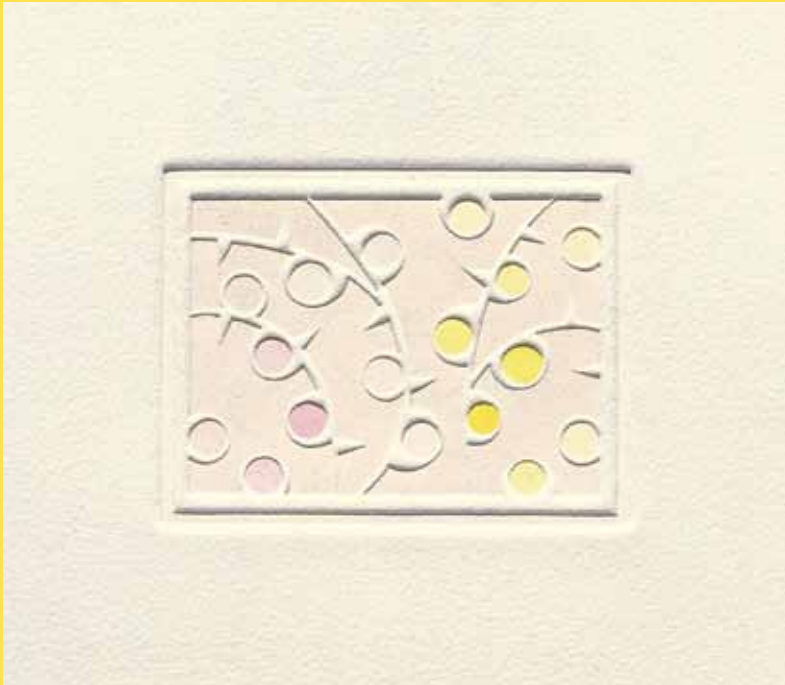


English
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Vol. 13, No. 2 (2016)

Time at the End of Times

Journal Editors: SMILJANA KOMAR and MOJCA KREVEL

Editor of ELOPE Vol. 13, No. 2: MOJCA KREVEL

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Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani

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In memoriam
Uroš Mozetič
 (1961–2016)

Introduction

*At the end of times,
At the prolongation of the shade of shades,
When death no longer is discussed
Without the pondering on life,
Will there be one to call himself a poet?*

Uroš Mozetič, "As I Was Saying My Introit Prayers"

This issue of *ELOPE* is dedicated to its co-founder and long-time co-editor Prof. Uroš Mozetič, who passed away suddenly earlier this year. The immediate feelings of distress and devastation over the untimely loss of a distinguished colleague, beloved professor, and dear friend, and the profound grief and sadness that followed the initial shock, have been, over the passing months, increasingly acquiring a patina of appreciation and gratitude. Appreciation of his work, his guidance, his sparkling intelligence and humour, and the gratitude for having had the privilege of knowing him, working with him and being his friends. Remembering Uroš's passing is not so much about pain anymore as about missing him as we recall countless events that nourish our appreciation and gratitude, memories which today, more often than not, make us smile. Dedicating this issue of *ELOPE* to him is a way of saying thank you and an opportunity to acknowledge the versatility of the personal and professional interests which endowed him with an erudite knowledge of literature in all of its manifestations, linguistic sensibility, rhetorical prowess, poetic sensitivity, and a profound curiosity about what comprises the timeless ethical and moral core of Western religiosity and metaphysics. Although Uroš passed away when the present volume of *ELOPE* was already in preparation, the broadness of his scope – ranging from writing poetry and criticism, translation, narratology and stylistics, English and American drama, to Joyce, Milton and biblical studies – allows us to remember him also through the few articles in this issue that were sent to us prior to his death. The majority, however, were inspired by the various memories the contributors have of Uroš – be it as his colleagues, admirers of his work, former students, or his friends.

The opening section of the **Literature** rubric, dedicated to Uroš's poetry, was prepared by renowned Slovene translator Nada Grošelj because she was his colleague, admirer, student and friend. In other words, she was best qualified both to make a selection of poems representative of his poetic statement, and to translate those which Uroš had not translated himself. In the brief introduction to the poems, Grošelj provides an overview of Uroš's poetic legacy, charts his main poetic influences, comments on the background of some of the more topical poems, and presents the recurrent thematic threads and concerns in his poetry. The selection of his poetry is followed by a detailed overview of his published works, prepared by Kristina Pegan-Vičič.

The regular part of the **Literature** section begins with Tadej Braček's investigation into the world of Gothic romances, specifically Ann Radcliffe's first novel, *The Castles of Athlin and Dumbayne*. The focus of his article "Reaction to Crisis in Gothic Romance: Radcliffe's *The Castles of Athlin*

and Dunbayne” are the ways in which male and female characters in this novel react to crisis. His analysis shows that the differences in these reactions are not so much a matter of gender as they are about the benevolence and malevolence of the protagonists, even though in other respects the novel reinforces the conventions of the old, medieval order.

As a nod to Uroš's interest in contemporary theatre, Urša Gavez's article “The Reception of Harold Pinter's Plays in Slovenia between 1999 and 2014” accomplishes the important task of filling the temporal gap in the research of Pinter's reception in Slovenia between Darja Hribar's overview, covering the period from 1967 to 1999, and the present. The results of Gavez's analysis show that it had been an important decade and a half in which the number of premiers of Pinter plays in Slovenia more than doubled compared to their frequency in the preceding three decades. Also, the less-than-enthusiastic critical responses, largely paradigmatic of Pinter's reception in Slovenia prior to the 2000s, had been increasingly replaced by a newly-found critical and scholarly interest in and appreciation of Pinter's style, which had had a profoundly positive effect on the quality of translations of his plays.

David Hazemali and Tomaž Onič's “The Proud Prime Evil of Hell: Characterization of Satan as the Capital Vice of Pride in Milton's *Paradise Lost*” calls to mind Uroš's appreciation of Milton and his passionate lectures on that epic. Drawing on Robert Charles Fox's assertion that Milton used the seven capital vices as a structural device in *Paradise Lost*, Hazemali and Onič's take on this classic focuses on the characterization of Satan as the embodiment of the capital vice of pride. The authors' detailed analysis of Milton's text from the perspective of the correlation between Lucifer and (Milton's view on) pride convincingly supports Fox's assertion. Pride is revealed as the prime motivational force behind the dark lord's deeds, a vehicle for pursuing decidedly self-serving interests. This significantly relativizes the popular notion of the independent, free-thinking and proud monarch of Hell – a hero, even. Since pride, Milton suggests, encompasses and employs all other vices, Satan's role in the epic is that of the ultimate manifestation of evil – not only on the outside, but, perhaps even more disturbingly, within.

“The Complex Nature of Power and Language: Verbal Strategies in Martin Crimp's *The City*” by Dilek Inan and Ayşe Didem Yakut takes us again to the innovation and experimentalism of contemporary British drama. The authors focus on Crimp's use of language, specifically on the verbal strategies he employs to depict the ways in which power relations are established and maintained between and among his characters. Inan and Yakut's analysis of the play reveals that even though elegantly concealed in eloquence, repetitions, interruptions, silences and pauses, denial, concealment, other enhancement, negations, formulations as well as topic-shifting and turn-taking are employed to exercise oppression, domination, disapproval, victimization and destruction. The authors argue that through the expert use of evasion, miscommunication and incomprehension in conveying inter-personal power-relations in his dramas, Crimp incessantly directs our attention to the ominous core of banalities and politeness that constitute so much of our daily verbal encounters.

Though Uroš's interests were varied indeed, poetry was his undisputed favourite. Not only had he been writing poems for as long as he could remember, he was also a respected translator who granted Slovenians superb renderings of such luminaries as Whitman, Auden, Cummings, Tate and Muldoon. What his former students most often recall are his brilliant and inspiring poetry seminars. The last two articles in the **Literature** section would certainly attract his interest as they focus on topics that have hitherto received very little critical attention despite their importance for understanding contemporary American poetry. The first, Kristina Kočan Šalomon's “Thematic

Reading: Disorientation and Disillusionment in Post-9/11 Poetry,” analyses the ways in which American poets reacted to the 9/11 events. As opposed to the prevailing discourse in the media after 9/11, poetic responses to the events reveal the intimate and personal side of the crisis, and, more often than not, examine the matter of responsibility for what happened. By means of thematic analyses, Kočan Šalamon identifies the dominant thematic clusters with regard to which she then, through close reading of individual poems, charts the ways in which the established themes of disorientation, loss, and despair, as well as the issue of a changed world and disillusionment, are conveyed.

In “Personal Geographies: Poetic Lineage of American Poets Elizabeth Coatsworth and Kate Barnes,” Ellen Taylor examines the production of American poets Elizabeth Coatsworth and her daughter Kate Barnes from the perspective of their close relationship. Based on a thorough study of Coatsworth’s poems, essays, and memoir, and Barnes’s poems, interviews, and epistolary archives (which Taylor was the first to be granted access to and which are presently no longer available to the general public), Taylor provides an exclusive insight into the dynamics of their relationship. Also, the article intricately records the impact that growing up in the immediate vicinity of her mother’s poetry and that which inspired it – poetic influences, travels, the relationship with writer-husband Henry Beston, and her role as a mother – had on Barnes’s own life and poetic work.

The **Language** section opens with Tina Balič’s investigation of the attitudes of users of English in EU institutions towards non-standard uses of English they encounter in their work. In “Attitudes towards Euro-English in a European Union Institution,” Balič presents the findings of a survey of how both native and non-native speakers of English perceive instances of deviations from Standard English which the author identified in a corpus-based analysis of EU texts. High acceptability rates of the non-standard uses both among the native and non-native speakers of English allow the author to conclude that Euro-English is perceived by its users as EU jargon, rather than a separate non-standard form of English for EU institutional settings.

An oblique personal wink at an old anecdote involving Uroš’s somewhat innovative approach to teaching the gerund is implicit in Gašper Ilc’s selection of the topic of his contribution titled “Construction or Constructing? Some Observations on English Deverbal and Gerundial Nouns.” The vantage point of Ilc’s analysis is traditional theoretical approaches to gerundial and deverbal nouns, which standardly analyse these two nominalisations in terms of the verb-to-noun cline (the s.c. gerundial cline). These approaches assume gerundial nouns to be more verbal since they give rise to the eventive interpretation and preserve the underlying syntactic properties of the verbal root. Deverbal nouns, on the other hand, are associated with the result-object interpretation, and the structure of the nominal phrase headed by a deverbal noun is less dependent on the underlying syntactic properties of the verbal root. By examining different properties of English gerundial and deverbal nouns, and by using examples for referential corpora, Ilc establishes that the boundaries between these two nominalisations are not so clear as suggested, since there is an apparent overlap between the two categories: they both allow event/result-object interpretation, and can but need not display the syntactic properties of the verbal root.

As an homage to Uroš’s studies of Joyce and specifically his analysis of the narrative perspective and focalisation in short story “Eveline” from *Dubliners*, Monika Kavalir investigates his suggestions and discoveries from a linguistic perspective. In “Paralysed: A Systemic Functional Analysis of James Joyce’s ‘Eveline,’” she uses Hallidayan systemic functional linguistics as a model for stylistic analysis in order to establish the linguistic means by which the heroine is rendered as a passive

and paralysed character. Kavalir establishes that the short story predominantly uses material verbal processes. This is seemingly in opposition to predominant views in literary studies of Joyce, which generally explain the feeling of stasis in *Dubliners* through the prevalence of stative verbs. However, the potential for change, inherent in material verbal processes, is diminished by Joyce's selection of aspect, tense and usuality, which assign Eveline the role of a passive receiver, i.e. senser, and not an active agent in her life.

In "The Effects of Verbal and Non-Verbal Features on the Reception of DRTV Commercials," Smiljana Komar examines the efficiency of various strategies employed in TV advertising to appeal to consumers' emotions. The article presents the results of a survey of emotional responses to the *Eggies* DRTV short form spot in a sample of 96 viewers. Specifically, Komar's research focused on the efficacy of frequent recurrence of identical lexical items, syntactic structures and the advertised product's name in the commercial, the influence of highly marked audio-visual delivery on enhancing interest in the product, and the emotional impact of the speaker's voice, speed and volume. Apparently, *Eggies* are not about to revolutionise the ways eggs are boiled and peeled in Slovenia, as most of the participants in the study felt that the overload of verbal and non-verbal information in the advertisement lessened its persuasiveness and hence attractiveness of the product, while highly marked prosodic delivery was generally perceived as either funny or annoying.

Delving further into the issue of advertising, Agata Križan's "The Language of Appraisal in British Advertisements: The Construal of Attitudinal Judgement" is concerned with the ways in which manufacturers and advertisers essentially sell us our values and life-styles. By analysing 200 randomly selected British print advertisements from British women's magazines in terms of the occurrence and frequency of use of attitudinal judgement, Križan establishes that the categories of capability and propriety significantly prevail over other attitudinal categories. Her study shows that capability and propriety generally occur with a positive status, emphasising the manufacturers' superior knowledge, skills, willingness to help, as well as their generosity, compassion, eco-awareness, etc., thus assuming the social role of a trustworthy and caring friend. On the rare occasions when consumers are targeted with negative capability and propriety, consumers' lack of knowledge and information about the problem they may have is implied. The predominance of the categories of capability and propriety in advertising is revealed as strongly socially motivated and directed towards imposing values upon potential consumers and society, assigning them social roles in the advertising interaction – and everyday lives – in the process.

The only article in the **Translation** section focuses on the central dilemma practically all translators encounter in their work, i.e. whether (and when) to stay close to the source language, or adapt the translation to the circumstances of the target language. The dilemma is perhaps most pressing when the translators' selection may affect major decisions regarding tangible issues of our daily existence, which is definitely the case in legal translation. In "Free vs. Faithful – Towards Identifying the Relationship between Academic and Professional Criteria for Legal Translation," Mette Hjort-Pedersen presents the attitudes of Danish legal professionals and legal translators towards the practices that result in a more or less close relationship between the source text and the translation, as well as their views on the translator's power to decide on the nature and the mode of manifestation of this relationship. By analysing the responses of Danish lawyers and legal translators, Hjort-Pedersen established that lawyers tend to prefer direct translations of materials to be certified, used in a court case, etc. However, when translations are meant to be used as working papers, lawyers generally prefer indirect translation. Legal translators, on the

other hand, tend to prefer translations related to the context in which the original documents were prepared, regardless of their usage in the target culture. The examination of responses of both groups to the translator's power to decide upon the relationship between the source text and the translation showed that neither lawyers nor translators are comfortable with it. The results suggest that the translator's power to decide on the extent of the preservation of the source material in the translation is more restricted in legal translation than in other types of translation.

To conclude, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all who contributed to the completion of this issue of *ELOPE*, dedicated to the memory of Prof. Uroš Mozetič: the authors who chose our journal for dissemination of their research and who through the selection and diversity of their topics call to mind Uroš's various interests; the reviewers who kindly accepted the extra work-load and responsibly assessed the manuscripts; and *ELOPE* technical editor Andrej Stopar, who not only oversaw the technical part of the realisation of this volume, but also helped me immensely with precious advice, suggestions and solutions regarding the content.



Part I

Literature

Uroš Mozetič as a Poet

Not only a literary scholar, university teacher and translator, Uroš Mozetič was also an author in his own right. He published five cycles of poems in the Slovenian *Nova Revija* magazine between 1997 and 2006: *Gallery of Discarded Things* (*Galerija zavrženih stvari*), *Lošinj*, *The Cloud of Knowing* (*Oblak védenja*), *De-dications* (*Po-svetila*), and *The Way of the Cross for the Blind* (*Križev pot za slepe*). Individual poems from *Gallery*, *Lošinj* and *Cloud* were presented at the international poetry festival held at Medana, Slovenia, in 2003: these poems were published bilingually – in the original and in the author's own English translation – in the collection *Days of Poetry and Wine, Medana 2003*. (The details are cited in the bibliography section.)

Even at a cursory glance, these poems are marked by their author's erudition. In the manner of poetry by Thomas Stearns Eliot, whom Uroš admired, they are interspersed with allusions to and quotations from a wide range of poetry and prose, both from Slovenian and (fortunately for international readers) from English literature. Even the short selection printed in this volume of ELOPE contains, for example, a quotation from Philip Larkin's "Whatever Happened?" in the poem "Lošinj, Veli and Mali" and a reference to Samuel Taylor Coleridge's "Rime of the Ancient Mariner" in *The Way of the Cross for the Blind I*. Yet this erudition is steeped in a sensibility, in nuanced emotional and philosophical responses to the world, to the enduring questions posed by the human condition, and especially to the people surrounding the poet. According to his close friends, Uroš appreciated the Romantic poet John Keats (in addition to such near-contemporary poets as Wystan Hugh Auden, Seamus Heaney, e.e. cummings, or, recently, Louise Glück), and it is easy to understand how Keats' sensibility would have appealed to his own. It is telling that the poem "Pax de deux" is dedicated to a famous Slovenian duo of ballet dancers and choreographers, Pino and Pia Mlakar, who represented in his eyes an ideal union. (Parenthetically, it should be noted that the title is not a typo but a play on words, *Pas de deux* being not only a ballet term but also the name given by the Mlakar couple to their house by the Krka River in Slovenia.)

The combination of literary allusions, references to localities from Uroš' favourite places of sojourn (the windy hillscapes of western Slovenia, sometimes also the Croatian island of Lošinj) and references to his everyday life and acquaintances or friends may result in a somewhat hermetic mode. In my selection of texts for this publication, I have therefore observed two criteria: the availability of a text in the author's own English translation, and its communicability. I have included a sample from each cycle: the first three, *Gallery of Discarded Things*, *Lošinj*, and *The Cloud of Knowing*, are represented by extracts in Uroš' own translation, taken from *Days of Poetry and Wine*, while the last two, *De-dications* and *The Way of the Cross for the Blind* (a meditative account of the hike undertaken by the author and two friends) have been attempted by me. In the process, my insights into Uroš' poetry were deepened and refined by the helpful comments and reminiscences of Dr Aleš Grošelj and Anton Janko, Professor Emeritus, his close friends and fellow pilgrims in *The Way of the Cross*.

Selected Poems

From the cycle *Gallery of Discarded Things*

IV

We are that we are, and the in-between shall be in-between.
This is no religious wisdom. This is but a summary of my life,
As simple and predictable as it takes. In the shadow of Akkad, Thebes,
Memphis, Karkemish, Delphi, the Ganges, Jerusalem, Lhasa,
While I'm barbecuing steaks in the garden, raking molehills,
Throwing rotten tomatoes on the compost, hanging the washing on a line,
Elegantly moving about the kitchen or repairing the roof, and
Pondering the joy of losing balance only to be shattered on your forehead;
Or while I'm mowing the grey-green grass of your eyes, planting the
Seeds for you in the birdhouse, pruning the sweet-smelling slim necks of
Branches, mending the gutter, red like fire, for the hoary juice of rain,
Or scrubbing the sun-tanned floor of the veranda, knowing all the time that
I would deal with you more thoroughly than that Neruda spring does with
Its cherry blossoms, or the autumn with the leaves and bushes;
While I'm changing the bed linen and twisting the remains of your hair into a
Ball, or while, because the sky is full of stars, I simply wonder about
The truth of the zodiac.
What sinister design is woven into this routine!
You'll never know what's going on in the metaphysics of my household.
(This is all the bag and baggage of my world.)

From the cycle *Lošinj*

Lošinj.
Veli and Mali.

The remains of the monastery walls are grazed
By echoes of solitude. There is no one here to
Translate time when you choose to substitute your body
For another, whiter than yours, with a sign of the Living.

At the far end of the quay I left you a dumb sign:
A school of tales, tossing in the net of your hair,
Living and asleep, with the smell of the tar of
Unnameable ships. Uvala Krivica. Ravenska. Sveti Ivan.
All's kodak-distant.

Sometimes it seems, because you are gone, that
The sea has not been created. That the shudder
Of the agaves within your eyes is not from
The mistral and my seagull-tongue.

And Him, whose all the edges I have blunted,
Yet still I bleed every time I snuggle in and out?

Like the very moment when a birth rolls away,
And we fail to be near.

Twice Lošinj.
If we are ever to leave it for the third time,
It will be of ashes, not of salt.

As I Was Saying My Introit Prayers

At the end of times,
At the prolongation of the shade of shades,
When death no longer is discussed
Without the pondering on life,
Will there be one to call himself a poet?

(The expanded metaphor is therefore to be
Swallowed by the shifting sands of pain.)

As you were coming up, I barely saw you:
You were walking midst the drops of rain.
You spoke like one
Lamenting for the death of fate.

*If you had loved the sky
As much as I did love the rain,
Would our space still lack
The gender and the number running empty?*

*You are agitated by, that much I know,
The common garden, engraved on the four rows of stones.
It is being soaked in four waters.*

(Like the glory of the fathers graven on the long garment,
Where the world will find its rest.)

At the end of times.

*You shall not stroll through it
Until you've counted all the grains of sand,
And the hourglass has stopped in you.
You shall measure the depth of yourself
By the four waters.
You shall find a rest on the four stones.*

And when you say:
Take this body and don't bring it back
Until I'm truly worthy of it,
I will bring the first bucket.

*Night after night, three times running
You shall be sad because of losing
Sadness.
The ray of darkness will dry your throat.
You shall gather water for the second time.*

(Once you've entered, you're out.
The door is the same, with a two-fold profile.
Like the sun-wind
In the white sails of the waters,
They show refusal to return to the
Dullness of the surface.)

*It will pour for the third time,
And you shall sing:*

Eros, Logos, Kairos, Agape.
Four riders of Love,
Drenched with sweat and full of dust.

I await my second

Conscious shock.
I reflect upon the difference between
Number four and number five.

*Once started, there's no end to it.
There's only time at the end of times.*

From the cycle *The Cloud of Knowing*

Tango

Proposing to Love, Lust dances the tango.
 Are the source and the mouth of a river
 Indeed its beginning and end?
 Ask me an easier question.
 Should people who have never known
 Love insist it's nowhere to be found?
 People who wake in a sweat because
 They have failed to observe the duple time?
Arrida. Mordida. Salida.

An easier one.
 Are you a lover crossing a bridge
 And facing the source while
 She's turning to you?
 Or are you one of those who think
 That heart has every right to reason on its own?
 (The tragedy of mankind is in every
 Man's preoccupation with his own.)

Love shows no mercy.
 It is soothed by the nostalgia for
 Some lovely common habits. It will find
 Itself inflamed around the one who leads.
Molinete and Mordida.
 Love, standing on a single pair of legs.

Translated by the author.

From the cycle *De-dications*

Pax de deux

For Pino and Pia Mlakar

Feast of the Guardian Angels.¹
The Lože folk have lit their stoves,
Preparing for
The fasting of the heart through winter.

On Rob above Vipava,
Where hills are mute and ancient,
Where God in gales leafs through his poems
And through your thought. Through you as his.

Thought? – consider that at the moment
When you are leaning into gales,
Under an angle like a larch.
As long as you have known them, pondered them,
They have been pondering on something else.

(The larch is hidden in the word
Which quickens the world's movement.)

This is the *pas de deux*:
The dance of meaning with its fellow-meaning.
The never-finished pirouette
of common
denominators (ever dwindling).

I am not alone, then?
Yes.

¹ Celebrated on the first Sunday in September. In the village of Lože and in the general neighbourhood of Vipava (the town referred to in the second stanza), this was the time when stoves would be lit for the winter. (Translator's note.)

From the cycle *The Way of the Cross for the Blind*

Though we began our climb at crack of dawn,
 The air was close. (The month of reaping coincided
 With the lunar sickle.) Three pilgrims wearing sandals,
 Long grown over our soles, we fell out of step
 – as those who toe the line might say – with time.

I²

First we were stopped short by an ancient mariner
 Mistaking us, in his befuddled harbour,
 For wedding-guests who toasted in a different poem
 Death weddings births and lives.
 We passed him by.

(How often have I trudged along this track
 In hopes of being different from the others
 Or at the least resembling what portrays me
 And is to judge me. No one stopped me then.)

II

We came to Gap of Otlica, which watches,
 Like Cyclops, flocks through the Vipava Valley.
 A perfect setting for philosophy.
 Say that you walk your way and worry about the others:
 If it must hurt, at least let pain be pleasant.

It's in the nature of the bearer that he fits
 His burden. Makes it lighter.

III

I still recall when I wrote my first poem
 And when the absent grey-haired poet said,
You're at the start after the start.
 I dried, like swallows weaving with their wings
 The promised shore. I needed
 An *Ode*. It dawned on me that once I'd come to be
 The bucket and the well, the sky and sinkhole,
 A mouth which fights back to the very last drop.

But for the last, our falls are public matter.

² The fourteen poems of the cycle allude to the fourteen Stations of the Cross: 1. Jesus is condemned to death; 2. Jesus carries his cross; 3. Jesus falls the first time; 4. Jesus meets his mother; 5. Simon of Cyrene helps Jesus carry the cross; 6. Veronica wipes the face of Jesus; 7. Jesus falls the second time; 8. Jesus meets the women of Jerusalem; 9. Jesus falls the third time; 10. Jesus is stripped of his garments; 11. Crucifixion: Jesus is nailed to the cross; 12. Jesus dies on the cross; 13. Jesus is taken down from the cross (Deposition or Lamentation); 14. Jesus is laid in the tomb. (Translator's note.)

IV

When I saw Mum and Father for the last time,
On my return from pilgrimage to Brezje,
They seemed as pale and lonesome as a dried
Well in the Karst lands. In that stifling room,
Its wringing smell of the decay of hope,
Despite old age, the letters and the prophets,
Their last eyes dwelt on the infusion.

I recognised them by the tags at bedside:
So-and-so and date of birth.
They went then, their separate ways, I think.
With no transfusion of persuasive suffering
Or answer why we'd weathered anything together.
With no referral for the cure of childhood.

V

The day slid into noon. The memory
Of used-up innocence still lingered in the scent
Of tufted lousewort. It is rooted here.
Like grasses waving in the blowing sea.

We scrambled over the dried tree of ash –
Called so in Celtic tales – and Aleš said,
We're aching from the Rob track, where in details
God watches us.

Three ways on Rob ridge flowed into a fourth:
The goal of our journey was its start. [...]

XIV

All is extinguished, darknesses are lit.
The roots of His words lay
Deep in the earth, the branches winding skyward:
A melting-grave which presses out man's essence.

What's left is time without an end.
What's left is that which is what it is.

And you are.

Translated by Nada Grošelj

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Reaction to Crisis in Gothic Romance: Radcliffe's *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne*

ABSTRACT

Gothic romances were primarily women's domain. This is proven by the fact that from the end of the eighteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century more than fifty female authors wrote Gothic romances. In the first part the paper depicts the emergence of romances, clarifies the notion of the Gothic and explains the theory of Gothic romances. The second part focuses on Ann Radcliffe's first novel, *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne*. This section analyses in what way men and women react to crises. It concludes that reactions are primarily based not on sex but on the benevolence and malevolence of literary characters. The former react with higher intensity on the physical level (passing out, becoming ill) and the latter react vehemently in emotional sense towards their rivals. The originality of the article lies in the systematic analysis of characters' responses to crisis and in the study of atypical features of this Gothic novel.

Keywords: Gothic romance; Ann Radcliffe; men; women; crisis; response; *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne*

Odzivi na krize v gotski romanci: *Gradova Athlin in Dunbayne* avtorice Ann Ward Radcliffe

POVZETEK

Gotske romance so bile povečini ženska domena. To dokazuje dejstvo, da je od konca osemnajstega do začetka devetnajstega stoletja gotske romance pisalo več kot petdeset avtoric. V prvem delu članek oriše pojav romanc, pojasni pojmovanje gotike in razloži teorijo gotskih romanc. Drugi del obravnava prvi roman Ann Radcliffe, in sicer *Gradova Athlin and Dunbayne*. V njem razišče, kako se na krize odzivajo moški in ženske, in ugotovi, da odziv v veliki meri ni odvisen od spola, temveč od dobronamernosti oz. zlobe literarnih likov. Prvi se bolj odzivajo z večjo intenziteto v fizičnem smislu (omedlevanje, obolevanje), slednji pa z burnim čustvenih reagiranjem, uperjenim proti rivalom. Originalnost članka leži v sistematični analizi odzivov literarnih protagonistov in antagonistov ter atipičnosti proučevanega gotskega romana.

Ključne besede: gotska romanca; Ann Radcliffe; moški; ženske; krize; odzivi; *Gradova Athlin in Dunbayne*

Reaction to Crisis in Gothic Romance: Radcliffe's *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne*

1 Introduction

Ann Ward Radcliffe was a masterful, model eighteenth-century Gothic writer. Her novels swing between the irrational fear and real dangers that threaten the heroes and heroines. They contain all typical Gothic elements: the settings are castles, convents, churches, subterranean vaults and caves; the heroines are defenceless against haughty barons; the real solution makers are primarily men; there is a schism between the north and south of Europe; and Protestantism is favoured over Roman Catholicism.

Nonetheless, an exception to some Gothic conventions is her first novel *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne*. It is the closest replica of original romances of all her Gothic novels. It is not about the uncanny that abounds in her later romances, but about the ancient pride (privileges of aristocracy) that clashes with natural nobility and genuine feelings among characters. Thus it represents a romance where the class barrier between nobility and commons is most evident. There is also no mentioning of religion. The most extraordinary fact is that it takes place in the north, in the Scottish Highlands.

To show the progress from medieval romance and to enable the readers to critically approach Gothic romances, the following section systematically enumerates their characteristics from the standpoints of history, literature, architecture, politics, psychology, philosophy and sociology. In the second part, the paper focuses on Radcliffe's first Gothic novel. It analyses the Gothic conventions in it and how males and females react to internal (psychological) and external (actual) crises.

2 Gothic Romance

The genre originates from the late Middle Ages (600–700 years ago) and, according to Gail Ashton (2010, 1), it is defined as a story about one's origin. It revolves not merely around "a matter of birthright [...], but [also around] a consideration of our place in the wider world with its myths, narratives of history, unstable constructions of class, ethnicity and nationhood, and the impulses and effects of colonization" (2010, 1). Thematically, its focal points are "family drama, kinship patterns, the workings out of gender, ideologies of community, leadership, inheritance, on the tension between public and private, time and space" (2010, 1–2).

The Gothic novel has its roots in the traditions of romance; however, historically and etymologically speaking, 'Gothic' refers to the German tribe of the Goths, who destroyed classical Rome and the civilised world (Dryden 2003, 24). The name Goth was

taken and used to prop up one side of that set of cultural oppositions by which the Renaissance and its heirs defined and claimed possession of European civilization: Northern versus Southern, Gothic versus Graeco-Roman, Dark Ages versus the Age of Enlightenment, medieval versus modern, barbarity versus civility, superstition versus reason. (Dryden 2003, 24)

Gothic romance is a blend of medieval romance and the French *roman*, which is a long prose piece of literature. As Ashton explains:

The development of Gothic romance seems to spring from the social change and its pertaining anxieties: a late 1700s self-made 'man' (mercantile, Protestant) versus an existing feudal system of property and inheritance rights. In literary terms, we recognize a long tradition of Gothic in dark tales of magic, demons, ghosts, secrets, terror and dislocation. (Ashton 2010, 139)

Ashton further asserts that

Gothic romance seems especially attractive to women. Over 50 female authors wrote Gothic-style works between the 1790s and 1820s alone. This flourishing possibly allowed women access to a literary sphere formerly denied to them. Women's pleasure in romance – evidenced by modern sales figures – seemingly confirms it as a 'feminine' genre. (Ashton 2010, 140)

Robert Hume states that Gothic novels thrived between 1764 and 1820. These are the years when Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* and Maturin's *Melmoth the Wanderer* were published (1969, 282). He sees their distinctly Gothic form as a "shift away from neoclassical ideals of order and reason, toward romantic belief in emotion and imagination" (1969, 282). Hume continues that

the literature of the later eighteenth century attempts to rouse the reader's imaginative sympathies; the particular device employed toward this end by the Gothic novel writers is terror, which Burke had stressed as a factor in emotional involvement in his *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757). (Hume 1969, 282)

Thematically speaking, "Gothic is a style of writing that exhibits the superfluous, transgression and political debates, all of which test cultural limits and boundaries, and trigger ambivalent emotions of curiosity and anxiety by the stories of darkness, desire and power" (Botting 1995, 1). The notions of plot and psychology are, in Gothic writing, therefore closely connected.

Uncertainties about the nature of power, law, society, family and sexuality prevail in Gothic romances. They are connected to wider threats of disintegration of society, which is manifested most forcefully and noticeably in political and social revolution. The decade of the French Revolution was the period when Gothic romances were most popular. (Botting 1995, 2–3).

Gothic was also "a term raised in several political debates, being associated with revolutionary crowds, enlightened extremists and irrational as well as servile conformity to tyrannical and superstitious feudal values" (Botting 1995, 4). The same author explains that

the terrors and horrors of transgression in Gothic writing become a powerful means to reassert the values of society, virtue and propriety: transgression, by crossing the social and aesthetic limits, serves to reinforce or underline their value and necessity, restoring or defining limits. (Botting 1995, 5)

Therefore, from the political point of view, "Gothic tales can be discussed as tropes that label and demonize the otherness and tend to, not question but preserve the status quo. [...] They provide a space in which key elements of the dominant culture become debated [and] affirmed" (Smith and Hughes 2003, 3).

Critics in general agree that Gothic romance is the genre of the fantastic and extravagant, terror, fear of revolution, breaching the boundaries that should not be crossed (like those of

incest, rebelling against paternal wishes and disturbing the order of the ancient regime) and anti-Catholic attitude. In spite of Radcliffe's and other authors' attempt to show heroines as strong and independent in their avant-garde, private life rebellions, romance in the end reinstates the mainstream (previous) social order. In this respect, we can see Gothic romances as a tool of counter-revolution. On the other hand, Radcliffe is extremely progressive in portraying the (pre)marital relations of her heroines, as they are able to choose their future spouses and dictate the tempo of their relationship's progress. They are also champions of chastity and unhesitant in refusing marriages of convenience. Although criticised by the early critics for laying too much power in her young women's hands and for triggering superfluous emotions, Radcliffe developed a style that used sublimity and ideas of the Enlightenment to successfully pioneer the new idea of Romanticism, and become commercially successful at a time when male authors and their 'real' novels reigned supreme.

3 Gothic Theory Applied: *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne*

The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne is the vaguest of novels as far as the time frame of the story is concerned. There is no specific time given, but, given the chivalric actions of the protagonists and the buildings where they dwell, it can be placed somewhere in the Middle Ages. Castles are tokens of medievalism, serving as fortresses rather than places of luxury and comfort, which were later in history replaced by palaces. It is a highland story, characterized by the feud between the houses from the title of the romance. The Gothic romance opens with the discrepancy between "the most romantic part of the Highland" (Radcliffe 2007, 1) as "the north-east coast of Scotland" (Radcliffe 2007, 1) is described, and the misery of the house of Athlin, caused by Malcolm, Baron of Dunbayne. The former is described as "proud, oppressive, revengeful; still residing in all the pomp of feudal greatness" (Radcliffe 2007, 1). Later, the origin of the feud between the late Earl of Athlin and Baron Malcolm is depicted. It had been Malcolm's "encroachment on the domain of Athlin" (Radcliffe 2007, 1) that resulted in "the animosity which subsisted between the chiefs" (Radcliffe 2007, 1). "Chiefs [were] in charge of clans built on the bonds created by kinship, feuding, feasting, and gifting" (Houston 2008, 91).

In the fights among the clans, "Athlin had generally been victorious" (Radcliffe 2007, 1). Such private mechanisms of justice were not uncommon in late medieval and early modern Scotland, and they had a stabilizing function, since the "Scottish realm's government and judicial system, especially when compared with England at this time, was relatively localized, privatized and informal" (Hyams and Throop 2016, 52–53). In other words, "the justice of feud is essentially a 'private' apparatus flourishing when and where the mechanisms of justice provided by a 'public' governing authority are weak or non-existent" (Hyams and Throop 2016, 51–52).

However, in our romance the feud between the late Earl and the Baron does not end with resolution of the conflict. "Malcolm, whose pride was touched by the defeat of his people; whose ambition was curbed by the authority, and whose greatness was rivalled by the power of the Earl, conceived for him that deadly hatred [...] and he meditated his destruction" (Radcliffe 2007, 1). Here we can see that the Baron's personality traits do not allow him to resolve his personal and military frustration by reconciliation. He goes into scheming and captures the Earl while he is accompanied only by a small party and slays him and his comrades. At this point, Radcliffe, through the omniscient narrator, tells us that the Earl's widow would avenge him if she had an army large enough to do so. As we will see later, Matilda is one of the rare women in Radcliffe's

romances who would take some action in order to resolve the mortification of herself and her family. However, Matilda has no resources, so she is “constrained to endure in silence her sorrows and her injuries” (Radcliffe 2007, 2).

For an educated reader of the eighteenth century, Matilda resembled another Matilda – Matilda the Empress (1102–1167), of whom Margaret C. Schaus (2006, 551) writes in *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*. The latter was the daughter of King Henry I of England. As a girl, she was sent to Germany to marry Emperor Henry V. They had no children but she managed to carry out other duties of the Holy Roman Empress. In 1125, when widowed, she returned to England and, after her brother’s death, became King Henry’s only heir. After her father’s death, she failed to reign on her own, as she did not get the support of London barons and due to the resistance of King Stephen’s Queen, also named Matilda. “After 1142, she began to fight on behalf of her son Henry’s right to succeed Stephen, a goal that was secured in 1152, when Henry was named Stephen’s heir. He succeeded two years later” (Schaus 2006, 551). A similar deed was performed by Matilda of Athlin, as she “devoted herself to the education of her children [...] and their growing virtues promised to repay all her tenderness” (Radcliffe 2007, 2). At the beginning of the novel, Matilda’s son Osbert is nineteen years old “and his heart, unchilled by the touch of disappointment, glowed with all the warmth of benevolence” (Radcliffe 2007, 2). Through such a description of the young man, Radcliffe suggests that experience and disappointment make one bitter and aggressive. This statement is supported further in the text in the long passage where Radcliffe adopts the Shakespearean “all-the-world’s-a-stage” analogy, but she does not apply it to the social roles that humanity plays on the stage of the world. Rather, she mimics William Blake’s *Songs of Innocence*, published in the same year (1789) as *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne*.

Radcliffe meditates upon people’s perception of life and the response to life’s drama in general and does not distinguish at this point between men and women. Later on, Mary, Osbert’s sister, is described as being seventeen years old, but having “the accomplishments of riper years” (Radcliffe 2007, 3). So far, both Osbert and Mary have had no need to face any problems or crises. However, the above offset passage gives us a hint that certain experiences are about to alter the lives of these two inhabitants of Athlin Castle.

Matilda, on the other hand, has grieved for twelve years now, but time has “blunted the keen edge of sorrow. Matilda’s grief [has] declined into a gentle and not unpleasing melancholy, which gave a soft and interesting shade to the natural dignity of her character” (Radcliffe 2007, 3). Here, we can observe one of the typical Radcliffean female responses to crisis: passivity. Benevolent female protagonists in Radcliffe’s romances are rarely active solution makers. In Matilda’s case, in addition to accepting her current situation and status, the passivity and time have to some degree diminished the consequences of her calamities – at least in the psychological sense.

Eventually, Osbert becomes acquainted with the manner of his father’s death and “his young heart glowed to avenge the deed” (Radcliffe 2007, 4). Even the late Earl’s clan had wanted that, “but oppressed by the generous compassion of the Countess, their murmurs sunk into silence” (Radcliffe 2007, 4). At this point, Matilda has the right to decide on behalf of her children and people since she, with

the early death of [her] husband, leaving young children, [...] became [the sole] guardian of the lands and resources, and, [as] a major fief was involved, [the] regent. Widowhood also added to a [medieval] woman’s personal riches since her dower was normally one third of her husband’s lands and rents. As well, his death returned to his wife her personal

power over any inheritance or dowry which she had brought to the marriage; if that had included a county because of lack of male heirs, she as countess legitimately exercised rule and enjoyed its revenues so long as she did not remarry. (Labarge 1997, 104)

People often have a mistaken image of a medieval aristocratic woman. According to Ruth Johnston,

the image we have of the medieval lady is a fairy-tale construction blended with truth. Most upper-class women led difficult lives, although they were surrounded by luxury. Their marriages were often unkind, since they were matched on the basis of land, money, or power. But they lived on a plane above the noise and dirt of the classes below them, and they left behind an impression of magical elegance. Some of this image comes from the romances and troubadour songs. Many romances told the stories of beautiful, refined, intelligent, sweet ladies who won the love of kings and knights and who suffered for this love. While some real ladies led such lives, most did not. (Johnston 2011, 741)

Although Osbert submits to Matilda's wishes not to engage into revenge, his daily activities foreshadow the way he wants to avenge his father, i.e., in battle and in a chivalric manner. Apart from that, Osbert's attracted to poetry and inspired by the scenery of Highlands. Indeed, he is a typical character of the school of thought of Romanticism, and indulges in the sublime, an emotion which exceeds his mother's melancholy in dynamics and fortitude. Edmund Burke defines the sublime

an experience of a power that exceeds the quantifiable and the usable. Encounters with such a power, he observed, are characterized by pain and terror rather than by pleasure and love. For sublime power so transcends the bounds of the finite and the mortal that the individual has the sense of being threatened with obliteration when encountering it. Experience of the sublime is thus marked by a terrifying thrill rather than by pleasurable affection. (Burke qtd. in Day 2011, 183)

The Castle of Athlin and Dunbayne introduces the notion of natural nobility to its readership. However, the notion is in this romance connected with actual nobility, which the readers discover at the end of the novel. Such an example is the seemingly low-born Alleyn, with whom Osbert gets acquainted during one of his wanderings. He is described as a young Highland peasant, who helps him find his own castle when he loses his way. He is also introduced to Alleyn's father. Osbert discovers in his young scout "a dignity of thought, and a course of sentiment similar to his own" (Radcliffe 2007, 6). The young man possesses a form of natural nobility, which attracts the young Earl. When they pass the castle of Dunbayne, Osbert feels uncomfortable and sighs. At the same time, Alleyn comments on Baron Malcolm's bad husbandry over his lands. They lie uncultivated and his people struggle to survive as the yield is insufficient. The Baron is not only inferior in rank in comparison with the Earl of Athlin, but he is also a murderer and fails to do his homework in home economics. Such a characterisation is typical of Radcliffean antagonists who are generally portrayed as ultimate villains. Osbert finds in Alleyn an ally against the overconfident Baron, for the latter says: "There are other clans as ready as your own to avenge the wrongs of the noble Earl of Athlin; the Fitz-Henrys were ever friends to virtue" (Radcliffe 2007, 7). In spite of Alleyn's "glow of conscious dignity" (Radcliffe 2007, 7) and his willingness to assist Osbert in his cause, he is not at this point ready to defy his mother's wishes not to fight. When he sees "the image of his weeping mother [in his] mind" (Radcliffe 2007, 7), he decides to postpone any potential military action.

Avenging the late lord Athlin, is, however, inevitable. The very next day, after the tournament and Alleyn's success at the tournament – another emblem that he is a natural knight – the young Earl and his clan make a resolution not to rest “till the life of their enemy had paid the debt of justice and of revenge” (Radcliffe 2007, 9). The resolution is not spoken aloud; it is made by the clan crossing their swords with the sword of a man standing next to him. Here again we can observe the real action makers in *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne* – chivalric men who have to wait for several years until Osbert has reached his mental and physical maturity.

The novel deals with male issues as well, both in political and love affairs. This is shown later that day when Osbert and Alleyn feel oppressed by uneasy thought. The former ponders how to verbalize the above-mentioned resolution to his mother Matilda, and the latter has on his mind only “the image of high-born Mary” (Radcliffe 2007, 10) with whom he danced that very evening. Here is the first instance of the clash of social classes in the novel. Not only is Alleyn in love, a fact which he wants to conceal from himself, but he is also of inferior rank – only a peasant – which presents an obstacle to their union. However, he decides to leave his love feelings behind for the time being and leaves “the castle full of gratitude and secret love, to prepare his friends for the approaching war” (Radcliffe 2007, 10). When Matilda gets acquainted with her son's intentions she reacts in a fashion that the majority of Radcliffean benevolent women do: she is “overcome with dreadful sensation, and [sinks] lifeless in her chair” (Radcliffe 2007, 10).

Osbert is not indifferent to this. He is “torn by the most cruel conflict: filial duty, honour, revenge, [command] him to go; filial love, regret, and pity, [entreat] him to stay” (Radcliffe 2007, 10). It is the first real mental crisis he has encountered so far. When the old countess is revived, Osbert sees his sister Mary in “her tears, her sighs, [...] but the silent grief of the Countess [is] still more touching” (Radcliffe 2007, 10–11). He almost resigns from his purpose in order to comfort his mother, who relives the event when she lost her husband. The time has not obliterated her largest scar. Osbert summons the war council, where they decide that Baron Malcolm will be attacked at full force and that it should be a surprise. To achieve that, it will be given out that the assembled army is meant to assist “the Chief of a distant part” (Radcliffe 2007, 11).

The driving force of Alleyn was “the pride of distinguishing himself in the eyes of his mistress” (Radcliffe 2007, 12), and he collected a substantial number of warriors in a short period of time. The assembled army decides that the Alleyn's party “should scale the walls, surprize the centinels [sic], and open the gates to the rest of the clan, which, with the Earl, were to remain without” (Radcliffe 2007, 14). Both parties manage to enter the castle, but there they are outwitted by the defenders – “suddenly the portcullis was dropped and the bridge drawn up” (Radcliffe 2007, 14).

The soul of Alleyn seemed to acquire new vigour from the conflict; he fought like a man panting for honour, the certain of victory; wherever he rushed, conquest flew before him [...]. He, with the Earl, [...] hoped to have satisfied a just revenge, and to have concluded the conflict with the death of the murderer. (Radcliffe 2007, 15)

The law, and the resolution of all Earl's problems is, as can be observed here, in his hands and in those of his helpers – Alleyn; the method to practice it is violence, and the goal of such a practice is to annihilate the enemy and kill them. This was common practice in medieval times.

Carol Lansing and Edward D. English write that

the medieval [judicial] situation was antithetical to the modern. Then law was plural, overlapping, and predominantly local. Courts were weak or non-existent, laws customary, justice in the hands of venal lords or prelates, or even in the hands of private individuals altogether (feud and revenge). Law was anything but rational, being instead highly ritualized and formal, with modes of proof including torture or ordeal. (Lansing and English 2010, 335)

The above paragraph confirms the thesis that the actions of both the Earl and Alleyn are not based on reason but on emotions, namely vengeance and pride. The next proof can be found in the description of Osbert's feeling at the annual celebration, after the clan members drink in the honour of him: "Osbert understood the signal, and overcome with emotion, every consideration yielded to that of avenging his father" (Radcliffe 2007, 8–9). The attempt to capture and assault Baron Malcolm failed because of the Baron's information about the preparation of war, obtained by the mercenaries that had been spying on Athlin Castle for several years. Many assaulters were killed, and those who survived carried the news that Earl and Alleyn had been captured as prisoners of war to Countess Matilda (Radcliffe 2007, 15–16). She cannot stay strong under such a calamity. "She was attacked with a violent illness, which had nearly terminated her sorrows and her life" (Radcliffe 2007, 16). Her daughter Mary nurses her, and, although she "felt all the horrors of the late event (Radcliffe 2007, 16), she "almost forgot [her] own distress in the remembrance of her mother's [...]. She had also a strong degree of pity for the fate of the brave young Highlander who had assisted" (Radcliffe 2007, 17).

In the castle of Dunbayne, Baron Malcolm welcomes the young Earl with words of sarcasm, a sign of intelligence, but also an outward emblem of his depravity: "I am [sic] come [...] to welcome the Earl of Athlin to my castle; and to shew that I can receive my friends with the hospitality they deserve; but I am yet undetermined what kind of festival I shall bestow on his arrival" (Radcliffe 2007, 19). The Baron is surely not a friend of Osbert's, nor does he desire to throw him a party. The 'festival' is, in this case, a euphemism for torture. The contradictory feelings of "furious indignation and tender pity which the glowing image of his father could excite" (Radcliffe 2007, 20) put Osbert into the state of "perfect misery" (Radcliffe 2007, 20). When he is almost driven to madness and to committing suicide with "a short dagger, which he concealed under his vest" (Radcliffe 2007, 20), his spirit is lifted by music played on the lute and "by a voice so enchantingly tender and melodious that the sounds fell on the heart of Osbert in balmy comfort" (Radcliffe 2007, 20). Above, we can see an instance when Osbert nearly loses his will to live, and his sanity is preserved by the means of the external medium. The latter response is typical of Radcliffe's Romantic protagonists.

The romance demonstrates both the constructive and unconstructive behaviour on the part of benevolent characters. While the young count is being imprisoned, "the castle of Athlin, and its neighbourhood, [is] overwhelmed with distress" (Radcliffe 2007, 20). This is an unconstructive response to crisis. The countess, Osbert's mother, reacts reasonably and sends a substantial ransom to the baron "for the restoration of her son, and other prisoners" (Radcliffe 2007, 21). In spite of the wealth offered to him, the baron's "revenge subdues his avarice," and he rejects the ransom with contempt. This is not the only conflict the baron bears in his heart; he threw an eye on beautiful Mary once and this view "raised a passion in his soul, which the turbulence of his character would not suffer to be extinguished" (Radcliffe 2007, 21). By having her brother in his possession, he now has the means to obtain Mary. A small number of clan members want to rescue the count, which revives the countess, but there is another misfortune: Mary's

health notably declines. “She was silent and pensive; her tender frame was too susceptible of the sufferings of her mind; and these sufferings were heightened by concealment” (Radcliffe 2007, 21). What Mary experiences is a psychosomatic response, and since she does not verbalise her grief, the physical reaction grows even stronger. As a remedy, “she was prescribed amusement and gentle exercise, as best restoratives of peace and health” (Radcliffe 2007, 21).

When acting according to the given prescription, she is captured by three banditti and taken towards a cavern, where she loses “all signs of existence” (Radcliffe 2007, 22), i.e., consciousness. She is rescued by Alleyn “who was watching with the most trembling anxiety her return to life, and whose eyes, on seeing her revive, swam in joy and tenderness” (Radcliffe 2007, 22–23). She is accompanied to the castle of Athlin, where Alleyn conveys his story of how he was imprisoned and escaped the baron. “After having lain some weeks in the horrible dungeon allotted him, his mind involved in the gloom of despair, and filled him momentary expectation of death, desperation furnished him with invention, and he had concerted the [...] plan to escape” (Radcliffe 2007, 24). Alleyn yet again proves to be an active participant in solving problems, although at first he experiences severe melancholy. He is rational and systematic in his quest to find the way out of the castle of Dunbayne. This is evident in his careful observation of the guard’s behaviour regarding the pavement near the entrance of his dungeon cell: “the guard was constant in examining it by striking that spot, and treading more firmly on it; and this he endeavoured to do without being observed” (Radcliffe 2007, 24).

The romance also gives its readers an instruction on perseverance and endurance, notions which are especially hallmarks of Alleyn. Alleyn, ever resourceful, removes the pavement of the spot, digs into it and finds a trap. However, he is fatigued at that time and unsure whether he will be able to come through the door and overcome all the other obstacles that may follow. That is why he decides to place the pavement in the exact spot it was before. He fails to do so and “his mind and body [are] [...] overcome, and he [throws] himself on the ground in an agony and despair.” Here we can observe that mind and reason, no matter how determined one is, can temporarily fail benevolent characters. Nonetheless, they quickly re-establish their original composure and continue to follow their aim. Therefore, when Alleyn is revived, he opens the trap door and enters the vault. After wandering for a substantial amount of time, he senses “the gentle undulation of the air upon his face [...] which [gives] him strength; and the means of escape, which now [seems] presented to him, [renews] his courage” (Radcliffe 2007, 24–25). Here one can see how nature and its phenomena can influence a human being, which is a Romantic notion, proving that Gothic fiction is actually a subsection of Romanticism.

The benevolent characters in Gothic fiction, as presented above, often react extremely emotionally, or at least the Gothic authors use hyperbole to describe characters’ emotional response, hence “inexpressible anguish.” When Alleyn wants to pursue his discovery of the castle vaults and from there “leap the wall, and cross the ditch” (Radcliffe 2007, 26), he is discovered by an armoured guard who loses his sword in the fight with Alleyn. When the former pleads for mercy, Alleyn decides not to kill the guard due to his compassionate nature and for practical reasons: if he killed him, the other guards would enter the vault. Here we can observe more characteristics of positive Gothic characters, namely humility, compassion and rational/pragmatic thinking. The guard wanders back to his comrades and meets Malcolm, who orders Alleyn to be chained. When the latter boldly stands up to Baron Malcolm and threatens the guard to take his life in case of another escape of the prisoner, the guard, feeling resentful towards his master and grateful towards merciful Alleyn, starts wavering between obedience (saving Alleyn life) and disobedience (escaping his lord).

When the latter offers a reward should he save him, the guard refuses to accept it, saying that it is enough for him to save a fellow creature from destruction (Radcliffe 2007, 28–29). “These words overpowered Alleyn, and tears of gratitude swelled in his eyes” (Radcliffe 2007, 29). The guard’s response has a didactic value: if one helps a fellow human being, one gets in return their gratitude and, consequently, can justly expect a positive outcome from temporary misery.

Being sentimental and grateful are therefore the two personality traits exhibited by positive characters in Gothic romances. Alleyn is given a knife and he successfully cuts all around the lock, unfastens the chain, leaves the cell, reaches the trap door and with difficulty separates the bolts, whereupon the open door enables him to see the vaults. It is evening now, and he returns to his dungeon and rests on the floor. When somebody opens his jail, Alleyn discovers that it is not Edric, the sentinel who was supposed to help him escape at midnight. After he leaves, Alleyn cannot endure the stress any longer, so he “sunk[s] down in a state of torpidity” (Radcliffe 2007, 30). When he recovers, he again finds himself in silence, darkness and melancholy. Nevertheless, he disregards the doubt in his soldier’s fidelity. Here, Radcliffe adds a remark of the reminiscent narrator: “We naturally recoil from painful sensations, and it is one of most exquisite tortures of a noble mind, to doubt the sincerity of those in whom it has confided” (Radcliffe 2007, 30), thus foretelling that Alleyn is – against all odds – of noble birth. When Alleyn concludes that Edric was sanctioned because of his generosity, he forgets the situation in which he is now, which denotes another feature of Radcliffe’s protagonists, i.e., compassion and sincere care for others. Since Radcliffe’s Gothicism is of a psychological kind, the fears and terrors in her romances are primarily oppression upon the mind, caused either by external circumstance or by false interpretations and assumptions. This is manifested in Alleyn’s delayed reaction to the noise of approaching persons:

His senses had been so stunned by the appearance of the stranger, and his mind so occupied with a feeling of despair, as to exclude every idea of escape; and in the energy of his sufferings he had forgot [sic] this last resource. It now flashed like lightning upon his mind; he sprung to the trap door. (Radcliffe 2007, 31)

After all the psychological turmoil, Edric arrives with his fellow guard, whose appearance scared Alleyn before, and the former tells Alleyn that his comrade, too, cannot tolerate Baron Malcolm’s oppression and plans to escape with them (Radcliffe 2007, 31). One of the characteristics of Radcliffe’s Gothic romances is that the fear stimuli of protagonists are, after suspense, rationally explained. This makes her novels psychology textbooks that implicitly teach the readership to act according to Aristotelian Golden Means, something that the eighteenth century with its Enlightenment movement and Neo-Classicism strived to act according to. The above example therefore shows how Alleyn was overreacting, at least in his mind. Because of this, he hardly acted towards his salvation. Such reactions are common for benevolent characters in Radcliffe’s novel, especially female ones.

The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne is also unique in a sense that it does not attempt to suggest there are any supernatural phenomena at work. The closest contact of any characters with the uncanny is when Alleyn and the rebellious soldiers wander in the underground vaults. There their lamp is extinguished and they have to continue in darkness. “Their feelings may be more easily imagined than described” (Radcliffe 2007, 32). However, this is not all. Alleyn accidentally strikes up against broken armour and discovers the dead body of a man next to it. Touching the corpse makes him overwhelmed – “every nerve thrilled with horror at the touch” (Radcliffe 2007, 32). Moreover, when some light appeared, “they could distinguish the figures of men [...] and [...] they doubted not but the men [...] were murderers; that they belonged to the

Baron; and were in search of some fugitives from the castle” (Radcliffe 2007, 33). They ascend to a higher level of vaults and rest for a while in silence and total darkness. When they try to descend towards the exit of the vaults, they spot a light again where the dead body lies. “They [stand] petrified with despair” (Radcliffe 2007, 33). The light luckily passes on and shows them their position. They safely reach the bottom of the staircase and the deliverance is near, when they encounter four men with a lamp and swords drawn and pointed towards the party. When Alleyn shouts: “We will die hardly[!],” their weapons drop and Alleyn notices that three of them are his comrades and the fourth is Edric’s fellow soldier. “They [quit] the cave together” (34). The finding of the corpse is, as it is common for Radcliffe, explained, thus eliminating every trace of the supernatural that we can, for instance, find in Walpole’s *The Castle of Otranto*: “They concluded, that the body which they passed in the avenue, was some person who had perished either by hunger or by sword in those subterranean labyrinths” (Radcliffe 2007, 34). This kind of rationalism, also called “explained Gothicism,” is sometimes criticised as the element that destroys Gothic suspense and its crucial fibre – the belief in the supernatural. Yet, it is a hallmark of Radcliffean Gothicism which separates her from other, especially male, Gothic writers.

The novel also introduces the notion of ruffians/banditti – a common phenomenon in Gothic romances. They were intimidating, a party not to be dealt with and better to be avoided, as they did not follow any rules of conduct (with the exception of pirates). They were merely mercenaries who answered to money alone. Mary encounters them and is lucky to be saved by one of Malcolm’s former soldiers (Edric) and Alleyn, who are told by Matilda’s wounded servants that Mary was abducted by some ruffians. They catch up with the bandits at the entrance of a cavern “whose frightful aspect had chilled the heart of Mary with a temporary death” (Radcliffe 2007, 35), and save her. Alleyn is struck with horror when he sees lifeless Mary, but when she revives “joy once more illuminate[s] his soul” (Radcliffe 2007, 35). “A temporary death” is a hyperbole – an exaggerated phrase – meaning to lose your consciousness. Hyperboles are a common figure of speech in Radcliffean romances and go hand in hand with characters’ turbulent emotional responses.

Here, the long escape story of Alleyn finishes and Mary once again faints as the result of “all the vicissitudes of his situation” (Radcliffe 2007, 35). Here the verbal, emotional and physical reactions – a common trinity in Radcliffe’s romances – coincide: Alleyn’s narrative causes Mary’s emotions to become overwhelming, which results in fainting (bodily response). Mary’s interest in Alleyn’s adventure gives “Alleyn mixed delight of hope and fear [...] for the first time he dared to acknowledge to his own heart that he loved, and that heart for the first time thrilled with the hope of being loved again” (Radcliffe 2007, 36). At this stage, Alleyn remains a passive lover, but again, he does not need to be active right now as he receives a grateful response from Countess Matilda “and from Mary a blush which spoke more than her tongue could utter” (Radcliffe 2007, 36). This party together discovers that the scheme of kidnapping Mary was a deed of Malcolm, who had ordered it before the Earl fell in his hands and forgot to cancel it. We can see that villains are especially active in Gothic romances, although they do not often perform evil acts on their own – they most commonly hire mercenaries or make use of their servants.

When Alleyn expresses his design to join his friends and himself with the clan, the Countess gives him leadership over her army (Radcliffe 2007, 37), which is one of the rare occasions in Radcliffe’s novel where women act powerfully and proactively. Mary is at first hopeful as she anticipates her brother’s return, but then becomes fearful that Alleyn may have been slain. The information, given to the readers by the omniscient narrator, is crucial when discussing

the class conflict in this novel: Mary admires Alleyn's "brave and manly virtues [...] [that] the insignificance of the peasant [is] lost in the nobility of the character" (Radcliffe 2007, 37). Her attitude shows the dichotomy of her mind and heart, her upbringing and her genuine feelings, and the ideological conflict that any aristocratic lady in the Middle Ages would have had, i.e., how a noblewoman can love a man of low birth. It also predicts Alleyn's noble origin, for in the Middle Ages, in the aristocracy, "nobility of blood could justify itself through nobility of mind and soul. External refinements and physical beauty were hollow unless they were visible signs of inner worth. The Beautiful was the outer clothing of the Good" (Jaeger 1999, 36–37).

The spiritual and psychological states of the Earl have, in the meanwhile, somewhat improved. He has trained himself through "habitual contemplation" (Jaeger 1999, 39) not to look upon the worst with fear, but rather with "serenity" (Jaeger 1999, 39). From this, we can observe that male protagonists are not only active action providers from the outside, but also from the inside. They are able to effectively control raging and destructive thoughts. One of the methods they use to do that is contemplation, otherwise a hallmark of monastic orders. Another one is distraction, which we can detect in the Earl's "observing the manners and customs of the birds of prey" (Jaeger 1999, 39). He parallels their "rapacity [...] to the habits of men" (Jaeger 1999, 39). This comparison demonstrates the rich spiritual and intellectual life of benevolent and upper class characters that pertains to both men and women in Radcliffe's romances. However, this mental activity, i.e., contemplation, is reserved for the aristocracy.

Music and poems play an important part in Radcliffe's romances: they function as a medium of the oppressed benevolent character through which they express their aspirations and tell their life story. In *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne*, there is the song "When first vernal morn of life," sung by a young lady who is imprisoned together with her mother in the same castle as Osbert. The song tells the story of a young person, whose heart is "with filial fondness fraught" (Radcliffe 2007, 40, line 10),

But o! the cruel quick reverse!
Fate all I loved involv'd;
Pale Grief Hope's trembling rays dispers'd,
And Fancy's dreams dissolv'd. (40, lines 13–16)

'Froght', which in Scottish English stands for a cargo, brings a subtle sentiment of Scotland in this personal tale of disillusionment. The stanza cited above is the last stanza of the song/poem and foretells, together with line 10, what Osbert, the Earl, will learn some time later. What he learns is that Laura, the young lady who has been imprisoned with his mother for fifteen years in the castle of Dunbayne, is the daughter of the late Baron, "who, in the pride of youth, [...] was killed by a fall from his horse, which he received in hunting" (Radcliffe 2007, 76). The current Baron did not only take over the paternal estates, which rightfully belonged to him as the former Baron had no son, but also his brother's personal property and estates in Switzerland, which were given to his wife and daughter. The argument for doing so is explained by the Baron thus: "The frequent and ill-timed generousities of my brother have diminished the value of the lands which are mine by inheritance; and I have therefore an indispensable right to repay myself from those estates which he acquired with you" (Radcliffe 2007, 77).

From the above paragraph, another characteristic of malevolent characters is apparent, and that is greed. However, the Baron is not completely immune to love, no matter how selfish it may

be. In spite of his rage directed towards the Earl for Alleyn's escape, he decides not to execute him because of his love to the latter's sister Mary. His plan is to trade Osbert's life for Mary's hand (Radcliffe 2007, 42–43). No matter how tortured his mind, Osbert places his hope in the letter which a compassionate soldier has taken to Countess Matilda. Indeed, the result is that the remainder of the clan led by Alleyn approaches the castle of Dunbayne. The Baron Malcolm declares that attack on the castle means the death of their chief and that the ransom for his freedom is to be none other than Mary becoming his wife.

The situation of Alleyn was highly pitiable; all the firm virtues of his soul were called upon to support it. He was commissioned on an embassy, the alternate conditions of which would bring misery on the woman he adored, or death to the friend whom he loved. (Radcliffe 2007, 50–51)

The difference between Malcolm's and Alleyn's actions regarding love can be found by answering the following questions, implicitly asked by Lacan: "How do we express desire and act ethically at the same time? [...] If our desires are animal and without consideration of moral or ethical laws, dictates, or maxims, then how can they exist simultaneously with our ethical being in the world?" (Labbie 2006, 73). The answer, at least in the spectrum of a medieval mind, is courtly love and chivalry. By making desire institutionalized and sanctified, it became valid also in a moral and ethical sense.

Countess Matilda and her daughter Mary are both in great distress as they have to decide upon the fate of Osbert and Mary herself. First, Mary agrees to marry the Baron, but then the answer to the question whether she is to be married to the Baron is postponed and is to be given in two weeks' time. In the meantime, Alleyn decides to find out if the Earl has been relocated (Radcliffe 2007, 51–58). The above instance of women's agency is one of the few in Radcliffe's romances. Mary is willing to give herself into marriage with her family's foe to save the life of her brother and to free him. To save the Earl, no military intervention of the clan is needed, as one of the guards, Edmund, helps him escape and reunite with his soldiers, Alleyn and later with his family. Athlin is once again a place of joy. The joy of Alleyn is soon disturbed by a sophisticated visitor from Switzerland, Count de Santmorin, who shows interest in Mary. It turns out – and such twists are common in Radcliffe's Gothic romances – that he was driven to Scotland by the news that his relative, who happens to be Baroness Malcolm, is dead.

Mary is reluctant to accept the Swiss Count's offer, despite the support he has in the Countess. Her heart belongs to Alleyn. Osbert reminds her of her duty as a woman and a member of higher class: "You do well remember the dignity of your sex and of your rank; though I must lament with you that worth like Alleyn is not empowered by fortune to take its standard with nobility" (Radcliffe 2007, 104). Taking into account Alleyn's merits, he would give his sister's hand to him if only the former were wealthy enough. He would even forget that Alleyn is not an aristocrat.

In the example above we can see that Gothic romances are a genre that enforces the Middle Age's "natural" order – the divine right of aristocracy to rule over their subjects – and to make a clear division between the servants and their masters. The novel ends with an epic battle between good (Osbert's and the Count's soldiers) and evil (Baron Malcolm's clan), in which Malcolm is mortally wounded. Nevertheless, before dying, he says to the Baroness: "I have injured you, Madam, I fear beyond reparation. In these last few moments let me endeavour to relieve my conscience by discovering to you my guilt and my remorse" (Radcliffe 2007, 109). This response is typical of Radcliffian villains: they repent only before they die. The "guilt" he has in mind is

the fact that he concealed from her that he had banished from the castle her son Philip, who she thought had died in her absence. The lost son happens to be Alleyn, who according to his hereditary right becomes Baron Philip (this was his real name all the time) Malcolm of the castle of Dunbayne. With his newly obtained social rank, he is now able to marry his love, Mary. The Earl also marries – he takes the Baroness's daughter Laura, which results in double-connection of the families of Athlin and Dunbayne. The social order is thus kept intact and any subversion is out of sight. The latter was of utmost importance as the first edition of the novel was published in 1789, the year of the start of French Revolution, and the second in 1793, when the Revolution was at its peak. The role of Gothic romances was to maintain and cherish peace, freedom and order that only the establishment can give.

The novel is also unique as it has no anti-Catholic connotation and it, surprisingly, takes place as far north as no other original Gothic novel had ever done. With it, Radcliffe does not assert that Protestantism prevails over Catholicism, and that North is far better than South, but that, on the one hand, winds of change are inevitable, and on the other, that changes must occur within the scope of the Enlightenment, while preserving the establishment. The romance stresses the importance of natural nobility, expressed by Alleyn and admired by Mary, but also tends to keep the ancient pride and economic shrewdness possessed by Osbert.

4 Conclusion

The paper has presented various characteristics of the new romance, i.e., Gothic romance. It has proven that *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne* reinforces the conventions of the old (medieval) order rather than challenges them. This is especially shown when Osbert is reluctant to give hand of his sister to non-aristocratic and not-of-substantial-means Alleyn. Such an approach in writing is understandable as revolution was starting in nearby France and the novel thus had its role to show the benefits of stability.

The paper also emphasises the atypical features of *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne* in terms of its setting (north), the absence of religious connotation (no anti-Catholicism) and uncanny phenomena (the appearance of a found corpse is rationally explained), as well as the power vested in women (owing land, freedom to choose their spouse within their social rank).

As Radcliffe's romances present an important vehicle to Romanticism and are faithful representatives of the Enlightenment movement, they should be studied as a part of the English literature curriculum. They should also be included in broader literary studies and enumerated in philosophical discourses and treatises due to their solid arguments in favour of the rationalism on which the contemporary society is based. My call is also to the translators of literature, as none of Radcliffe's novels has been translated into Slovenian.

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The Reception of Harold Pinter's Plays in Slovenia between 1999 and 2014

ABSTRACT

Harold Pinter started his career with a conspicuous lack of success. He faced negative critical reviews of his early works, but his typical style eventually opened doors to new worlds in modern drama. On Slovene stages, Pinter's plays also received a similarly modest welcome. The audience as well as the reviewers found his long pauses, silences and incoherent dialogue insufficiently engaging. One of the main reasons for this could have been their unfamiliarity with Pinter's style, which eventually acquired its own adjective – 'Pinteresque'. With time, Pinter's popularity increased more rapidly on the world stages than in Slovenia, and today this playwright is not a stranger to the Slovene theatre. This article deals with Pinter on Slovene stages as well as the popular and critical reception of his plays. The period before 1999 was thoroughly analysed by Darja Hribar, while this study is the first to focus on the decade and a half following.

Keywords: Harold Pinter; drama; theatre; reception; translation

Recepcija dram Harolda Pinterja v Sloveniji med letoma 1999 in 2014

POVZETEK

Harold Pinter je svojo gledališko kariero začel dokaj skromno. Pri uprizoritvah nekaterih svojih zgodnjih del se je spopadel s številnimi negativnimi kritikami, a sčasoma je njegov slog odprl vrata novim svetovom v moderni dramatik. Tudi na Slovenskem so Pinterjeva dela doživela zadržano dobrodošlico. Tako občinstvu kot kritiki se njegove značilne dolge pavze ter nepovezani dialogi niso zdeli dovolj zanimivi. Med glavne razloge za takšen odziv lahko štejemo Pinterjev nov način dramskega izraza, katerega specifične so sčasoma pridobile oznako 'pinterjanski' oz. 'pinterjevski'. V svetu je avtorjeva prepoznavnost naraščala hitreje kot na Slovenskem, vendar danes dramatik slovenskemu gledališču ni več tuj. Članek se ukvarja s Pinterjem na slovenski dramski sceni ter z odzivi kritike in občinstva nanje. Obdobje do leta 1999 je v tem pogledu temeljito raziskala Darja Hribar, ta raziskava pa se posveča desetletju in pol, ki temu obdobju sledi.

Ključne besede: Harold Pinter; drama; gledališče; sprejemanje; prevod

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1 Introduction

According to Peter Raby (2009, 1), statistical data shows that, in the present international world of drama, Pinter is one of its best known as well as most widely performed playwrights. His public activity is by no means limited to drama and theatre. Rather, "the horizon of his literary, cultural and political projects stretches far beyond the borders of his homeland, as well as beyond theatrical and literary world" (Onič 2012, 5). Richard Cave agrees with this and even reaches beyond this statement by adding that "one is astonished at the sheer range and variety of endeavour to which [Pinter] has brought a focused and profound commitment" (2009, 123).

Apart from his literary heritage, Pinter is most widely known for his activism in defending the human rights of politically oppressed nations and individuals. He frequently stated his world views through his work – articles and letters, poems, plays and radio plays (Derbyshire 2009, 269). Andrew Goodspeed explains that Pinter significantly objected to the "falsity of politicians' analyses and justification of the pain their policies inflict" (2012, 54) and that his political beliefs and criticism had appeared continuously in his previous public speeches or interviews; however, his Nobel lecture in 2005 gave him a wider international audience than the usual limited crowd. Therefore, comments suggesting that Pinter had won the award for his political activity and not for his artistic contribution are not surprising (Onič 2007, 117).

Fairly early in Pinter's career, his literary and theatrical excellence as well as his political impact started to move beyond the English-speaking world. His plays first appeared in Slovene theatres in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Initially, critical material and literary research results on this topic were scarce, but the situation has changed recently. Darja Hribar (1999) conducted the first major study of the Slovene translations of Pinter's plays and collected a body of critical reviews referring either to the original plays or to their Slovene theatre productions, thus initiating Pinter Studies in Slovenia. This article gathers the results of a similar research that focused on the theatre productions of Pinter's plays and critical response to them during the 15-year period following Hribar's study.

2 Pinter on Slovene Stages before 1999

Harold Pinter wrote his first play, *The Room*, in 1957, and it was staged in London in the same year. Slovenia got its first production of a Pinter play a decade later with *The Homecoming* in 1967, and Slovene theatres have continued to stage Pinter ever since. Altogether, there were 13 productions of 6 Pinter's plays in Slovenia before the turn to the 21st century. These were *Homecoming*, *The Caretaker*, *Old Times*, *The Birthday Party*, *Betrayal* and *Ashes to Ashes*.

The plays *Old Times* (*Njega dni*, 1974 / *Stari časi*, 1982, 1987) and *The Birthday Party* (*Zabava za rojstni dan*, 1979, 1991, 1997) were produced three times each. Moreover, the 1979 staging of the latter saw 43 performances, which is the highest number of any single Pinter production on a Slovene stage to date. The next play on the list of repetitions per production is *Homecoming* (*Vrnitev*, 1967), with 37 performances, another result that has never been repeated since. The only number of performances in a single theatrical season that surpasses both previously stated figures is 68, which is the number of repetitions of the two 1979 productions of *The*

Birthday Party and *Betrayal* (*Prevara*) together. If we compare these figures to those of either traditionally more popular genres (various comedies, etc.) or plays by the then more established playwrights that could receive three or four times as many repetitions, we must agree with Onič (2008b) that Pinter cannot be considered popular with a wide theatre audience of the time. On the other hand, theatre practitioners, who are still today challenged by Pinter's texts, have tended to return to them. Good examples of this are Zvone Šedlbauer, who directed four productions of Pinter in Slovenia, and Miran Herzog, who directed two. In terms of the number of performances, *Betrayal* comes first with 50 performances altogether. Šedlbauer's 1995 production even ran for two seasons. The only other production achieving this number was *Ashes to Ashes* (*V prah se povrneš*) in 1998. It must be noted that some data regarding early performances are not available.

Based on the Slovene theatre production of Pinter's plays before 1999 (Hribar 1999),¹ one can conclude that the playwright was a breath of fresh air for Slovene repertoires. The audience's expectations as well as their curiosity were high, the actors and directors were inspired, but most reviewers felt confused. The first Pinter play staged in Slovenia, *Homecoming*, premiered on 27 October 1967. The reviewer(s) looked for comical aspects of the play and wondered at the reasons for Pinter's writing the piece. Much praise was given to the acting team by all reviewers, but the play itself was marked as an "unnecessary part of the repertory"² (Vidmar, 1967; cited in Hribar 1999, 206–7), which suggests that even renowned critics like Josip Vidmar failed to recognize the value and power of Pinter's text. Some tried to determine the meaning of the play by comparing "human intellect with human primitivism" (Novak, 1967; cited in Hribar 1999, 207) or "finding the truth of human rhapsodically inspired life and non-symphonically regulated existence" (Predan, 1967; cited in Hribar 1999, 208). We can see from these quotations that the reviewers tried to comment on *the meaning* of the play and sought its comic perspective. This shows the lack of understanding of the playwright's style as well as the adopted misconception that his plays are traditional plot-oriented pieces.

The situation changed slightly with the second Pinter play staged in Slovenia, which was *The Caretaker*.³ The theatre programme for its 1970 production offered an extensive study on the playwright and his style. Obviously, the intention was to bring both closer to the public, yet there were still no openly supportive reviews of the performances. Similarly to the response to *Homecoming*, which had been reviewed as unnecessary and not at all enriching for the repertory, one of the reactions to *The Caretaker* was that the "director could have, without causing any harm, shortened that typical but tiring repetition of certain phrases" (Onič 2004, 92; see Javornik 1970, 10). According to Hribar (1999, 212–14), the first positive reviews followed the Slovene premiere of *Old Times* in 1974, which was labelled as a piece of a new dramatic style. In addition, many typical Pinteresque elements were recognized and highlighted in the reviews. Pinter's psychological word play was recognized, and his mastery of interfering with subtextual speech was praised.

¹ The majority of data in this section of the article were acquired from Hribar's doctoral dissertation (1999). She commented on the performances of Pinter in Slovenia to 1999 and analysed the reviewer's response. In the same year, Mirko Mrčela (1999) completed a Master's Thesis on the reception of Pinter in Slovenia. Early productions of Pinter in Slovenia were also dealt with by Tomaž Onič in one of the chapters in the monograph *Harold Pinter on the International Stages* (2014, 77–87).

² Unless otherwise specified, all excerpts from the Slovene reviews of Pinter's plays in this article are translated by the author of this article.

³ For a complete insight into the two Slovene productions of *The Caretaker*, see Onič (2004).

The *Birthday Party*, which premiered in Ljubljana in 1979, was presented as timeless and independent of any specific setting. As Hribar (1999, 219) reports, the reviewers were still trying to present and explain Pinter's stylistic features to the audience to get a better response from the audience. For example, they interpreted Pinter's dialogue, explained the relevance of information, the allegorical message and the grotesque features. The reviews were increasingly positive, or at least not too harsh. The actors were still getting more praise than the author, but the attention gradually shifted to the characteristics of Pinter's writing style, and the reviewers began to compare it to Beckett and Ionesco, usually referring to its absurdist features (Hribar 1999, 220). One of the first reviewers to use Pinter's name as an adjective 'pinterjevski' to describe the production of a play was Dimitrij Rupel, whose review appeared in *Teleks* (cited in Hribar 1999, 219). *Betrayal* was premiered in the same year, and the reviewer pointed out that much attention was given to the existential relationships between the characters through the typical Pinter dialogue. Silence was recognized as a tool of communication, and Pinter was again compared to Beckett and also to Kafka (Hribar 1999, 220).

The 1982 *Old Times* was a student production at the Academy of Theatre, Radio, Film and Television. Hribar mentions a review by Franc Vurnik focusing on Pinter's ability to present an ordinary relationship from a different point of view: "Caught in their memories, Pinter's characters somehow always seem to end up in a never ending circle of solitude" (cited in Hribar 1999, 220–21). The reviewers were clearly starting to focus more on Pinter's style and not so much on the performance. The third Slovene production of *Old Times* introduced a new Slovene version of the adjective Pinteresque, i.e., 'pinterjansko'.⁴ Although most of the reviewers found Pinter's plays fascinating, and some even called him "a master of playwriting", some still commented that Pinter's plays did not deserve a place on stage, since they could have worked just as well on the radio (Hribar 1999, 222). The dialogues and monologues were critiqued as being boring and too long (Lah 1987, cited in Hribar 1999, 222).

At the time of the 1990 production of *The Caretaker*, the London theatre audience was trying to see Pinter's plays from the political angle. Because of his involvement in political activism, his plays were no longer compared only to Beckett and Kafka; but Michael Billington in *The Guardian* (1994) also compares him to other artists like Michael Miles or Jack Benny (cited in Hribar 1999, 222–23). After *The Birthday Party* in 1991 and *Betrayal* in 1995, the reviews of the 1997 *Homecoming* took a slight turn towards suggesting how the play should have been understood, highlighting what a difficult task it was for the actors and producers to "capture the intended atmosphere" (Pezdir, 1997; cited in Hribar 1999, 227). The actors were praised for doing a wonderful job (Jež, 1997 cited in Hribar 1999, 227), and better reception of the play was attributed to a more mature society, which had, however, still not done away with the taboos "to the extent to make prostitutes, grotesque family relationships and scary unexpected characters part of their acceptable vision of everyday life" (Šuklje, 1997; cited in Hribar 1999, 228). Notably, the reviewers found that the dated translation influenced the quality of the play.

The Birthday Party produced in 1997 was labelled *comedy of menace*,⁵ and the theatre programme dealt extensively with salient characteristics of Pinter's discourse. It praised the playwright's ability

⁴ There is probably no particular reason for the varied adjective. The Slovene word formation allows *pinterjanski* and *pinterjevski*, as well as the calque *pinteresken*.

⁵ The expression was coined by Irving Wardle (1958, 28), referring to a rather unusual amalgamation of the comical and the seriously threatening in drama. Although not originally created with Pinter's plays in mind, the concept was more and more frequently used to denote his early plays, most notably *The Caretaker*, *The Dumb Waiter* and *The Birthday Party*.

to use the power of words to create tension, mood and mystery in the play. Pauses and silences earned a place in the positively oriented review by Primož Jesenko (Hribar 1999, 228–29). The response to *Ashes to Ashes* in 1998 was similarly appreciative of the play and explanatory in terms of possible interpretations. This was the last Pinter produced in Slovenia before the turn to the 21st century.

3 Pinter on Slovene Stages after 1999

There were fourteen productions of Pinter plays on Slovene stages in the period from 1999 to 2014, which is one more than in the period from 1967 to 1999. A quick comparison suggests that, with almost the same number of premieres in both periods, where the earlier period is more than twice as long as the one after 1999, the frequency of performances has more than doubled in the last decade and a half. This may have to do with the fact that Pinter became an established author, and staging his plays was no longer an experiment, let alone a risk. Apart from his literary activity and a series of prestigious literary awards – some of which came just before the turn of the century – his political engagement contributed to his growing fame. Let us now proceed to particular productions and a selection of critical reviews.

The most frequently staged play after 1999 was *The Dumb Waiter*, which saw five different productions. This play is also the one with the most variants of title translations within this time frame: *Futrlift*, *Strežni jašek*, *Jašek* and *Mutasti natakar*, which in back-translation mean, respectively, *fodderlift* (*fodder* as animal food; both parts of the compound are dialectal/sub-standard language use and so is the entire translation⁶), *servicing shaft* (meaning *food elevator* connecting dining room and kitchen when they are on different floors), *shaft* (similar to the previous meaning but less specific, so without the concept of *servicing* attached to it, it hints at a mining shaft or a drain shaft, which allows rich interpretations), and *dumb waiter* (literal meaning with no reference to food elevator but alluding to several possible readings of the original; a detailed explanation of this translation problem is given by Onič (2011b) in the theatre programme for the 2011 Ptuj production). In terms of the number of productions, *The Dumb Waiter* is followed by *The Birthday Party* and *Celebration*, each of which was staged twice.

The reviewers of the 2000 production of *The Dumb Waiter* mainly focused on description of and commentary on Pinter's style and on the *theatre of the absurd*, assuming that the audience would still be unfamiliar with it. Therefore, the reviews included other representative authors of the absurdist movement and set out to popularize the genre of the comedy of menace. The reader cannot avoid the impression that, in a way, the reviewers wanted to comfort the audience and reassure them that the play was supposed to be understood in the way they experienced it; "the performance managed to present Pinter's typical scary and mysterious atmosphere with the hint of humour" (Svetej 2001, 20).

In 2001, *The Lover* was staged in Ljubljana. The reviewers praised the actors and their acting skills, while, surprisingly, modest praise was given to the playwright. It is possible that applauding Pinter might seem, to them, to be stating the obvious and thus unnecessary. The reviewers seemed obliged to convey their own interpretation of the play or parts of it in the review as an explanation of the complex interpersonal relationships: "[I]maginary lover functions as a symptom of the corroded couple's relationship" (Jesenko 2001, 11). Moreover, a comment by the same reviewer suggests a mysterious hidden meaning for the play: "The play [...] gives the

⁶ On specifics of dialect in drama translation, see Onič (2008a).

impression of an analytical, disciplined in terms of acting, and Pinteresquely bizarre commentary on the stability of the respectable bourgeois marriage, protected by seemingly strong walls” (Jesenko 2001, 11). With this comment, Jesenko points out that everyone has some skeletons in the closet and includes his perception of that observation.

With the production of *The Birthday Party* in 2002, we witnessed a significant turn in the reviews. The reviewers tended not to dabble in interpretation of the play. They started allowing the mystery of the ‘Pinteresque’ to speak for itself, encouraging the audience to create their own interpretations. This particular production of *The Birthday Party* was recognized as a modern classic, since it was placed in modern times, and also as a “well-thought-over mix of genres, atmospheres and relationships” (Jurca Tadel 2003, 265). The reviews suggested that the play was not simple and transparent, but interesting enough for those seeking a theatrical thrill. The readers of the reviews were faced with the options of finding the mystery in the comedy of menace either challenging or too complicated. This production of *The Birthday Party* had 20 performances, was seen by 3674 playgoers, and also received an award at the most important Slovene theatre event, The Borštnik Festival.

We noticed that a significant rise in publicity accompanied the 2003 production of *Celebration*. This was a new play by Pinter written in 1999, and some reviewers expressed doubt whether it would live up to expectations; these were probably higher, since Pinter was no longer an obscure author, and the audience already had a certain knowledge of his style. However, all the reviewers commented that Pinter’s plays were still as good as forty years ago. The production was a success; it was performed 25 times and seen by 5592 playgoers. The reviewers still commented on Pinter’s style, but not in an ambiguous way. His plays in general were acknowledged as quality pieces of theatre, and, in the case of *Celebration*, it was the performance that was scrutinized and reported as lacking in quality. The reviewers also praised the high quality translation by Alja Predan, which respected and preserved much of Pinter’s style, and recognized this fact as significant in securing a good production.

In terms of Pinter on stage, 2004 was a prolific year. Slovenia saw three productions: *Remembrance of Things Past*, *The Dumb Waiter* and *The Birthday Party*. The recognition of Pinter and his style remained unquestioned. He was again noted as a representative of the *theatre of the absurd* and was often compared to Beckett and Ionesco. The reviewers brought forward the details that could be identified as the ‘Pinteresque’ essence of the production (or the lack of it, for that matter): “[S]ome scenes were just not scary enough, and towards the end the tension started to drop” (Golob 2004, 11). The evolution of the public response continued in 2006 when the reviews began to embrace the fact that Pinter’s plays are applicable at any time and any place, since two performances of *The Dumb Waiter* were set in the present. The producers and reviewers started to appreciate the depth and the variety of dimensions of Pinter. Marjana Ravnjak commented that the play was a “successful presentation of the present relationship between society and politics, and a constant struggle of lie versus truth, and art versus life in the intense performance” (2006).

The reviewers of the 2008 production of *Homecoming* observed how ‘Pinteresque’ elements of the performance influenced the audience: “The absence of actors’ feelings was interesting for the audience” (Jurca Tadel 2008, 305). The latter seemed ready to accept Pinter’s plays as amusing and entertaining, not only challenging. The production was rated highly, lasting through 16 performances. In the public response it was observed that individual interpretation becomes important, which, along with the choice of scenery, acting skills and other elements also highlights the value of high quality translation. All new translations were duly noted, and

their effect in each production was analysed. Moreover, as observed in the response to Pinter's plays in the following years, the reviewers started to expect performances to thoroughly express the specifics of Pinter's style. For example, in commenting on *The Dumb Waiter* in 2011, Rak found that the performance lacked the "magnetic field to create the 'Pinteresque' absence of sense" (2011a, 15). Reviews were more focused on the directing and sought the reasons for what could be seen as flaws in the performance within the production and not in the original text of the play. For instance, the cultural difference seemed to remain an obstacle when presenting British humour. Rak (2011a, 15) believed that it was impossible to put such a typical British play with British characteristics on a Slovene stage and integrate it into Slovene culture, despite the promising new translation. The reviewers also identified producers who favoured Pinter's plays and had picked up on Pinter's attitude when staging his plays. Rak, for example, comments on the director/producer who staged *Old Times* in 2011: "[Peter] Boštjančič and Pinter have one thing in common: they do not care about what other people think. [...] Boštjančič is only interested in those 20 or 30 people who take the time in the evening to see *Old Times*" (Rak, 2011b, 16). Moreover, this reviewer has no problem declaring a performance successful even if it does not attract a huge audience and also claims this as a major step forward in Slovene reception of and response to Harold Pinter. Pinter's plays are not aimed at the masses, so a small, solid audience is a reliable indication of good reception.

The importance of quality directing is brought to our attention in the reviews of the production of *Betrayal* that was staged in 2011. The production had no official director, and that was the main reproach noted among the reviewers. Tadel stated that "being without a director caused some flaws in interpretation; although the team included only good actors" (Tadel 2011, 27). It is also likely that the reviewers commented on this, because staging a play without a director is more the exception than common practice on the Slovene theatre scene.

The production of *Celebration* in Kranj in 2013 received great publicity. In addition to praising Pinter, reviewers observed that the performance succeeded in leaving the audience with more questions than answers, and that it implemented other expected elements of Pinter's style. Additionally, they found the play amusing and educational at the same time, including humorous inserts. Štaudohar comments that this play was a "reflection of real life attracting the viewers in a very interesting way: by saying that by attending this performance you will find out that you are not the only one with a screwed up life" (2013). The awareness that we are still able to identify with the relationships and situations on stage, even though decades have passed since these plays were written, suggests that they are timeless.

Although Pinter's masterpieces eventually spoke for themselves and made him famous, this study found that several factors influenced the popularity and reception of Pinter and his work in Slovenia. Undoubtedly, among these factors are the Nobel Prize in Literature in 2005 and his death in 2008. Judging by the number of Pinter plays produced in Slovenia shortly after those two events, we were unable to prove their influence at first. It was anticipated that these two events would have caused an increase in producing Pinter's plays after 2005 and after 2008, nevertheless; the final results of the analysis showed no major increase in productions of Pinter's plays staged in Slovenia. However, we found that Pinter's Nobel Prize as well as his death each triggered a major media response, which significantly influenced the reception of his plays and their popularity. The reviews, for example, were more positively oriented, giving praise to Pinter and his work; they were longer and also more glowing, regardless of whether the performance of the play was good or bad. Moreover, events were organised that were solely dedicated to Pinter,

for example, the project *Pinter Abroad: Other Stages Other Rooms* in 2011 (see Onič 2012). The vast development in technology and easier media accessibility could be considered reasons behind the larger number of articles and news previews referring to Pinter. They were longer and more frequent in many cases, since the amount of text in the electronic media is not directly connected to material cost, as in print, and is often less limiting in this respect.

In the conclusion of this subdivision, some statistical data comparing the periods before and after 1999 will be given. There were six Pinter plays performed in Slovenia before 1999 and eight after 1999. In the 31 years before 1999, there were 13 performances of Pinter's plays in Slovenia altogether. After 1999 this number increased to 14 in the last 15 years, which is a significant increase. The Pinter plays with the most productions in Slovenia before 2014 are *The Dumb Waiter* (5 productions) and *The Birthday Party* (5 productions), followed by *Old Times* (4 productions), *Homecoming* (3 productions) and *Betrayal* (3 productions). If we list the performances according to number, we can see that *Betrayal* was performed most often, followed by *The Birthday Party* and *Homecoming*. All this considered, it could be claimed that Pinter's popularity in Slovenia has increased since 1999.

4 Pinter in the Slovene Intercultural Context

This brief overview of Harold Pinter's plays on the Slovene stage shows that introducing this playwright to the Slovene audience was a lengthy process. If lack of insight into Pinter's significant style represented a reception obstacle to the British public and critics, it comes as no surprise that the process took longer in the culturally different and considerably closed communist/post-communist Slovene environment. Gradually, the public began to appreciate Pinter's dialogue, with utterances full of recurrences, interruptions, hesitations, incomplete syntax, silences, pauses and other typical features of Pinter's style.⁷ The reviews of productions mounted after 1999 (and particularly after the Nobel Prize Award in 2005) began to treat his plays, without exception, as masterpieces. Thus, the reviewers moved from predominantly critiquing Pinter's style to mainly explaining it in their reviews, sometimes including their own interpretation of the play; eventually they reached the stage of praising the plays and commenting on the translations and the performances. Nowadays, the reviewers are familiar with Pinter's style; they embrace the fact that the interpretation should be left to each individual and mark a performance as marked as good if it raises more questions than answers; yet, his plays are still occasionally seen as complex and hard to understand. In the reviews before 1999, it often happened that the actors and the performance received praise, but the play itself was marked as worthless for the repertory or insufficiently engaging for the audience. Contrary to this, in the reviews after 1999 and particularly after 2005, the plays are always much appreciated, regardless of the performance quality.

Apart from the cultural differences that undoubtedly exist between the British and the Slovene literary and theatre spaces, the Slovene audience also faces the fact of translation. The critics as well as the academic researchers have recently identified this as one factor that often hampered the audience's perception of this new stream in drama. Particularly in the post-1999 commentaries, the translation quality is frequently recognized as crucial for the reception of the plays, while in early reviews this issue is almost never addressed. Hribar and Onič even report attempts in early translations to 'mend' the play in an explanatory way 'so that the reviewers

⁷ For more information on recurrences, in Pinter and generally, see Onič (2005b), Zlatnar Moe (2005), Zupan (2006); for a full account on Pinter's stylistic features, see Onič (2016).

and the audience would understand it'. Such translators, obviously, failed to realize that Pinter had already mastered and "captured all the feelings, psychological states, moods, intentions and secrets with the power of words" (2011, 13). The translators must overcome the fear of possible misinterpretation, since, according to Pinter himself, this does not exist.

It is well known today that translating Pinter represents a particular challenge, since the translator must know the playwright's style well in order to be able to transfer its effects into the target context. Any unawareness in the phase of reading the original, or interventions or superficiality in the translation process may affect the interpretive potential of the text. As Onič (2005a) suggests in his study about preserving register in translation, any unawareness in the phase of reading the original, or interventions or superficiality in the translation process may affect the interpretive potential of the text. According to Meta Grosman (1997, 26), the translator can only translate the meaning s/he created in his/her own reading of the original, while all other potential meanings are inevitably lost. It would, of course, be naïve to expect that a good translation can secure a quality production by itself, but it is obviously vital. Possibly, under the influence of reviews referring to this issue as well as academic studies addressing the importance of a good translation, four new translations of Pinter's plays appeared after 1999: *The Birthday Party* in 2002 by Zdravko Duša, *Homecoming*, staged in 2008, by Darja Dominkuš and *The Dumb Waiter*, staged in 2011, by Tomaž Onič; the new play, *Celebration*, was translated by Alja Predan.⁸ Judging by the reviews of the plays with new translations, these were better, fresh and improved.

Many reviewers used to believe that Pinter's plays were hard to understand and made no sense because the original scenery was placed in Britain, and Slovenes were therefore unable to identify with the concept of a big city or British humour.⁹ In the more recent performances of Pinter's plays in Slovenia, the settings are placed in the present, or possibly even an indefinite time, and are independent of place. Their ability to function in any place and any time indicates that the cultural gap has diminished, probably owing to globalization, modernization and media accessibility.

5 Conclusion

The reviewers seemed to be expecting more from the productions of Pinter's plays, so the experience of performance companies with staging Pinter as well as the knowledge of his style have become the norm rather than a bonus. In the reviews and with the audience, Pinter's reputation remains intact, independently of the performance quality. The latter mostly coincides with positive media response, which is evident from the fact that successful performances receive many awards, attract a lot of media attention and consequently also numerous playgoers and replays.

Comparing the reception of Pinter before 1999 and after, we can claim that a notable rise in awareness regarding his works and thus his popularity exists in this century. A few new, fresh and improved translations have brought Harold Pinter's plays closer to the public. In addition, there are several Slovene equivalents for the term 'Pinteresque' in the current vocabulary, and their use has become more frequent, which is another indication that Pinter's style has been successfully integrated into the Slovene cultural awareness. The number of reviews with definitions of Pinter's

⁸ Entire translations are available either in book format, Duša (2006); or in the relevant Theatre Programmes: Dominkuš (2008), Predan (2003), Onič (2011a).

⁹ A study on humour in Pinter and its translation into Slovene was published by Onič (2003). It includes multiple examples from *The Caretaker*.

style and suggested interpretations has decreased. Instead, suggestions for individual initiative to find personalized interpretations of the plays has emerged, with a strong awareness that a good Pinter performance should give more questions than answers. As Darja Hribar puts it, "Forcing us to find our own interpretations of his characters' behaviour and reactions, the dramatist exerts trust in our judgements and capabilities, thus allowing different interpretations of human condition – an aim which is the core of Pinter's view on complexity of life" (Hribar 2004, 206). By comparing the situation before and after 1999, we can observe that there has been a considerable increase in Pinter plays staged per year since 1999. The constant presence of Pinter's plays on the Slovene theatre scene since 1967 proves that this playwright and his style have been successfully integrated in the Slovene theatre repertory. The awareness that we still can identify with the relationships and situations on Pinter's stage, even though decades have passed since some of these plays were written, suggests that Pinter's work is timeless and can become permanently harmonized into a non-British background.

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David Hazemali, Tomaž Onič

University of Maribor
Slovenia

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The Proud Prime Evil of Hell: Characterization of Satan as the Capital Vice of Pride in Milton's *Paradise Lost*

ABSTRACT

This paper looks into the characterisation of Satan as the Capital Vice of Pride in John Milton's *Paradise Lost*. It thus supports the findings of Robert Charles Fox, who in his study *The Seven Deadly Sins in Paradise Lost* first thoroughly analysed and comprehensively presented this issue and its importance in Milton's epic. The authors of the study share Fox's belief that Milton consciously used the system of the Seven Capital Vices in his epic as a structural device to present the entire scope of evil to the willing reader, and he achieved this by giving Satan and six other major denizens of Hell each the characteristics of a particular Vice. In other words, each of the seven major diabolical figures that appear in *Paradise Lost* embodies or personifies one of the Seven Capital Vices. As the most eloquent and characteristically perfected of the diabolical figures of Hell, Satan embodies Pride, the prime Capital Vice.

Keywords: *Paradise Lost*; John Milton; The Seven Capital Vices; Satan; Pride

Napuhnjeno primarno zlo Pekla: Prikaz upodobitve Satana kot naglavne pregrehe napuha v Miltonovem *Izgubljenem raju*

POVZETEK

Članek analizira prikaz upodobitve Satana kot naglavne pregrehe napuha v *Izgubljenem raju* Johna Milтона. Posledično izčrpno podpira ugotovitve Roberta Charlesa Foxa, ki je v svoji študiji *The Seven Deadly Sins in Paradise Lost* prvi temeljito analiziral in predstavil sistem in pomen te tematike v Miltonovem epu. Avtorja razprave pritrjujeta Foxu, da je Milton zavestno uporabil sistem sedmih naglavnih pregreh v svojem epu kot mehanizem, s katerim voljnemu bralcu prikaže celoten spekter zla. To je dosegel tako, da je Satanu in ostalim šestim glavnim prebivalcem Pekla dodelil lastnosti posameznih pregreh. Z drugimi besedami, vsak od sedmih glavnih diaboličnih likov, ki se pojavijo v *Izgubljenem raju*, uteleša ali pooseblja eno od sedmih naglavnih pregreh. Satan kot najbolj prepričljiv in karakterni izpopolnjen od diaboličnih likov Pekla uteleša napuh, prvotni naglavni greh.

Ključne besede: *Izgubljeni raj*; John Milton; sedem naglavnih pregreh; Satan; napuh

The Proud Prime Evil of Hell: Characterization of Satan as the Capital Vice of Pride in Milton's *Paradise Lost*

1 Introduction: Statement of the Problem, Sources and Authentication

In his comprehensive study *The Seven Deadly Sins in Paradise Lost*, Robert Charles Fox (1957, 194) argues that Milton consciously used the system of the Seven Capital Vices in Book II of his epic poem as a structural device to present the entire scope of evil to the “willing” reader,¹ and he achieved this by giving Satan and six other major denizens of Hell each the characteristics of a particular Vice.² In other words, each of the seven major diabolical figures that appear in *Paradise Lost* embodies or personifies one of the Seven Capital Vices.

The system of Vices or Sins (the difference between the two will be addressed later) has existed for over a thousand years, but it was Fox who first identified their characterization in Milton's epic and analysed it in great detail. For the purpose of this study, we have analysed the characterisation of Satan in isolation from the rest of the poem.³ This decision enabled us to analyse the character more thoroughly, but it also hindered us from stressing the significance of the Seven Capital Vices in *Paradise Lost*, which is not man's exposure to them, but, as Fox puts it, “man's conquest of them” (Fox 1957, 194), where Satan, the embodiment of the prime Capital Vice, plays a fundamental role.

2 The System of the Seven Capital Vices

2.1 The Origins

Human beings have always acknowledged the concepts of right and wrong, despite their original lack of specifics about what right and wrong are. This changed with the implementation of proto-governments and especially with the widespread appearance of proto-religions, when both ends of the concept's spectrum were specified differently across various cultures. However, all societies have been driven, in Rogers' words, by the same “dynamic power”, which is “the sense of fault or error” (1907, n.p.).

People of all positions and degrees of intellect have always had sins commonly associated with the problem of evil, but before the creation of the Catholic Church no true system existed to define them. That changed around 590 CE when Pope Gregory the Great specified seven of them; thus, the traditional list of the Seven Deadly Sins was established. According to St Gregory, they are the following (Latin original in italics, other variants of a particular sin in brackets): **Pride**/*Superbia* (after the 13th Century, also Vainglory), **Envy**/*Invidia*, **Wrath**/*Ira*, **Sloth**/*Acedia*, **Greed**/*Avaritia* (Avarice or Covetousness), **Gluttony**/*Gula*, and **Lust**/*Luxuria* (Lechery). They

¹ Crosman (1975, 371–81) makes a valid point, arguing that when we refer to the reader in *Paradise Lost*, we should have in mind one that is willing “to make the effort of understanding,” not the usual unreal, idealistic one.

² Fox believes that the Seven Capital Vices appear three times in total and that their implementation serves two purposes. Only the first depiction of the system is discussed here. The second depiction of the Vices is within Satan himself, meaning each of the Capital Vices can be identified within his character. The third time, the system appears in a historical pageant when Archangel Michael shares his vision of the history of man. Here, Milton used the system as means of creating theme and structure for Michael's narrative (1957, n.p.). In this paper, only the first depiction of the system is considered.

³ Where it was crucial, however, especially when tackling the background of Satan's nature, the limits were expanded.

are “the source of all sins” (Saunders 2016, 1), which is why they are also called Capital Sins, where *capital* derives from *caput*, Latin for *head*. Another befitting adjective is Cardinal. There are seven of them because of the mystical number’s immense appeal to Christian writers and those of other religions, but it is impossible to determine the exact source for their enumeration (Rogers 1907, 2). The first five of them are spiritual, since they affect the soul, while the last two result in pleasure to the body, so they are carnal (Fox 1957, n.p.).

St Gregory believed Pride to be the one great Sin from which all other Capital Sins derived. The human soul, “once set in motion by Pride, follows a psychological path” through all the Sins, similar to a domino effect (Fox 1960, 276). Another definition delineates Pride as “an inordinate desire for one’s own excellence” (Saunders 2016, 1; quotation from *Handbook of Moral Theology* by Dominic Prummer). According to Saunders, a person who succumbs to Pride considers himself or herself completely divine. It is easy for a person to succumb to Pride, Saunders continues, because of the wounds left behind by the original sin. It “makes us hate our equals because they are our equals; our inferiors from the fear that they may equal us; our superiors because they are above us” (2016, 1).

This Gregorian sequence was confirmed in the 13th century by St Thomas Aquinas, to whom we owe a great deal for his input on the entire Catholic doctrine of the Seven Deadly Sins (many of the above descriptions of particular Vices were first uttered by Aquinas). He insisted on replacing the word “sin” with “vice” when addressing this issue. He argued that a Capital Vice has an “exceedingly desirable end” (Saunders 2016, 1), which forces a person in desire of it to commit many actual sins. The sins that he or she does commit then either weaken or destroy completely “the grace of God within the soul” (Rogers 1907, 4), meaning there are two types of sins, depending on their severity and whether or not the person willingly and deliberately committed the sin. They can be either Venial or Mortal. Rogers (1907, 5) offers the following distinction between the two categories: “Venial sin is a disease of the soul, but is not its death, since the grace of God remains by which it may be cured. Mortal sin is, on the contrary, irreparable, and those who are guilty of it have lost every principle of vitality, and are spiritually dead.”

From the perspective of the Catholic Church, one must deliberately and willingly commit a sin in order for it to be classified as deadly. A severe, impactful consequence of his or her actions must also be visible (Rogers 1907, 6). It is crucial, however, to understand that from an ethical perspective, these Vices were perhaps regarded as condemnable by morally upstanding pagans long before St Gregory’s list came to be, since they “relate entirely to life and character” (Rogers 1907, 2), and as such were not created by the Pope, or by the Catholic Church, for that matter. They were not specified solely to limit the actions of people. Underneath their prohibitive nature also lies pragmatism and common sense.

Up to this point, we have used different collocations when referring to St Gregory’s list of sins. We have also used “sin” and “vice” interchangeably – both with a capital letter when referring to one of the seven from the list, while using lower case when referring to the actual sins that stem from those seven. We opted for a range of collocations primarily to differentiate the Pope’s view on his doctrine from that of Aquinas. Henceforth, all mention of the doctrine will be with the collocation “Seven Capital Vices”, and each of them will be referred to as a “Vice”. We are fully aware that the collocation “Seven Deadly Sins” is the more popular one when addressing St Gregory’s doctrine on sin, as it appears more often than the one we selected in all forms of human communication and expression. However, under the influence of Aquinas and William Saunders, we concluded that the collocation “Seven Deadly Sins” is inaccurate. “Deadly”, too,

is arguably a suboptimal choice, since not all Capital Vices result in the deadliest forms of their actual sins, as St Thomas pointed out in his *Summa Theologiae* (Saunders 2016, 1). It should be noted that, while carrying a certain weight from the theological perspective, the choice of name is insignificant for literary use; therefore, the varied options are a matter of preference.

2.2 The Seven Capital Vices in Paradise Lost

Sin is a complementary part of life, and as such, it is also present in literature (Rogers 1907, n.p.). St Gregory's doctrine of the Seven Capital Vices has been implemented in a great many literary works, especially after Aquinas affirmed its sequence of Vices in the 13th century.⁴ According to Fox (1960, 277), it was first followed by theologians Alcuin, Peckham, Hugh of St Victor, and St Bonaventure. The Vices then appeared in works intended for a broader selection of readers, like Geoffrey Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*, Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and *The Shepheardes Calender*, Marlowe's *The Tragical History of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus*, and most noticeably, in Dante's *Purgatorio*.

Unlike other literary portrayals of the Seven Capital Vices, Milton implemented them in an epic poem in connection with traditional "epic warriors" (Baumlin 1987, 177). In Fox's words, he selected and characterized the seven major diabolical figures that appear in Books II around St Gregory's doctrine. Their different natures and rhetoric make each of the demons stand out in a particular way, reflecting the Capital Vices that lurk within them, while simultaneously forming a homogenous, more than a thousand verse-long characterization of St Gregory's doctrine (see Baumlin 1987, 177).

Baumlin (1987, 169) reports that in *Paradise Lost*, Milton retains St Gregory's sequence of Vices in the order in which his fallen angels appear in Books I and II. Satan, who appears and speaks first, is the embodiment of Pride. He is both the supreme ruler of Hell and the characterization of the Vice of all Vices. Beëlzebub, Satan's lieutenant who speaks next, is the embodiment of Envy. The three speakers in the Infernal council of Book II – Moloch, Belial, and Mammon – are the embodiments of Wrath, Lust, and Greed, respectively. Finally, at the end of Book II, Satan encounters Sin and Death at the gate of Hell, the two personifying Lust and Gluttony, in that order.

Taken in isolation, the selected depiction in Book II indeed exposes the reader to the entire scope of evil through the seven major diabolical figures of Hell, but this is evil only on the spiritual level, confounded within the boundaries of the unfaithful angels' prison. Satan, Beëlzebub, Moloch, Belial and Mammon, the five major devils which Milton borrowed from religious history, became symbols of their Vices. Their natures were consciously constructed around the first five Capital Vices – Pride, Envy, Wrath, Sloth, and Greed, in that order, which corresponds to the Gregorian sequence. These Vices are spiritual, meaning they affect the soul, and as symbols of these, the devils symbolize all the spiritual sins of man. Death and Sin, on the other hand, are also demonic figures, but they are not devils since they are not fully characterized spiritual entities. The personifications of the last two Capital Vices – Gluttony and Lust, which affect the body and are therefore called carnal – are depicted as non-historical allegories of a modified Christian and classical myth. Fox (1957, 194) thus concludes that the seven diabolical figures together represent the entire scope of evil, but only on the spiritual level. The following section focuses on one of the most memorable characters in English literary history – Satan, the prime evil himself.

⁴ There is a slight discrepancy between St Gregory's and Aquinas' views on the Vice of Pride, but this discussion exceeds the scope of this paper.

3 Pride in Satan

In *A Defence of Poetry*, Shelley says that “Nothing can exceed the energy and magnificence of the character of Satan in *Paradise Lost*” (quoted from Forsyth 2003, 1). In his *Die Räuber*, Schiller praises the cunning with which Milton transforms even the most docile reader into a fallen angel (Pavlič 2004, 1154). No matter the time or place, several generations of intellectuals across the globe have had, if limited to their core, two observations in common when addressing Milton’s Satan: that he is the most memorable character as well as the most controversial element of *Paradise Lost*; countless studies have been written on him, perhaps even more than on the epic itself. The study of Satan has produced schools, where each of the “warring factions” (Steadman 1976, 254) addresses the controversial character from their own perspective. Given such colossal literary and historical proportions, it would be nearly impossible to produce an all-encompassing study where each of Satan’s many characteristics would be addressed. In light of Fox’s doctoral thesis, only one aspect of the Arch Devil will be studied here in detail: his depiction as the symbol of Pride, the Capital Vice from which all other Vices and consequent actual sins arise.⁵ However, because of Satan’s character’s immense proportions and depth, his evolution throughout the poem (Steadman 1976, 293), and because Pride is far more complex than it may appear (Fox 1960, 261), we need at least a general understanding of Satan’s fundamental nature, the root of his evil, and role in the epic. Unlike other major denizens of Hell (whose natures are easily comprehensible and the roots of whose evil clear – they all derive from Satan), those of the Arch Devil transcend the text and require a more thorough understanding of the traditional interpretation of Pride. They also require St Augustine’s interpretation of the nature of evil (which became that of the Church itself). By the time we turn to *Paradise Lost*, the framework for the indication of Pride within Satan will already have been established.

In his *Moralia*, St Gregory explained *Superbia* or Pride on the basis of its effect on the soul who “possesses or believes to possess some good” (Fox 1957, 18). He maintains that the possession of a good evolves into the Capital Vice under four conditions:

when a person believes that this good comes from himself and not from God (originative pride); when he admits that it comes from God but believes that it is the due recognition of his own merits (meritorious pride); when he boasts of possessing a good which in reality he does not have (boastful pride); and when he despises others and wishes to be the sole possessor of this good (exclusive pride).⁶

These conditions were later acknowledged by other theologians and intellectuals, which in turn made them into a traditional concept in Christian ethics (Fox 1957, 19). St Augustine adopted this definition and linked the Capital Vice to evil itself. The Miltonic scholar we turn to here is Lewis (1961, 66):⁷

What we call bad things are good things perverted (De Civ. Dei, XIV, 11). This perversion arises when a conscious creature becomes more interested in itself than in God (ibid, XIV, 11) and wishes to exist ‘on its own’ (esse in semet ipso, XIV, 13). This is the sin of Pride.

⁵ Because Pride encompasses other actual sins and especially because the prime Capital Vice leads to other Capital Vices, the character of Satan embodies all of them (Fox 1957, n.p.).

⁶ The naming for the different types of Pride was taken from Fox (1960, 261).

⁷ The main reason we believe C.S. Lewis knew Milton better than most scholars is because like him, Lewis was a man of faith. Since *Paradise Lost* is primarily a Christian epic, some fundamental aspects of it – Satan being one of them – can only be understood in light of Christian theology.

The first creature who ever committed it was Satan 'the proud angel who turned from God to himself, not wishing to be a subject, but to rejoice like a tyrant in having subjects of his own'. (XIV, 11)

Lewis believes that Milton's Satan conforms to this description entirely, and so does Milton. The former argues that the Arch Devil's

prime concern is with his own dignity; he revolted because he 'thought himself impaired' (P.L. V, 665). He attempts to maintain that he exists 'on his own' in the sense of not having been created by God, 'self-begot, self-raised by his own quickening power' (V, 860). He is a 'great Sultan' (I, 348) and 'monarch' (II, 467), a blend of oriental despot and Machiavellian prince. (IV, 393)

Satan, however, was not always evil.

Pride began to form within Satan when Milton's God declared his son, the Messiah, the new leader of the angels. Lucifer, which was his name before the Fall, "through pride...thought himself impaired" (Book V, line 665). For us, it is less important how he fell, but why he became evil in the first place. "Thou God", St Augustine argues, "has made all creatures good He foreknows that some will voluntarily make themselves bad..." (Qtd. in Lewis 1961, 67). This is the key to understanding Satan and contains the reason for his exclamation, "Which way I fly is Hell; myself am hell" (Book IV, line 75), which is from his perspective the drama of *Paradise Lost* (Hughes 1956, 80). Lucifer was not created evil; nothing was. He consciously chose to be evil by perverting the good within: "Evil be thou my good" (Book IV, line 110), and now he must carry this evil with him throughout the poem (Lewis 1961, 94–103). He was also the first being in Heaven who became evil, a fact given to us by Archangel Michael when in the middle of the battle in Book VI he addresses Satan as "Author of evil, unknown till thy revolt" (Book VI, line 262). It is a fact because Michael speaks nothing but the truth, as all faithful angels of Milton do (Hughes 1967, 17).⁸ Satan, then, has become a degraded Lucifer, a "horrible co-existence of a subtle and incessant intellectual activity with an incapacity to understand anything" (Lewis 1961, 99). He has become evil,⁹ a "glory obscured" (Book I, line 591), spreading only lies and deceit (Lewis 1961, 102) – but by his *own* will (99).

So far, we have established the underlying cause behind his evil nature: it was Pride that perverted the good in him and turned him against his creator. With this knowledge, we can now address the final crucial aspect of his character before turning to the poem: i.e., Satan's role in *Paradise Lost*.

If one of Milton's intentions for the depiction of the system of the Seven Capital Vices in Book II is to submit the reader to the entire scope of evil (Fox 1960, 276) and through it recreate in his or her mind "the drama of the Fall, to make him fall again" (Fish 1998, 1), then the purpose of his Satan (and other major evils of Hell) is to make that happen. As the most eloquent and characteristically perfected of the diabolical figures of Hell, he *does* succeed with practically every inexperienced reader, he *does* bring them to his side, which is why some prominent

⁸ Regarding the root of evil in Heaven, Hughes makes an interesting remark: he argues that Satan did not plant evil thoughts in all the rebel angels; some were corrupt even before the rebellion, and Milton consciously believed this to be so. Hughes claims this on the basis that "Milton had exegetical authority to support him" (Hughes 1956, 17). In *Paradise Lost*, however, the Arch Devil was undoubtedly the first, the root of evil in all others.

⁹ Evil, yes, but there is still some good in him, for evil cannot exist without good (St Augustine qtd. in Lewis 1961, 67).

individuals like John Beale have accused Milton of being “a poet too full of the Devil” (Forsyth 2003, 1), meaning he intentionally or unintentionally depicted Satan as the hero of *Paradise Lost* when clearly Adam or the Messiah should have played this role. Almost three centuries later, this controversy is still being discussed. There is logic behind this dispute, since Milton’s “theological polarity between a dynamic and plenitudinous evil and an unchanging and absolute good” (Widmer 1958, 263), the fundamental principle of his creativity, requires an in-depth understanding of Christian theology and dogma. Under the influence of Steadman and Lewis, our perspective on this matter goes as follows: Satan is *not* the hero of *Paradise Lost*; it was always Adam. There are (at least) three issues to consider here, the first being the definition of the word “hero” itself:¹⁰ according to Steadman, a hero is “a godlike *man* – a human being of superlative virtue or (metaphorically at least) of divine seed” (1959, 99). Satan is an angel, whereas the Messiah is of divine origin; thus, Adam is the only possible answer. The second issue revolves around the nature of Satan – which we have already addressed. By admiring Satan, one admires his misery, his lies and deceit, whereas Adam, on the other hand, is faithful, talks about Milton’s God, the stars, the angels, etc. – here, too, the difference between them is substantial and functions in favour of the latter. Finally, Milton himself points out that, while it is indeed interesting to read about Satan, actually *being* him is uninteresting and utter boredom (Lewis 1961, 102).

One must read only some 30 lines of the poem to see that Milton made sure there would be no doubt about the prideful nature of Satan, that he is the symbol of Pride itself. To the question “Who first seduced them to that foul revolt?” (Book I, line 33), the epic voice in the following lines replies

Th’ infernal serpent; he it was, whose guile
 Stirred up with envy and revenge, deceived
 The mother of mankind, what time his pride
 Had cast him out from Heav’n, with all his host
 Of rebel angels, by whose aid aspiring
 To set himself in glory above his peers,
 He trusted to have equalled the Most High,
 If he opposed; and with ambitious aim
 Against the throne and monarchy of God
 Raised impious war in Heav’n and battle proud
 With vain attempt.

It was indeed Pride that “had cast him out from Heav’n” (Book II, line 37), but we are also informed of other Vices and sins that resulted from Pride and acted as instruments of it: Envy, revenge (unmistakably the result of Wrath), guile, and deception (Fox 1957, 23). While these and other progenies of Pride help shape Satan’s character, especially Envy, we will analyse only the indications of the prime Capital Vice within the Arch Devil, and tackle other Capital Vices in the separate studies of the diabolical figures that embody them.

¹⁰ It is vital to understand that by “hero” we do not mean a Hellenic one like Achilles or Ajax, but a Biblical hero (Herman 1959, 13).

Satan conforms entirely to St Gregory's definition of Pride and undoubtedly manifests three of its four types – originative, exclusive, and through exclusive, also meritorious Pride (Fox 1957, 33), and arguably also the fourth, boastful Pride¹¹ (1960, 267). The species of Pride progress in a set pattern. First comes exclusive Pride, followed by meritorious and originative, and lastly – from a certain standpoint – boastful Pride. Chronologically, exclusive Pride comes first in Satan, when Raphael shares his account of the rebellion in Heaven (see Book V, lines 659–65):

...he of the first,
If not the first Archangel, great in power,
In favor and in pre-eminence, yet fraught
With envy against the Son of God, that day
Honored by his great Father, and proclaimed
Messiah King anointed, could not bear
Through pride that sight, and thought himself impaired.

A similar remark on Satan's insurrection is given by Milton's God to his Son (see Book V, lines 725–28):

...a foe
Is rising, who intends to erect his throne
Equal to ours, throughout the spacious north;
No so content, hath in his thought to try
In battle, what our power is, or our right.

That Satan cannot accept the Messiah as his new superior and decides to rebel against his creator is a physical manifestation of his exclusive Pride, followed immediately by a verbal expression of it when he addresses the assembled rebel angels. He succeeds in arousing in his legions his own repulsion from servitude and through it his exclusive Pride; however, there is one who does not succumb to the treachery. Immediately after the address, Abdiel rises and denounces the "argument blasphemous, false and proud" (Book II, line 809) in lines 822–25:

Shalt thou give law to God, shalt thou dispute
With him the points of liberty, who made
Thee what thou art, and formed the pow'rs of Heav'n,
Such as he pleased, and circumscribed their being?

With utter contempt, Satan refutes the faithful angel's call for humility by questioning their praised origin in Book V, lines 859–66 (Fox 1957, 35):

¹¹ Satan's boastful Pride is mostly only an "outward manifestation" of his originative Pride (Fox 1957, 33).

We know no time when we were not as now;
 Know none before us, self-begot, self-raised
 By our own quick'ning power, when fatal course
 Had circled his full orb, the birth mature
 Of this our native Heav'n, ethereal sons.
 Our puissance is our own, our own right hand
 Shall teach us highest deeds, by proof to try
 Who is our equal....

The exclusive Pride once so profoundly visible in Satan has now evolved into something far more sinister. Not only does Satan disapprove of the Messiah's newly appointed position, he now also questions his creator. He questions the source of his power, his origin, and by doing so, he succumbs to originative Pride. What is more, by transcending into originative Pride, he not only ventures further away from his former self – the faithful, obedient Lucifer – but (un)intentionally also retains his exclusive Pride, for if Milton's God is not the Creator, then surely his Son does not deserve to have supremacy over the arch angels (Fox 1957, 35–36). While Book V only reveals the prideful (and other) characteristics of Milton's Satan, in Book VI they are for the first time openly manifested (Fox 1957, 36).

Before the great battle in Heaven, Raphael, another archangel, refers to Satan as “the proud / Aspirer” (Book VI, lines 89–90), confirming what the epic voice told us in the beginning of the poem. Here, Satan is no longer viewed as a rebel angel, but the evil that threatens creation itself, and a proud evil at that (Fox 1957, 37).

A similar remark is given to him by Abdiel, the angel who refused to succumb to Satan's rebellious counselling. At the onset of the first day of battle, he challenges Satan with the words, “Proud, art thou met?” (Book VI, line 131). Like Raphael, he, too, consciously continues to evade Satan's previous name, for in their opinion he has lost the right to it (Commentary by the editors in Milton 2008, 200). Firmly holding his ground, the “Archfiend” (Fish 1998, 18) in his reply in Book VI, lines 156–59, recalls how the day before

A third part of the gods, in synod met
 Their deities to assert, who while they feel
 Vigor divine within them, can allow omnipotence to none.

Blinded by the prime Capital Vice, Satan does not realize the true extent of his words. By calling himself and his followers “gods”, he reveals his originative Pride. What is more, in the last line, when he refuses to allow “omnipotence” to others, he unconsciously also reveals his exclusive Pride (Fox 1957, 37).

Milton masterfully wraps up the depiction of Pride in this Book by alluding with the action to the words of Solomon: “Pride goeth before destruction, and an haughty spirit before a fall” (Proverbs, 16.18)” (Fox 1957, 38). In the three-day battle in Heaven, “the proud Crest of Satan” (Book VI, line 191) is first hit by Abdiel, resulting in a shameful stagger of the bearer. Next, Satan is humiliated by the powerful archangel Michael. Finally, on the third day, when the Messiah joins the conflict, the Arch Devil and his followers are banished to Hell (Fox 1957, 38).

By implementing this pattern, Milton depicted the consequences of Satan's Pride, which are, together with the origin traced in the previous Book, a prerequisite for understanding the actions and rhetoric of the Arch Devil in other Books, especially in I and II. Having considered all of the above, we can now analyse the symbolic characterisation of Pride in Satan as part of the system of the Seven Capital Vices that appears in Book II, with I functioning as an overture.

In Book I, which chronologically follows the great war in Heaven in Book VI, Satan finds himself in Hell, where he is shackled in chains. Whether or not these are physical or a mere metaphor for another means of imprisonment, it is Milton's God who deliberately removes them (Empson 1960, 37). Both Satan and his closest lieutenant Beëlzebub find themselves in a state of delusion in which they believe themselves (see Book I, lines 239–41):

...to have scaped the Stygian flood
As gods, and by their own recovered strength,
Not by the sufferance of supernal power.

It suddenly becomes clear to us what Lewis meant when he said that Satan possesses "an incapacity to understand anything" (1961, 99). Had we not determined the origin and the earlier manifestations of his Pride beforehand, along with what actually happened before the Fall, it would have been extremely difficult to comprehend the tragic mental state, the pity of the 'present' Satan. Lewis maintains that "in order to avoid seeing one thing he has, almost voluntarily, incapacitated himself from seeing at all" (1961, 99). The Hell that he carries with him is perhaps the ultimate manifestation of Pride.

In Book I, there are multiple occasions where Satan's Pride emerges from the text, especially the originative manifestation. Here (Book I, lines 116–19), Satan's actions become his rhetoric (Fish 1998, 17). In his first address to Beëlzebub, he asserts that

...since by fate the strength of gods
And this empyreal substance cannot fail,
Since through experience of this great event
In arms not worse, in foresight much advanced...

Much as in the reply to Abdiel, here Satan exemplifies his originative Pride in denying having been created by a "personal Creator" (Fox 1957, 40). The dominant theme in this speech and in the next is, in Fox's opinion, his "determination to persist in evil and to pervert good to evil ends" (Fox 1957, 41). Why else would he be reassured that the demons need not worry about Milton's God's potential annihilation of each and every one of them?

In the following speech (Book I, lines 315–30), where Satan addresses his summoned "apostles" (Erickson 1997, 382) and millions of lesser (fallen) angels on "the bare strand" (Book I, line 379) of the infernal lake, an image that alludes to Jesus summoning his disciples at the Sea of Galilee, the prime Capital Vice is present, but in a manner different from what we have already established. Here, Pride "takes the form of an appeal to the pride of the fallen angels rather than an exemplification of pride on the part of Satan" (Fox 1957, 42). By using titles such as "Princes", "potentates", "Warriors," and "flow'r of Heav'n" (Book I, lines 315–16), the "great antagonist" (Williams 1945, 268) recalls his companions "to a sense of military obligation" (Steadman 1966, 564) and through it appeals to duty and shame (1966, 564). By doing so, Steadman maintains

(1966, 564), Satan can expect a fanatical response to his final shout at the end of his address, “Awake, arise, or be for ever fall’n” (Book II, line 330).

The assembly of the devils, which follows Satan’s rallying cry, is permeated with references to his Pride. The lexical choices in lines 527–28 (“...he his wonted pride / Soon recollecting...”), lines 571–72 (“And now his heart / Distends with pride...”), and lines 602–3 (“...brows / Of [...] considerate pride...”) are unmistakable (Fox 1957, 42).

Satan’s final speech (622–62) in Book I is unique in that it exemplifies the third type of Pride – boastful Pride. Fox (1957, 42) bases his argument on line 633, where Satan consciously lies about his rebellion having “emptied Heav’n.” One could argue that because of his ‘blindness’, Satan is unaware of the events of the great war, but that would be wrong, since the Arch Devil admits elsewhere that two-thirds of the angels in Heaven did not succumb to his treason.¹² Satan then states that the rebel angels (now demons) will rise once again and “repossess their native seat” (Book II, line 634), and to determine the strategy of his assertion, he calls for a council (1957, 43).

Book II opens with Satan’s address to the Infernal conclave, in which he again resorts to salutations “for rhetorical proof” (Steadman 1966, 565). Following St Gregory’s model of Pride, these appeals again manifest Satan’s bolstering Pride. On the surface, the Arch Devil’s opening address (Book II, lines 18–19) serves the purpose of boosting morale and introducing to the reader the infernal speakers, but underneath all this nobility lies his hidden agenda: to justify and fortify his position as the “monarch” (Lewalski 2003, 222) idol-breaker, this essay traces his very broad concept of idolatry throughout his poetry and prose. While his Puritan contemporaries thought of idolatry chiefly as pagan or Roman Catholic practices that offer an affront to God, Milton saw idolatry as the disposition to attach divinity or special sanctity to any person, human institution, or material object, and early to late he sought to eradicate that disposition in his readers. His focus is on the way idolatry debases and enslaves human beings and their societies. If worship and absolute obedience are offered only to the transcendent God and if his image is seen to reside in all human beings simply as such (not popes, kings, bishops, institutions, or sacred material objects:

Me though just right, and the fixed laws of Heav’n
Did first create your leader...

Fox (1957, 43) argues that at least by this justification, which is a manifestation of his originitive Pride, Satan is correct, since he is superior to other denizens of Hell; however, what he forgets to mention (or ignores completely) is that his higher rank has been granted to him by Milton’s God, the Creator. In light of such overwhelming originitive Pride that radiates from most of what he says in Book II, lines 19–24, it surprises us to find Satan making a concession in the continuation of his thought:

... next, free choice,
With what besides, in counsel or in fight,
Hath been achieved of merit, yet this loss

¹² When Death accuses Satan of taking with him “the third part of Heav’n’s sons” (Book II, line 692), the Arch Devil does not contradict (Fox 1957, 42).

Thus far at least recovered, hath much more
Established in a safe unenvied throne
Yielded with full consent.

In an apparent instance of humility, Satan confesses that his leadership was, after all, bestowed upon him freely by his ardent devotees. However, upon closer inspection, Fox (1957, 44) found that behind this mask of humility lies the fourth species of the Arch Devil's Pride – meritorious Pride: "If the position of leadership has been bestowed by others, Satan claims, it has been bestowed in view of what 'hath been achieved of merit:' it is but the just recognition of the nature of things" (1957, 44). It is, however, not a de facto manifestation of meritorious Pride; rather, it follows the same principle.

Following the apocalyptic defeat in Heaven, it is only logical that Satan expresses in his first address to the council the more subtle meritorious Pride. It would be unwise and foolish had he manifested straight away the far more extreme originative pride, which, following St Gregory's model, grants concession to none but the bearer (Fox 1957, 18–19). However, meritorious Pride within Satan does not last long, and at the end of his first speech in the conclave it gives way to boastful pride when he confesses that the position which was bestowed to him is not an enviable one in light of the dangers that come with it. Afterwards, he comes to an abrupt halt and awaits the counselling of other worthy members on which strategy to implement to win the war (1957, 45).

After the opinions of a select few, and the consequent decision to confront Milton's God by sending a volunteer on a covert operation to doom mankind, silence reigns in Pandemonium. Unsurprisingly, in an infernal version of Milton's God's request for a redeemer in Book III (Forsyth 2003, 18), it is Satan who answers Beëlzebub's call for a saviour. He steps forward and with "Monarchal pride" (Book II, line 428) addresses the council once more (Fox 1957, 45).

In his moment of glory, Satan continues his trail of thought from his opening address to the council members, only now there is nothing to prevent him from boasting. He scorns his followers for lacking courage, and boasts about the greatness of his own courage. He points out the hazards that await him on his journey, and how he is going to take them on. His boasting then evolves into exclusive Pride, when, at the end of his speech, he sarcastically dismisses the "mighty Powers, / Terror of Heav'n" (Book II, lines 456–57) and bids them "stay at home in order to ease their misery" (Fox 1957, 46). As much as he craves power, the exclusive authority to govern, so does he crave exclusive possession of courage. Since Beëlzebub and other denizens of Hell "Dreaded not more th' adventure than his voice / Forbidding" (Book II, lines 474–75), there is none to oppose him in his claims. They kneel before him (see Book II, lines 478–79)

With awful reverence prone; and as a God
Extol him equal to the highest in Heav'n.

Satan has achieved what he in his corrupt mind has craved ever since he succumbed to Pride: the power to govern and to be the sole possessor of courage. He could not stand the superior position of the Messiah in Heaven, so he became worshipped as a god in Hell (Fox 1957, 46). Through Pride, which in the two speeches in Book II manifests itself in all four types, and its consequent Vices and actual sins he makes his resolute assertion, "Better to rule in Hell, than serve in Heav'n" (Book I, line 263) a reality.

Finally, it is Satan himself who confesses to Pride as the root cause of his rebellion. Soon after he arrives in the newly-created world, he recalls (Book IV, lines 32–113) the time when he was once “glorious above the sphere of the sun, until he fell through Pride and worse Ambition,” which led to war against heaven’s “matchless King” (Fox 1960, 264). In the end, righteousness prevails over the insidiousness of Satan and his followers, but that part of *Paradise Lost* goes beyond the set scope of our analysis.

So far we have indicated the depiction of Satan as the symbol of Pride from a lexical perspective by following the chronological narrative from the emergence of Pride within him to the end of Book II, when the prime Capital Vice manifests itself entirely, and touched also his soliloquy in Book IV, where he himself admits to suffering from Pride.

4 Conclusion

We can conclude that Milton masterfully indicated the ultimate manifestation of Pride in Satan in all four of its species – originaive, boastful, meritorious, and exclusive – in the span of only two speeches, within the limits of a single Book. It would have been impossible, however, to fully grasp the extent of his Pride, had we not traced its origins back to the great rebellion in Heaven, analysed the traditional interpretation of the prime Capital Vice, and defined St Augustine’s interpretation of the nature of evil. By limiting this discussion to the explicit references to Pride, which are “repeatedly called to our attention by the words of the poet” (Fox 1957, 68) and finally by Satan himself (1960, 264), we have come to understand Milton’s Satan better. He is neither a hero, nor a fool, but, as Durr brilliantly asserts, “a dramatically realized and necessarily numinous embodiment of the dark movement of the total action of God’s providence” (1955, 526). As much as he is a fascinating character to read and write about, there is also a barren side to him. All he ever does in *Paradise Lost* is talk about himself, which is understandable, since he willingly chose to “be himself” (Lewis 1961, 102), but it dramatically affects the dynamics of his character. Beneath the proud, radiating monarch of Hell, there is Lucifer trapped within a prison of Pride and Envy, his own Hell. We conclude with a quote from Williams (1945, 268), who better than anyone captures the far-reaching impact and overall poetical value that is Milton’s Satan:

The result is a real triumph of artistic handling, though it can hardly be called invention, unless subtraction rather than addition is the main quality of invention. At any rate, all the dramatic intensity which results from the envy of Satan is present in *Paradise Lost*. The language is largely scriptural, and so it can offend no one, whether orthodox or heterodox. Nor has Milton denied himself any advantage that might come from the alternate motivation from pride. Both are represented in *Paradise Lost*. Without sacrificing the characterization of Satan as a proud rebel, without having to invent where invention is hazardous, Milton still avoids all contradictions and inconsistencies, both of narrative and religious beliefs, and achieves a solid and convincing motivation of the great antagonist.

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Dilek İnan, Ayşe Didem Yakut

Balikesir University
Turkey

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The Complex Nature of Power and Language: Verbal Strategies in Martin Crimp's *The City*

ABSTRACT

The purpose of the paper is to examine the dynamic relationships between language and power in *The City* (2008), which was written by the groundbreaking playwright Martin Crimp. In a systematic and intentional way, Crimp's language resists the established conventional standards and challenges any typical expectations for dramatic discourse. Crimp deconstructs language and dismantles its authorial guidance. He employs stimulating and inventive dialogues through word games and language strategies and devices such as repetitions, interruptions, silences and pauses, denial, concealment, other enhancement, negation, formulation, topic-shift and turn-taking. Crimp exploits language through effective and energetic rhythm, structure and form in order to depict the ethical disasters of the contemporary world. The playwright breaks the traditional dramatic form, replacing it with his unique device where the language does not communicate meaning but acts as a means of articulating power through verbal strategies.

Keywords: Contemporary British Drama; Martin Crimp; *The City*; language; power

Kompleksna narava moči in jezika: Jezikovne strategije v drami *The City* Martina Crimpa

POVZETEK

Članek raziskuje dinamične povezave med jezikom in močjo v drami *The City* (2008) izpod peresa inovativnega britanskega dramatika Martina Crimpa. Crimpov jezik se sistematično in namerno upira uveljavljenim standardom in spodkopava uveljavljene paradigme dramskega diskurza. Crimp dekonstruira jezik in s tem avtorsko vodstvo. Svoje stimulativne in domiselne dialoge gradi z besednimi igrami ter jezikovnimi strategijami in figurami, kot so ponavljanja, prekinitve, tišine in premori, zanikanje, prikrivanje, prilizovanje, zanikanje, formulacija, menjava tem in menjavanje vlog. Z energičnim in učinkovitim poigravanjem z ritmom, strukturo in obliko jezika Crimp izkorišča potencial jezika za prikaz etičnih katastrof sodobnega sveta. Dramatik ruši tradicionalno dramsko formo in jo nadomešča s svojo edinstveno strategijo, kjer jezik ne služi prenosu pomena, ampak kot orodje za artikulacijo moči s pomočjo različnih jezikovnih strategij.

Ključne besede: sodobna britanska dramatika; Martin Crimp; *The City*; jezik; moč

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1 Introduction

Crimp has revolutionized conventional playwriting techniques with his ingenious, aggressive and powerful use of language. In each of his plays, which he has written for The Orange Tree Theatre¹ and The Royal Court,² Crimp has systematically resisted the established norms of dramatic language. His works display that the written text can only offer an unplanned, negotiated meaning. This strong sense of ambivalence documents that the language is not the ultimate promoter or bearer of truth or meaning; on the contrary, language becomes a failure that would be regarded at best as a dynamic power for transforming the characters' lives. Crimp is perhaps the most innovative British playwright to use theatre as a medium for employing language in a slippery and ambiguous way. He transforms everyday speech into organized cruelty and subjugation. In Lacanian terms, too, "the process of language is slippery and ambiguous" and "one can never mean precisely what they say" (cited in Eagleton 1995, 146). Similarly, as Terry Eagleton asserts, meaning is "always an approximation, a near-miss, a part-failure, mixing non-sense and non-communication into sense and dialogue" (1995, 169). Indeed, Crimp's characters employ eloquent language stratagems to destroy, disapprove of, dominate, victimize, mislead and oppress one another. They produce language in the form of silences, pauses, interruptions, repetitions, interrogations, denial, rhetorical questions and tags. Crimp's plays are composed of word games, overlapping conversations and fragmented dialogues through a series of rich vocabulary that carry double and multiple meanings, rhythm and musicality.

A number of scholars have explored Crimp's challenging texts in terms of their postdramatic elements, violence, and urban materialism. However, the scarcity of research in uncovering Crimp's portrayal of the complex and dynamic relationships between language and power invites research such as that carried out in this paper. Crimp's language is dense with symbols, rhythm and musicality but also bears acts of verbal violence, chaos and cruelty. He uses language as a weapon, as a means of control and as a mask to hide the vicious intentions of the interlocutors. His enigmatic language refutes any sense of effortless meaning-making and easy communication.

Elizabeth Angel-Perez categorized Crimp as being among "the most innovative dramaturgies of the turn of the millennium" (2013, 79). She describes him as one of the most "unconventional" playwrights of the period, alongside Caryl Churchill. Like Beckett and Pinter, Crimp disintegrates the authorial framework. Indeed, in *The City*, Clair's diary offers to the audiences and readers an alternative "reality" to the world they have been exposed to. In this context, Crimp's challenging text verifies Roland Barthes's significant argumentation in *The Pleasure of the Text* in which Barthes (1975) distinguishes between "readerly/readable" and "writerly/writable" texts. While the readerly text does not challenge the reader, the writable text forces the reader forever to re-establish the text's composition (Barthes 1975). Crimp's works are largely "writerly texts" that prompt the readers/audiences to produce various kinds of meaning. The readers/audiences are challenged to decode Crimp's metaphors, individual words and symbols in order to find out

¹ *Living Remains* (1981), *Four Attempted Acts* (1984), *A Variety of Death-Defying Acts* (1985), or *Definitely the Bahamas* (1986) and the popular *Dealing with Clair* (1988) as well as the more experimental *Play with Repeats* (1989).

² *No One Sees the Video* (1993), *The Treatment* (1993), *Attempts on Her Life* (1997), *Fewer Emergencies* (2005), *The Country* (2000), *The City* (2008), *In the Republic of Happiness* (2013).

whether they are related with lexical choice, unconventional theatrical forms, and the underlying socio-political concerns. As Zimmermann argues, Crimp relies on the “imaginative power of the word” (2003). The recipients constantly observe that one single word has a multitude of meanings, references and associations.

Crimp has avoided British naturalism, and he has produced the drama of denial (Sierz 2013, 162). Through his deliberate use of satire, irony and ambiguity, his plays deny audiences any easy identification with characters, clear plot resolutions and conventional situations (Sierz 2013, 162). In other words, Crimp has worked in opposition to the English naturalism by proclaiming to the audience that what they are watching is not real life but theatre (Sierz 2013, 162). Alternatively, in the last four decades, together with Martin Crimp, “Sarah Kane, Mark Ravenhill, Martin McDonagh and Anthony Neilson heralded the beginning of a distinct genre in British Theatre which is known as ‘new writing’” (Middeke, Schnierer and Sierz 2011). “New writing” is characterized by plays that are contemporary in language, in their subject matter and often in their attitude to theater form (Middeke, Schnierer and Sierz 2011, ix). These plays have been defined as “confrontational, provocative, speculative, sensational, shocking, brutal, bleak, gloomy and dark” (Middeke, Schnierer and Sierz 2011, ix). This paper benefits from the terminology produced by certain linguists in reinterpreting the challenging, ruthless and innovative use of language and its influence on power relations.

A number of linguists and other thinkers have produced various theories in order to define the intriguing relationships between language/discourse and power. In this context Foucault’s, Bourdieu’s, and Saussure’s underpinnings stand out. Foucault observes that “power is diffuse rather than concentrated, embodied and enacted rather than possessed, discursive rather than purely coercive, and constitutes agents rather than being deployed by them” (Gaventa 2003, 1). Foucault advocates that one must abstain from defining the effects of power in negative terms such as “excludes”, “represses”, “censors”, “abstracts”, “masks” and “conceals” (1977, 194). Against the excluding or concealing qualities, power actually produces: “it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth” (Foucault 1977, 194). Foucault states that “truth, morality, and meaning are created through discourse” (Pitsoe and Letseka 2013, 24). The fact that power produces actually leads us to Bourdieu who examines that each word bears a certain view, wealth and authority. The interlocutor performs in an intentional and creative way to produce certain utterances in order to gain symbolic profit.

Pierre Bourdieu (1991) identifies language as an instrument of action and power. He suggests that words are never neutral or innocent and that all words convey some form of ideology. For Bourdieu, as for Crimp, utterances are both *signs of wealth* and *signs of authority*. Bourdieu (1991, 66) considers language highly performative and creative. He argues that language has the power to produce existence. In accordance with Bourdieu’s theory, Crimp’s texts demonstrate that language does not function as a pure instrument of communication; rather, words are used to gain symbolic profit.

Bourdieu observes that “language is not only a method of communication but also a mechanism of power” (1991, 58). Therefore, the language used determines one’s relational position in a social environment. Various uses of language restate particular positions for each interlocutor. Communicational interactions define the participants’ positions and the structures in that society. Indeed, Crimp’s characters compete with each other in order to be listened to by one another through such tactics as those Bourdieu has suggested.

In addition to Foucault's "discursive power" and Bourdieu's "symbolic power", Saussure's distinction between *langue* and *parole* is also helpful in understanding the relations between language and power. Traditional playwriting is oriented towards *langue*, since it applies familiar conventions, which are recognizable to the majority of audience members. However, Crimp deconstructs and parodies conventional playwriting and thus makes the audience uncomfortable. Saussure uses the term *parole* to describe "how" a word means in actual practice – in its endless variety of contexts, intonations and syntactic arrangements (Castagno 2013, 98). Such *parole* suggests the potential for innovation or deviation from the conventionalized system. Indeed, *parole* can be defined as a gesture of openness and innovation, which proves to be a helpful tool to interpret Crimp's work.

Saussure distinguishes between "langue" and "parole", as Chomsky (1965) distinguishes between "competence" and "performance". However, Bourdieu opposes such differentiations, since speaking is a much more complex and creative activity than this rather mechanical model proposed by Saussure and Chomsky. Bourdieu states that "the recognition of the right to speak, and the associated forms of power and authority, which are implicit in all communicative situations, are generally ignored by the linguist who treats the linguistic exchange as an intellectual operation, consisting of the encoding and decoding of grammatically well informed messages" (1991, 58). Bourdieu therefore elaborates on the phenomenon which he describes as "symbolic power" or in some cases "symbolic violence" (1991).

2 Martin Crimp and *The City*

Crimp's theatre has the characteristics of certain trends and modes of well-established theatre conventions. He is in the same tradition as David Mamet, Samuel Beckett, and Harold Pinter in the way he examines language as part of the object of his plays. In this English-language tradition the playwrights are influenced by rhythm, musicality of language, interruptions, pauses and silences. Crimp is influenced by Pinter and Mamet in the way he uses language as a weapon for power, control, and cruelty. And, like Sarah Kane, he uses language for the sake of its "rhythm rather than its meaning" (Saunders 2002, 129). Similarly, his excess in verbal aggression can be associated with the "in-yer-face" aesthetics of the 1990s so strongly depicted in the plays of Sarah Kane, Mark Ravenhill, and Martin McDonagh. In Campbell and Katz's observation, "Crimp treats language as sequences of sounding words rather than inert symbols whose only function is to point to their encoded meanings" (2012, 462). As Sierz states, Crimp is fascinated by power games, and by the question of whether the urge to control is a sign of strength, or weakness (2006, 148).

The language Crimp uses in his plays is interestingly tense and lyrical. Instead of creating connections and smooth communication, his characters use language to create chaos. *The City* includes fragments that refer to scenes of suffering, war and brutality: Clair notes that Mohamed's daughter is taken away from him; Chris is surprised to learn that his swipe card does not work, which is a sign of his dismissal from work; and Jenny refers to an unnamed war – all these fragments of utterances, as a whole, explicitly convey a sense of threat and anxiety in the quotidian. The characters' inexplicable encounters actually suggest a sense of alienation. As Laura Ennor notes, the juxtapositions of painful accounts and humorous stories builds a feeling of "absurdity" (2010): Jenny's serious talk about global issues is accompanied with Chris's account about not being able to find the right meat in the frozen section. Jenny's account about an unnamed devastated city and Chris's dismissal from work depict a cruel capitalist system. Crimp's characters use language as a powerful instrument to discredit, criticize, or subordinate one another. In Foucault's sense, the characters' series of utterances create truth, morality, and meaning.

As Bourdieu has underlined, speech is a performative act. Crimp's characters elaborate certain strategies in which they use language for power relations. In this context, this paper intends to identify the tactics the characters use to have authoritative status, uncover the degree of cooperativeness in the characters' exchanges, interpret the position of the passive counterpart under a dominant discourse, and characterize the psychology of the submissive character. It is observed that once the character has the advantage of power, he/she controls the topic, interrupts, uses command-oriented language and affects the behaviors and thoughts of his/her rival. Thus, it is essential to pinpoint the ways in which power is disseminated through language. In order to produce truth through the "discursive" and "symbolic" character of power, the characters use certain tactics and tools, such as repetitions, interruptions, silences and pauses, denial, concealment, other enhancement, negation, formulation, topic-shift and turn-taking. The next section elaborates on such language strategies and devices with examples from *The City*.

2.1 Repetition

Crimp illustrates the ways in which language itself is used as a weapon and an instrument of power. One of the devices that the characters employ in their struggle to gain power is *repetition*. Repetition gives intensity to the meaning, and it is an effective technique, as Leech (1969, 79) clarifies: "Although repetition sometimes indicates poverty of linguistic source, it can have its own kind of eloquence." Leech (1969, 79) highlights the essence of repetition: "By underlining rather than elaborating the message, it presents a simple emotion with force. It may further suggest a suppressing intensity of feeling – an imprisoned feeling, as it were, for which there is no outlet but a repeated hammering at the confining walls of language". Hence, repetition highlights the important ideas, and brings them to the fore. Repetition is an effective strategy, as the repetition of certain words, phrases and sentences enable the audience to identify key words, phrases or sentences of the play (Kemertelidze and Manjavidze 2013). Additionally, repetition is one of the factors that affects the attention level since the audience should "move forward to encounter a repeated element, and then immediately move our attention backward, to the previous occurrence(s) of that element, in order to recognize that a repetition has occurred" (Olson and Olson 2007, 153). Moreover, repetitions encourage the audience to reveal the characters' state of mind in that each repetition makes a contribution to lay bare the intent of the characters.

Crimp's characters mostly use repetition when they intend to refrain from revealing the truth or secrets, and when they try to escape accusations due to fear of losing power. Thus, the characters use the repeated words as weapons of concealment. They try to distract the other characters' attention to the topic in order to conceal their secrets which otherwise could probably be disclosed. Certain words that characters repeat are important signs of their effort to get the upper hand in the power game, and in Bourdieu's sense, too, the characters' utterances are both *signs of wealth* and *signs of authority*. Sierz (2013, 113) states that the characters who use repetitions are usually the insecure characters demanding to cover their guilt and anxiety. When they feel the threat of domination, they try to postpone the inevitable confession process by lingering over the repetitions. These characters, who are in pursuit of power, know that they have nothing to gain from confrontation, so they try to preserve their position of power by avoiding the confrontation. Crimp structures his play ingeniously by using repetitions, demonstrating a profound awareness to the power each repeated word can wield (Gillinson 2010). He cleverly uses the repetitions as weapons to threaten the opponents and to create a sense of anxiety, curiosity and mystery. After a conference in Lisbon, for example, Clair explains how nervous she felt, how her hands shook, and how she made jokes while she was delivering her paper. As can be clearly sensed in her

utterances, she has had an enjoyable time with Mohamed at the conference, where “she couldn’t help smiling” to herself:

Clair: ... I couldn’t help smiling to myself.

Chris: Like you are now?

Clair: What?

Chris: Like you are now – smiling to yourself like you are now? (Crimp 2008, 50).

Her joy at the conference is so profoundly reflected in her speech that Chris counterattacks: “Like you are now – smiling to yourself like you are now?” (Crimp 2008, 50). The repetition of the interrogative “Like you are now?” indicates Chris’s desire to obtain supremacy, and to submit Clair to a subservient role with little power. Chris’s use of repetition imposes a feeling of threat on Clair, preventing her from providing a convincing answer. Chris subjects his victim with the help of language and postulates his predominance. However, Clair’s use of the rhetorical question “what?” (which recurs throughout the play) is surprising. It is noticeable that the rhetorical question is pronounced in a situation of intense oppression. It could therefore be interpreted as a tactical evasion (Sierz 2010). Clair’s choice of the question tag “what?” functions as a means of gaining time in an attempt to find an appropriate answer, and shows her endeavor to escape from Chris’s authority.

However, the dynamics of power change because Clair successfully copes with Chris’s repeated questions by using the *supplication* tactic. Supplication is one of the impression management tactics used by the powerful character to demonstrate someone’s weakness and incompetence by advertising the person’s shortcomings and failings (Jones and Pittman 1982). Clair identifies Chris’s shortcomings as aggressive, cold and reserved. She uses the supplication tactic to subjugate Chris by implying that their marriage is in a state of decline due to the emotional barrier he has built: “I stepped towards you and you backed away. You know you did. Why did you back away from me?” (Crimp 2008, 50). Clair also manages to change the topic of conversation by using this tactic. It is essential for Clair to change the topic because her husband tries to uncover her intimate relationship with Mohamed, and to push her into a subordinate position where she cannot provide any reasonable explanation to his challenging questions.

Furthermore, a powerful effect of repetition occurs when Clair explains Mohamed’s bizarre confession about his daughter, Leila (the little girl whom Clair has seen at the station). Clair explains how she has been upset to learn that Mohamed’s daughter died when she was crossing the road to post a letter probably written to her father. Such is the understanding from Clair’s description that “he just sits there in front of the window looking down at his hands” (Crimp 2008, 51) – probably looking at the letter of his daughter, who died after sending it to her father. Chris is disturbed to see that Clair is fascinated by Mohamed. Here again Chris is in a superior position, putting Clair in a challenging plot:

Chris: Waiting for you to comfort him.

Clair: What?

Chris: He was waiting for you / to comfort him.

Clair: Well obviously – yes – I thought – of course I did – thought about going to him... (Crimp 2008, 51)

Clair does dare not say anything, and she is rendered incapable of giving a convincing response.

On the other hand, Clair persistently seeks new ways which aim at Chris's subjugation and destruction. Chris's repeated expression "Waiting for you to comfort him" actually defines Clair's desire for authority by allowing her more time to plan her subsequent sentences. However, bombarded with Chris's questions, her fluency and eloquence is replaced by uncertainty and hesitation, and ultimately she finds no adequate words to escape from the subordinate position.

Crimp also uses repetition to highlight important points, such as Chris's repetition of the word "understand" throughout his monologue. The use of repetition to underline important points is illustrated in the scene when Chris repeats the word "understand" several times:

Because there are a number of things, sweetheart I don't quite understand – and some of them are things I'll never understand – and I'm quite happy for there to be some things I'll never understand – but one of the things I don't understand but that I really would like to understand is why you say that it's hot ... (Crimp 2008, 38).

Repetition also underlies the important points the characters cannot express explicitly. In the above quotation, the repetition of the word "understand" emphasizes Chris's confused mind. Here the repetition indicates how much he desires to understand Clair's indifferent attitudes to him and children. Clair's emotional distance with the family, and her strict working conditions cause Chris's outburst of tenderness. Chris seems to be incapable of expressing his longing for love because of Clair's obvious reluctance to take any responsibility for her indifferent actions. Chris's powerlessness, in turn, is underlined by a kind of speech that is marked by helpless repetition. His repetitive language is paralleled by his profound and intense emotional state.

2.2 Interruption

A number of linguists theorize "interruption" in comparable terms: Fairclough observes that interruption is one of the devices expressed by the more powerful person to "constrain the contributions of the less powerful participant" (1989, 135). Likewise, Simpson and Mayr (2013, 32) define interruption as a common device through which dominant speakers can dismiss or ignore the utterances of the subordinate speakers. Zimmerman and West (1996), too, characterize interruption as a device of exercising power and control in conversation through violating the interlocutor's speaking rights. Hence, interruption is defined as an efficient display of domination. Some Crimp scholars have already noted the use of interruptions in Crimp's plays. Lindsay Posner (2013, 189) in her interview with Sierz states that Crimp uses the elliptical nature of dialogue and interruptions because he is interested in the way language can be used to intrude into the characters' lives. Middeke, Schnierer and Sierz (2011, 86) state that interruptions, overlapping dialogues and simultaneous conversations indicate that the characters engage in a process of communication where their actions are strategic rather than communicative. Similarly, Angelaki identifies Crimp's use of overlapping dialogues as synonymous with interruptions. She (2012, 102) states that the characters often use overlapping dialogues with an attempt to find the right words to protect their own interests in the power games. In that sense, interruptions, overlapping dialogues and simultaneous conversations can be seen as a strategy that allows the characters to establish and strengthen their control by forcing the others to play the role of the subordinate character.

An example of the more powerful participant interrupting a subordinate person occurs at the beginning of the play when the characters are anxious about their children, who have locked themselves off. Chris does not understand what Clair means when she asks, "You're sure they're

in there?” (Crimp 2008, 28) At this point, Jenny hopes to experience a moment of victory by interrupting Chris and explaining to him what Clair means: “She means maybe they’ve locked the door from the outside then run away” (Crimp 2008, 28). Jenny, assuming the role of the more powerful speaker, attempts to direct Chris through interruption; however, she cannot manage to achieve her goal because Chris is obviously irritated when Jenny interferes in the conversation with his wife, and responds to Jenny’s practice of power: “I don’t need you to explain to me what she means” (Crimp 2008, 28). In the final scene, a similar situation occurs: Chris does not understand what Clair means when he reads the diary, and asks, “Go on what?” (Crimp 2008, 60). Jenny interrupts Clair by explaining “She means read it – don’t you?” (Crimp 2008, 60). However, unlike her husband, Clair is not irritated by Jenny’s interruption; on the contrary, she supports Jenny by saying, “Yes. Read it” (Crimp 2008, 60). Their collaboration builds a relationship of power that casts Chris in a state of weakness and submissiveness. In a Foucauldian sense, the power is diffuse, and embodied through interruptions.

2.3 Silences and Pauses

Crimp employs silences and pauses as an effective device in the power games among the characters. The characters attempt to dominate one another by reducing him/her to silence. The characters assert their power through language. That is, without language, the characters cannot use control attempts to exert dominance in the interaction. When they lapse into silence and fail to use the control attempts, they become more submissive, and thus they allow the dominant character to have a greater influence over the decisions. Silence may suggest that characters are “stopped short by their own ungoverned thoughts or trying to conceal their real emotions” (Sierz 2013, 114). However, Fivush states that it is necessary to distinguish between “being silenced and being silent” (2010). While being silenced signifies a loss of power, being silent can be regarded as a tactic to gain power. In this respect, silence is used as a means of exerting control rather than accepting control. Silence is used to exert power, because it indicates that the powerful characters need not explain or justify their actions (Fivush 2010). The powerful characters deliberately silence themselves in order not to share certain experiences with the others. Hence “silence is not always a symbol of passivity and powerlessness; contrarily, it can be used as a strategic defense against the powerful” (Gal 1971, 176). As Glenn (2002, 263) states, “like the zero in mathematics, silence is an absence with a function”. Linguist Susan Gal, drawing from Michel Foucault’s work, notes that the silent listener is usually the person “who judges, and who thereby exerts power over the one who speaks” (1971, 171). Furthermore, Glenn states that “the question is not whether speech or silence is more productive, more effective, more appropriate; rather, it is one of a rhetoric of purposeful silence when it is self-selected or when it is imposed” (2002, 263). Glenn (2002, 264) argues that “when silence is our rhetorical choice, we can use it purposefully and productively – but when it is not our choice, but someone else’s for us, it can be insidious”. Similarly, Gutscher (2014, 85) draws a comparison between silence and the shelter that the characters seek in order to escape the attacks of the verbal violence. Gutscher (2014, 85) notes that silences are never empty; contrarily, they are charged with uncertainty and danger. In Crimp’s play, silence is not imposed by the others: it is the powerful character’s preference to remain silent. Indeed, silence often involves an unspoken conversation in *The City*. Saying nothing becomes a particularly important way of saying something (Silverberg 2013, 79). Therefore, silence is a powerful tool that is as important as language. Silences are not unproductive and passive; they are used as tactical choice and bear certain impositions. The characters can use silence to maintain “the position of power, resist the domination, or submit to subordination” (Glenn 2004, 153). Silence has “the potential to profoundly disrupt, shift, and deploy power” (Glenn, 2004, 5).

As is clearly seen in the interchange below, while Clair forces Chris to make a satisfying explanation about his question, Chris does not respond to her and prefers to remain silent. He uses silence as a means of ignoring what Clair – here the more powerful participant – asks. Crimp’s use of silences and pauses is reminiscent of the power of silences in Harold Pinter’s plays. Silence functions as a shield to protect Chris from repression at least in the short term. Hence, silence is associated with a powerful communicative tool rather than an absence of communication (Jaworski 1992, 136). However, the more powerful participants may compel the less powerful participants to break the silence by demanding answers and explanations to a number of successive questions (Fairclough 1989, 46), as in Clair’s sequential questions: “Me? What makes you say that? What makes you say that? Where are you going?” (Crimp 2008, 16) Clair’s fundamental aim in her excessive questioning is to take the control from Chris. When Chris does not respond to Clair’s utterances, she breaks his silence:

Chris: What big change in her life?

Clair: Leaving her father of course. Living with her aunt.

Pause.

Have you not been listening? (Crimp 2008, 9).

The above dialogue is one of many that display the lack of communication between married couples. However, Crimp insists that his plays are actually all about “communicating” (Sierz 2013, 105). He maintains that “some of his characters would prefer, at certain moments, not to communicate, but that does not mean they cannot” (Sierz 2013, 105). Hence, pauses and silences are used for more intentional strategic reasons than they simply appear. In the dialogue above, Chris’s attempt to express his disbelief in Clair’s story ends in his silence. This dialogue also shows how characters are let down by the absence of language. Being afraid of losing her authority, Clair waits for an answer. However, Chris deliberately refuses to utter a word in order to gain power. As a matter of fact, silence can be employed as a weapon which not only serves to defend but which can also be used as an effective tool to compete with the verbal mastery. In this respect, by consciously choosing silence as an instrument of control, Chris attempts to create an intense tension for Clair, and reminds her of the risk of losing power.

2.4 Denial

The characters use denial as a weapon in verbal power play. Denial stems from the characters’ need to avoid the disturbing facts to preserve their authority. In this respect, as in the case of silence, denial, too, contains avoidance. Denials deliberately involve refusing to acknowledge the disturbing facts so as not to lose power. Thus, “rather than simply failing to notice something, denial entails a deliberate effort to refrain from noticing it” (Zerubavel 2006). In Crimp’s play, fear is one of the main reasons underlying the characters’ denial process: what the characters fear is, indeed, the fear of losing power. When the characters feel that their dominant position is being threatened, they try to avoid that disturbing fact by resorting to denials. Therefore, the characters adopt other similar verbal strategies to that of denial to “avoid confrontation with the disturbing information, which can be identified as *displacement*, *reinterpretation*, and *concealment*” (Rousseau 2014). The interlocutors use these strategies as defense mechanisms which occur when the characters are faced with a personal problem, and “refuse to acknowledge that the problem is indeed personal” by reshaping the external reality (Rousseau 2014). This is what Cohen calls “implicatory denial”, which means that “the involvement of the speaker is

denied through apparent detachment” (2001, 5). Implicatory denial occurs when the characters encounter a confusing and conflicting situation where they feel helpless and powerless. A series of examples of this sort can be seen in *The City* through “the determiner ‘that’, whose function is to create temporal, spatial, and emotional distance, as opposed to ‘this’, which involves proximity” (Rousseau 2014). By using such a defense mechanism, the characters try to turn “a personal disturbance into a foreign one” (Rousseau 2014). This strategy has been adopted in *The City* by Clair, a character who denies the existence of other characters by inventing an external imaginary world. Clair’s defense strategy functions to displace the threat from the real world into the imaginary world: “I invented characters and I put them in my city” (Crimp 2008, 62). The displacement strategy also involves the spatial rejections. Indeed, *The City* plays “wicked games” with the audience’s expectations (Sierz 2011). The characters are engaged in the conventional and intimate conversations behind which there is desire, intent and the hovering threat of violence. Even in the most banal conversations, the characters voice their own fears or desires rather than attempting to comfort one another (Woohead 2010). In the play, the dichotomy of inner/outer is vital for establishing that the domestic space is physically invaded by the outside evil world (Sakellaridou 2014). This is again denying the safety of the inner domestic space.

At times the characters feel reluctant to verbalize the unpleasant information, and refuse to “give it a voice, either by not naming or by renaming the reality which is unbearable to acknowledge” (Rousseau 2014). Relevantly, then, the characters use the indefinite article “this” when they prefer to un-name things. Crimp’s characters usually use “this” as a cataphoric device that postpones the readers’ grasp of the situation. For example, the audience understands that Clair has met a man whose identity is unclear to him. When talking about the man, Clair first uses “this”: “I was waiting on the station concourse this afternoon after my meeting – waiting for my train – when this man came up to me and said, have you seen a little girl about so high – I’ve lost her” (Crimp 2008, 7). The use of “this” is only partially explained later: “Because it turned out I knew him” (Crimp 2008, 10). Crimp would soon expose that the man is a famous writer: “He’s this writer that everyone’s talking about” (Crimp 2008, 10). The characters sometimes prefer renaming to un-naming, which in Cohen’s (2001) terms is “interpretive denial”. In the interpretive denial process, facts are not contradicted, but they are enriched with different meanings as a tactic. For example, Chris does not want to acknowledge that Clair is indifferent towards her children, and he is clearly seeking to re-frame and justify Clair’s actions by re-configuring what happened: “She was so worn out that she didn’t even go into your room, she didn’t have the strength to push the hair back behind your ear...” (Crimp 2008, 46). Chris acknowledges the reality only partially, and re-frames the events so that “what happened is really something else” (Cohen 2001, 103).

2.5 Concealment

The other strategy to avoid the unpleasant information is *concealment*, which is achieved through minimization (Rousseau 2014). Rousseau notes that Crimp’s characters consistently “use limiting focusing adverbs such as ‘only’, ‘just’, or ‘simply’” (2014). For example, Chris uses one of the limiting focusing adverbs “only” when he talks about losing his job: “My day was good. Only my card wouldn’t swipe” (Crimp 2008, 8). Chris uses “only” as a kind of psychological defense mechanism to lessen the psychological burden of losing his job. A similar verbal avoidance can be detected in Chris’s other speeches, for example, when he talks about the diary Mohamed gave to Clair: “And he just *gave* it to you? The man – this man – he just *gave* it to you?” (Crimp 2008, 10). In Chris’s speech “just” shows that Chris tries to block the disturbing information by denying or distorting the reality. He wants to convince himself that his wife is indeed reliable by

minimizing her inclination to betrayal. Thus, Crimp's characters make the screening function of the language obvious by displacing, reinterpreting, and finally concealing the disturbing elements. As Harold Pinter (1976, 14–15) notes:

The speech we hear is an indication of that which we don't hear. It is a necessary avoidance, a violent, sly, anguished or mocking smoke screen which keeps the other in its place. When true silence falls we are still left with echo but are nearer nakedness. One way of looking at speech is to say that it is a constant stratagem to cover nakedness.

In *The City*, language is used not as a tool for communication but it is used as a screen preventing truth from appearing overtly.

2.6 Other Enhancement

Other enhancement is a tactic that asserts that people are attracted to others who seem to be attracted to them (Byrne 1961). The principle behind this tactic is that people tend to favor others who make positive compliments about them (Tedeschi and Riess 1981). We see Clair using the other enhancement tactic to gain power and control over Chris by trying to maintain a positive interpersonal relationship with him. The unstable, shifting status of power is clearly seen when Clair realizes the dramatic change in Chris's attitude: "You have completely changed... Look at you. Much more confident... Your whole attitude's changed... Even the way you're standing" (Crimp 2008, 36–37). In fact, the reason for her favorable comments or rather compliments, lies in her innermost feelings of jealousy. When Chris explains to Clair how he has found the job at the butcher's, he mentions a woman, Indy, whom he has met at a pub. This piece of information about another woman actually changes the power balance. Chris's liaison with another woman captures Clair's attention, as she is very aware of her less powerful role; Clair appears to be jealous of this woman:

Clair: It's not as if you'll ever see her again.

Chris: No.

Clair: Will you?

Chris: No. Jesus Christ, no, I hope not.

Clair: Then stop thinking about it.

Chris: I'm not thinking about it.

Clair: Good – because you should stop thinking it. (Crimp 2008, 35–36)

Here, Clair's choice of words highlights the submissive role she assigns to Chris. Chris is inactive and entirely dependent upon what she chooses to do. There is even a feeling of menace in her insistent recommendation that he should not care about the opinion of a complete stranger whom he will not see again. Excluding him from constructing his own identity and self-determination, Clair tries to maintain her superior position.

2.7 Negation

Negation is one of the devices used to empower the authority. Fairclough (1989, 125) indicates that negation is the basic way through which the readers distinguish "what is not the case in reality from what is the case". In this respect, employing negations has a great impact on the speaker to discover the real intentions, facts and truth. To illustrate, while Chris and Jenny

discuss how the children lock themselves in the playroom, Chris's negative sentence creates a powerful effect, and plays a significant role in limiting Jenny's action: "...if they haven't unlocked that door in another... what shall we say?" (Crimp 2008, 28). The playwright could make the same point in a positive attempt by the following utterance: "if they have locked that door in another ... what shall we say?" However, in that case, the corresponding positive assertion would not create the same emphasis as in the negative sentence. Fairclough also notes that, depending on intonation and the other factors, using negative questions may suggest that "I assume that x is the case, but you seem to be suggesting it isn't, surely it is?" (Fairclough 1989, 46). Such operation of power can be clearly observed in the following exchange, when Clair is preoccupied with translating. By using a negative question "Don't you get bored with it?" (Crimp 2008, 16), Chris implies that he is really bored with Clair's incessant working:

Chris: Don't you get bored with it?

Clair: Mmm?

Chris: Translating. Don't you get / bored with it? (Crimp 2008, 16)

Fairclough (1989) also suggests that using a declarative sentence rather than an interrogative sentence with question tags creates the effect that of the negative question, which is clearly seen in the interchange between Clair and Chris when they talk about Mohamed:

Clair: The writer, Mohamed. What makes you think I've dismissed him from my thoughts?

Chris: Well haven't you?

Clair: Yes – no – no – not necessarily. (Crimp 2008, 14)

Chris's "Well haven't you?" is a way of implying that "You should have forgotten Mohamed but you probably have not". This question also allows Chris to establish dominance over Clair, since it pushes her into a powerless position where she hesitates over whether or not to admit that she cannot dismiss Mohamed from her thoughts.

2.8 Formulation

The other device widely used to exert power is formulation. Formulation is "a rewording of what has been said, or it is a wording of what may be assumed to follow from what has been said, what is implied by what has been said" (Fairclough 1989, 136). Formulation is usually used for checking understanding and reaching an agreement (Fairclough 1989, 136). However, it is also used to exercise control by limiting the potential contributions of the subordinate character (Fairclough 1989, 136). Formulation is described as a weapon and a control device, enabling participants to "accept one's own version through constraining their options for further contributions" (Simpson and Mayr 2013, 34). In the following exchange, Clair uses formulation to challenge Chris who, in turn, disconfirms it:

Clair: A flow of speculation.

Chris: Yes. And you'd have no idea why. Because after all Jeanette is very ordinary-looking.

Clair: Is she?

Chris: And yet she has this power.

Clair: Over men.

Chris: Over what? – no – that's not at all what I mean – I mean over everyone – men and

women / likewise.

Clair: So you're saying you may lose your job?

Chris: I'm just saying what Bobby told me Jeanette said to him at lunch. It doesn't mean I'm going to kill myself. I have no plans to hang myself from a tree, if that's what you think [...] I hardly think I'm unemployable. And even someone who's spent a whole meeting with their head down drawing interlocking shapes on the agenda – or imaginary animals – will often come up to me afterwards and thank me for being the only person in the room... (Crimp 2008, 13)

Clair's fourth turn – “So you're saying you may lose your job?” – formulates what Chris has been struggling to confess but unable to achieve. Clair reaches the conclusion that Chris has lost his job, and accordingly her formulation seems to force Chris to confess it. On the other hand, Chris has been trying to hide his powerlessness by trying to appear unconcerned about losing his job; however, he could not succeed in hiding his frustration.

2.9 Topic-shift and Turn-taking

Maintaining power can also be described through an analysis of topic shifts and turn-taking in various conversational situations. Fairclough (1989, 136) indicates that the topic may be determined and controlled by the more powerful participant. The powerful participant is often in a position to specify the starting and ending points of the interaction, and to disallow non-relevant contributions. From the very first moment of the play, it can be realized that the characters Clair, Chris, and Jenny are only concerned about their own *cities* – the different cities that depict different stories, realities, and expectations compete for dominance, without paying any attention to the other. The characters ignore other characters' stories which is confirmed when Chris starts to recount the same story for the second time, but Clair fails to notice it:

Chris: I'll tell you something that will make you laugh. You know this morning when I got to my building? Well my card wouldn't swipe. I tried and tried but it would not swipe. So I tapped on the glass but the only person in there at that time of the morning was a cleaner so the cleaner came over to the glass... No. I've told you this. Have I already told you this?

Clair: Go on.

Chris: But I've already told you this.

Clair: Told me what? Have you? (Crimp 2008, 15)

Crimp's language is characterized by “trademark sequences of ‘unpartnered’ conversation: two people talking as if the other is listening, though the responses never mesh” (Sierz 2013, 120). There is continuous and intentional disconnection in the linguistic exchanges. As Brown and Yule (1983, 84) describe, the characters “speak on a topic” rather than “speaking topically”, that is, they change the topic raised by the others towards a topic that they want to bring into the limelight:

Clair: ... He's this writer that everyone's talking about ... it was completely fascinating to find myself sitting in a café with this writer that everyone's talking about. Because he never gives any interviews, but there he was sitting in this café opening his heart to me. About his time in prison – and the torture there [...] during all the nights and days he waited for them to come.

Chris: Them?

Clair: His torturers.

Chris: I see.

Clair: The people who determined to/break his will.

Chris: I had a visit from Bobby today. (Crimp 2008, 11)

The characters share their thoughts through monologues rather than dialogues, and they do not listen to each other. Zimmerman and West (1996) argue that the difference between a monologue and dialogue is not the number of the people present but the articulation of the roles of speaker and listener. In this perspective, the three characters of the play are only speakers rather than listeners. As seen in the interchange above, characters are so preoccupied with recounting their own stories that neither can hear the other. While Clair enthusiastically exchanges a story that she has had a bizarre interaction with a man named Mohamed who turns out to be a famous writer, Chris shows a significant lack of interest in it by changing the topic to that of Bobby Williams's visit. This is noticeably similar to the scene where Chris shifts the topic towards another to avoid a challenging situation:

Jenny: I'm sure I've seen you –

Chris: Oh?

Jenny: Yes – standing at an upstairs window.

Chris: You're right.

Jenny: Because when you opened the door I thought to myself: I've seen that face before – in the supermarket or something – or standing at an upstairs window looking a bit sad.

Chris: Can I take your coat?

Jenny: What?

Chris: Your coat. (Crimp 2008, 19)

In the exchange above, Chris does not acknowledge Jenny's contribution. On the contrary, he continues with a different topic, one which is not connected with Jenny's utterances. The initial topic reflects the strong possibility that they have previously met, because the reader can assume from Jenny's insistent remarks that it is not the first time they saw each other: "We know each other, don't we. I've seen you somewhere – was it the opticians? Or I know what it is – looking in a freezer cabinet in the supermarket..." (Crimp 2008, 19). However, Chris changes it to a non-relevant topic by offering to take Jenny's coat. Chris's sudden topic change can be explained by the fear of confronting the reality that he watches Jenny standing at an upstairs window (Crimp 2008, 19) in the mornings when Jenny drives back totally exhausted from the hospital. Chris also tries to change the topic when Jenny wants to talk to Clair. He changes the topic by saying, "I'll take your coat" (Crimp 2008, 19). Here Chris is both curious and anxious about what Jenny is going to talk to Clair. He feels so uneasy that he cannot even complete his question, and he can only say to Jenny: "Why have you –?" (Crimp 2008, 21). The power relation is restructured when Jenny interrupts Chris and attempts to defeat him by formulating his question as "Why have I come?" (Crimp 2008, 22).

Chris: Then why have you –?

Jenny: Yes?

Chris: Then why have you –?

Jenny: Yes? Come? Why have I come?
 Chris: Exactly.
 Clair: To talk to me.
 Chris: Mmm?
 Clair: To talk to me.
 Jenny: That's right.
 Chris: I'll take your coat.
 Jenny: No. Keep away.
 Chris: I'm sorry?
 Jenny: I said: keep away from me. (Crimp 2008, 21–22)

Clair's "To talk to me" shows her effort to oppress Chris, which causes Chris to lose power as the speech results in his alienation from the conversation. The use of "me" rather than "us" causes Chris to feel that he is not personally addressed. His feeling of alienation increases when Jenny asserts her power and authority by commanding Chris to keep away from her.

Though Jenny manages to stay calm when speaking to Clair about the atrocities in the secret war, her utterances carry a strong sense of annoyance. She complains that when she works on the night shift, her daytime sleep is disturbed by the couple's children playing in the garden. What prevents her from sleeping is not the noise the children make but the atrocities in her mind. However, as pointed out above, the characters are not concerned with the stories of others even if those stories are about a war which involves "attacking a city – pulverizing it –, in fact – yes – turning this city – the squares, the shops, the parks, the leisure centers and the schools – turning the whole thing into a fine grey dust" (Crimp 2008, 22). The violence of atrocities which the audience learns from Jenny's monologue is also uncovered in one of the limericks that his child recites to Chris:

Girl: There once was a child in a drain
 Who longed for the sound of the rain
 But when the storm broke
 The poor child awoke
 In a stream of unbearable pain. (Crimp 2008, 42)

Although Jenny emphasizes the traumatic and cruel events by the intensity of her language, Chris shows indifference towards it. He appears to be incapable of displaying any sense of sympathy or empathy to the horror stories that include the secret mission of Jenny's husband. He asks how the war is going as if it was an ordinary event: "How's the war? ... Going well? ... Going well, is it?" (Crimp 2008, 58). Likewise, Clair is quite surprised at Mohamed's calm speech about the torture in the prison. She says he is opening his heart to her "all quite normally – just a normal conversation" (Crimp 2008, 11) despite the torment he experienced in the cell. Similarly, Clair refers to a series of atrocities in a devastated city inside her where "the houses, the shops... minarets lay on the ground next to church steeples..." (Crimp 2008, 62). The city has turned into dust without any inhabitants to write about. Hence, she invents characters. Here, although Clair refers to a sequence of familiar scenes from the contemporary world, she does not go into details. She employs language as a mask to cover brutality and horror, retreating into her private world and creating characters and stories.

3 Conclusion

For Crimp, dialogue is naturally cruel: He proposes that “there is something inherently cruel about people talking to each other” (Sierz 2013, 88). He employs perfectly civilized and polite exchanges in order to suppress feelings of terror, disgust and hatred. All of the linguistic exchanges above show that Crimp expertly uses evasion, miscommunication, and incomprehension (Sierz 2013, 120). The dialogues consist of overlapping lines, hesitations, pauses and silences, interruptions, and repetitions. Each and every word may carry multiple meanings. On the surface, the exchanges are perfectly civilized and calm; however, beneath the lines there is a sense of violence, terror, and ruthless competition for power. The written text or the uttered words can only compromise an unexpected and negotiated meaning. To return to Bourdieu’s notion of “symbolic profit”, the characters’ utterances are both *signs of wealth* and *signs of authority*. Therefore, language functions more like a mechanism of power than a mere means of communication.

Crimp uncovers the sinister tone veiled under banality and politeness. A series of atrocities is highlighted underneath the civilized utterances. Ironically, the characters act as witnesses to certain atrocities, but at the same time, they ignore the crimes of violence that are committed before their eyes. In this respect, *The City* reminds the contemporary audiences of Harold Pinter’s *Ashes to Ashes*, in which the protagonist denies and censors any of the 20th- century atrocities, from the murder of Jewish or Bosnian people, to the atrocities in the Middle East. Like Pinter, Crimp also criticizes the self-censorship, ignorance, and complicity of the Western civilization. People are so indifferent to those atrocities that it is quite normal for them; as Clair says, “just like me talking to you now – about torture – about the bucket on the cement floor – all quite normal” (Crimp 2008, 11). His characters use language as a camouflage in order to veil the troublesome facts in their lives. Along with the characters’ anxiety and depression, the audiences also witness the major ethico-political despairs in today’s urban lifestyles.

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Kristina Kočan Šalamon

University of Maribor
Slovenia

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Disorientation and Disillusionment in Post-9/11 Poetry: A Thematic Reading

ABSTRACT

The paper examines the immediate responses that emerged in American poetry after the terrorist attacks on 11 September, 2001. The aim of the paper is not to summarize the tragic events of 9/11, but to show how poets reacted to the terrorist attacks. In response to 9/11, a great deal of poetry emerged that expresses the poetic and completely personal, intimate side of the crisis, and many printed publications appeared in which poets addressed 9/11. Although one can find a range of features in American poetry after the attacks, there are notable similarities among the poetry being produced. The post-9/11 poetry can be divided into thematic clusters. This paper is, however, limited to responses that deal only with feelings of disorientation, loss and despair after 9/11. Furthermore, the paper presents poetic reactions that involve a sense of disillusionment and the idea that everything changed after the attacks. Each thematic cluster offers examples of 9/11 poetry that are interpreted with the help of close reading.

Keywords: events of 9/11; contemporary American poetry; responses; trauma; crisis; close reading; thematic criticism

Dezorientacija in razočaranje v poeziji po 11. septembru 2001: Tematsko branje

POVZETEK

Namen članka je analiza in sistematična razčlenitev odzivov v Ameriki na teroristične napade, ki so se zgodili 11. septembra 2001 v New Yorku in Washingtonu D.C. Članek ne povzema samih dogodkov, temveč se osredotoča na posledice, ki so jih teroristični napadi imeli na sodobne ameriške pesnike. Kot odziv na napade je nastalo veliko poezije, ki je izražala pesniško in popolnoma osebno, celo intimno stran krize. Po dogodkih je tako izšlo tudi veliko tiskanih publikacij s poezijo, ki se je dotikala dogodkov 11. septembra 2001. Odzivi so v tej poeziji nadvse raznoliki, vseeno pa imajo pogosto nekatere stične točke in so zato lahko razdeljeni na tematske sklope. Ta članek se osredinja na dva tematska sklopa, in sicer na pesniške odzive, ki zajemajo občutke dezorientacije, izgube in obupa. V nadaljevanju članek zajame še tematski sklop, ki vključuje občutja razočaranja in idejo o nekem spremenjenem svetu. Oba tematska sklopa vsebujeta številne pesmi, ki so analizirane s pomočjo natančnega branja.

Ključne besede: 11. september 2001; sodobna ameriška poezija; odzivi; kriza; travma; natančno branje; tematska kritika

Disorientation and Disillusionment in Post-9/11 Poetry: A Thematic Reading

1 Introduction

Within weeks after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, in New York City, there was an astounding response among American poets,¹ and one of the initial responses was self-criticism and self-blame. Jeffrey Gray (2008, 265) remarks that the first reaction by writers was aimed at “striking a balance with the high-volume outrage of some radio and television commentators.” The *what-have-we-done-to-deserve-this* response was present in poetry too, but it was overpowered by “‘the-we-had-it-coming’ case” (Gray 2008, 265). Poets like Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Robert Pinsky, Robert Creeley, Lucille Clifton, Lucille Lang Day, Jean Valentine, Kimiko Hahn, Galway Kinnell, Tess Gallagher, Joy Harjo, Ruth Stone, Stephen Dunn, Molly Peacock, and Alicia Ostriker, both known and unknown, reacted to the tragic events by portraying a broad range of political and personal issues with much passion. Their intention was not to remain undecided and helpless but to contribute their share. The current paper is a part of an extensive study on poetic responses to 9/11, where the poems were classified according to thematic paradigms, yielding an increased understanding of the poets’ attitudes toward the problematic experience of 9/11. This paper will offer a detailed analysis of some of the ways through which selected American poets addressed the terror.

In effect, the events of 9/11 confronted poets with a sense of loss, general trauma, and, consequently, immense emotional pain. Allan Burns (2002, 83) comments:

Much of the world’s finest poetry has been written in response to loss, out of desire to offer tribute to the departed, to protest against fate, or to produce some “immortal” thing as compensation for the disappearance of something mortal. The elegiac impulse is as strong in American poetry as in any national poetry.

On the one hand, mournful reflections of loss are often found in post-9/11 poetry. Richard Gray demonstrates that, apart from the feeling of disorientation, which he believes to be one of the central consequences of the attacks, there are other similar emotional responses in the poetry after 9/11. He specifies these reactions as “a sense of loss and, occasionally, longing for a ‘dreamy, reposeful, inviting’ pre-lapsarian world, a ‘Delectable Land’ (to use Mark Twain’s phrase) now evidently gone with the wind” (Gray 2011, 14). Furthermore, some post-9/11 poetry was indeed intended as part of the process of healing and finding comfort, and Gray (2011, 18) concurs when he claims that to some extent “the role of poetry [was] testament and therapeutic practice.”

On the other hand, there were some immediate poetic responses to the attacks that absolutely lack self-reflexivity and call instead for final closure, for revenge and finding the culprits. Gray (2011, 190) notes:

In a climate of confusion, with the trauma of terrorism fueling a widespread desire for revenge, some poets appear to feel challenged, not just by the problem of how to imagine disaster, but by the possibility that what they say might be ignored or even suppressed.

¹ The selected contemporary American poets in this paper had previously published at least one poetry collection or had published poetry in literary journals; these poems about 9/11 are not the authors’ first publication.

Gray (2011, 190) continues that “there is an undercurrent of paranoid feeling running through some post-9/11 poetry, the suspicion that ‘they’ are out to suppress individual vision and voice.” However, poets that retain a critical stance remain the majority. Poetic responses involving spreading paranoia, and mimicking the patriotic reactions of the then politics and media are much scarcer. This paper, however, will focus on two kinds of poetic reflection. Firstly, the paper will examine the poetic responses that embrace a sense of disorientation, loss, despair and even disability. Secondly, it will closely look at responses that deal with the feeling of disillusionment and the impression that everything changed after the attacks. The paper follows a comparative literary approach that involves thematic criticism and that will be briefly introduced subsequently. Thematic criticism allows the generation of clusters or groups of poems sharing a common theme and can therefore be examined together. Moreover, the paper will offer a detailed analysis of selected examples of post-9/11 poetry with the help of close reading.

2 A Brief Overview of Thematic Criticism

When one wishes to exercise comparative criticism that enables the generation of clusters or groups of poems or other texts that share a common theme and can therefore be examined together, a researcher might employ the theoretical approach of thematic criticism, sometimes referred to as thematicism or thematics.² The approach has its beginnings in the 1950s and Northrop Frye’s seminal book *Anatomy of Criticism*, in which the Canadian literary critic and theorist sets out the Aristotelian aspect of “*dianoia*, the idea or poetic thought” (Frye 1973, 52), claiming that the best translation of the term is most likely “theme.” He calls literature in which idea or poetic thought is in the forefront “thematic.” Another early example of this literary criticism was Margaret Atwood’s 1972 book *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature*, which was of immense importance for the development of thematic criticism. It was the use of the term ‘thematic’ in the title of her book that helped coin the term and consequently popularized the concept of thematic criticism.³ Russell M. Brown (2001) concurs that “it was undoubtedly the appearance of the word ‘thematic’ in the subtitle of *Survival* that was responsible for ‘thematic criticism’ becoming in Canada the identifying tag for this group of critics.” 1970s Canada thus experienced a flowering of thematic criticism.

Moreover, in their “Introduction” to *Thematics: New Approaches*, editors Claude Bremond, Joshua Landy, and Thomas Pavel (1995, 1) claim that “the history of thematic criticism appears to fall into three distinct phases.” They roughly outline the first two phases as the “free-flowing and relatively positivistic form [which was later] swept away by the various formalisms” (Bremond, Landy, and Pavel 1995, 1). The third phase occurred in the 1990s, when thematics was “making a cautious return to a position of importance” (Bremond, Landy, and Pavel 1995, 1).⁴

However, thematicists like Farah Mendlesohn (2012, 125) claim that thematic criticism “is not a theoretical approach to fiction in itself, but can be situated within theoretical approaches such as modernism, deconstruction, postmodernism and structuralism.” Mendlesohn (2012, 125–26)

² I have described the approach in detail in my Ph.D. dissertation “Post-9/11 America: Poetic and Cultural Responses.” For further reference, see also Michelle Gadpaille’s (2014, 165–77) article “Thematics and its Aftermath: A Meditation on Atwood’s *Survival*” published in *Primerjalna književnost*.

³ Another influential work on thematic criticism was D.G. Jones’s *Butterfly on Rock: A Study of Themes and Images in Canadian Literature* (1970).

⁴ Nowadays, several critics employ thematic criticism in their scholarly work; in 2002, Allan Burns conducted a thematic reading of contemporary American poetry in his book *Thematic Guide to American Poetry*.

further explains that “thematic criticism can be understood as a deconstructionist route into a text’s deeper meaning [and it is also] a mode of reader response criticism [when the reader] brings to the text his or her own prior reading and may slot the text into a pattern of thematic reading which the author did not envisage.” Mendlesohn (2012, 126) agrees that thematic criticism serves well as a comparative approach, since “the very advantage of a thematic approach is that it can link a cluster of texts and allow each to be used as a foil or as a tool of criticism for the other.” In this paper, a common theme in all the selected poems is 9/11 or a linkage to the events of 9/11. The theme of 9/11 is therefore perceived as a meta-theme, and other subthemes are identified. The poems will be organized into clusters of these subthemes that were determined by the reader-researcher in her prior reading of the poems on 9/11.

Moreover, in the chapter “Theme and Interpretation” of the *The Return of Thematic Criticism*, Menachem Brinker (1993, 24) proposes that a theme “may be constructed or suggested by shorter segments of text,” which will also be evident within the thematic reading of post-9/11 poems in this thesis. Occasionally, shorter excerpts of poems will determine the prevalent theme.

Furthermore, a thematic interpretation of 9/11 poems becomes a filter through which the reader actively grasps the (potential) themes. For Mendlesohn (2012, 129), when thematic criticism is exploited “as a form of reader response [it can] demonstrate how a reader may be in charge of thematic interpretation.”

Undoubtedly, there has been a critique of thematic criticism. David Perkins (1993, 109) explains that thematic criticism has long been neglected and that “what literary historians ought to mean by a ‘theme’ is uncertain and disputed.” He generalizes that themes are usually not used “as synthesizing concepts” and that “authors and/or works are grouped by their periods, genre, nation, region, gender, social class, ethnic group, literary tradition, school, *epistème*, discursive system, and so on, but not by theme” (Perkins 1993, 111). Of course, he questions the reason behind such abandonment of the theme and ascribes the reason to the following:

That literary historians generally prefer other categories to thematic ones is due, ultimately, to the need to explain the literary series. A literary history must attempt not only to represent (narrate, describe) the past but also to account for it. The historian must show why texts acquired whatever characteristics they have and why the literary series took whatever direction it did. Virtually all explanation in literary history is contextual. (Perkins 1993, 112)

Brown (2001, n.p.) argues that thematicism is “inevitably reductive in that it does not adequately take into account the ways in which the fictional reality is communicated.” He claims that: “Aesthetically, the thematic perspective has proved increasingly unsatisfactory since it tends to focus on the historical or psychological genesis of the text, rather than on the text itself and its effects.”

Nevertheless, Perkins (1993, 113) emphasizes that themes remain interesting “as an alternative basis for literary histories” and denounces opinions like Brown’s by stressing, “If thematic literary histories isolate works from their total context, a theme, because it inheres in the content of works, can also be described as especially the point or moment at which the literature interacts with extraliterary conditions” (Perkins 1993, 113). He further expresses his concern that literary histories had for a long time been focusing on “almost everything except literature,” exemplifying the centers of attention with “political and social history, brief biographies of authors, summaries of work, and stories of ‘influence’” (Perkins 1993, 116). Therefore, Perkins (1993, 116) validates

the treatment of the theme: “Precisely because themes link works rather than authors, scholars have attempted to use themes to construct a literary history that overcomes these common objections, to create a discourse that engages as directly with the work as does literary criticism and yet is literary history.”

The paper does not aim to locate unique thematic features of a specific poem, but rather to determine features that unite several poems into a thematic cluster. The paper will present two thematic clusters that will be analyzed in detail in the following chapters. The boundaries between thematic clusters may, of course, appear pervious and dynamic; many of the poems would undoubtedly fit into more than one thematic group at once. However, each cluster includes those poems which most clearly qualify for a certain thematic group – whether explicitly and/or implicitly represented. Since thematic criticism deals with poems that share a common theme but differ in their use of style, tropes and figures of speech, the paper embraces an additional approach, which is the formalist approach of close reading in order to analyze formal elements in poetry based on internal evidence.

3 Disorientation, Loss and Despair After 9/11

After 9/11, *The New York Times* began to publish sketches of the lives lost during the attacks, glimpses into the victims’ lives, entitled “Portraits of Grief.”⁵ These small tributes to the people who died in the attacks were different from usual obituaries; they were intended to be more like personal remembrances of the victims, celebrating yet mourning the loss of these lives. The feeling of loss, not only of lives but also of American values, the feeling of safety, etc., was present in post-9/11 poetry, as well. When poets express loss, they often express an emotional pain or other powerful emotions that go hand in hand with the feeling of loss: hopelessness, despair, disorientation, even an inability to react. On 9/11, disorientation was strongly present because of the void that had suddenly emerged; people’s lives were taken, and there was a spatial void in the city: the Towers were suddenly absent. Jessica Zeltner (2012, 91) agrees that writers “share images and impressions of September 11 as well as feelings of insecurity and disorientation after this day.” The Towers were there for orientation in the city, and suddenly, as David Lehman (2002, 89) wrote in his poem “9/14/01”: “All you have to do is / look up and it’s not there,” and it is as if you have lost your way. Gray (2011, 182) reflects that “empty landscape left by the destruction of the Twin Towers becomes a visual equivalent of trauma, the moral and emotional vacuum that opens up after a moment of crisis.”

C. K. Williams (2001, 80–81), in his poem “War,” first published in the *New Yorker* on November 5, 2001, explores the absence, the vacuum or “nothingness” and the grief, which is one of the manifold reactions to loss.

Fall’s first freshness, strange: the seasons’ ceaseless wheel,
 starlings starting south, the leaves annealing, ready to release,
 yet still those columns of nothingness rise from their own ruins,
 their twisted carcasses of steel and ash still fume, and still,
 one by one, tacked up by hopeful lovers, husbands, wives, on walls,
 in hospitals, the absent faces wait, already tattering, fading, going out.

⁵ In 2002, a book *Portraits: 9/11/01: The Collected “Portraits of Grief” from The New York Times* was published by Times Books.

The poem is divided into three numbered parts, each part consisting of four tristichs, and each line is a long free verse line. In the first and second part of the poem, the poet refers to the history of wartime for the Mayan and Greek civilizations, when “kingdoms / constantly struggling for supremacy – would be disgraced and tortured” (Williams 2001, 80). In the third and last part of the poem, however, the poet lingers over the events of 9/11 by re-creating the fall atmosphere of “starlings starting south, the leaves annealing, ready to release,” and instantly contemplating the sudden absence: “those columns of nothingness” (Williams 2001, 81). Nature’s elements are reduced to the basic form of birds migrating and trees shedding leaves. The 9/11 events did occur in the fall of 2001; nevertheless, fall is often a symbol of transition, even the end of a season or a particular period, which is relevant to the situation, since the poet feels the end of something and/or the loss of someone. Because of the imagery employed, readers can feel the poet’s expression of gloom, despair, sadness and grief, since the experience of absence – not only of the absent towers but also of “absent faces” – has caused a void in the “hopeful lovers, husbands, wives” (Williams 2001, 81). It is as if these people do not notice the season changing outside, since they are preoccupied only with their loss. The poet is aware of “the non-linearity not only of the seasons but of the catastrophe at the heart of the poem” (Gray 2008, 272), but somehow nature’s rhythm is of no importance because “still those columns of nothingness rise from their own ruins” (Williams 2001, 81). The poet often uses alliteration and a loose consonance to intensify the rhythm, and engage the reader: “Fall’s first freshness, strange: the seasons’ ceaseless wheel” or “their twisted carcasses of steel and ash still fume, and still” (Williams 2001, 81). Jeffrey Gray (2008, 272) understands this structure as “the insistence on memory in the face of an ongoing rhythm.” The poet finishes the poem by implying in the last – italicized – lines of the poem that what follows is a time for sorrow and desolation: “*These fearful burdens to be borne, complicity, contrition, grief*” (Williams 2001, 81).

Similarly to Williams, Vicki Hudspith (2002, 32) uses the symbol of the seasons (fall and winter in her case) in her 9/11 poem “Nodding Cranes” but creates a different twist: fall declines winter:

No one wants to look at my disaster
It has become a construction site ...

My disaster is receding
It encompasses less and less of every block
Fewer streets know it each day ...

My disaster is still a disaster
But autumn is faithful and refuses winter
Its place ...

The recurring word throughout the poem is “disaster,” and often “my disaster.” Hudspith transforms the catastrophe of 9/11 into her personal traumatic event, and wants to be reminded of it daily in order not to feel disoriented. Therefore, “autumn is faithful and refuses winter / Its place” (Hudspith 2002, 32). She has no intention of erasing or diminishing her disaster, which is equal to the fall – in her case, probably because this was the time when the attacks took place. The speaker fears that she will not be able to measure her pain if “all the pieces are swept away”

by winter. In the last line of the poem, the speaker concludes by stating: “I have to rebuild my disaster” in order to know “what I know,” to be able to find direction. The reader is reminded of Stephen Dunn’s (2002, 3) poem “Grudges”, where the poet asks a rhetorical question: “Ground zero, is it possible to get lower?” Gray (2011, 181) believes that “In ‘Grudges,’ Stephen Dunn tries to measure the loss,” in a manner similar to Hudspith, in order to find orientation.

Hudspith’s poem consists of nine stanzas, each with three irregular lines, and the poet intertwines real descriptions of city blocks and streets with the unseen, like her disaster, horror but also the void. Nevertheless, the speaker is not passive and numb. She feels that her despair/disaster is crucial for her survival; she wishes to rebuild *it* – not the towers, but her loss. As Gray (2011, 182) remarks, “an appropriate measure of loss is empty space, a visual vacancy.”

Furthermore, in post 9/11 poetry, despair often resembles a sense of numbness, impotence and nothingness, with the only adequate reaction being sorrow. In her rather short poem “In the Burning Air,” Jean Valentine (2002, 29) reveals sadness as the centrality of the poem, but also of the 9/11 events:

In the burning air
nothing.

But on the ground
Let the sadness be
a woman and her spoon,
a wooden spoon,
and her chest, the broken
bowl.

The line “*Let the sadness be*” is italicized, indented, and therefore isolated on the page in order to emphasize that this is now the only entity that remains. The poet uses an open form and the language is compacted. The only interruption is the one indented line to show the disconnection, and the repetition of the word *spoon*, where the reader is forced by the combination of the line ending and the apposition to pause. The speaker equates sadness with a woman, her wooden spoon and broken bowl. As if the poet almost cannot find adequate language to express the nothingness, the comparison implies that a woman can provide some sort of nourishment with the wooden spoon, even though her bowl is broken. There is also a double meaning of the word *chest*; on the one side, her chest (the part of her body, where people feel physical pain due to the stress-induced sensation) can be the broken bowl; whereas on the other hand, the chest can be meant as a large wooden box where people store their belongings.

Moreover, sadness can provide comfort in the burning air, where there is nothing left. Gray (2011, 183) notices that “Valentine admits that she can see ‘nothing’ anywhere ‘In the Burning Air’ that surrounds her.” A sense of numbness is present in the poem, where the poet is more static than active.

Another poem where the speaker feels lost and disoriented is “Religious Art” by Charlie Smith (2002, 42). It is as if the speaker has to remind himself of his home and place; he presses hard against the ground to feel something familiar:

I press hard with my feet
against the earth and
call this fighting back. All yesterday
I walked around counting birds.
Trees, a spray of pebbles in the forecourt,
a dip the wind took about six

maintain the posts assigned, repel boarders.

The peculiar emptiness
in the mown hayfield this afternoon
we stood staring into – as a precaution – ...

However, the only safety they (the persona and the people around him) can experience is the staring into nothingness, “the peculiar emptiness.” If they do not move and keep fixing their gaze at “the grass shining and then going dull against / the fading light,” they will be protected, not only from the emptiness, but also from the loneliness, which is “like a family art” (Smith 2002, 42). The poet seeks comfort in nature by feeling the soil, counting birds, observing trees and the wind, and takes the reader along to the hayfield, where one can see the mown grass, possibly the last of the year. “The peculiar emptiness” of the mown grass might remind the reader of the demolished towers that fell just like these grass plants in the field, and there is nothing but absence.

Similarly to Williams, the poet offers in his poem an array of nature images, from visual (the general setting, the fading light, etc.), auditory (birds, wind), olfactory (the smell of peppers drying on the porch, then of hay) to tactile (touching the ground with his feet). All these images help readers to follow the slow pace of the poem. Moreover, the poem has an open form with irregular stanzas (of seven, six, one, and six lines), which makes the reader pause, possibly to reflect at certain points, especially at the isolated line, where the speaker introduces the notion of the “boarders.” Similarly to the comparison of the mown grass and the fallen towers, there is the possibility of a subtle analogy between the “boarders” and the people who lost their lives in the towers.

Not just the form, but also the use of punctuation – the use of dashes – creates opportunities for the reader to pause. The speaker seeks wariness in stopping and observing the surroundings, and perhaps believes this might offer the same to the reader.

After such traumatic events, horror and then hopelessness are common occurrences. In her poem “Her Very Eyes,” Kimiko Hahn (2002, 165) writes a poem of a hopeless mother who listens to her daughter explaining why her friend’s sister “cannot close her eyes”:

she sees bodies falling from the sky,
she sees bodies breaking through the glass atrium
or smashing on the pavement ...
And she hears them land in front of her
but cannot turn away when she closes her eyes.
And she doesn’t know what to do.

The irruption of 9/11 and witnessing the horrific plunges of people throwing themselves from the burning buildings are what tortures the girl, and she cannot look away. Occupying just one stanza of fifteen lines, the poem reveals the inability to react of all involved. The girl in the poem “doesn’t know what to do” (Hahn 2002, 165). Moreover, both the daughter and the mother are helpless about the girl’s trauma. Immediately on hearing that the girl “cannot close her eyes,” the mother offers a familiar explanation: “it must be asbestos irritation” (Hahn 2002, 165). When her daughter adds the unfamiliar information about “bodies falling from the sky,” the mother remains silent. She has no solution for the girl to stop seeing the horrific images. As Laura Frost (2008, 180) acknowledges in her article “Still Life, 9/11’s Falling Bodies”, “Psychological studies after 9/11 singled out witnessing falling people – live or on TV – as a major predictor of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD): this, of the many upsetting images from the day, had a lasting traumatic effect on some viewers.” This is what happened to the girl: she was traumatized and could hardly cope. Moreover, Zeltner (2012, 139) proposes that a trauma like 9/11 can evoke symptoms like “bewilderment and numbness that lead to speechlessness,” which happened to the mother and her daughter in the poem. The poem finishes with the lines, “This is what my daughter reports / upon coming home from school / last Tuesday” (Hahn 2002, 165), leaving the poem itself as a simple report and the reader as well as the mother in the poem unable to communicate because of the horrid images.

4 Disillusionment: Everything Has Changed

When the USA was faced with the attacks on the morning of September 11, 2001, it was a double shock. The initial shock was because of the atrocious terror act on American ground and the destruction of an iconic symbol of capitalist America – the Twin Towers, and of a representative symbol of military power – the Pentagon. Then, Americans felt shocked because of the “demolition of the fantasy life of the nation in that it punctured America’s belief in its inviolability and challenged its presumption of its innocence” (Gray 2011, 11). The reaction of many people after the attacks was overwhelming disillusionment, because “[i]nnocence [was] shattered, paradise [was] lost, thanks to a bewildering moment, a descent into darkness, the impact of crisis” (Gray 2011, 3). Zeltner (2012, 157) expands on the people’s perception of sudden change:

In the wake of 9/11, people have faced a situation of insecurity and the disruption of their daily routine. Thus, 9/11 can be seen as an event that gave rise to a major change, a deterioration from normality to fear, insecurity as well as national and international crises. The collapse of the towers left a world in decline. Daily life degraded into chaos; routine and order were suspended.

Several writers have elucidated the notion of complete change after the attacks in their poems, e.g. Joy Harjo (2002, 168) wrote her post-9/11 poem with the telling title “When the World As We Knew It Ended.”⁶ In the poem the speaker expects the disaster: “It was coming. / We had been watching since the eve of the missionaries in their / long and / solemn clothes, to see what would happen” (Harjo 2002, 168).

Analogously, in her poem “October,” Louise Glück (2006, 5–15) records what has or has not changed after the attacks. The rather long poem consists of six numbered sections of random

⁶ Carey Harrison contributed his poem “America everything has changed” for the anthology *110 Stories*. Stanley Plumly published his piece “The Day America Changed” in *September 11, 2001: American Writers Respond*, etc. In his poem “When the Skyline Crumbles,” Eliot Katz writes: “The world has changed, bro.”

lengths; however, the poet's attitude towards the change is different compared to Harjo. In part 1, the speaker is disillusioned because of the sudden change and therefore poses several questions, beginning in the first line: "Is it winter again, is it cold again" (Glück 2006, 5). However, there is only one question mark and that comes after the final question in the last lines of part 1: "didn't we plant seeds / weren't we necessary to the earth, / the vines, were they harvested?" (Glück 2006, 6). The poet does not insert a single terminal punctuation mark, except for the question mark at the end of the first part. This helps to show that the speaker is perplexed and at this point unable to offer answers. The speaker remembers what happened before the change when everything was still in order: "I remember how the earth felt, red and dense," but she is not aware of when she was "silenced" (Glück 2006, 5).

In part 2, it seems that the situation is becoming clearer for the persona, who observes: "I know what I see" (Glück 2006, 5). Moreover, the speaker now knows what caused the change: "violence has changed me" (Glück 2006, 7). In this part, the punctuation reverts to standard punctuation, which supports the idea of possessing some certainty. Repetition is a central literary device of part 2, and Glück uses it to emphasize her point that she now knows more, though she is still hurt: "It [summer] does me no good; violence has changed me" (Glück 2006, 7). Ann Keniston (2011, 665) concedes to such reading and claims that the persona implements a "sense of repetition and temporal disruption with the literal condition of coming after." In part 2, the speaker repeats the same word on several occasions (summer, violence, good, shine, sun, voice, day, night, etc.), as well as the sentence "violence has changed me":

Summer after summer has ended,
balm after violence:
it does me no good
to be good to me now;
violence has changed me.

The speaker's experience of violence and change is still personal, individual; the speaker portrays what altered her. Despite having some answers, the speaker remains distrustful. The second part closes with these lines: "Tell me I'm living, / I won't believe you" (Glück 2006, 7).

Finally in part 4, the speaker lists all the external changes:

The light has changed;
middle C is tuned darker now.
And the songs of morning sound over-rehearsed ...
The songs have changed; the unspeakable
has entered them ...
So much has changed ...
The songs have changed, but really they are still quite beautiful ...
And yet the notes recur. They hover oddly
in anticipation of silence.
The ear gets used to them.
The eye gets used to disappearances.

The entire poem is rather flat and somber in tone; Keniston (2011, 667) summarizes: “‘October’ in this way enacts a poetic endgame both tonally, through extreme flatness, and structurally, through an inability to progress.” The poem gains a more optimistic tone in part 5, where the speaker appears to be comforted by her craft: “you are not alone, / the poem said, / in the dark tunnel” (Glück 2006, 14). Keniston (2011, 667) adds: “By continuing to write, the poet affirms her entrapment in just the kind of hope she has abjured.” Markedly, a more hopeful tone appears in the closing lines of the poem, when the speaker is able to see beauty again; i.e. the beautiful moon that the speaker personifies and ascribes female gender: “my friend the moon rises: she is beautiful tonight, but when is she not beautiful?” (Glück 2006, 15).

Uniquely, Andrea Carter Brown (2002, 7–8) treated the theme of change in her commemorative poem “The Old Neighborhood”:

Where is the man who sold the best jelly donuts and coffee
you sipped raising a pastel blue Acropolis to your lips? Two

brothers who arrived in time for lunch with hot and cold
heroes where Liberty dead ends at the Hudson? ...

The cinnamon-skinned woman for whose roti people lined up
halfway down Church, the falafel cousins who remembered ...

I know none of their names, but I can see their faces clear

as I still see everything from that day as I ride away from
the place we once shared. Where are they now? And how?

The speaker is distressed because her neighborhood has changed after the attacks, and wishes to pay “tribute to the vanished vendors of the World Trade Center in precise ethnic detail” (Gray 2011, 181). Because the speaker offers these particularities of all the faces the speaker used to meet regularly on the streets, the reader can easily envision them as well. The details are mostly associated with various ethnic cuisines; relying on this imagery, the reader is also exposed to scents (coffee, cinnamon and other food) and tastes (jelly donuts, roti and falafel) to make the street people’s stories even more personal, although the speaker does not know their names. The poet combines the imagery in such a way that the reader can respond to one image in different ways: one can visually imagine the “cinnamon-skinned woman,” but at the same time smell and taste the cinnamon. Moreover, the poet employs several phrases that have special resonance and double meaning: “a pastel blue Acropolis,” “where Liberty dead ends at the Hudson,” “halfway down Church.” Both, Liberty and Church refer to the streets in Lower Manhattan; Acropolis is the area on a natural high point in Manhattan. However, all the words can be also explained with their literal meanings. Politics and religion meet at Liberty and Church; and ‘liberty’ is one of the political rallying cries of the young U.S. When liberty is said to “dead end” at the Hudson, the speaker does not refer only to a matter of the city street grid but to the fact that freedoms are restricted.

The form of the poem is a variation of a ghazal and contains fourteen couplets without rhyme and a strict rhythmic pattern, which in this poem is quite prosaic. The poetic form of the ghazal

originates in Arabic poetry and often expresses a painful experience because of loss or separation. Surely, the poet is separated from all these people with whom she once shared the area, and therefore the ghazal serves as an appropriate form. Moreover, it might be that the poet chose a poetic form from another ethnic environment in order to pay even greater homage to their memory, since they were all also members of other ethnic groups.

Moreover, although still full of questions, Shelley Stenhouse (2002, 18) offers a proviso to the situation in her post-9/11 poem “Circling”:

And where have the backyard birds gone?
The *yo babay mo-fo boom chicka* Jersey cars
don't blast around my block trying to park.
We'll never go back. It's so strange to be caught
in history, to be making history after just making loads
of unused imaginary money, men in blue jackets shouted,
traded, and it's gone and it's okay but I don't want to die.
I hope God is circling up there with those planes.
Patti was a good person and she died.

The speaker specifies the change in a more general manner (the missing birds, the silent cars, the generality of a historic moment, and portrayal of the change through the first person plural: “We'll never go back”), as well as in a personal way (the first person speaker; Patti – someone the speaker obviously knew – having passed away). Hence, as with Carter Brown's poem “The Old Neighborhood,” referring more to the community, Stenhouse's poem becomes a personal elegy. Gray (2011, 181) illuminates the poem by conveying that in such circumstances the poets often “find it difficult or even impossible to ‘tell you about’” the events. Therefore, “many poets feel that what they can do – and it is a great deal – is to honor the dead” (Gray 2011, 181). The elegiac part is brief in the poem, though; the speaker almost numbly states that Patti has died, but it is difficult for the speaker to clarify why Patti has died and where; it is difficult to depict the reality of the events. Moreover, the speaker seems disenchanted and fears for her own life, expressing the fear thus, “Lately I'm afraid of all sounds and the lack of sounds” and “I don't want to die” in “this big beautiful park,” which is the closing line of the poem. The poem creates a rather anxious tone, but also a tone of melancholy and disillusionment because of the change (the birds are gone; “God is probably passed out somewhere warm and dark”). The poem is written in a continuous form of just one block and no stanza breaks, which creates a narrative flow, revealing a certain progression in the speaker's story.

By the same token, Sharon Olinka's (2002, 76–77) poem “It Must Not Happen,” also written in a continuous form, yet in two blocks, expresses disappointment of the persona even in the title of the poem. Although the speaker is well aware that “[e]verything has burnt away,” and that “the bad dream / has entered us,” the speaker still prohibits “the mass burials” from happening. The persona is speaking in the first person, employing a conversational style (“wherever you [readers] are”) and casual, everyday diction (the persona is clipping her toenails, walking to the vegetable market, dreaming “of car keys, music, lipstick, movies, laughter”), which makes the tone intimate, as readers get a glimpse of the speaker's life. The tone changes in the poem and becomes at times ambiguous, since the persona resorts to the use of figurative language (comparing herself to water), yet still interchanging it with the simple diction and a somber tone:

“I have become water. / Everything has burned away.” (Olinka 2002, 77). In the closing lines, she calls for “[n]o more mass burials / by a harbor,” referring to the harbor of New York City. The mention of water, however, creates an optimistic tone, since water replenishes new life after the destruction.

Also referring to the main site of destruction, Robert Creeley (2002, 150) begins his post-9/11 poem “Ground Zero” with these opening lines:

What’s after or before
seems a dull locus now
as if there ever could be more

or less of what there is,
a life lived just because
it is a life if nothing more.

Creeley responds to the change caused by the attacks, which he equates with “a dull locus,” in his typical voice, using a short line, maintaining a certain tightness of the stanzas. Stephen Burt (2009, 256) evaluates Creeley’s style thus: “We recognize Creeley’s poems first by what they omit: he uses few long or rare words, no regular meters, and almost no metaphors.” Other features of his style evident in this poem are “parsimonious diction, strong enjambment, two- to four-line stanzas, and occasional rhyme” (Burt 2009, 256). Moreover, Gray (2011, 182) states that Creeley’s language in the poem “Ground Zero” is “terse and anonymous” and that the poet values loss as “empty space, a visual vacancy.” The poet introduces the visual emptiness that occurred in the title, remaining rather abstract in the rest of the poem. The change is presented through “after or before,” and it seems that this change feels organic and natural to the speaker, since all things are transient, even the speaker himself, and no matter what happens, there is a continuation:

The street goes by the door
just like it did before.
Years after I am dead,

there will be someone here instead
perhaps to open it,
look out to see what’s there –

even if nothing is,
or ever was,
or somehow all got lost.

Moreover, the speaker believes in the perpetuity of dreams: “Dreams may be all we have / whatever one believes / of worlds wherever they are” (Creeley 2002, 150). In this poem, dreams are treated differently than in the previous poem by Olinka. In Creeley’s poem, dreams are what one can hold on to “when all the strife is over / all the sad battles lost or won, / all turned to dust”

(Creeley 2002, 150). One could argue that there is a sense of displacement at work, a defense mechanism, when the persona shifts the mind to a new aim – to dreams in this case, wanting to replace the terror with an illusion. The speaker feels encouraged because of the dreams “we” are left with and cries: “Persist, go on, believe” (Creeley 2002, 150).

5 Conclusion

The paper presented poetic responses after the events of 9/11, such as the feelings of loss, disorientation and despair embracing poems that expressed emotional numbness, a lack of orientation and a sense of homelessness. The second part of the paper included post-9/11 poetry associated with disillusionment addressing the issue of a changed world. American poets who responded to 9/11 were bewildered and hurt at being confronted with a traumatic crisis that was difficult to manage, let alone to express in words. Through their craft, they attempted to provide instruments to resolve the unknown terror. Aimee Pozorski (2014, 122) claims that “[a]lthough not always reparative or redemptive, there is nonetheless something magical inherent in literary language, which is the ability to make the familiar unfamiliar and, conversely, the unfamiliar familiar again.” Despite the fact that a number of poets questioned the power of poetry in the wake of 9/11, many critics and poets corroborated that poetry can offer some sort of comfort, adding another dimension to the trauma after such a challenging moment in history. The paper is part of an extensive study that focused on portraying the varied poetic responses to 9/11, leaning on thematic criticism as a comparative approach for creating a collectivity of poems that differ in metrics, style, tropes and figures of speech. Individual poems that appeared in particular thematic clusters were then analyzed with the help of the interpretive method of close reading. On the whole, the poets managed to ensure a manifold palette of responses within American poetry “by acknowledging the human presence at the heart of the historical experience and announcing that presence in a single, separate voice” (Gray 2011, 192). Contemporary American poets translated the 9/11 trauma into individual and personal explanations of the crisis, and chose their own paths to manage the terror, relying on the “magical elements” of poetry.

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Ellen Maureen Taylor

University of Maine at Augusta
United States of America

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Personal Geographies: Poetic Lineage of American Poets Elizabeth Coatsworth and Kate Barnes

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the relationship between two 20th-century American poets, Elizabeth Coatsworth and her daughter, Kate Barnes. Both women mined their physical and personal geographies to create their work; both labored in the shadows of domineering literary husbands. Elizabeth's early poetry is economical in language, following literary conventions shaped by Eastern poets and Imagists of her era. Kate's work echoes her mother's painterly eye, yet is informed by the feminist poetry of her generation. Their dynamic relationship as mother and daughter, both struggling with service to the prevailing Western patriarchy, duties of domestication and docility, also inform their writing. This paper draws from Coatsworth's poems, essays, and memoir, and Barnes' poems, interviews, and epistolary archives, which shed light on her relationship with her renowned mother.

Keywords: American poets; feminism; imagism; confessional poetry; patriarchy; mother-daughter relationships

Osebne geografije: Pesniško sorodstvo Elizabeth Coatsworth in Kate Barnes

POVZETEK

Članek se pogloblja v odnos med dvema ameriškima pesnicama 20. stoletja, Elizabeth Coatsworth in njeno hčerjo Kate Barnes. Obe sta snov za svoje ustvarjanje črpali iz svojih fizičnih in osebnih geografij; obe sta ustvarjali v senci dominantnih soprogov. Za Elizabethino zgodnjo poezijo je značilen jezikovni minimalizem vzhodnjaške pesniške tradicije kot tudi njenih sodobnikov imagistov. V Katinem delu se materin vpliv, razviden v minimalističnem slikanju podob, spaja z vplivom feministične poezije njene generacije. V poeziji obeh se zrcali tudi dinamičen odnos med materjo in hčerjo ter soočanje z vlogo ženske v patriarhalni zahodni družbi, ki predvideva ponižnost in osredotočenost na dom in družino. Ugotovitve v članku se nanašajo na Coatsworthine pesmi, eseje in memoar, ter Barnesine pesmi, intervjuje in arhiv pisem, ki osvetljujejo odnos med njo in njeno znamenito materjo.

Ključne besede: ameriški pesniki; feminizem; imagizem; konfesionalna poezija; patriarhalnost; odnos mati-hči

Personal Geographies: Poetic Lineage of American Poets Elizabeth Coatsworth and Kate Barnes

1 Introduction: Coatsworth / Barnes Poetic Lineage

Kate Barnes (1932–2013), formerly of Appleton, Maine, was born into an extraordinary literary family: Her father, Henry Beston (1888–1968), was best known for his seminal nature book, *The Outermost House* (1928), and other works on the environment and man's role alongside. Kate's mother, Elizabeth Coatsworth (1893–1986), began her career as a poet, publishing her first collection, *Fox Footprints*, in 1923. These poems sprang from Coatsworth's travels through East Asia as a young girl in the early 20th century, riding donkeys and camels, walking paths of pilgrims, sleeping in hammocks, and lighting candles at temples. Elizabeth became celebrated as a children's writer, with *The Cat Who Went to Heaven* (1931 winner of the Newbery Medal for children's literature), and dozens of children's books, middlebrow novels, and essays, publishing over 90 books from her first collection of poetry to her final book in 1976, *Personal Geography*.

In *Words from the Frontier, Poetry in Maine*, Kate relates that much of her youth was spent at Chimney Farm in Maine, a farm that “only grew words” (2015, 1). She honors her mother for introducing her to literature: “I've had a great luxury in my life. I was brought up hearing a great deal of poetry thanks to my mother, who read aloud an enormous amount. And read lots of story poems to the children, exciting ones” (2015, 1). Kate grew into her poetic voice through her parents, her education, and like her mother, through travel and wide experience. She published a poem in the *New Yorker* when she was only 18, later wrote three acclaimed collections of poetry, and became the first poet laureate of Maine. Although her work has been shadowed by her parents, it has been praised by well-respected American poets such as John Ashbery, Robert Bly, and Maxine Kumin. Her range of subject matter, from admiring the muscled shape of a black horse between his carriage shafts, to describing a woman leaving an abusive marriage, demonstrates an attentive eye as well as an assertive feminist voice.

Both Coatsworth and Barnes look deeply at their regional landscapes and beyond. Czeslaw Milosz writes that “In old Arabic poetry, love, song, blood, and travel appear as the four basic desires of the human heart . . . thus travel is elevated to the dignity of the elementary needs of humankind” (1996, 73). Travel pushes people from their quotidian routines, and creates disorientation, which may realign one's visionary compass. But travel need not require a passport; travel of the heart may open up sites of resilience and wonder, and thus feed a poet's growth.

The story of mother and daughter – “essential, distorted, misused” wrote Adrienne Rich (1976) – is “the great unwritten story” (Ingman 1999, 1). Since that time, mother-daughter studies have grown from psychology (Gilligan 1982), to neuroscience (Cepelwicz 2016), yet few consider the complexities of historic and generational norms, literary trends and influences, and family dynamics.

This paper describes influences and parallels between Coatsworth and Barnes in their lives and poetry. Both held feminist ideologies, though both sacrificed some of their literary craft in the shadow of male literary partners. While the Coatsworth-Beston household may be described as deeply patriarchal, Barnes' marriage descended into domestic violence, described later in a series of poems. Both women were products of their respective generations, in terms of women's roles and literary trends. Finally, mother-daughter connections concerned both Elizabeth and Kate: both wrote poems about this visceral relationship.

2 Elizabeth Coatsworth: Global Travels and Personal Journeys

Elizabeth Coatsworth was born into a privileged family of grain merchants in Buffalo, NY, in 1893. She was the youngest daughter of two, and her parents, William and Ida, loved to travel. Elizabeth was five when the family went abroad for eight months. Even at this young age she later recalled, “I have definite memories of the spa to which we went in Germany, and of how nasty the waters tasted, and of Switzerland, and of Italy. The most vivid memories are of Vesuvius and then of Egypt, so strange and different that when I went there again twenty five years later, it was as if I had been away only two weeks” (*Personal Geography*, 1976, 5). This early indoctrination to the thrill of travel informed the remainder of her life, and her “vivid memories” fed her writing.

Ten years later, Elizabeth writes of Mexico, “how many sites we explored, even Monte Alban, at that time not yet been excavated except for one trench lined with ugly figures which they now say were of dead captives. It was my first long horseback ride, and I loved seeing the world from the saddle” (1976, 6). Seeing the world from various vantages, traveling on camel, mule, steamship, and train, became her visionary and literary opiate.

When she was 19 years old, her father committed suicide, a death recorded as accidental and which she did not name accurately until she was in her 70s. *Personal Geography* lists this event in “General Chronology” as “Father died, gave up home in Buffalo” (1976, 185). In her later years, Elizabeth admitted her father’s death was not an accident and she suffered a great deal from that shock. Kate writes in a letter, “He told her, before he shot himself, how much he loved her, & that she was his favorite child. . . She grieved forever.”¹

At the time of this tragedy Elizabeth was at Vassar, an exclusive women’s college designed to provide “young women a liberal arts education equal to the best male colleges” of the day, which offered courses in “physical education, geology, astronomy, music, mathematics, and chemistry, taught by leading scholars” (Vassar 2016). Aside from a semester off to grieve her father’s passing, her Vassar years (1911–1915) shaped her intellectual and artistic sensibilities. This period also marked the formation of the Imagist movement in poetry, coined by Ezra Pound and hailed by Amy Lowell. Although much of Coatsworth’s work comes later, in it we see principles such as transparent language, focus on image in the natural world, as well as “poetry that is hard and clear, never blurred nor indefinite” (Poetry Foundation 2016).

During her Vassar years, Coatsworth began writing in earnest. Yet the principal trigger for her work was travel. During a summer walking trip in England, she “began to write poetry with real zest” (*Personal Geography*, 1976, 185), a craft that continued into her ninth decade. Upon her graduation, Elizabeth moved to New York City to pursue a Masters at Columbia, then returned to live with her mother and sister in Massachusetts. This sojourn at the family home was brief, as her mother had planned an extended trip: Ida took her two daughters across the Far East and to Hawaii. Elizabeth’s summary of 1916–18 includes “Japan, China, the Philippines, Java, Siam... In Korea to Diamond Mountains, with 24 coolies” (1976, 185).

¹ Barnes, K. Letter to Eleanor Mattern, July 7, 1997. Mattern was a close friend to whom Kate wrote several lengthy letters a week, reflecting on her life and sharing her work, for over a dozen years. This author had access to that material during the summer of 2016. In September of 2016 the archive was closed to protect personal information.

Elizabeth was tall (five foot eleven inches) and adventurous. While Ida would rest in the afternoons on their long trips aboard, the two daughters would seek their own games: “While their mother stayed at a grand hotel in Peking or Shanghai, playing bridge or mah-jong with the other expatriate widows, Elizabeth and Margaret traveled into the hinterlands, hiring sampans, camels or horses, and sometimes venturing where no white woman had ever been seen” (*Friends of Henry Beston*). These impressions find form in her first book of poems, *Fox Footprints* (1923).

Fox Footprints shows a break from the rhyming verse of her generation’s traditional poetry, and attention to new Imagist principles as well as familiarity with Eastern poetry. The opening poem, “Moon Over Japan” (1923, 3), sets the tone for the entire collection:

Moon over Japan
White butterfly moon . . .
The waters wash against sacred islands
Where steps lead to the sea
Where neither death nor birth is permitted,
Where the heavy lidded Buddhas dream
To the sound of the cuckoos’ call.

Repetition and image drive the poem, like a mantra, and well-paced lines rely on rhythm rather than rhyme. Three consecutive “wheres” bring the reader’s eye into the scene, as the speaker describes the landscape with the simplicity of a Japanese sketch. Although “waters wash,” “steps lead,” “Buddhas dream” and “cuckoos’ call,” a stasis hangs, as “neither death nor birth is permitted.” The poem continues:

The whitened mists lie adrift among pine trees
And steal the color from the bright-leaved maples
On the mountains where the deer pasture and the monkeys
sleep among the branches;

Subtle internal rhyme (mists / adrift), and brushes of color help paint this picture of quiet isolation, where deer and monkey roam. Coatsworth’s language is translucent, with soft words making a quiet pulse. Only at the end do humans enter:

And in the villages
The houses are powdered with mother-of-pearl
And the white wings of moon butterflies
Flicker down the streets
Brushing into darkness the useless round lanterns in the
hands of girls.

As in many Japanese poems, the primary object of the poet’s gaze is nature. Even domestic spaces are dusted with mother-of pearl, and butterflies extinguish “useless” lanterns of village girls. We can surmise that Elizabeth was familiar with Japanese poetry,² as other poems in this collection

² Three collections had come out during her Vassar years: Basil Hall Chamberlain, *Japanese Poetry* (London: John Murray, 1911); William N. Porter, *A Year of Japanese Epigrams* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911); Yone Noguchi, *The Spirit of Japanese Poetry*, Wisdom of the East Series (London: J. Murray, 1914).

illustrate Eastern forms, as well as her commitment to clear language, organic rhythm, and attention to image.

“At the Bridge-of-Heaven” (1923, 9), although four lines, is reminiscent of haiku:

Slantwise along the shore
 The low waves break –
 Sharp is the sound
 Like a quickly opened fan.

The dash recalls Emily Dickinson’s work, as well as the attention to a slant (“Tell the truth but tell it slant” Dickinson poem, 1263). The distillation of a moment, and the juxtaposition of nature and a human gesture, e.g. the waves breaking and the sound of a woman’s fan opening, show attention to Japanese form and poetic oppositions (Henderson 1958, 6).

In January of 1929, after ten years of correspondence, Elizabeth became engaged to Henry Beston, celebrated author of *The Outermost House*. They married in June. Elizabeth was 36 and Henry forty one. “In 1929 came a break in my life. Travel had been my greatest joy. It continued to have a place, but the focus on my life changed. Marriage was a deeper fulfillment, the birth of a child more exciting than any journey” (1976, 109). What follows is a classic tale of domestication: Once married, the couple had two daughters, Meg and Catherine (known as Kate) in just over two years. When Kate was born, Elizabeth was already 39; she and Henry had just bought Chimney Farm in Maine, which would become their literary and domestic center. She writes, “we carried her [Kate] to Chimney Farm...in a market basket padded and lined with rose-sprigged dimity” (1976, 110). This may be a romanticized view of carrying her new born daughter to their farm. The children brought new demands to their household, and they were for Elizabeth alone to bear. Though she writes of this role as a rewarding one, letters from her daughter Kate later reveal a more complex period of adjustment and consistent sacrifice for her husband’s career.

Their arrangement, Kate recalled,

was tacit and deep, and affected all of us. Interrupting my father was absolutely out of the question. He needed quiet seclusion, and he got it, often by having a separate outbuilding to write in. But my mother’s work, as though it were somehow less important, could be interrupted by any of us; and it was, constantly. (*Friends of Henry Beston* web site)

Early in their marriage, Elizabeth writes, “I say that almost everywhere there is beauty enough to fill a person’s life if one would only be sensitive enough to it” (1976, 110). Henry disagrees with her poetic lens: “Henry says No: that broken beauty is only a torment, that one must have a whole beauty with man living in relation to it.” His belief in unsullied nature, recorded in several naturalist books, is seen here. He goes on to tell Elizabeth that of the recent painting exhibit they visited, the only paintings of power were still-lives, without human intervention. (He neglects to consider the painter who arranged the still lifes, chose the colors, and the texture to bring them to canvas). Elizabeth describes one day as they are driving “past run-down residence districts and the wastes for the city dump over the blue bay; . . . I remember the blowing manes of dump horses on a background of gas tanks and blue water. And something in me cries, this is beautiful too, this is strange and beautiful” (1976, 111). Here we hear echoes of William Carlos Williams, Amy Lowell, and H.D (Hilda Doolittle), all proponents of imagism. But we hear something else: a woman asking for her vision to be validated.

Is it because I am a woman that I accept what crumbs I may have . . . ? But Henry will not compromise; more foolish or wise, he demands a harmony of elements, and to this unwillingness to accept the slurred and scratchy outlines of the usual suburban landscape, I owe the weeks at . . . the farm (1976, 111)

Yet the farm and her daughters fed her poetry. In addition to prolific young adult books which kept bills paid, Elizabeth wrote poems detailing rural rituals of plowing fields and bringing in hay, and of her children. In *Advice to a Daughter* (1942), she writes: “To be clear glass, / to be clean water – / That is beautiful, my daughter” (1942, 51). Later in the collection, *Advice to Daughters* (now plural) appears, “Learn soon to hear the sea / that sounds in the sea-shell, / Learn soon to see the sky / In any puddle’s glass” (1942, 57). These lines double as advice to a poet as well as daughters, to be transparent, to listen to nature, to notice reflections. Her use of assonance, “Learn soon to . . .” and repetition illustrate Coatsworth’s ear as well as her eye.

Her recorded memories of her marriage are more restrained. Henry needs his quiet, and Elizabeth works to accommodate this. Kate writes in a letter³ ten years after her mother’s passing,

Mother had once gone to a psychiatrist in Boston when Meg was two or three, seeking advice about whether to divorce our father ‘because’ said Meg ‘of what his rages were doing to me.’ The psychiatrist told her that a child needs a father, that even a bad father is better than none at all. Oh, our poor mother.

This serves to remind us that Elizabeth was functioning in a deeply patriarchal household and culture, a force her daughter would struggle more openly against.

3 Kate Barnes: Travels and Travails of the Heart

Chimney Farm, in Maine, where Kate was carried in a basket, is a bucolic setting with woodland deer and lakeside loon as neighbors. There began Kate’s education as a poet, living among walls of books and the ebb and flow of nearby tides. Though she would leave Maine for boarding school, trips abroad, college and married life in California, she returned to nurse her mother through her final decade.

Daughters Meg and Kate were late arrivals in Elizabeth and Henry’s lives. Henry was turned to the rhythms of his hard-won sentences, not domestic interruptions of fussy babies and demanding toddlers. He would take to his study while Elizabeth would tend the children and write at the kitchen, her sentences flowing easily while his were resistant. Kate describes these contrasting writing habits and rhythms in “At Home” (*Where the Deer Were*, 1994, 26):

My mother, that feast of light, has always sat down,
composed herself, and written poetry, hardly
reworking any, just the way she used to
tell us that Chinese painters painted; first they
sat for days on the hillside watching the rabbits,
and then they went home, they set out ink and paper,
meditated and only then picked up their brushes
to catch the lift of a rabbit in mid-hop.

³ Barnes, K. Letter to Eleanor Mattern, July 23, 1996.

Henry would labor for hours, words coming slowly, if at all:

The hand moved slowly back and forth
and the floor below was white with sheets of paper
each carrying a rejected phrase or two
as he struggled all morning to finish one sentence.

The yin and yang of their writing styles was also the balance of their marriage; the household was tense for the girls, who were swept off to summer camps and boarding schools. Yet at home, Elizabeth's peaceful presence created a stillness that Kate admired: "She was so intelligent, so very kind, and more fun to be with than anyone else in the world. She was always so very alive, so vital" (*Friends of Henry Beston* web site).

Elizabeth passed down the lessons of her Far Eastern travels to her daughters; the zen of trusting observation to inform lines and verse, to create an image. She read to the girls regularly; this auditory education informed Kate's ear and poetry, which is rich in "transforming speech out of resonant quiet" (Creeley, endorsement of *Where the Deer Were*). Elizabeth modeled writing and reading to her children, yet she was modest about her own achievements. In an interview about her literary lineage, Kate recalls, "You know, my mother never, never blew her own horn. But she did tell me once that in 1929 she had more poems published than any other serious American poet... She wrote so much, and so well; the quality was always there" (*Friends of Henry Beston*).

After marriage, Elizabeth switched from poetry to writing more lucrative children's books, occasional essays, and middlebrow novels. Whatever she was writing, she showed her daughters how to incorporate writing into everyday life among the domestic rhythms. In an interview for *The Writers' Almanac* (2015), Barnes reports:

I did have two necessary heart's affections in place, a love of poetry itself and a love of language. I also had, from watching my poet mother, some sense of the way people write what wells up in them and then work hard to bring it to completion. I understood that poems never just flow (or hardly ever), and if one does come that way it's a gift, a recompense for the concentrated work we've already done.

Kate would go off to high school Emma Willard in Troy, NY, a selective girls' boarding school, where she made lifelong friends and nurtured her love of writing, drawing, and all things horses. She had started there a year early, and also skipped her junior year: "Both these things were my mother's idea," she shares in a letter.⁴ She had been given an IQ test, and came out in the first 1%; thus she was deemed fit to begin college.

High school was not particularly challenging, and Kate was not a stellar student. In this she disappointed her mother, or so she believed: She writes, "I suppose the difficulty in school was about her expectation that I would be more like her – the head girl, who loved school and her work, was the best student. I was more like my father in school, all too quick with terrible work habits."⁵ Later in the same letter, she shares that her mother had warned her: "You must guard against the part of you that is your father." Being warned against adopting habits from Henry was harsh, as Kate aligned herself with her mother; she admired her tranquility in her writing habits and in her life. Henry's mercurial nature and labored writing habits made a tense

⁴ Barnes, K. Letter to Eleanor Mattern, July 7, 1997.

⁵ Barnes, K. Letter to Eleanor Mattern, July 7, 1997.

household: The letter goes on to say, “Home life was certainly difficult... her instincts might well be to get her children out of that atmosphere.”

Kate chose to move far from Maine – to California, to attend Scripps Women’s College. Founded by newspaper entrepreneur and philanthropist Ellen Browning Scripps in 1926, this college was designed to combine art and intellectual engagement (Scripps Women’s College 2016). It’s a long way from Elizabeth’s alma mater, Vassar, but both colleges were, at that time, exclusive to women and highly selective.

In California, Kate’s parents sent her \$30.00 a month for incidentals, a fair figure for the times, yet she used this money to rent a horse and spent her free time cantering through the countryside. “It was a drunkenness of such joy as I had never known ... I just ate that landscape up. I couldn’t get enough” (Payne 2016, 277). It was there that Kate met Dick Barnes, himself a horse man and an aspiring poet. He was also a scholar of Renaissance poetry, a musician, student of theology, and she fell for him – hard. They had a quick courtship and subsequent marriage, arranged with efficiency after Kate’s graduation in 1953: She was only twenty one.

Before Kate’s marriage, Elizabeth decided she and Kate should go off “for a small European fling before she settled down to be a housewife” (Coatsworth 1976, 134). In Scandinavia, Elizabeth and Kate found themselves wandering among the tombs of the Danes. They stopped at one barrow, and “we lay flat, gazing up at the sky. Two skylarks were singing against the blue, straight overhead, above our magic carpet. I remember it all,” writes Elizabeth, “because I was so happy – happy without an especial reason, perhaps the best kind of happiness” (1976, 135). Perhaps Elizabeth knew that once married and settled down as a “housewife,” the mother-daughter relationship would change; there would be less freedom for such adventure apart from the spouses and children who were likely to follow.

After their marriage, Kate and Dick Barnes settled in California where he began a job teaching medieval and renaissance literature at Paloma College. In photos from this time, we see the Bohemian couple, Kate often with flowers in her hair and astride some horse. She had created the life she dreamed of as a child, riding across the mountains and through rivers. Soon she was pregnant with her first child, and regularly thereafter, having three children in four years and a brief hiatus before her fourth.

In a prose poem, “Early Summer,” a draft of which is in a letter.⁶ she describes these times:

When I was a young mother, far from here, I sometimes rode my horse alone in the mountains all day, leaving my children with the cleaning woman. I passed those hours in a kind of solitary ecstasy ... but the landscape was only a box to hold my real happiness, the inner joy I wasn’t even thinking about, the loves I took so for granted – the house I had left, the lively nest, the wide bed, the married name, the shadowy matrix, the door standing open behind me.

The uneasy management of her role as wife and mother, with her independent spirit is shown here; the “solitary ecstasy” at odds with motherhood. The “shadowy matrix” suggests something else, a net or web which inhibits her freedom. The speaker here does not subordinate her needs to her husband and children; she abandons the “ideal mother myth” (Phillips 1991, 190) to explore her own happiness.

⁶ Barnes, K. Letter to Eleanor Mattern, May 22, 1997.

If imagism was the shift in poetry that marked Elizabeth's generation, Kate was awash in confessional poetry and work coming from the Women's Movement sweeping through the United States. Kate cites Adrienne Rich in her letters of this time, quoting lines from *Snapshots from a Daughter-in-Law*: "glitter in fragments and rough drafts."⁷ Experiences particular to women, often omitted or distorted in the literary canon, began to find a place (if only a niche), and Kate Barnes was poised to position herself there. Her letters quote from other American poets such as Sharon Olds, Maxine Kumin, and Susan Griffin, all writing of gendered roles, struggles of mothering, marriage, and myths of womanhood. Like Rich, who explored the distance between her reality as a mother and the myths fostered by medical and social institutions, until this time Kate had found her experiences unrepresented in the literature.

Her marriage to Dick was turbulent and increasingly violent. While she was living a dream of riding into the mountains for long afternoons, eventually she would need to return home and face the husband and children she left behind. It was challenging for her to keep up the pretense of being a happy housewife to her mother. After a winter Elizabeth spent with the family in California, Kate worried:⁸

I knew it wouldn't mix, the way she thought of me – the professor's wife – and the way I really was, a confused messy person in a difficult marriage ... if my mother came, I would have to pretend to, try to give the appearance ... I suffered because I didn't feel good enough for her. Most of the time I wasn't even conscious of that feeling. It was after the divorce that it became conscious.

The marriage and children that Kate had created with Dick replicated a paradigm chosen late by Elizabeth (and the majority of women in their social milieu), asserting the primacy of domesticity and family. Writing and creative self-expression was secondary, and only as it fit around needs of the husband, house, and children. Kate already resisted the ideal mother myth; she also resisted the "ideal daughter myth" (Phillips 1991, 191). She struggled with her weight, she was messy, her marriage was shattering; she dressed in long, flowing tunics, whereas the ideal daughter is "slim, beautiful, heterosexual, successful, well-dressed" (1991, 191). The schism between an unattainable ideal and her harsh reality was hidden for many years, and only expressed later in poems and letters, following her mother's death.

After her divorce from Dick in the early 1970s, Kate avoided communication with her mother. Over a decade later she writes about this relative silence: "One reason I got so bad in those last years was that I had always felt acceptable in my role as a professor's wife. I did not feel acceptable to my mother as a divorcée."⁹ Yet she returned to Maine in 1977 to help care for her mother, who had been diagnosed with leukemia ten years before, but had been managing her illness drinking violet leaf tea (an alleged natural treatment for cancer). She achieved a remission that lasted until her death at the age of 93. During Elizabeth's last nine years, Kate spent time with her aging mother, and found peace in whatever distance the years had cleft. This proximal availability, at a point in both women's lives when they were unencumbered with wifely duties, may have returned that state of happiness they shared on their trip to Europe before Kate's marriage, enjoying picnics and each other's company. Barnes writes:

⁷ Barnes, K. Letter to Eleanor Mattern, April 17, 1996.

⁸ Barnes, K. Letter to Eleanor Mattern, July 7, 1997.

⁹ Barnes, K. Letter to Eleanor Mattern, July 7, 1997.

I am so grateful for those last nine years. In old age we often see – and appreciate, love and the naked spirit. But during those years the part in me that winced and defended itself from her (silently) was still there. Now I'm like someone knocking down an old wall that sometimes comes apart stone by stone – and other times in an exciting avalanche of rubble.¹⁰

Yet it may have been the liberation of her mother's passing that fueled her literary output. Margo Perin, editor of *How I Learned to Cook* (2004), writes how she herself struggled to find women writers who would agree to have their work included in her collection: many "said they couldn't tell their stories until their mothers were dead" (2004, 2). Fear of disappointing her mother, or perhaps living in the shadow of her mother's enormous light, Kate wrote very little from the time she was married, until after her mother's death in 1986. Nevertheless, she writes that Elizabeth's "dearest wish was that I should be a writer as she was – but I didn't, couldn't, get a book out while she was alive. That's so sad."¹¹

In the mid-1990s, Kate began work on a series that delves into her marriage matrix. Twelve linked poems, titled "The Rhetoric of Fiction" (in *New England Review*, 1994, and *Kneeling Orion*, 2004) describe a tumultuous relationship which follows a narrative arc beginning with courtship and ending with separation. A third person speaker shapes the narrative, with limited perspective from the woman's point of view.

In the first poem, "The Lion," (Barnes 2004, 107) "a man and woman / were walking under the oak trees." The woman is swept into his spell and thinks "that an angel visiting earth would talk / exactly like him." The infatuation foreshadows her subsequent devotion. "Then he bought a bottle / of sweet, cheap muscatel / ... and they sat down to drink it / in the fresh grass by the stream." (The alcohol also forecasts a frequent unwelcome guest in their relationship.) Later, after they get up to leave, "An owl, further up the canyon, / shrieked among the leaves," / and the blood on the grass told its own story."

Blood will leave a stain in later poems, as the marriage devolves. But first there is neglect: The fourth poem, "Early Sunlight," (2004, 111) opens: "Married so few years, she begged him to stay home at night / a least sometimes – maybe three times a week?" The woman pleases, while the man goes out to Mexican bars that she tries to imagine: "the gritty wind at the street corners / the old snapshot of copulating donkeys stuck to the mirror, / the barmaids."

Meanwhile, the woman sits at the piano with her oldest child on her lap, "the next / hanging onto the bench, / the third poised / inside her, head down, ready to dive / into this world." Soon the next baby is born and the woman nurses him by the window, watching crows and cottonwoods:

The baby makes
his tiny whimpers of pleasure. She looks over
at her husband lying asleep across the bed.
No fear of waking him – he's just come in.
He is restless lately, and he seldom
gets home before dawn.

¹⁰ Barnes, K. Letter to Eleanor Mattern, July 23, 1997

¹¹ Barnes, K. Letter to Eleanor Mattern, July 17, 1997

The language is translucent, nothing extraneous, nor cloudy imagery. The reader can see the domestic scene, but something is not right. The mother breast-feeds her infant while her husband is passed out in the morning light. Later, “In the eaves of the house, the little children stand up / in their cribs in the next room, the horses walk / across the slope throwing long shadows.”

The contrast between light and dark, between starting the day and ending the night, between innocence and tired knowledge, builds. The infant’s content whimper and his father’s drunken sleep are vectors connected by the nursing mother. By the seventh poem in the series, “The Rat in the Wall” (2004, 116), the quiet woman can no longer pretend life:

When she was thirty, X felt as though she had died.
 For the place she came from there were many words
 such as *blowing curtains, ash trees, weathervanes, stars.*
 For the place she went into there are no words.
 The people cannot speak, they shriek or mew.

Three of these five lines end with periods, giving a sense of exhaustion. The juxtaposition between descriptive language (i.e., the poet’s task) and its substitute: a shriek or mew, both reactions to fear, offer another contrast in the series, further separating the man and the woman who opened the tale lying down by the river. In the second stanza “She can’t help trying to talk,” although her voice is ignored. Others hear “only the faint squeaking of a rat in the wall.” She is an annoyance.

How will this story end? Badly. The next poem, “The Glass Breast” (2004, 117), shows the woman with a grocery list, while the man

is driving off to teach with a brandy bottle
 in a paper bag for breakfast. His tenure
 has been postponed for a year. (Too much swearing
 in class.) He is not happy. He breaks
 furniture now and then, he puts his fist
 through a wall, it does not seem as though
 he enjoys his home life much.

The escalation of violence is not surprising to the reader, yet the woman has come to expect it; she may not have noticed the temperature rising to a boiling point. The parenthetical aside, like a whisper to the reader, shows us his outbursts have leaked into his work. With his teaching career in jeopardy, instead of saving his job, he decides to change it:

He tells his wife
 he thinks he’ll get a job
 operating heavy equipment. Fuck teaching. He almost never
 gets home before three in the morning.

At which hour,
 his wife is astonished to find herself
 pretending to be asleep.

The turning point for the woman is feigned sleep; she has learned her passive defense in pre-dawn hours. Meanwhile “she goes on planting / thyme and lavender in the sandy soil / at the edge of her rock garden” maintaining a creative impulse against all odds.

By the tenth poem in the series, “In the Corner” (2004, 120, 121), blood is again a result of their interaction, but this time:

They are off in the corner
of the bedroom floor, red tiles
ten inches square, and he is banging
her head on them.

She has gone
limp, she has learned better
than to struggle –
but she lets
her sobs escape, trying instinctively
to rouse his pity.

The man has no pity to rouse. As in many abusive relationships, the roots are deep and wide, the object of abuse often a substitute for another rage. The use of white space here, the breath between the words, adds drama to the scene,

As he hits her,
he yells in her face, over and over, be more
submissive, dammit, be more
submissive,
and she
can say nothing. She thinks,
but I am utterly
submissive.

It's not
true. She has never given up
a stubbornness, an unthinking assumption
that she exists, something she doesn't even
know she has – although he
seems to have noticed it.

Although the violence has peaked with physical blows, the woman's spark flames. She won't allow him to obliterate her spirit; her autonomy lives in a quiet place, where it is safe. Her language has returned. This poem moves the monosyllabic or two-syllable words of earlier poems in the series, to deliberate diction: “stubbornness” and “unthinking assumption.” The scene ends with him passed out, her crawling slowly to bed:

her eyes wide open,
staring at nothing, her thoughts

veering in all directions –
 like the last gusts in a storm,
 full of torn off twigs and leaves.

The series' narrative climax drops and resolution is swift. The eleventh poem, "Inside the Engraving" (2004, 122), is only twelve lines, and shows the woman driving a cart across a ridge above a lake, with light-streaked clouds. This is her new landscape, where she is safe, in a hymn, "for ever and ever, amen." The description mirrors Barnes' farm in Maine, where she moved after leaving her marriage in California. Here, she is both inside the engraving, and looking at it.

The final poem, "The Dining Car" (2004, 123, 124), moves into the future: "The curtains close jerkily, this particular play is over / . . . the illusion / of a green heaven, all the painted landscapes, the clouds in tatters / trailing off down a river valley – we will have no more of it!" (2004, 123). Tying back to the title of the series, "The Rhetoric of Fiction," Barnes now refers to the whole love affair like a play which has just concluded the final act. The "illusions" of the woman have now been recognized, and there is not even a tiny applause. But it's not really over; we still have the act of the imagination, which never takes a final bow:

... they might meet again, even just once (perhaps
 in the dining room of a train
 crossing the Rockies), and they,
 two gray-haired people, might sit at a clean, white tablecloth
 a last time across from one another.

The romantic notion of meeting on a train, away from a domestic anchor, is suitable for this tumultuous couple. The public arena of the dining car would likely shield her from hostile behavior. Their gray hair signals age, perhaps wisdom, and certainly time which allegedly heals all wounds, and suggests a potentially peaceful reunion.

At first, they are astonished
 to run into one another like this.
 He orders coffee, she tea. They begin speaking
 of old friends, then they talk a little
 about their grown children, avoiding everything painful
 in their lives. "Let's not start blaming
 anyone," she tells herself, let's listen
 charitably.

The cordial nature of the imagined interaction shows the careful negotiation of topics and words. Keeping the conversation neutral, avoiding "painful" memories, acting "charitably," shows amicability in the dining car sanctuary. But she cannot drop her true nature:

She would still love
 just to mention the warm stars like white match flares
 over the Sonora desert, each one clearly
 a universe in itself (2004, 123)

Swiftly the speaker returns to the starry-eyed romantic girl, who believed the man was an angel sent from God: “But never mind that, never mind / the hunger she has carried for years / for some kind of blessing from him, a last word / that’s a kind word.” She wants to revise their final scene, rewrite the ending, replace fury with kindness. She imagines him pouring a big splash of brandy into his coffee (she has not completely lost sense of his reality), his admittance, “those were good days / I never forgot them” but it’s all a fantasy:

Could that be true?
Or course not! Has he ever forgiven anyone
who turned him down? He is really
more bitter than ever. He’d like to make a last gesture,
all right, he’d like to belt her one –

The woman remembers the abuse of their relationship. Lively punctuation informs the tone here: two questions bookend an exclamation. The only gesture he’ll grant her is a blow. Yet, her desire for beauty will not be eclipsed by violence; after all, *she* left *him*, and their imagined reunion ends with her vision (2004, 124):

Meanwhile,
all around them, the stars continue their unbroken dancing
still, as if nothing had ever changed, could ever
change. Much farther than the farthest reaches
of any imagination, they trace their intricate patterns
in a balance that is always shifting,
and always perfect.

This is the true poetic vision of much of Barnes’ work, finding beauty in unexpected places, by looking deeply at patterns in the natural world which trump human imperfections. She is able to share her life experiences via her poetic craft, and make art from both joy and despair.

4 Coatsworth – Barnes: Topography

All mother-daughter relationships have generational distance, and a “relationship of the two generations cannot, and need not, be steadily harmonious” (Neisser 1967, 308). The generational hallmarks for Elizabeth and Kate signify remarkable changes in women’s roles. Elizabeth’s childhood and grooming in the 1920s and 1930s, the interwar period, positioned her to be a grateful wife and dedicated mother. Though women had just gained the right to vote (1920) and the women’s movement was active, Elizabeth accepted Henry’s reign in the household and carried on calmly. Kate came of age in the 1950s, and in the 1960s she was swept into the fever of her generation for change. Feminist gains in the U.S. brought birth control, women’s groups, and questioning of status-quo patriarchy. By the 1970s, divorce rates were soaring and the stigma of single parenting was dissipating. These new cultural norms allowed Kate to leave her marriage and carve out an independent life.

As far as writing goes, both Elizabeth and Kate were poets of their times. Much of Elizabeth’s work is emotionally restrained and rarely questions allegiance to her patriarchal household; Kate’s work is deeply personal and evidence of how one can transform emotional pain to poetic

art. The rise of confessional poetry and the second wave of the women's movement may have been a necessary shift to give Kate's work a place in our literary legacy.

A few ironies punctuate the comparison and contrast. Elizabeth kept her maiden name of Coatsworth for her writing career, thus preserving her literary autonomy. Kate used her married name for the rest of her life, without even a hyphen, though her ex-husband remarried and their relationship was, in all facets, severed. A surname is part of a writer's legacy. Elizabeth kept her Coatsworth namesake; Kate kept her married name, Barnes.

Both women were second-born daughters who grew up to choose difficult husbands, but while Elizabeth rarely complained, Kate chose to exit. Ironically, both women spent their last decades living with cancer, and prolonging their lives with alternative medicine: violet tea for Elizabeth; massive doses of vitamins and Chinese herbs for Kate. Both women left ashes behind. Elizabeth's burial place is marked by a small stone fox, near Henry's massive stone. Kate's place nearby is yet to be memorialized. All remains rest at Chimney Farm, Maine, where Kate was first brought as an infant in a padded basket.

5 Conclusions

Mother-daughter relationships are often fraught with emotional tides of emancipation and connection. Add to this, the complexity of literary lineage, artistic temperaments, two drastically different generational codes of behavior, and we have a sense of the tangled threads that inform the writings of Elizabeth Coatsworth and Kate Barnes.

One could argue that both women created their own literary paths, and were subversive in their own way. Elizabeth kept her maiden name as a writer, and thus didn't concede entirely to Beston's reign. Moreover, she lived a full life of travel and literary success before choosing to marry at age 36, and have children. For a woman of her generation this was unusual; we might conclude that she was ready for a partnered, domestic life, after nearly twenty years moving about with her mother and sister. Kate was more traditional in the sense that she married young and had children early; she also put her writing aside for decades. Kate's eventual route to her own voice, after her divorce and literary parents were both gone, shows the distance she traveled from being a love-dazzled newlywed to a woman poet alone. She is as much a product of her generation as her mother was.

The bond between the two women continues after their corporal lives. The ripples of Elizabeth's presence continued to guide Kate in her later years. In a letter¹² she shares: "I feel how my love for my mother underlies my whole life, my feelings about the world. I know she loved me – us – and that she would always keep her promise." In one of the last poems of Coatsworth's life, she writes (1976, 173):

Oh the ties that bind mother
and daughters together!
And the knots in the ties! . . .
The ties are there. It is their
nature to knot,

¹² Barnes, K. Letter to Eleanor Mattern, July 24, 1997

our nature to struggle with them.
And often our fingers touch.

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Part II

Language

Tina BaličUniversity of Maribor
Slovenia

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Attitudes towards Euro-English in a European Union Institution

ABSTRACT

This study deals with the attitudinal aspect of Euro-English, denoting a specific form of the English language that is frequently used within the institutions of the European Union. A questionnaire survey was conducted among 285 representatives who work for one of these institutions in Brussels. The respondents were asked to rate several deviations from Standard English, identified in a corpus-based analysis of EU texts, as either 'acceptable' or 'unacceptable' English usage. The findings reveal that the high acceptability rates of the proposed features among the non-native English-speaking respondents were mainly related to their proficiency in English and/or mother tongue interference. Moreover, since native speakers of English also accepted most of the proposed deviations, it follows that the participants did not seem to be aware of non-standardness in the test sentences. Euro-English must be regarded as EU jargon due to its technical, administrative or legal nature and not as a separate non-standard form of English for EU institutional settings.

Keywords: European Union institution; Euro-English; corpus linguistics; deviations from Standard English; attitudes towards language; Eurojargon

Odnos do evroangleščine v opazovani inštituciji Evropske unije

POVZETEK

Ta raziskava analizira odnos 285 predstavnikov ene izmed inštitucij Evropske unije do t. i. evroangleščine kot oblike angleščine, kakršno pogosto uporabljajo v svojem večjezičnem delovnem okolju. Raziskava je bila usmerjena na ugotavljanje sprejemljivosti določenih jezikovnih vzorcev, ki odstopajo od modela standardne angleščine. Z analizo pisnih besedil Evropske unije v angleškem jeziku smo določili, katere izmed le-teh vključiti v testne stavke, s katerimi smo anketirance soočili. Analiza podatkov za nerojene govorce kaže na to, da obstaja določena povezanost med sprejetjem predlaganih odstopanj od standardne angleščine in znanjem ciljnega jezika in/ali prepletanjem maternih jezikov. Ker so tudi materni govorce sprejeli večino predlaganih značilnosti, ugotavljamo, da anketiranci evroangleščine ne dojemajo kot nestandardno obliko angleščine znotraj inštitucij Evropske unije, temveč kot EU žargon zaradi svoje tehnične, administrativne ali zakonodajne narave.

Ključne besede: inštitucija Evropske unije; evroangleščina; korpurna lingvistika; odstopanja od standardne angleščine; odnos do jezika; EU žargon

Attitudes towards Euro-English in a European Union Institution¹

1 Introduction: English as the Primary ‘In-House’ Working Language

Although the European Union (hereafter the EU) currently has twenty-four legally established official and working languages (enshrined in the Council Regulation No 1 of 1958), the picture that emerges in the everyday practice of its various institutions and bodies, where communication is typically conducted with no or very few native speakers (hereafter NSs) present, is one in which their number is drastically reduced to only a few, i.e., principally English, French, and German, whereby the source language of the working documents is predominantly English. Particularly the 2004–2007 enlargements – when Central and Eastern-European representatives and their staff joined the EU institutions (whose common language of communication was English) – have significantly strengthened the role of English. This is mainly justified by time and budgetary constraints as well as the need for a mutually intelligible language within the EU’s administration that manages the day-to-day business of the EU as a whole (Graddol 2001, 47; Seidlhofer 2011, 55; Berns 1995, 3–11).

That English is indeed the primary working language of the surveyed EU institution is evident from the most recent figures provided by its Translation Service (personal communication, December 11, 2014), according to which as many as 81.3% of original documents were drafted in English in 2014 (as compared to 77.6% in 2012 and 62% in 2004), followed by French, with only 5%. Consequently, the EU’s commitment and efforts to ensuring and promoting language equality are often overshadowed by the pre-eminence of English as the ‘de facto’ lingua franca of the EU (Seidlhofer 2011, 55; Graddol 2001, 47), giving rise to the concept of Euro-English (hereafter E-E).

In the literature the term E-E in its broader sense commonly denotes English as spoken by its non-native speakers (hereafter NNSs) within Continental Europe (Stevens 1992; Jenkins, Modiano, and Seidlhofer 2001; McArthur 2003; Crystal 1999; Mollin 2006; Modiano 2003; Seidlhofer 2011; Berns 1995). More narrowly, it is often associated with a specific usage of English within the EU institutions (Jenkins et al. 2001, 13; Modiano 2006; Crystal 1999, 15; Seidlhofer 2011, 17; Mollin 2006, 92; Trebits 2008, 2009; Jablonkai 2009) that their numerous representatives, who predominantly come from mother tongue (hereafter L1) backgrounds other than English, use for conducting the day-to-day business of the EU. For the purposes of this study, whenever the term E-E is used, it should be understood as denoting a ‘nativised’ (i.e., non-standard) form of English as used in EU institutional settings that is different from any standard model of the English language (hereafter SE). Our analysis was limited to lexico-grammar as the more promising area in terms of obtaining potentially interesting results of E-E, which is assumed to be in its infancy (Jenkins et al. 2001).

In this context, Modiano (2006, 223) argued that the predominant role of English within the EU will inevitably have a significant influence on its forms (and functions) within Continental Europe.

¹ In order to ensure the desired anonymity, the EU institution is not disclosed in this article. In addition, the views expressed are exclusively those of the author based on the findings obtained in this study and do not in any way reflect the opinions of the surveyed institution.

However, from a sociolinguistic point of view, as Seidlhofer (2011, 83) highlighted, variety status depends “considerably less on objectively identifiable linguistic features than on the existence of a relatively stable community of speakers who themselves acknowledge that they speak a variety of their own”. Besides, important remarks of great relevance for this study were made by Llamzon (1969) and Petzold (2002), when they both emphasised the importance of the ‘educated elite’ in defining linguistic standards within a speech community. Likewise, Schneider (2007) pointed out that future research into NNS varieties should be based on a careful usage of the ‘educated’ users as representatives of the society as a whole. Accordingly, given that the attitudinal aspect is crucial for the acceptance of any non-standard model, this study was aimed at investigating attitudes of diverse representatives within the multicultural and multilingual communicative contexts of the EU institutions towards those uses of English that deviate from SE.

2 Methods

2.1 The Research Question

The research question was formulated based on the aforementioned supposed importance of the ‘educated elite’ in defining linguistic standards within a speech community (see Llamzon 1969; Petzold 2002; Schneider 2007). Accordingly, we examined what attitudes (i.e., positive, negative or ambivalent) the representatives from different EU member states who work for the surveyed EU institution have towards the kind of English that they frequently use for their work in business matters.

In this situation, the tens of thousands of EU representatives are regarded as a ‘European’ community of practice that use English as a working language in EU institutional settings and are unrestricted to a Member State (hereafter MS) where English is a L1, i.e., the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland (Berns 1995, 7).

In fact, several studies in sociolinguistics, but also in anthropology and social psychology, conducted since the mid-20th century have shown how attitudes influence the perception of languages at all linguistic levels (e.g., accent and pronunciation, spelling and grammar, vocabulary) and can lead to different evaluations of linguistic standards, depending on who the speakers are (Seidlhofer 2011, 35).

2.2 Data Collection and Analysis

For the purposes of this attitudinal study, two methods of data collection were used. While the corpus-based approach was applied as the technique better qualified for studying language usage within EU-specific contexts (i.e., EU institutions) as well as comparing it against SE (Biber, Conrad, and Reppen 1998; Gries 2009), a questionnaire was used as a less time-consuming and intrusive method as compared to face-to-face or telephone interviews for surveying attitudes of EU representatives. This gave the respondents adequate time to complete the questionnaire within their own time-tables, while respecting their right to anonymity. The pilot study revealed that EU representatives are generally not so easily approachable when using the interview method and actually favour self-completion surveys over interviews, mainly due to their busy schedules. As well, respondents such as high-ranking officials, people in high income groups or the highly educated tend to be more conscious of socially acceptable behaviour and may feel greater pressure to conform to social norms (Karp and Brockington 2005; Kothari 2004, 99).

The data elicited from the questionnaire were analysed using the statistics software SPSS 14.0. Correlation analyses were performed in order to examine the relationships between stated attitudes and relevant socio-demographic variables on the one hand and between all acceptability judgements and relevant socio-demographic variables on the other. A dependency was considered as significant when the probability of rejecting the null hypothesis in error was less than 5% (i.e., significance level $\alpha = 0.05$). Great significance was assigned to a significance level $\alpha = 0.01$. In addition to the SPSS, certain charts and calculations were performed in Microsoft Office Word and Excel.

2.3 The Research Setting

The main EU institutions were chosen as the target setting of this study mainly because they represent truly EU-centred multicultural and multilingual professional contexts, in which English-mediated communication is dominated by NNSs who interact predominantly among themselves. Also, since they are mostly located in one city (i.e., Brussels), there are unlimited opportunities for face-to-face communication and discussions in English. Last but not least, English is used for specific purposes within the EU institutions (Jablonkai 2009; Trebits 2008, 2009), i.e., to legislate and conduct the daily EU business. Hence, there is a constant and an ever-increasing need to use the language in order to enable the mutual understanding and successful functioning of the EU as whole.

Considering that previous research of E-E did not provide any convincing systematic evidence to support its existence within Continental Europe (Dalton-Puffer et al. 1997; Murray 2003; Sing 2004; Mollin 2006; Simeone 2011; Forche 2012), we are at this point in time only able to predict that if a non-standard 'European' form of English was indeed used within the EU, it would show its signs first in a relatively restricted community of speakers who deal with specific subjects and use the English language substantially more frequently than other European speakers (Carstensen 1986; Jenkins et al. 2001, 13; Berns 1995, 6–7; Crystal 1999, 15; Jablonkai 2009; Mollin 2006, 92; Trebits 2009, 200).

3 Empirical Analysis of E-E Linguistic Features

Representatives of EU institutions regularly produce different types of texts in all EU official languages but predominantly in English, and these represent a fertile ground for linguists analysing naturally occurring language. The main aim of the corpus-based analysis in this study was to determine which of the more or less systematic uses of E-E that deviate from SE should be integrated into the acceptability test described in Section 4. Euro-English was analysed based on the EUROPARL7 corpus (Koehn 2005), which is available in the *Sketch Engine* concordancing programme (Kilgarriff et al. 2004). The respective corpus is extracted from large numbers of European Parliament (hereafter EP) discussions in English (i.e., it contains 2,218,201 sentences and 53,974,751 words) and includes material from various subject areas, ranging from economy to social issues, education and training, science, food and health industry, environment, trade, etc. Our decision to choose a specialised corpus, as opposed to a more general one, was further justified by the fact that we did not anticipate, at least in the short-term, to find genuine 'nativised' tendencies within all domains of Europe where English is used. Importantly, it can be argued that the authors of the corpus material are, as anticipated, congruent as much as possible with the survey participants. Namely, they all work for one of the main EU institutions where its culturally and linguistically diverse representatives regularly use English as the most useful 'instrument' for communication that cannot be conducted in their L1s.

3.1 Results and Interpretation

Several pre-defined formal features identified in the literature as potentially distinctive of E-E (and of NNS varieties of English in general) were searched for their frequencies of occurrence within the EUROPARL7 corpus (James 2000; Crystal 2003; VOICE 2009; Seidlhofer 2011; Mollin 2006), but also in the publicly available database of EU legislative texts, i.e., EUR-Lex, where appropriate. Moreover, they were compared against the British National Corpus (hereafter BNC), which represents a wide range of spoken and written British English (hereafter BrE). However, the European Court of Auditors report of 2013 (hereafter ECA 2013) titled “Misused English words and expressions in EU publications” served as the primary basis for our study of E-E, accompanied by EU glossaries. These sources offer extensive lists of precisely those lexical and grammatical features that were identified as distinctive of the kind of English that is frequently used in EU institutional settings. All in all, according to the results obtained in the linguistic analysis of EU texts, it was decided to study respondents’ attitudes towards those deviations from SE that were deemed more likely to be among the affected areas due to their rather systematic usages within the E-E corpus, as compared to the general BNC. Some of the more interesting findings are presented subsequently.

With regard to grammar, ‘aid’ meaning “money, food, etc. that is sent to help countries in difficult situations”² and ‘competence’ meaning “the power of a court, an organisation or a person to deal with something”³ were frequently used as if they were countable with the designated meanings in the EUROPARL7 corpus: whereas the former occurred 415 times out of 2,308 cases referring to financial or economic assistance that is given to help or support the member states (e.g., 166 times referring specifically to ‘state aid’ to mean “government assistance to enterprises on selective basis”), the latter was used as many as 2,109 times out of 5,901 cases denoting the ability of the various EU institutions and its other bodies to influence or control. In addition, a common pattern observed in the EU material were phrases with ‘of’ instead of the possessive ’s constructions or noun-noun compounds, as in “I very much appreciate the report of Mr Di Pietro, which shows his excellent work in such a short period of time” (instead of: Mr Di Pietro’s report) or “The aim of the Communication of the Commission is to introduce a series of measures which allow the potential which electronic commerce offers the Internal Market to have full effect” (instead of: Commission communication). Although such usage is not grammatically incorrect in SE, it may lead to ambiguity, especially since EU texts are already too technical and complex to be understood by the average reader.

Certainly, the most obvious differences were observed at the level of lexis (see Annexes 1 and 2). We found many examples of Euro-specific vocabulary that only occurred in the EUROPARL7, i.e., ‘Euro area’ (2,076), ‘Neighbourhood policy’ (1,519), ‘Comitology’ (1,131), ‘Euro zone’ (1,052) or ‘Euroscepticism’ (95), as well as those that were significantly over-represented there, as compared to the texts of the BNC, i.e., ‘Member State’ (16,165 vs. 2,287), ‘subsidiarity’ (4,374 vs. 184), ‘additionality’ (236 vs. 44) or ‘Acquis Communautaire’ (611 vs. 8). In addition, the following words or phrases were commonly used with the designated E-E meanings in the EU texts examined: ‘third country’ to denote “any country that is not part of the EU”; ‘to attribute’ used as a verb to mean “to allocate, grant, give or award”; ‘coherent’ to mean “in agreement with something or somebody”; ‘fiche’ to denote anything from a document, paper, and sheet to entry,

² Hornby, A. S. 2015. “Aid” Def. 1. Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of Current English. 9th edition. See also Def. 2.

³ Hornby, A. S. 2015. “Competence” Def. 2. Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of Current English. 9th edition.

record, and file, as well as ‘perspective’ to mean “an expectation for the future”. Similarly, we found several instances of certain words or phrases which occurred with a more or less correct meaning there but in different contexts than in SE, these being: ‘semester’ to refer to periods of six months in contexts other than education; ‘homogenise’ as a verb meaning “to make something uniform or standardised”; ‘hierarchical superior’ instead of a boss or superior, as well as ‘transmit’ used as a synonym for “to send something off by letter or email”. One control feature that did not occur at all in the EUROPARL7, i.e., the French word ‘delay’ to mean “deadline” in English was included in the acceptability test in order to verify if the respondents, who are generally proficient in English, recognise the more obvious deviations from SE.⁴

Last but not least, an analysis of four-word⁵ lexical bundles showed that all of the identified examples meet the criteria of occurring more than 40 times per million in the EUROPARL7 corpus – the first one ‘I would like to’ [do something] being as frequent as 679.3 per million.⁶ A similar structure, i.e., ‘I should like to’ [do something], ranked fourth on the top-ten list, occurring as many as 325.7 times per million. Accordingly, considering that EP discussions from which E-E is extracted in this study are conducted orally, the first observation we can make is that sequences that are centred on pronouns and clause fragments (i.e., a verb) seem to be more typical of spoken than written registers (i.e., primarily speeches); especially if compared against the BNC, where respective lexical bundles occurred less than 40 times per million (see Annex 3).

With regard to the structure of the lexical bundles, the findings moreover reveal that the two most common patterns in the EU texts involve noun phrases (mainly with of-phrase fragments) or prepositional phrases, as in ‘Countries of the European Union’, ‘Members of the European’, ‘on behalf of’ or ‘on the basis of’. These results are highly consistent with previous findings, as written registers, such as EU official documents and EU online news (Jablonkai 2009), as well as textbooks (Biber, Conrad, and Cortes 2004), were also found to be operating with bundles of this structural type.

To conclude, the findings from the corpus-based analysis of EU texts have not revealed any serious tendencies towards a possible existence of a non-standard form of English for EU institutional settings. We can therefore only speak of a kind of EU jargon rather than of a separate ‘European’ form of English within the EU institutions. The identified words and phrases are mainly used within EU institutional settings with the aim of enhancing collaboration and shared understanding. They were developed for the (smooth) running and managing of the daily business of the EU, but particularly for the purposes of those working in its various institutions and bodies. It is clear that the new forms of lexical expression mostly come from the interactive contexts of the EU as a primarily political and economic union rather than a cultural entity. Consequently, EU vocabulary is generally very technical, complex, and not easily understood by the general public.

⁴ In English, ‘delay’ always means that something is being late or taking longer than needed, while the French near-homophone “délai” denotes a specific date or time by which something needs to be accomplished.

⁵ For an analysis of lexical bundles we focused on four-word collocations mainly because we noted that three-word lexical bundles are frequently part of four-word bundles and tend to be less common.

⁶ According to Biber and Barbieri (2007), a four-word lexical item must recur at least 40 times per million in a corpus to be considered a lexical bundle. This requirement has been adopted for examining lexical bundles in this study in order to ensure representative results as much as possible. Biber et al. (1999, 990) defined lexical bundles as “recurrent expressions, regardless of their idiomaticity or structural status”, which follow each other more frequently than expected by chance, usually as words in sets of two, three, four, five or more.

4 Empirical Analyses of Acceptability Judgments of E-E Features

Most scholars define an ‘attitude’ as a tendency to react ‘favourably’ or ‘unfavourably’ to a social object of certain kind, i.e., in our study a linguistic form (Gardner 1985; Baker 1992; Yule 1996). The status of a language is mainly determined by the distribution of power, welfare, and prestige in a particular society during a specific time period and under certain social, cultural, political, and economic circumstances. Therefore, social attitudes generally determine which linguistic variety, feature or style speakers will choose in a given situation, whereby a rich linguistic repertoire certainly helps them achieve communicative competence (Hymes 1974), i.e., the ability to successfully convey information while expressing individual or group identity and making use of it. Accordingly, languages are both powerful ‘instruments’ of communication and important ‘markers’ of social and cultural identity (Yule 1996).

4.1 Methodological Difficulties

The main methodological difficulty of using an anonymous questionnaire was that we were unable to obtain feedback or additional information from the respondents on certain questions, which may have provided us with further insights into our research question (Mouton and Marais 1996; Kothari 2004). However, since persons within a specific organisation were surveyed, we were still able to use a more complex questionnaire than would normally be the case when targeting a general community, aimed at enriching data and attempting to balance out the aforementioned weakness. On the whole, both sampling and collecting relevant data were conducted smoothly, whereby the latter was facilitated with the incentives for timely return of the questionnaire and by a follow-up of those persons who had not responded initially. For the purposes of this study, it was decided that the advantages of using a questionnaire (e.g., they are practical, cost effective, relatively easy to analyse, familiar to people, reduce bias, etc.) can outweigh its potential disadvantages.

4.2 Research Sample

In order to investigate the research question outlined in Section 2.1, an empirical study was designed. Instead of conducting an EU institution-wide analysis, it was decided to study the attitudes towards E-E within one EU institution, whereby a limited number of its representatives were surveyed. All questionnaire participants were randomly selected from the totality of representatives working for the surveyed EU institution, whereby two samples were obtained. The first one included 19 NSs and the second 266 NNSs of English from diverse MSs of the EU (see Annex 4). All participants were between 20 and 70 years old. Moreover, the survey involved a rather balanced proportion of women and men, i.e., 56.7% and 43.3%, respectively. Interestingly, the percentage of participants who are proficient users of English was surprisingly high, i.e., 86.6% claimed to have either C1 or C2 English proficiency levels according to CEFR.⁷ As anticipated, the majority of the respondents indeed use English every day at work (93.9%) and in their free time (85.2%). In essence, information about respondents’ gender, age, and self-assessed proficiency in English helped determine whether there is a possible relationship between these socio-demographic variables and their stated attitudes towards the use of English in EU institutional settings.

⁷ Common European Framework of Reference for Languages

4.3 Data Analysis

Apart from gathering certain general information about the respondents, two questions were considered crucial. Firstly, the question that elicited the respondents' target form when using English revealed that an almost equal percentage of them aim for English as used by speakers of English regardless of nativeness for communication in international settings such as business, diplomacy, advertisement, travel, etc. (hereafter EIL), and BrE (39.2% vs. 38.4%, respectively), whereas only 14.2% selected 'English as spoken in Continental Europe' as their target model. While it is clear that E-E is not the desired form in the respondents' minds, the fact that so many of them still chose EIL may indicate that English is becoming increasingly less 'foreign' within the EU and its institutions, thus acknowledging its importance and resulting advantages that proficiency in English may bring to its users world-wide, but particularly outside NS communities.

Nevertheless, Pearson's correlation examining the relationship between the respondents' competence in English and the form chosen revealed that the more competent they claim to be in English, the less likely they are to select EIL or E-E ($r=-0.155$; $p<0.05$, 2-tailed) as their target form. One explanation for this may be due, in part, to a certain stigma attached to the notion 'non-native' (i.e., non-standard) within Continental Europe in that only NSs of English are said to be able to speak the language properly and thus 'own' it. EU institutions generally follow SE that reflects the language use of its two MSs where English is a L1, i.e., the UK and the Rep. of Ireland, as their target model for English (ECA 2013, 4).

Secondly, the question eliciting respondents' attitudes towards English as frequently used within the EU institutions showed that as many as 81.5% of them agree that English there differs from SE. Furthermore, Pearson's correlation revealed that the more competent respondents claim to be in English, the less likely they are to disagree with the assumption that the use of English within the EU institutions is different from SE ($r=-0.203$, $p<0.01$, 2-tailed). Likewise, the question concerning the 'quality' of written and spoken English there is particularly relevant. The results indicate that slightly less than half (44.9%) of the respondents agree that English as used in EU institutional settings is 'good' English. Nonetheless, a notable proportion of 26.9% disagree with this proposition and 28.2% are indecisive about it. Interestingly, Pearson's correlation revealed that the more respondents recognise that E-E is different from SE, the less likely they are to agree that it is 'good' English ($r=-0.256$, $p<0.01$, 2-tailed).

One of the reasons for the different responses about the 'quality' or 'accuracy' of English within the EU institutions may be that what is considered as 'good' English generally depends a lot on the attitudes of the people making the judgments. According to Gardner and Lambert's (1972) definition of integrative and instrumental motivation, it could be argued that more integratively oriented speakers of English commonly define 'good' English with regard to strictly defined rules of linguistic correctness, whereas people who are more instrumentally oriented in using English would rather define it in terms of successful accomplishments such as strong communication skills in the target language leading to successful communication. As regards the term E-E, 63.9% of the respondents indicated they were familiar with the term, whereas 36.1% were not. Interestingly, Pearson's correlation again revealed that the more respondents recognise that English as used in EU institutional settings deviates from SE, the more likely they are to associate it with E-E ($r=+0.223$, $p<0.01$, 2-tailed).

At this point, it is important to remember that, in order to regard E-E as a specific form of English for EU institutional settings, there would have to be a community of speakers who are

not only developing and regularly using distinctly non-standard patterns of English but who are, moreover, genuinely and openly accepting them as ‘appropriate’ in their minds. In order to verify whether the EU representatives constitute such a community of practice, the results of the acceptability test in which the respondents had to rate eight test sentences that deviated from SE according to their perceptions of what is ‘acceptable’ English usage and what is not were crucial for answering the research question at hand.⁸ The main aim was to find out what form of English the surveyed NNSs aim at approximating when producing English, although the NSs were considered as well; after all, it is their L1 that has been appropriated for the purposes of conducting the daily EU business within the EU institutions.

4.4 Evaluation Criteria

The approach adopted can be summarised as follows. On the one hand, if a respondent rejected a sentence because he or she identified a proposed E-E feature and at the same time gave a correct solution for it in line with SE, the sentence was coded as ‘unacceptable’. In this way we assumed that respondents generally follow the approved norms of linguistic correctness when using English, although it needs to be considered that acceptability judgements on written language will more likely tap into speakers’ awareness of SE norms. In this respect, informal EU discussions would have been a more promising source of English usage for this study, as speech produced spontaneously in a conversation is considered more natural than when texts are read out in more formal settings. This was unfortunately impossible to do because EU institutions prohibit observing and recording conversations of any kind due to confidential information that may be discussed there. However, if a sentence was rejected and a proposed deviation identified, but a correction was not made in line with SE, it was decided item-by-item how to code it. In other words, its rejection due to rather trivial or irrelevant reasons for the purposes of this study (e.g., punctuation marks were added or removed, word order modified or a sentence shortened but the structure of that sentence was not significantly influenced, etc.) was still coded as ‘acceptable’.

On the other hand, for those respondents who judged a sentence to be ‘acceptable’, it was considered crucial to examine the relationship between the accepted item and the participant’s proficiency in English. Again, it has to be considered that accepting a form does not automatically mean that speakers are striving towards a non-SE model, since they might accept the form but still not use it (frequently) in their English.

In order to quantitatively examine whether the respondents whose L1 is not English accept or reject the test sentences, we calculated the value that appeared most frequently in the responses given (i.e., ‘the mode’) based on the nominal and dichotomous variables (i.e., two values), whereby we anticipated that ‘value 1’ for indicating ‘acceptance’ of a proposed deviation will appear the most frequently. As demonstrated in Table 1 below, in all cases (i.e., 88%), except in one (i.e., Q20), the surveyed NNSs accepted the proposed sentences even though they deviated from SE.

⁸ Instructions for the participants as regards the acceptability test were as follows: In this part of the questionnaire you are presented with the so-called acceptability test. It involves sentences for which you are asked to judge whether or not you find them to be acceptable English usage as quickly as possible. For the purpose of this questionnaire, a sentence is to be judged acceptable if you believe that it appears natural and appropriate in a context in which you would typically use it, even if it is grammatically incorrect. When you find a sentence to be unacceptable, please give the corrected version.

TABLE 1. Mode for the acceptance of deviations from SE by NNSs of English.

Test sentences	Mode	% Acceptable
Q18 The European Commission verifies state aids in the European Union.	1	66.8
Q20 In order to respect the delay for transmission, the European Commission can make small changes to the notification.	2	49.3
Q22 Policy fiche on external action can be found on page 43.	1	67
Q26 Any absence during core time must be approved from the hierarchical superior.	1	72.9
Q28 The 2011-2013 multiannual strategy paper was approved in the first semester of 2011.	1	82.2
Q30 Commission fixes the standard values for imports from third countries, in respect of the products and periods stipulated in Annex XVI.	1	55.3
Q32 Each Member State shall transmit its Partnership Contract to the Commission within 3 months of the adoption of the CSF.	1	74.6
Q34 The EU has exclusive competences in the area of common foreign and security policy.	1	73.6

In order to verify with what level of significance it can be stated that the majority of the NNSs accepted most of the deviations from SE, the non-parametric Chi-Square probability test was performed. The main result is seen from Table 2 subsequently, indicating that the significance level is less than 0.05 (see last column). What this illustrates is that the differences between the acceptance and rejection of the sentences as evaluated by the surveyed NNSs of English are statistically significant.

TABLE 2. Chi-Square Probability Test.

	Chi-Square	df	Asymp. Sig.
Q18 The European Commission verifies state aids in the EU	24.558 ^a	1	.000
Q20 In order to respect the delay for transmission, the Commission can make small changes to the notification	.043 ^b	1	.835
Q22 Policy fiche on external action can be found on page 43	23.453 ^c	1	.000
Q26 Any absence during core must be approved from the hierarchical superior	41.613 ^d	1	.000
Q28 The 2011-2013 multiannual strategy paper was approved in the first semester of 2011	81.873 ^e	1	.000

Q30 Commission fixes the standard values for imports from third countries, in respect of the products and periods stipulated in Annex XVI	2.239 ^c	1	.135
Q32 Each Member State shall transmit its Partnership Contract to the Commission within 3 months of the adoption of the Common Strategic Framework	47.761 ^c	1	.000
Q34 The EU has exclusive competences in the area of common foreign and security policy	43.904 ^c	1	.000

- a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 108.5.
- b. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 103.5.
- c. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 101.5.
- d. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 99.5.
- e. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 98.5.

However, before implying that the non-native English-speaking EU representatives are indeed developing and using a non-standard form of English for their work-related purposes, the reasons for the high acceptance rates needed to be studied in more detail. After all, previous research of E-E suggests that deviations from SE are merely ‘errors’ or ‘mistakes’ due to L1 interference or a lack of proficiency in the target language rather than features of a ‘nativised’ European English. For this purpose, it was deemed crucial to examine the relationships between all acceptability rates and respondents’ levels of proficiency in English and a possible L1 influence on their acceptability judgements. In addition, the alternatives, i.e., the solutions, provided by the respondents who rejected the sentences were examined for their correctness in some detail, too.

The calculation of Pearson’s correlation coefficient between the respondents’ proficiency in English and the acceptance of E-E features revealed that there is a statistically significant relationship between the two variables in five out of eight test sentences, these being (see Annex 5):

- Q18: The European Commission verifies state aids in the EU ($r=0.161$; $p<0.05$, 2-tailed);
- Q20: In order to respect the delay for transmission, the European Commission can make small changes to the notification ($r=0.150$; $p<0.05$, 2-tailed);
- Q22: Policy fiche on external action can be found on page 43 ($r=0.199$; $p<0.01$, 2-tailed);
- Q26: Any absence during core must be approved from the hierarchical superior ($r=0.160$; $p<0.05$, 2-tailed);
- Q30: Commission fixes the standard values for imports from third countries, in respect of the products and periods stipulated in Annex XVI ($r=0.180$; $p<0.05$, 2-tailed).

The correlation is in all cases positive, which means that the better knowledge of English a respondent has, the more likely he or she is to reject the proposed E-E sentence. What this implies is that the acceptance of most of the deviations (e.g., ‘aids’ used countably to mean financial or economic assistance, ‘fiche’ used instead of a document or the preposition ‘from’ used in passive constructions, where the agent of the action should normally be introduced with the preposition ‘by’) is somewhat related to participants’ knowledge of English. Yet, considering that the participants were proficient speakers of English (i.e., most of them indicated to have C1 or C2 levels according to CEFR, as put forward in Section 4.2), the obtained results seem to indicate that their self-perceived attitudes do not necessarily correspond with their actual knowledge of

English. According to the author's first-hand experience, most EU representatives have a B2 level of English, which is also a general requirement to qualify for a job within the EU institutions.

In addition, as regards respondents' L1s, quantitative and qualitative analyses seem to suggest at least some influences on the acceptability judgements, in that those NNSs of English who have a similar structure in their L1s were somewhat more likely to accept than reject the deviations from SE, these being:

- 'aids' to mean financial or material assistance was accepted by the respondents of the following EU languages: both Finno-Ugrian languages (i.e., Estonian and Hungarian), all Slavic languages except Slovak (i.e., Bulgarian, Czech, Polish, Slovenian, and Croatian), all Germanic languages except Dutch (i.e., German, Danish, and Swedish), both Baltic languages (i.e., Latvian and Lithuanian), all Romance languages except Spanish (i.e., Portuguese, Italian, Romanian, and French), and by most of the Greek speakers. Several of these languages indeed seem to use 'aid' in the plural form for the designated meaning: e.g., 'ajudas estatais' or 'auxílios estatais' in Portuguese, 'aiuti di stato' in Italian, 'ajutoare de stat' in Romanian, 'aides d'état' in French, 'κρατικές ενισχύσεις' in Greek, 'die Staatshilfen' in German, 'valsts atbalsts' in Latvian, 'državne pomoči' in Slovenian or 'državne pomoći' in Croatian. In contrast, in Dutch 'state aid' is typically used only in the singular form ('staatsteun'), which could explain why none of the Dutch respondents accepted 'state aid' in the plural form.
- 'competences' to denote the abilities/responsibilities of the EU institutions to influence or control was accepted by all of the surveyed NNSs except the Czech speakers. In several analysed languages the noun 'competence' indeed seems to be used with the plural ending -s, these being: all Romance languages, e.g., as in 'competências da UE' in Portuguese, 'les compétences de l'UE' in French, 'competențele UE' in Romanian, 'competenze dell'UE' in Italian or 'competencias de la UE' in Spanish. A similar case applies to certain Slavic languages, as illustrated by 'kompetencje UE' in Polish or 'kompetence/pristojnosti EU' in Slovenian or 'nadležnosti EU-a' in Croatian. Likewise, in the examined Germanic languages, i.e., German ('die Zuständigkeiten der EU') and Dutch ('bevoegdheden van de EU'), the word for 'competence' also takes the plural form for the respective meaning. On the contrary, in the Czech language there seem to be two separate words for 'competence', i.e., 'pravomoc', which is used in the plural form 'pravomoci', and 'kompetence', which seems to be typically used in the singular only.
- 'fiche' to mean either a document, paper, sheet or file, etc., in English, whereby L1 influence is, as expected, the strongest within the Romance language group, considering that it is a borrowing from French. Apart from the fact that 90% of the French-speaking respondents accepted it, we found that Romanian speakers, who also use the word 'fișier' to refer to a file, dossier or index card, for example, also accepted it by 83.3%. On the contrary, the majority of the Portuguese speakers, who only use the word 'ficha' to refer to the rather outdated 'microfiche', rejected it by 66.7%. Considering that more than half of the surveyed German-speaking respondents also accepted the word 'fiche' (52.2%), it is particularly interesting to note that in the *German Leo Online Dictionary* the respective word is featured as a 'new' entry to denote a 'fact sheet', i.e., 'Datenblatt' in German.
- 'third country' to denote "a country outside the EU", since this term is translated and used with the designated meaning in other EU languages as well, e.g., 'tretje države' in Slovenian, "Drittstaaten" in German or "pays tiers" in French, etc.

Last but not least, we analysed the acceptability rates for the surveyed NSs of English, who are greatly outnumbered by its NNSs within the EU institutions.⁹ The mode for the data collected was again calculated, whereby ‘value 2’ for implying ‘rejection’ was assumed to appear the most frequently. According to Table 3 shown below, out of eight test sentences the surveyed NSs of English rejected three (i.e., Q18, Q20, and Q22), whereas four were accepted as ‘appropriate’ English usage (i.e., Q26, Q28, Q32, and Q34). In one case (i.e., Q30) half of them accepted the test sentence and half of them rejected it. However, the non-parametric Chi-Square probability test showed that the rejection of the test sentences as judged by the native English-speaking participants is not statistically significant (see Annex 7). Therefore, in the end, it appears that the NSs only rejected the semantic transfer of ‘delay’ (*décal*) meaning “deadline”, motivated from a French model.

TABLE 3. Mode for the rejection of deviations from SE by NSs of English.

Test sentences	Mode	% Rejected
Q18 The European Commission verifies state aids in the European Union.	2	56.3
Q20 In order to respect the delay for transmission, the European Commission can make small changes to the notification.	2	73.3
Q22 Policy fiche on external action can be found on page 43.	2	53.3
Q26 Any absence during core must be approved from the hierarchical superior.	1	35.7
Q28 The 2011-2013 multiannual strategy paper was approved in the first semester of 2011.	1	28.6
Q30 Commission fixes the standard values for imports from third countries, in respect of the products and periods stipulated in Annex XVI.	1	50.0
Q32 Each Member State shall transmit its Partnership Contract to the Commission within 3 months of the adoption of the CSF.	1	28.6
Q34 The EU has exclusive competences in the area of common foreign and security policy.	1	28.6

All in all, due to the high acceptability rates among respondents as a whole, the tested features must be regarded as part of EU jargon used primarily for specific purposes in EU institutional settings. While certain EU concepts are examples of borrowing from French into E-E and appear totally unadapted in various MSs’ texts with reference to EU matters (e.g., *fiche*), some others are translated and used in other EU languages as well (e.g., *third country*, *semester*). These results correspond with the findings of previous research into the attitudes towards E-E within Continental Europe (i.e., Dalton-Puffer et al. 1997; Murray 2003; Sing 2004; Mollin 2006; Simeone 2011; Lesničar 2011; Forche 2012).

⁹ For a brief summary on the main grammatical and lexical features from the acceptability test discussed in Sections 3 and 4, please see Annex 6.

5 Overall Discussion and Conclusion

This study aimed at identifying EU representatives' attitudes towards E-E formal features based on the data gained from the corpus-based analysis of EU texts examined, including questions of perceptions about the frequency and quality of English usage within a specific EU institution where English is the predominant working language. As anticipated, the findings reveal that the majority of the respondents use English every day both at work and in their free time in order to communicate with people of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds and not specifically to identify with NSs or their culture. However, as already indicated throughout this article, it is obvious from the study results that the identified words, phrases and/or their meanings are predominantly of administrative, technical or legal nature. They are used primarily for the purposes of its community members, i.e., the numerous EU representatives, who communicate with other members intra-community in the language of that community, despite of their geographical, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds, about topics of common interest and concern.

Although the surveyed NNSs accepted most of the deviations from SE within the acceptability test, the performed correlation analyses revealed that their acceptance appears to be related (at least to some degree) to their proficiency in English and/or L1 interference in certain cases. In other words, those respondents who have a comparatively lower level of competence in English and/or a similar structure in their L1 are somewhat more likely to accept than reject the proposed E-E features. The fact that NSs also accepted most of the deviations from SE furthermore endorses our assumption that English within the EU institutions is learnt not as a language of cultural expression but as a functional variety that is primarily used for transactional rather than interactional purposes, such as for various business agreements or exchange.

Consequently, it appears that the participants, regardless of 'nativeness,' did not seem to be aware of non-standardness in the test sentences, implying that certain English structures which are deviant from SE are by now well-ingrained into the English usage within the EU institutions, but are largely incomprehensible outside their formal settings or mainly familiar to specialists in particular fields that the EU is concerned with. In this regard, the linguistic analysis of EU texts revealed that most of the identified features and their meanings must be classified as part of EU jargon due to their administrative, technical or legal nature rather than features of a specific non-standard usage in EU institutional settings. Accordingly, the examples of institutionally specific use of terminology should not be considered as 'mistakes,' but rather as particular 'performance codes' as stated by Kachru (1992, 55).

Accordingly, the features tested cannot be counted as 'nativised' uses of English that would already indicate a separate form of English for EU institutional settings, much less for Continental Europe at large, apart from some possibility of grammaticality of 'aids' and 'competences', since these two features were less fine-grained as compared to other items tested. Instead, the phenomenon at hand relates to the administrative terminology that is used in EU institutions, which draws on semantic shifts of general vocabulary, some loans, and the creation of new English terms. These observations correspond with the findings of previous research towards E-E in Continental Europe (Dalton-Puffer et al. 1997; Murray 2003; Sing 2004; Mollin 2006; Simeone 2011; Lesničar 2011; Forche 2012).

Taking the above-mentioned results into consideration, we argue that the key trait that distinguishes this type of vocabulary from the rest of the English language are the numerous newly coined words and phrases denoting concepts relating in the first place to the EU as a

political, economic, and legal community of its MSs and are untypical outside EU institutional settings. Consequently, since these uses essentially mirror the different functions and multiple activities of the EU institutions and its other bodies (in close cooperation with the MSs), they should be regarded as technical or administrative jargon (e.g., transmit, fiche, perspective, planification). Euro-English also includes less obvious jargon mainly influenced by legal or diplomatic terminology (e.g., third country, internal market, member state, mission, etc.). In addition, while certain EU concepts have been borrowed from French into E-E completely unadapted (e.g., fiche), others are translated and used in other EU languages as well (e.g., third country). To conclude, it is clear that the English language is used in EU institutional settings primarily for successful communication among linguistically diverse speakers who do not share a common L1.

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Appendices

ANNEX 1. Specific terms derived at from the prefix Euro- according to their frequencies of occurrence in the EUROPARL7 and the BNC.

TARGET WORDS	EUROPARL7	BNC
European Union	101,176	311
Euro area	2,076	0
Euro zone	1,052	0
Eurobarometer	269	2
Euro notes	143	0
Euroscepticism	95	0
Euroland	73	0

ANNEX 2. Specific terms describing EU concepts according to their frequencies of occurrence in the EUROPARL7 and the BNC.

TARGET WORDS	EUROPARL7	BNC
Member State	16,165	2,287
Internal market	10,611	305
Subsidiarity	4,374	148
Candidate country	3,822	1
Neighbourhood policy	1,519	0
Comitology	1,131	0
Proportionality	763	140
Acquis Communautaire	611	8
Community method	526	3
Conditionality	389	13
Flexicurity	342	0

Additionality	236	44
Communitisation	104	0
Delocalisation	40	3
Rendez-vous clause	6	0

ANNEX 3. Frequencies of four-word lexical bundles in the EUROPARL7 compared with the BNC.

TOP 10 LEXICAL BUNDLES IN EUROPARL7	FREQUENCIES OF OCCURRENCES (PER MILLION)	
	EUROPARL7	BNC
I would like to	679.3	31.9
of the European Union	376.4	0.1
on behalf of the	346.8	12.0
I should like to	325.7	2.8
of the Committee on	217.4	0.3
in the European Union	188.5	0.0
of the European Parliament	180.0	1.2
on the basis of	149.5	26.7
at the same time	226.2	61.7
of the Member States	122.9	1.1

ANNEX 4. Number of participants per EU Member State.

EU MS	Frequency
Austria	11
Belgium	10
Bulgaria	9
Cyprus	5
Czech Rep.	11
Denmark	6
Estonia	6
Finland	5
France	15
Germany	24
Greece	5
Hungary	7

Ireland	4
Italy	14
Latvia	5
Lithuania	6
Luxembourg	3
Malta	15
Netherlands	9
Poland	8
Portugal	12
Romania	9
Slovakia	8
Slovenia	42
Spain	10
Sweden	11
UK	15
Total	285

ANNEX 5. Pearson’s correlation between NNSs’ English language proficiency and acceptability of test sentences.

		Q4 English language proficiency level
Q4 Your English language proficiency level	Pearson Correlation	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	
	N	249
Q18 The European Commission verifies state aids in the European Union	Pearson Correlation	.161*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.018
	N	217
Q20 In order to respect the delay for transmission, the European Commission can make small changes to the notification	Pearson Correlation	.150*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.032
	N	207
Q22 Policy fiche on external action can be found on page 43	Pearson Correlation	.199**

	Sig. (2-tailed)	.004
	N	203
Q26 Any absence during core must be approved from the hierarchical superior	Pearson Correlation	.160*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.024
	N	199
Q28 The 2011-2013 multiannual strategy paper was approved in the first semester of 2011	Pearson Correlation	-.104
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.145
	N	197
Q30 Commission fixes the standard values for imports from third countries, in respect of the products and periods stipulated in Annex XVI	Pearson Correlation	.180*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.012
	N	197
Q32 Each Member State shall transmit its Partnership Contract to the Commission within 3 months of the adoption of the CSF	Pearson Correlation	.035
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.621
	N	197
Q34 The EU has exclusive competences in the area of common foreign and security policy	Pearson Correlation	.128
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.073
	N	197

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

ANNEX 6. Summary of E-E features from the acceptability test (see Sections 3 & 4 for a detailed explanation).

	NNS accept	Proficiency correlation	L1-interf.	NNS accept	Non-SE feature	Comment
aids	Y (66.8%)	Y ($r=0.161, p<0.05$)	Y	Y	N/Y	Accepted by NNSs (over: 65%). Despite prof. corr. (and L1-interf.), the level of significance is lower if compared to EU jargon, e.g., 'third country & 'fiche'. Despite non-SE usage, NSs accepted. Not as fine-grained as other tested features.
competences	Y (73.6%)	N	Y	Y	N/Y	Accepted by NNSs (over: 70%) and no significant prof. corr. Despite non-SE usage, NSs accepted. Not as fine-grained as other tested features.
third country	Y (55.3%)	Y ($r=0.180, p<0.05$)	Y	Y	N	EU jargon (legal) despite prof. corr. & L1 interf. NNSs & NSs accepted it. Well-ingrained in EU usage.
fiche	Y (67%)	Y ($r=0.199, p<0.01$)	Y	Y	N	Borrowing from French. EU jargon (administrative) despite prof. corr. & L1 interf. NNSs & NSs accepted it. Well-ingrained in EU usage.
semester	Y (82.2%)	N	N	Y	N	EU jargon (administrative) despite no prof. corr. & no L1-interf. NNSs & NSs accepted it. Well-ingrained in EU usage.
hierarchical/ from	Y (72.9%)	Y ($r=0.160, p<0.05$)	N	Y	N	EU jargon (administrative) despite prof. corr. NNSs & NSs accepted it. Well-ingrained in EU usage.
Transmit/ of	Y (74.6%)	N	N	Y	N	Wrong use of preposition, even by NSs. EU jargon (administrative or technical) despite no prof. corr. & no L1-interf. NNSs & NSs accepted it.
Delay (délai)	N (49.3%)	Y ($r=0.150, p<0.05$)	N	N	N	Well-ingrained in EU usage. Wrong preposition. French word to mean 'deadline'. The only feature rejected by NNSs & NSs of English.

ANNEX 7. Chi-Square Probability Test for NSs of English.

	Chi-Square	df	Asymp. Sig.
Q18 The European Commission verifies state aids in the EU	.250 ^a	1	.617
Q20 In order to respect the delay for transmission. the Commission can make small changes to the notification	3.267 ^b	1	.071
Q22 Policy fiche on external action can be found on page 43	.067 ^b	1	.796
Q26 Any absence during core must be approved from the hierarchical superior	1.143 ^c	1	.285
Q28 The 2011–2013 multiannual strategy paper was approved in the first semester of 2011	2.571 ^c	1	.109
Q30 Commission fixes the standard values for imports from third countries. in respect of the products and periods stipulated in Annex XVI	.000 ^c	1	1.000
Q32 Each Member State shall transmit its Partnership Contract to the Commission within 3 months of the adoption of the Common Strategic Framework	2.571 ^c	1	.109
Q34 The EU has exclusive competences in the area of common foreign and security policy	2.571 ^c	1	.109

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 8.0.

b. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 7.5.

c. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 7.0.

Construction or Constructing? Some Observations on English Deverbal and Gerundial Nouns

ABSTRACT

English deverbal and gerundial nouns are traditionally analysed as instances of verbal nominalisations with a hybrid syntactic and semantic nature: while predominantly having nominal properties, they display some of the verbal characteristics as well. Using relevant examples from English corpora (BNC, ukWaC, enTenTen13), the paper examines the similarities and differences between the two types of nominalisations with special focus on their syntactic and semantic properties. The paper discusses deverbal/gerundial nouns in relation to the s.c. gerundial cline, which refers to the gradual process of nominalisation as observed in English. The analysis of examples shows that gerundial nouns are typically associated with the eventive interpretation, and that the structure of the nominal phrase headed by a gerundial noun directly reflects the syntactic properties of the verbal root. Deverbal nouns, on the other hand, are typically associated with the result-object interpretation, and the structure of the nominal phrase headed by a deverbal noun is less dependent on the syntactic properties of the verbal root. Despite these apparent differences, corpus data also reveal that the converse is also true: deverbal nouns can be used as gerundial nouns and vice versa.

Keywords: deverbal nouns; gerundial nouns; gerundial cline; nominalisation; nominal phrase; syntax; semantics

Gradnja ali grajenje? O angleških izglagolskih in glagolskih samostalnikih

POVZETEK

Angleški izglagolski in glagolski samostalniki so primeri nominalizacij, ki skladenjsko in pomensko kažejo lastnosti tako samostalnikov kot glagolov. S pomočjo relevantnih primerov iz referenčnih angleških korpusov (BNC, ukWaC, enTenTen13) članek obravnava podobnosti in razločke med izglagolskimi in glagolskimi samostalniki. Izglagolski in glagolski samostalniki so obravnavani tudi z vidika postopnosti izglagolskega nominalizacijskega procesa. Razčlemba korpusnih primerov pokaže, da se glagolski samostalniki pogosto rabijo, kadar izražajo dogodkovni pomen. Struktura samostalniške zveze, katere jedro je glagolski samostalnik, jasno odseva skladenjske zahteve glagolskega korena. Nasprotno se izglagolski samostalniki tipično pojavljajo z rezultativnim pomenom. Struktura samostalniške zveze, katere jedro je izglagolski samostalnik, ni več nujno odvisna od skladenjskih zahtev glagolskega korena. Korpusni podatki med drugim pokažejo, da je nasprotno tudi mogoče: izglagolski samostalniki se lahko rabijo kot glagolski in obratno.

Ključne besede: glagolski samostalniki; izglagolski samostalniki; nominalizacija; samostalniška zveza; skladenja; pomenoslovje

Construction or Constructing? Some Observations on English Deverbal and Gerundial Nouns¹

1 Introduction and Basic Assumptions

The classification of the *-ing* forms in English has always been a source of controversy among linguists. In traditional grammatical descriptions, verbal *-ing* forms in the nominal function (1a) have been labelled as gerunds, whereas verbal *-ing* forms in the adverbial function (1b) have been referred to as participles.

- (1) a) *I can remember leaving the room and walking in the completely opposite direction to where I should have gone.*
b) *'Well, that's odd,' said she, leaving the room.*

Despite the fact that the same nominal/adverbial dichotomy can be observed in the case of the infinitive (2a, b), no special typological distinction, apart from sub-specifying the infinitival clause w.r.t. its syntactic role (i.e., the adverbial or the nominal infinitival clause), has been drawn in descriptive grammars. As a consequence, several authors have proposed that the *-ing* forms such as those in (1) be treated as the same category. For example, Quirk et al. (1985, 150) call this category the *-ing* participle, and to distinguish the nominal syntactic function (1a) from the adverbial (1b), the authors (op.cit., ch. 15) resort to the terms nominal *-ing* clauses and adverbial *-ing* clauses respectively. Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 81–83) label this category as the gerund-participle form of the verb.

- (2) a) *Both of them asked me to leave the room for half an hour.*
b) *I slowly turned to leave the room, and then, for some unknown reason, abruptly stopped.*

The present paper, however, does not adopt these uniform classifications, but follows the traditional analysis, in which the verbal *-ing* forms used nominally are labelled as gerunds (1a), and those used adverbially as participles (1b).

It has been observed and discussed in the relevant literature (Chomsky 1970, Malouf 1998, Hudson 2000, Alexiadou 2001 a.o.) that in English, gerundial structures display different syntactic patterning (3), in which (3b) is the most verbal and the least nominal, and, conversely, (3c,c') the least verbal and the most nominal. The gradience exemplified in (3b–c) has been referred to as the Gerundial Cline (Dienhart and Jakobsen 1985) or the Deverbalization Hierarchy (Malouf 1998). Examples (3a) and (3d) simply mark the endpoints of the continuum, i.e., the verbal and nominal endpoint respectively.

- (3) a) *His ego [...] ensured that he completely failed to understand the difference.*
b) *Today that happened with my Mum unexpectedly quoting Dickens at me, and my completely failing to get the reference.*
c) *And believe that his case highlights the failing of the criminal justice system.*
c') *Robertson was justly appreciated for his account of the failings of the feudal system.*
d) *Hamilton's poor judgement of when to intervene led to complete failure and needless loss.*

¹ I would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments. Needless to say, all errors remain my own.

Filling the argument position in (3a), the subordinate finite clause superficially behaves like a nominal (i.e., nominal subordinate clause); however, internally, it has only clausal properties. The verb *failed* displays tense/aspect/mood/voice distinction, selects arguments/adjuncts, and thus provides the event structure of the clause (cf., Grimshaw 1990, 26). Similarly, both gerundial clauses in (3b) are nominal externally (i.e., complements to the preposition *with*), whereas internally, the gerundial forms *quoting* and *failing* behave exclusively as verbs: they select adjuncts (e.g., *unexpectedly, completely*) and direct objects (e.g., *Dickens*). The presence of the possessive pronoun in *my completely failing* does not indicate the nominal structure, since the possessive is not interchangeable with the definite article (**the completely failing ...*) as is the case with true nominal phrases in English, for example, *his/the failure to please* (for details see Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1189ff). Examples (3c, c') mark the boundary between gerundial structures that are externally nominal but internally verbal, and those that are nominal both externally and internally in syntax. In (3c, c'), the gerundial form *failing* no longer functions as a predicator, and consequently cannot select objects, complements, and adjuncts. It heads the nominal phrase with typical nominal modifiers: the determiner, adjectival premodification and *of*-phrase postmodification. Finally, (3d) contains the deverbal noun *failure* which is associated with syntactic nominal properties only. The labelling of the intermediate stages on the cline varies from author to author, so for clarity's sake, Table 1 summarizes different terminological proposals.

TABLE 1. The gerundial cline and different terminological solutions.

Author	(3b)	(3c,c')	(3d)
Chomsky (1970)	gerundive nominal	"mixed" form	derived nominal
Quirk et al. (1985)	gerund	verbal noun	deverbal noun
Hudson (2000)	gerund	nominalization	
Alexiadou (2001)	gerund	mixed nominalization	derived nominal
Huddleston and Pullum (2002)	gerund-participle form	gerundial noun	deverbal noun
present paper	gerund	gerundial noun	deverbal noun

Leaving the analysis of the gerund (i.e., gerundial structures with only the internal properties of the verb – (3b)) aside, the present paper focusses on the similarities and differences between gerundial and deverbal nouns with the help of attested examples taken from three English referential corpora (BNC, uKWaC and enTenTen13).

2 Gerundial and Deverbal Nouns

Perhaps the most obvious difference between the two categories is their morphological makeup. While they both share the same verbal root, the gerundial nouns are formed by adding the nominalising suffix *-ing* to the verbal root, whereas the deverbal nouns are formed by means of different derivational morphemes, such as *-age, -al, -ation, -ment*, and zero derivation morpheme (i.e., conversion), for example, *coverage, refusal, exploration, arrangement, and attempt* respectively (Quirk et al. 1985, 1550ff; Greenbaum 1992, 1085). In addition, these authors point out that gerundial nouns (in their terminology: verbal nouns) are distinct from deverbal nouns ending in *-ing* that have no verbal force (Greenbaum 1992, 1085). Consider examples (4a), in which the *-ing* is part of a deverbal noun (concrete, countable noun), and (4b), in which the *-ing* is part of a gerundial noun (abstract, uncountable noun).

- (4) a) *Most of the buildings of Bath all have one thing in common, they are all built of Bath Stone.*
 b) *1878 saw the building of the Tay Rail Bridge, which collapsed with the loss of 75 lives.*

It seems that the proposed distinction between gerundial nouns and (deverbal) nouns ending in *-ing* builds on the fact that *building* in (4a) has no verbal properties/force, and it is fully nominalised, which is directly reflected in its concreteness and countability. On the other hand, *building* in (4b), despite syntactically functioning as a noun, has not been fully nominalised, since it still describes the event of building, and consequently, has a non-concrete referent. This incomplete process of nominalisation leads to the noun being uncountable and abstract.

It is questionable, however, whether countable/uncountable, concrete/abstract, and event/object interpretation dichotomies can be considered reliable diagnostics for distinguishing gerundial nouns from deverbal nouns, because deverbal nouns can also be associated with uncountability, abstract meaning, and/or event interpretation (4c). The reverse is also true: a gerundial noun (4d) can be associated with countability (i.e., pluralisation), concreteness, and/or non-event interpretation, a point already highlighted by Quirk et al. (1985, 1289ff):

- (4) c) *There will not be full discussion!*/discussions of the proposal or waste management policies and strategies.²*
 d) *Kevin managed to keep the group under control, resulting in three sightings of at least two Yellow Rails.*

Therefore, the subsequent sections of the paper will examine different properties of English gerundial and deverbal nouns with special focus on the event vs. non-event and concrete vs. abstract distinction.

In a more theory-oriented approach to gerundial and *-ing* nouns (cf., Chomsky and Halle 1968, and the Distributed Morphology framework as postulated by Halle and Marantz 1993, Halle 1997, Marantz 1997 a. o.), the difference between the two is seen as a reflex of different syntactic derivations in which the nominalising suffix is inserted. Building on these assumption, Marvin (2005) argues that in the case of gerundial nouns (such as *twinkling* ‘the event of twinkling’), the nominalising suffix *-ing* is added to the verbal element *twinkl-*, whereas in the case of *-ing* nouns (such as *twinkling* ‘an instant’) the nominalising suffix *-ing* is added directly to the unspecified lexical root.³ The difference may also appear in the pronunciation: /tʍɪŋkəlɪŋ/ for the gerundial noun, and /tʍɪŋklɪŋ/ for the *-ing* noun. Since the present paper is more usage-oriented, this line of analysis will not be pursued further.

2.1 Deverbal Nouns

It has long been observed (cf., Grimshaw 1990, Alexiadou 2001) and also well-proven cross-linguistically (Van Hout 1991, Picallo 1991, Sleeman and Brito 2010 a.o.) that deverbal nouns allow at least two distinct semantic interpretations: the event-process (5a), and the result-

² Abstract deverbal nouns such as *discussion*, *sleep*, *swim*, etc. become countable when they represent an instance of the abstract concept. Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 337ff) refer to this phenomenon as event instantiations. Consider:

(i) *The later phase of anti-Jacobin patriotism was distinct from earlier discussions of obedience to a governor.*
 (ii) *The swimmers were ordered to their marks and the gun set off one of the paramount swims of the meet.*

³ This is a very simplified explanation for the purpose of illustration only. What Marvin (2005) originally claims is that in the case of gerundial nouns the nominalising suffix is added to the root *twinkl-* which is spelt-out at *vP*, whereas in the case of *-ing* nouns the nominalising suffix is attached to the unspecified root directly before it is spelt-out.

object interpretation (5b). There are, however, two opposing views as to what constitutes the object interpretation. For some authors (e.g., Grimshaw 1990, Van Hout 1991), the object interpretation is obtained as soon as the deverbal noun no longer has the event interpretation, but is interpreted as the result of the event. For example, *construction* in (5b) is the result (i.e., the end-product) of what *Greg* or *Egan* have constructed. It could be roughly paraphrased as “a construct” or “a design”. The end-product could either be an abstract (5b) or a physical object (5c). To others (e.g., Quirk et al. 1985, Greenbaum 1992,⁴ Sleeman and Brito 2010) the object interpretation is understood in a narrower sense: a deverbal noun has an object interpretation if it describes a concrete object (5c). To distinguish between these two categories, I will refer to the former type of the object interpretation as the result-object interpretation, and the latter as the entity-object interpretation. Throughout the paper, if not stated otherwise, the object interpretation is understood in its broader sense.

- (5) a) *The other parts of our premises, the refurbishment of the Examination Halls and the construction of another new building are being designed by the architects from the HLM practice.*
(event)
- b) *The More manuscript is important to my argument because it is an actual manuscript from the period, rather than some inferential construction by Greg or Egan of what a manuscript should be like.*
(result-object)
- c) *His constructions are altogether less like painting or sculpture in their effect than one might have guessed.*
(entity-object)

Several authors (Grimshaw 1990, Alexiadou 2001 a.o.) have proposed that the event vs. object interpretation distinction bears direct consequences for the pluralisation of deverbal nouns: while in the object readings the pluralisation of deverbal nouns is possible, this is not the case with the deverbal nouns with the event reading. Other authors (Krifka 1989 a.o.) argue that the pluralisation of the noun does not depend on the type of the interpretation but on the verbal root; namely, only nouns derived from telic verbs allow pluralisation. Examples (6) below show that the situation is far more complex, and that neither proposal can be fully adopted, which renders the pluralisation criterion unreliable.⁵

- (6) a) *Yoshizaki denied having witnessed the executions of prisoners at grave B' as his attention was concentrated on the macabre drama at grave A'.*
(telic root, event, plural)
- b) *Many nations go through periodic destructions of their heritage, which they later come to regret bitterly.*
(telic root, event, plural)
- c) *Together and in turns they guide us through the petty annoyances of being somewhere in the broad general neighbourhood of fifty.*
(atelic root, event(statal), plural)

Another interesting phenomenon concerning deverbal nouns is that the links between the verbal root and its theta role selectional properties (i.e., syntactic valency, cf., Booij 2005, 214ff) can still be traced. The agent participant can be expressed either by the genitive NP (7a) or the *by*-phrase (7b), whereas the thematic participant is expressed by the *of*-phrase (7a,c). In the case of object deverbal nouns, the postmodifying *of*-phrase can also denote an agentive participant (7d).

⁴ Quirk et al. (1985), Greenbaum (1992) do not make this claim explicitly, but this conclusion can be drawn from their analysis of deverbal nouns (see above).

⁵ Since the pluralisation process of deverbal nouns is not the focus of the paper, the issue will not be discussed in more detail. For detailed discussion see Sleeman and Brito (2010); Bauke (2014), and references cited therein.

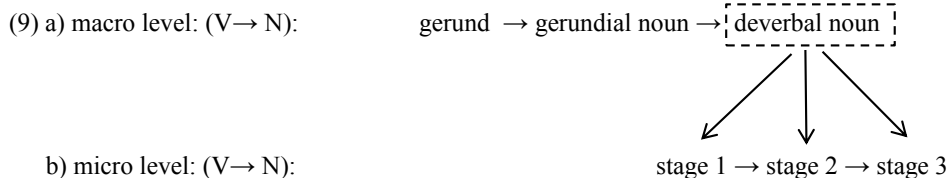
For some authors (e.g., Van Hout 1991) the interpretation of the postmodifying *of*-phrase is crucial for determining the nominal status of the deverbal noun: if the postmodifying *of*-phrase no longer pertains to the thematic participant but to the agent/author participant instead, then the deverbal noun has completely lost its verbal character and is fully nominalised.

- (7) a) *His refusal of amputation of his leg resulted in his death. (He refused the amputation)*
 b) *Democrats reacted angrily to a refusal by the Republican majority to consider an alternative text. (=The Republican majority refused to consider...)*
 c) *The strenuous refusals of order and meaning of Foucault and his school are exhausting and circular. (=to refuse the order and the meaning...)*
 d) *That the house is still being used today by Tony Blair is down to the refusal of first-ever PM Robert Walpole to accept the house as a personal gift. (=first-ever PM Robert Walpole refused to accept).*

Another factor concerning the gradual transition of the deverbal nouns on the verb-to-noun continuum toward the nominal endpoint is the obligatory presence of the participants that are required by the selectional properties of the verbal root (for details and theoretical considerations cf. Alexiadou 2001; Sleeman and Brito 2010 a.o.). Consider (8a,b), in which the sentences become unacceptable if the thematic *of*-phrase is not explicitly stated (8a), or is contextually non-retrievable (8b). In (8c) the *of*-phrase is completely absent, but can be optionally added to the deverbal noun. In the latter case, it can either express the thematic participant (8d) or the agentive participant (8e).

- (8) a) *Instead, we present below a selection *(of the contributions), edited for brevity, at and immediately after the conference.*
 b) **(As part of a documentary for BBC2, Whitby and a crew of 120 brawny Britons assembled a replica of the Great Trilithon, the largest Stonehenge unit: two upright 40-ton stones with a 10-ton rock stacked across them.) The construction took a mere five days.*
 c) *Durham University has secured the title of 'University of the Year' in the new Sunday Times annual guide to universities. The award was welcomed with delight and enthusiasm by Vice-Chancellor, Sir Kenneth Calman, as an accolade for staff and students whose work is at the heart of the performance, quality and wider recognition that the title represents.*
 d) *The principal item of interest in the concert was the performance of a Commemoration Ode in memory of the Prince Consort, the words being written by Mr Walter Maynard, [...], with the music composed by Signor Arditì.*
 e) *When I was in New York almost two years ago I was very impressed by the performance of Denis Quilley in the Broadway production of the musical play Irma La Douce.*

Taking into consideration all of the presented characteristics of deverbal nouns, it can be concluded that the class deverbal nouns, despite its representing the final stage of the deverbalization hierarchy (cf., (3)), does not constitute a monolithic syntactic category, but displays another verb-to-noun gradation on the micro level (9b):



b) micro level: (V → N):

At the most verbal stage at the micro level, stage 1 (e.g., (8a)), the deverbal noun still carries the meaning of the event of X. In addition, the underlying selectional properties of the verbal root can be clearly observed, as the presence of the obligatory thematic participant in the form of the *of*-phrase is required. The agentive participant is always optional, and can be expressed by the genitive or the *by*-phrase. At stage 2 (e.g., (8d,e)), the deverbal noun becomes more nominal in the sense that the thematic participant of the lexical root becomes optional. In addition, the *of*-phrase can be either associated with the thematic participant (verbal property) or with the agentive participant (nominal property) – compare (8d,e) respectively. At the final stage, stage 3, the deverbal noun has lost all of its verbal properties, and has a very strong (entity-)object interpretation ((5b,c)). The analysis also shows that the pluralisation factor does not play a key role in determining the stage of the deverbal nouns, since some deverbal nouns belonging to any stage at the micro level can be pluralised (cf., (6)). Finally, it is noteworthy to point out again that the gradation in (9c) does not take the concreteness criterion to be a *conditio sine qua non* for the object interpretation at stage 3 (see above and examples (5b,c)).

2.2 Gerundial Nouns

All of the properties of the deverbal nouns discussed and exemplified in the previous section can be observed with gerundial nouns.⁶ To start with different possible meanings, gerundial nouns allow the event and object interpretations:

- (10) a) *This is an area I have more personal knowledge of, and can remember the demolishing of Hyde Park flats, notorious high rise estates on the hill crests above the town centre.*
(event)
- b) *As a result of the economic plundering of Belgium between 1940 and 1944 the damage suffered amounted to 175 billions of Belgian francs.* (event)
- c) *As is clear from the above, both of those issues formed part of the key failings of the UN in Rwanda.*
(object)
- d) *The UK Government will not support a private members bill which includes provisions subject to the Convention without the agreeing with the Scottish Executive that it will seek the consent of the Scottish Parliament to the inclusion of those provisions in the UK Bill.*
(result-object)

Even though it is difficult to find examples of gerundial nouns with corresponding deverbal nouns that take the plural ending, the rare corpus occurrences suggest that pluralisation process is affected by neither the interpretation of the gerundial noun (event vs. object) nor the aspectual specification of the root (telic vs. atelic), which again renders the pluralisation criterion unreliable:

- (11) a) *Amidst these pillagings and depredations of the Scots, earl Gospatric ... made a furious plundering attack upon Cumberland.* (telic root)

⁶ For better comparison, the paper discusses only those gerundial nouns that have corresponding deverbal nouns, for example, *demolishing* - *demolition*, *plundering* - *plunder*, *failing* - *failure*, *arriving* - *arrival*.

b) *I became more like an assigned driver to him and I did several drivings for him on different jobs that he did.* (atelic root)

c) *Then Dan O'Connell arose with his emancipation and repale cries, and then instead of Orange processions and walkings, there were Papist processions and mobs, which made me afraid to stir out, lest knowing me for an Orange fiddler...* (atelic root)

As is the case with deverbal nouns, the root of the gerundial noun can preserve its theta role selectional properties. The agent participant can be expressed either by the genitive NP (12a) or the *by*-phrase (12b), and the thematic participant by the *of*-phrase (12c). A shift in meaning of the postmodifying *of*-phrase can also be observed: it may either refer to the thematic participant (12c) or the agent/author participant (12d) of a transitive verb. It has to be pointed out, however, that this shift is extremely untypical with the gerundial nouns, and the corpus data reveal that the postmodifying *of*-phrase almost exclusively pertains to the thematic participant. The only exception to this generalisation seems to be intransitive verbs, both unergative (12e) and unaccusative verbs (12f).⁷

(12) a) *Despite the horrific absence of Deller's destroying of Bristow in the 1983 final, it's easy to guess that Lim's peerless achievement will win, and the latest results show this.* (Deller destroyed Bristow ...)

b) *There was more dancing [...], midnight swimming by a brave few ... (A few brave ones swam ...)*

c) *These can be used for functions or for the performing of civil marriage services. (... to perform civil marriage services)*

d) *Therewith, the EZLN's consideration on the performing of Mexican press is embodied in the following Marcos' statement: ... (Mexican press performs ...)*

e) *Tuberculosis is a chronic bacterial disease which is generally transmitted through the coughing and sneezing of an infected person. (An infected person coughs and sneezes)*

f) *In 1995 he worked from Sarajevo for the newspaper Avvenire documenting the first stage of peace during the arriving of the IFOR forces. (The IFOR forces arrived)*

Gerundial nouns are also similar to deverbal nouns in that they display a gradience w.r.t. the obligatory presence of the participants required by the selectional properties of the verbal root. The well-formedness of (13a,b) depends on the presence of the thematic *of*-phrase, be it explicitly stated (13a), or contextually implied (13b). In (13c) the thematic *of*-phrase is completely absent, but can be optionally added to the noun (13d).

(13) a) *Following the demolishing of Ramore Green there was a promise that replacements would be built.*

b) *One man was killed and another injured at Kedington when a wall at a culvert between the workhouse gates and the mill which they were demolishing fell on them. Messrs Mason, builders of Haverhill were instructed to proceed with the work of renewal. A bricklayer and three labourers were engaged in the demolishing, two arches which had been supported by the centre wall had been removed.*

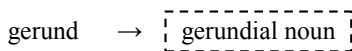
⁷ While unergative verbs lack the thematic participant altogether, the surface subject of the unaccusatives has been standardly analysed as the thematic participant (i.e., the internal argument) rather than the agentive participant ever since Perlmutter's (1978) seminal work on the classification of intransitive verbs.

c) *Nowadays, at least in more civilised countries, we do not let armies rampage for booty. We leave the pillaging to men in suits, and we don't call it pillaging any more. We call it economic development.*

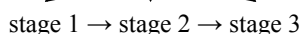
d) *About 90 patients confined to bed remained in the hospital, and 9 members of the staff had hidden in the chimney flues, and thus avoided expulsion. That same day the plundering and demolishing (of the buildings) was begun.*

To sum up, it seems that at the micro level (14b), the class of gerundial nouns also displays a gradience scale very similar to that of the deverbal nouns.

(14) a) macro level (V → N):



b) micro level (V → N):



At the most verbal stage, stage 1, the gerundial noun still conveys the eventive meaning and is modified by the thematic participant as required by the selectional properties of the verbal root ((12c), (13a)). The agentive participant is always optional, and can be expressed by the genitive or the *by*-phrase. At stage 2, the gerundial noun is more nominal, since the thematic participant of the verbal root is no longer required (13c, d). At stage 3, the gerundial noun is completely nominalised and has a very strong (entity)-object interpretation ((10c,d)).

3 Discussion

At this point it is first necessary to address the relative position of gerundial and deverbal nouns on the gerundial cline. Traditional approaches (cf., sections 1, 2) suggest that gerundial nouns are closer to the verbal endpoint, whereas deverbal nouns are nearer to the nominal endpoint (15a). In other words, gerundial nouns are less nominal than deverbal nouns, and hence represent an intermediate stage between gerunds and deverbal nouns. The corpus data as well as the analysis presented herein show that this assumption is correct only to some extent, and suggest that these two types of nouns can cover the same section of the gerundial cline. Thus, gerundial and deverbal nouns should be seen as belonging to two partly overlapping sections of the gerundial cline rather than two separate sections (15b). Despite the fact that this shared gerundial/deverbal section is close to the nominal endpoint of the cline, there is a variation within the section as to the relative nominal strength of gerundial and deverbal nouns. At the most nominal point (stage 3), both types of nouns receive the result-object interpretation, and no direct mapping between the selectional properties of the verbal root and the structure of the nominal phrase is required for the well-formedness of the nominal phrase (e.g., (5c), (7d), (8c), (13c)). On the other hand, at the most verbal point (stage 1), the two types of nouns preserve the event interpretation. In addition, the well-formedness of the nominal phrase depends on the selectional properties of the verbal root: the thematic participant is obligatorily realised by the postmodifying *of*-phrase, and the agentive participant is never obligatory but may either be expressed by the genitive or the *by*-phrase (e.g., (5a), (8a), (10a), (12a), (13a)).

the establishment).⁸ The semantic idiosyncratism can also result from different etymological development. For instance, in some cases, the verb and its corresponding deverbal noun are both loan words – consider the verb *to reside* and the deverbal noun *residence*, which come from the Middle French verb *reside* and the Old French noun *residence* respectively (*Online Etymological Dictionary* 2016; Bauer 1983, 79). Consequently, to preserve the dominant meaning of the verb when forming nominalisations, the non-idiosyncratic gerundial form is selected instead of the deverbal noun.

At the end, it has to be stressed, however, that there is still a clear preference as to which type of the noun is selected at a given stage. The gerundial nouns predominantly cover stage 1, meaning that the noun is typically interpreted as eventive and that the selectional properties of the verbal root are directly reflected in the structure of the nominal phrase. At stages 2 and 3, the number of occurrences of the gerundial nouns gradually drops. The converse seems to be true of deverbal nouns: the number of their occurrences rises from stage 1 to stage 3.

4 Conclusion

Comparing relevant examples from English corpora, the present paper discusses syntactic as well as semantic similarities and differences between gerundial and deverbal nouns. The findings suggest that with respect to their syntactic and semantic properties the boundaries between these two nominal categories are blurred, and there is an observable overlap in their usage. Gerundial and deverbal nouns can both (i) allow event and result-object interpretation, (ii) manifest the theta-role selectional properties of the verbal root, (iii) take the plural ending.

Despite these shared properties, the corpus data clearly show that there is a strong preference as to which type of the nominals is selected in practical usage. Gerundial nouns typically occur with the event interpretation, and their obligatory modifiers are determined by the selectional properties of the verbal root. Deverbal nouns, on the other hand, are frequently associated with the result-object interpretation, and the syntactic structure of nominal phrases headed by deverbal nouns is less dependent on the selectional properties of the verbal root.

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⁸ This is a slight overgeneralisation since gerundial nouns may also display semantic and grammatical idiosyncrasies (cf., Castairs-McCarthy 2002, 51), but such occurrences are not as typical as those of deverbal nouns (cf., Grimshaw 2011).

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Monika Kavalir

University of Ljubljana
Slovenia

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Paralysed: A Systemic Functional Analysis of James Joyce's "Eveline"

ABSTRACT

In homage to the work of Uroš Mozetič, the paper takes as its starting point previously developed suggestions about how the language of "Eveline" conveys a picture of the heroine as a passive, paralysed character. Using Hallidayan Systemic Functional Linguistics as a model of stylistic analysis, it investigates the contribution of both the ideational and the interpersonal metafunctions to the meaning of the text. The results extend and amend some ideas from the literature, such as the supposed prevalence of stative verbs, and suggest that while the short story as a whole predominantly uses material processes, their potential for change is mitigated by Joyce's aspect, tense, and usuality choices. Eveline as the main character crucially has the role of a Senser, observing and internally reacting to the world around her, and even the processes in which she acts upon things and people are modalised and shown to be either hypothetical or instigated by others.

Keywords: Dubliners; stylistics; Systemic Functional Linguistics; transitivity

Paralizirana: Sistemsko-funkcijska analiza "Eveline" Jamesa Joycea

POVZETEK

V spomin na Uroša Mozetiča so izhodišče članka obstoječe razprave o tem, kako jezik kratke zgodbe »Evelina« slika glavno junakinjo kot pasivno in paralizirano. Kot model za stilistično analizo je uporabljena hallidayevska sistemsko-funkcijska teorija jezika, s pomočjo katere članek raziskuje prispevek tako predstavne kot medosebne metafunkcije k pomenu besedila. Rezultati analize dopolnjujejo in do neke mere popravljajo ideje, znane iz literature, npr. glede domnevne prevlade glagolov stanja. Ugotoviti je mogoče, da čeprav kratka zgodba v celoti uporablja predvsem materialne glagolske dogodke, njihov potencial za spremembe zmanjšujejo Joyceove izbire v kategorijah glagolskega vida, časa in običajnosti. Evelina kot glavna oseba posebej izstopa v vlogi Zaznavalca, ki opazuje svet okoli sebe in se nanj notranje odziva. Celo glagolski dogodki, kjer aktivno deluje na stvari in ljudi, so modalizirani in prikazani kot hipotetični ali sproženi s strani drugih.

Ključne besede: Ljudje iz Dublina; prehodnost; sistemsko-funkcijsko jezikoslovje; stilistika

Paralysed: A Systemic Functional Analysis of James Joyce's "Eveline"

1 Introduction

This paper is a linguist's response to suggestions put forth by Uroš Mozetič (1997a, 2000a, 2000b, 2004, 2007) with regard to James Joyce's short story "Eveline". The story was first published in *The Irish Homestead* on 10 September 1904 (Gifford [1967] 1982, 48) and was then submitted for publication in 1905 as part of Joyce's collection of short stories *Dubliners*, but that collection did not in fact see the light of day until as late as 1914, mainly on account of its inflammatory language (Kelly 1991). Together with *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, *Dubliners* brought Joyce literary acclaim, and "Eveline" has come to be seen as an integral part of the collection, which is united around several recurring as well as gradually developing themes, such as the city of Dublin and a progression from young age to maturity, but most importantly paralysis (see e.g., Ghiselin 1956; Kelly 1991).

A great part of Mozetič's work centres on narrative perspective and focalization in this particular short story, among others, and on the role played by speech and thought representation. In relation to this, he mentions several linguistic traits as constitutive elements of Eveline's perceptual point of view and the interpretation of the narrative. His main argument (2000b, 95) is that Eveline's perceptual point of view and the way it is constructed are intimately linked to "the ideational function of language, which creates a static quality in the story, reflecting the rigidity and numbness of the characters, and their lack of power to leave behind the constraints of their environment or to change their lifestyle." (Translated by M. K.)

Paying attention to Chatman's (1969, [1978] 1980)¹ and Scholes's (1978/1979)² analyses, Mozetič develops and makes more concrete some of their fairly intuitive ideas and uses them, in a framework inspired partly by Systemic Functional Linguistics, to categorize and account for translation shifts occurring in the Slovene translation of the short story. Importantly, he (2000b, 95) attributes the pervasive feeling of paralysis, crucial to all *Dubliners* stories, to "the predominant use of the perfective aspect and so-called stative verbs." The analysis presented here investigates the ideas suggested by Mozetič, Chatman, and Scholes, and looks at how a Systemic Functional approach can help us to understand and flesh out Joyce's linguistic manoeuvring in the portrayal of Eveline.

2 Systemic Functional Linguistics as a Model of Stylistic Analysis

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), a model of language originally proposed by Michael Halliday and further developed by many linguists across the world (with a particularly visible presence in Australia), sees language as a multi-faceted phenomenon. Any piece of language says something about the world around (and in) us as part of communication between fellow human beings, and

¹ Chatman's (1969) paper uses "Eveline" to investigate and apply some ideas by Roland Barthes and Tzvetan Todorov with regard to narrative models. In his later book, where "Eveline" is used to exemplify several theoretical concepts in literary analysis, Chatman ([1978] 1980, 11, 93) is overtly critical of both his earlier article and Scholes's (1978/1979) analysis.

² Scholes (1978/1979) similarly conceives of this story not as a goal in itself but rather as a convenient testing ground to show how narrative theories developed by Tzvetan Todorov, Gérard Genette, and Roland Barthes can be fruitfully combined.

must necessarily be structured in some way in order to convey a message. This multifunctionality of language has found its grammatical expression in the idea of the three metafunctions, so that a given text can be analysed at the same time from an ideational, interpersonal, and textual point of view (e.g., Halliday and Matthiessen 1999, 2014; Halliday and Hasan [1985] 1990).

SFL theory has always striven to provide an exhaustive account of language as used in human interaction, and has consistently placed great emphasis on being “applicable” (e.g., Halliday [2002] 2007). While Halliday and Hasan’s (1976) work on cohesion has perhaps enjoyed the greatest popularity in the world of literary studies among SFL-inspired texts, SFL principles have been applied to the domain of stylistics quite extensively, informing, for instance, also works by such authors as Leech and Short [1981] (1995) or Simpson (2004).

Specific examples of SFL analyses range from Halliday’s (1971) own analysis of William Golding’s *The Inheritors* to work by Hasan ([1985] 1989) or Miller and Turci (2007), as well as Slovene linguists (e.g., Bizjak 2005; Kavalir 2006, 2011, 2012; Kovačič 1992; Plemenitaš 1998, 2004a, 2004b, with some focusing more on linguistic aspects and others further exploring the contribution of linguistic patterns to the overall make-up of particular genres or works of art) and literary scholars (e.g., Mozetič 2000a, 2004). SFL contributions to Joycean studies include, for instance, Nørgaard (2003) and Kennedy (1982) but do not consider “Eveline” in any depth.

3 Ideational Metafunction: Process Types

3.1 Overview of Process Types

The ideational metafunction refers to the text as a representation, and at the level of the clause, which is analysed here, comprises the events in “Eveline” narrated as various configurations, or figures, of processes with their participants and circumstances. The grammatical system that expresses these various roles is transitivity, and each clause is assigned a particular transitivity structure.

Transitivity is traditionally thought of as a verbal category, and in SFL too the figure centres on the process. According to SFL (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014), there are three major types of processes: material processes, or the processes of doing and happening; mental processes, or the processes of sensing; and relational processes, or processes of being and having. The three minor types are verbal, behavioural, and existential processes. What follows in Table 1 is an overview of the types of processes found in “Eveline”, and their proportions, analysed in accordance with the guidelines in Halliday and Matthiessen (2014).

TABLE 1. Overview of process types in “Eveline”.

Type of process	Of all clauses	
	N	%
Material	133	47.2
Relational	57	20.2
Mental	41	14.5
Verbal	23	8.2
Behavioural	14	5.0

Existential	5	1.8
N/A	9	3.2
Total	282	100

3.2 Ambiguities

How objective and replicable is such a classification? Based on both semantic and grammatical criteria (in fact, SFL claims that grammatical features stem from semantic distinctions), prototypical examples (all taken from “Eveline” itself) are readily categorized with presumed inter- and intra-rater reliability across the SFL community:

- a) Material: *Then a man from Belfast bought the field*
- b) Relational: *Her father was not so bad then*
- c) Mental: *She knew the air*
- d) Verbal: *He said*
- e) Behavioural: *inhaling the odour of dusty cretonne*
- f) Existential: *One time there used to be a field there [...]*
- g) N/A: verbless clauses, e.g., *No!*

The great majority of examples can thus be unequivocally classified, but sometimes problems do occur. There are two primary reasons for difficulties in analysing specific examples, metaphors and systemic indeterminacy.

Using metaphorical language means overlaying two different meanings onto one piece of language, or saying one thing to express another. This is not in fact a problem in terms of qualitative analysis, where we acknowledge both meanings present, but only in terms of quantitative analysis if an item should be unidirectionally attributed to only one category. Metaphors are particularly important in fiction, and a strategy that is generally popular is presenting mental processes as material ones:

- *She tried to weigh each side of the question*
- *Through the wide doors of the sheds she caught a glimpse of the black mass of the boat*

Another type of metaphorical usage that seems particularly typical of “Eveline” is disguising behavioural processes as material processes where Eveline’s actions concern her own body parts:³

- *leaning her head against the window curtain*
- *and she kept moving her lips in silent prayer*
- *She set her white face to him, passive, like a helpless animal*
- *Her eyes gave him no sign of love or farewell or recognition*

³ Mozetič (2000a, 87; see also Gana 2011, 53) makes the interesting observation that the same event is rendered twice, once at the beginning of the story as *Her head was leaned against the window curtains* in the passive voice, and then again later on as *she continued to sit by the window, leaning her head against the window curtain* in the active voice. He interprets this as the author’s intervention to suggest a temporary illusion that Eveline has in the meantime “acquired some of that absolutely necessary decisiveness to make the fateful step offered to her” (translated by M. K.). See also Harding’s (2003, 40) suggestion that “[l]ike many of the characters [in Dubliners], [Eveline] too suffers from a gradual wearing down of the will in yet another one of Dublin’s ‘little brown houses.’”

Altogether, 8 clauses can be analysed as being in some way metaphorical, with the remaining two being a relational clause that is in fact behavioural (*especially whenever there were people listening*), and a case of double metaphor, *Amid the seas she sent a cry of anguish*. On the surface, this is a material clause, and the underlying process is not in fact verbal but mental. As far as quantitative analysis is concerned, they are all classified according to their surface category, i.e., mostly as material processes.

The second major cause of ambiguity is what Halliday and Matthiessen (2014, 216–17) call systemic indeterminacy, brought about by the fact experience is “a semiotic space,” with regions that represent different process types:

The regions have core areas and these represent prototypical members of the process types; but the regions are continuous, shading into one another and these border areas represent the fact that the process types are fuzzy categories [...] This is not an artefact of the way we describe the system; it is a fundamental principle on which the system is based – the principle of systemic indeterminacy. The world of our experience is highly indeterminate; and this is precisely how the grammar construes it in the system of process type [...]

Examples of such indeterminacy or fuzziness occur for instance with verbal processes that are close to material and behavioural ones, such as *speaking*, or with behavioural processes that may also be close to either mental (e.g., *look*) or material (e.g., *sing*) processes:

- *that he was speaking to her*
- *She looked round the room*
- *and sang a little*

3.3 Stative Verbs

The analysis suggests that roughly half of all clauses in the short story are construed as processes of doing and happening, a finding that is in direct opposition to how most readers and literary scholars understand “Eveline”. Mozetič’s (2000a, 85–86) overview of relevant literary criticism, for instance, finds that the story is seen as thematising “lack of power, despair, and resignation.” The presence of material processes is also notable if compared to a general, registerially mixed corpus of 8,425 analysed clauses (Matthiessen 1999): there, the order of importance of the various types mirrors that of Table 1, but material processes are somewhat less present with a proportion of approximately 40%, and relational processes show a greater advantage, representing almost 36% of all clauses.

As explained above, some of the material processes are in fact metaphorical and represent other types, and yet others can be located in the semiotic space on the border with some other kinds of processes, which means overall the impact of material processes is lower than the number alone suggests. However, this is by no means the whole story and there are other characteristics of the writing style that offset the predominance of material clauses. One such important issue is that of agentivity, to be discussed in Section 4, but in the domain of processes alone, the point made by Mozetič and Chatman regarding verb choices is worth reconsidering.

The analysis of process types shows the argument that “Eveline” is characterized by a style that uses predominantly stative verbs does not in fact prove true. If relational, mental, and existential processes are lumped together as an approximation of the category of stative verbs, they account

for 102, or 37.9% of all clauses – still considerably less than the 134, or 47.2% of clauses realized by material processes.

4 Ideational Metafunction: Agentivity and Aspect

The role Eveline plays in the story can be investigated more exhaustively by looking at the participant functions she realizes in the verbal configurations. The analysis presented in this section confirms many of the suggestions made by Mozetič and Chatman, but the SFL approach proves considerably more powerful in yielding interpretations than traditional grammatical models do and thus allows the analysis to go both further and deeper into the questions of agentivity.

4.1 Eveline as a Non-Actor

While the analysis of transitivity structures in “Eveline” does not support or explain the suggestion that there is a pervading sense of passivity, the analysis of participant functions the character of Eveline has definitely does show she is construed as a passive heroine of her own story. Out of 282 clauses that make up the text, only 149, or a little more than half, include Eveline as a participant, with 5 more including her as a Circumstance, e.g., *after all he had done for her*, where a Hallidayan analysis would have *for her* as a Circumstance of Cause.

In SFL, the participant functions correspond to the figure, or the configuration that centres on the process and so are unique to each process type. The categories represented when it comes to the character of Eveline are the following:

- Actor: *which she had dusted once a week for so many years*
- Senser: *but she liked Harry too*
- Carrier: *because she was a girl*
- Goal: *People would treat her with respect then*
- Behaver: *She stood up in a sudden impulse of terror*
- Receiver: *and he told her stories of the terrible Patagonians*
- Recipient: *In the end he would give her the money*
- Sayer: *She answered nothing*
- Target: *What would they say of her in the Stores*
- Client: *Not long before [...] he had read her out a ghost story*
- Phenomenon: *he would miss her*

The quantitative analysis of participant functions Eveline has in the story in Table 2 yields a number of insights. First of all, in material processes the role Eveline plays is split between that of the Actor – the entity bringing the process about, the Goal – the participant somehow impacted by the process, the Recipient – the participant that goods are given to, and the Client – the participant that services are done for; out of the 72 material processes that involve Eveline, 49, or 68.1% present her as the participant responsible for the event, and 23, or 31.9% depict her as somehow affected by the action but not the one that does it.

TABLE 2. Participant functions of Eveline (transitivity).

Participant function	N	%
Actor	49	32.9
Senser	32	21.5
Carrier	22	14.8
Goal	16	10.7
Behaver	10	6.7
Receiver	7	4.7
Recipient	4	2.7
Sayer	3	2.0
Target	2	1.3
Client	3	2.0
Phenomenon	1	0.7
Total	149	100

Compared to the general distribution of process types in the text, the passages that concern Eveline herself are characterized to a greater extent by mental processes, and the role typical of Eveline is that of Senser – the entity that “feels, thinks, wants or perceives” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 249). This role is more important than that of Carrier – the entity to which some quality, identity or possession is attributed.⁴ Altogether, in 100, or 67.1%, of 149 clauses in which she acts as a participant, Eveline is a non-Actor; taking into account all the clauses, she is a non-Actor 82.6% of the time.

The crucial lessons here are that, absolutely speaking, Eveline is less commonly the Actor than other subjects around her (in 17.4% of all clauses, compared to the fact that material clauses actually comprise 47.2% of the story), and that compared to others, she more commonly acts as the Senser (21.5% of the time, compared to 14.5% of all clauses in the story containing mental processes). This spells out Chatman’s (1969, 28) suggestion:

Eveline is almost never the subject of a verb conveying a genuine active meaning. The predicates with which she is paired are predominantly intransitives, copulas, or passives; if they are technically in the active transitive class, they are verbs of perception [...] which describe her as doing nothing more than passively perceiving her environment.

4.2 Eveline as a Non-Agent

Besides transitivity, we can also analyse the ergative structure of a clause (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 333):

For purposes of analysis we could leave it at that [transitivity structure]. But it is not the whole story; so we shall pursue the investigation one stage further [...] It is true that,

⁴ See also Mozetič’s (2000a, 59) remark that Eveline as the carrier of both the narrative perspective and the focalization might best be described “by Stanzel’s expression *character-reflector*”.

from one point of view, all these types of process are different. Material, behavioural, mental, verbal, relational and existential processes each have a grammar of their own. At the same time, looked at from another point of view they are all alike. At another level of interpretation, they all have the same grammar: there is just one generalized representational structure common to every English clause.

Here, in a complementary perspective, only four participant functions are distinguished across process types: Medium, Agent, Beneficiary, and Range.

TABLE 3. Participant functions of Eveline (ergativity).

Participant function	N	%
Agent	23	15.4
Medium	112	75.2
Beneficiary	13	8.7
Range	1	0.7
Total	149	100

What Table 3 shows is that Eveline is primarily (75.2% of the time) construed as “the medium through which the process is actualized” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 336), either as the performer of non-material processes or as the affected participant in material ones. In Halliday’s classification, the Agent is the external cause of processes which are not seen as self-engendered. Grammatically, this function usually relates to the subject of a ditransitive verb, and semantically to the entity that affects the world around it driving the “doing” and the “happening”. As a consequence, only some Actors are also Agents, and few other participants can be Agents at all.

Eveline realizes the function of the Agent in only 23 cases, which represents 15.4% of the clauses where she is a participant in the process, and only 8.2% of all clauses. This is an important source of the perceived passivity of the heroine. Grammatically speaking, “Eveline” does not so much suggest that people in general are paralysed as that Eveline herself is. Other people can do things – her father and Frank act on the world, people she knows leave their homes, the man from Belfast buys fields and builds houses – and it is Eveline who is pushed about by outer forces, who reacts by feeling and thinking about the world around her but is unable to exert her own will upon others. Affected and constrained, she goes through the motions, unable to change her circumstances through her own actions.

Notably, as already explained above, 6 of the 24 clauses where Eveline is represented as an Agent are in fact metaphors for behavioural and mental processes, mainly cases where she acts upon herself – because that is the scope of her ability to influence the world:

- *leaning her head against the window curtain*
- *and she kept moving her lips in silent prayer*
- *She set her white face to him, passive, like a helpless animal*

4.3 Aspect

Going back to Mozetič's original suggestions, the idea that it is the predominance of the perfective aspect that establishes a sense of paralysis comes closer to what the data reveal. What is grammatically different about material processes compared to the other types is that the unmarked choice in the present is the progressive aspect,⁵ for instance, *We are eating chicken*, and the choice of the indefinite present tense, *We eat chicken*, is marked for the additional meaning of habit or general truth. The only other type which allows an unmarked progressive aspect is the behavioural one (e.g., *Why are you laughing?*) but here the indefinite tense can be used with very much the same meaning (*Why do you laugh?*); see Halliday and Matthiessen (2014, 250). All other process types use the present indefinite as the unmarked tense selection, with the present progressive possible for certain meanings. In the past, the difference in the meaning of the aspect is still present but somewhat different. In narratives, the use of the progressive is typically associated with establishing the background against which foregrounded actions take place.

Of the 282 clauses in “Eveline”, only 9 feature the progressive aspect, and only the last 4 of those come close to the backgrounding function:

- *these ladies are waiting*
- *When they were growing up*
- *He was standing at the gate*
- *he was lodging in the house on the main road [...]*
- *that they were courting*
- *Her time was running out*
- *Her father was becoming old lately*
- *He was drawing her into them*
- *that he was speaking to her*

The first of these examples is part of a quotation, the second acts as the background to a previous event, and the following three establish the story of how Eveline and her sailor met and fell in love, but only the final four examples set up the background for the actions in the time frame of the story. It is also noticeable that only two of them are material processes (*run out*, *draw*).

These choices in the grammar of material processes suggest that they are, as far as this story is concerned, seen as being somewhat closer to relational and mental (i.e., “stative”) processes, and there is less focus on what material clauses are normally seen to suggest: “a ‘material’ clause construes a quantum of change in the flow of events as taking place through some input of energy” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 224). By stripping it of its inherent ability, that is, to construe an action as unfolding gradually in time, both the input of energy and the resultant change in the flow of events seem, on the whole, to be diminished.

5 Interpersonal Metafunction

In Hallidayan linguistics, the interpersonal metafunction has to do with enacting social relationships, which at the level of the clause translates into attributing and characterizing responsibility for the validity of what is said.

⁵ In the Hallidayan model, aspect is in fact treated as part of tense, with *are eating* labelled as present-in-present, and *were eating* as present-in-past.

5.1 Modal Assessment

When we investigate the grammar of “Eveline” with regard to the judgement on the status of what is being said, including all kinds of “assessments [...] that relate either to the proposition being exchanged [...] or the act of exchanging it” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 173), the most impressive finding is the pattern that is revealed in terms of what we can call “modalisations” of the processes expressed.

In as many as 32 clauses featuring material processes the action expressed by the verb is somehow modalised or mitigated. Eveline is implicated in every single one of these instances, and they often coincide with her being analysed as an Agent. The most common strategy used by Joyce is to introduce her actions as required by others. There are 4 clauses where obligation is expressed using the modal expression *have to* (expressing a high degree of objective, i.e., external positive obligation) and only one clause using the modal verb *must* (expressing a high degree of subjective, i.e., internal positive obligation):

- *Of course she had to work hard, both in the house and at business*
- *Then she had to rush out [...] and do her marketing*
- *And after that she had to meet her lover secretly*
- *She must escape!*

Apart from modal verbs, the other two means employed to show Eveline’s (putative) actions follow the will of somebody else are the use of the imperative mood (commands issued by Frank) and the particular reporting expressions *consent* and *promise*:

- *Come!*
- *He rushed beyond the barrier and called to her to follow*
- *She had consented to go away, to leave her home*
- *[...] the promise to her mother, her promise to keep the home together as long as she could*

One particular passage contains allegations about Eveline’s actions by her father; here they are mitigated by the fact he said such things “and much more, for he was usually fairly bad of a Saturday night.” His unreliable, presumably drunken state thus puts the veracity of his statements into question:

- *He said she used to squander the money [...] that he wasn’t going to give her his hard-earned money to throw about the streets*

In one case, the action is presented as a wish (*But she wanted to live*), and in 4 examples Eveline’s ability to carry out the action is explicitly questioned:

- *Then she had to rush out as quickly as she could*
- *to keep the home together as long as she could*
- *Could she still draw back*
- *the trouble was to get money from her father*

In as many as 7 clauses, the action is placed in the future but this future is negotiated, making it less than certain. For instance, in *Now she was going to go away like the others, to leave her home,*

the question is why this is not rendered simply as *Now she was going away like the others, leaving her home*; such language would present the actions as not only planned but fixed, sure to happen. The fact that various kinds of negotiated future frames, such as *be about to*, are used throughout the text sets the scene for the final act of the story and foreshadows the ending.⁶ In addition, the structure *be to* also includes a sense of obligation as discussed above:

- *But now that she was about to leave it*
- *She was about to explore another life with Frank*
- *She was to go away with him by the night-boat [...] and to live with him in Buenos Ayres*

Finally, many clauses with Eveline as the performer of the action are straightforwardly marked as non-assertive, meaning they pertain to the world of the hypothetical rather than the real. In the broad sense, most of the modal categories discussed above are examples of this, but to these can be added also the following:

- *and ask her had she any intention of buying Sunday's dinner*
- *If she went, tomorrow she would be on the sea with Frank, steaming towards Buenos Ayres*
- *What would they say of her in the Stores when they found out that she had run away with a fellow*

Mozetič (2000a, 88–89; see also Scholes 1978/1979, 72) places a great deal of emphasis on the use of *would* in the text bringing about a duality of meaning where the interpretation might move from the simple future-in-the-past interpretation to the conditional *would* again signalling non-assertiveness.

5.2 Usuality

Another modal element that is particularly noticeable in “Eveline” is the significant presence of usuality. The first of the two means used to express it is the use of the modal expressions *used to* (14 clauses) and *would* (2 clauses) to express habits in the past, for instance:

- *One time there used to be a field there in which they used to play every evening*
- *The children of the avenue used to play together in that field*
- *Her father used to pass it with a casual word*
- *Like he used to go for Harry and Ernest*
- *she used to squander the money*
- *where she used to visit*
- *He used to call her Poppens out of fun*
- *In the end he would give her the money and ask her*

The second crucial strategy used is Mood Adjuncts denoting usuality, ranging from low (*sometimes* – 2 examples) through median (*usually* – 5 examples; *often* – 1 example) to high (*always* – 4 examples; *never* – 5 examples) usuality. Some sample clauses:

- *Even now she sometimes felt herself in danger of her father's violence*
- *Sometimes he could be very nice*

⁶ See also Mozetič's (2000a, 85) remarks to the same effect, especially in comparison with the Slovene translation of the short story.

- *for he was usually fairly bad of a Saturday night*
- *She always gave her entire wages – seven shillings*
- *and [...] she always felt pleasantly confused*
- *Ernest, however, never played*
- *he had never gone for her*

This focus on usuality is so pronounced that quite often, in 5 cases, the two means of expressing usuality are combined to get double marking:

- *Her father used often to hunt them in out of the field with his blackthorn stick*
- *but usually little Keogh used to keep nix and call out when he saw her father coming*

All of this seems to suggest a stress on usuality that can rarely be seen in any text and is all the more remarkable given the fact that other kinds of modal meanings, such as probability, degree, and counter-expectancy are all but absent. Altogether 28 clauses, or 9.9%, contain at least one of the above markers of usuality. The most likely interpretation would be that these particular choices reinforce an impression of the world as fixed in its ways, with Eveline caught up in business-as-usual. What is more, additional ways of expressing usuality and temporality can be found elsewhere in the text masked as Circumstance, for instance:

- *especially whenever there were people listening*
- *which she had dusted once a week for so many years*
- *that the two young children [...] went to school regularly*
- *whom she had known all her life*
- *saying something about the passage over and over again*

Once this particular focus on usuality and the repetitiveness of life is revealed, Eveline's comment *Everything changes* becomes even more ironic (see also Harding 2003, 40).

6 Discussion

The language choices an author makes are choices in the meanings he or she wants to foreground: the same event can be rendered in different ways for different stylistic effects (see Kavalir 2012), but a similar stylistic effect can also be achieved using different means.⁷ The linguistic analysis presented here reveals how Joyce used language to paint a picture of Eveline as a passive character whose only option in life is to observe the world around her without the possibility of changing it. The strategies used to achieve it are different from those employed in, for instance, Kurt Vonnegut's *Slaughterhouse-Five*, where the marked presence of relational and existential clauses, and the role of Carrier as the most important participant function of the main character Billy Pilgrim immediately explain the pervasive sense of passivity (Kavalir 2006).

The source of paralysis in "Eveline" is less obvious. Material clauses, which are processes of doing and happening, represent a notable half of all clauses – and yet nothing happens. What a closer look at transitivity structures suggests is that while actions are possible and carried out in the world around her, it is Eveline herself that is passive: instead of being the Actor in the material

⁷ One of the reasons why this kind of linguistic analysis of literary works is important also has to do with translation (see Mozetič 1997b).

events that concern her, she is often the affected party; sometimes she is in fact a Circumstance in her own life. This can be interpreted as suggesting Eveline's circumstances can only be changed by others, and a great burden of responsibility is placed on Frank (*Frank would save her; He would give her life*) and God (*she prayed to God to direct her, to show her*). Even more importantly, Eveline's main function seems to be that of Senser, registering the world around her and reacting to it internally but not externally.

Taking into account both process types and modal assessment, it becomes even clearer that Eveline is very rarely the source of action: out of the 23 clauses where she functions as the Agent, 6 are metaphorical and can be reanalysed as involving a Behavior or Senser, and a further 13 are cases where her actions are modalised to show she is not in fact the one responsible for them.

In a story that is about her, the "hero" Eveline only ever really does 4 things of her own volition, and it is revealing to see what they are: Eveline keeps the house together and sees to the care of her siblings, contributes her wages to the family budget, and dusts objects around the house – but as we find out elsewhere in the text, these are actually all actions she is bound to perform due to a promise to her dead mother. In his drastic depiction of a passive, paralysed character, Joyce uses a number of grammatical means to portray a heroine who never ever does anything meaningful to the world around her out of her own will.⁸

In light of all this, it is interesting to analyse the very final lines of the story:

Her distress awoke a nausea in her body and she kept moving her lips in silent fervent prayer.

A bell clanged upon her heart.

She felt him seize her hand:

"Come!"

All the seas of the world tumbled about her heart. He was drawing her into them: he would drown her. She gripped with both hands at the iron railing.

"Come!"

No! No! No! It was impossible. Her hands clutched the iron in frenzy. Amid the seas she sent a cry of anguish!

"Eveline! Evvy!"

He rushed beyond the barrier and called to her to follow. He was shouted at to go on but he still called to her. She set her white face to him, passive, like a helpless animal. Her eyes gave him no sign of love or farewell or recognition.

There is a clear contrast here between Frank, who is an Actor and an Agent in his life, and Eveline, who cannot act in any significant way. It is often little details that tweak the picture presented: Eveline gripping the iron railing with both hands would be much more purposeful and successful in her actions compared to an Eveline who is gripping with both hands *at* the iron railing; grammatically speaking, gripping the railing would present Eveline as an Agent, but Eveline who grips at the railing is a Medium.

⁸ Gana (2011, 52) rightly talks about "[t]he invisible forces of memory, legacy, and promise – which constitute the fulcrum upon which the plot of the story turns." Ben-Merre (2012) gives an overview of alternative readings of the ending and the story as a whole.

While some might argue that not doing anything is also a decision, what can also be observed here is the striking use of metonymy. Instead of acting upon the world, Eveline acts on herself, as previously discussed: she moves her lips and sets her face to Frank. What is more, however, Joyce has her body parts – rather than Eveline as a person – participate in the various actions: her body, her lips, her heart, her face, and her eyes; and it is in fact Eveline’s non-deliberate, non-volitional body parts that perform even the most important material actions instead of a sentient human being capable of exerting her will: it is her hands that clutch the iron, and it is her eyes that fail to send a message to Frank.

7 Conclusion

This paper is a linguist’s contribution to the study of James Joyce’s “Eveline” showing that a close analysis (in this case of the Systemic Functional kind, but possibly of other types as well) of the language of a text can help explain how certain stylistic effects are achieved, and can further act as support for some interpretations rather than others. Mozetič’s claim that it is the ideational function of language that creates “a static quality in the story reflecting the rigidity and numbness of the characters” turns out to be absolutely correct, but in addition to the ideational metafunction (particularly the choice of process types and participant functions), the interpersonal metafunction with its attendant modal meanings also plays an important role.

The perspectives presented here do not tell the whole story, however, and the data analysed could possibly be used for further investigations. It is a plausible hypothesis, for instance, that the important proportion of mental processes in clauses with Eveline as a participant is linked to the question of narrative perspective (point-of-view) and focalization, and the establishment of the heroine as a Senser is pertinent to the concept of free indirect style. Here, too, anyone exploring such avenues will find Uroš Mozetič’s work invaluable.

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Smiljana Komar

University of Ljubljana,
Slovenia

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The Effects of Verbal and Non-Verbal Features on the Reception of DRTV Commercials

ABSTRACT

Analyses of consumer response are important for successful advertising as they help advertisers to find new, original and successful ways of persuasion. Successful advertisements have to boost the product's benefits but they also have to appeal to consumers' emotions. In TV advertisements, this is done by means of verbal and non-verbal strategies. The paper presents the results of an empirical investigation whose purpose was to examine the viewers' emotional responses to a DRTV commercial induced by different verbal and non-verbal features, the amount of credibility and persuasiveness of the commercial and its general acceptability. Our findings indicate that (1) an overload of the same verbal and non-verbal information decreases persuasion; and (2) highly marked prosodic delivery is either exaggerated or funny, while the speaker is perceived as annoying.

Keywords: persuasive communication; prosody; English language; direct response television (DRTV) short form spots

Učinki verbalnih in neverbalnih lastnosti na sprejem kratkih TV oglasnih sporočil z neposrednim odzivom

POVZETEK

Analize odziva potrošnikov so pomembne za uspešno oglaševanje, saj oglaševalcem pomagajo poiskati nove, izvirne in uspešne načine prepričevanja. Uspešni oglasi morajo poudarjati koristi oglaševanega izdelka, hkrati pa morajo tudi vplivati na potrošnikova čustva. V televizijskem oglaševanju se to doseže s pomočjo verbalnih in neverbalnih postopkov. V tem članku so predstavljeni rezultati testiranja, katerega namen je bil ugotoviti gledalčeve čustvene odzive na televizijsko oglasno sporočilo z neposrednim odzivom, ki so jih sprožile tako verbalne kot neverbalne lastnosti. Preverjali smo tudi, ali je oglasno sporočilo za gledalce vredno zaupanja, prepričljivo in splošno sprejemljivo. Naše ugotovitve kažejo na to, da (1) prenatrpanost z enakimi verbalnimi in neverbalnimi informacijami zmanjšuje prepričljivost; in (2) da raba zelo zaznamovane stavčne intonacije učinkuje bodisi kot pretiravanje ali smešno, govorec pa zveni nadležno.

Ključne besede: prepričevalno sporazumevanje; prozodija; angleški jezik; kratki oglasi z neposrednim odzivom

The Effects of Verbal and Non-Verbal Features on the Reception of DRTV Commercials

1 Introduction

The guiding principles in advertising are to capture consumers' attention, create interest in the advertised product, convince the consumers to desire the product and persuade them to buy it. In order to meet these four basic principles of the so-called AIDA model,¹ advertisers employ different persuasive strategies which include verbal and non-verbal elements.

One form of advertising is TV commercials. They are often regarded as a nuisance which viewers accept with varying degrees of tolerance.² A variety of TV advertisements are the so-called direct response television (DRTV) commercials which fall into two categories: infomercials (up to 60 minutes long) and short form spots (from 60 to 120 seconds long). Both types of commercials are also known as TV commercials for online shopping or shopping from the armchair. DRTV commercials are broadcast either on special shopping TV channels or are part of shopping programmes on regular TV channels. Due to their brevity, DRTV short form spots often occur in commercial slots which interrupt regular TV programmes, such as films (see HawthornDirect n.d.).

Our structural and linguistic analysis of three English DRTV short form spots (Komar 2015) found that their creators (1) used verbal and non-verbal communication strategies to meet the requirements of the AIDA model; (2) exhibited lexically and syntactically less complex language which does not require much cognitive effort on the part of the viewers; (3) intensified the spoken delivery through highly marked intonation. We discovered that DRTV short form spots used the same verbal and non-verbal patterns of persuasive communication but we could not claim that these patterns were also convincing and made the viewers buy the advertised products. In order to find out what effects the verbal and non-verbal persuasive techniques may have on viewers and potential buyers, we decided to test the response to one English DRTV short form spot with a group of students of English at the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana whose expected level is C1 in terms of CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages) descriptors for listening comprehension (Council of Europe 2001).³

The paper is structured as follows. In Section 2, we present an overview of relevant research in the field of persuasive communication, the influence of emotions on the reception of advertisements, and the main findings of our linguistic and structural analysis of three DRTV short form spots. In Section 3, we describe the method, the participants and the results of our empirical investigation of consumer response to the *Eggies* DRTV short form spot. Section 4 is dedicated to the discussion of the findings and Section 5 presents the main conclusions and suggests further studies.

¹ AIDA is an acronym for Attention, Interest, Desire, and Action. The authorship of the AIDA model is attributed to E. St. Elmo Lewis, the late-19th-century American advertising pioneer (see Communication Theory n.d.).

² An opinion poll carried out in 2005 among the students of two major Slovene universities showed that 75% of participants were annoyed by TV advertisements, while 70% were bored by watching the same commercials (Andrejc 2005).

³ *Eggies*, plastic dishes for cooking hard or soft boiled eggs.

2 Theoretical Overview, Linguistic and Non-Linguistic Features of DRTV Short Form Spots, and Research Questions

2.1 Theoretical Overview

The guiding principle of advertising is to persuade the consumers to desire and buy the advertised product. This is achieved by changing the consumers' beliefs and attitudes towards the product, and one of the most successful strategies for achieving this goal is to appeal to the addressees' emotions. According to the cognitive Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) developed by Petty and Cacioppo (1986), information is processed via two routes: the central and the peripheral. The former requires careful and thoughtful processing of information, whereas the latter involves positive associations and emotions. Information received via the peripheral route is the result of the positive or negative appeal of the message and not the logical processing of the message. Petty and Briñol (2015) recognise a finite set of ways in which emotions influence attitudes in the elaboration continuum. They claim that the amount of thinking invested during the influence period moderates the effect of emotions on attitudes. When people are not engaged in careful thinking (low thinking), emotions influence attitudes by minimal effort via the peripheral route. In addition, emotions affect attitudes in agreement with their valence: pleasant emotions generate positive attitudes, while unpleasant emotions generate negative attitudes. On the other hand, when people are motivated to think (high thinking), the influence of emotions on the attitudes changes: it is no longer the valence of emotions that counts, but rather their relevance in the given context. In other words, people take time and carefully evaluate the emotional impact on the attitudes and judgements.

Which of the two routes for processing information will be used depends on such subjective and contextual factors as the recipient's personal characteristics, the mood during the exposure to the information,⁴ the informativity of the message and its relevance for the recipient's life, and an array of possible noises in communication – from physical (e.g. loud music, traffic, ringing of a phone) to linguistic (e.g. different languages or dialects, difficult vocabulary and syntax, repetition of identical structures), semantic (e.g. different understanding of a particular lexical item), and psychological noises (e.g. prejudices, narrow-mindedness). But the bottom line principle is that personally relevant information will induce interest and careful thinking in the recipient, who will in turn process information via the central route of persuasion. If the recipient does not find the information personally relevant, its processing will be superficial and carried out via the peripheral route of persuasion.

In advertising a strong emotional appeal, which can be either positive (e.g. humour, happiness, friendship, enthusiasm) or negative (e.g. fear, sadness, discomfort), is often used to meet the first criterion of the AIDA model, which is to capture the consumers' attention. In other words, advertisers try to reach out to consumers via the peripheral route of persuasion. However, if they want to create and retain the consumers' interest and persuade them to buy, they have to appeal to them also via the central route of persuasion. Mai and Schoeller (2009) found that the

⁴ Puccinelli, Wilcox and Grewal (2015) found that viewers who were in a negative emotional state (e.g. sadness) induced by the TV programme they watched, found highly energetic and positive TV advertisements difficult to watch compared to viewers who were in a neutral or positive emotional state.

most memorable and convincing advertisements were those which triggered positive emotions in consumers, whereas advertisements in which factual and logic-rich information prevailed were less memorable.

A similar conclusion was reached by Adler et al. (2015) who studied emotional and rational persuasion strategies in computer-mediated dialogues whose purpose was to persuade participants to learn more about Tai Chi and its benefits for health. They used four persuasive strategies (emotional positive, rational positive, emotional negative and rational negative) and compared the results.⁵ They found that an emotional positive strategy of persuasion was more effective than a rational positive strategy, while emotional negative and rational negative strategies produced negative results. They suggested that “[t]he continuous use of an Emotional Positive strategy when persuading users may be the most effective choice” (Adler et al. 2015, 80).

There are a number of different studies which examined the influence of linguistic and non-linguistic features on persuasion. Within the framework of ELM, Nikolaus, Roessing and Petersen (2011) studied the effects of verbal and non-verbal elements in persuasive communication and found that verbal elements played a more important role in the central route of persuasion, whereas in the peripheral route of persuasion people rely more on non-verbal elements, such as body language.

Several studies which examined the relationship between language and social power (Lakoff 1975; O’Barr 1982; Sparks and Areni 2002; Areni and Sparks 2005) found a positive correlation between the two: speakers with high social power use powerful language, whereas speakers with low social power tend to use powerless language. Powerful language triggers more favourable attitudes and is more persuasive.

Linguistic intensity or extremity is one of the characteristics of powerful language. Studies by Cacioppo (1986) and Craig and Blankenship (2011) found that the use of linguistic intensity markers (e.g. adjectives, adverbs, verbs, different discourse or pragmatic markers) increased persuasion and credibility. Averbek and Miller (2014) found a close relationship between syntactic forms of linguistic intensity or extremity and cognitive complexity: individuals with a better ability to think in abstract terms would prefer a syntactically complex message, which they would find more persuasive, as opposed to individuals with a better ability to think in concrete terms, who would prefer syntactically simple messages.

In television advertisements, spoken delivery, sound effects and visual images also play an important role in the reception, credibility and persuasiveness of the advertisement. Chattopadhyay et al. (2003) found that fast speech at a lower pitch was not only more attractive but also more convincing, truthful and persuasive. Elbert and Dijkstra (2014), in their study of the relationship between voice intonation and persuasion, came to the conclusion that a high level of intonation can decrease persuasion. They explained this by suggesting that intonation increased the density of information; such an information overload decreased rather than increased persuasion.

⁵ Emotional Positive strategy uses statements which appeal to positive emotions. Rational Positive strategy contains positive statements with logical or scientific arguments. Emotional Negative strategy focuses on negative consequences. Rational Negative strategy contains negative logical arguments (for examples, see Adler et al. 2015, 79).

2.2 Linguistic and Non-Linguistic Features of DRTV Short Form Spots

This section sums up the main linguistic and non-linguistic features of three DRTV short form spots (Komar 2015); we discerned that these broadcast advertisements exhibited similar patterns of verbal and non-verbal persuasive communication. What remained to be investigated was whether these patterns really convinced viewers and made them purchase the products. Our findings also served as the basis for setting up the questionnaires with which we tested the consumers' response to the DRTV short form spots.

As presented in the 2015 study, the structural analysis of three DRTV short form spots showed that they had many verbal and non-verbal features in common. As far as their visual and auditory delivery and structure are concerned, they are of similar length in terms of time, number of sentences and words; the products' names are repeated at equal intervals; they all present the problems in black and white technique, while the solutions are filmed in bright colours; the narrator and the actors are verbally (intonation) and non-verbally (facial expressions and body language) very excited; and the problem-solution pattern appears twice in spite of the shortness of the commercial (60–120 seconds). The main points of the auditory and visual information are supported by captions written across the screen (see Appendix 1). The viewers receive an overload of the same information and are expected to execute three different cognitive processes at the same time: listening, watching and reading.

In the same study we also analysed the linguistic features used in the DRTV short form spots to meet the AIDA model and found that the consumers' attention was captured by means of exclamations and question-answer sequences; the interest for the advertised products was retained by the use of statements which provided the solution to the problem; convincing the viewers and persuading them to desire the advertised product was developed by listing its qualities using statements, imperatives and exclamations; the default syntactic structure to meet the last criterion of the AIDA model (i.e. action) was the imperative.

As far as the lexical and syntactic complexity of the DRTV short form spots is concerned, our study found that they contained short sentences and lexical items which made the processing of information easy even though these were informationally condensed texts.⁶

In our 2015 study we also analysed the prosodic features of the DRTV short form spots and found that they used highly marked intonation. The delivery of the text contained many short intonation phrases within one clause which contained two pitch prominent syllables – the nuclear and the pre-nuclear one. The texts contained many repetitions of the same words, phrases or clauses which were regularly delivered with the nucleus on the same item, thus violating the basic principle of tonicity, namely, that the nucleus should occur on new information. The prevailing pitch movements consisted of either a high falling tone or a high pre-nuclear segment and a high falling tone which indicated a high degree of involvement and enthusiasm expressed by the speaker over the advertised products.⁷

⁶ According to Flesch Reading Ease and Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level the DRTV short form spots are easily understood by children between the ages of 8 and 13 (Komar 2015, 45).

⁷ For a detailed analysis of intonation in DRTV short form spots, see Komar (2015, 40–44).

2.3 Research Questions

On the basis of the above theoretical assumptions and the results of our structural and linguistic analysis of DRTV short form spots, we decided to test the viewers' response to this type of TV commercials in order to answer the following research questions:

RQ1 How does repetition of identical lexical items, syntactic structures and the product's name influence credibility and persuasion?

RQ2 How does a highly marked audio-visual delivery increase interest and influence credibility?

RQ3 What influence does spoken delivery (speaker's voice, pitch, speed and volume) have on the viewers' emotional response to DRTV short form spots?

3 The Study

3.1 Participants and Method

In October 2015 we invited 96 first-year students of English (22 male and 74 female) to participate in an experiment to test the effects of DRTV short form spots on the behaviour of potential consumers of *Eggies* (plastic dishes for cooking hard and soft-boiled eggs without a shell). The empirical investigation was carried out during a course on English Phonetics and Phonology as an introduction to the topic of English prosody. The purpose of the empirical investigation was explained to the participants, and they were instructed to provide honest and sincere answers to the questions. The results of the empirical investigation were later discussed with the students and served as a good example on the importance of spoken delivery, particular intonation, for the reception of information.

Before the exposure to the *Eggies* DRTV short form spot, the participants had to answer a pre-viewing questionnaire about their experiences with cooking hard-boiled eggs and their interest in acquiring a tool for an easier way of cooking hard-boiled eggs (see Appendix 2). In this way we tested how relevant and informative a commercial like *Eggies* could be for the viewers.

Having watched the *Eggies* DRTV short form spot, the participants proceeded to the second questionnaire, in which they had to answer questions concerning the informativity and persuasiveness of the DRTV short form spot. Additionally, they had to evaluate their emotional reactions to the commercial, as well as the delivery and the voice of the presenter (see Appendix 3).

3.2 Results

3.2.1 Pre-Viewing Questionnaire

Table 1 shows the results of the pre-viewing questionnaire, whose purpose was to find the participants' experiences with cooking hard-boiled eggs. We can observe that the majority of them (97.9%) know how to cook a hard-boiled egg and do not find it to be a difficult culinary undertaking. When it comes to peeling a hard-boiled egg, the answers are more varied: more than a half of the participants (56.3%) find the task messy, whereas 40.6% find it easy. Although 68.7% of participants think that cooking and peeling a hard-boiled egg can be made easier, 54.1% of them would not buy a tool which could make the tasks easier, whereas 41.7% might

decide to purchase such a product. There were more male participants than female who would not buy such a tool.

These results suggest that the *Eggies* DRTV short form spot will be of interest for more than two thirds of the participants (68.7%). On the other hand, the commercial has to be very convincing to persuade the 54.1% of the participants who do not consider buying a product like *Eggies* at all.

TABLE 1. Results of the pre-viewing questionnaire.

Q1: Do you know how to cook a hard-boiled egg?			
	YES	NO	
All participants (n=96; 100%)	94 (97.9%)	2 (2.1%)	
Female (n=74; 77%)	73 (76%)	1 (1%)	
Male (n=22; 23%)	21 (22%)	1 (1%)	
Female (n=74; 100%)	73 (98.6%)	1 (1.4%)	
Male (n=22; 100%)	21 (96.5%)	1 (4.5%)	
Q2: Do you find cooking hard-boiled eggs difficult?			
	YES	NO	
All participants (n=96; 100%)	2 (2.1%)	94 (97.9%)	
Female (n=74; 77%)	0	74 (77.1%)	
Male (n=22; 23%)	2 (2.1%)	20 (20.8%)	
Female (n=74; 100%)	0	74 (100%)	
Male (n=22; 100%)	2 (9.1%)	20 (90.9%)	
Q3: How do you find peeling a hard-boiled egg?			
	EASY	DIFFICULT	MESSY
All participants (n=96; 100%)	39 (40.6%)	3 (3.1%)	54 (56.3%)
Female (n=74; 77%)	30 (31.3%)	0	44 (45.8%)
Male (n=22; 23%)	9 (9.4%)	3 (3.1%)	10 (10.4%)
Female (n=74; 100%)	30 (40.5%)	0	44 (59.5%)
Male (n=22; 100%)	9 (40.9%)	3 (13.6%)	10 (45.5%)
Q4: Do you think that cooking and peeling hard-boiled eggs could be made easier?			
	YES	NO	
All participants (n=96; 100%)	66 (68.7%)	30 (31.3%)	
Female (n=74; 77%)	51 (53.1%)	23 (24%)	
Male (n=22; 23%)	15 (15.6%)	7 (7.3%)	
Female (n=74; 100%)	51 (68.9%)	23 (31.1%)	
Male (n=22; 100%)	15 (68.2%)	7 (31.8%)	
Q5: Would you be interested in buying a product which would make cooking and peeling hard-boiled eggs easier?			
	YES	NO	PERHAPS
All participants (n=96; 100%)	4 (4.2%)	52 (54.1%)	40 (41.7%)
Female (n=74; 77%)	2 (2.1%)	37 (38.5%)	35 (36.5%)
Male (n=22; 23%)	2 (2.1%)	15 (15.6%)	5 (5.2%)
Female (n=74; 100%)	2 (2.7%)	37 (50%)	35 (47.3%)
Male (n=22; 100%)	2 (9.1%)	15 (68.2%)	5 (22.7%)

3.2.2 Post-Viewing Questionnaire

After watching the *Eggies* DRTV short form spot, the participants were given the second questionnaire, in which there were nine questions. The first three questions were about the informativity, and persuasiveness of the DRTV short form spot. The participants had to choose among three offered answers. The following three questions were open and the participants were invited to provide up to five adjectives describing their emotional reactions to the DRTV short form spots, and five features which made the commercial appealing as well as unattractive. Questions 7 and 8 concerned the delivery and the voice of the narrator. The participants were offered five adjectives in each question and their task was to choose one or more than one label. In the last question the participants had to decide whether the gender of the narrator was appropriate for the *Eggies* DRTV short form spot.

3.2.2.1 Informativity and Persuasiveness of the *Eggies* DRTV Short Form Spot

Table 2 shows the results for the first three questions in the post-viewing questionnaire. We can conclude that more than a half of all participants (52%) found the commercial adequately informative, whereas approximately one third of them (31.3%) found it very informative. The male participants found the commercial very informative, in a higher percentage (36.4%), than the female participants (29.7%).

The commercial is convincing for 78% of all participants, with a higher percentage of female (82.4%) than male (63.6%) participants. However, a large majority of all participants (82.3%), regardless of the gender, answered that they would not buy *Eggies*.

TABLE 2. Informativity and persuasiveness of the *Eggies* DRTV short form spot: results of the post-viewing questionnaire.

Q1: How informative was the commercial?			
	VERY	JUST ENOUGH	NOT ENOUGH
All participants (n=96; 100%)	30 (31.3%)	50 (52%)	16 (16.7%)
Female (n=74; 77%)	22 (22.9%)	41 (42.7%)	11 (11.5%)
Male (n=22; 23%)	8 (8.3%)	9 (9.4%)	5 (5.2%)
Female (n=74; 100%)	22 (29.7%)	41 (55.4%)	11 (14.9%)
Male (n=22; 100%)	8 (36.4%)	9 (40.9%)	5 (22.7%)
Q2: Did the commercial convince you that there was an easier way of cooking and peeling hard-boiled eggs?			
	YES	NO	
All participants (n=96; 100%)	75 (78%)	21 (22%)	
Female (n=74; 77%)	61 (63.5%)	13 (13.6%)	
Male (n=22; 23%)	14 (14.6%)	8 (8.3%)	
Female (n=74; 100%)	61 (82.4%)	13 (17.6%)	
Male (n=22; 100%)	14 (63.6%)	8 (36.4%)	
Q3: Were you persuaded to buy the product?			
	YES	NO	
All participants (n=96; 100%)	17 (17.7%)	79 (82.3%)	
Female (n=74; 77%)	14 (14.6%)	60 (62.5%)	
Male (n=22; 23%)	3 (3.1%)	19 (19.8%)	
Female (n=74; 100%)	14 (18.9%)	60 (81.1%)	
Male (n=22; 100%)	3 (13.6%)	19 (86.4%)	

3.2.2.2 Emotional Reactions to the *Eggies* DRTV Short Form Spot

The fourth question was an open one and required the participants to provide up to five adjectives describing their emotional reactions to the *Eggies* DRTV short form spot. Table 3 presents the number of adjectives chosen by the participants. The participants described their emotional reactions to the commercial mostly with two or three adjectives, twenty of them chose four or five adjectives.

TABLE 3. Number of adjectives chosen by the participants.

	1 adjective	2 adjectives	3 adjectives	4 adjectives	5 adjectives
Participants (n=96; 100%)	19 (19.8%)	30 (31.3%)	27 (28.1%)	10 (10.4%)	10 (10.4%)

The participants listed 26 different adjectives; these are presented in Table 4 together with their number of occurrences. It is evident that among the most frequently mentioned adjectives are those which express positive emotions (*amused, happy, excited, entertained*), whereas adjectives expressing negative emotional states (*bored, sceptical, stupid, silly, ridiculous*) were much less frequent.

TABLE 4. Adjectives Used to Describe Emotional Reactions to *Eggies* DRTV Short Form Spots.

Adjective	N	Adjective	N	Adjective	N	Adjective	N	Adjective	N
amused	33	confused	17	nice	8	sceptical	4	ridiculous	3
happy	29	surprised	17	hungry	6	impressed	3	disappointed	2
interested	21	annoyed	15	amazed	4	silly	3	puzzled	1
excited	18	entertained	8	bored	4	stupid	3	unconvinced	1

3.2.2.3 Factors Influencing the Appeal of the Commercial

The fifth and the sixth questions specifically asked the participants to provide up to five features that made the commercial attractive (question 5) or unattractive (question 6). Table 5 presents the number of features chosen by the participants and their frequencies of occurrence in response to question 5. We can see that the majority of participants chose up to three features which made the commercial appealing.

TABLE 5. Number of features chosen by the participants.

	1 feature	2 features	3 features	4 features	5 features
Participants (n=96; 100%)	23 (24%)	36 (37.5%)	27 (28.1%)	6 (6.2%)	4 (4.2%)

The participants chose 12 features which contributed to the attractiveness of the *Eggies* DRTV short form spot. They are presented in Table 6.

TABLE 6. Factors which made the commercial appealing.

Feature	N	Feature	N	Feature	N
music	28	product's name	6	excitement	3
colours	27	happiness	5	vivid pictures	2
food	26	innovation	5	simple language	2
nice voice	15	cooking	5	simplicity	1

The sixth question required the participants to list up to five features which made the commercial unattractive. Table 7 shows that the participants mainly chose one or two features to describe the unattractiveness of the *Eggies* DRTV short form spot.

TABLE 7. Number of features chosen by the participants.

	1 feature	2 features	3 features	4 features	5 features
Participants (n=96; 100%)	40 (41.7%)	34 (35.4%)	16 (16.7%)	3 (3.1%)	3 (3.1%)

The participants exhibited less variation in their answers than in the previous question. Table 8 presents six features and their frequency of occurrence in the participants' responses. We can observe that non-verbal elements, such as the voice of the speaker and the delivery, were among the most frequently mentioned factors contributing to the unattractiveness of the commercial.

TABLE 8. Factors which made the commercial unattractive.

Feature	N	Feature	N	Feature	N
voice (annoying, squeaky, high-pitched)	49	exaggerated and too excited delivery	13	simple, basic language	10
repetition of the same words, phrases, product's name	24	fast delivery	11	loud speech	5

3.2.2.4 Delivery, Voice and the Narrator

The last three questions in the post-viewing questionnaire concerned the delivery, the voice and the gender of the narrator. In question 7, the participants were offered five labels (*boring*, *exaggerated*, *excited*, *lively* and *pleasant*) to describe the delivery of the commercial.⁸ They could choose more than one label. Table 9 presents all the choices of the participants. We can observe that the most frequently chosen label is *exaggerated*, either alone or in combination with *excited* and *lively*.

TABLE 9. Delivery of the *Eggies* DRTV short form spot.

1 label	N=47 (49%)	2 labels	N=37 (38.5%)	3 labels	N=12 (12.5%)
Boring	1 (1%)	excited/ exaggerated	8 (8.3%)	exaggerated/ excited/lively	10 (10.4%)
Exaggerate	31 (32.3%)	lively/ exaggerated	15 (15.6%)	exaggerated/ lively/pleasant	2 (2.1%)
excited	6 (6.3%)	lively/excited	11 (11.5%)		
lively	6 (6.3%)	lively/pleasant	3 (3.1%)		
pleasant	3 (3.1%)				

In question 8 the participants were offered five labels (*annoying*, *attractive*, *pleasant*, *positive* and *repulsive*) to describe the voice of the narrator.⁹ Here as well they could choose more than

⁸ The choice of labels was made on the basis of the findings of structural and linguistic analyses in our previous study (Komar 2015).

⁹ The choice of labels was made on the basis of the findings of the prosodic analysis in our previous study (Komar 2015) and theoretical assumptions of Chattopadhyay et al. (2003) and Elbert and Dijkstra (2014).

one label. Table 10 presents the participants' choices. We can observe that the majority of the participants found the narrator's voice either *annoying* or *positive*, or even both.

The results for questions 7 and 8 are in agreement with the results for questions 5 and 6.

TABLE 10. The voice quality of the narrator.

1 label	N=70 (72.9%)	2 labels	N=20 (20.8%)	3 labels	N=6 (6.3%)
annoying	43 (44.8%)	annoying/ positive	11 (11.4%)	pleasant/ attractive/positive	6 (6.3%)
attractive	0	annoying/ repulsive	7 (7.3%)		
pleasant	2 (2.1%)	pleasant/ positive	2 (2.1%)		
positive	23 (23.9%)				
repulsive	2 (2.1%)				

In question 9 the participants had to decide whether the gender of the narrator (female) was appropriate for the *Eggies* DRTV short form spot. In Table 11, we can see that 84.4% of the participants believe that the female narrator was the right choice; 11.4% believe that the narrator should be a male, whereas 4.2% claim that the gender was not important.

TABLE 11. Appropriateness of the narrator's gender.

	YES	NO	Irrelevant
Participants (N=96; 100%)	81 (84.4%)	11 (11.4%)	4 (4.2%)
Female (N=74; 77%)	60 (62.5%)	10 (10.4%)	4 (4.2%)
Male (N=22; 23%)	21 (21.9%)	1 (1%)	0

4 Discussion

The purpose of testing the viewers' response to the *Eggies* DRTV short form spot was to provide answers to three research questions. Our first research question addressed the issue of credibility and persuasion achieved by means of frequent repetition of identical lexical items, syntactic structures and the advertised product's name. The participants' responses indicated that they found this overload of the same information to be very annoying. Together with the very basic and simple language used in the commercial, these two features of verbal behaviour make the *Eggies* DRTV short form spot very unattractive, exaggerated and annoying. This finding is in agreement with the theoretical assumptions of other studies in the field of consumer response to commercials, which claim that information overload in the form of frequent repetitions and simple language does not contribute to the persuasiveness of the commercial.

Our second research question dealt with the influence of a highly marked audio-visual delivery on developing the interest and credibility of the commercial. We discovered that the commercial was very or adequately informative and interesting, but not convincing enough to motivate the viewers to buy the product.

The participants' responses indicate that non-verbal elements, such as music, bright colours, attractive display of food and lively spoken delivery, were the main reasons for enjoying watching the commercial. These results confirm the theoretical assumption that non-verbal elements of the delivery (e.g. music, colour, graphic design) affect emotional response via the peripheral route of persuasion.

Our participants found the commercial funny, interesting, amusing, exciting, happy and entertaining, but also annoying and confusing. These findings confirm the theoretical assumptions that (1) appealing to emotions is a successful way to develop interest in the viewers, and (2) positive emotional strategy guarantees better credibility than positive rational or negative emotional or negative rational strategy of persuasion.

Our last research question addressed the influence of prosody (speaker's voice, pitch, speed and volume) on the viewers' emotional response to the commercial. Although some studies on the influence of the speaker's voice quality on the persuasiveness of a commercial found that fast speech is more convincing and positive, our respondents' answers do not confirm this assumption. In fact, fast delivery was evaluated negatively (e.g. *exaggerated*) and contributed to the unattractiveness of the commercial. The voice of the speaker was similarly evaluated negatively as *annoying*. This is another confirmation of the assumption that non-verbal elements have a crucial influence on the emotional response.

According to the findings of a study by Wiener and Chartrand (2014) advertisements targeted at a female audience should use male narrators because women find male voices more convincing. The *Eggies* DRTV short form spot is more targeted to the female audience and uses a female narrator. Our participants did not find the gender of the narrator important and thus we cannot confirm the assumption by Wiener and Chartrand.

This highly critical response of our participants to the *Eggies* DRTV short form spot may also be due to increased motivation, interest in the commercial and concentration during the watching. The context of the situation in which the empirical investigation took part was different from the usual context in which DRTV short form spots are transmitted to the TV viewers. Interrupting an interesting TV programme (e.g. a film) with commercial breaks usually has negative influences on viewers, who find such interruptions annoying and tedious. Instead of watching them, they leave the room or change TV channels. Our participants, on the other hand, knew that the viewing of the commercial was part of the teaching course and that the feedback from the empirical investigation would serve as the grounds for further insight into the communicative values of English intonation.

5 Conclusion

The paper discussed the effects of verbal and non-verbal features of persuasive communication and their effects on the reception of DRTV short form spots. The study was based on the theoretical framework of the cognitive Elaboration Likelihood Model, according to which persuasive information can be processed via the central or peripheral route depending on the amount of personal interest and motivation of the recipient of information. Appealing to the emotions of disinterested viewers with the purpose of persuading them activates the peripheral route of elaboration.

In order to test these theoretical assumptions we carried out an empirical investigation with a group of highly motivated students of English whose answers indicate that (1) an overload of

verbal and non-verbal information decreases persuasion; and (2) highly marked prosodic delivery is either exaggerated or funny, while the speaker is perceived as annoying.

We are aware of the limitations of this study, especially because all the participants were non-native speakers of English. For future research we recommend carrying out a similar study among native speakers of English. A comparison of both results would provide us with more reliable conclusions regarding the effects of verbal and non-verbal features on the reception of DRTV short form spots.

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Appendix 1

Transcription of the *Eggies* DRTV short form spots.

Legend:

XXXX: black and white film

CAPITAL LETTERS: on-screen written text

1. EGGIES

Messy shells, broken whites, dirty hands.

Well, not any more.

EGGIES

BOILED EGGS WITHOUT THE SHELL!

Introducing Eggies from New Innovations: the fast, fun, easy way to cook hard or soft boiled eggs without the shell.

JUST CRACK & POUR

TWIST OPEN

Just crack and pour in your egg, boil it right on your hob, then twist open for a perfect-looking boiled egg.

COOKS LIKE REAL SHELL!

Look inside.

EASILY SLIDES OUT!

Eggies cook your eggs just like a real shell.

And the egg slides right out when you're done.

And here's something really handy.

COOKS FLAT!

DECORATE

Because Eggies cook flat on the bottom, they're easy to decorate.

WITHOUT A SINGLE SHELL!

Now you can enjoy delicious hard or soft boiled eggs without peeling a single shell.

FAST & FRESH EGG SANDWICHES SLICED FOR SALADS!

Fast and fresh egg sandwiches or simply slice an egg over a scrumptious salad.

TASTY TREAT KIDS LOVE

Eggies help make a tasty treat the kids love to eat.

CHOLESTEROL-FREE WHITES

You can even cook your egg whites for a cholesterol-free alternative.

Look.

Peeling just one egg the regular way can be messy and take time.

QUICK, EASY& MESS-FREE

But you can twist open Eggies eggs quick, easy and mess-free.

ADD SEASONING BEFORE BOIL

And because you cook without a shell, you can add seasoning

ADD INGREDIENTS BEFORE BOIL

and ingredients before you boil.

Watch again.

CRACK COOK TWIST

Just crack, cook and twist.

With Eggies unique design to enjoy delicious hard or soft boiled eggs just like this.

DISHWASHER SAFE

And it's dishwasher-safe.

Save time in the kitchen and enjoy hard or soft boiled eggs for breakfast, lunch or dinner the Eggies way.

Got an egg?

Get an Eggies!

Appendix 2

Pre-viewing questionnaire

Instruction: please circle the appropriate answer.

1. Gender		
MALE	FEMALE	
2. Do you know how to cook a hard-boiled egg?		
YES	NO	
3. Do you find cooking hard-boiled eggs difficult?		
YES	NO	
4. How do you find peeling a hard-boiled egg?		
EASY	DIFFICULT	MESSY
5. Do you think that cooking and peeling hard-boiled eggs could be made easier?		
YES	NO	
6. Would you be interested in buying a product which would make cooking and peeling hard-boiled eggs easier?		
YES	NO	PERHAPS

Appendix 3

Post-viewing questionnaire

1. How informative was the commercial?				
VERY		JUST ENOUGH		NOT ENOUGH
2. Did the commercial convince you that there was an easier way of cooking and peeling hard-boiled eggs?				
YES		NO		
3. Were you persuaded to buy the product?				
YES		NO		
4. Provide up to 5 adjectives to describe your emotional reactions to the commercial:				
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				
5. Provide up to 5 features which made the commercial appealing:				
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				
6. Provide up to 5 features which made the commercial unattractive:				
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				
7. How did you find the delivery of the commercial? (You may choose more than one label.)				
LIVELY	EXCITED	PLEASANT	EXAGGERATED	BORING
8. How did you find the voice of the speaker? (You may choose more than one label.)				
PLEASANT	ATTRACTIVE	ANNOYING	POSITIVE	REPULSIVE
9. Did you find the gender of the speaker appropriate for this commercial?				
YES		NO		

The Language of Appraisal in British Advertisements: The Construal of Attitudinal Judgement

ABSTRACT

The article explores the occurrence and frequency of use of attitudinal judgement in British advertisement texts. Judgement, as one of the main attitudinal categories in the discourse-semantic appraisal model (Martin and White 2005), is concerned with the evaluation of human character and behaviour. The article focuses on the judgement categories of capability and propriety, as the research described concludes that they are the most frequently occurring of the judgement categories. Some typical instances encoding capability and propriety are discussed in terms of explicit and implicit manifestation. The article demonstrates that capability and propriety often participate in attitudinal double-coding due to the brevity of advertising texts and the creativity of advertising language. Capability and propriety are strongly socially motivated: they impose values upon the potential consumer, and hence upon society, and through them create social roles for the participants in the advertising interaction.

Keywords: advertisements; interpersonal meaning; appraisal; judgement; capability; propriety; attitudinal double-coding

Vrednotenje v britanskih reklamnih oglasih: Ustvarjanje odnosa sodba

POVZETEK

Članek obravnava pojavnost odnosa presoja ljudi in njihovih dejanj in pogostnost njene rabe v besedilih britanskih reklamnih oglasov. Presoja ljudi in njihovih dejanj, kot ena izmed glavnih kategorij odnosa v diskurzno-semantičnem modelu vrednotenja (Martin in White 2005), se nanaša na vrednotenje človekovega karakterja in obnašanja. Članek se osredotoča na kategoriji odnosa sposobnost in splošna ustreznost moralnim načelom, saj je analiza pokazala, da se ti dve kategoriji pojavljata najbolj pogosto. Obravnavani so nekateri tipični primeri, ki izražajo sposobnost in splošno ustreznost moralnim načelom eksplicitno in implicitno. Članek prikaže, da sposobnost in splošna ustreznost moralnim načelom pogosto sodelujeta v dvojnem kodiranju odnosov zaradi kratke dolžine reklamnih besedil in kreativnega reklamnega jezika. Sposobnost in splošna ustreznost moralnim načelom sta močno družbeno motivirana, t.j. vsiljujeta vrednote potencialnemu potrošniku, in s tem družbi, ter ustvarjata družbene vloge za sodelujoče v oglaševalski interakciji.

Ključne besede: reklamni oglasi; medosebni pomen; vrednotenje; presoja ljudi in njihovih dejanj; sposobnost; splošna ustreznost moralnim načelom; dvojno kodiranje odnosov

The Language of Appraisal in British Advertisements: The Construal of Attitudinal Judgement

1 Introduction

According to Brown (2001, 34), “language is a system for expression of meaning: primary function being interaction and communication”. Participants enter into a relationship when they engage in communication, acting upon each other through the interpersonal meanings that they make. While the interpersonal aspect might be livelier in oral than in written communication, in print advertisements, as written forms, this aspect is much more active than one might expect. The article explores the occurrence of judgement in British advertisements, one of three main categories of attitude within the appraisal framework created by Martin and White (2005). Appraisal is an evaluative property of interpersonal meanings. The effective application of this model to various research areas, for instance, journalistic and political discourse, conversations, narratives, academic writing and e-mails (e.g., White 1998; Hood 2004; Macken-Horarik 2003; Don 2007) led to the decision to apply it to advertising texts, which are often characterised by the use of creative¹ language. The subsequent results provide an insight into the frequency of the use, manifestation and social aspect of judgement values in advertisements.

Exposure to advertisements nowadays is enormous. Despite advertisers’ claims that the aim of advertisements is simply to inform the public about new products, successful advertising depends on how well advertisements persuade the potential consumer to buy – using language to manipulate their emotions, behaviours, thoughts and beliefs. Advertisements tell us not only what to buy but also how to think and behave in order to ‘fit into’ society; in other words, how the potential consumer should satisfy the demands imposed by society upon them. Thus, in contemporary society, advertisements not only simply describe and praise the advertised product or service but they also play a crucial role in shaping and maintaining social values (Pollay and Gallagher 1990). The influence of advertisements is further reinforced by the extensive space that is reserved for advertising in many magazines (Jones 2001). I argue that the discourse-semantic appraisal model by Martin and White (2005) is a useful analytical tool for revealing how the language of advertising evaluates the participants it engages, and further, how it helps shape, reflect and naturalise values, norms and relationships through attitudinal judgement, in particular through the attitudinal judgements of capability and propriety. The existence, and hence the importance, of evaluation in all texts is clearly reflected in the following observation by Vološinov (1973, 105): “No utterance can be put together without value judgement. Every utterance is above all an *evaluative orientation*. Therefore, each element in a living utterance not only has a meaning but also has a value.”

Even though evaluation in advertising seems to be restricted to the praising of the advertised product’s quality and benefits, the analysis in this article shows that judgement of human character and behaviour nevertheless occurs more often than one expects. Moreover, it contributes importantly to the relationship between the manufacturer/advertiser and the potential consumer, and hence to the persuasive rhetoric of advertising.

¹ I use ‘creative language’ to mean, in particular, ellipsis, metaphors, puns, short sentences, and dispersed text/sentences around the whole advertisement.

2 Advertisements as Discourse

Judgement, as an attitudinal appraisal, construes interpersonal meanings. Interpersonal function is one of three social functions performed by each clause and text (Halliday and Mathiessen 2004) and deals primarily with the relationship between the participants, i.e., their roles, and the patterns of appraisal they follow (Butt et al. 2000, 192). The notion of appraisal has evolved within the framework of systemic functional linguistics, which highlights the vital role context plays in language use, i.e., it determines the use of language in a text according to what the text aims to achieve. Givon (quoted in Leckie-Tarry 1995, 19) defines context as both “the context of culture” and “the specific context”, whereby the context of culture is a “shared body of stable knowledge as coded in the lexicon carried by all members of a speech community or culture”. The specific context encompasses:

- a. The speaker’s goals: the speech-act values (e.g., information, question, command) as well as other communicative and pragmatic goals of the speaker.
- b. Interaction: the social relation between speaker and hearer, what they owe each other, what they know of each other’s knowledge, goals and predispositions.
- c. Discourse context: what information was processed in the preceding discourse, what can be taken for granted, what is likely to be challenged, what is important information, what foregrounds new background information and what is background (Givon, cited in Leckie-Tarry 1995, 26).

Thus, context plays a role in how language is used in a text and to what purpose. Advertising texts are no exception to this, which means that context also affects the expression of attitudes. In particular, judgement is highly sensitive to social values and norms, and is often expressed implicitly (Don 2007). Since, according to Kress (1988, 107), each text is written with a particular readership in mind – hence creating an ‘ideal’ reading position for the reader – it follows that advertisements also create an ‘ideal reader’² whom they address, i.e., for whom the text is ideally intended. For Hoey (2001, 14), “the audience is always a figment of the writer’s imagination.” Iser (cited in Selden and Widdowson 1993, 55), for example, defines an implied reader as “the reader whom the text creates for itself and amounts to ‘a network of response-inviting structures’ which predispose us to read in certain ways”. An implied reader is thus a description of the reading position to which the actual reader is invited to conform (Macken-Horarik 2003). Moreover, according to Rimmon-Kennan (1983, 118), an implied reader is also defined as “an image of a certain competence brought to the text”. Eco (1979, 7) terms the competence presupposed on the reader’s part as “encyclopedic competence”, which we know, while the ‘real’ reader cannot be known. Eco (1979, 3) further postulates that “the very existence of texts [...] cannot only be freely interpreted but also cooperatively generated by the addressee.” Thus, the addressee also brings with him/her their knowledge and experience, which may differ from the mental images received through the ideal reading position, hence interpreting the text differently. In order to address the reader effectively, his/her reading position should conform to the ideal reading position, including the value system, beliefs, thoughts and norms established around the advertised product.

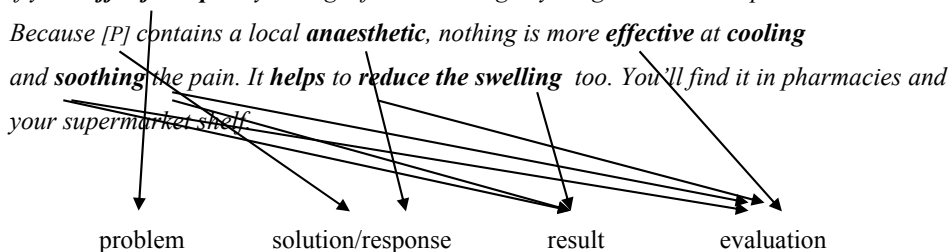
² In recent literary studies, an array of terms have been used to refer to this reader, e.g., implied reader, imagined reader, ideal reader, historical reader, mock reader and informed reader. However, the division of texts into ‘literary’ and ‘non-literary’ should not be rigid (Lamb 2014, 80). The ‘implied reader’ is a more popular term in recent literary studies and refers more to the ideal reading position established in the text (Wales 2014, 208). In advertising, the term ‘implied consumer’ is also used (Stern 1994); in this study, the term ‘potential consumer’ is used.

The importance of the relationship between the writer and the reader in writing and interpreting texts is also acknowledged by Hoey (2001), who says that it is the relationship between the writer and the imagined reader on which written discourse is based; within this relationship, the writer makes assumptions about the ideal reader's expectations and knowledge, and attempts to act accordingly. In advertisements, as in other texts, this is also reflected through the use of language, including attitudes. Similarly, the role of assumptions in creating a text and in using language accordingly is well explained by Kress and Hodge (1979, 5), who argue that a language is a "system of categories and rules on fundamental principles and assumptions about the world" that "are embodied in language, learnt through language, and reinforced in language in use."

As the advertisements under scrutiny occurred in magazines addressing mainly a female readership, it is expected that the actual reader is female. Some evidence for this can be found in the use of nouns women and girls, as a way of addressing the reader in some of the advertisements. The 'ideal reader' of the advertisements in this study may be recognised as someone having problems, which fits the problem-solution pattern on which most advertisements are based. The language of advertisements also fits this pattern, as do the values, norms and relationships expressed within them. Hoey (1994) categorises the problem-solution pattern into problem, solution, response, result/solution and evaluation. In advertisements, the solution to the featured problem, and response and evaluation, are typically contained in a single sentence (they overlap) in advertisements, as shown in the example below:

*If you **suffer from piles** you might feel like doing anything to relieve the pain and irritation.*

*Because [P] contains a local **anaesthetic**, nothing is more **effective at cooling** and **soothing** the pain. It **helps to reduce the swelling** too. You'll find it in pharmacies and your supermarket shelf*



However, it is not only the writer who is active in a written text but also the reader, even though, in contrast to oral conversations, no immediate response is expected. In advertising, the careful choice of language navigates the active reader to make meanings and connections, with the ultimate goal of selling the product or service. Accordingly, predictions and assumptions are made about the potential consumer's knowledge, and the advertiser displays 'familiarity' with their lifestyle, beliefs and expectations. In this way, advertisements target the potential consumer's feelings, prescribe appropriate behaviour for them and remind them about inappropriate behaviour. Advertisements also establish roles for the participants they engage, demand that potential consumers identify with others, and at the same time, attempt to trigger reactions, and change beliefs and values. Furthermore, advertisements express various attitudes towards the products they feature as well as the potential consumer, other people, and the world.

3 Appraisal

According to White (2001, 1), appraisal is "[a] particular approach to exploring, describing and explaining the way language is used to evaluate, to adopt stances, to construct textual personas and to manage interpersonal positioning and relationships."

The descriptive and evaluative functions of language have long been acknowledged. Richards was one of the first (1926, 267) to recognise that aspect as well as the evaluative function of scientific use of language. Jakobson describes the evaluative aspect as being reflected through the referential, poetic, emotive, conative, phatic, and metalinguistic functions of language (1960). Hayakawa ([1939] 1972, 38) defined evaluation in terms of judgement as “all expressions of the writer’s approval or disapproval of the occurrences, persons, or objects he is describing”, while Labov (1972) identified several linguistic elements as performing the evaluative function of language (e.g., intensifiers, evaluative comments, exclamations, comparisons). Subsequently, the evaluative aspect of texts has been observed, for instance, by Poynton (1985/1989), Lemke (1998), and Carter (2004). The ideological value of the evaluative was emphasised by Caldas-Coulthard (1996), who through her research on women’s magazines discovered that evaluation plays an important role in conveying ideological values.

Martin and White (2005) developed the appraisal model as a functional model of evaluative language at the level of discourse semantics. Discourse-semantics is the content stratum which carries the function of directly realising social context. According to Halliday and Mathiessen (2004), language is stratified, i.e., it functions on different planes of content and expression. Thus, appraisal is a discourse-semantic resource for construing interpersonal meanings which is realised by lexico-grammar. In the appraisal model, appraisal is divided into the categories of attitude, graduation and engagement; it is concerned with feelings (affect), behaviour and character (judgement), and the evaluation of things (appreciation). Graduation is concerned with the grading of attitudinal meanings, whereas engagement is concerned with adopting stances towards the value positions created in the text and by the addressees.

The category of judgement is one of the three categories of attitude and is concerned with the evaluation of human behaviour and character. At the early stage of children’s language development, it is the child’s own feelings and behaviour that are mainly evaluated (Painter 2003, 206). Iedema, Feez and White (1994) argue that categories of judgement are motivated primarily by the categories of modality: usuality, ability, inclination, probability and obligation. Thus, the values of capability involve either ability or disability in their semantics (e.g., the semantics of *clever* involves a positive assessment of ability). In the appraisal model (Martin and White 2005), judgement is divided into the categories of normality (how special one is, e.g., *lucky*), tenacity (how dependable one is, e.g., *cautious*), capability (how capable one is, e.g., *clever*), veracity (how honest one is, e.g., *frank*) and propriety (how far beyond reproach one is, e.g., *kind*). As with all attitudes, judgement can have a positive or negative status, and can be expressed explicitly (directly) or implicitly (indirectly)³. Explicit judgement is encoded lexically, i.e., via attitudinal lexis (e.g., *brave*), while implicit judgement is not encoded directly in attitudinal lexis, but is often context and co-text bound and may be evoked via an ideational meaning of an instance or its associations, or other linguistic elements. As Channel (1999, 38) states, covert evaluative meaning is often created on the basis of the associations words take on.

4 Data and Methodology

The data are gathered from the texts of 200 randomly selected British print advertisements. All of the advertisements appeared in British women’s magazines, advertising primarily beauty and health products, and products for domestic use. The advertising texts included the main body

³ Explicit attitudes are also referred to as inscribed attitudes in literature, and implicit attitudes as tokens or evoked attitudes.

of text, headline, slogan and logo, if given close to the main body of the text, and comprised around 15,000 words in total. The textual sections were transcribed in the form of a connected text, sinistrodextrally, from top to bottom and from left to right, and divided into sentences. In each of these sentences, the instances of explicit and implicit attitude were first identified and counted to obtain the total number of occurrences in advertisements. Then, within these attitudes, all the attitudes of judgement were identified and coded in terms of judgement subcategories, attitudinal status (positive/negative) and type of attitudinal realisation (explicit/implicit) following the Martin and White (2005) appraisal model. A coding tag⁴ was provided next to each identified instance of judgement in attitudes, and then these tags were counted in each advertisement to obtain the total number of occurrences. Finally, the average frequency of occurrence of judgement categories, of their status and realisation in advertisements was calculated⁵ by using the arithmetic means formula to establish their patterns and preference of use. The results are presented in the following section, which is organised as follows. The frequency of occurrence of judgement categories in attitudes and of judgement categories in explicit and implicit judgement attitudes is displayed in Tables 1 and 2, respectively, alongside the interpretation of results. Then, the prevailing attitudes of judgement capability and propriety are discussed in terms of explicit and implicit manifestation, realisation and social role. The data are displayed in Tables 3 and 4, respectively, with the interpretation of results. A selection of typical examples is provided and commented on, as the number of examples exceeds the scope of this paper. Additionally, the potential of some linguistic elements to trigger the values of capability and propriety are exemplified.

4.1 The Attitudinal Coding

The coding decisions for each of the judgement categories were based primarily on questions provided by Martin and White (2005, 53), for example, how capable someone is (for capability) or how ethical someone is (for propriety), taking into account the existing values and norms of our modern (consumerist) society. In addition, examples provided by Martin and White (2005) were also useful in the coding process. For example, capability values also encompass lexis conveying semantic meanings related to knowledge, intelligence, expertise, skills (e.g., *witty, clever, expert, educated*); instances in advertisements sharing the same or similar semantic meanings directly or indirectly with the mentioned concepts were therefore coded as capability. Additionally, other studies on appraisal and their exemplifications were also helpful (e.g., White 1998, 2001; Hunston 1999; Don 2007, 2016; Macken-Horarik 2003; Hood 2004; Bednarek 2009; Isaac 2012). Since the coding of attitudes was often problematic due to the brevity of the language in the texts, the denotative meaning of ambiguous instances in the context of advertising was also a criterion for identifying judgement. For example, the denotative meaning of the lexical word *deserve* is “if you deserve something, it is right that you get it, for example because of the way you have behaved” (*MacMillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* 2007, 398). Additionally, the identification of judgement, as of any attitude, relies heavily on the co-text (the vicinity of linguistic elements in the same clause and near-by clauses, at the level of an individual advertisement) and the cultural, situational and ideological context, which makes

⁴ For example, the coding tag for the inscribed positive judgement capability was placed next to the instance conveying capability (e.g., *according to the skincare experts* (ins/judg: cap:+)). The coding tag for the evoked positive judgement capability, meanwhile, was placed next to the linguistic trigger or at the end of the sentence/clause if it was evoked at the clause level (e.g., *but medical research* (-t/judg:cap:+) *confirms 80% of cases can be cured*).

⁵
$$M = \frac{\sum X}{n}$$

evaluation a highly complex phenomenon (e.g., Hunston 1999, Bednarek 2009). Thus, based on the denotative meaning of *deserve* in the vicinity of a positive attitude (*the best*) in example (37), which provides no indication of why someone is deserving, we assume that appropriate female behaviour, according to societal norms, is being signalled, i.e., caring for other members of the family (via cooking). Similarly, in example (39), the recognition of the manufacturer's caring attitude in the lexical *designed* is further supported with the positive attitudes expressed lexically with *help*, *protect* and *health*, and the purpose marker *to* in its vicinity.

Although it is the advertised product that is evaluated as helpful, the human participation in the making of the product in order to meet the potential consumer's needs should not be ignored. Moreover, despite the product itself being the focus of attention in advertisements, it is nevertheless presented from the perspective of the writer⁶ of the text to trigger the buying impulse in the potential consumer. I argue that the writer's (in particular, his/her non-visible) participation in appraising cannot be entirely excluded from the analysis of attitudes. Thus, what is intended in/with the text is also highly important. Since much of this might be implied, the analyst first has to adopt a neutral reading position, and, second, imagine the role of both the manufacturer and the potential consumer as participants, in this way opening up more interpretative possibilities. As a result, attitudes may have multiple overt or covert targets (Hunston and Thompson 1999, 177; Isaac 2002, 224). Although the complete avoidance of undesirable subjectivity in the analysis of attitudes is impossible (Martin and White 2005, 62), double/multi-coding is necessary in order to exhaust the possible multiple interpretations (Page 2003). Even though double-coding is permitted in some cases in Martin and White's (2005) appraisal model, it is not discussed sufficiently. Double-coding can mean that one lexical item encodes two or more categories (e.g., *pride* = affect and judgement), or that the context and co-text trigger additional attitudes via one lexical item (see example (13)) or at the clause level. As Page (2003, 216) observes, the inscribed attitude of one lexical element may be identified as evoked elsewhere in a text, depending on the context. In recent studies on appraisal, the necessity for double/multi-coding, as reliability rater, is also discussed within the multi-layered feature of evaluation (e.g., Isaac 2012; Bednarek 2014; Thompson 2014; Macken-Horarik and Isaac 2014). A viable solution to the problem of ambiguities and reliability pertaining to attitudinal coding is also the expansion of the existing model (e.g., Bednarek 2006; Hommerberger and Don 2015). Although the analysis of appraisals is still mostly conducted manually, the necessity for higher reliability of attitudinal coding by "defining explicit annotation criteria" is emphasised by Fuoli (forthcoming, 23), but this still raises questions about maximum reliability, as the criteria have not yet been fully established.

The promising UAM corpus by O'Donnell (2008) focuses on the use of the tool rather than on the reliability factor, and is also more suited to quantitative rather than qualitative research (Macken-Horarik and Isaac 2014). The approach used to the attitudinal coding in my research (the identification of participatory linguistic elements and the description of contextual factors in the coding process) shares many similarities with the approach proposed by Don (2016), in which she provides a "more fine-grained account of how attitudinal values may be typically and potentially activated indirectly in discourse" by systematically providing an array of linguistic elements that participate in the identification of attitudes. Adopting the analytical approach explained above resulted in a substantial number of attitudes, which when taken into consideration result in an increase in the overall number of attitudes, in particular implicit examples.

⁶ Since in advertising it is difficult to determine who exactly the author of the text is (e.g., advertising agency, the manufacturer him/herself), the terms *writer*, *author*, *advertiser*, and *manufacturer* are captured in the term *manufacturer* in this paper, although they are occasionally used interchangeably.

4.2 Advertisements as Multimodal Texts

The onslaught of multimodal texts in contemporary society has attracted the attention of researchers, who acknowledge the accomplishing function of each mode in meaning making (e.g., Kress and Van Leeuwen 1999, 2006; O' Halloran 2005; Thibault 2000; Tan 2010; Stoian 2015). Moreover, "semiotic resources perpetuate ideologies and legitimise and transmit cultural values" (Bowcher 2012, 2). According to Lemke (1998), the advantage of exploring the verbal text is seen in the ability of language to convey meanings and in its sensitivity to time, whereas visuals are more sensitive to space. Even though the print advertisements under scrutiny combine both semiotic systems, i.e., the verbal and non-verbal, the focus in the analysis was solely on the verbal elements. The reason for exploring text only is twofold: firstly, the analysis of judgement is already extremely detailed, and the visuals in advertisements would require separate detailed analysis (qualitative and quantitative) to produce a comparison-worthy set of results; secondly, since visuals are objects of visual perception (Saint-Martin 1990), the addressee may be left with various possible interpretations, while the textual element conveys clearer meanings. However, a glimpse at the visuals in advertisements shows that in many cases they do reflect the content of the text or its parts, and also mainly conform to the problem-solution pattern. While the attitudinal aspect is signalled (e.g., the value of the natural in green grass, emotions revealed through facial expressions, coloured food, flawless legs), hence yielding reinforced attitudinal meanings, it is rarely displayed as judgement. As judgement, it is expressed, for example, through the concepts of the expertise and scientific approach which have contributed to the product's development, hence encoded as capability (e.g., laboratory equipment or a needle placed next to a health product; silicone and collagen substances shown in the skin; a graph; a substance on laboratory equipment to be added to a product; ginger in an ice cube as an added ingredient; a photo of a dentist; a white coat as a symbol of medicine). Capability is also displayed as a woman's/mother's ability to handle multiple tasks and roles, reflected in six arms stretching out from a female body, each one carrying a symbol of a particular task, e.g., a football shoe, a phone, an oil pump, a book, a lipstick, and a dryer. Normality, for example, is reflected in an elegant stiletto signifying a sophisticated woman, while propriety is displayed as a mother's attitude in caring for her child's well-being by using soft towels.

5 Analysis of Attitudinal Judgement: Capability and Propriety

In this section, capability and propriety are analysed in terms of their frequency of occurrence, manifestation and status.

TABLE 1. Judgement categories in attitudes.

Number of all attitudinal occurrences (n = 6138)	
normality	42 (0.68%)
capability	476 (7.75%)
tenacity	42 (0.68%)
veracity	42 (0.68%)
propriety	300 (4.88%)

Table 1 shows that advertisements, regarding judgement values, are characterised by an extensive range of resources of judgement capability (7.75%) and propriety (4.88%), whereas the resources of judgement normality, tenacity and veracity contribute the same ratio of only 0.68% of all attitudinal cases. This pattern points to the strong emphasis on the values of capability and propriety in advertisements. To compare, the research on attitudinal language in advertisements of houses made by estate agencies showed no instances of judgement (Beangstrom and Adendorff 2013, 337). The reason for the expression of judgement attitudes might depend on the type of advertisement, i.e., what is advertised. Since advertisements in my study advertise primarily beauty, health and products for domestic use, hence dealing with rather delicate topics, they attempt to establish a closer, friendly contact with the potential consumer, hence personalising the advertising voice. The results of the chi-square test (χ^2) for the judgement categories show that there is a significant difference between the observed categories ($\chi^2 = 882.16$; $fe = 180.4$; $p = 0.001$ (18.47); $df = 4$; $p \leq \chi^2$).

TABLE 2. Explicit and implicit realisations of judgement categories in advertisements.

	norm	cap	ten	ver	prop
	exp	exp	exp	exp	exp
number of all attitudinal occurrences (n = 6138)	18 (0.29%)	147 (2.40%)	10 (0.16%)	3 (0.05%)	23 (0.38%)
	imp	imp	imp	imp	imp
number of all attitudinal occurrences (n = 6138)	24 (0.39%)	329 (5.35%)	32 (0.52%)	39 (0.63%)	277 (4.50%)

norm = normality cap = capability ten = tenacity ver = veracity prop = propriety exp = explicit imp = implicit

As shown in Table 2, both explicit and implicit capability are expressed much more frequently in all attitudinal cases than are other judgement attitudes, with the ratio of (2.40%) and (5.35%), respectively. Propriety is expressed second most frequently, with the ratio of implicit propriety (4.50%) higher than the ratio of explicit propriety (0.38%). The frequent expression of implicit capability and propriety values signals that advertisements are also concerned with the participants and not only with the product, which should be the centre of attention. As discussed later in the paper, implicit capability and propriety often participate in shaping the value system of the addressees as part of the persuasive strategy. Explicit and implicit normality, tenacity and veracity are expressed much less frequently. The results of the chi-square test (χ^2) for the explicit and implicit realisation of judgement categories show that there is a significant difference between the observed categories ($\chi^2 = 1.433$; $fe = 90.2$; $p = 0.001$ (27.88); $df = 9$; $p \leq \chi^2$).

5.1 Explicit and Implicit Capability

Table 3 shows the pattern of judgement capability in terms of its status and manifestation in advertisements.

TABLE 3. Status in explicit and implicit capability attitudes.

explicit capability n = 147		implicit capability n = 329	
positive	128 (87%)	positive	286 (87%)
negative	19 (13%)	negative	43 (13%)

Table 3 reveals that both explicit and implicit capability share the same ratio of positive (87%) and negative status (13%). The much more frequent expression of positive capability, both in its explicit and implicit form, means that the positive value of capability is the advertisers' preferred choice. The results of the chi-squared test (χ^2) for the category judgement in Table 3 show that there is a significant difference between the observed categories ($\chi^2 = 436.5$; $fe = 119$; $p = 0.001$ (16.27), $df = 3$; $p \leq \chi^2$).

The analysis shows that explicit capability is encoded frequently in lexical instances conveying the knowledge and skills that the manufacturer has employed in the product's development, hence carrying a positive status, as in (1–6). Grammatically, these instances are realised mainly as things. The target in such cases is mainly the manufacturer, a member of a company or some reliable external source whose skill and knowledge are indicated by a professional title, or field of expertise, which intensifies the values of credibility and trust. The value of expertise is strengthened by pairing the instances which encode capability via expertise with the instances which encode capability via superiority. The pairs are usually grammatically realised as epithet/classifier + thing (5), and their aim is obviously to render the advertised product more credible, which additionally evokes the attitude of positive appreciation targeting it. Often the expertise encapsulated by a product or brand is further emphasised via a circumstance conveying location (6), a classifier (1), and an actor in the material process (4).

- (1) *This is a problem that [B]'s **skin experts** say can affect our mood as well as our looks.*
- (2) *That's why it needs [P], the brand most often recommended by healthcare **professionals**.*
- (3) *17 years of innovation and success in shave built up our scientific expertise and popularity and made us the No1 **SPECIALIST BRAND IN ANTIAGEING TREATMENTS IN FRANCE**.*
- (4) *Whatever cosmetic surgery you may be considering [P] gives you access to outstanding **skills**.*
- (5) *Created and constantly monitored by the **world-leading herbalist dr. [B]**, a cup of [P] cleans your body of impurities and is sure to get your motor running.*
- (6) *According to the skincare **experts at [B]**, it's a simple combination of water intake and moisturisation.*

Explicit capability is further identified in the manufacturer's ability to solve the potential consumer's problem(s), signalled via an incongruent⁸ realisation of capability, realised as *can do* (7), in what the potential consumer is able to do after using the product (8). This can also be seen

⁷ Brand names and names of products marked P (product) and B (brand) in order to avoid brand and product recognition.

⁸ According to Martin (1992, 410), experiential meanings can be realised congruently or incongruently. Incongruent realisations can be unpacked into various 'congruent' realisations. For example, *capability* can be unpacked into *can do* or *making strenuous effort*, or *advance* into *make better*.

in the encouragement of a healthy lifestyle, which in this way is introduced as a positive value, as shown in (9).

(7) *[B] and his highly skilled team **can** give you that confidence.*

(8) *So now, when you wear your face on heels ... you **can** party on ... and on ...*

(9) *By staying fit, eating healthily and including friendly bacteria in your daily diet, you **can** stack the cards against them.*

Capability is further encoded directly in instances realised as catenative verbs, which target the consumer's ability to achieve the best results with the product's help, as in (10), whereby the first verb in the pair inscribes positive appreciation targeting the product. Thus, the product's benefit increases the potential consumer's ability to 'improve' hair.

(10) *While thickening shampoos only make your hair look thicker, [P] gets to the root of the problem stimulating re-growth by nourishing follicles, **helping** thousands of women to **grow** thicker, lusher and stronger hair.*

explicit positive valuation; target: the product's helpful performance

explicit positive capability; target: the potential consumer's (women) ability to grow stronger hair after the product's use

Knowledge as an indicator of capability value is further encoded directly in the instance *know*, which is realised as a process in a mental clause on the basis of some of its denotative meanings, such as "to have learned or found about something [...] to realize or understand something" (*MacMillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* 2007, 833). In most cases, the manufacturer possesses knowledge which they share with the potential consumer, as in (11), or even presents it as a universal truth (via the amount quantifier *all*) with which the potential consumer is expected to be familiar, as in (12). While the use of the exclusive pronoun *we* in (11) attributes the awareness of positive reaction in the potential consumer solely to the manufacturer, in (12), the use of the inclusive pronoun *we* paired with the amount quantify *all* presents the knowledge about healthy and toned skin as symbols of good looks as shared between the manufacturer and potential consumer.

(11) *We **know** how to be pleasantly surprised with the results!*

(12) ***We all know** that healthy, toned skin, free from niggling lines and imperfections is the secret to looking our very best – whatever our age!*

In some cases, sharing important information implies a lack of knowledge on the potential consumer's part, which additionally evokes negative capability. This is often paired, and of course contrasts, with the explicitly expressed capability targeting the manufacturer. Excerpt (13), in which manufacturer's knowledge about the inefficiency of ordinary conditioners is shared via a rhetorical question presupposing a negative answer, illustrates this. Rhetorical questions, which

indirectly assume/imply a lack of knowledge on the part of the potential consumer, may be regarded as less “threatening”, i.e., preserving the potential consumer’s self-image in comparison to categorical assertions (e.g., *you don’t know that*) (Brown and Levinson 1987).

(13) *New [P] conditioner. Maintains the protection of your anti-dandruff shampoo. Did you know that ordinary conditioners could simply wash away the protection you get from your anti-dandruff shampoo? That’s why we’ve developed new [P] conditioner.*

explicit judgement: positive capability; target: manufacturer (having access to important information and sharing it with the potential consumer)

implicit judgement: negative capability (lacking knowledge about ordinary conditioners)

Another example of double-coding is presented in (14), in which the word-play observed in the instance *wiser* in the elliptical statement (no verb), realised grammatically with the epithet, and coupled with the instance *way*, which signals a solution within the context of this advertisement, allows for two interpretations: firstly, the possible semantic levelling of *wise* with *efficient*, evaluating the product positively (explicit positive appreciation); secondly, the possible equating of wisdom with the potential consumer’s (pronouns *you* and *your* in the subsequent sentences in the same text) ability to make wise decisions, one of which is choosing the advertised product (explicit positive judgement). The reason behind the wise choice is expressed via the many positive direct and indirect evaluations of the advertised product in the subsequent sentences in the same text (*help, more calcium, balanced diet, shape, efficiently, manage weight*). Additionally, *way* signals a solution, hence inscribing positive appreciation targeting the product.

(14)

explicit positive appreciation targeting

explicit positive appreciation targeting the

the product’s efficiency

product as a solution to the problem

explicit positive judgement: capability targeting the potential consumer in terms of his/her predicted clever decision to use the product

[P] – a *wiser way* to *stay in shape*. Chillies improve metabolism, so Tracy thought she’d sussed it. She ate a dozen platefuls, but spontaneously combusted. New research shows that dairy calcium can be a *great* way to help your body metabolise fat more efficiently. So [P] has been made with *more calcium* on average than other probiotic drinks to help you *manage your weight* as a part of a *balanced* diet.

As shown above, capability often occurs in a pair with other attitudes. This is observed in particular in the ideational meanings of instances which have a scientific and innovative implication, such as *formulations* in (15) and *scientifically* in (16). Grammatically, such instances are realised

primarily with things, epithets and adjuncts. There are three reasons why such instances may be treated as implicit judgement capability: first, the frequent occurrence of these instances in advertisements; second, the high value that is attributed to science in modern society; and third, the role of context in the interpretation of texts in systemic functional grammar. Additionally, the support for such coding can be found in the denotative meaning of the verb *formulate*, such as “to prepare a product by combining substances or chemicals in the right amounts” (*MacMillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners*, 2007, 590). Since science is assumed to be closely associated with safety, and hence with trust, science, trust and safety are simultaneously indirectly introduced as positive values.

(15) *[P] now has a great new look with new packaging and improved **formulations**, plus a new invigorating variant called [P].*

Double-coding of attitudes via *formulations*:

- a) explicit positive appreciation targeting the product’s innovative nature as part of a solution to the problem
- b) implicit positive capability targeting the manufacturer’s scientific approach to the product’s development

(16) *Only available from [B], [P] is a range of high performance diagnostic products, **scientifically** developed for maximum results.*

Double-coding of attitudes via *scientifically*:

- a) explicit positive appreciation valuation targeting the product in terms of its scientific characteristics
- b) implicit positive judgement capability targeting the manufacturer in terms of their scientific approach to the product’s development

Frequently, specificity graders⁹ help evoke capability targeting the manufacturer. Examples include the names of specific technology, ingredients and substances that the manufacturer has cleverly and innovatively used to improve the product’s efficiency, hence also increasing its value, as in (17) and (18).

(17) *[B]’s new innovative moisturizer with the benefits of **Biodormin technology** puts a pause on ageing signs*

(18) ***Hibiscus, Agrimony and Brown Algae** in new [P] lift, protect, reduce dark circles and puffiness for day-long beauty.*

In (18), besides the capability value evoked by the manufacturer’s wise decision to use specific (effective) ingredients in the product, each ingredient is also separately, indirectly and positively evaluated in terms of its characteristics, clearly expressed with examples conveying their benefits (*lift, protect, reduce dark circles and puffiness*). While positive appreciation towards each ingredient is evoked separately, the use of effective ingredients also indicates the product’s efficiency, hence

⁹ In the analysis of attitude in academic writing, Hood (2004, 99) refined the dimension of graduation: focus by adding the categories of specificity, authenticity and fulfilment, whereby specificity refers to the degree of specificity of the boundaries of entities. Based on Hood’s categorisation, names of products and brands, and kinds of technologies and ingredients used in products are considered as specificity markers

evoking positive appreciation targeting it. Finally, the combination of these three ingredients evaluates the product positively as appreciation (composition) because the number of ingredients in the product is expected to enhance its quality.

The analysis further shows that positive capability, mostly targeting the manufacturer, is also indirectly identified:

- in commands which address the potential consumer's ability to solve the problem jointly with the manufacturer, hence emphasising the value of problem-solving,

(19) *You don't sleep. So you worry about not sleeping. So you don't sleep. **Let's** break the circle.*

- in propositions which give the potential consumer greater control and involvement in product production, hence emphasising individualism and creativity as values,

(20) *In an instant, it hydrates the skin and adds definition– enhancing looks in a subtle and natural way. It's long lasting – from around six months to a year. But it's not permanent, which means **you stay in control** of the way you look. And that is the real beauty of [P].*

(21) ***Design your own** [P] at...*

- via quantifiers of extent and amount which point to the manufacturer's superiority on the basis of their high-quality work and success, hence presenting quality and success as positive values,

(22) *Britain's **number one** private cosmetic surgery group.*

- via engagement markers with which the manufacturer expresses facts, and reveals truths and reasons for using the product for the potential consumer's benefit,

(23) *Does the weather at this time of year leave you feeling run down? **It's a fact** that winter is one of the most challenging times of year for your immune system. Drinking [P] every day is scientifically proven to help support your immune system, part of your body's defences.*

- via quantifiers of amount as statistical data to which the manufacturer has access (knowledge), foregrounding the value of trust and truth,

(24) ***9 million women** in the UK are affected by stress incontinence but medical research confirms **80%** of cases can be cured or improved if you undertake regular, effective pelvic floor exercise.*

- via expectancy markers¹⁰ that clarify and justify the necessity for using the advertised product,

(25) *Bad Breath: Why you're always the last to know. A simple question when someone you know or work with has bad breath, do you tell them? If you're like most people, the answer is probably 'No.' **Which means** that nobody is going to tell you when you have bad breath. So to be sure you don't, use [P] products.*

- as the manufacturer's ability to find a solution to a problem,

¹⁰ 'Expectancy' is a dialogic resource used by authors to present their propositions as justified or argued for, hence signalling a high level of commitment in the proposition (White 2003, 274). This encompasses the lexico-grammar of connectors and conjunctions which create, for example, meanings of insurance, purpose, means and reason (consequence). Under 'means', Martin and Rose (2003) include wordings such as *thus* and *this means*.

(26) *We've **figured out** a way to make our [P] send themselves to sleep at night, in case you forget it.*

- via categorical/factual statements that explain the causes of the problem (knowledge), and in this way justify the need for possessing the product, hence emphasising the value of trust,

(27) *They're guaranteed to ban bad breath, because they actually get rid of something dentists call Volatile Sulphur Compounds, or VSCs. **These are the end products of bacteria feeding off dead cell tissue and debris in the mouth.***

- via technical terminology used by the manufacturer and their access to scientific information, hence emphasising the value of expertise

(28) *They're guaranteed to ban bad breath, because they actually get rid of something dentists call **Volatile Sulphur Compounds, or VSCs.***

In many of the above cases, the manufacturer takes on the role of an expert and transmitter of knowledge on the basis of his/her access to professional/expert facts and knowledge. The establishment of an 'expert' social role, which obviously distances the manufacturer from the potential consumer socially (lacking expertise), may be regarded as persuasive on the basis of the trust that this expertise should trigger. However, social contact and power are occasionally mitigated through the manufacturer's explanation and clarification of important issues for the potential consumer's benefit, which then places the manufacturer into the social role of a helpful friend. In some cases, access to professional/expert information is shown explicitly with its attribution to the reliable external source, with the purpose of enhancing credibility, as in (29), whereby credibility is further enhanced with the positive appreciation *new*.

(29) *Chillies improve metabolism, so Tracy thought she'd sussed it. She ate a dozen platefuls, but spontaneously combusted. **New research shows** that dairy calcium can be a great way to help your body metabolise fat more efficiently*

Explicit negative capability features rarely and is encoded mostly as the potential consumer's lack of awareness of the problem, signalled with the modals *can* and *may*, coupled with a denial, as in (30), whereas implicit negative capability is encoded primarily in cases which assume a lack of specific information or knowledge on the part of the potential consumer. This is often seen in rhetorical questions and commands, which invite the potential consumer to consult an expert and make further inquiries, as in (31). In such cases, the values of knowledge and expertise are obviously foregrounded. In certain situations, however, external obstacles beyond one's control prevent the potential consumer's ability to act, hence releasing the potential consumer from responsibility, as in (32).

(30) *You **may not have realised** it, but 70% of your immune system is in your gut, which is where [P], with its unique culture *L. casei* Imunitass, goes to work.*

(31) ***Ask your dentist** about gum disease.*

(32) *You **can't** do much to prevent your children catching bugs when they mix with other kids all day long.*

5.2 Explicit and Implicit Propriety

Table 4 shows the pattern of judgement propriety in terms of its status and manifestation in advertisements.

TABLE 4. Status in explicit and implicit propriety attitudes.

explicit propriety n = 23		implicit propriety n = 277	
positive	20 (85%)	positive	249 (90%)
negative	3 (15%)	negative	28 (10%)

As shown in Table 4, positive propriety drastically prevails over negative propriety both in its explicit (85%) and implicit form (90%). Interestingly, implicit positive propriety is, of all propriety attitudes, expressed most frequently. On the basis of these results, it can be concluded that propriety is mainly expressed as a positive value both directly and indirectly. The results of the chi-squared test (χ^2) for the the status in explicit and implicit propriety attitudes show that there is a significant difference between the observed categories ($\chi^2 = 542.58$; $fe = 75$; $p = 0.001(16.27)$, $df = 3$; $p \leq \chi^2$).

Explicit positive propriety is identified primarily in instances conveying the manufacturer's helpful, caring and fair approach towards the potential consumer, realised mainly as processes and attributes. The most typical representative is the lexical *help* coupled with the exclusive pronoun *we/us*, stressing the manufacturer's role of helpful friend. Help is offered for activities which the manufacturer assumes to be problematic for the potential consumer, who cannot deal with them successfully, targeting them with a negative judgement capability. The manufacturer's willingness to help signals that these activities are of importance, hence emphasised indirectly as important values, as in (33) and (34). By accepting help, the problem is solved and the potential consumer is able to make the most of their style and grow a whole grain family, which inscribes positive judgement capability on their part (see example 10). Additionally, in (33), the reformulation of the locution *we use to help you* into *we use [in the product] to help you*, facilitates identifying attitude of positive appreciation.

(33) *Iron, steel, clay and silicone are just some of the ingredients we use to **help** you make the most of yours. Now we've added something new to give your dishes a little extra fizz-colour.*

(34) *We're helping you grow a whole grain family.*

However, when the product is the doer of the action, only the attitude of appreciation targeting the product in terms of its efficiency and beneficial performance is coded, as there is no direct signal of the manufacturer's involvement (e.g., pronouns), as in (35):

(35) *A herbal remedy traditionally used as an aid to slimming, taken as a part of a calorie controlled diet [P] can **help** speed up your metabolism and make it easier for you to lose weight.*

The potential consumer as the target of explicit positive propriety is also identified in the instances which directly convey the potential consumer's character as worthy of the product, realised as attributes in the relative clauses and mental processes, such as in the brand logo (36), and (37), and in instances which directly convey the manufacturer's sympathy for something or somebody,

as in (38), which is considered a norm in society.

(36) *Because you're **worth** it.*

(37) *You **deserve** the best for your kitchen.*

(38) *So we were particularly pleased to win the RSPCA's first Alternative Award for Food retailers, and be named '**Compassionate** Supermarket of the year' by Compassion in World Farming.*

Implicit positive propriety features extremely frequently. Most of the implicit positive propriety is evoked in instances which are often coupled with the purpose marker of proclaiming¹¹ engagement *to* (e.g., *designed to*, *developed to*, *created to*), signalling the manufacturer's concern and care for the potential consumer by developing a product that is aimed at meeting their individual needs (e.g., pronoun *your*), as in (39). In (39), the care and concern are further indicated in the positive evaluations targeting the product (*help*, *protect*) in the vicinity of the aforementioned instances.

(39) *[P] is **designed to** help protect your skin's inner structure and outer health.*

The manufacturer's intention to meet the potential consumer's individual needs can be further observed in a number of features: use of the specificity marker *for*, the listing of kinds of available products (41), and lexical amount quantifiers realised as things in nominal groups conveying the number of available products (e.g., *range*, *collection*).

(40) *[B] offers something **for everyone**.*

(41) *Among the range of over 450 products, you will find products that are **organic, vegetarian, hypoallergic, kosher, varied dosages and highly absorbable forms**.*

Moreover, the manufacturer displays their caring attitude in a number of ways: by granting the potential consumer second chances and compensating them; by using the best and most natural ingredients; by improving the product and being environmentally aware and health-conscious, as seen in (42–47). The manufacturer, as the target of positive propriety, is often overtly revealed through the pronoun *we*. Moreover, the beneficial target of the manufacturer's caring attitudes is often directly exposed through the pronoun *you/your*. The identification of propriety in these examples is not always based only on semantic meanings of instances (*eco-friendly*, *finest*) but also on the linguistic elements in the proposition, such as denials (*free*), quantifiers (*second*, *added*) and comparisons (*finest*). Additionally, since allowing someone another opportunity and refunding money are often-ignored social norms (in a money-driven and individualistic society), both are emphasised.

(42) *We don't like to boast but we're the only company making butter from **free-range milk**.*

(43) *Imagine erasing visible past damage to create a more even looking skin tone. In fact, [B] guiding dermatologist Dr [B] says: 'When skin is more even-toned, you look younger'. So, here's your **second chance**.*

(44) *You have to be the best in your field if you want that honour. That's because we scour the globe for **the finest** ingredients.*

¹¹ Elements of logico-semantic relations, such as cause, means, purpose and condition, are some of the resources of the proclaim category in the engagement system in the appraisal model that indicate the authorial interference in the text.

- (45) Now *we've added something new* to give your dishes a little extra fizz-colour.
- (46) Say goodbye to Cardboard jeans or *get your money back*.
- (47) In fact, *we're one of the top three most eco-friendly* petrol cars there is according to the Government's new Low Carbon Vehicle Partnership.

Negative propriety is frequently evoked next to positive propriety via counter-expectancy markers (e.g., *even, yet, still*). The markers evoke positive propriety targeting the manufacturer's unexpected generosity, and in this way, imply that other manufacturers lack this trait, as shown in (48).

- (48) *[P] is a whole new way to floss. It gently vibrates. So flossing feels really good and is a lot easier. It even comes with pick and flosser refills. The new buzz in flossing.*

6 Conclusion

The results show that the categories of capability and propriety, two of the five attitudinal categories in the Martin and White appraisal model (2005), greatly prevail over the categories of normality, tenacity and veracity. In terms of status, both capability and propriety occur primarily with a positive status, targeting mainly the manufacturer in terms of: their knowledge and skills, and scientific approaches they bring to the product's development; their offers of help in solving and dealing with problems; their generosity, compassion, eco-awareness, and concern for fair treatment; their understanding nature and willingness to find an individual approach to best meet the potential consumer's needs. Their social roles as generous and helpful friends toward the potential consumer are also strongly emphasised. On the other hand, positive capability and propriety targeting the potential consumer are reflected in: the lexis and propositions which directly or indirectly convey the joint resolution of problems with the manufacturer; increased control over the product by the potential consumer; the potential consumer's creativity and involvement in the product's design; descriptions of the potential consumer as worthy of the product on the basis of their hard work and positive character; and encouragement of the potential consumer's ability to solve their problems. However, in contrast to the manufacturer, the potential consumer is occasionally targeted with negative capability and propriety in terms of lacking knowledge and important information, implied via factual statements and rhetorical questions, which points to the problem which the potential consumer (presumably) has. Furthermore, I hope to have demonstrated that the identification of propriety and capability within creative and brief advertising texts is often challenging, and requires the participation of the context, which encompasses the participants' background and shared knowledge, assumptions, and presuppositions, as well as implications, co-text, and possible interpretations of meanings. In this way, the article has attempted to support the claims regarding the importance of context in the creation and interpretation of meanings, and hence in the identification of appraisals. Even though the judgement attitudes of capability and propriety are only a small part of the entire appraisal model, the article attempted to demonstrate the important social role appraisals play in advertisements by directly and indirectly revealing the value system, social roles and relationships of the participants. Furthermore, the analysis of textual sections of advertisements has laid the groundwork for a detailed analysis of visuals and their interplay.

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Part III

Translation Studies

Mette Hjort-Pedersen

Copenhagen Business School
Denmark

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Free vs. Faithful – Towards Identifying the Relationship between Academic and Professional Criteria for Legal Translation

ABSTRACT

For many years translation theorists have discussed the degree of translational freedom a legal translator has in rendering the meaning of a legal source text in a translation. Some believe that in order to achieve the communicative purpose, legal translators should focus on readability and bias their translation towards the target language community. Others insist that because of the special nature of legal texts and the sometimes binding force of legal translations, translators should stay as close to the source text as possible, i.e., bias their translation towards the source language community. But what is the relationship between these 'academic' observations and the way professional users and producers, i.e., lawyers and translators, think of legal translation? This article examines how actors on the Danish legal translation market view translational manoeuvres that result in a more or less close relationship between a legal source text and its translation, and also the translator's power to decide what the nature of this relationship should be and how it should manifest itself in the translation.

Keywords: legal translation; translation theory; relevance theory; translation prototype features; academic assessment criteria; legal translation market preferences

Svobodno vs. verodostojno: Ugotavljanje odnosa med akademskimi in strokovnimi kriteriji v pravnih prevodih

POVZETEK

Že več let se prevodoslovni teoretiki ukvarjajo s stopnjo prevajalske svobode, ki jo pravni prevajalci imajo pri prenašanju pomena iz izvirnega pravnega besedila v prevod. Nekateri menijo, da bi se zaradi zagotovitve ustrezne sporočilnosti pravnega besedila prevajalci morali osrediniti na berljivost in prevod prilagoditi ciljni jezikovni skupnosti. Drugi menijo, da bi se zaradi posebne narave pravnih besedil in zavezujoče vloge pravnih prevodov morali pravni prevajalci dosledno držati izvirnega besedila; njihovi prevodi bi bili bližje izvorni jezikovni skupnosti. Kakšen pa je v resnici odnos med »akademskimi« stališči in stališči strokovnih uporabnikov in tvorcev (pravnikov in prevajalcev) do pravnega prevajanja? Cilj članka je raziskati, kako udeleženci na danskem pravnem prevajalskem trgu vidijo prevajalske manevre, ki omogočajo bolj ali manj tesno povezavo med izvirnim pravnim besedilom in njegovim prevodom. Ugotavljamo, kakšna je moč prevajalca pri določanju narave odnosa in kako naj se ta odraža v prevodu.

Ključne besede: pravno prevajanje; prevodoslovna teorija; teorija relevance; prevajalske prototipične lastnosti; akademski kriteriji ocenjevanja; tržne preference pravnega prevajanja



Free vs. Faithful – Towards Identifying the Relationship between Academic and Professional Criteria for Legal Translation

1 Introduction: Free vs. Faithful in Legal Translation

“Any translation that fixates on linguistic fidelity or conceptual equivalence, denying a creative role for the legal translator to preserve the expressive integrity of the legal text as a whole, misses the overarching point of legal translation.” (Wolff 2011, 235).

The goals of legal translation have for a long time been discussed by translation theorists. Leon Wolff, himself a translation theorist with a law degree, is a proponent of the view that if the traditional goal in legal translation of translating ‘faithfully’ or ‘correctly’ is insisted upon, it will lead to “a doctrinaire approach to legal translation that relies on a close reading of the legal text – its linguistic elements, discursive properties or structural features – rather than a holistic analysis of the text’s place in the legal system and culture” (Wolff 2011, 232).

Other translation theorists, however, see it as extremely important that the legal translator stays close to the source text (ST). Vanden Bulcke and Héroguel (2011) are among those who advocate the principle of fidelity in legal translation. In an article focusing on quality issues in legal translation they ask themselves how to define “a qualitative translation of a legal text”, and they go on to say:

The answer is a translation based on comparative law analysis, of concepts as well as of formal and syntactic conventions that phrase the legal concepts and the other linguistic and non-linguistic conventions of the ST as faithfully as possible, in a legal language that allows the end user, usually someone of the legal profession, to interpret accurately the legal reality of the ST. (2011, 243)

Their focus is thus on enabling the receiver of the target text (TT) to understand the content and possibly also the function of the ST (the legal reality), but on the terms of the source language culture rather than the target language culture.

Along the same lines, and concerned with what they refer to as the ‘singularity’ of the foreign text, Glanert and Legrand urge against the translator “transgressing the text”:

Perhaps the most challenging enjoiner, therefore, is for the text in translation to deploy itself so as to avoid an assimilation of the foreign text into the host language such that the foreign text’s singularity would vanish along the way. As we approach the matter of translatability, the translator’s aim must indeed be to preserve something of the difference of the foreign law-text on account of the recognition and of the respect that one owes it, especially as one purports to displace it across languages. (2013, 517)

Again, other theorists try to balance somewhere in between the two extremes of ‘free’ and ‘faithful’, allowing translation creativity but with the proviso that it “must be kept to a ‘permissible’ (Hammel 2008) or ‘relevant’ (Hjort-Pedersen 1996) minimum”, as Leon Wolff puts it (Wolff 2011, 229).

While insisting on a full and accurate conveyance of the ST meaning, Hammel (2008) focuses on achieving TT readability and discusses whether “a legal translator should render ornate source

language legal texts into clear streamlined target-language prose”. Drawing on the insights of the plain language movement, he offers a qualified yes to this question (it is permissible in certain cases), the qualification being that the translator must always convey the original’s meaning fully and accurately.

Hjort-Pedersen (1996), which was based on an empirical study of a corpus of English translations of Danish wills, showed that professional translators quite frequently switch between source and target language orientation in their translation of performative utterances contained in Danish wills. The idea proposed in that article was that relevance theory is able to explain the switches observed in these translations, and that the principle of relevance can be used as a guideline for legal translators in their choice between source and target language orientation when it comes to translating speech acts contained in Danish wills into English.

The argumentation is based i.a. on the following example. In a Danish will, a Danish testator performing the act of creating a will normally produces an utterance of the type shown as (1):

(1) *Jeg bestemmer herved, at min datter skal arve X*

which near-literally translates into (2):

(2) *I hereby decide, that my daughter shall inherit X*

An English testator performing the same act normally uses an utterance of the type (3):

(3) *I devise and bequeath X to my daughter*

So translators will have to make a choice between (2) and (3) as their translation of (1). The choice of (2) means that target language receivers (English lawyers) are presented with an utterance which is unfamiliar to them from similar situations in their own speech community, and (2) will therefore in relevance theoretic terms be more difficult to process than (3). (2) as a translation of (1) will therefore as a starting point violate the principle of relevance. If, however, the translator believes that (2) will add something to the set of assumptions available to the target language receiver that (3) will not add, and that this ‘something’ is important, then the extra contextual effects produced by (2) will counterbalance this violation. When reading (3) in a translation, target language receivers will automatically activate their subset of assumptions about English inheritance rules. Under these rules testators are, generally speaking, free to dispose of their property by will as they choose. In reading (2) as a translation, however, there is a mismatch between the utterance on the one hand and the will-making context available to the target language receivers on the other. This means that the receivers will have to refer to a will-making context that matches the utterance in question, i.e., Danish inheritance rules, where Danish testators are not free to dispose of their property in the same way. So the extra processing costs involved will be offset by extra contextual effects in relevance theoretic terms. In other utterances, where the extra effort involved in processing a source language-oriented translation does not result in extra contextual effects, target language orientation will be relevant as a translation strategy. Hjort-Pedersen therefore proposed (1996, 369) that by switching between source and target language orientation “the translator emphasizes the comparative element which translation between two unique legal systems naturally involves instead of obscuring the differences between the systems”.

Wolff is critical of this ‘stretch and snap’ approach, as he calls it, which in his description allows translational creativity in relation to the ST only to a certain point to avoid that the ‘tether’ to the

ST could be seen as being cut altogether (2011, 228). He argues that the focus on text-oriented meaning leads to ignorance of the “contextual meaningfulness of the text as a whole” (2011, 230) and goes on to say: “Legal translation theory, in short, needs to break free of its ‘stretch and snap’ limitations. A free translation that respects the text’s contextual foundations should become the new norm.”

Wolff further claims (2011, 241) that

legal translation needs to accept the broader lessons of general translation and legal theory – that perfect (or even adequate) equivalence is a myth (Chesterman 1993:3); that meaning and interpretation are not carved in stone (Joseph 1995:14); and that legal systems are not freeze-packed into distinct and definable legal families.

It could be argued, though, that precisely these lessons might lead to the exact opposite conclusion: Language, including legal language, is sometimes underspecified or ambiguous, resulting in word or sentence meaning that is not carved in stone. And to avoid the risk of conveying in their translation a wrong interpretation of underspecified or ambiguous words or sentences in a legal text, the default strategy for legal translators may be to stick fairly closely to the ST and leave it to the reader of the TT to undertake the necessary enrichment or disambiguation of such words or sentences. Also, even though legal systems may not, as Wolff puts it, be freeze-packed into distinct and definable legal families, there is undoubtedly a special relationship between law and language because of the possible normative character of legal texts, and because of legal terms being rooted in specific legal systems. And that might also be an incentive for legal translators to stay close to the ST in order to ensure that target readers are given access to the original ST meaning in such a way that they can decode and enrich the TT not on the basis of their own context but on the basis of the context envisaged by the original author.

Be that as it may, the broader lessons of general translation theory are not unequivocal either, judging by the theoretical prototype of translation hypothesized for general translation by Tirkkonen-Condit. Gleaning features from a number of current translation theories, Tirkkonen-Condit sets up a theory of a prototype of general translation (2011, 164). This theoretical prototype reflects a number of assumptions about translation put forward by different scholars, including assumptions that

- a) Translations presented as translations are assumed to manifest at least some equivalence with the original.
- b) Translation is based on a source text, and interpretive resemblance is aimed at.
- c) The translator has the power to decide issues of equivalence, skopos, relevance and sense.

As it appears, these assumptions are non-specific as to the degree of equivalence and interpretive resemblance between ST and TT; it is the task of translators to decide what the nature of the relationship should be as they work their way through the translation.

Thus translation theorists may well disagree among themselves as to the goals of legal translation and thus the preferred criteria for and approaches to its performance. But how do professional users and producers of legal translations actually think of legal translation and the options available to the legal translator in the translation process? In line with Jääskeläinen et al. (2011), I believe that “we also need research which will identify the relationship between the ‘academic’ assessment criteria and

the ones prevailing in different sectors of the translation market” (2011, 153). Recommendations along somewhat similar lines have been made by I. Schuch, Austrian National Bank, in a European Commission report on the usefulness of the clients’ views on translation:

Translators tend to dutifully render every phrase as written in the source text or as translated before, whereas authors and readers want clarity and readability. Author feedback can make a difference and empower translators to redefine translation quality. Maybe actual clients can be persuaded to share their views.¹

2 Data

To try to identify the relationship referred to by Jääskeläinen et al. (2011) and the European Commission report, I will now proceed to look at viewpoints elicited from Danish lawyers and legal translators on the use of various translation strategies that have a bearing on the nature of the resulting equivalence/interpretive resemblance relationship between a legal ST and its TT. Also, I am interested in examining how the actors on the Danish legal translation market actually view the power of legal translators to decide issues of equivalence, skopos, relevance and sense.

The data consists of opinions voiced by Danish lawyers and legal translators while either performing a specific translation task or while grading different translations of the same legal ST. The data is extracted from three different qualitative studies, one conducted by Faber and Hjort-Pedersen (2013) and the other two by student translators, Fischer (2008) and Nørgård Madsen (2013), in their master theses.² The number of informants totals 13 lawyers and 14 legal translators.

In her thesis, Fischer interviewed both lawyers and legal translators about the use of source and/or target language orientation in a specific translation task that they were asked to perform, i.e., the translation of an English pre-marital contract into Danish, including the reasons for their preferences. As part of her thesis, Nørgård Madsen also focused on source and target language orientation in legal translation, including the use of plain legal language and the Woolf terminology introduced in his 1996 report to make legal texts more accessible to lay readers. In her study, both lawyers and translators were asked to translate an excerpt of the Danish Administration of Justice Act (*Retsplejeloven*) into English and comment on their strategies and the reasons for them. The Faber and Hjort-Pedersen study focused on the use of explicitation and implicitation in different translations of an excerpt of a Danish law report into English. In this study, lawyers and legal translators were not asked to perform a specific translation task; instead they were asked to grade three different TTs of the same ST. The TTs represented varying degrees of faithfulness to the TT as a result of the use of explicitation and implicitation strategies.

Although the specific purposes of the studies differ, they have one feature in common in that they all attempt to elicit responses from translation market actors – rather than from scholars – to a number of different translational challenges that are all related to the free vs. faithful discussion referred to above. Specifically, the problem areas focused on in the studies include

- a. the choice between biasing the TT towards the source or target language community, including the handling of culture-bound legal terms;

¹ http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/translation/programmes/translating_europe/documents/report_actions_2014_en.pdf

² I am grateful to Mette Fischer and Lena Nørgård Madsen for allowing me to use their data.

- b. the role played by readability and the principles of plain legal language in a TT; and
- c. the handling of ST ambiguity or non-explicitness in ST phrases, e.g., the possibility of converting ST passive and/or nominal constructions into TT active and/or verbal constructions by adding a syntactic agent.

3 Theoretical Framework

As a framework for the analysis of viewpoints obtained from the informants I will be drawing on different concepts developed by relevance theorists (Sperber and Wilson 1986; Gutt 1990, 1991), i.e., the notions of relevance, direct and indirect translation, contextual assumptions and adequate contextual effects, which together provide a principled basis for describing and explaining the multifaceted factors underlying the viewpoints voiced by the informants. For Gutt (1990, 1991), translation has to do with searching for optimal relevance, and the role of the translator is to establish optimal relevance between the producer of the original ST and the reader of its TT as a way to guarantee the success of communication.

So how does an utterance, including a translation, achieve relevance? Sperber and Wilson (1986, 125) propose the following definition:

- a. an assumption is relevant in a context to the extent that its contextual effects in this context are large.
- b. an assumption is relevant in a context to the extent that the effort required to process it in this context is small.

In Gutt's translational framework, relevance can be achieved either through a 'direct' or an 'indirect' translation. Direct translation corresponds to the idea that complete interpretive resemblance exists between the ST and its TT. Indirect translation involves a looser degree of resemblance. The complete interpretive resemblance relationship in direct translation can be taken to hold only with regard to the original context. To Gutt, this is no extraordinary requirement, but he acknowledges (1990) that it is at variance with a more widely accepted view of translation, where complete interpretive resemblance between the ST and TT is considered doubtful.

The understanding of the two concepts of direct and indirect translation hinges on the different cognitive environments which prevail in the minds of the producer and the receivers. For complete interpretive resemblance to exist between the original ST and its TT, the TT should be interpreted on the basis of the contextual assumptions available to the original ST producer. This means that with a direct translation, a TT will create optimal relevance and adequate contextual effects for TT receivers, though on the condition that they familiarize themselves with the original context in order to derive the meaning intended by the original author.

With an indirect translation, on the other hand, TT receivers can achieve optimal relevance by processing the TT on the basis of the contextual assumptions that are most readily available to them, i.e., the context that they are familiar with from their own speech community. Thus, the concept of 'contextual assumptions' appears to be flexible enough to encompass different types of knowledge about legal systems and language that are either already accessible to different producers and receivers of a legal translation, or that the producers and receivers will have to familiarize themselves with in order to gain access to the meaning of the ST through its TT.

Finally, the concept of ‘contextual effects’ encompasses the range of different knowledge transfer results that are deemed appropriate in different – *in casu* legal – translational situations by actors on the Danish legal translation market. In relevance theoretic terms, there are three main kinds of contextual (cognitive) effects, i.e., supporting and thereby strengthening existing assumptions, contradicting and eliminating assumptions, or combining inferentially with them to produce new conclusions. These concepts therefore not only provide a framework for describing different translation choices that will result in a more or less close relation between ST and TT, they also provide a basis for explaining the end result of a particular translation strategy in terms of contextual effects aimed at in the receiver group. This was of particular interest in this study, because I was interested in obtaining a clearer picture not only of what actors on the legal translation market want from a legal translation, but also of the reasons behind their viewpoints.

Obviously, the context and contextual assumptions that are available to receivers of a legal TT may differ very much from the original context anticipated by the author. To take such differences into account, Gutt (2010, 302) operates with a concept he calls ‘the notion of congruity’ which refers to “the degree of similarity or difference between cognitive environments with regard to the information needed as context for processing a particular utterance (or text)”. Therefore, when deciding on choices relating, e.g., to the problem areas outlined above, the translator must consider the congruity of the cognitive environments of both ST and TT receivers in order to try to achieve the desired contextual effects in the receiver group. By way of example, explicitation or omission as translation microstrategies may be triggered by the translator’s focus on congruity and a wish to change, strengthen or eliminate existing assumptions in the receiver.

To explore the compatibility of the three sub-assumptions of the Tirkkonen-Condit general translation theoretical prototype with the reality of legal translation in Denmark, I will now move on to examine how the viewpoints obtained from the operators on the Danish legal translation market corroborate or conflict with each of the mentioned prototype assumptions and also the reasons underlying the viewpoints expressed, using the relevance theoretical concepts as descriptive and explanatory framework.

4 Analysis

4.1 Assumptions 1 and 2

1. Translations presented as translations are assumed to manifest at least some equivalence with the original.
2. Translation is based on a source text, and interpretive resemblance is aimed at.

These assumptions are related to the equivalence theories of translation developed by, e.g., Toury (1995) and the relevance theory of translation developed by Gutt (1990, 1991; cf. above). The difference between these two theories is that in the relevance theory of translation “it is the translator who believes that he is conveying an interpretation of the source text that resembles the one that the reader of the original might have arrived at. In Toury’s equivalence theory in turn those who assume equivalence are primarily the recipients of the target text” (Tirkkonen-Condit 2011, 161). For analysis purposes I have chosen to combine these two assumptions, because the viewpoints elicited from the informants switch between these two angles on translation, although the informants do not, of course, use the technical terms.

It appears from the statements obtained that equivalence/interpretive resemblance as a feature of legal translation is indeed assumed by lawyers and translators alike. This may not in itself seem surprising. But the data also shows that the nature of the equivalence/interpretive resemblance relationship preferred by the two groups differs in that the preference of the lawyers can be both one of a close/faithful relationship, in relevance theory terminology tending towards a direct translation, and one of a more free/less faithful relationship, i.e., tending towards an indirect translation. In contrast, the relationship preferred by translators is mainly one of a close/faithful relationship, i.e., tending towards a direct translation. The reasons given by the two groups for their direct translation preferences also differ to some extent.

4.1.1 The Lawyer Informants

The lawyers' preference for a translation tending towards a direct translation is based on two factors, one being a perception of what a translation *per se* is and is not, the other being whether the translation is meant to be used in a court case, be certified and serve as a legally binding document.

When asked in the Faber and Hjort-Pedersen (2013) study to rank three TTs of a Danish legal ST representing different degrees of closeness between ST and TT, one of the lawyers remarks:³

(4) Nothing has been added to explain things, and that is the characteristic feature of a good translation, i.e., that it says precisely what the original text said, so to speak [...] so you can be absolutely certain that what it [the original text] said is what you read.

Another lawyer was asked in Fischer (2008) to comment on source and target language orientation in legal translation, and remarked:

(5) If I had an employment contract that needed to be translated, I would prefer a very close relationship between the ST and the TT, if it was meant to be used in a court case, or if it was a certified translation.⁴ In other situations with both an English and a Danish version of the same contract, I would care less about closeness, because typically you would write 'the English version shall prevail'.

In these cases, the lawyers' translation preference for a close relationship between ST and TT seems independent of the potential context of the receivers (who are not mentioned). The message of the original ST sender is the main focus point, and the lawyers' preferences are thus related to the context envisaged by the original author when producing his/her message.

In other cases, however, where translations are meant to be used as working papers, e.g., for clients and partners in a cooperation, the lawyers tend to prefer a translation which draws more towards an indirect translation. In these cases, the translation strategy preferred is related to the potential context of the receivers. As illustrated by examples (6) and (7) below, the deliberations of the lawyers centre around the nature of the contextual assumptions possibly available to the receiver, the congruity of the legal concepts of the two legal systems involved, and the contextual effects the translation is meant to produce.

³ All comments have been translated from Danish by the author.

⁴ Certification involves adding a so-called translator's oath to a translation. One version used in certified translations by Danish translators reads: *I, ..., authorized translator and interpreter, competent to translate from into, hereby declare that the annexed translation in the language, and executed by me is, to the best of my professional knowledge and belief, a true and faithful rendering of theoriginal.*

In the process of evaluating an English TT containing a number of explicitations of, e.g., syntactic agents that were implied in the Danish ST through the use of passive and nominal constructions (Faber and Hjort-Pedersen 2013), one lawyer comments:

(6) *OK, this one is better, but that's because if I were an English lawyer [client] and were unfamiliar with Danish law, then I would get a little more explanation [of what goes on] here.*

Commenting on the same translation, another lawyer, who also has a degree in translation, explains how she sees her role as a lawyer-translator:

(7) *I know that this translation represents some sort of interpretation, but I do that as well myself. Sometimes I make translations into French [...] and if I know that the receiver will not understand it, then I add explanations.*

The nature of the contextual assumptions possibly available to the receiver, the notion of congruity and the contextual effects the translation is meant to produce are indeed very important aspects for the lawyers. But the issue of time spent on a case and the financial costs involved in producing translations may remove this importance, at least to some extent:

(8) *If you had to translate, say 100 pages, then [...] it would probably be better to stick very close to what it says in the ST and not add too many things to explain, otherwise there's no end to it. And the cost level also rises.*

4.1.2 The Translator Informants

Turning to the translators, their preference for direct translation is based on two factors. One factor resembles that of the lawyer group, i.e., whether the translation is to be certified and serve as a legally binding document. Moreover, one translator knows from experience that a lawyer who commissions a legal translation may change the purpose of the translation from one day to the next, and that is a situation which is hard to handle. This is illustrated in examples (9) and (10) below:

(9) *They cannot always understand that if I made a translation that was not originally meant to be certified, then I will have to make it sort of 'better' [if the need for certification subsequently arises]. But I cannot really explain that [to the lawyer commissioner] because then his reaction would be 'oh really, so the first one was not good enough'. [...]. Therefore, I believe that the translation should always be of a type that can be certified.*

(10) *We as translators are sometimes told that we are too faithful to the ST – but then again, you never know whether at the end of the day your translation suddenly needs to be certified.*

The second factor mentioned by the translators – in contrast to the lawyers – has to do with the status of the ST as an authoritative document in itself. In Nørgård (2013), three translators talking about the translation into English of an excerpt of the Danish Administration of Justice Act remark:

(11) *The legislators wanted the wording to be like this, so you need to be careful not to change it [...]*

(12) *The text type determines the strategy. [If it's] legislation that needs to be translated, then I would personally avoid interpreting too much, e.g., by inserting a subject that is not*

linguistically realized in the ST. [...] – the more legal it gets, the closer you naturally stick to the ST, I believe. I don't mean to say that it shouldn't be fluent [...] in the target language, but the ST is the important thing. This is not a situation where you try to produce beautiful linguistic constructions.

(13) I wouldn't want to change the layout radically [...] because we are dealing with an authoritative document in Danish, and therefore it's not OK to [...] present the text in a completely different way.

The above examples show that the direct translation preference of the translators in these situations – as with the lawyers – is independent of the potential context of the receivers; rather, it is related to the context envisaged by the original author.

Unlike the lawyers, however, the direct translation preference of the translators is also in some situations related to the potential context of the receivers. In such situations, the translators take into consideration the nature of the contextual assumptions that the receivers are expected to have, the notion of congruity and especially the risk of an indirect translation strategy creating undesired contextual effects by prompting the receiver to produce wrong new assumptions and conclusions.

In Fisher (2008), a translator commenting on the use of source and target language orientation in her Danish translation of an English pre-marital contract says:

(14) The aim of my translation is that a Dane without prior knowledge of English law understands the content of the contract. That means that my translation must be of a kind that signals that we are dealing with two different legal systems.

(15) [...] so I wouldn't bias it too much towards the target language [because of the risk of] making the reader think that the legal systems are the same.

Another translator commenting in Nørgård Madsen (2013) on her English translation of an excerpt of the Danish Administration of Justice Act makes rather similar observations:

(16) The older I get, and the more experienced I become, the more I realize the danger of applying a target language orientation, because you risk making the receivers believe that [...] the legal content of a term is similar to what they know from their own speech community.

Figure 1 below summarizes the different preferences of the informants and the basis for these preferences in relation to assumptions 1 and 2:

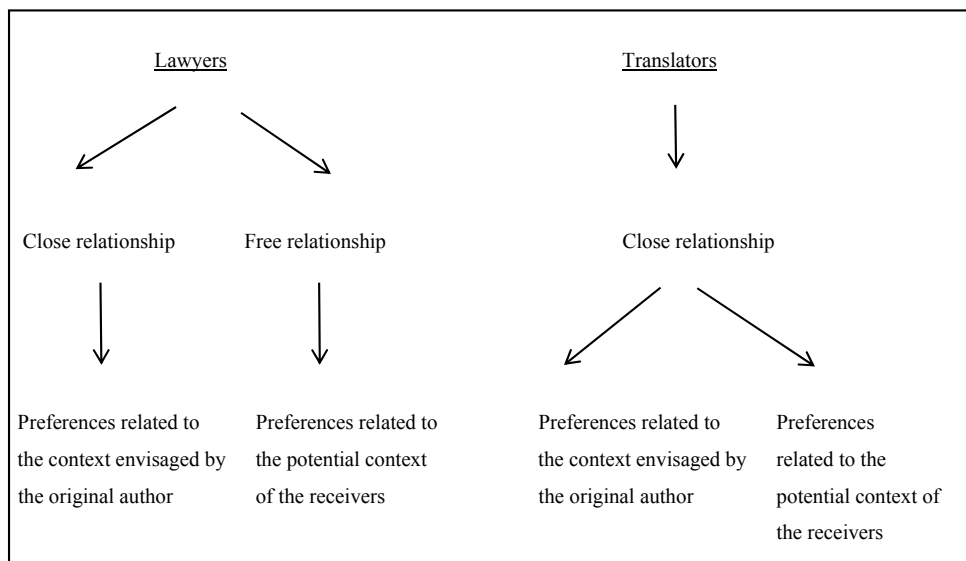


FIGURE 1. Preferred relationship between ST and TT. Lawyers and translators compared.

4.2 Assumption 3

3. The translator has the power to decide issues of equivalence, skopos, relevance and sense

4.2.1 The Lawyer Group

Even though the lawyers prefer indirect translations and thus a more free relationship between ST and TT in certain communication situations, they are not always altogether comfortable with the translator deciding the way in which a more free relationship should manifest itself in the TT.

One lawyer in the Faber and Hjort-Pedersen (2013) study argues:

(17) If I were to communicate this [the content of the ST], I would [like the translator to] provide him [the receiver] with as much information as possible, without losing the main thread. And then have the translator ask a lawyer afterwards to decide what is important and what is not.

Another lawyer, commenting in the same study on a TT containing a number of explicitations, mentions the risk of a more free relationship between ST and TT resulting in doubts in the receiver group as to who is speaking, the translator or the ST.

(18) There is no information missing in this translation. On the contrary, more information has been added with the result that you move a little more away from what the original text said. And therefore you may become a little more unsure of who said what – what is it that the translator is now telling me about EU law or Danish law [...] and what was it precisely that the Danish Supreme Court and High Court said. The more information the translator adds, the more doubts you have of this kind.

So, as it appears, these lawyers are not altogether at ease with the translator having the power to decide which extra information is relevant to achieve an optimal resemblance between ST and TT.

The lawyer translator informant, although declaring herself in favour of the TT containing extra information in the form of a number of explicitations, recognizes the schism involved in trying to cater for information needs by opting for a TT of an indirect translation type:

(19) *Where's the limit, that's the problem [...]. And especially if you're heading a translation department. How much translational freedom can you give people? It's one thing when I translate myself for one of our clients, because then I know who the receiver is and what he or she needs. Then I can allow myself quite a lot of [translational] freedom in adding a little bit of information here and there.*

4.2.2 The Translator Group

Even though the preferred translation strategy of the translators generally draws towards the direct translation type, some of the translators admit that indirect translation and thus a more free relationship between ST and TT rather appeals to them because they consider such translations easier to read and understand.

Commenting on the English translation containing a number of explicitations of, e.g., agents that are implied in passive and nominal constructions contained in a Danish ST, two translators reveal:

(20) *This is exactly what I was looking for. That it is much clearer here, because one doesn't know what the ST referred to.*

(21) *Personally, I like the syntactic agent to be present [...] so you can easily identify who thinks or does what.*

But, as with the lawyer group, they do not seem to believe that the translator really has the power to decide the way in which a more free relationship between a ST and a TT should manifest itself. One of the reasons rests on a perception of the lawyer commissioner as having more authority than the translators themselves in a particular translation situation:

(22) *I would rather not be faced with a lawyer saying to me: I wrote it like that, how come your translation reads like this? [...] Then it would be best to be able to say: Well, you wrote it, I just translated it.*

Another reason, as illustrated by examples (9) and (10) above, is that translations made from one skopos perspective may prove inadequate if a sudden change of skopos is forced upon the translators by a lawyer commissioner because a translation made for informative purposes suddenly needs to be certified. The translators feel unable to cater for this possibility – to them each translation is a unique textual unit that cannot be recycled and reused unaltered in other situations.

Moreover, the translators are also aware that legal ST vagueness/underspecification may be deliberate on the part of the drafters of the ST. They may have no way of ascertaining whether that is in fact the case in a particular legal ST, and therefore they feel that they do not have the power to decide whether to opt for some sort of specification and thus a more free relationship between ST and TT. One translator in the Faber and Hjort-Pedersen (2013) study argues along the following lines:

(23) *Hmmm, I wonder whether this was intended, I think that can be really difficult [to determine], and then I try to reproduce the ambiguity or vagueness.*

In their own perception, the limitation in the translators' power to decide is in these cases defined with regard to the context envisaged by the original author.

But it may also in some cases be defined with regard to the potential context of the receivers, because translators are afraid of their translation not producing adequate and therefore relevant contextual effects, i.e., it does not add to existing assumptions because it tells a lawyer receiver something that he already knows. Commenting again on the translations containing a number of explicitations in the Faber and Hjort-Pedersen (2013) study, one of the translators argues:

(24) *Because the people who read this type of text know very well what this is about.*

5 Conclusion

As outlined above, legal translation theory has for many years sought to influence the practice of legal translators by advocating either a free or a faithful relationship between a legal ST and its TT, or maybe even something in between. However, very little effort has been made to investigate how 'academic' recommendations actually correlate with the preferences of professional actors on the legal translation market, what the reasons for their preferences are and also who has the power to decide what the nature of the ST/TT relationship should be and how it should manifest itself in a legal translation.

Drawing on the descriptive framework of relevance theory, this article provides insights into the relative socio-cultural and professional status of legal professionals and translators, and it suggests that the preferences of the professional actors on the legal translation market are not really clear-cut. The lawyer informants seem to prefer translations of both the direct and the indirect type. They prefer a translation of the direct type in situations where a translation is to be used in a court case or is to be certified. In these cases, readability for the receiver is not in focus, but the ST and the contextual assumptions envisaged by the original author is the important thing, and it is up to the receivers to familiarize themselves with this context to be able to achieve relevance and adequate contextual effects. The extra processing effort required on the part of the receiver in these cases is deemed relevant because extra contextual effects are deemed large and will counterbalance this effort. In other cases, where translations are to be used in a client relationship, the lawyers are very much in favour of translations of the indirect type, where the information needs of the receiver are catered for in the translation, subject however to the question of time spent and costs involved. In these cases, indirect translation is deemed relevant because the effort required on the part of the receiver to achieve adequate contextual effects will then be small.

For the translators, on the other hand, it is not a case of 'both-and'. They agree with the lawyers on a direct translation being preferable in situations where the translation is to be used in a court case or is to be certified, but their preference for this type of translation is not restricted to these situations. Part of their reasoning mirrors that of the lawyers in that readability for the receiver is not in focus. Rather, the context envisaged by the original author is the important aspect. But another part of their reasoning differs from that of the lawyers. This part of their reasoning is related to the context of the receivers because the translators are focused on the risk of a target language orientation creating undesired and irrelevant contextual effects by prompting the receiver to produce wrong new assumptions and conclusions.

As for the translator's power to decide, the data seems to suggest that both groups of informants are not altogether at ease with translators deciding to read their own interpretation of a legal ST into their TT, e.g., by adding information that is not linguistically realized in the ST, resulting in a translation drawing towards an indirect kind. For the translators, doing so would in a sense mean that they were 'competing', either with the original sender of an authoritative legal document (who opted for a specific wording or layout) or with a lawyer receiver (who is the legal expert and does not need to be told things). The lawyers, on the other hand, are afraid of being 'deceived' by an indirect translation, because they have no way of knowing 'who is speaking when', the translator or the translation. It therefore seems that the translator's power to decide on freeing the TT from the ST may be more restricted in legal translation than in other types of translation.

I am of course aware that the data constituting the basis for this article is limited and relates to the Danish legal translation market only. The data seems to suggest that there is no one 'best practice' model for legal translation in Denmark: it depends who you ask and on the circumstances. However, it may be argued that this conclusion might well extend to legal translation in other countries also, because the reasons given by the informants are general in nature in that they do not relate to specific legal cultures or areas of law.

There is one aspect that would indeed be interesting to investigate also, i.e., the translation preferences of producers and users of EU translations that are to function in contexts rather different from the ones focused on in this article, because with EU translations there is no source and target culture in the usual sense. However, that topic is not something that has been touched upon in the data contributed by the informants constituting the empirical basis for this article, although it would certainly be a highly relevant focus of future research projects.

Still, I hope that this article provides some explanations of the relationship between academic criteria for legal translation and the ones prevailing in different sectors of the legal translation market.

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Part IV

List of Contributors

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Tina Balič

University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts
Koroška cesta 160, 2000 Maribor, Slovenia
tina_balic@yahoo.com

Tadej Braček

University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts
Koroška cesta 160, 2000 Maribor, Slovenia
tadej.bracek3@gmail.com

Urša Gavez

University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts
Koroška cesta 160, 2000 Maribor, Slovenia
ursa.gavez@gmail.com

Nada Grošelj

University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts
Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
sestertia@hotmail.com

David Hazemali

University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts
Koroška cesta 160, 2000 Maribor, Slovenia
dhazemali@gmail.com

Mette Hjort-Pedersen

Copenhagen Business School
Solbjerg Plads 3, DK-2000 Frederiksberg,
Denmark
mhp.ibc@cbs.dk

Gašper Ilc

University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts
Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
gasper.ilc@ff.uni-lj.si

Tomaz Onič

University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts
Koroška cesta 160, 2000 Maribor, Slovenia
tomaz.onic@um.si

Dilek İnan

Balikesir University, Faculty of Education
Dinkçiler Mah. Soma Cad. Merkez, Balikesir,
Turkey
dilekinan@hotmail.com

Monika Kavalir

University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts
Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
monika.kavalir@ff.uni-lj.si

Smiljana Komar

University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts
Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
smiljana.komar@ff.uni-lj.si

Kristina Kočan Šalomon

University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts
Koroška cesta 160, 2000 Maribor, Slovenia
kkocan@yahoo.com

Mojca Krevel

University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts
Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
mojca.krevel@ff.uni-lj.si

Agata Krizan

University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts
Koroška cesta 160, 2000 Maribor, Slovenia
agata.krizan@um.si

Kristina Pegan Vičič

University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts
Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
kristina.pegan-vicic@ff.uni-lj.si

Ellen Maureen Taylor

University of Maine at Augusta
165 Jewett Hall, Augusta Campus, United States
of America
ellen.taylor@maine.edu

Ayşe Didem Yakut

Balikesir University, Faculty of Education
Dinkçiler Mah. Soma Cad. Merkez, Balikesir,
Turkey
ajsedidem10@hotmail.com

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