dealt with. As Coogan shows, the apathy in London resulted in "goading the IRA to see just what action was required to provoke the response which they sought. And so more young men went to their destiny"[34]. However, nothing was solved through these actions, as "Mr and Ms British Average do not think about Northern Ireland, or help to form any part of a political consensus on the subject, other than apathy and distaste, except in the wake of 'the atrocity nearby', when the reaction is likely to be of the knee-jerk variety: no giving in to terrorism", thus diminishing the chances of peaceful compromise. This attitude has changed and now Sinn Fein is accepted at the negotiation table. Without this change the Good Friday Agreement and the subsequent developments would not have been possible.

There is a tradition of stating the inevitability of confrontation as a result of the cultural diversity in Ireland - an idea which both sides have supported. Roy F. Foster suggests that the folk belief about the totally opposite ways of life of the two communities is "a homely mixture of learned fact and heard tradition"[35]. In fact, the successive waves of immigrants who mingled and fused with the local population and left their mark on every aspect of life demonstrate that the cultural differences have been if not flattened out, at least accepted, and the "them" vs "us" syndrome has been perpetuated artificially. There have been times of understanding and collaboration between the two sides - times of cultural diversity without confrontation. An example is the Irish Literary Revival, led mainly by Protestants in the name of a unique Irish identity, or the fact that Wolfe Tone, the father of nationalism (!) in Ireland was a Protestant who considered himself first and foremost an Irishman. Thus, in Jack Magee's words, "to concentrate on grievance alone, and to project Irish history as a standing indictment of Britain is to create a Frankenstein monster"[36].

[33] O'Faolain, J. (1980) *No Country for Young Men*. London: Penguin Books, pp. 75- 6.
[34] Coogan, op. cit., p. 391.
[35] Foster, op. cit., p. 11.
[36] Magee, op. cit., p. 36.

The particular sense of history described above has greatly affected Anglo-Irish relations, the Irish side being seen as caught in a time-warp. However, efforts are being made at present to approach the past in a different manner and many political discourses are based on appeals to look ahead and not over the shoulder. But there have been sceptics who say, like Bruce Arnold, that "no one in this country is in favour of shaking off the baggage of history. We hug it round constantly, and it is difficult to identify which segment of political expression is most burdened"[37].

There are, of course, clear cultural differences which should not be wiped out in the name of a common culture. The best solution is the acceptance of diversity without feeling that the group's independent identity is threatened by it. Fear and lack of trust are the signs that ignorance and superstition replace curiosity, all resulting in an unfortunate 'cultural apartheid' maintained and supported by both communities. Thus cultural identity becomes a matter of "negation and exclusiveness rather than an affirmation of pluralism"[38].

The struggle is about keeping the group's specific identity and at the same time becoming integrated in today's "global village".

Final observations

The concept of 'Irishness' is a very broad and generous one. The 'Irish identity' has two variants brought together by the common past and divided by the view people on the two sides have of their future: within Britain or Eire.

These variants of Irish identity are in the final analysis the object of the internal struggle. Neither side is willing to lose anything which is part of that identity - on the contrary, the need of reinforcing it is felt. It is all the more so when one side is feeling threatened by the other and this feeling is amplified by means of sectarian propaganda.

The determinant elements of the variants are religion and nationalist allegiances. They are fundamental group beliefs which determine and justify group behaviour. Their combination was the explosive mix which led to the Irish 'Troubles' - a mild euphemism for the violent conflict.

Attempts are being made in order to bring together these closely related but apparently irreconcilable variants of Irish identity by prominent intellectuals both on the Protestant and on the Catholic side. The change of the way history is being taught in schools is considered and also integrated education, which would be a means to put an end to artificially maintained prejudice.

[37] Quote from the *Irish Independent*, 9 October 1993, in Walker, op. cit., p. 66.
[38] Foster, op. cit., p. 12.

Irish identity as such is seen in nationalist terms and is associated with the Catholic faith. The Protestants of Ulster have developed a special sense of identity, a hybrid between Irish and British. There are different views as to which is more prominent. There is no complete delimitation from the Irish identity, because in separating itself from the South Ulster did not renounce its status as part of the island, nor its "share in those traditions in art, in learning, in arms, in song, in sport and in science that were worth preserving in a united form"[39]. The British connection is reinforced by the fact that the people in Northern Ireland are citizens of the United Kingdom, with everything that comes along with this status. At present there seems to be great support (on both sides) for the label "Northern Irish", indicating a common denominator linked to both the Irish and the British culture, which have shaped it.

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THE PROVERB: VIRTUAL FORMULA/SYNTAGMATIC EXTENSION

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ABSTRACT. The Proverb: Virtual Formula/Syntagmatic Extension. In our study we compare paremiological expressions belonging to different cultural codes to show that, in defining the proverb, the syntagmatic extension, the verbal operators and the "roles" are fundamental criteria. We consider as "roles" the Agent, the Rule, the Consequence and the Infringement. From this point of view any proverb can be reduced to a *virtual formula* which corresponds to a concrete syntagmatic extension.

0.0.0. Considering the proverb[1] as a concise formula with a relatively stable linguistic organisation, occurring in different contexts and expressing a general truth or a general opinion, we shall make up groups of three proverbs coming from different cultural codes.

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[1] In time the paremiological expression has known a lot of definitions. In our study we take into consideration only some of them. **Lucian Blaga** (1968) considers that the proverbs are "cuttings out" of *philosophical systems,* of *psychology pieces*. In the proverb he recognises *truths* which, paraphrasing a mediaeval formula, *speak about all things that can be known* and about *many other things* besides those that can be known. **Pavel Ruxăndoiu** (1972) considers the proverb as an *expression of a rule that can be transmitted orally*. **Constantin Negreanu** (1983) says that in defining the proverb we need an inventory of fundamental concepts to permit the presentation of '*etnocîmpuri*' (ethnofields), which comprise 21 classes, from the 'field' *wisdom* to the 'field' *faith*. For **Gabriel Gheorghe** (1986) the proverb is *a form of language* or *a way of expression* that uses *observations and experiments accumulated in time.* **Jean Michel Gouvard** accepts the proverb as being a stereotype, as an expression of a behaviour or an ensemble of human typical behaviours.

1.0.0. Here is the first group[2]:

R	Cine seamănă spini să nu umble desculț[3].
L	Qui ventum seminabit metet turbinem
Ar	Cine seamănă spini nu culege struguri[4].

By anticipation, we can say that in the three paremiological expressions we actually find three ways of materialising one and the same proverb in three different languages, by three different peoples.

1.1.0. A second group is formed by the following elements:

R	Corb la corb nu scoate ochii[5].
L	Manus manum lavat
Ar	Peștele nu mănîncă pește[6].

Although the terms of these paremiological expressions are very different, however, we can advance the idea that, in this case, too, we have one and the same maxim in three variants.

1.2.0. We have tried to include in the two above-mentioned groups, proverbs with structures as close as possible. Finally we propose a third group formed by elements which seem different both in their linguistic organisation and the moral precept they illustrate.

R	Vorba ca mierea, fapta ca spinul[7].
L	Ne, vitans cinerem, in prunas incidas.
Ar	Oul de azi e mai sigur ca găina de mîine[8].

1.3.0. In the case of the first group of proverbs the difference between the sections is evident. A first section is formed by equivalent syntagms, respectively: *cine seamănă spini* (R, Ar)*, qui ventum seminabit* (L). The second

[2] Through **R** we denote a proverb identified in Romanian anthologies, through **L** we denote a proverb identified in the anthologies of Latin proverbs and through **Ar**. we denote a proverb present in the Arabian corpuses we have taken into account.
[3] He who sows thorns should not walk barefoot.
[4] He who sows thorns does not harvest grapes.
[5] A raven would never pluck out another raven's eyes
[6] Fish will not eat fish.
[7] Honey-like speech, thorn-like deed.
[8] Today's egg is more certain than tomorrow's hen.

section is also represented by equivalent syntagms as: *să nu umble desculț* (R), *metet turbinem* (L), *nu culege struguri* (Ar). In the first section we have an agent (*qui, cine =who)* and a process (*seamănă = sow*). The second section begins with the expression of another process that follows after the process in the first section. By its verbal operators *a semăna/ a culege = to sow/ to harvest,* the Arabic proverb offers the best expression of the causal relation between the two processes in the two sections. Therefore we can regard the process in the second section as the cosequence of the process in the first one, its cause being the act performed in the first section as an infringement of a rule. So we can set up a class of proverbs formed by a section (a) containing the infringement and, in the expression of this infringement, the violated 'rule', and a section (b) containing the consequence of the infringement. This class of proverbs has a structure based on the following relations:

Agent — Infringement — Rule — Consequence — Agent

The structure above reduces the paremiological statement of this class to: *The agent who infringes a rule suffers the consequences of his infringement.* Such a statement is very frequent and it is present in all the cultural codes we have studied.

1.4.0. In the second group of proverbs the 'rule' is contained in the expression of the infringement; syncretically, in *nu scoate ochii= does not tear the eyes, lavat* and *nu mănîncă = does not eat,* that is in the passivity towards the 'infringement', we find the very infringed 'rule'. With another proverb we could highlight the 'rule' in this way; *Plată după răsplată*. The 'infringement' in this kind of proverb is found in the presence of identical positions of an agent (A') who infringes a rule and of an agent (A'') who is solidary with the first one in both circumstances, that is in both the infringement and the consequence. In this class of proverbs the expression of the infringement (I) is equivalent to *nu scoate = does not tear, lavat, nu mănîncă= does not eat*. The expression (A') is made up by *corb= raven, manus, peştele= fish;* the expression (A'') is made up by values of (A') as those illustrated by flexion in the version of the Latin proverb: *manum*. In the economy of this type of proverbs we can confer to (A'') the role of addressee (Ad) of the infringement committed by (A'). An identity relation is established between (A) and (Ad) by their position regarding one and the same violated ethical category. Since the infringement is produced by the very identical position of (A) and (Ad) the structure of this class of proverbs can be represented as follows:

Agent = Addressee — Infringement

The paremiological statement is generalized by: *The similitude between the agent and addressee leads to an infringement of a rule.* This type of proverbs is considerably frequent in all the corpuses of proverbs we have taken into account.

1.5.0. In our third group of proverbs we have the following sections:
first section:
vorba ca mierea = honey-like words, vitans cinerem, oul de azi e mai sigur = today's egg is more certain
second section: *fapta ca spinul = thorn-like deeds, ne incidas in prunas, decît găina de mîine = than tomorrow's hen.*

1.5.1. Identifying the rule and the infringement leads, for this kind of proverbs, to a reconsideration of the rule as an ethical, biological, social, religious categorial ensemble, respectively to a reconsideration of the addressee towards everything that presupposes a contradictory existence to the given categorial ensemble.

1.5.2. In this case, too, the rule is contained in the expression of the infringement. The infringement lies in increasing the importance of a minor circumstance; (A) doesn't form a relation with an (A') or an (A''), he is in relation with himself and, depending on infringement and consequence, he appears as the addressee of a possible exaggeration. No solidarity with another (A) distinguishes him in the two moments, but his availability to perceive the consequence. The structure of this type of proverb is:

(Agent — Infringement) ˜ (Consequence — Agent)

and the statement can be reduced to: *If an agent exaggerates a minor circumstance the consequence of the infringement affects him.*

2.0. Having studied the three classes of proverbs it is important to remark the roles that every paremiological statement involves; in each of them we can identify an agent (A) in relation with an infringement (I) which generates a consequence (C). The originality of each paremiological expression is found in the very metaphor used to express the relation of (I) with (C) and the transformation of (A) in (Ad). The Latin and Arabic proverbs within our first class of proverbs use the so-called *pair verbs* which don't actualize a proper

sense in their relation with a direct object: in the syntagm *culege struguri* = *harvests grapes* we have not the result of a process but a consequence. The Romanian proverb also points out the availability of the paremiological expression to make a change of meaning in a concise expression; actualizing a proper sense any proverb would render the paremiological expression absurd. In fact for all the paremiological expressions, the consequence (C) appears as a metaphor resulting from the engagement of certain terms that seem and only seem to denote a sense by their reference to concrete objects. On the surface the consequence is suggested by the quality of the object (thorn, grapes, ash, embers), respectively by a gradual relation established between the qualities of the objects or by their direct oppositions.

2.1. Within the second class of proverbs we have to highlight that the consequence is differently expressed in comparison with the first and the third one. The first and the third group of proverbs contain persuasive elements while the second one has predominantly a deprecating intention; the discursive strategy adopted to express the possible consequence, involves not only the lexical sense but also the concordance of the lexical units with a series of symbolic meanings proper to the cultural codes where the proverbs we have chosen are used. In this case too, the Latin proverb leads to the most convincing metaphor, due to the unmediated closeness of its terms. The evidence of terms is in itself, in the Latin proverb, the sign of an allusive tonality. These attributes of the Latin proverb are strong arguments in favour of accepting the idea that the paremiological expression has its origins in the everyday necessity to express ethical universals in concise formulae.

2.2. In our study we have shown that the proverb may be decomposed into general notions which structure the paremiological statement, but on the other hand the proverb has an inherent modality of expressing the consequence of an infringement.

2.3. In order to point out the way of expressing the consequence in the second class of proverbs, we have tried to make up contexts and communication circumstances able to grasp the allusive or deprecating character of the paremiological statement. We have also shown that in the first and third group of proverbs one can easily operate dissociations at the infringement and the consequence level depending on the involvement degree of the terms.

2.4. Hence it is safe to say that the proverb can be approached as a virtual formula which actualizes its meanings in given communication contexts but

we have to consider it as a partly independent concrete formula too, which conveys its meanings sufficiently.

2.5. The proverb refers, more often than not, to ethical categories; therefore it has to correspond to an ever greater number of existential contexts and circumstances. The world can be entirely enclosed in proverbs provided that they are made of highly general elements. Expressing the agent by interrogative, indefinite or negative pronouns (*cine, quis, nihil*), the proverb proves thoroughly its tendency to the highest generality. The same tendency is obvious in using certain utterances with included or implied subject. Regarding the rule we can say that the generalization tendency is maintained ; the presence of either impersonal structures (*est bene)* or infinitival ones is conclusive in this sense. Among the elements of maximum generality which express the consequence we can mention the polysemantic terms and those terms on which the transfer of sense is at work in certain contexts. In this case the extension suffered by the verb *a semăna = to sow* is important.

3.0. The remarks we have made in our study lead to the conclusion that in defining the proverb the essential factors are its syntagmatic extension, the verbal operators and the number of the roles that the paremiological statement presupposes.

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CULTURE STUDY AND CULTURAL STUDIES

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ABSTRACT. ***Culture Studies and Cultural Studies*** starts from the premise that the field covered by the concept of culture is wider and more abstract, but also more socialised today, referring to more varied aspects of social life. These other products of the human mind, previously ignored as topics of study are now termed as 'culture', illustrating thus the idea of culture seen as a *way of life*. Consequently, the borderline between 'high culture' and 'popular culture' tends to disappear and the new directions of study report on new fields, niches formerly avoided, like, for example, youth culture. The article insists on a few such instances and the way they are seen in Britain nowadays, pleading for the further development of the new canon called 'cultural studies', as a necessity for an organised structure to deal with new manifestations of the human mind in its creative state.

Developing the concept of *culture*

The term 'culture' was considered by Raymond Williams as one of the most complicated three words in the English language (1983: 87). Though he does not specify what the other two ones are, he thinks that:

> This is so, partly because of its intricate historical development, in several European languages, but mainly because it has now come to be used for important concepts in several distinct intellectual disciplines and in several distinct and incompatible systems of thought. (1983: 87)

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Chris Jenks (1993: 1) surveys the concept of culture and concludes that, given its wide circulation, it embraces such a range of topics, processes, even paradoxes that its complexity defies the possibility of any singular designation.

Historically speaking, for a very long time the position of critics and artists in envisaging culture was quite elitist. The dramatist **David Hare** thought that culture has to fulfil certain standards in relation with matters of taste and quality, which demands 'the greatest efforts and engagement on the part of its creator and its audience' (Jenks 1993: 3).

Raymond Williams considers in *Culture and Society* that the concept of 'culture' was subject to a very important process of modernisation – *abstractisation* we would call it – as it emerged after going through the 19th century Industrial Revolution. The term which primarily meant 'tending the natural growth' passed through different phases to designate 'a general state or habit of the mind', then 'the general state of the intellectual development in a society as a whole', to mean later on 'the general body of the arts' and '*a whole way of life, material, intellectual and spiritual*' (1993: xvi, my italics), i.e.

- Culture is the whole way of life of a group of people.
- Culture is the way the social relations of a group are structured and shaped: but it is also the way those relations are experienced, understood and interpreted.
- The 'culture' of a group or class is the peculiar and distinctive 'way of life' of the group or class, the meaning values, and ideas embodied in institutions, in social relations, in systems of beliefs, in mores and customs, in the uses of objects and material life.
- Culture is the process of social exchange of utterances, concepts, categories, beliefs, values, stories, experiences, It is the domain in which the society represents to itself its distinctive character the domain of the 'social imaginary'. This exchange, of course, does not proceed on purely equal basis. Some concepts, values and beliefs gain wider currency than others, not necessarily because they are intrinsically superior, but because they are propounded by those with the power to ensure the widest dissemination.

Many such meanings reflect the historical changes in 'identity', 'democracy' and 'class'. Therefore, this process of abstractisation generates the appearance of abstract and absolute connotations of the concept with stronger emphasis on intellectual activities. Williams points out that from the acceptations referring to 'a state or habit of the mind or the body of intellectual and moral activities, it means now *a whole way of life'* (1993: xvi, my italics).

Together with this process of *abstractisation* and *socialisation* that Williams remarks, the concept of culture can also be cast from a philosophical or literary point of view into a four-fold typology, according to **Chris Jenks** (1993: 11-12):

(i) Culture as a cerebral, *cognitive* category: culture becomes intelligible only as a state of mind. It carries with it the idea of perfection, an aspiration of human achievement or emancipation. It is mostly found in the work of the Romantic literary and cultural tradition of Coleridge and Carlyle and, latterly, Matthew Arnold.

(ii) Culture as a more *collective* category: culture invokes a state of intellectual and/or moral development in society. This typology links culture with the idea of civilisation and is clearly more anthropological taking culture into the province of collective life, rather than the individual consciousness.

(iii) Culture as a *descriptive and concrete* category: culture viewed as the collective body of arts and intellectual work within any one society. This typology reflects the everyday usage of the term culture and carries along with it the senses of exclusivism, elitism, specialist knowledge and training and socialisation. It comprises the symbolism of a society.

(iv) Culture as a *social* category, culture regarded as the whole way of life of a people: this is the pluralist, democratic sense of the concept, and has become the area of concern within sociology and anthropology and, latterly, cultural studies.

John H. Bodley also sees culture as way of life, when he says:

> I use the term culture to refer collectively to a society and its way of life or in reference to human culture as a whole. (Bodley in Jencks 1993: 94)

Culture and identity

A very similar point of view with that which views culture as socialised concept is upheld by Clifford Geertz, a contemporary ethnographer and theorist of culture, when he refers to the anthropological work of Clyde Kluckhon *Mirror of Man*. He suggests the following meanings for the concept of culture (1973):

- 'the total way of life of a people';
- a way of thinking, feeling and believing;
- the social legacy the individual acquires from his group;
- a set of techniques for adjusting both to the external environment and to other men.

Here, the concept of culture is linked with that of *identity*, suggesting that identity is also acquired through culture, i.e. that culture which gives the individual a certain personality, making him have something of his own which is different from the culture of other groups.

This perspective also has a reverse direction: what an individual perceives of himself in terms of culture cannot be separated from the general trend directed to the world in which he is integrated, which means that the analysis of culture has to take into consideration possible networks of meanings that link the individual to the collectivity but also descend to the level of the individual himself. For Geertz, culture, at this point, acquires a semiotic meaning when he asserts:

> The concept of culture I espouse [...] is essentially a *semiotic* one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law, but an interpretative one in search of meaning. It is explication I am after... (Geertz 1973: 4-5)

The basis of research is both at the level of the community and at the level of the individual, where the process of culture creation and identification takes place.

If we conceive culture in relation to identity, then three possible plans or aspects may be identified, which Sămărghițan[1] also does in his essay on *Identity, Culture and Ethnicity* (1999: 18-19):

(i) an **individual** aspect, where culture and identity are definable at the level of the individual, and different from individual to individual according to his / her own experience and social milieu. This level points to *individual identity*;

(ii) a **collective** aspect when the individual relates itself to the others he comes in contact with, reads about, watches on TV, etc, – in general, individuals of the same society or community which share a common way of life. This collective level points to *national identity* and *ethnicity*;

(iii) an **objective** aspect at the level of the material world which provides elements / objects (e.g. books, films, objects of art) that will be later on used as inspiration in the construction of the cultural world, which happens both at individual and collective levels.

[1] I am deeply indebted to my former student Sorin Sămărghițan for the valuable contribution he brought to this field in class and in his MA dissertation.

The Post-industrial society and culture as mass product

Another important issue in a comprehensive study of contemporary culture is the concept of 'culture as mass product'. What parallel mutations have taken place in society that we can speak today of socialised culture?

At the end of the 1960s a number of religious doctrines like Protestantism or Catholicism, or socio-political ones, as for instance capitalism, communism and social-democracy failed to provide Western society with the necessary ideological foundation for hard work and moral living. This **end of ideology** thesis became the expression of the **post-industrial society** and characterised the period of disruptive events and advent of organisations (black and feminist activists, third world nationalists) whose activities led ultimately to the very negation of this thesis anticipating the end of *metanarratives* proclaimed by postmodern theorists (Boyne and Rattansi 1990: 1-46).

According to Daniel Bell (in Boyne and Attansi 1990) the post-industrial society became a service economy dominated by a technical professional class whose aim is to take control of the mechanisms of society. The result of this action is the rise of a technical elite that rejects ideologies and replaces them with codified theoretical knowledge. Uncontrolled market processes are anticipated and simulated with the help of calculated rational choice theories and analysed in computer-modelled systems necessary for a rational administration of a mass society. This profound effect of the revolution in industry (more exactly in microelectronics) on the culture and social structure of the Western world is the starting point of a seminal study for postmodernism, namely J. F. Lyotard's ***The Postmodern Condition*** (1979).

Intrinsically linked with the concept of post-industrial society is that of **post-industrial culture** with multiple possibilities and kinds of cultural formation and against all forms of total political ideology (Boyne and Attansi 1990:1-46). The field of culture is widened and adapted to the new socio-political requirements. These shifts are reflected in the considerations below and in the section on Postmodernism.

For a very long period a person's culture had a lot to do with his being 'cultivated'. This pointed to the term 'high culture', used sometimes in contrast with popular art/culture and entertainment. Even today, underlines Jenks (1993: 111) mass/popular culture is realised, analytically, as the antithesis and inferior partner of high culture, having as characteristics the less-than-good or signifying other constituents than good taste. Raymond Williams speaks about 'working-class art', ambivalently presented as competitive with 'fine' art.

All these changes in conceiving mass culture are the direct result of the fact that modern society has brought about a lot of changes in its productive base and democratic distributions, in parallel with a shift in its class system, as shown above, and a closer incorporation of its populace through notions of citizenship. Chris Jenks emphasises that (1993: 112) within post-industrial society people have more freedom, more choice, more self-expression, a more clearly-defined conscience about themselves. Therefore, popular culture fulfils the need and desires of a particular, but genuine taste or tastes of the newly emerged middle class. Moreover, people have now the right and the autonomy to choose the cultural representation that they prefer (1993: 112).

These ideas are also incorporated in the following statement, taken from E. Shills:

> The new society is a mass society precisely in the sense that the mass of its population has become incorporated *into* society – the central institutions and the central value systems which guide and legitimate these institutions – has extended its boundaries. Most of the population (the 'mass') now stands in a closer relationship to the centre than has been the case either in premodern societies or in the earlier phases of modern society. (E. Shills, *Mass society and its culture*, in Jenks 1993: 112).

John Fiske analyses the situation of popular texts within the context of popular culture in the volume *Understanding Popular Culture* (1989a: 101) and concludes that a popular text should be '**producerly**', i.e. it should be placed in the context of two characteristics: 'the readerly and the writerly tendencies' (borrowed from Roland Barthes, *S/Z*).

The **readerly text** offers a passive reception of ready-made meanings, it is 'easy to read and undemanding of its readers' (1989a: 101), while the **writerly text** challenges the reader to deconstruct it, to find new meanings to it as he reconstructs it. Therefore the readerly text by being the more accessible is also the more popular.

To these concepts Fiske adds that of '**popular writerly text'**, a compromise between the two tendencies,

> [...] a text whose writerly reading is not necessarily difficult, that does not challenge the reader to make sense out of it. (1989a: 103-104)

and a necessary postulate of the producerly characteristic. Therefore the producerly text should borrow properties of both: easy to read and to digest, still open and challenging, but in a less demanding way. 'It offers itself up to

popular production' (104) and is the indisputable product of the culture industries. It is, probably, the kind of text of our epoch, which is also reflected in the analysis of the situation of the most popular literary genre – the novel, as seen underneath.

Culture as Mass Product

Another important issue in cultural debates today is that of '**culture as mass product**'. As stated above, for a very long period a person's culture had a lot to do with his being 'cultivated'. This has produced the term 'high culture', used sometimes in contrast with popular art / culture and entertainment. The following assertion from Fiske (1989a: 92) proves our point:

> It is interesting that the steadily extending social and anthropological use of culture and cultural and such formations as sub-culture (the culture of a distinguishable smaller group) has, except in certain areas (notably popular entertainment), either by-passed or effectively diminished the hostility and its associated unease and embarrassment.

In order to better substantiate the new direction we shall now examine the concept of 'popular culture', often mistakenly associated with certain acceptations of that of 'low or bad culture'.

The concept of popular culture

Popular Culture has become an important research subject for sociologists, given its importance as significant element of today's general culture. John Fiske considers that

> [...] Popular culture is made by various formations of subordinated and disempowered people out of the resources, both discursive and material, that are provided by the social system that disempowers them. (1989a: 2)

Therefore we think it worthwhile to discuss the situation of popular culture in Britain in general and the situation of fiction in particular.

John Fiske starts from the idea that the meanings that we produce of and from our social experience are the basis of culture and therefore constitute our social identity (1989a: 1). This is why he considers that culture making is a social process because it can only circulate within our social system. Fiske also links the concept with society when he asserts that

> Culture is a constant succession of social practices B it is therefore inherently political, it is centrally involved in the distribution and possible redistribution of various forms of social power. (1989a: 3)

In his book *Reading the* Popular John Fiske presents a very interesting appreciation of the situation of popular culture. The topics that he sees linked with popular culture (1989b: 2-12) give us the following synopsis:

(i) Culture and culture making are seen as social process.

(ii) Culture is envisaged as constant succession of social practices – it is inherently political.

(iii) Popular culture is the cultural expression of disempowered and subordinated people.

(iv) Popular culture is made in relationship to structures of dominance.

(v) Very often popular culture is made out of television news, for instance, is possible only if it is subordinated to the capacity of understanding of the ones it is directed to, otherwise it becomes hegemonic culture only. Therefore, the news of Israeli troops quelling an uprising of Arab youths can be made popular only if the items it offers are relevant to the everyday lives of subordinate people.

(vi) What we witness is activation of meaning only in social relations and in intertextual relations. The social relationships of text occur at their moment of reading as they are inserted into the everyday lives of the readers. The importance of shopping malls as texts for women (unthreatened public places) and unemployed youths (a place to trick the 'system', to consume the images, warmth and places of consumerism, without buying any of its commodities). The culture of shopping malls – as a culture that is closely linked with the primary texts themselves in their social uses and in their relationships with other texts.

(vii) The art of popular culture is 'the art of making do'. The people's subordination means that they cannot produce the resources of popular culture, but they do make their culture from those resources. Commodities make economic profit for their producers and distributors. All commodities are produced as much for their meanings, identities, and pleasures as they are for their material function.

(viii) Our culture as a commodity culture, having at one end the penniless artist and at the other a folk art in which all members of the tribe participate equally in producing and circulating their culture, free of any economical taint.

(ix) Popularity for popular texts can be achieved only by making themselves terrains for the struggle for meanings. People are unlikely to choose any commodity that serves only the economic and ideological interests of the dominant. So, popular texts are structured in the tension between forces of closure (or domination) and openness (or popularity).

(x) Popular culture is often a collection of puns (whose meanings multiply and overflow the social discipline). Excess offers opportunities for parodies, subversion or inversion. Sometimes it is tasteless and vulgar (for taste is social control). It often centres on the body and its sensations, rather than on the mind and its sense, for the bodily pleasures offer carnivalesque, evasive, liberating practices.

(xi) Popular texts as provokers of meanings and pleasure. People make popular culture at the interface between everyday life and the consumption of the products of the cultural industries.

(xii) Relevance is placed as the central element of popular culture. Relevance can be produced only by the people. It also means that popular culture is ephemeral – as the social conditions of the people change, so do the texts and tastes from which relevances can be produced. The popular text has to work against its differences to find a commonality between divergent social groups in order to minimise its consumption and profitability.

(xiii) Popular culture is the culture of the subordinate who resent their subordination. But it is not the culture of subordination that massifies or commonifies people into the victimised dupes of capitalism, as mass cultural theorists propose.

(xiv) Popular culture is structured within the opposition between the power-block and the people. The power-block consists of a relatively unified, relatively stable alliance of social forces – economic, legal, moral, aesthetic; the people, on the other hand, is a diverse and dispersed set of alliances constantly formed and reformed among the formations of the subordinate. The opposition is, thus, between homogeneity, as the power-bloc attempts to control, structure and minimise social differences, so that they serve its interests, and heterogeneity, as the formations of the people intransigently maintain their sense of social difference that is also a difference of interest.

(xv) The basic power of the dominant in capitalism may be economic, but economic power is both underpinned and exceeded by semiotic power, that is, the power to make meanings.

High and popular culture

For a long period of time the study of culture was congruent with that of 'High Culture', whereas 'Popular Culture' was banned to the depreciatory realm of 'bad culture' or 'lack of culture'. Now the situation is different, as the separation between high and popular culture is being eroded (Easthope 1989: 65).

In order to prove our point we insert he following table meant to illustrate some textual differences between writings that belong to high and popular culture:

High culture	**Popular culture**
abstract	concrete
complex	simple
connotation	denotation
figurative	literal
meaning deferred	meaning immediate
implicit	explicit
plural	univocal
moral reflection	physical attraction
verbal	visual (iconic)
ironic	unironic

(Source: Easthope 1989: 89)

Youth Culture

According to Iain Chambers in *Popular Culture: The Metropolitan Experience* (1986: 152) the term 'youth' or 'teenager' did not even exist before the end of the Second World War, although youths did demonstrate their existence in various ways (especially in the blatant way they dressed and behaved).

> It was in the dislocating realities of the post-war world, in a landscape of recent rationing and recently filled-in bomb sites, that the image of money, clothes and music, rolled together into a distinctive youth style of coffee bars, clubs, dancing and American records, established the teenager as a provocative icon. (1986: 152)

Today youth has thoroughly established itself as a social subgroup whose contemporary manifestations include (Chambers 1986: 153) such signs as: musical styles and hair styles, reading habits and clothes, cinema images and personalised movement.

If we take into consideration the fact that two of the basic manifestations of youth culture (fashion and pop music) are predominant today as a result of the teenagers' greater freedom of imagination, we may state that youth culture has the lion's share of today's popular culture. And this is extremely important in the definition of its identity.

In her book *Feminism and Youth Culture*, Angela McRobbie (1991) points out different manifestations of youth culture and also considers that youth culture and the sociology of youth are centrally placed in modern developments of youth culture (1991: 16). Therefore it will be of interest to discuss certain topics to be found in the above-mentioned volume (written from a feminist perspective):

McRobbie starts from those stated by Paul Willis and Dick Hebdige, who show how male adolescents take elements from their surrounding social landscape and mould them into desirable shapes. This creativity often reflects the teenagers' class subordination and bears sexist imprint.

In her demonstration of the inferiority complex that characterises girls McRobbie suggests a literary example (1991: 20) taken from the song *Born to Run*, by Bruce Springsteen that we also insert to illustrate double meaning as characteristic of youth culture, as well:

> Just wrap your legs around these velvet rims
> And strap your hands across my engines
> We'll run till we drop baby we'll never go back
> I'm just a scared and lonely rider
> But I gotta know how it feels.

Another aspect underlined by the two authors and found relevant by McRobbie is the degrading

> language of masculine aggressivity through which the lads kick against the oppressive structures they inhabit B the text is littered with references to the utmost brutality. (1991: 21)

Often such instances reflect the masculine pride in doing manual work and their contempt for 'pen-pushing', which has given birth to the working class culture. (1991: 22)

Music, which, as shown above, constitutes so much of youth culture, and about which the critic has the following to say:

> Rock music has been so much part of post-war youth cultures that its presence has often just been noted by writers; the meanings signified by various forms have not received the attention they deserve. (1991: 28)

and drugs make up two points of interest in McRobbie's study. And here she also finds differentiations between the sexes:

> So intransigently male are the mythologies and rituals attached to regular drug-taking that few women feel the slightest interest in their literary, cinematic or cultural expressions. (1991: 29)

But this does not mean that women do not take drugs,

> Isolated young housewives are amongst the heaviest drug-users and girls in their late teens are one of the largest groups among attempted suicides by drug overdose. (1991: 29)

but for reasons of attraction and self-safety girls prefer not to take drugs and drink. This is often expressed in musical and literary productions, many of which are loaded with punk references.

Punk is considered one of the core elements in the resurgence of British 'youth politics':

> [Punk] marked a turning point in British youth styles. The self-conscious constructions - the deliberate choice of imagery guaranteed to shock: the swastika, the mutilation of the body by safety pins, its imprisonment in chains and dog collars - turned the attention of subsequent youth culture to the actual mechanisms of representation. (Chambers 1986: 172)

The situation of popular fiction today

If we analyse the situation of what people read and buy we come to the conclusion that a great deal of fiction commercialised and digested is represented by the so-called 'popular fiction' that holds a considerable place in bookshops and is well represented everywhere. A lot of such books are melodramatic, others are SF, others are horror stories, to cater for all tastes. The most important thing is that they sell very well and the new commercialism determines what to publish functions properly. All these literary productions are reader-oriented and market-oriented, as well. The reason for this situation is clearly stated by Alan Massie, for whom writers are humans like their readers, and leave under the same set of rules (1990: 8).

It is not anyone's will that determines the tastes and tendencies today, in our world of consumption and commodities. The situation is clearly summarised by Chambers when he insists on today's commodities (and often clichés), most of which come from across the Atlantic:

> Over all this fun and money, hung the shadow of American influence on British tastes and everyday life. Already a favourite for explaining national woes well before the end of the nineteenth century, it was destined to grow in the twentieth. The evidence stretched from a holiday snap (taken with a Kodak Brownie), the piano in the parlour (a mass-produced American Steinway) and the imitation of the pleasure machinery of Coney Island (roller coasters, pleasure beaches, ferris wheels, extravagant illuminations), to the later 'American vulgarity' in advertising, writing and cinema, and the 'jungle music' of 'negro orgies' in 'jazz dances' at the Hammersmith Palais de Danse. (1986: 33)

The novel today

> [Novelists] belong, like their readers, to the world of the charge card and the international airport, a world where people are equally at home in a

> hamburger joint and an ethnic restaurant. [...] To be modern is no longer to be modernist, but to be international. ***(Alan Massie)***

Alan Massie makes in *The Novel Today* a very remarkable analysis of the novel today (1990) and concludes that, after all, it is difficult to assess nowadays the range where a book should be placed to be called a novel. He says (1990: 1):

> I have concluded that it is sensible to consider a book as a novel, if its publisher has offered it as such.

He is also against the proclamation of the death of the novel after so much experimenting and thinks that its result can only be an elitist activity directed but to a restricted, chosen minority and demonstrates that the experimental novel was replaced by a realist one, more reader-directed/market oriented that becomes the mass product governed by commercial laws (ibid.).

- The direction in the last twenty years is towards a *resurgence of the traditional novel*, naturally, on new foundations, among which the most important ones seem to be the commercial ones.
- The novel has to be sold in beneficial quantities, both for its author and agent(s). Therefore, '*the publisher determines what sort of novel should be written*' (1990: 6, my italics). The laws of the market determine **the new commercialism**, in a world where publishing books and selling them has become (big) business that has to be profitable.
- The new commercialism does not create any fear of not getting published, because, after all, accessibility and good value are in direct ratio with the quantity sold on the market.
- The new authors start with more independent small publishing houses and are taken over by better-known houses that also offer bigger advantages.

The profit of selling books in English at home is added to the benefits offered by a continuously growing international market, whose tendency is more and more cosmopolitan (1990: 8).

Cultural studies

In the context of those stated above, it becomes obvious that, in order to study these contemporary phenomena, the canon had to be extended in this respect. Cultural studies has become the necessary postulate – and academic subject included in the curriculum – for a pertinent approach to the cultural phenomenon today. We include below a summarised presentation of the basic features characterising cultural studies (according to Ager, in Jenks, 157-8):

(i) Cultural studies operates with an expanded concept of culture. It rejects the binary high/low culture and the idea of cultural stratification, taking culture anthropologically, as 'the whole way of life of a people'.
(ii) All aspects of popular culture are politicised and popular culture is regarded as manifestation for itself.
(iii) Culture is not viewed as static or as fixed or as a closed system, but on the contrary it is seen as dynamic, as a process.
(iv) All aspects of social life are now 'cultured' and no part of social life is excluded from its interests – opera, fashion, gangland violence, pub talk, shopping, horror films, etc.
(v) Cultural representation exists at all levels – inception, mediation and reception, or production, distribution and consumption.
(vi) Cultural studies is interdisciplinary.
(vii) But above all, cultural studies rejects absolute values.

Therefore, if culture represents *a whole way f life*, then, in order to study society, in general, and human communities in particular, we should envisage *multiple* forms of culture at *multiple* levels, rejecting absolute values and, often, prejudices, in today's broader field of study that is known as **cultural studies**.

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