Насеље
ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE: CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES

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INTRODUCTION

1. ABOUT THE SPECIAL ISSUE

It seems appropriate that the Special Issue of the scholarly journal *Nasleđe*, in the field of *English Language and Literature*, should appear at the close of 2015, to herald the twentieth anniversary of the 1996 foundation of the English and Serbian Language and Literature teaching departments in Kragujevac. The following years marked the beginning of the German, French, and Spanish studies at the University of Kragujevac, which along with the English and Serbian studies formed the School of Philology. Having functioned as part of the University of Belgrade for six years, in 2002 the School of Philology merged with the School of Music and the School of Applied Arts to establish the Faculty of Philology and Arts (FILUM), an important part of the University of Kragujevac ever since.

In this regard, it is with great pleasure that we present the academic community with research papers that deal with the English language and literature, making this Special Issue of *Nasleđe* first of its kind and honouring the important role that the English Department of FILUM has had since its foundation in 1996. We would like to express our thanks to all the colleagues who contributed to this Issue and joined us in our effort to examine and share the contemporary perspectives on the English language and literature with our readers.

2. THE ROADMAP OF THE SPECIAL ISSUE

This publication features fifteen contributions from the fields of linguistics, methodology of foreign language teaching, applied linguistics and literature. The papers presented in this issue pivot on the central theme, which is reflected in the title of this publication, viz. advances in the study of English in its widespread ramifications.

The order of the contributions is far from random. On the contrary, it forms a coherent path starting from predominantly linguistic deliberations (semantic and pragmatic) through various interfaces (applied phonetics/phonology, EFL and literary work translation) and ending in literary discussions.

The publication opens with a theoretical debate on the long-standing issue of the proper research domain in pragmatics, echoing the contemporary “tug-of-war” between cognitive-psychological and social approaches to pragmatics. Drawing on a meticulous analysis of the data and on a thorough understanding of the foundations of the two opposing approaches, Vladimir Žegarac bridges this gap by construing the point of contact between inferential, more specifically relevance-theoretic, and social pragmatics. His paper offers a novel modelling of interaction in that it incorporates not only the best analytic
practices of social pragmatics, but also explains them in terms of inferential principles and procedures that underlie the very possibility of human communication.

The following three articles explore lexical meaning. Working within the framework of Cognitive Linguistics, Katarina Rasulić analyses the toponym Bologna as used in English discourse pertaining to the contemporary European higher-education reform process. Sabina Halupka Rešetar and Biljana Radić Bojanić apply the same theoretical machinery in their contrastive analysis of the English lexeme home and the Serbian lexeme dom. Using the concept of tiredness as a case study in lexical semantics and pragmatics, Mirjana Mišković Luković contrasts two opposing approaches to meaning: one couched within the Natural Semantic Metalanguage, the other within Relevance Theory.

The subsequent three articles are experimental in orientation. They provide insight into various interfaces relating to teaching English as a foreign language in Serbia. Stressing the importance of prosodic or intonational cues in spoken communication, a fairly neglected activity in foreign language teaching, Tatjana Paunović particularly focuses on the use of pitch height and pitch range in reading and speaking tasks of Serbian EFL students. A technological breakthrough of the utmost communicative import – the “Internet era” – offers huge possibilities for foreign language teaching. Savka Blagojević and Miljana Stojković Trajković investigate the extent to which web-based systems, and the Learning Management System in particular, are utilised by English teachers in Serbia. The research presented in the two articles has been conducted in Serbian higher-education institutions. By contrast, Marijana Matić tackles the issue of teaching English in lower-elementary grades in Serbian state schools, but is, like Paunović, concerned with spoken communication.

The article by Željka Babić provides a smooth transition from the realm of linguistics to that of literature. Her article deals with the issue of topicalisation as it is instantiated in an English translation of a Serbian literary work. Furthermore, it follows the general trend of the previous articles in that it highlights communicative, interactive, aspects of meaning. In fact, the articles presented so far all point to the conclusion that meaning is less like an either/or matter and more like a contextually sensitive variable.

Literary discussions in this issue further problematize the nature of meaning, truth, and identity in modern and postmodern literature. Tomislav Pavlović considers W. H. Auden’s denial of historicism and tackles the problem of the flexibility of historical truth and the gradual degradation of the classic idea of history, by closely inspecting Auden’s views expressed in his poetry collection Homage to Clio (1960).

History and its truths are further examined in Lena Petrović’s article, in which she ponders the problem of the suppressed truth about the Holocaust during the Vietnam war. She first comments on those authors who see the Holocaust not as a deviation, but as a historically recurrent and culturally conditioned phenomenon, and then considers J. M. Coetzee’s novel Dusklands as the ultimate example of a literary deconstruction of western identity-
forming traditions, which brings together such geographically and historically
distant events as the colonial massacres of the African Hottentots and the
genocidal assault on Vietnam.

Exploring the works of Ernest Hemingway and Ann Beattie, Vladislava
Gordić Petković considers the short story genre to be a valuable literary vessel
of realism. Although its brevity is sometimes seen as lacking in extensiveness,
scope and universality of the novel, the short story, nonetheless, demands a
stricter detail selection and word choice. The cases of Hemingway and Beattie
show that the compression of discourse in a short story not only achieves
suggestiveness, but also brings in suspense and surprise.

Tatjana Bijelić offers a contextual reading of the literary memoir To
Die in Chicago, written by Nadja Tesich, a Serbian-American author, thus
contributing to the currently growing field of research on the East European
and (post-)Yugoslav women in diaspora and their distinct voices. The article
deals with topics such as the transfer of patriarchal values of the home country
to the host country, the adjustment to living in the 1950s America, and the
narrator’s struggle to accept her otherness and in-betweenness.

The themes of in-betweenness and the shaping of national identities are
also examined in the article written by Biljana Vlašković Ilić, who argues
that Canadian literature essentially relies on the quest for an identity which is
distinctly different from the American, English, or French identity. The article
stresses the importance of the symbolic gaps between Canada's colonial past
and its modern present, and between Canadian wilderness and Canadian
urban territories, which too often hinder the quest for identity and result in
the victimhood of literary figures in Canadian literature.

The article by Katarina Melić delves into the issues of survival, memory,
disconnection and personal disintegration in a post-apocalyptic, unnamed
metropolis depicted in Paul Auster’s novel In the Country of Last Things.
The close reading of the novel shows that one important way of preserving
identity and memory in the dystopian space of Auster’s postmodern world is
the narrative form.

The final paper of the issue re-contextualizes Percy Bysshe Shelley’s poem
“Music when soft voices die” and William Blake’s poem “Leave, O leave me
to my sorrows” against Jean Paul Richter’s views of the “spaciousness” of
romanticity and his concept of Weltschmerz. By closely reading both poems
and providing examples from Richter’s prose, Nikola Bubanja identifies a
connection not only between the poems themselves, but also between the
concepts of spaciousness and Weltschmerz.

We hope that this special issue of Nasleđe will provide our readers with
worthy material for thought, especially as it suggests ways to wipe out the
blurred borders between disciplines. Above all, we hope that our readers will
enjoy their time reading the pages that follow.

Kragujevac, December 2015

The Guest Editors
U-PRAGMATICS AND E-PRAGMATICS: MAKING A CASE FOR I-PRAGMATICS

This article presents an argument which shows that there is a natural point of contact between the social-descriptive and the cognitive-psychological relevance-theoretic approaches to communication. The argument is based on an analogy between the concepts of Universal Grammar, E-Language and I-Language, developed within generative linguistics, and the relevance-theoretic model of the cognitive mechanisms and psychological processes of human communication and cognition. I make a case for identifying and investigating culture-specific pragmatic competence in cognitive, relevance-theoretic terms and I try to show how this proposal provides a principled basis for a cognitive psychological concept of pragmatic competence which could be termed I-Pragmatics and which is the natural point of contact between the universal mechanisms of communication and other cognitive domains, including the social ability module.

Keywords: social, cognitive, pragmatics, relevance, Universal Grammar, E-Language, I-Language, competence

1. INTRODUCTION

Descriptive and explanatory accounts in the field of pragmatics (defined here informally as the theory of human communication) need to take account of both its social-cultural and its individual-psychological aspects. The social-cultural aspects of communication cannot be reduced to (i.e. fully explained in terms of) individual psychology, but nor can they be explained without taking account of the cognitive mechanisms and psychological processes of human communicative behaviour. So, the prima facie case for investigating communication from both the social-cultural and the cognitive-psychological perspectives is not open to serious challenge. In other words, the social-cultural and the cognitive-psychological approaches to communication should not proceed along parallel tracks, as they have traditionally done, although they have different goals. This point has not always been given due emphasis in the pragmatics literature. Thus, Blakemore (1992: 47) observes:

1 vladimir.zegarac@beds.ac.uk
2 This article is based on presentations I gave at the Meaning, Context & Cognition conference in Łódz (Poland, March 2012) and the Interpreting for Relevance: Discourse and Translation conference in Warsaw (Poland, September 2012). I am grateful to participants at these conferences for their comments and suggestions, and especially to Nick Allott, Robyn Carston, Agnieszka Piskorska, Christoph Unger and Deirdre Wilson. Special thanks to Mirjana Mišković-Luković for her professional advice, editorial patience and support. The responsibility for all flaws and shortcomings is mine.
there is no conflict between Leech’s socio-pragmatic approach and the present psychological approach because they are attempting to do different things. For this reason it is misleading to include phenomena like politeness, face-saving and turn-taking together with the phenomena discussed in the following chapters under the general heading of pragmatics. The issue is not just about what we should call pragmatics, but that this conflation obscures that these two approaches are doing different things.

Does this mean that in Blakemore’s (1992) view attempts to bring the social and the cognitive-psychological perspectives together are misguided? I believe that it does not. Blakemore’s observation could be taken to express the perfectly plausible assumption that bringing the social-cultural and the cognitive-psychological relevance-theoretic approaches to meet on each other’s turfs, as it were, would be fundamentally flawed, because the two approaches have different goals. Relevance theory investigates the cognitive-psychological mechanisms of communication aiming to provide answers to the following questions: What is human communication?, How is it achieved? and How does it fail?. However, this does not mean that there is no meeting point between social-cultural and cognitive-psychological perspectives on communication. What it does mean is that the goals of the two approaches should be clearly distinguished, which leaves open the possibility that social-cultural and cognitive-psychological perspectives can be brought together in a fruitful way, provided that their natural common ground is properly identified and plotted out. I argue that pragmatic competence reflects both the universal and the culture-specific aspects of communication, and is the natural meeting point of the cognitive-psychological and the social-cultural approaches to the study of communication.

The article is structured as follows: some of the main tenets of relevance theory (RT) are explained and illustrated in section 2. Section 3 introduces the concepts of Universal Grammar (UG) and presents a tentative analogy between UG and the relevance-theoretic characterisation of the cognitive mechanisms of communication. Some natural points of contact between social and cognitive approaches to communication are described in section 4, where the possibility of characterising the pragmatic competence of an individual, in terms of both the universal cognitive mechanisms of communication and its culture specific aspects, is also presented. The suggestion is put forward that the pragmatic competence internal to the mind of an individual is in some interesting respects analogous to the concept of I-Language, and an attempt is made to show that cultural variation in the pragmatic competence of individuals may plausibly be described in terms of the culture-specific comprehension strategies that they use, rather than being restricted to differences in the contexts available to them.

2. **RELEVANCE THEORY**

The central problem for a plausible theory of human communication is this: How are people able to communicate far more information than is
specified by (i.e. linguistically encoded in) the words (or other signals) used by the communicator. Utterances and texts that the communicator produces never fully represent her/his thoughts. Rather, the linguistic meanings of the words used are better conceived of as fragments from which the communicator’s thoughts can be reconstructed, more or less faithfully, in the mind of the hearer. The following excerpt from an informal exchange illustrates this point:

(1) **Situation:** Vlad is chatting with Hasnaa, a friend of his, on the mobile phone using the WhatsApp application. Hasnaa is a frequent traveller. Some days before the chat from which the excerpt below is taken she told Vlad that she was in the USA, but she did not let him know how long she would be staying there. At the beginning of the chat Vlad is not sure whether Hasnaa is still in the USA, because (possibly unknown to her) he is aware that she is planning to return to her home country before a particular date (which is less than a week away).

At the point in the chat captured in the snapshot above, Hasnaa somewhat unexpectedly asks Vlad to call her. He infers that she would like him to make a voice call, but is less than fully confident as to how soon he has been asked to make the call, although - in the absence of any explicit pointers to
the time of the call - he assumes that she is asking him to ring her up more or less immediately. By following his question “Shall I call you now?” with “Ok” without waiting for her reply, he indicates to Hasnaa that the purpose of his question is merely to check his existing understanding of her request, rather than to ask her for more detailed information about the call time, or the reasons for her request to call him. Therefore, Hasnaa is justified in assuming that a minimal answer (‘Ok’) would be adequately informative. As Vlad is aware that the number they had recently used on another smartphone application (FreePP) was a US number, he concludes that that is the number he should dial on this occasion. However, not being sure that Hasnaa is still in the USA, he decides to ask whether he should call her on the number for her home country. On the other hand, Hasnaa is probably not aware that Vlad knows she needs to be back in her home country very soon, and thinks that Vlad is aware of her whereabouts. For this reason, she does not offer an answer immediately but replies using the vocative: “Vlad”. In its standard use, the vocative “picks a person out of a contextually given set of possible addressees, and establishes this person as the addressee of the sentence” (Shaden 2010: 181). As Vlad is already manifestly established as the addressee, he concludes that by using the vocative Hasnaa intends to draw his attention to some information that she presumes is highly salient to him. She interprets his response, “Yes”, as an invitation to provide some clarification (perhaps also to answer his question) and gives an indirect answer, “Am in Chicago”. This answer is more informative than a direct one would be (e.g. “use my FreePP US number”) in that it communicates some assumptions about why Vlad should not make the call using her home country phone number, with an additional overtone of mild surprise at Vlad’s suggestion that he might call her on that number. Vlad concludes that Hasnaa does not realize he is aware that she needs to be back in her home country before a date in the near future. However, he decides to “let pass” what he takes to be a case of minor, inconsequential, miscommunication, which he assumes has been caused by the different assumptions he and Hasnaa had made about their presumed shared beliefs (technically, their mutual cognitive environment).

These superficial comments on an ordinary informal communicative exchange between two friends clearly illustrate the importance of context, the complexity of the inferential processes involved in linguistic communication, the fallibility of comprehension and the comparative ease with which minor communication failures can be repaired. In everyday casual conversation comprehension seems to be guided by an imperfect, but good enough, heuristic. It is more oriented towards good enough than to a perfect grasp of the communicator’s message. In RT terms, the comprehension of a communicative act is a non-demonstrative (i.e. non-deductive) inferential process which takes the evidence of the communicator’s intentions in producing the act and contextual assumptions as inputs, and yields interpretations as outputs.

What procedure (strategy or heuristic) does the addressee follows in interpreting the communicative act? Sperber and Wilson (see Sperber and Wilson 1986/1995: 16, Sperber 2000, Wilson 2000) have argued that human
communication exploits a tendency of human cognition to be oriented towards the maximisation of informativeness and the minimisation of mental processing effort. Technically, cognition is oriented towards relevance (where relevance is informally defined as a positive function of informativeness and a negative function of processing effort). The search for adequate relevance constrains the inferential comprehension process in a way which explains how the mental representation and processing of communicative acts lead to the selection of contextual assumptions and to predictable outputs of the processing of those acts in the selected context. In other words, a communicative act makes evident the speaker’s intention to inform the hearer of some set of assumptions. By producing the communicative act the speaker claims the hearer’s attention, thus putting the hearer to the expenditure of some processing effort, giving rise to the expectation that the effort will be offset by adequate cognitive gains (informally, worthwhile information). This generalisation is known as the Communicative Principle of Relevance.

**Communicative Principle of Relevance**

Every utterance (or other type of ostensive stimulus) conveys a presumption of its own relevance (adapted from Sperber and Wilson 2002: 23).

**Presumption of Relevance**

The utterance (or other ostensive stimulus) is presumed to be the most relevant one compatible with the speaker’s abilities and preferences/goals, and at least relevant enough to be worth the hearer’s attention (adapted from Sperber and Wilson 2002: 23).

The Presumption of Relevance is the basis for a procedure (i.e. strategy or heuristic) that the addressee follows in interpreting a communicative act:

**Relevance-theoretic Comprehension Procedure**

(a) Follow a path of least effort in computing cognitive effects. In particular, test interpretive hypotheses (disambiguations, reference resolutions, implicatures, etc.) in order of accessibility.

(b) Stop when your expectations of relevance are satisfied.

(Sperber and Wilson 2002: 24)

Consider the last text message from the exchange in (1): ‘Am in Chicago’. It expresses the thought that the communicator is in Chicago at the time of communication. But if this were all that she intended to inform the addressee of, her communicative act would not be consistent with the principle of relevance because it would not lead to enough cognitive effects (informally, worthwhile information), as it is evident to both participants that some information about which number to call is relevant to the addressee. The addressee considers what the communicator aiming at optimal relevance intended to communicate
and this leads him to access some contextual assumptions about the relation between phone numbers and geographical locations and to conclude that the communicator’s goal was to inform him that he should dial her USA phone number, because she is still in the USA. Moreover, by (somewhat redundantly) reminding him of her location in the way she did (first using the vocative and then the location) she may also have intended to communicate indirectly that she was surprised by, perhaps mildly critical of, his initial failure to figure out which number he should dial. This overtone is perhaps underscored by her decision to include a map of her current location in her reply to his question.

This brief outline of some of the main tenets of RT suggests that cultural variation in pragmatic competence reflects differences in the content, the organization and storage, as well as the salience of the pool of assumptions from which the context for the comprehension of a communicative act is drawn. The Communicative Principle of Relevance is a universal aspect of human communication. As RT is the study of the principles and mechanisms of communication which are universal, it seems reasonable to describe RT as “Universal Pragmatics” (or U-Pragmatics), by analogy with the term “Universal Grammar” (UG).

3. UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR AND UNIVERSAL PRAGMATICS

The term Universal Grammar (UG) refers to those properties of the human brain which enable it to learn a language. The argument for the theoretical concept of UG is based on two observations about the human linguistic ability. First, knowledge of language is acquired without explicit tuition on the basis of fragmentary and deficient primary linguistic data. This is famously known as the poverty of stimulus argument for positing the existence of an innate, genetically specified, language faculty. Second, grammars (i.e. methods for assigning meaning and structure to language data) of all human languages share many features and are a tiny subset of logically possible ones. Therefore, language development can be explained only on the assumption that a mechanism for the acquisition of language is hard-wired in the brain. This hypothesised mechanism has been called Universal Grammar (UG) or Language Acquisition Device (LAD). Language acquisition is described as a process of tacit theory building based on primary linguistic data (see Chomsky 1965).

At first sight, it may seem that there is no interesting analogy between UG and the Communicative Principle of Relevance (or the Comprehension Procedure based on it). UG is the capacity for learning a grammar, while the Relevance-theoretic Comprehension Procedure is a heuristic: rather than acquire pragmatic competence, people “follow” the procedure (at the sub-personal level) in interpreting communicative acts. This conclusion, however, is not entirely warranted.
3.1. U-Pragmatics as a dedicated mental mechanism

The analogy between UG and the relevance theoretic view of the communicative ability is rather interesting in at least two respects. The concept of UG has undergone some change since it was first introduced. However, these need not be considered here. In the context of the analogy explored in this article, the interesting point is that there are good reasons for positing UG as a mental mechanism dedicated to the analysis of primary linguistic data. If a mental mechanism dedicated to the processing of communicative acts can also be assumed to exist, then the analogy between UG and that comprehension mechanism is of some, though, admittedly, rather limited interest. Sperber and Wilson (2002) argue that utterance interpretation does involve a dedicated mental device, a module, with “its own principles and mechanisms” (where the defining feature of modules is domain specificity, rather than informational encapsulation as Fodor (1983) assumes). They observe that the complexity, the speed and the intuitiveness of comprehension provide evidence for hypothesising the existence of a dedicated mental mechanism. These features of communicative interaction are readily illustrated by the simplest of exchanges, such as the online chat in (1).

3.1.1. Complexity

The complexity of comprehension is due to the radical underspecification of the message by the linguistic meaning of the communicative act. Each of the lines in (1) admits of indefinitely many interpretations. To give but one example, “Call me” can express the following thoughts, among indefinitely many others (depending on the context):

(a) The communicator is asking the addressee to shout her name loudly to draw her attention to him.

(b) The communicator is asking the addressee to ring her up.

(c) The communicator is giving the addressee permission to call her for help with his computer if he cannot solve the problem himself.

(d) The communicator is asking the addressee to call her on the phone so she can check whether her phone is working.

(e) The communicator is ordering the addressee to ring her up so she can issue him orders.

Moreover, each of (a) to (e) is underspecified with regard to the time at which the action of calling is to be performed. For example, if the communicator is asking the addressee to ring her up, is she asking him to do so more or less immediately or at some other relevant time? In the actual exchange, the addressee assumed that he was to ring the communicator immediately, but he decided to check this assumption by asking: “Now?” which he immediately followed with “OK” to indicate that he was merely checking, but was fairly confident that he had understood the request/permission. The point is that
people can communicate a great deal of information by providing snippets of evidence. It is difficult to explain how this might be achieved if comprehension was not constrained by a dedicated mental mechanism.

3.1.2. Speed

Comprehension is very fast. The exchange in (1) took a relatively long time, only due to the rather poor internet connection and because typing on small keyboards may often require frequent self-corrections, which are relatively time consuming. But the telegraphic style of the messages is indicative of emphasis on speed, rather than on accuracy of expression.

3.1.3. Spontaneity

Comprehension is typically spontaneous and relatively effortless. The participants in a communication event typically do not engage in conscious reflective reasoning about each other’s intentions. In many situations the addressee has a preference for checking that comprehension has been achieved or for assuming that it is adequate, leaving it to the interlocutor to flag possible misunderstandings or to let them pass, as it were. As we have seen, example (1) is a case in point.

These characteristics of communication lend support to the view that comprehension is made possible by a mental mechanism, a module, dedicated to the processing of utterances and other communicative (technically, ostensive) stimuli (Sperber and Wilson 2002: 14), rather than being guided by some more general social faculty, as has occasionally been suggested. For example, Gillian Brown (1995) dismisses the Communicative Principle of Relevance on the grounds that it is not necessary to explain why and how we pay attention to each other’s communicative acts and makes the following claim:

All that is necessary to motivate a listener paying attention to a particular speaker is to invoke Goffman’s social model which will motivate the listener, when appropriate, to preserve the speaker’s face by demonstrably paying attention to what the speaker says (Goffman 1967).

(Brown 1995: 27)

Of course, the Communicative Principle of Relevance does not preclude the vast range of more or less likely reasons for paying attention to communicative acts (or to any other stimuli that impinge on our senses, for that matter). Such reasons may, and often do, include a preference for being kind to others. However, it does not follow from this that the presumption (informally, guarantee) of relevance is not communicated by a communicative act. What does follow is that the hearer may have various reasons for accepting or rejecting the presumption of relevance. Brown gives the example of shoppers in a crowded market “assailed by the noise of traders shouting to advertise their wares” who “are able to ‘detune’ and ignore the details of the spoken messages, having determined, even without having heard the content, that they are not
relevant to their interests” (Brown 1995: 27). Implicit in this observation is
the admission that not paying attention to utterances (and other ostensive
stimuli) does take some effort (invested in deliberate “detuning”), so this
observation does not provide evidence against the Communicative Principle
of Relevance. Brown also raises the issue of why a person might respond to
a passer’s by question to tell them the time, even though it is evident to both
the speaker and to the listener that the information is relevant to the speaker
and not to the listener. However, this criticism is not justified either, because
the Communicative Principle of Relevance does not say anything about
people’s preferences for accepting or rejecting the presumption (informally,
guarantee) of relevance. Once the presumption of optimal relevance has been
communicated and has been accepted, the comprehension process will be
guided by the Relevance-theoretic Comprehension Procedure.

This takes us to the most important problem with Brown’s claim about
the importance of Goffman’s concept of face for explaining communication.
The concept of face does not explain the inferential process which takes
the addressee from the linguistically encoded (or other conventionalized)
meaning of the communicative act to the message that the communicator
intends to communicate by producing the act. For example, it is unclear how
the addressee’s attendance to the communicator’s face might provide the
starting point for a reasoned explicit account of the inferential process involved
in the interpretation of the string: “Am in Chicago”, (1), which involves some
implicated premises (such as, “If a person is in a town in one country, it is best
to call them on their telephone number in that country rather than on their
home country number”) and some implicated conclusions (including, “Vlad
should dial Hasnna’s USA number”).

Sperber and Wilson (see Sperber and Wilson 1986/1995: 16, Sperber
2000, Wilson 2000) have argued that human communication exploits a
tendency of human cognition to be oriented towards the maximisation of
informativeness and the minimisation of mental processing effort (technically,
cognition is oriented towards relevance) and that this search for relevance also
constrains the inferential comprehension process in a way which explains how
the mental representation and processing of communicative acts streamline
the inferential comprehension process, leading to predictable outputs of the
processing of those communicative acts in context. Without assuming the
existence of a specialized dedicated mechanism for attending to ostensive
stimuli it is not possible to explain the comprehension of even the simplest
communicative acts, such as those in (1), because of the vast gap between their
linguistically encoded meanings and the communicated messages.

3.2. U-Pragmatics as a learning mechanism

An interesting difference between UG and the Relevance-theoretic
Comprehension Procedure is that the former explains how linguistic
competence is acquired, whereas the latter is generally not thought of as
a mechanism for learning. The terms “Universal Grammar” (UG) and
“Language Acquisition Device” (LAD) are synonymous. In contrast to UG/LAD, the Relevance-theoretic Comprehension Procedure is not characterised as a mechanism for acquiring pragmatic competence, but as a universal heuristic for the comprehension of communicative acts which is based on a biologically specified mechanism (a module) dedicated to the processing of ostensive stimuli. If there is an interesting analogy to be made between UG and the Relevance-theoretic cognitive mechanism of communication, there must be some more significant similarity between this mechanism and UG.

The argument for the view that such a similarity does exist is stronger than most work in RT suggests. For example, Escandell-Vidal (2004) observes that the Communicative Principle of Relevance and the Relevance-theoretic Comprehension Procedure are universal aspects of communicative competence of individuals, while the norms of communication vary widely across socio-cultural groups. This author points out that, according to Jackendoff (1992), the main task of the social ability is to enable an individual to develop a coherent picture of the self in society. So we have the interaction of two somewhat different devices: the pragmatics module dedicated to the mental processing of representations and the social ability/faculty module dedicated to maintaining a coherent picture of self in society. Escandell-Vidal assumes that this supports the further assumption that explanations offered within socio-cultural pragmatics should be thought of as norms, while explanations in cognitive pragmatics are rooted in principles. Social norms are “tacit generalisations” based on experience of social life. They are “expressions of statistically usual behaviour” and are stored in “the database that makes up the memory store.” (Escandell-Vidal 2004: 353). She observes that a general theory of human communication “must accommodate processing devices and representations and give norms and principles their proper place” and concludes:

Social and grammatical faculties develop as the result of a process by which individuals acquire the pattern(s) of their community. The inferential faculty, on the other hand, is universal in the sense that it is not dependent on cultural habits. Its maturation produces similar results in all humans, regardless of their native language and culture.

(Escandell-Vidal 2004: 353)

This argument is less convincing than it may seem at first sight. First, universality and cultural variation are not mutually exclusive. The inferential faculty is universal in the way in which all innate faculties (including UG) are universal: it is genetically specified. Whether and to what extent it is subject to cultural elaboration is an empirical matter. The excerpt from the chat between two friends in (1) may be taken to suggest that the participants do not follow the rather abstract Relevance-theoretic Comprehension procedure, but some strategy which is more suitable for the particular type of communicative exchange that they are engaged in. This strategy may include rather strong biases towards minimizing effort, being oriented towards cognitive gains whose relevance is rather low, ignoring misunderstandings which seem minor, possibly also being prepared to assume that some ostensive stimuli (such as the
communicator’s location on a map) may have been produced without being intended to convey worthwhile information, but were used simply because it was easy for the communicator to use them. This strategy could be described plausibly as a sub-procedure of the abstract, situation-general, Relevance-theoretic Comprehension Procedure. Secondly, the explanation of the relevant empirical evidence crucially depends on theoretical assumptions about the inferential procedure and the nature of the database from which the context is selected.

Let us consider briefly what kind of strategy or heuristic the Relevance-Theoretic Comprehension Procedure is. It is specialized for processing a particular type of stimuli in the environment – ostensive stimuli. It is in this sense adapted to the environment. Following Gigerenzer et al (2002: 161–163), Allott (2002: 79) observes that procedures of this type “incorporate assumptions about the data that they are presented with, so they can rapidly move to correct conclusions, as long as the data really do have those regularities”. Now, what kind of regularities is the Relevance-theoretic Comprehension Procedure sensitive to? I think there are at least two types of regularities that can be distinguished: those presented by the data (utterances, pointing gestures and other ostensive stimuli) and mental representations about the types of social-cultural situations, such as attending the faculty academic board meeting, a cocktail party, waiting for the bus and so on, which are part of an individual’s cognitive environment. So, different social-cultural situations present different regularities. Communicative acts (i.e. ostensive stimuli) come in different types and are specialized in various ways for dealing with different types of peoples’ needs (in different types of situations). If, as Allott (2002: 73) argues, “the relevance theoretic model of pragmatics presents a procedure that is rational in the way that it exploits environmental structure to arrive at conclusions efficiently without needing to consider all theoretical possibilities”, then we would strongly expect to find sub-procedures, rather than a general computational procedure. We would expect fast and frugal heuristics to be fine-tuned, or calibrated, for dealing with a range of regularities in the environment which fall in a particular broader domain. So, if ostensive stimuli are the domain of the pragmatic faculty, then we would expect to find fast and frugal heuristics which are sensitive to those more specific regularities which distinguish types of ostensive stimuli. We would expect such fast and frugal heuristics to be faster and more frugal than the Relevance-theoretic Comprehension Procedure.

There are some good reasons for assuming that such sub-strategies for processing particular types of ostensive stimuli and for streamlining the inferential comprehension process in particular types of situation do exist. For example, there is ample evidence that humans have some innate faculties, such as “naïve physics” (specialised for processing information in the environment about say, cause-consequence relations between weight construed as an inherent property of objects and the tendency of objects to fall with different speeds when dropped from a height). The knowledge of naïve physics ( naïve biology and perhaps other faculties) is universal and could be described as the common “Background” (Searle 1996) of all normally functioning mature
humans across cultures. Carston casts Searle’s concept of “Background” in cognitive terms:

We might usefully think of the Background as a set of assumptions and practices that maintain a fairly steady degree of not very high manifestness, across time, in an individual’s cognitive environment. A subset of the Background consists in assumptions/practices which make up the mutual cognitive environment of all (non-pathological) human beings – the deep Background; other subsets are the mutual cognitive environments of what can be loosely termed culturally defined groups of human beings – local Backgrounds.

(Carston 2002: 68)

It stands to reason that the assumptions/practices which form the “deep Background” of individuals are incorporated, as it were, in the heuristics for processing regularities in the perceptual environment. For example, our naïve physics knowledge keeps us alert to investing proximal events of particular types with a cause-consequence relation (often going beyond the evidence). Our face recognition mechanism guides us to analyse as faces those configurations of features which bear only a very vague resemblance to human faces. We do not achieve this by using a general but a very specific heuristic. The Communicative Principle of Relevance is just such a domain-specific module of the mind. However, this module could effect the automatic sorting of behaviours into ostensive and non-ostensive, perhaps specifically identifying utterances as ostensive stimuli, but it could also employ a range of sub-heuristics to deal with more fine-grained regularities in the input data. For example, it seems plausible that the orientations of the naïve physics module (e.g. towards cause-consequence and temporal relations between events) is incorporated in the sub-heuristics of the Relevance-theoretic Comprehension procedure. Still, it is far from clear how these orientations could be accounted for in terms of the operation of the Relevance-theoretic Comprehension Procedure on a set of contextual assumptions. Now, if by analogy with the deep Background, there are subsets of assumptions/practices which are specific to particular individuals as members of cultural groups (with “local Backgrounds”), then it seems worth considering the possibility that we have developed sub-procedures for processing environmental inputs which incorporate the regularities in these local (or cultural) Backgrounds.

An analogy between the Relevance-theoretic Comprehension Procedure and the different procedures built into light meters used in photography with the aim of dealing with regularities in the way they process incoming light patterns is illustrative here. The simplest type of light meter is one which takes the light reading by averaging values from across the whole frame. However, many photographs are taken outdoors and the sky is typically part of the frame. As the sky is generally lighter than the rest of the scene, light meters were designed with a bias, taking into account the light from the lower part of the frame to a greater extent than the light from the top third of the frame in determining the correct exposure (e.g. basing the exposure reading by giving 60% of the overall weighting to the light reflected from the
area covering the lower two thirds of the frame and 40% to the light coming from the top third). But this type of bias is not sufficiently fine-tuned to take account of even some very common situations, such as taking a photograph of a group of people with a great deal more light coming from behind them than is reflected off their faces. In this type setting the light meter will normally give the correct reading for the background, but not for the faces, leading to underexposure. A well-known camera manufacturer addressed this problem by designing a camera whose light metering system had thousands of scene patterns built into its computer memory. Each scene pattern had a particular set of biases in terms of which parts of the frame were to be allocated greater or lower weightings when determining the correct exposure. Once the scene pattern has been selected on the basis of the closest match with the scene, the allocation of values was carried out in accordance with the calibrations of light readings for the situation pattern selected by the computer. The scene patterns with the incorporated biases or weightings can be described as procedures. What is interesting about this analogy is that it would not seem right to treat the thousands of scene patterns as context schemas on which a general light reading procedure is applied. Rather, the preferences are built into the scene patterns stored in the computer memory of the camera. By the same token, it seems reasonable that situation schemas and schemas relating to particular regularities in the use of language (which are the defining features of particular genres) incorporate biases in the orientation towards particular types of contexts, allocations of processing effort and types of cognitive effects.

Further indirect evidence for the likely existence of comprehension sub-strategies is provided by studies of expert systems and problem solving. As Sternberg (1990: 133) observes:

Intelligent systems rely to a great extent on problem patterns when they face a familiar task. Instead of creating solutions from scratch for every problem situation, they make use of previously stored information in such a way that it facilitates their coping with the current problem.

This is somewhat misleading as it may suggest that “previously stored information” assists problem solving in the same way as contextual assumptions inform comprehension. However, this conclusion should be resisted. Well-known studies of expert chess players show that they rely on abstract knowledge representations when dealing with meaningful configurations of pieces on the chess board, but do not perform better than novices when the configurations are meaningless (Chase and Simon 1973). It seems unlikely that these “sets of abstract knowledge representations” are simply sets of contextual assumptions. They are certainly very different from typical schemas or scripts. For example, a person’s schema for the concept of “restaurant” includes propositional mental representations which are activated by the word “restaurant”. These representations are contextual assumption, and are relatively easily amenable to consciousness. The contents of abstract knowledge structures that expert chess players use cannot be easily spelled out. In this respect they are rather similar to the Relevance-theoretic Comprehension Procedure (and to whatever
comprehension sub-strategies specialised for dealing with particular types of communicative acts or situations).

One of the major problems for the functioning of an intelligent system is inference. As Shank pointed out, an important feature which guides the inferences carried out by an intelligent system is “interestingness”:

Simply stated, the idea behind interestingness is that since people cannot pay attention to all possible inferences, they must attempt to predetermine what inference paths will turn out to be relevant and then pursue those paths that are found to be interesting.

(Shank 1980: 8)

In RT terms, we have expectations of relevance and we pursue those lines of inference which have turned out to be promising, those which are likely to lead to enough contextual effects for no unjustifiable processing effort. This is perfectly consistent with the view that we have a general heuristic with context schemas streamlining the inferential process by informing expectations of relevance. But this is not the only way to make sense of our analogy. We would expect context schemas to be more adaptive if they are abstract knowledge structures which include patterns of situations whose elements have already incorporated (or inscribed) certain biases relating to expected contributions to the overall levels of relevance of the inputs, allocations of effort in the search for particular types of effect, and so on. In other words, it seems perfectly plausible to assume that the procedure activated by a particular regularity in the environment incorporates assumptions about the type of situation that this regularity instantiates and that this knowledge is a part of a comprehension (sub-)procedure incorporated in the abstract knowledge situation schema. For example, we can think about genres as types of communicative acts represented as abstract knowledge structures.

3.2.1. Genre

Consider an example which involves some culture-specific knowledge of a culture-particular type of humour as a ‘speech genre’:

(2) **Situation**: (In June 2008, a promising but not yet very well-known Russian tennis player [Alla Kurdyavtseva] was interviewed after winning a match at Wimbledon against a very well-known opponent [Maria Sharapova]. In the press conference after the match Kudryavtseva said that she was very happy to have won and was then asked why she was particularly happy to have beaten Sharapova. In response to this question: She laughed and said: “Why was I so happy to beat her? I didn’t like her outfit - can I put it that way?”

“She experiments and I think she is brave to do it but sometimes it doesn’t work, I didn’t like this one.” (quoted from the Daily Record 27/06/2008)
By the time she had given the first part of the answer (“I didn’t like her outfit”) – based on the reactions in the auditorium – Kudryavtseva had already realised that she had made a faux pas. Her remark had been understood as expressing a negative attitude towards her opponent. In fact, it seems more likely that her intention was to convey something negative about the journalist who had asked the question. Right after the question was formulated, Kudryavtseva first hesitated, then repeated the question, then paused, looking mildly puzzled, and finally said: “I didn’t like her outfit”. As Tatiana Larina, a Russian expert in intercultural communication, has impressed on me, it is quite common in the Russian culture to convey a negative attitude towards a question or remark one finds irrelevant, by giving an evidently irrelevant answer. In the light of the common knowledge that Kudryavtseva was a little known player who had just won a match against the famous opponent, it is quite likely that the interviewee found the question patently irrelevant and tried to express her mild disapproval by giving a manifestly irrelevant (and humorous) answer (as it is a matter of general knowledge that a player’s motivation for wanting to win a match is most unlikely to be her disapproval of her opponent’s taste in clothes). Appropriate genre knowledge would have oriented the audience towards a different set of contextual effects: implicatures about the interviewee’s light-hearted attitude towards her opponent as well as about her mild disapproval of and astonishment at the question. This genre knowledge can be conceptualised as involving a schema about the particular type of language use and could incorporate a sub-heuristic which streamlines comprehension in a particular direction. If such a sub-procedure had been activated, the audience would probably not have misinterpreted what was said in the way they did.

This lends support to a tentative conclusion that the knowledge of particular genres includes not only abstract knowledge structures, and biases towards particular types of effects, but also desirable ratios of effects and effort, rather than sets of contextually derivable assumptions. Some uses of language, such as phatic communication, can also be analysed as involving the use of specialised sub-procedures.

### 3.2.2. Phatic communication

Phatic communication can be described as a type of language use in which the meanings of the words used are almost irrelevant. Phatic utterances fulfil a social function by establishing or maintaining an atmosphere of sociability between people (a sense of being in positive rapport with each other) through overcoming silence, which is inherently unpleasant and somewhat threatening. While the phrase “phatic communion” is closely associated with ritualised aspects of social interaction, the more recent expressions “phatic communication” and “phatic speech” place greater emphasis on the function of conversational exchanges described as phatic. Jakobson (1960) characterizes the “phatic function” of language as its use to focus on the channel of communication itself, rather than on the information conveyed.
by the language code. He points out that prolonged phatic conversations sometimes occur precisely when the communication process is threatened (for instance, by the insecurity of the interlocutors). From this perspective, various (more or less conventionalised) ways of opening and ending conversations, as well as maintaining them (e.g. back-channelling devices, such as ‘uh-huh’) are described as phatic.

The production and comprehension of phatic communicative acts are generally seen as regulated by social conventions about the way particular topics (which might be called “phatic topics”) are brought up in particular types of social situation. On the one hand, this makes it difficult to explain communicative acts which have a phatic function, although they are not conventionally phatic, as illustrated by (3):

(3) Several people (who have never met before) have been waiting at a bus stop in North London for about twenty minutes. One of them walks some distance up the road to see if there is a bus coming. He then rejoins the others and says (facing one of them, who is also waiting impatiently):

“No sign of a bus. I suppose they’ll all come together”. She replies: “Oh yes. They travel in convoys”.

This conversational exchange has the key features of phatic exchanges. The main point of the two utterances does not lie with their propositional contents; rather, the main purpose of the exchange is to establish a sense of solidarity between the interlocutors. But it is not clear how this conversation, and many similar conversations, can be analysed in terms of social conventions or why they might need to be explained in this way. On the other hand, many phatic conversations in which social conventions about topic choice and language use do play a role cannot be fully explained in terms of conventionalisation or standardization (for a discussion of these terms see Bach and Harnish 1982). As Lyons (1968: 417) points out, utterances are not simply phatic or non-phatic, but may be more or less phatic:

We must therefore distinguish between that aspect of the ‘use’ of utterances which may be referred to their function in ‘phatic communion’ and that part of their ‘use’ which is to be distinguished as their meaning (if they have meaning in terms of our definition). In saying this, we recognize that, even when both these aspects are present, either one or the other may be the dominant part of the ‘use’ of the utterance. There is ample evidence to support this view.

Working within the framework of relevance theory (Sperber and Wilson 1986/1995), Žegarac and Clark (1999) start from the observation that the “phaticness” of a communicative act largely depends on context. For example, the utterance “It’s sunny, but there’s a rather cold wind” may be very phatic in one situation (e.g. as part of a chat over coffee between two people who do not expect they will be going out), while not being phatic in a different setting (e.g. if the interlocutors are getting ready to go sailing). These authors argue that the main difference between phatic and non-phatic communicative acts concerns what the most relevant communicated information is about and
how this information is communicated. In phatic communication, the most relevant information is about the positive rapport between the interlocutors, whereas in non-phatic communicative interaction, the main relevance lies with information which builds to a greater extent on the meanings of the words used. On this approach, the knowledge of conventions about conducting phatic exchanges merely facilitates (but does not explain the possibility of) phatic communication. This raises the question of how phatic exchanges are routinely conducted successfully even when they cannot be explained in terms of conventions or norms.

One way to think about the comprehension of phatic utterances goes as follows: the evidence presented by the linguistic meaning of the communicative act suggests that it is not particularly relevant in virtue of its linguistic meaning and the hearer considers how the act could have been intended to be relevant. The hearer concludes that the act was relevant mainly in virtue of the evidence presented by the act itself. By producing an ostensive stimulus the speaker manifestly performs a social action. Hence the phatic utterance is understood as intended socially. Of course, the specific social implicatures communicated by the utterance are also informed by the meanings of the words used (say, because these are consistent with the speaker’s positive interest and her/his social disposition towards the hearer).

Another way to think about the comprehension of a phatic utterance would be that the act of communication recognised as phatic activates what might be termed a “phatic schema”, activated when a phatic topic has been detected. Žegarac and Clark (1999) identify two universal properties of good conventional phatic topics. A topic is suitable for use in phatic communication if: (a) the interlocutors can reliably presume (even if they are complete strangers) that the topic is potentially relevant to them in readily conceivable circumstances, and (b) the topic is not very relevant in the immediate situation of communication (or the conversational exchange will be commensurably less phatic or not phatic at all). It is important to note that for the topic to be recognized as phatic, it need not be conventionally phatic. Thus, the utterance in (3) above, “No sight of a bus. I suppose they’ll all come together”, satisfies both features of phatic topics. The “phatic schema” activated by the initial categorization of a communicative act as phatic can be thought of as a higher order knowledge structure about this type of language use. The comprehension procedure incorporated in this schema most likely includes some biases relating to the allocation of effort and expectations about the type and range of cognitive effects, and streamlines comprehension. It is a fast and frugal heuristic, which can be described as a sub-procedure of the Relevance-theoretic Comprehension Procedure. Moreover, it would naturally allow for the possibility of having phatic exchanges about topics which are not conventionally (or standardly) used in this type of communication. What is needed is that the perception of the situation by the hearer should activate the heuristic. It would also allow for the possibility that the conversation may start as a comparatively highly phatic exchange and then move on to a different type with the gradual or abrupt shift away from the biases of the “phatic heuristic”.
The problem with explaining phatic communication in terms of conventionalisation or standardisation is that it makes wrong predictions about which conversational exchanges have the typical features associated with the phatic use of language (e.g. the exchange in (3) would be ruled out by stipulation). But the view that non-conventionally phatic utterances are also readily recognised is also somewhat problematic. It seems reasonable to assume that the general situation, given the Relevance-theoretic Comprehension Procedure, would lead to the intended phatic interpretation although it would require comparatively more time (and processing effort). The availability of a “phatic schema”, an abstract knowledge structure with in-built biases relating to the balance of effort and effect (the types of effects included), seems highly adaptive in that it makes possible an instant activation by a topic recognised as phatic and the search for particular types of effects (i.e. those relating to the positive rapport between the participants). Conceptualising phatic comprehension in this way would, in fact, lead us to posit various heuristics and sub-heuristics. For example, there may be a “casual conversation” heuristic, which differs from the phatic heuristic in that it does not preclude highly relevant topics, but shares with it a bias towards low effort and high processing speed.

It is an empirical question how exactly the heuristics are to be described. However, if a proposal along these lines is anything to go by, the analogy between UG and the universal mechanism of human communication is more interesting than it may initially seem to be. Just as UG is a device for learning or acquiring a grammar, the universal cognitive mechanism which underlies the comprehension of communicative acts, what I have termed U-Pragmatics, can be seen as a device for learning the fast and frugal heuristics adapted to the comprehension of particular socio-culturally defined types of communicative interaction. In this view, the general Relevance-theoretic Comprehension Procedure is simply an abstraction from the various more or less culture-specific procedures, rather than the procedure that the participants in communication actually follow. From this perspective, the pragmatic competence of an individual would include the set of (sub-)procedures that they have internalised. Therefore, it might make sense to extend the analogy between linguistic and pragmatic knowledge by positing a level of I-Pragmatics, by analogy with the concept of I-Language (Internalized Language).

4. E-PRAGMATICS AND I-PRAGMATICS

Chomsky (1986) introduces the distinction between I-Language (Internalized language) and E-Language (Externalized language). He traces the idea behind the notion of I-Language back to Otto Jespersen who ‘held that there is some “notion of structure” in the mind of the speaker “which is definite enough to guide him in framing sentences of his own,” in particular, “free expressions” that may be new to the speaker and to others.’ (cited in Chomsky 1986: 23) The term I-Language refers to “some element of the mind of the person who knows the language, acquired by the learner and used by
the speaker-hearer” (Chomsky 1986: 23). On this view, UG or LAD is “the theory of human I-languages, a system of conditions deriving from the human biological endowment that identifies the I-languages that are humanly accessible under normal conditions” (Chomsky 1986: 23). UG and I-Language are proper objects of scientific investigation, and stand in sharp contrast to individual languages, such as English, Japanese, French, Hungarian, Greek and others, which are epiphenomenal. In other words, they are products of various historical and political influences. Chomsky introduced the term E-language as a label for the construct of a language “understood independently of the properties of the mind/brain” (Chomsky 1986). The term E-Language encompasses various models of language, such as: language as a historical construct, language as behaviour and the products of behaviour (see Sampson 1980).

4.1. E-Pragmatics

Social pragmatics aims at describing actual communicative interactions and seeks to gain insights about communication in general, as well as communication in particular socio-cultural settings through inductive generalisations based on primary data. By analogy with the term E-Language, I am tempted to call the social approaches to communication E-Pragmatics. A useful overview of various approaches to discourse, including the social perspectives on communication which seem plausible candidates for E-Pragmatics, is provided in Schiffrin (1994). Just as the view that E-Language is not a proper object of scientific investigation should not be taken as a justification for dismissing the value of the enormous body work on individual languages (e.g. to provide evidence for hypotheses about UG and I-Language) E-Pragmatics research should not be dismissed on the grounds that its research instruments need to be theoretically motivated and its findings explained in the context of U-Pragmatics. Moreover, the interaction of U-Pragmatics and E-Pragmatics should not be one way traffic: E-Pragmatics provides evidence for evaluating U-Pragmatics and U-Pragmatics should guide research in E-Pragmatics.

4.1.1. E-Pragmatics provides evidence for evaluating U-Pragmatics

Working on the description of communicative events within the framework of Conversation Analysis, Firth (1996) identifies a number of phenomena commonly observed in conversational interaction: (a) “Flagging” (speakers put out ‘flags’ (e.g. hesitation markers, word cut-offs, self-repairs) when they anticipate potential difficulties in the comprehension of communicative acts), (b) “Make it Normal” (in naturally occurring interactions, participants are typically more oriented towards comprehension than to linguistic form, and do not usually react explicitly to atypical linguistic behaviour), and (c) “Let it Pass” (when the hearer is unable to interpret or understand an utterance, s/he does not usually seek to clarify it immediately, but “lets pass”). Firth’s
(1996) work exemplifies the perspective on communicative interaction typical of E-Pragmatics. The goal is to identify certain observable regularities without reference to the (theoretical models of) the underlying cognitive-psychological mechanisms. A plausible U-Pragmatics should be able to provide theoretically motivated accounts of these phenomena. It seems that the Communicative Principle of Relevance and the Relevance-theoretic Comprehension Procedure (along with other RT assumptions about communication) do provide such explanations.

“Flagging”

If the speaker aims to convey the message while putting the hearer to minimal expenditure of processing effort, it is to be expected that s/he will use “flags”. These alert the hearer that if the interpretation of the utterance is found to require greater processing effort than seems reasonable, clarification should be sought, rather than investing more effort in trying to interpret the utterance. “Flags” may also provide evidence of (and implicate) that the speaker is doing her/his best to communicate as efficiently as possible and is aware that s/he may fail. Therefore, “flags” can be explained as devices that contribute to communicative efficiency.

“Make it good”

If the communicative act is less than perfect but (a) this does not make comprehension very difficult or impossible and (b) the oddity of the communicative act is not evidently deliberate, then a hearer who follows the Relevance-theoretic Comprehension Procedure should opt for the first interpretation s/he finds consistent with the Communicative Principle of Relevance. There is simply no reason for the hearer to pay undue attention to the oddity of the communicative act after the act has been interpreted successfully.

“Let-it-pass”

The Relevance-theoretic Comprehension Procedure (i.e. U-Pragmatics) predicts that the hearer’s decision to “let pass” should be observed in two types of situation. First, when the part of the message that has not been conveyed successfully is not deemed very relevant and the part of the message that has been grasped seems sufficiently relevant to the hearer to meet his/her expectations of relevance. Second, in case that following the Relevance-theoretic Comprehension Procedure would lead the hearer not to ‘let pass’ and that it seems reasonable to assume that the hearer has a preference for making a ‘let pass’ decision, extra communicative factors (such as protecting one’s own or the interlocutor’s face) should be considered as they may have motivated the hearer’s preference for ‘let pass’.

4.1.2. U-Pragmatics guides research in E-Pragmatics

Much descriptive work in social pragmatics has been carried out on institutionalized speech acts in different cultures. The research has often involved establishing a taxonomy of response type strategies for performing
speech acts and responding to them, and then describing cultural similarities and differences in terms of the particular “strategies” that have been observed as more or less normative constraints on the performance of those acts. For example, Pomerantz (1978) points out that, when responding to compliments, complimentees face a dilemma. On the one hand, they are likely to feel under some degree of pressure to accept the compliment. On the other hand, they feel that they should avoid accepting praise. Compliment response strategies arise as solutions to these situational pressures.

Responses to compliments can be classified into: acceptances (agreements), rejections (disagreements) and self-praise avoidance mechanisms (upgrades and downgrades, referent shifts: return, reassignment). These strategies have been categorised into several groups according to the frequency of their usage. The most common compliment response strategies are: thanking (accepting, expressing gratitude), agreeing (attending to the complimenter’s positive face), expressing gratitude, joking (a positive politeness strategy, because it appeals to the solidarity and in group membership of the interlocutors, although it seems to challenge the compliment), thanking and returning the compliment, encouraging the complimenter to do or get something as well, offering the object complimented on to the complimenter, explaining, doubting and rejecting.

However observationally accurate these descriptive classifications may be, they miss an important aspect of responding to a compliment. Consider (4):

(4) **Situation:** Jane has just met Julia who has lost a lot of weight since they last met.

Jane: Wow! You look amazing!
Julia: Well, I just hope it lasts.

Has Julia accepted the compliment? In a way, she has, but, intuitively, the main point (technically, the main relevance) of Julia’s response to Jane’s compliment lies with a degree of positive appreciation that she has conveyed, rather than with her acceptance of the compliment. In relevance-theoretic terms, it is the speaker’s responsibility to ensure that the utterance is optimally relevant to the hearer. Therefore, in responding to a compliment, the complimentee should bear in mind the complimenter’s expectations. The desirable response to a compliment is one which shows the appropriate degree of the complimentee’s appreciation of the compliment. This suggests that appreciation should be the basis of the classification of responses to compliments, cross-cutting all other categories, such as acceptance and rejection. A compliment can be accepted in ways which show varying degrees of appreciation, and these are more significant than the fact that the compliment has been accepted. In fact, a compliment may also be rejected in a way which shows appreciation (e.g. “I am really glad you like it, although I have my doubts.”). So, it is the different ways of showing or not showing appreciation, rather than overt acceptance or rejection, that should be the focus of description and analysis of this speech act. The categories of acceptance and rejection derived by inductive generalisations based on primary data, are of limited use for explaining the dynamics of complimenting behaviour, and
may be misleading if assumed to reflect norms which guide communicative behaviour (see Bhatti 2014).

4.2. I-Pragmatics

By analogy with the concept of I-Language the ‘pragmatic competence’ of an individual could be described, at least in part, as including a range of comprehension (sub-) procedures. As the universal mechanism of human communication, the Communicative Principle of Relevance can be described as a mechanism for learning comprehension sub-heuristics shaped by particular types of regularities in the environment. If this is roughly true, it seems reasonable to posit a level of “I-Pragmatics”. An interesting consequence of this move is that it makes it possible to conceptualise more explicitly the interface between the socio-cultural and the cognitive psychological perspectives on communication. The two approaches try to do different things, but there are some important points of contact between them. As I have tried to show in section 4.1., insights into the universal cognitive psychological mechanisms of communication have a contribution to make to social-descriptive pragmatics. In section 3. a case was made for the view that the universal cognitive mechanisms of communication, what I have termed U-Pragmatics, explain the emergence and learning of culture-specific comprehension (sub-) procedures that an individual uses in dealing with regularities presented by various types of language use and types of communication situations. The abstract knowledge structures which incorporate these (sub-) procedures of the Relevance-Theoretic Comprehension Procedure seem analogous in interesting ways to the concept of I-Language, so the investigation of this culture-specific aspect of pragmatic competence from the cognitive-psychological perspective could be called “I-Pragmatics”.

I-Pragmatics has significant implications for conceptualising the relation between social and cognitive approaches to communication. We can accept Blakemore’s (1992) observation (see quote in section 1) that social pragmatics and cognitive pragmatics attempt to do different things. The development of pragmatic competence (I-Pragmatics) could be described as establishing the links between regularities in the environment (types of language use, types of social situations) and appropriate heuristics (warranted by the Communicative Principle of Relevance). The view that pragmatic competence at the level of individual psychology is shaped by the interaction of U-Pragmatics, various other modular mechanisms of the mind (including the social ability) as well as environmental regularities which are largely culture-specific, suggests that at the level of individual psychology pragmatic competence is a natural meeting point of U-Pragmatics and E-Pragmatics research.

5. CONCLUSION

Relevance-theoretic pragmatics studies the cognitive mechanisms and processes involved in ostensive inferential communication. According to this
approach to communication, the pragmatic competence of an individual can be described in at least two ways.

One view is that pragmatic competence involves, at least, the general Relevance-theoretic Comprehension Procedure (as well as a production procedure which has not been considered in this paper, but see Žegarac (2004)) and the knowledge of norms of communication, which may be stored in various schemas and scripts and activated in chunks, thus giving rise to specific expectations of relevance. On this view, cross-cultural differences at the level of pragmatic competence are described as differences in the contexts available to members of particular socio-cultural groups.

Another possibility is that pragmatic competence includes a set of comprehension (sub-)heuristics which an individual learns or acquires. This does not preclude the existence of culture specific norms of communication which are part of an individual’s memory storage. However, the observable features of spontaneous comprehension suggest that this process tends to be guided by (sub-)heuristics, rather than by socio-cultural norms.

Of course, which of the models of pragmatic competence is adequate in descriptive and explanatory terms needs to be established on empirical grounds. However, the difficulty in bringing to consciousness the knowledge that guides comprehension, the difficulties in stating the contents of culture-specific norms in a way which explains comprehension, as well as insights into the function and the emergence of fast and frugal heuristics, suggest that the conceptualisation of pragmatic competence as involving a set of culture-particular comprehension procedures merits further research.

REFERENCES


U ovom članku učinjen je pokušaj da se obrazloži jedna nova koncepcija odnosa između socijalnog (deskriptivnog) i kognitivnog (psihološkog) pristupa izučavanju komunikacije razvijenog u okviru teorije relevancije. Izloženi argumenti se zasnivaju na analogiji između pojmova Univerzalne gramatike, E-jezika i I-jezika, razvijenih u okviru generativne lingvistike, i modela kognitivnih mehanizama i psiholoških procesa komunikacije, razvijenih u okviru teorije relevancije. Argumenti navode na zaključak da pragmatička kompetencija, koja se na nivou individualne psihologije može nazvati „I-pragmatika” (po analogiji sa pojmom „I-jezik”), predstavlja prirodnu dodirnu tačku univerzalnih kognitivnih mehanizama komunikacije i mehanizama specifičnih za komunikacijske sisteme pojedinih kultura.

Ključne reči: socijalni, kognitivni, pragmatika, relevancija, univerzalna gramatika, E-jezik, I-jezik, kompetencija

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Prihvaćen 29. oktobra, 2015. godine
This paper presents a cognitive linguistic account of metonymic and metaphoric meaning construction in the English language discourse related to the ongoing higher education reform process in Europe widely known as “the Bologna process”. The analysis of the non-literal uses of the toponym Bologna in the pertinent discourse shows that the conceptualization and the discursive construction of the contemporary European higher education are significantly shaped by metonymic mappings in which Bologna serves as a “catch-all” metonymic vehicle with a range of often indeterminate target concepts, and by metaphoric mappings in which the conceptual complex bologna (for X) is structured in terms of various (and often inconsistent) source domains (motion, space, building, machine, plant, person, organized group, economy/trade, food/cooking), which results in unclear referential meaning and yet predominantly negative associative meaning. The theoretical considerations concern the benefits of the interdisciplinary dialogue between cognitive linguistic, (critical) discourse analysis, and relevance-theoretic approaches to meaning.

Key words: Bologna, Bologna process discourse, metonymy, metaphor, cognitive linguistics

1. INTRODUCTION

Over the past fifteen years, i.e. since the “Joint Declaration of the European Ministers of Education convened in Bologna on 19 June 1999”, the word Bologna – the name of a renowned Italian city – has developed a special meaning in the academic community, especially in Europe. An informal small-scale survey among the teachers and students at the University of Belgrade conducted in the autumn of 2013 showed that the meaning of Bologna that first comes to mind is that of ‘(negative) university reforms’. This paper addresses the issue of such semantic shift from a cognitive linguistic perspective, by examining the metonymic and metaphoric meaning construction in the English language discourse related to the ongoing higher education reform process in Europe widely known as “the Bologna process”.

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2 This paper is based on a broader research that I presented under the title “Metaphor, Metonymy and Meaning Making in the Bologna Process Discourse” at the 10th Conference of the Association for Researching and Applying Metaphor (RaAM), Metaphor in Communication, Science and Education, Cagliari, Italy, June 20-23, 2014.
“The Bologna process”, i.e. the process of “integration and harmonisation of higher education systems within Europe, aimed at creating the European Higher Education Area”, has been met with praise and criticism. The discourse related to it has attracted scholarly attention from different theoretical perspectives (e.g. Keeling 2006, Liesner 2006, Fairclough and Wodak 2008, Fejes 2008), whereby one of the main points of criticism concerns the issue of “the commodification/marketization of higher education”.

This paper, set against the theoretical background of the cognitive linguistic conceptual metaphor and metonymy theory and its elaborations in the field of discourse studies, has the following aims: (i) to shed light on the metonymic and metaphoric meaning construction emerging in the discourse on the European higher education reforms process, based on an analysis of the pertinent non-literal uses of the toponym Bologna; (ii) to critically examine the role of the identified metonymic and metaphoric mappings in the overall understanding of the ongoing higher education reforms; and (iii) to provide a theoretical contextualization of the descriptive findings within the current metaphor and metonymy research.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The point of departure is the cognitive linguistic view of metaphor and metonymy as conceptual mappings (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999, Panther and Radden 1999, Kövecses 2002). On this view, metaphor and metonymy are primarily a matter of thought, with linguistic realizations in lexis, grammar and discourse. Metaphor provides understanding of one conceptual domain, which is typically abstract or less known (“target domain”) in terms of another, typically concrete, more familiar and experientially grounded conceptual domain (“source domain”), as, for instance, when thinking and talking about life in terms of journey, knowing in terms of seeing, importance in terms of size, morality in terms of cleanliness, etc. In metonymy, the mapping occurs between concepts within the same domain: one salient concept (“vehicle” or “source”) provides mental access to another concept (“target”) associated with it within a conceptual structure containing both of them, as, for instance, when capital refers to government, author to his/her work, container to its content, date to the event that happened on that date, etc.

3 The essence of the cognitive linguistic view of metaphor and metonymy as conceptual phenomena is presumed to be generally known and hence it is only sketched here for expository purposes, without further considerations of its complexities. Occasional reference to “the conceptual metaphor and metonymy theory” in literature should not obscure the fact that it is not a unified theory, but rather a combination of converging streams of profuse research inspired by Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) initial insights, whereby the notion of conceptual metaphor has received much more attention than conceptual metonymy. For an overview of the development, critical assessment and elaborations of the conceptual metaphor theory, see Fussaroli and Morgagni 2013; for a global insight into the contemporary metaphor research within and beyond cognitive linguistics, see Gibbs 2008; for an overview of current cognitive linguistic research on metonymy, see Barcelona et al 2011.

4 Following the conventions of cognitive linguistics, small capitals are used for conceptual metaphors and metonymies, as well as for the conceptual domains and
One aspect of conceptual metaphors and metonymies important for the present account concerns the multiplicity of domains i.e. concepts involved in cross-domain (metaphoric) and intra-domain (metonymic) mappings. Thus in metaphor a single source domain can be mapped onto a range of target domains (e.g. journey can be the source domain for life, love, career, argument, lecture, etc.), and vice versa, a single target domain can be structured by a range of source domains (e.g. love as the target domain can be conceptualized in terms of journey, physical force, magic, madness, unity, etc.) (cf. Kövecses 2002: 79–120, Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 70–71). Similarly, though with different constraints, in metonymy a single concept can serve as a vehicle providing access to a range of target concepts (e.g. place can metonymically refer to people, organization, event, etc.), and vice versa, different metonymic vehicles can provide access to a single target concept (e.g. people can be metonymically referred to via body parts, clothing, objects used, place they inhabit/occupy, etc.) (cf. Rasulčić 2010; see also Langacker 1993 for the related broader notion of dominion, a conceptual region or set of entities which a particular reference point affords mental access to). Consequently, metaphors and metonymies both highlight and hide certain aspects of the target (for the notion of metaphorical highlighting and hiding, see Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 10–13).

Another important aspect of metaphors and metonymies concerns their functioning in discourse. As aptly formulated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 156), “Metaphors may create realities for us, especially social realities. A metaphor may thus be a guide for future action. Such action will, of course, fit the metaphor. This will, in turn, reinforce the power of metaphor to make experience coherent. In this sense, metaphors can be self-fulfilling prophecies.”

Recent years have seen an increased interest in the interdisciplinary dialogue between cognitive linguistics and discourse studies, especially in the area of metaphor research (e.g. Cameron 2003, Charteris-Black 2004, Musolff 2004, Semino 2008, Musolff and Zinken 2009). Thereby discourse scholars appropriately emphasize the significance of empirically observable variation in actual metaphorical language use, which has largely been unattended by proponents of conceptual metaphor theory. As a result, there has been an increasing tension between discourse-centered and cognition-centered approaches to metaphor (cf. Musolff and Zinken 2009, Steen 2011, Gibbs 2011). In the ensuing discussion I will argue that the gap between the two is not necessarily as deep as it appears to be and that it can be bridged by paying more systematic attention to the dynamics of the two-way traffic between conceptualization and language use. In doing so, I take into account (i) the discourse dynamics approach to metaphor (Cameron and Deignan 2006, Gibbs and Cameron 2008, Cameron et al 2009), which treats metaphor as
multidimensional discursive socio-cognitive activity (integrating linguistic, social, cognitive, affective, cultural, physical etc. dimensions), and (ii) the recent convergence between the cognitive linguistic conceptual metaphor theory and the pragmatic relevance theory (Gibbs and Tendahl 2006, Tendahl and Gibbs 2008, Tendahl 2009, Wilson 2011, Musolff 2012), whereby the complementarity of the two perspectives is acknowledged insofar that, although the former sees metaphors as having roots in cognition rather than communication, while the latter treats it as a form of loose use of language arising naturally in communication and requiring adjustment in online processing, both see metaphor as linking two conceptual domains, which provides a common ground for seeking evidence of how such cross-domain mappings may arise ad-hoc in language and get entrenched in thought. Concerning metonymy in discourse, which has generally received much less systematic attention than metaphor, I take into account Panther and Thornburg’s (2004) treatment of metonymies as natural inference schemas, i.e. easily activatable associations among concepts that can be used for inferential purposes, Biernacka’s (2013) application of the discourse dynamics approach to the study of metonymy and Halverson’s (2012) findings concerning the emergent vagueness accompanying metonymic uses of place names in newspaper discourse.

3. DATA AND ANALYSIS

The analysis is based on the English language data collected from a variety of texts representative of the Bologna process discourse. The corpus of data (henceforth marked as BPDC) comprises the following constitutive and interpretive texts, written in “EU English”, British English and American English, and varying in degrees of formality:


e) The National Unions of Students in Europe / European Students’ Union reports on the implementation of the Bologna process: Bologna with Student Eyes, 2003 (Bergen: ESIB), 2005 (Bergen: ESIB), 2007 (London:
The focus of the analysis is on the non-literal uses of the toponym Bologna and on the resulting metonymic and metaphoric meaning construction. The BDPC has been manually checked for instances of non-literal uses of Bologna, based on the contextual meaning of syntagmatically related expressions, as illustrated by the example Hiding behind Bologna from the title of this paper. The first part of the analysis deals with the discourse-specific proliferation of metonymic uses of Bologna and the accompanying variety and under-specification of associated target concepts. The second part deals with metonymy-metaphor interaction, examining the discursive metaphorical structuring in which the metonymic association Bologna for x as a whole features as a metaphorical target domain drawing on a variety of source domains. The descriptive findings are critically evaluated and discussed in view of their conceptual impact, whereby it is shown that the discourse-emergent metonymic and metaphoric mappings are vague and inconsistent to the extent that they result in conceptual blurring, thus undermining overall understanding of the European higher education reform process.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. The metonymic uses of Bologna

As evident from the very label Bologna process, the toponym Bologna features prominently in the discourse related to the European higher education reforms. And as is common in the semantics of place names, it is used metonymically to refer to the associated event – in this case, the higher education reform process initiated by the signing of the well-known declaration of the European ministers of education in Bologna in 1999 – e.g. Bologna with Students’ Eyes or Bologna beyond 2010. What is remarkable, however, is the discourse-specific proliferation of Bologna as a metonymic vehicle with a broad range of targets and the resulting dynamics of meaning construction.

To test the observation that the metonymic uses of the toponym Bologna multiply extensively in the discourse on European higher education reforms, their frequency was checked in a sample of the BPDC (The Bologna Process for US Eyes) in comparison to two general corpora (British National Corpus and Corpus of Contemporary American English). The figures in Table 1 show
the extent of discourse-specific proliferation of metonymic uses of *Bologna* in terms of the number of pertinent metonymic occurrences, their percentage in relation to the total number of occurrences and the density of metonymic occurrences per 1000 words:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bologna</th>
<th>Total number of occurrences</th>
<th>Metonymic reference to the European higher education reform process</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Number of occurrences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNC (100.000.000 words)</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COCA (450.000.000 words)</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BPDC sample (~100.000 words)</td>
<td>707</td>
<td>589</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. The frequency of metonymic uses of *Bologna* in BPDC vs. BNC and COCA

Furthermore, the metonym *Bologna* manifests not only the strikingly increased discourse-specific frequency, but also, and more importantly, an array of emergent discourse-specific metonymic senses. Representative of the multiple target concepts involved in the discernible metonymic shifts are the ones shown in examples (1)–(4):

(1) If *Bologna* were to fail, it is hard to imagine any other process which could take its place in the near future.

BOLOGNA → THE EUROPEAN HIGHER EDUCATION REFORM PROCESS IN GENERAL

(2) *Bologna* in the humanities at the University of Vienna is completely different from *Bologna* in law at the same university.

BOLOGNA → THE WAY IN WHICH THE HIGHER EDUCATION REFORM IS CARRIED OUT IN A PARTICULAR CASE

(3) These initiatives started before *Bologna* was signed.

BOLOGNA → THE EUROPEAN EDUCATION MINISTERS’ DECLARATION

(4) Grading systems before and after *Bologna*

BOLOGNA → THE BEGINNING OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION REFORM

In fact, the range of such metonymic shifts goes far beyond the standard patterns of place name metonymization found in literature (cf. Markert and Nissim 2006), and the target concepts involved are often not clearly discernible. Rather, the toponym *Bologna* turns out to serve as a “catch-all” metonymic vehicle with underspecified and indeterminate target concepts (often discursively interchangeable with equally indeterminate *Bologna process, Bologna declaration or Bologna reforms*), as shown in (5)–(12):

(5) Is *Bologna* in a crisis?
(6) Spanish students protest against Bologna.

(7) One way to promote obstructionism without attracting attention is to hide behind Bologna.

(8) Doing public relations work and marketing for Bologna.

(9) Bologna has made us realize how important the social dimension is.

(10) We get a glimpse of why Bologna is at the same time respected, blamed, loved and hated by academic communities and governments alike.

(11) An ideal university would aspire to imbibe the spirit of Bologna.

(12) Is adopting Bologna a technical or political process?

In sum, the abundance of discourse-specific metonymic uses of Bologna turns out to result in increased indeterminacy of meaning, to the extent that more often than not it is far from clear what the intended target concept should be.

4.2. Bologna goes metaphoric

To make things more complicated, the proliferation of Bologna as a metonymic vehicle goes hand in hand with metaphorical mappings in which the conceptual complex Bologna for x features as a target domain. Namely, Bologna, i.e. the (indeterminate) range of concepts that it metonymically refers to, gets further metaphorically structured in terms of a variety of source domains, including motion (journey or race), space, building, machine, plants, people, economy/trade etc. An overview of common metaphorical sources for Bologna (for x) as the target domain, with illustrative examples, is provided in Table 2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bologna (for x) – metaphorically structured in terms of:</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Journey – goal                                         | (13) Germany: *The long road to Bologna*  
(14) Towards Bologna: the Hungarian Universitas Program |
| Journey – moving entity                                 | (15) With the advent of Bologna, just about everything is modularized.  
(16) When Bologna came along, its entire portfolio was seen “as a process of quality enhancement”. |
| Race                                                    | (17) *Bologna at the finish line*  
(18) Some of these additions pushed up the hurdles of the Bologna race beyond the immediate reach of a number of participants. |
| EXTENT OF SPACE     | (19) But private higher education is otherwise a minor phenomenon in the Bologna territory.  
|                     | (20) These institutions are not considered “tertiary” education in Europe, and are not part of the Bologna universe.  
| BUILDING/HOUSE      | (21) The aim is to investigate how the fundamental building blocks of Bologna are shaping the strategic challenges to British universities.  
|                     | (22) Opening the Bologna door for Belarus will facilitate better social exchange.  
| MACHINE/TOOLS       | (23) How does Bologna operate?  
|                     | (24) The implementation of key Bologna mechanisms.  
| PLANTS              | (25) So Bologna had a very different landscape in which to sprout and grow than would have been the case in the 1960s.  
|                     | (26) The Sorbonne Declaration contains most of the seeds of Bologna.  
| PERSON              | (27) Bologna is the usual suspect that students blame for their problems.  
|                     | (28) There is no question of what Bologna had in mind by a Euro-centered mobility.  
| TEACHER             | (29) Bologna as Global Teacher  
|                     | (30) These systems are setting an example for serious learning from Bologna.  
| ORGANIZED GROUP     | (31) ECTS is a condition of membership in the Bologna club.  
|                     | (32) The current assessment of the Bologna community...  
|                     | (33) An issue concerning many Bologna member states...  
| AUTHORITY/RULE      | (34) Testing the implicit authority of Bologna...  
|                     | (35) A survey of European countries’ compliance with Bologna  
|                     | (36) The three cycle system adopted under Bologna.  
| ECONOMY/TRADE       | (37) All Bologna stakeholders and their international partners  
|                     | (38) The latest Bologna stocktaking report.  

Table 2. Common metaphorical sources for Bologna (for x)

As can be seen from this overview, the multiple metaphors for Bologna (for x) are not only varied, but they also manifest significant conceptual inconsistencies (cf. Goatley’s 2002 findings concerning conflicting metaphors in the Hong Kong educational reform proposals). Thus Bologna (for x) is metaphorically structured both as an animate and inanimate entity (of different kinds), in both static and dynamic terms, and even within the same source domain, that of Journey, it is structured both as a goal and as a moving entity.
It should be noted that similar multiple and partly inconsistent metaphors are not peculiar to the conceptual complex BOLOGNA (FOR X) as a metaphorical target, but are also commonly exploited for other abstract concepts characteristic of the Bologna process discourse, such as EUROPEAN HIGHER EDUCATION AREA (EHEA), EUROPEAN CREDIT TRANSFER AND ACCUMULATION SYSTEM (ECTS), EUROPEAN QUALIFICATION FRAMEWORK (EQF), etc. As an illustrative case in point, consider the variety of metaphorical sources for EUROPEAN HIGHER EDUCATION AREA (EHEA), which in itself is a metaphorical concept making use of the spatial concept AREA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EUROPEAN HIGHER EDUCATION AREA (EHEA) – metaphorically structured in terms of:</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JOURNEY – GOAL</td>
<td>(39) <strong>Progress towards the EHEA</strong>&lt;br&gt;(40) The Bologna Process is leading universities to reach the EHEA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JOURNEY – MOVING ENTITY</td>
<td>(41) We, the ministers responsible for HE in the countries participating in the BP, met in Budapest and Vienna on March 11 and 12, 2010, to launch the EHEA.&lt;br&gt;(42) Does the Bologna Process have enough synergy to keep the EHEA moving ahead?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXTENT OF SPACE</td>
<td>(43) A report evaluating the overall progress of the Bologna process across the EHEA since 1999&lt;br&gt;(44) Is ECTS understood in the same way throughout the EHEA?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BUILDING/HOUSE</td>
<td>(45) <strong>The foundations of the EHEA</strong> are now in place.&lt;br&gt;(46) We continue the work towards building a true EHEA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MACHINE/TOOLS</td>
<td>(47) <strong>The EHEA operates</strong> in a global, continuously internationalizing environment.&lt;br&gt;(48) The national policy frameworks under which the EHEA tools could be implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ORGANIZED GROUP</td>
<td>(49) Countries party to European Cultural Convention shall be eligible for membership in the EHEA.&lt;br&gt;(50) In December 2011, the Republic of Belarus officially applied to become a member of the EHEA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECONOMY/TRADE</td>
<td>(51) A vision of an internationally competitive and attractive EHEA&lt;br&gt;(52) The European University Association looks for opportunities to create a more transparent EHEA market.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Common metaphorical sources for EUROPEAN HIGHER EDUCATION AREA (EHEA)
However, the case of Bologna is particularly noteworthy, because metaphorical inconsistencies combine with the indeterminate range of concepts that Bologna metonymically refers to and thus additionally blur overall understanding of the higher education reforms.

Moreover, in addition to the source domains that are common in the metaphorical structuring of other target concepts in the Bologna process discourse, the conceptual complex Bologna (for X) as the metaphorical target activates additional mappings drawing on the source domain of food/cooking, as in (53)–(55):

(53) In Portugal, Bologna is being served to students as a fast-food dish. In the best cases students are presented with the cooked Bologna dish and are asked if they like it....

(54) This change of paradigm will only happen if the students are included in the slow-food process of cooking the Bologna dish.

(55) Bologna not to the taste of German critics.

This kind of metaphorical ramification rests on the overall background knowledge associated with the toponym Bologna, renowned (among other things) for its cuisine. It spreads further to include restaurant menu or bolognese sauce as pertinent metaphorical sources, as in (56)–(59). Thereby the positive associations that may otherwise be linked to the Bologna cuisine are lost in the metaphorical mappings, which foreground negative associations (parts as opposed to whole, undefined mixture etc.):

(56) Bologna is still “Bologna a la carte” in many countries.

(57) Critics mock reforms with such witticisms as “study alla bolognese”.

(58) A taste of academia bolognese

(59) Universities in Europe: Bolognese sauce

Thus, in effect, the overall metaphoric and metonymic portrayal of Bologna in the discourse on European higher education reforms results in unclear referential meaning and yet in predominantly negative associative meaning (especially in the informal discourse), so that the overall understanding of higher education reforms seems to be “lost in the Bologna labyrinth”.

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5 Cf. the traditional Italian nicknames of Bologna: la Dotta ‘the learned one’ (with reference to the oldest university in the Western world), la Grassa ‘the fat one’ (with reference to the rich cuisine), la Rossa ‘the red one’ (with reference to the colour of the medieval roofs in the historic centre). The encyclopedic knowledge related to the Bologna cuisine is also responsible for the place for product metonymic sense extension manifest in bologna ‘a cooked and smoked sausage made of finely ground beef and pork’.
4.3. By way of conclusion: The curious case of Bologna and the dynamics of metonymic and metaphorical meaning construction in discourse

The multitude and complexity of non-literal uses of the toponym Bologna and the emergent metonymic and metaphorical meaning construction in the Bologna process discourse are instructive not only with respect to the way they relate to the understanding of the European higher education reform process, but also, on a more general plane, with respect to the dynamic interplay between conceptual and linguistic aspects of metaphor and metonymy in discourse. At least two noteworthy aspects of such interplay are highlighted by the descriptive findings presented above.

The first concerns the discursive inversion of the role of metonymy as a conceptual and linguistic shortcut, manifest in the overextension of metonymic uses of Bologna with underspecified and indeterminate target concepts. This phenomenon appears to be characteristic of place name metonymies (cf. Halverson’s 2012 findings concerning the vagueness of metonymic uses of place names Schengen and Kyoto in Norwegian newspaper discourse, and Rasulić, in preparation, for the proliferation and indeterminacy of the metonymic uses of Belgrade and Priština in Serbian political discourse on Kosovo) and could provide a fruitful platform for a more systematic study of metonymy in discourse.

The second aspect concerns the discursive evolvement of a metonymic concept into a metaphorical target and the resulting target-induced activation of “dormant” metaphorical source domains, manifest in the food/cooking metaphors for bologna (for x). This phenomenon is closely related to “topic-triggered” metaphors, i.e. metaphors that use some aspect of the topic under discussion as source domain (Koller 2004, Semino 2008), but it further points to the role of metonymy-metaphor interaction in the metaphorical source domain activation, which also merits a more detailed and systematic investigation.

Furthermore, the discourse-specific Bologna-related metonymic and metaphoric mappings are indicative of how metonymic and metaphorical links arise and spread in discourse as an integral part of the evolving conceptualization of a novel abstract complex system, bearing witness to the remarkable flexibility and multifacetedness of both metonymy and metaphor as general cognitive mechanisms in actual language use. In view of recent theoretical debates between discourse-centered and cognition-centered approaches to metaphor (cf. Musolff and Zinken 2009, Steen 2011, Gibbs 2011), the descriptive findings presented above suggest that there is no principled reason to insist on the gap between discourse metaphors and conceptual metaphors (whereby the latter tend to be interpreted exclusively as pre-existing cognitive schemata). The same would apply to metonymy, which has received much less attention in such debates so far. Rather, discourse metaphors and metonymies inevitably involve conceptual mappings (which are not fixed, but dynamic), whereby they may both draw on the entrenched conceptual links or establish new conceptual links that may or may not become entrenched in a linguistic community. In that respect, the emerging dynamic
view of metaphor (and metonymy) as a discursive socio-cognitive activity incorporating linguistic, social, cognitive, affective, cultural etc. dimensions (Cameron and Deignan 2006, Gibbs and Cameron 2008, Cameron et al. 2009, Biernacka’s 2013) and the recent dialogue between cognitive linguistics and relevance theory (Gibbs and Tendahl 2006, Tendahl and Gibbs 2008, Tendahl 2009, Wilson 2011, Musolff 2012) seem to provide a fruitful ground for new developments in metaphor and metonymy research. Thereby metonymy (and its dynamic interaction with metaphor) definitely merits more attention in the interdisciplinary dialogue between cognitive linguistics, (critical) discourse analysis and relevance theory. Given the large-scale spread of the Bologna process, the discourse related to it could provide a useful platform for a systematic cross-linguistic and cross-cultural investigation of the functioning of metaphor and metonymy in discourse.

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“HIDING BEHIND BOLOGNA”: METONYMY, METAPHOR AND CONCEPTUAL BLURRING IN THE BOLOGNA PROCESS DISCOURSE


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Katarina G. Rasulić

„SKRIVANJE IZA BOLONJE”: METONIMIJA, METAFORA I POJMOVNO ZAMAGLJIVANJE U DISKURSU BOLONJSKOG PROCESA

Rezime

U radu se na teorijskoj podlozi kognitivne lingvistike, na materijalu iz engleskog jezika, razmatra metonimijsko i metaforičko građenje značenja u diskursu vezanom za dugogodišnji proces reformi visokog obrazovanja u Evropi koji je poznat pod nazivom Bolonjski proces. Analiza nedoslovnih značenja toponima Bolonja u predmetnom diskursu pokazuje da u konceptualizaciji i diskurzivnom oblikovanju savremenog evropskog visokog obrazovanja važnu ulogu imaju metonimijska preslikavanja u kojima se ovaj toponim vezuje za različite, često neodređene ciljne pojmove, kao i višestruka, često nedosledna metaforička preslikavanja u kojima se pojmovni kompleks bolonja (ža x) strukturira pomoću različitih izvornih domena (kretanje, prostor, građevina, mašina, biljka, osoba, organizovana grupa, trgovina, hrana/kuvanje), što kao rezultat ima nejasno referencijalno značenje ali preovlađujuće negativno asocijativno značenje. U razmatranju teorijskih implikacija ističe se potreba i značaj interdisciplinarnog dijaloga između kognitivne lingvistike, (kritičke) analize diskursa i pragmatičke teorije relevantacije.

Ključne reči: Bolonja, diskurs Bolonjskog procesa, metonimija, metafora, kognitivna lingvistika
Drawing on Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Johnson 1987, Lakoff 1987) and Conceptual Metonymy Theory (Radden and Kövecses 1999, Radden 2000, Barcelona 2000) the paper presents a contrastive analysis of the lexemes *home* in English and *dom* in Serbian. The analysis of the material taken from monolingual dictionaries of English and Serbian (*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, *Macmillan English Dictionary*, *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* and *Rečnik srpskoga jezika*) shows numerous similarities between the metaphoric and metonymic extensions of meaning of the given lexemes that may be attributed to the common European cultural frame which English and Serbian appear to share. Specifically, two corresponding metonymic extensions and one metaphorical extension have been found in both languages. Some minor crosslinguistic differences have also been noted in the ways in which metaphors operate in English, but a more detailed corpus analysis of the whole lexical field of *house/kuća* is required in order to support the conclusions reached in this paper.

*Keywords*: polysemy, conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy, English, Serbian, contrastive analysis

1. **INTRODUCTION**

A very large number of lexical items in any natural language are ambiguous. Lexical ambiguity may stem from either homonymy or polysemy. While in the former case the different readings of the words are not related, in the latter case there has to be a semantic connection between the senses. In such cases we say that a word is polysemous, i.e. that it manifests polysemy (Cruse 2011: 115). The degree to which the different readings of a lexeme are related forms a continuous scale. Thus, of the distinct senses of a single lexical item one is more central than, or prior to, others (Sweetser 1986: 528), which are derived from it directly or indirectly via transfer of meaning. Although transferred meaning represents a peripheral component of lexical meaning, research has shown that more frequent words tend to be the most polysemous (Crossley, Salsbury and McNamara 2010: 576).
As part of a larger research project the aim of which is to establish the polysemous structure of the elements within the lexical fields house in English and kuća in Serbian, this paper offers a contrastive analysis of the lexemes home in English and dom in Serbian. Based on the analysis of the meaning extensions of these two lexemes, the paper intends to ascertain interlinguistic and intercultural similarities and differences existing between the ways in which home and dom are conceptualized in these two languages (cf. Radić-Bojanić and Halupka-Reštar 2014a; Radić-Bojanić and Halupka-Reštar 2014b).

The paper is structured as follows: Section 2 outlines the theoretical framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Conceptual Metonymy Theory, while Section 3 presents the research methodology. The results of the research are presented in Section 4, followed by Section 5, which summarizes the main findings of the research.

2. CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR AND METONYMY

Metaphors and metonymies have traditionally been regarded as figures of speech, ornamental devices primarily (or exclusively) pertaining to the field of literature, specifically rhetoric or stylistics. However, it is clear that figurative expressions like She is such a sweetheart or the head of the department are found in everyday language and are used quite aptly even by children, suggesting that figurative language is a linguistic phenomenon. What is more, metaphor and metonymy have been proven to be much more than just a way of expressing ideas by means of language: they are a way of thinking about things and conceptualizing extralinguistic reality.

In Metaphors we live by, the first major breakthrough in cognitive linguistic research, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) showed that metaphors are widely used in everyday language. A detailed examination of large amounts of data gave support to the idea that everyday language is filled with metaphors language users often fail to notice. This led the authors (and many other linguists since, e.g. Johnson 1987, Kövecses 2002, Ungerer and Schmid 2013, to name but a few) to define metaphor as one of the basic cognitive instruments which “is organized according to cross-domain mappings or correspondences between conceptual domains” (Evans and Green 2006: 286). To illustrate this, people often see time as an asset and hence conceptualize it as money, as in the following examples from English (1-3) and Serbian (4-6):

(1) Stop wasting my time!
(2) I can’t afford to spend a lot of time standing here talking.
(3) For many of us, saving time in the morning means sleeping in a little longer.
(4) Marko je protraćio tri sata na igranje igrice.
(5) Ne troše svi slobodno vreme na iste stvari.
(6) Dobrom organizacijom se može uštedeti mnogo vremena.
All of the above examples show how the target domain (the domain being described, in this case time) is structured in terms of the source domain (the domain in terms of which the target is described, in this case money) (Evans and Green 2006: 295). In other words, the source domain tends to be more concrete and experientially closer to the speaker, while the target domain is more abstract and hence more difficult to conceptualize, so through metaphors speakers map the structure of the source domain onto the features of the target domain, as in the crosslinguistically common metaphorical mappings love is war, love is a journey, life is a journey, up is good/down is bad, people are animals and so on. (For many conventional mappings see Lakoff & Johnson 1980, The Master Metaphor List, Kövecses 2002, Lakoff & Turner 1989, Evans & Green 2006, etc.)

Another conceptual mechanism, which is considered to be even more basic than metaphor by many cognitive linguists (e.g. Radden & Kövecses 1999, Radden 2000, Barcelona 2000) is metonymy. This transfer of meaning rests on an asymmetrical mapping of the vehicle onto another conceptual entity, the target, whereby both the vehicle and the target entity belong to the same idealized cognitive domain (cf. Kövecses & Radden 1998: 39). As with metaphor, there are many conventionalized metonymies, such as part for whole, place for institution, effect for cause, result for action, agent for action, etc. The following examples illustrate the metonymy place for institution in English (7-8) and Serbian (9-10):

(7) Downing street refuses comment.
(8) Paris and Washington are having a spat. (Evans & Green 2006: 313)
(9) Kremlj se u svojoj politici prema Siriji smatra ojačanim.
(10) Beograd i Priština imaju sastanak 9. februara.

The last example shows a rather common phenomenon in cognitive linguistic analysis, namely that of several metaphors and/or metonymies, which form a chain (Kövecses 2002: 157). In this particular case Beograd and Priština stand for Serbia and Kosovo, respectively, as instances of the metonymy part for whole, but at the same time they also stand for the governments and their representatives via the metonymies whole for part and place for institution. This occurrence is not unusual: metonymy has been found to motivate many metaphorical transfers of meaning (Barcelona 2000, Radden 2000). Similar examples are also found in the corpus analyzed in this paper, as we show in Section 4.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY


3 http://araw.medea.uic.edu/~alansz/metaphor/METAPHORLIST.pdf
It is important to note that students’ dictionaries of English such as the ones used in this research most often include examples which illustrate the use of given lexemes in a certain context, whereas monolingual dictionaries of Serbian offer very few examples of authentic language use. In order to compensate for the lack of such relevant information, the paper also relies on electronic corpora of English and Serbian (the British National Corpus (BNC) and the Corpus of the Contemporary Serbian Language (CCSL)) as sources of additional examples which illustrate various meanings of the lexemes under scrutiny.

It must be emphasized that the paper does not assume a quantitative approach to the material as it only intends to describe the metaphors and metonymies that comprise the polysemous structure of these lexemes, while the information regarding the frequency of usage found in the English monolingual dictionaries relates only to the frequency of the head word (lexeme), not the frequency of individual meanings associated with it. Thus, of the three students’ dictionaries of English used in this research, two mention the frequencies of head words: according to the Macmillan English Dictionary the lexeme *home* is among the 2,500 most basic words in English, while the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English notes that *home* is one of the 1000 most frequent words in both spoken and written language. On the other hand, neither the Serbian monolingual dictionary nor the CCSL include such information so these two resources will be used solely as sources of representative examples for metaphorical and metonymic transfers of meaning.

The very procedure of metaphor and metonymy identification employed in the paper is based on a somewhat modified procedure developed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007), who in their work focused only on the identification and explication of metaphors. In brief, the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) includes the following steps (Pragglejaz 2007: 3): (1) read the entire text–discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning; (2) determine the lexical units in the text–discourse; for each lexical unit in the text (3a) establish its meaning in context, taking into account what comes before and after the lexical unit; (3b) determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context, i.e. whether it tends to be more concrete, related to bodily action, more precise and historically older; (3c) if the lexical unit has a more basic current–contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it and if it does, (4) mark the lexical unit as metaphorical.

The analysis in this paper is based on lexemes, their meanings (including both metaphorical and metonymic transfers of meaning) and examples excerpted from dictionary entries and electronic corpora of English and Serbian. The procedure employed here was developed in two previous papers (Radić-Bojanić & Halupka-Rešetar 2014a, Radić-Bojanić & Halupka-Rešetar 2014b) and is somewhat different from the Pragglejaz procedure. It comprises the following steps: (1) establish the basic meaning of the lexeme; (2) establish the relationship of all other meanings of the lexeme in the dictionary entry...
with the basic meaning; (3) establish the basis of each transfer of meaning; (4) list examples from the dictionary entry that exemplify the transfer of meaning; (5) if there are no examples in the dictionary entry, find examples in the corpus.

The latter, modified procedure was applied to the dictionary entries home and dom. In what follows we offer the contrastive analysis of the meanings of these lexemes and their metaphorical and metonymic extensions. The aim of the analysis is to establish interlinguistic and intercultural similarities and differences between the meaning extensions of the lexemes home in English and dom in Serbian.

4. RESEARCH RESULTS

Before presenting the results of the analysis we give an overview of existing research into the polysemantic structure of the lexemes kuća (‘house’) and dom (‘home’) in Serbian and we note that we are unaware of any similar analyses having been conducted for house and home in English.

Marković (1991) performed a contrastive semantic analysis of lexemes which denote the house and its parts in Serbo-Croatian, English and Russian and found few differences between the meaning extensions of these lexemes in Serbian and English. Using various sources, Ristić and Lazić-Konjik (2012) gave an extensive cognitive and ethnolinguistic comparison of the lexemes dom ‘home’ and kuća ‘house’ in Serbian. The most recent lexical and semantic analysis of the synonymous pair kuća – dom in Serbian is found in Đurović (2013), who puts special focus on those contexts in which the two lexemes are not completely interchangeable.

The analysis of metaphorical transfers of meaning of the lexemes home in English and dom in Serbian has revealed that there are five metaphorical mappings in English and only one in Serbian. The transfer which can be observed in both languages is the metaphor institution is home, which closely corresponds to the metaphor institution is a house (Radić-Bojanić & Halupka-Rešetar 2014a):

(11) A former hotel worker will spend Christmas alone in a tent after his retirement home was bulldozed by Spanish planners. (BNC)
(12) They didn’t want to put their mother in a home. (MED)
(13) Gertrude Hauser, superintendent of the dogs’ home, is accustomed to such examples of man’s inhumanities to dumb creatures. (BNC)
(14) Od imovine tog društva najvrednija je poslovna zgrada od 690 kvadratnih metara, takozvani ‘Vatrogasni dom’. (CCSL)
(15) Dom zdravlja je dostavio odštetni zahtev za nadoknadu štete koju je dr

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4 The sources for the examples used in the paper are coded in the following way: Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English as LDOCE, Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners as MED, Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary as OALD, British National Corpus as BNC, Rečnik srpskoga jezika (Dictionary of Serbian Language) as RSJ, and Corpus of the Contemporary Serbian Language as CCSL.
Bratislav Stojković naneo ovoj zdravstvenoj ustanovi u vreme dok je bio na njenom čelu. (CCSL)

(16) … pošto je ostalo da se samo Senat, gornji dom rumunskog Parlamenta, izjasni o tome da li će taj paragraf biti promenjen ili ne. (CCSL)

Examples (11) and (14) illustrate the use of home/dom as referring to the building which houses an institution: in (11) it is the building that is torn down and in (14) the example focuses on the value of the building which houses a fire department. In (12) and (15) the metaphorical meaning of home/dom is further extended by a metonymic transfer to stand for the institution (container for content, see the analysis below), so in (12) the mother is placed in an instition where old people live, whereas in (15) dom stands for the health clinic in the institutional sense. Finally, examples (13) and (16) exhibit interlinguistic and intercultural differences: in British English dogs’ and cats’ homes are buildings and institutions where animals which have no owner are looked after. In Serbian, on the other hand, such a meaning of the lexeme dom is not recorded in dictionaries, although the electronic corpus does record one example of dom za pse (‘dogs’ home’) (17). This, we suppose, is the result of the influence of English, since the word commonly used to refer to this concept is azil (za životinje):

(17) Propisi kažu da na svakih 250 000 stanovnika treba da nikne dom za pse. (CCSL)

The other interlinguistic and intercultural difference observed in relation to the above examples concerns the fact that dom in Serbian is used to refer to a group of people who make the laws of a country (16), which in English is not realized with the lexeme home but with its synonym, house (e.g. the House of Commons/Lords/Representatives, etc.).

Furthermore, the English home exhibits a much wider network of metaphorical extensions, given that examples of four other metaphorical extensions have also been found. The first one, where home is used to refer to the place where a sports club is based and plays most of its games (18-19), relies on the metaphor SPORTS CLUB IS HOME:

(18) Is the match on Saturday at home or away? (LDOCE)
(19) Birmingham Bullets are at home to Kingston. (OALD)

In Serbian, this metaphor is realized through metaphorical expressions involving either the adjectival form of the lexeme dom (i.e. domaći) or else the synonymous lexeme kuća ‘house’, as in (20-21):

(20) Domaći teren je, s jedne strane, opterećujući, a s druge lepo je takmičiti se i postizati vrhunske rezultate pred svojim navijačima, prijateljima i članovima porodice. (CCSL)

(21) Naravno da je moguće pobediti u Beogradu, ali mislim da je Srbija favorit jer je to jak tim i igra kod kuće.
Secondly, based on the transfer place of origin is home, the lexeme *home* may also signify the place where something first started or was first made, which is not found in Serbian:

(22) Scotland is the *home* of golf. (MED)

Furthermore, by the extension a pleasant place is home, we find this lexeme referring to places where one feels comfortable and relaxed, as in the following example:

(23) We like to make our customers feel at *home*.

As for the metaphorical expressions in Serbian which refer to a pleasant place, we have found two instances, one of which is the expression *Dome, slatki dome*, which we believe is a direct translation of ‘Home, sweet home’ in English. The other instance of the metaphorical conceptualization of a pleasant place in Serbian is realized much more often via the metaphor pleasant place is a house, as described in Radić-Bojanić and Halupka-Rešetar (2014a).

The last metaphorical transfer of *home* is based on the mapping habitat is home, where the lexeme *home* is used of the place where an animal or plant usually lives, originates from or where it is found:

(24) This region is the *home* of many species of wild flower. (OALD)

As the above examples illustrate, the lexeme *home* boasts a larger number of metaphorical extensions of meaning than its Serbian equivalent, *dom*. However, even though the *Dictionary of Serbian Language* does not record the frequency of entries, the above finding does not imply that the lexeme *home* is more frequent than the lexeme *dom*, given that some of the meaning extensions of *home* in English correspond to extensions of the lexemes *kuća* (‘house’) or *domaći* (‘home’ adj.) in Serbian (cf. examples (20-21)).

In the domain of metonymic extensions of meaning, we find the same situation in both languages under consideration. Two metonymies are at work, container for content and part for whole. Within the metonymic transfer container for content, *home* in English stands for one’s family only (25), while in Serbian, in addition to this (26), it may also denote the royal family or dynasty (27):

(25) He had always wanted a real *home* with a wife and children. (OALD)

(26) I idi, pa mu se raduj kad se rodi. Od ovolicno, (pokazuje rukom) od ‘mrvu mrvku’ hrani ga, čuvaj, gledaj, da, kad se umire, ima ko oči da ti zaklopi, sveću zapali, da ti se *dom*, ognjište ne ugasi… (CCSL)

(27) Po članu 57 Ustava „u kraljevski *dom* ulazili su i kraljev brat knez Arsen sa svojim potomstvom i kraljev sin kraljević Đorđe“. (CCSL)

It is evident from examples (25-26) that *home/dom* in both cases represents a family: in (25) he wanted a family with a wife and children, all of whom live in a home together, whereas in (26) the speaker is warning the hearer that his family (his descendants) might disappear altogether. In other words, both examples demonstrate how the content of the home is replaced by the container, the home itself. An additional transfer of meaning, similar to
the one found in both languages in the analysis of the lexemes \textit{house} and \textit{kuća} (Radić-Bojanić & Halupka-Rešetar 2014a) narrows down the meaning of the family as the content of a home only to the royal family or dynasty (27).

Lastly, the metonymic transfer \textsc{part for whole} has been found to operate in both languages, extending the meaning of both \textit{home} in English (28-29) and \textit{dom} in Serbian (30-31) to the town, district, country, etc. where one comes from or where one lives and belongs to. The following examples illustrate this:

(28) She was born in Italy, but she’s made Charleston her \textit{home}. (LDOCE)

(29) Jamaica is \textit{home} to over two million people. (OALD)

(30) … da ima utisak […] da odavde naprosto ne treba odlaziti, da je ovo svet za njega, njegov jedini \textit{dom}, mesto koje je oduvek sanjao i na kom je oduvek i trebalo da bude. (CCSL)

(31) … sebe doživljavam kao Evropljanina, govorim pet evropskih jezika i sve zemlje Evrope mogu biti moj \textit{dom}. (CCSL)

Hence, in all of the four examples above \textit{home} and \textit{dom} present a shortcut for larger wholes in which they are conventionally found: in example (28) \textit{home} stands for the entire town where the home is, while in (29) \textit{home} stands for the entire country. Similarly, \textit{dom} in example (30) describes a whole area or even a country where the person lives, while \textit{dom} in (31) is very similar to \textit{home} in (29) in that it signifies a whole country.

5. \textbf{CONCLUSION}

In this paper we analyzed the meaning extensions of the lexemes \textit{home} in English and \textit{dom} in Serbian from the cognitive linguistic perspective in order to establish the similarities and differences in their polysemantic structure. The results of the analysis reveal numerous similarities (the metonymies \textsc{container for content and part for whole}, and the metaphor \textsc{institution is home}) and several differences. Namely, some metaphorical extensions of the lexeme \textit{home} in English are not realized as meaning extensions of \textit{dom} in Serbian but rather as extensions of the synonymous lexeme \textit{kuća} (e.g. \textsc{sports club is home}). Furthermore, there are other metaphors in English (\textsc{place of origin is home}, \textsc{a pleasant place is home}, \textsc{habitat is home}) which do not have any equivalents in Serbian. This can be explained by intercultural differences that are reflected in language.

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Oslanjajući se na teoriju pojmovne metafore i teoriju pojmovne metonimije, u radu se kontrastivno analiziraju značenja leksema home u engleskom i dom u srpskom jeziku. Cilj rada je da se ustanove sličnosti i razlike između metaforičkih i metonimskih proširenja značenja ovih leksema, što će istovremeno dati uvid u međujezičke i međukulturne razlike ova dva jezika. Analiza se zasniva na materijalu crpljenom iz jednojezičnih rečnika engleskog i srpskog jezika, kao i na korpusu savremenog engleskog jezika i savremenog srpskog jezika. Rezultati ukazuju na mnoge sličnosti kao što su metonimije sadržatelj za sadržaj i deo za celinu, te metafora institucija je dom, koje su otkrivene u oba jezika, ali i na nekolike razlike između značenja leksema home i dom, kao što su ona zasnovana na metaforama mesto odakle neko potiče je dom, prijatno mesto je dom i staniste je dom. Naposletku, mogu se uočiti i određena značenja koja su u engleskom jeziku realizovana kroz metaforičke izraze koji sadrže leksemu home, dok su ista ta značenja u srpskom jeziku realizovana u metaforičkim izrazima sa leksemom kuća (metafora sportski klub je dom).

Ključne reči: polisemija, pojmovna metafora, pojmovna metonimija, engleski jezik, srpski jezik, kontrastivna analiza

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POLISEMIJA LEKSEMA HOME U ENGLEŠKOM I DOM U SRPSKOM JEZIKU

Rezime

Oslanjajući se na teoriju pojmovne metafore i teoriju pojmovne metonimije, u radu se kontrastivno analiziraju značenja leksema home u engleskom i dom u srpskom jeziku. Cilj rada je da se ustanove sličnosti i razlike između metaforičkih i metonimskih proširenja značenja ovih leksema, što će istovremeno dati uvid u međujezičke i međukulturne razlike ova dva jezika. Analiza se zasniva na materijalu crpljenom iz jednojezičnih rečnika engleskog i srpskog jezika, kao i na korpusu savremenog engleskog jezika i savremenog srpskog jezika. Rezultati ukazuju na mnoge sličnosti kao što su metonimije sadržatelj za sadržaj i deo za celinu, te metafora institucija je dom, koje su otkrivene u oba jezika, ali i na nekolike razlike između značenja leksema home i dom, kao što su ona zasnovana na metaforama mesto odakle neko potiče je dom, prijatno mesto je dom i staniste je dom. Naposletku, mogu se uočiti i određena značenja koja su u engleskom jeziku realizovana kroz metaforičke izraze koji sadrže leksemu home, dok su ista ta značenja u srpskom jeziku realizovana u metaforičkim izrazima sa leksemom kuća (metafora sportski klub je dom).

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HOW MUCH TIRED ARE YOU? 
APPROACHES TO VOCABULARY COMPREHENSION

This paper presents one radically semantic and one radically pragmatic approach to vocabulary comprehension. As a means of illustrating the workings of the respective approaches – the Natural Semantic Metalanguage and Relevance Theory – one lexical field has been selected for analysis.

The aim is to provide an objective assessment of the different approaches to lexical meaning in use by encouraging the reader to derive his/her own implications regarding potential merits and demerits of the theories. Most of all, the reader is prompted to engage in the contemporary discussion of the semantics/pragmatics interface, especially at the level of lexis, by understanding the rationale behind the two extreme positions.

Key words: Natural Semantic Metalanguage, Relevance Theory, vocabulary comprehension, tiredness

1. INTRODUCTION

The paper discusses two opposing views of the subject of vocabulary comprehension: one radically semantic and the other radically pragmatic.

The view of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage is radically semantic because it explains all meaning in terms of a small set of concepts, the so-called “semantic primitives/primes”, which have painstakingly been ascertained in a vast number of languages, and are, therefore, considered to be the universal machinery deployed in vocabulary comprehension. The main advantage of this approach lies in descriptive representations of meaning of culturally specific concepts (which may be lexicalised, grammaticalised or non-existent in particular languages).2

The relevance-theoretic view rests on the assumption that humans are cognitively able to use the linguistically encoded meaning of a word as a starting point in inferential comprehension of the use of that word on a particular occasion of the speaker’s utterance. The lexical-pragmatic process

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2 Although this paper does not take sides in the presented radically semantic vs. radically pragmatic debate on understanding lexical meaning, a passing remark might be in order. NSM explications (cf. examples (1)-(8)) confute encoded and inferred meaning. From the perspective of the traditional speech-act approach to meaning (see Austin 1962), for instance, locution, illocution and perlocution are all subsumed under the rubric of semantics. This, in turn, obfuscates the distinction between word meaning and word use, which is crucial in the radically pragmatic approach advocated by Relevance Theory.
is constrained by a powerful pragmatic principle – the addressee’s search for the optimal relevance of the speaker’s utterance. The main advantage of this approach is generality and flexibility because the same descriptive and explanatory machinery is used to account for various aspects of modulated meaning in use.

The paper is organised around the following sections: section 2 gives a brief overview of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage and provides a semantic analysis of the synonyms encoding the concept TIREDNESS; section 3 introduces the relevance-theoretic postulates which govern a pragmatic analysis of the word tired as the central member of the selected lexical field; the final section summarises the main points of this paper.

2. GOING RADICALLY SEMANTIC

2.1. The Natural Semantic Metalanguage

The Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) has a twofold aim: to provide a coherent semantic theory and a rigorous semantic methodology. Partly as a response to the failures of generative and formal semantics and partly in opposition to some radically pragmatic trends in linguistics, NSM has posited the existence of innate and universal lexicon and syntax of human thoughts—lingua mentalis as the shared lexical and grammatical core of all natural languages (Wierzbicka 1996).

According to this approach, cross-cultural communication provides strong evidence for the assumption that fundamental concepts are innate. The basic goal is then formulated as search for universal semantic primitives which would represent culture-specific configurations of various semantic systems embodied in different languages. The underlying hypothesis is that meanings are determinate and that they can be described in terms of discrete semantic features:

To find the truth about the meaning of a word means to find the invariant concept which is part of the native speakers’ tacit knowledge about their language and which guides them in their use of that word [...] “[M]eaning” has to do with the constant, not with the variable, aspects of a word’s use.

(Wierzbicka 1996: 264, 297)

To that purpose NSM has developed a specific notational system which is based on natural language: a “small” set of “truly indispensable and truly universal” semantic primitives (Wierzbicka 1996: 111).

The following example illustrates an NSM representation of the meaning of the adjective courageous (Wierzbicka 1996: 241):

(1) X is courageous. =
   X can do very good things when other people can’t
   because when other people think something like this:
   I don’t want bad things to happen to me
X thinks something like this:
   it is good if I do this
   it is bad if I don’t do it
   I want to do it because of this
   this is good

The NSM explication in (1) is based on the semantic primitives and the rules for their combination. The formula is conceived of as a unit consisting of clauses and sentences: the parts in separate lines count as distinct semantic components and the groups of components which are identically indented are the subcomponents.³

2.2. Case study: tiredness

In this section I discuss some implications of the NSM approach to vocabulary comprehension by examining the lexical field around the concept TIREDNESS. The central member is taken to be the word tired while the selected synonymous expressions include the words fatigued, exhausted, weary, overworked and dead beat. All the expressions refer to a specific physical or mental state which may be described with the evaluator BAD, the metapredicate CAN, the action and event predicates DO and HAPPEN and the mental predicates FEEL, KNOW, WANT and THINK. The expressions are similar in that they involve references to something “bad”, “happening now”, to “diswant”, and involve personal states of being (and therefore of emotions) that result from some prior “doing”. But they also differ in certain points.

The NSM explications (3)-(8) are approximations which aim at capturing these similarities and differences. They reflect the basic semantic structure (2) of emotion concepts (Wierzbicka 1996: 182):

(2) X feels something
   sometimes a person thinks something like this:
   . . . .
   . . . .
   because of this, this person feels something
X feels something like this

(3) Tired (e.g. X is tired / X feels tired)
X feels something
sometimes a person thinks something like this:
   I did something before now
   because of this, something is happening to me
   I don’t want this

³ NSM proponents, however, need not adhere to strict observance of the syntactic rules “as long as all the departures from the NSM rules can be regarded as convenient abbreviations, that is, as long as we have a clear idea of how the ‘ungrammatical’ or ‘semi-grammatical’ segments of the explications could be replaced with fully ‘grammatical’ ones” (Wierzbicka 1996: 113).
I know: I don’t want to do more of this thing
   I don’t want to do more of all things
I know: I don’t want to think more
I can say this to people
because of this, this person feels something
X feels something like this

(4) Fatigued (e.g. X is fatigued / X feels fatigued)
X feels something
sometimes a person thinks something like this:
   I did something before now
   because of this, something is happening to me
   I don’t want this
   (sometimes people think: maybe this is good)
   I know: I can’t do more
   I know: I can’t think more
   I can say this to people
because of this, this person feels something
X feels something like this

(5) Exhausted (e.g. X is exhausted / X feels exhausted)
X feels something
sometimes a person thinks something like this:
   I did something before now
   because of this, something bad is happening to me
   if I didn’t know that it happened
      I would say: I don’t want it to happen
   I don’t say this now
   because I know: I can’t do anything
   I know: I can’t do more
   I know: I can’t think more
   I can say this to people
because of this, this person feels something
X feels something like this

(6) Weary (e.g. X is weary / X feels weary)
X feels something
sometimes a person thinks something like this:
   I did something for a long time before now
   because of this, something bad happened to me for a long time now
      I don’t want this
   I know: if I could I would not want to do this
   I know: I can’t do more
   I say: I don’t want to do more of this thing
   I can say this to people
because of this, this person feels something
X feels something like this
(7) *Overworked* (e.g. X is overworked / X feels overworked)

X feels something

sometimes a person thinks something like this:

- I did the same thing for a long time before now
- because of this, something bad is happening to me
- I don’t want this thing now
- I know: I can’t do more of the same thing
- I can say this to people

because of this, this person feels something

X feels something like this

(8) *Dead beat* (e.g. X is dead beat / X feels dead beat)

X feels something

sometimes a person thinks something like this:

- I did something before now
- because of this, something bad is happening to me
- if I didn’t know that it happened
  - I would say: I don’t want it to happen
- I don’t say this now
- because I know: I can’t do anything
- I know: I can’t do more
- I know: I can’t think more
- I can say this to you
  - because you and I are of the same kind

because of this, this person feels something

X feels something like this

All the words have as part of their meaning the component *I did something before now* except *weary* and *overworked*, which additionally have the part *for a long time* to account for the duration of the action. (The two words, however, differ in that with *overworked* it is the “sameness” of the action that is particularly salient.)

*Exhausted* and *dead beat* are identical in all other respects save for the respective components which relate to the addressee: *I can say this to people* (stylistically unmarked) vs. *I can say this to you* (stylistically marked, i.e. informal).

*Tired* and *fatigued* crucially differ in one point: *don’t want* vs. *can’t*. Moreover, it is only with *tired* that the *don’t want* part is posited in the KNOW component to account for the difference in degree – all the other explications convey that the strength is used up. In this respect, however, *overworked* differs because it combines the degree with the sameness of the action. A different type of “sameness” is also reflected in the explication of *weary*, namely, in the component *I say: I don’t want to do more of this thing* to account for the meaning stylistically conveyed with the construction *weary* + *prepositional phrase* (e.g. *weary of struggling with life*) where the condition, although related to the action, does not convey the ability sense (i.e. ‘not being able to’); hence, the *don’t want* part. (Likewise, the subcomponent *I don’t want to do more*
of this thing is postulated for tired.) Finally, the most similar expressions exhausted and dead beat additionally have as part of their meaning ‘as if not alive’, which is captured in the subcomponent I can’t do anything (i.e. the degree of tiredness is at its highest so that a person feels helpless, or without any intentional resources to rely on).

Although the primitive THINK figures in all the explications given for this lexical field as part of the general, basic, semantic structure of emotion words, it has been intentionally left out from the explications of weary and overworked in the KNOW component to highlight the prominence of the “doing” concept as opposed to that of “thinking”. Exhausted, weary, overworked and dead beat are further distinguished by the primitive BAD, which relates to the (highest) degree of the explicated state, within the temporal part: exhausted, overworked and dead beat suggest the present time whereas with weary it is the protracted period (starting in the past and continuing into the present) that is especially significant.

The fact that concepts may differently be embodied in languages (e.g. some may not be lexicalised or grammaticalised while with some the boundaries may overlap) has important repercussions for vocabulary acquisition and comprehension. This section has briefly examined the concept of tiredness which is, in English, lexically encoded by various expressions (some of which have been subjected to the analysis above). The aim was to illustrate the essence of the NSM approach to meaning and the potential of the theory for vocabulary comprehension. The same aim is maintained in the next section, which illustrates an opposing approach to vocabulary comprehension – the cognitive-pragmatic framework of relevance theory.

3. GOING RADICALLY PRAGMATIC

3.1. Relevance Theory

Relevance Theory (RT) does not provide any “practical tool” (like an NSM explication) which might demonstrate how lexical and grammatical items can be represented to facilitate cross-cultural comparisons and understanding of concepts, either for theoretic or applied purposes. Nevertheless, RT has provided a potentially powerful descriptive and explanatory account of meaning interpretation. In terms of vocabulary acquisition and comprehension, it standardly goes under the rubric of lexical pragmatics (see Carston 2002 and Wilson 2003).

A radically pragmatic approach to meaning advocated by RT is captured in the linguistic semantic (as opposed to truth-conditional semantic) underdeterminacy hypothesis: the linguistic parser yields a sparse conceptual

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4 Provided that grammatical expressions of meaning do represent “concepts”, which, arguably, may not be the case (see Blakemore 1987 for an introduction to the distinction between conceptual vs. procedural meaning, which was later expanded in the vast relevance-theoretic literature).
representation; viz. the output of linguistic decoding is a skeletal, non-propositional, logical form which has to be pragmatically enriched to yield a fully developed (i.e. truth-evaluable) propositional form that the speaker intends to get across to his/her audience.\(^5\)

According to RT, the division of work between semantics (decoding) and pragmatics (inference) is conceived of as a distinction between linguistically encoded and further, communicated meaning, such that pragmatic inference is a crucial, automatic, response to the addressee’s reception of an ostensive (i.e. speaker-meant) stimulus (linguistic and non-linguistic alike).\(^6\) In a nutshell, the addressee is guided by the presumption that the speaker’s utterance is worth his/her attention (i.e. the incurred mental processing effort)\(^7\) and that it is, moreover, the most relevant one (considering the speaker’s abilities and preferences). The addressee’s interpretive heuristics proceeds from the most accessible interpretive hypotheses (relative to his/her personal experience and a particular contextual environment) so as to achieve adequate cognitive effects that the speaker’s utterance may bring about. The interpretive process is terminated once this has been accomplished (or is otherwise abandoned if no relevant interpretation can be reached).\(^8\) Relevance, which is thus seen as a cognitive trade-off between the effort invested in the interpretation of an ostensive behavior (e.g. utterance) and the gain achieved thereof, decreases with the former and increases with the latter.\(^9\)

3.2. Case study: tiredness

The semantic underdeterminacy hypothesis has been extended to apply at the level of lexis: literal, conceptually encoded, meaning is modulated in use. In other words, there is a gap between the concept (linguistically) encoded by a word and the concept which the speaker communicates by using that word. The communicated, speaker-meant, concept figures as a propositional constituent of the speaker’s utterance. Guided by his/her search for optimal relevance and relying on the comprehension (“least-effort”) strategy, the addressee is expected to mentally replace the literal concept with the communicated one. The default,\(^5\)

5 The speaker’s communicated proposition expressed by his/her utterance – explicature – serves as an input to further inferentially derived albeit implicit meaning of utterance comprehension (but see, for example, Bach (1994, 2006) and Burton-Roberts (2007) for certain controversies surrounding the issue of the semantics/pragmatics interface).

6 A radically pragmatic hypothesis that inference (vs. decoding) is fundamental in comprehension is succinctly portrayed in Carston’s (2002) apt “cake metaphor”: pragmatics as a richly-made cake and semantics as a coat of icing.

7 The addressee activates his/her short- and long-time memory. This is an individual factor that depends on the speaker’s particular linguistic formulation.

8 Positive cognitive effects enhance the addressee’s cognitive environment either by enabling him/her to reach the speaker-meant conclusion, or by strengthening some existing assumptions, or by detecting contradiction in some previous assumptions, which may lead to their elimination provided that the addressee accepts the veracity of the speaker’s utterance.

9 This subpersonal principle is spelt out in both cognitive and communicative terms as maximal and optimal relevance, respectively (Sperber and Wilson 1986/95).
subconscious, lexical-pragmatic “task” that underlies this type of pragmatic inference, according to RT, is the process of ad hoc concept construction (see Carston 2002 for a detailed account of the process).

Modulated meaning-in-use can go in various directions: narrowing/strengthening, broadening/loosening, a combination of narrowing and broadening or an attributive understanding of the concept encoded by an expression. In narrowing, part of the linguistically specified denotation is picked out so that the communicated, ad hoc, concept is understood as more specific than the encoded one. In broadening, part of the linguistically specified denotation is dropped so that the communicated concept is understood as more general than the encoded one. In contrast to the processes of pragmatic narrowing and broadening of lexical concepts, as instantiations of descriptive (i.e. truth-based) language use, an attributive use of a word to communicate a specific concept constructed on-line on a particular occasion of utterance falls within interpretive (i.e. resemblance-based) language use.

The varieties of the cognitive-inferential process of ad hoc concept construction are unified in the research agenda of the RT-based lexical pragmatics: to explain the rationale behind this lexical-pragmatic process, to examine directions it may take and to determine its termination (given that utterance comprehension is an extremely fast (typically subconscious) cognitive endeavour). Using the concept of tiredness, as exemplified by the central member of the lexical field, in what follows I briefly present how the comprehension task is accomplished according to the relevance-theoretic approach.

Adjectival emotion concepts are semantic templates that necessitate further pragmatic enrichment to become conceptual representations in utterances. Their linguistically encoded meaning is schematic in so far as it enables access to larger, more specific, subparts regarding different kinds, degrees and qualities of emotion. In other words, their meaning undergoes the lexical-pragmatic process of narrowing.

The following example (modelled on Carston 2002: 327) serves as an illustration of narrowing linguistically specified meaning:

(9) Lara: Shall we play chess after lunch?
Yuri: I’m tired.

[Yuri goes on to write a poem after lunch but Lara is not offended]

Lara’s question creates an expectation of relevance that Yuri’s utterance will provide an answer. The lexical concept TIRED serves as a starting point for

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10 Typically a relevant element from the encyclopaedic entry for the lexically encoded concept is elevated to the status of a defining property of the communicated concept.
11 Depending on the degree of departure from the encoded concept, the modulated meaning can be approximate, hyperbolic or metaphorical. Typically, a relevant defining property from the logical entry for the lexically encoded concept is being discarded.
12 The speaker uses a word to represent a concept which (s)he attributes to someone else (e.g. the addressee, a third person, people in general or him-/herself at a time other than utterance time). The speaker may echo the concept in an approving or distancing attitude (e.g. echoic allusion, irony and metalinguistic mentions). Furthermore, speakers may permanently store attributive concepts in their long-time memory (e.g. vogue and abstract words and words from various functional styles or jargon).
inferring a more specific communicated concept \textit{TIRRED*} which denotes the kind and degree of Yuri’s state of tiredness; for instance, unable to engage in any complex computational activity, such as chess or bridge, but able, say, to write a poem as his usual way of relaxing. The concept constructed ad hoc may further be used to supply a relevant contextual premise which, together with Yuri’s utterance, would warrant Lara’s inferential derivation not only of the immediate implicated conclusion, but also of some other, equally strongly, communicated assumptions: 

(10) Explicature: Yuri is tired*
\begin{itemize}
  \item Implicated premise: If Yuri is tired*, he will not want to play chess with Lara
  \item Immediate implicated conclusion: Yuri does not want to play chess with Lara
  \item Further implicated conclusion: Yuri does not want to play chess with Lara because he is tired*
  \item Further implicated conclusion: Yuri will find some other entertainment to relax (e.g. write a poem)
  \item Further implicated conclusion: Lara will have to find some other entertainment, solitary (e.g. read a book) or social (the one which would exclude Yuri)
\end{itemize}

The processing effort that Lara expends in understanding Yuri’s answer as an indirect refusal of her request is counterbalanced by the cognitive effects she gains by the contextual conclusions, and this increases the relevance of his indirect response to her question.

In sum, the lexical-pragmatic process of narrowing linguistically specified meaning, exemplified above by the word \textit{tired}, is triggered by the addressee’s search for relevance. It follows an inferential path of the least cognitive effort in that the addressee selects the most accessible set of contextual premises, the most accessible narrowing of the encoded concepts and the most accessible contextual implications, which, on a particular occasion of the speaker’s utterance, yield, for the addressee, an optimally relevant interpretation.\textsuperscript{13} (This interpretation is, presumably, speaker-meant.\textsuperscript{14}) The process is terminated when the addressee’s expectations of the relevance of the speaker’s utterance are satisfied.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{13} This process is not linear from the explicit to the implicit. On the contrary, it involves mutual parallel adjustment of various assumptions that are brought into play in utterance comprehension: contextual premises, explicit content of the speaker’s utterance and cognitive effects.

\textsuperscript{14} RT considers \textit{successful} communication as its primary descriptive and explanatory goal (contrary to some other inferential approaches to communication that take successful communication for granted; cf. Grice 1989).

\textsuperscript{15} Otherwise, the process is either terminated (the addressee cannot reach any relevant interpretation) or is subjected to reanalysis. The latter case, however, is an instance of metacomunication in which interlocutors consciously (i.e. at a personal level) engage in repairing the addressee’s understanding of the lexical concepts.
4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this paper I have presented the gist of two different approaches to meaning comprehension, and have resorted to one lexical field to demonstrate the practical side of the coin whose other side is engraved in the theoretic intricacies of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage and Relevance Theory.

The two theories have intentionally been selected as proper representatives in a contemporary linguistics’ “tug of war” between a radically semantic and radically pragmatic perspective on how people understand lexical meaning in use. Given the proclaimed semantic and pragmatic orientations of the respective theories, the selected lexical field, whose central member is the word *tired*, has been envisioned as an illustration that might inspire linguistic practitioners, professionals and laymen alike, to enhance the study of the semantics/pragmatics interface in vocabulary acquisition and comprehension by taking into account ramifications of the existing radicalism.

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**KOLIKO STE UMORNI? PRISTUPI RAZUMEVANJU VOKABULARA**

**Rezime**

U radu koristimo, kao ilustraciju, leksičko polje za stanje (ili osećanje) umora/zamora da bismo predstavili dva suprotstavljena pristupa u objašnjenju leksičke upotrebe: semantički radikalizam metajezika prirodne semantike i pragmatički radikalizam teorije relevancije. Cilj nam je da se šira čitalačka publika upozna s ovim pristupima, pogotovo na osnovu prikazanog analitičkog postupka, kako bi formirala sopstvenu evaluaciju datih teorija i sagledala njihov potencijal za proučavanje semantičko-pragmatičkog interfejsa na nivou leksike.

**Ključne reči:** metajezik prirodne semantike, teorija relevancije, razumevanje vokabulara, *tiredness* (‘umor’, ‘zamor’)

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The use of prosodic/intonational cues in spoken communication is attracting growing attention from both theoretical and research perspectives, which is particularly important for L2 teaching, where the appropriate use of prosodic cues is a vital communicative goal. In EFL study, the prosodic cues related to F0 and pitch range manipulation, used as markers of various intonation functions, are particularly important. In this paper, we present a study involving first-year English Department students and their use of F0-related prosodic cues – pitch range, pitch level, and movement – in reading and speaking tasks. The findings showed that EFL students used pitch-related cues appropriately to signal unit boundaries and prosodic prominence, while for interactional and illocutionary signals the use of both pitch range and pitch contours was much less appropriate. The pitch range used for reading dialogues was only slightly higher but not wider, and the participants neither expanded the pitch range for focused utterance parts, nor did they compress the pitch range for backgrounded and parenthesised parts. The reading task proved to be more challenging than speaking in some aspects, but the participants used a narrower, mid-level pitch range in speaking, as well as inappropriate, rising pitch contours.

Key words: intonation, prosodic cues, F0, pitch range, key, pitch height, pitch movement, Serbian EFL students

1. INTRODUCTION

Encouraged by the shift of focus from language as a system to communication as a process unfolding in complex real-life interactions, prosody and, particularly, intonation seem to attract more and more interest in recent years. Still, despite the undisputed theoretical and empirical advances, prosody remains a sore point in both theory and teaching practice. Firstly, many authors do not keep a clear delimitation between intonation in the narrow sense (F0/pitch variation, e.g. Hart et al 1990: 10) and in a broader sense, including some accompanying prosodic cues (duration, loudness, pauses, segmental lengthening/shortening and strengthening/weakening; cf. Nooteboom 1997). Secondly, no theoretical model of intonation accounts for the interaction of all its various functions. Thirdly, although various aspects

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of intonational phenomena are now included in research, a unified theoretical system of formal symbolic representation of intonation that would encompass all the relevant aspects of its realisation is still missing. Furthermore, there is a fundamental disagreement about what theory and empirical research should focus on – the form, i.e. the symbolic representation of intonation, or the phonetic realisation of prosodic cues, or the functions, i.e. the pragmatics of intonation.

From the perspective of foreign language study, there is an additional problem of translating theoretical and research developments into language classroom practice. Grice and Bauman (2007: 25), for instance, warn that it is very difficult for teachers to apply research findings even when they are well-informed about them. That is precisely why, proposing Discourse Intonation (Brazil 1997) as a framework readily applicable in classroom practice, Chun (2002) deliberately sets aside the theoretical differences and focuses on intonation functions and the prosodic cues used to encode them. She stresses that intonation is essential to communication, and therefore for foreign language teaching (Chun 2002: xiii), since prosodic aspects of speech have been empirically shown to be vital for speech intelligibility (cf. Munro et al 2006, Watson and Schlauch 2008). That is also why Gut et al (2007: 5) suggest that an ‘intermediate step’ is necessary – the research with EFL students based on classroom practice, which would provide an ‘essential link’ between theory and teaching practice in L2 prosody (Gut et al 2007: 16).

2. FUNCTIONS OF INTONATION

The coherent variations of pitch, usually conjoined with other prosodic features (i.e. loudness, stress, segment duration, vowel quality and pause), realized over units referred to as intonational phrase (Ladefoged 2001), intonation phrase (Wells 2006), intonation unit (Barth-Weingarten 2007, Chafe 1988, Du Bois 1991), intonation group (Cruttenden 1997), tone unit (Brazil 1997, Crystal 1969), or tone group (Brown et al 1980, Halliday 1967), are commonly agreed to be shaped not only by the factors of prominence or accent, but also by communicative factors such as “the intended illocutionary force of an utterance”, and what the speaker considers to be new or presupposed information (Chelliah and de Reuse 2011: 273).

In more traditional descriptions, however, such as Gimson’s (1970), intonational functions are broadly categorised as accentual and non-accentual, the former being given primacy, while the most important non-accentual function is the most narrowly grammatical one – distinguishing a statement from a question (Gimson 1970: 266). While a speaker’s intonation “might reveal a patronizing attitude to the listener, an incredulous attitude to the topic or a querulous disposition” (Gimson 1970: 267), and this may have a communicative function in a community, non-accentual intonation patterns are not a part of this theoretical description, “since they evade systematization” (Gimson 1970: 267).
In more recent overviews, more attention is paid to intonation functions related to discourse structure and pragmatics. For instance, Roach (1991) distinguishes between attitudinal, accentual, grammatical, and discourse intonation functions, this last one including signalling new information, a link with another tone-unit, or what kind of response is expected (Roach 1991: 163), as well as focusing attention and regulating conversational behaviour (Roach 1991: 177–178). Roach even concludes that “practically all the separate functions traditionally attributed to intonation (attitudinal, accentual and grammatical) could be seen as different aspects of discourse function” (Roach 1991: 179).

The same idea guides Chun (2002), who distinguishes between four intonation functions: grammatical (signalling grammatical structure and structure boundaries, after Crystal 1969), attitudinal or emotional (a “cognitively monitored expression of attitude”, after Couper-Kuhlen 1986: 174), sociolinguistic (expressing age, sex, socio-regional and occupational groups) and discourse function. Chun focuses particularly on the discourse and pragmatic, i.e. ‘interactional’ functions (Chun 2002: 42), grouping together a whole range used “for the purpose of achieving continuity and coherence within a discourse” (Chun 2002: 56), such as: marking information structure (sentence-level focus, emphasis, contrasts and new vs. given information), illocutionary/speech-act functions (the speaker’s intentional force), textual/discourse functions (coherence, shared knowledge, discourse-level prominence, discourse boundaries and the speaker’s expectations about the hearer’s reply) and interactive/discourse functions (topic continuation/change, discouraging the hearer from replying, showing cooperation and facilitating repair).

Similarly, Vaissière (2004) categorizes intonation functions as: syntactic (continuous speech segmentation, e.g. prosodic words, syntagmatic units, propositions, utterances and paragraphs), informational (informational segmentation, e.g. theme/rheme, given/new information and focus/parenthesis), interactive (regulating the speaker-listener interaction, e.g. attention-getting, arousal, turn taking/holding the floor and topic end/continuation), modal (communicative intention, e.g. assertions, questions and orders), attitudinal (e.g. doubt, disbelief, politeness and irony), emotional (e.g. joy and anger), speaker-identifying (e.g. identity, sex, age, physiological state, regional varieties, stylistic variations and sociocultural background) and other, related to “prosodic continuity, intelligibility, lexical access, memory and recall” (Vaissière 2004: 237). Indeed, the use of prosodic cues to signal discourse and pragmatic information is considered to be highly significant in most contemporary research on discourse structure and spoken interaction. Researchers focus on both the affective ‘meanings’ of intonation (Wichmann 2000, 2002) and on the pragmatic, interactional, and discourse use of prosody (Wennerstrom 2001, 2003). Szczepek Reed (2010: 196) points out that in discourse-related approaches most attention is paid to the prosodic form of discourse-unit boundaries, while in interaction-oriented approaches there is a greater interest in the internal phonological structure of the intonation phrase as a holistic category.
Prosodic cues that interact to perform these various functions of intonation include, according to Vaissière (2004: 239), short-ranged local cues (e.g. juncture tone), semi-global cues (e.g. resetting of the baseline in a part of the utterance) and global cues (e.g. declination, pitch range, pitch register and rate of speech, over an entire utterance). All these cues – local and global – interact. They are perceived in an integrated way in the listener's interpretation of the utterance. Furthermore, the perception of intonation cues depends on the context in which they occur: the intrinsic context (e.g. F0 is inter-dependent with duration, loudness, vowel and consonant quality, Lehiste 1970) and the cointrinsic (melodic) context (Vaissière 2004: 242).

Interest in discourse, pragmatic and interactional functions of prosody is common to most contemporary research. For instance, in addition to highlighting and phrasing\(^3\), intonation in spoken language “serves diverse linguistic and paralinguistic functions, ranging from the marking of sentence modality to the expression of emotional and attitudinal nuances” (Grice and Bauman 2007: 26, 31–32). These include signalling information structure (given vs. new or focus vs. background, Grice and Bauman 2007: 34) and encoding speech act distinctions (communicative illocutionary acts). Frequency code (proposed by Ohala (1983, 1984) and elaborated by Gussenhoven (2004)), according to Grice and Bauman (2007: 39–40), may have affective (e.g. dominant-submissive and impolite-polite) or informational interpretations (e.g. certain-uncertain and assertive-questioning), “with low pitch attributed to the first pole and high pitch to the second” (Gussenhoven 2004: 80–84).

From the standpoint of L2 teaching, particularly important is the need to identify and observe the differences between the native and target languages in terms of signalling various aspects of information structure and speech acts (Grice and Bauman 2007: 37). However, in addition to problems that can be ascribed to L1 transfer, L2 students' difficulties may arise from their not being aware of the pragmatic and discourse prosodic signals in L2. This is important for their ability to appropriately express what they want, but also to interpret the intended meanings in what they hear, instead of “attributing unexpected intonation patterns as (solely) a function of the attitude or emotional state of the speaker” (Grice and Bauman 2007: 37).

2.1. Previous research

Empirical research studies of EFL learners' production or perception of English intonation are not very numerous, but they point to some common problems faced by students of different L1 backgrounds. Mennen (2006, 2007) reviews the findings of several such studies, and summarises their findings as a list of potentially problematic prosodic cues for EFL learners. The first problem she highlights is the use of a narrower pitch range, in addition to problems

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\(^3\) Highlighting and phrasing are two main functions of intonation: the former expresses utterance-level prominence (much like Wells’ (2006) notion of tonicity); the latter relates to dividing and delimiting chunks in speech (in line with Wells’ (2006) notion of tonality).
with prominence placement. Of the more global prosodic cues, the findings indicate problems with the reset after a boundary, and a smaller declination rate. Problems with pitch contours include the use of rises instead of falls and vice versa, wrong (too high) pitch level on unstressed syllables, wrong pitch movement over unaccented syllables preceding a fall (no gradual rise), and problems with the final pitch rise, either because it is too high (overshot) or because it is too low (Mennen 2007: 55). Mennen stresses the fact that many of the problems highlighted in these studies were similar with EFL students of different L1 backgrounds, although L1 transfer also plays an important role, especially in the use of pitch range or pitch alignment (Mennen 2007: 63).

EFL learners’ intonation problems were investigated by Wennerstrom (1994), who compared how Spanish and Japanese as well as Spanish, Japanese and Thai learners used intonation to structure discourse, to signal new information and tone unit boundaries. Her findings showed that all the participants (to a varying degree, though) had problems with using appropriate pitch height to signal new (vs. given) information, and that particularly Thai and Japanese participants had problems signalling boundaries, as well.

Finnish EFL speakers investigated by Toivanen (2003) had problems with those pragmatic contexts that required a fall-rise tone; they were found to use falling tones inappropriately in relation to the intended pragmatic and communicative functions (uncertainty, continuation and reserve). In Toivanen and Waaramaa (2005), Finnish-English speakers’ intonation was observed in terms of tone, key and termination; this study also revealed that while the falling tones were predominant, rising tones were ‘virtually absent’ in dispreferred turns.

Ramirez-Verdugo (2005) investigated the use of prosodic cues for pragmatic functions with Spanish EFL learners, focusing particularly on expressing certainty in English tag-questions. Her participants used a falling pitch where inappropriate, as well as a narrower pitch range. Uncertainty was signalled by inappropriate, falling or mid-level tones, instead of a complex fall-rise. The way Spanish learners use prosodic cues to signal focus, compared to native English speakers, was studied by Ramirez-Verdugo (2006). The participants showed remarkable differences from native speakers, specifically, a narrower pitch range for narrow focus, and the location of the nuclear pitch accent in contrastive focus.

Using a narrower pitch range was also one of the problems Komar (2005) identified with Slovene EFL learners. She studied students’ use of pitch level, pitch range and pre-tonic segments; in addition to problems with the pitch range, the participants used inappropriate pitch movement over the syllables preceding the accented one.

Conducted with pedagogical implications in mind, the study by Rocca (2007) investigated the intonation of Brazilian EFL students and concluded that acoustic analysis should be used to identify those L2 features that students cannot correctly perceive or produce. This, says Rocca, should be the basis for the construction of teaching materials that would particularly rely on the identification of “pauses, pitch accents and patterns of pitch accents” (2007: ...

Busà and Urbani (2011) specifically compared the production of pitch range in English as L1 and L2, as produced by British English speakers and Northern German speakers (following the line of research of Mennen et al (2007, 2008)). They found that L2 speakers’ pitch range was indeed narrower, and with less pitch variation. The authors conclude that this may result from a lack of proficiency in L2, rather than from the prosodic differences between the speakers’ L1 and L2 (2011: 381).

With Serbian EFL students, the suprasegmental properties of speech have long been neglected by researchers. How Serbian EFL students use prosodic cues to signal discourse and pragmatic functions of intonation was explored by Paunovic and Savic (2008), particularly the prosodic cues signalling discourse topic structure (Paunovic 2013), and pragmatic functions related to the pragmatic expression of polite requests, apologies, and refusals (Savic 2014). One of the reasons for this lack of empirical research into Serbian EFL students’ intonation may be the fact that, apart from the fundamental descriptions by Lehiste and Ivic (1986), there are only a few more recent empirical studies of the suprasegmental properties of Serbian as L1, and of the ways in which prosodic cues are used in Serbian to encode intonational functions (Kašić 2000, Smiljanic 2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2006, 2007), particularly discourse functions, such as signalling contrast or focus.

3. PRESENT STUDY

3.1. Aims and questions

The study presented here focused on Serbian EFL students’ use of prosodic cues in order to identify the areas in which the students’ performance in reading and speaking would differ significantly from the expectations set by the research and theoretical descriptions of English intonation. The study aimed at investigating the use of phonetic cues to signal pragmatic and discourse information, relying primarily on the intonational functions described by Chun (2002) and Vaissière (2004), and the use of phonetic cues highlighted by previous research.

Specifically, we focused on four intonation functions:

1. phrasing (signalling boundaries): initiality, finality and continuity;
2. marking information structure: new/given, focus/background, parenthesis and contrastive narrow focus;
3. interactive functions: topic, turn, conversation end, continuation and new topic;
4. ‘speech act’ or illocutionary functions: seeking information or confirmation, expressing doubt or uncertainty and showing assertiveness/non-assertiveness.
The phonetic cues focused in this research were pitch range/span (key) and F0/pitch level or pitch height, within tone units and at tone unit boundaries.

### 3.2. Methodology and procedures

The participants were six English department students at the Faculty of Philosophy (University of Niš). They were first-year students (average age 19.3, proficiency level roughly B1-2 CEF, three male and three female students) just starting their introductory course in *English Phonetics and Phonology*.

For data gathering, we devised two different tasks. Task one consisted in reading aloud the slightly adapted *Story of Arthur the Rat* (Sweet 1890), which provided a tightly structured context for the use of prosodic cues and intonation. Task two consisted in retelling the story from memory, that is, in producing ‘semi spontaneous’ speech (Markham and Hazan 2002) as the closest equivalent to spontaneous speech in experimental contexts. This choice of tasks made it possible to compare the use of the same phonetic cues in two different communicative contexts.

Each participant’s performance was recorded digitally, using the Phillips SBC MD650 microphone, directly into the Speech filing System (SFS 4.7/Windows 2008, © M. Huckvale, UCL). The analytical procedures included standard acoustic measurements of F0 level, F0 range or span (in Hz and semitones, Nooteboom 1997: 645, Nolan 2003: 774) and F0 movement direction (F0 contours through three program procedures: F0 track, F0 estimate and F0 autocorrelation).

It has been widely accepted that pitch range can be measured and compared according to two dimensions: *level* (referring to the overall pitch height or register (or key)) and *span* (i.e. the range of frequencies in a speech unit). However, these long-term distributional (LTD) measures (i.e. the mean/median F0 for level and maximum-minus-minimum F0 for span) might not be sufficient for cross-linguistic comparisons since different points within prosodic/intonational units of speech are differently marked across languages. That is why alternative ‘linguistic’ measures have been proposed taking into account specific linguistically determined points in the F0 contour (cf. Busa and Urbani 2011, Mennen *et al* 2008, 2012, Patterson 2000) as they seem to have a better correlation with perceptual judgement (Patterson 2000, Mennen *et al* 2012). In terms of pitch range, however, we have opted for the traditional LTD measures and standard statistical procedures (i.e. speaker and group mean, median and standard deviation).

What follows is a qualitative summary of the quantitative findings, illustrated by individual students’ performance examples and compared to previous research observations.
3.3. Results and discussion

3.3.1. Phrasing: signalling boundaries, delimiting relevant units, discourse boundaries

Our participants generally produced the best results in terms of the tonality or phrasing function of intonation, namely, when signalling boundaries and delimiting discourse parts (e.g. text paragraphs and narration from dialogue), utterances and intonation units.

For signalling initiality (e.g. the beginning of a paragraph, sentence or discourse segment), previous research established the prosodic cues of resetting of the baseline (Mennen 2007, Vaissière 2004) and the use of an ‘initial rise’ (Vaissière 2004). Our participants signalled initiality by using high pitch/F0 at the beginning of a unit – the first pitch peak. However, although the pitch height signal could be said to have been used appropriately for signalling a new part in discourse, initiality was marked by high falls or high level tones rather than rising tones.

Furthermore, the use of a high pitch peak has been shown to be insufficient to delimit discourse units larger than a sentence (e.g. new discourse topic, new paragraph, the beginning of a dialogue, etc.). More important, however, is the F0 difference between the previous (unit-final) pitch and the F0 at the beginning of a new unit. In this respect, the majority of our participants did use pitch differences to signal new discourse units; for instance, the first two paragraphs of the text were narrative, while the third paragraph marked the beginning of a dialogue in the text, which should have been signalled by a notable increase in the F0 at the beginning of paragraph 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Paragraph-final F0 Hz</th>
<th>New paragraph F0 Hz</th>
<th>F0 diff. Hz</th>
<th>Semitones</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paragraph 1 – 2</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>306</td>
<td><strong>165</strong></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paragraph 2 – 3</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>267</td>
<td><strong>173</strong></td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Average values for female participants S2, S4 and S5 – the difference in F0 (in Hz and semitones) between the paragraph-final and paragraph-initial pitch height for paragraphs 1 and 2 in the text (narrative), and paragraphs 2 and 3 (the end of the narrative and the beginning of the dialogue part).

Indeed, as shown in Table 1 above, which gives the average F0 values in Hz and semitones for the three female participants, the participants used the high pitch signal, but the difference between the unit-final pitch of the narrative part of the text and the unit-initial pitch of the dialogue part of the utterance was only slightly greater than the paragraph-delimiting differences within the same text-unit (narrative, paragraphs 1 and 2). It is questionable whether this difference may be regarded as a sufficient delimitation signal of discourse-unit initiality and is, therefore, subject to further investigation which would focus on perception, evaluation and intelligibility/comprehensibility.
For signalling **finality** (i.e. the end of a paragraph, sentence or discourse part), previous research established the prosodic cues of F0 fall, lowered F0 contour (Chun 2002, Vaissière 2004) together with sentence declination (Chun 2002: 44, Vaissière 2004) and the phenomena of downstep and downdrift (Lehiste 1979, Vaissière 2004). This was profusely documented in many languages, including English. Our participants used these signals almost invariably, in both reading and speaking, to signal syntactic units at the sentential level. To signal discourse-unit finality (e.g. the end of a paragraph or discourse topic), these were frequently coupled with a very low F0 fall ending in a creak/laryngealization (Johns-Lewis 1986). *Figure 1* illustrates this, showing the participant S1 (male) using low falls to signal sentence-ending in the first paragraph of the reading task, the end of the paragraph being signalled by a very low F0 value at the end of the fall, ending in a creak.

*Figure 1.* The use of low F0 fall by participant S1 (male) to signal the end of three sentences and the end of the first narrative paragraph, where the fall ends in a creak.

For signalling **continuing transitions**, previous research established the use of the prosodic cues of “a slight rise, a level tone, or a very slight fall” (Du Bois et al 1993). In both the reading and speaking tasks, our participants invariably signalled continuation by rising tones, more prominently rising in reading than in speaking. *Figure 2* illustrates this by showing notable F0 rises in the three intonation units constituting a string within a sentence (“a horse named Nelly, a cow, a calf...”) produced by participant S6 (male) in the reading task.
Continuing transitions between sentences in the same paragraph were invariably signalled by falling tones, the continuation being marked only by the overall downstepping trend (i.e. the F0 height of the fall was progressively lower for each consecutive sentence in a paragraph and each sentence-initial F0 peak was progressively lower). The fall-rise tone for signalling continuation of a discourse topic or conversational turn-taking (Toivanen 2003) was not attested in our data.

In the speaking (retelling) task, with more fluent students, the F0 contours showed the same pattern of declination within sentences, with somewhat less pronounced downstep within larger discourse units (paragraphs). However, finality-signalling contours were very often substituted by inappropriate rising transitions, signalling continuity instead of finality at the end of an utterance/sentence, as illustrated in Figure 3. Moreover, in the speaking task the contours were too often broken by longer pauses and hesitations, occasionally empty or filled by pause-fillers (e.g. *hmmm*, *er*, etc.) or by a mid-level tone, as illustrated in Figure 4 below.
Figure 3. Rising F0 contours used by S5 (female) at the beginning of the speaking task (story retelling) instead of F0 falls to signal finality at the end of an utterance.

Figure 4. The beginning of the speaking task (story retelling) produced by S1 (male), illustrating long pauses filled by a mid-level tone (er).

Regarding the prosodic cue of pitch range used for the phrasing function, our participants did not use a wider pitch range in the dialogues compared to the narrative parts of the text, contrary to empirically established differences typical of English (Chun 2002: 37). The pitch range used in the reading task for the dialogue was indeed higher than that of the narrative, in terms of level, but not wider in terms of span, as shown in Table 2, which sums up the average pitch range values for the six participants, showing the average values of the pitch span in Hz and semitones for the two paragraphs of the narrative as well as for the dialogue.
Table 2. Average values of the pitch range used by the six participants in the narrative part of the text in the reading task (paragraphs 1 and 2) and the dialogue part of the text, in Hz and semitones.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pitch range in Hz</th>
<th>Span in Hz</th>
<th>Pitch span in semitones (ST)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Narrative, Paragraph 1</strong></td>
<td>54 Hz – 327 Hz</td>
<td>273 Hz</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Narrative, Paragraph 2</strong></td>
<td>62 Hz – 293 Hz</td>
<td>231 Hz</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dialogue</strong></td>
<td>107 Hz – 275 Hz</td>
<td>168 Hz</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5. The beginning of the speaking task (story retelling) produced by S5 (female), illustrating higher but rather narrow pitch range used.

Compared to the reading task, the pitch range used by the participants in the speaking task was typically much narrower, albeit a bit higher on average. Figure 5 above illustrates this by showing the level tones and a rather high but narrow pitch range used by participant S5 (female) in the speaking task.

3.3.2. Marking information structure

The prosodic cues of pitch height and pitch range are important because they mark the tonicity function of intonation by signalling information structure: new information is signalled by increased pitch height (Wennerstrom 1994), given information is indicated by suppressing the initial F0 peak (Nakajima and Allen 1993). The English focus is signalled by both pitch height and pitch movement, and by the expanded pitch range on the focused item (Johns-Lewis 1986, Xu and Xu 2005).

Our participants used relatively high F0/pitch for new information, especially on the syllable bearing the nuclear accent in the focussed part of the
utterance. However, in both the reading and speaking tasks, instead of high pitch peaks, speakers often used relatively high but level tones, even for narrow or contrastive focus. For instance, Figure 6 shows the utterance “... decided NOT to go”, with the contrastive focus on not, pronounced by participant S4 (female) in the speaking task. Also, our participants never used a remarkably lowered pitch for the backgrounded part of a narrow-focus intonation unit, nor did they use ‘a gradual rise preceding the fall on the focus’ (Mennen 2007).

![Figure 6](image)

**Figure 6.** Contrastive focus on “decided NOT to go” signalled by high but level pitch by participant S4 in the speaking task.

In addition to the problem related to the use of pitch height (instead of pitch movement), our EFL students resorted to the use of medium pitch range which was not expanded to signal information structure (e.g. new information or focus).

Finally, the suppression of the F0 peak for given information (lowering the pitch) and for elaboration on the previous utterance (see, for example, Nakajima and Allen 1993) was very rare in our participants’ reading and speaking tasks. The compression or lowering of the pitch range in the backgrounded or even parenthesised parts of the utterance was not attested in the data. Figure 7 illustrates this by showing the sentence “Well,” said the old rat “do as you please” produced by participant S5 (female) in the reading task. The part that should be parenthesised (“said the old rat”) was not marked by the suppressed initial pitch peak, nor was the pitch range either lowered or narrowed.
3.3.3. Interactive and illocutionary functions

Empirically established prosodic cues for signalling the end of a speaking turn or conversational exchange include (in addition to the decrease of amplitude, Brown et al. 1980, Johns-Lewis 1986) the lowering of pitch and compression of the pitch range. Initiating a new topic or floor-taking is signalled by high pitch peaks and a higher or wider pitch range (Brown et al. 1980) or high ‘key’ (Brazil 1997). Regarding illocutionary or ‘speech-act’ functions, seeking confirmation is signalled in English by a high rise IU final tone (Du Bois et al. 1993), except in question tags, which show a specific prosodic pattern. A rising final tone indicates seeking information or expressing doubt, while a final fall implies seeking confirmation; uncertainty is signalled by the fall-rise in question tags (Ramirez-Verdugo 2005, Ramirez-Verdugo and Trillo 2005).
Contrary to the findings of Paunovic and Savic (2008), the participants in this study invariably used a rising tone in question tags, irrespective of the illocutionary context. In the reading task, for instance, all the participants used a rising tone in the question tag of the sentence “You are coming, of course, aren’t you?”, even though the illocutionary force of this utterance should be seeking confirmation. Figure 8 above shows how the utterance was read out by participant S5 (female), viz. with a remarkable rise on the question tag (ranging from 123Hz to 180Hz).

Similarly, none of our participants used the appropriate prosodic cues to signal uncertainty, reserve or non-assertiveness: a final rise, a non-low F0 or a fall-rise to express doubt (cf. Hirschberg 2002, Vaissière 2004). The participants invariably used falling F0 contours, thus failing to signal illocutionary functions, such as seeking information or appealing (e.g. the last utterance in the example “But can’t you see the barn is about to crash down? Aren’t you scared?”). Figure 9 shows the falling intonation contour used by participant S1 (male) and Figure 10 below shows the same contour produced by participant S4 (female). Both F0 contours are falling. In addition, participant S4 used contrastive focus on “you”, although there was no justification for such an interpretation in the context.
4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Summing up the problems related to the prosodic cues of F0 height and pitch range, comparing the performance of our participants in the reading and speaking tasks to the findings of similar previous studies, the use of a narrower pitch range seems to be the most commonly encountered problem.
(cf. Busà and Urbani 2011, Komar 2005, Mennen 2007, Mennen et al 2008, Ramirez-Verdugo 2006). Our participants’ pitch range was, on average, not wide enough in the reading task, particularly in the dialogue parts of the text. In the speaking task, it was both narrower and slightly higher than in the reading task, reflecting the commonly observed EFL speech trait (cf. Busà and Urbani 2011, Mennen et al 2012, for Italian EFL speakers).

Previous research also highlights EFL students’ problems regarding the use of appropriate pitch contours, such as the use of rises instead of falls (and vice versa), wrong (too high) pitch level on unstressed syllables, wrong pitch movement over unaccented syllables preceding a fall (no gradual rise) and problems with the final pitch rise, either because it is too high (overshot) or because it is too low (Mennen 2007: 55). Other common errors include the use of inappropriate falling tones (instead of a fall-rise for the pragmatic and communicative functions of expressing uncertainty, continuation or reserve, Toivanen 2003) and inappropriate falling or mid-level tones (instead of a complex fall-rise tone in tag-questions which are supposed to express uncertainty, Ramirez-Verdugo 2005).

The findings of our study fall in line with these observations in almost every respect. Our participants had most obvious problems with the use of F0-related prosodic cues to signal illocutionary (speech act) and interactive functions, while phrasing and marking discourse boundaries were comparatively much more appropriate. Marking information structure, except for contrastive focus, was also problematic, since the participants used pitch height rather than pitch movement to signal focus. Most importantly, the pitch range was not manipulated to signal information structure: the narrow focus was marked by a higher but not by a wider pitch range, the pitch range was not lowered or compressed for given information and parenthasing, and the background syllables preceding the nuclear fall were never marked by a gradual rise (i.e. the appropriate pitch contours). Lastly, complex tones (fall-rise and rise-fall) were never used by our participants, although they would have been the most appropriate signals in several IUs in the reading text.

Our participants exhibited more problems in the reading task compared to the speaking task. In story retelling, the participants used narrative structures only and there were no dialogues. The range of functions that would require the use of specific phonetic cues was therefore reduced, which may account for the wider range of problems shown in reading. On the other hand, in the speaking task the participants used unexpected and inappropriate rising tones rather frequently, instead of unit- and sentence-final falling contours. Bearing in mind Hirschberg’s (2002) observation that the pitch rising or falling is associated with the degree of confidence the speaker brings to the utterance (i.e. rising pitch is associated with uncertainty, falling with certainty and assertiveness), this may be interpreted as a signal of the participants’ insecurity and lack of self-confidence in the less restricted context of speaking. However, since it could also be interpreted as a sociolinguistic trait of the participants’ speech, given the rapidly spreading ‘uptalk’ trend among young English speakers, this should indicate a major direction for further research.
Finally, the cue of loudness/intensity was not examined in this study. However, since the auditory inspection of the materials often showed that the participants used loudness in addition to, or even instead of, higher pitch to signal narrow focus, this could indicate another possible direction for further research of EFL students’ use of prosodic cues for various intonation functions.

In addition to certain limitations common to this area of study (e.g. a small number of participants and the choice of tasks for elicitation), another important limitation of this study was that it was not contrastive; in other words, it did not involve a detailed comparison between the participants’ L1 Serbian use of prosodic cues and the cues used in English to signal particular aspects of grammatical, discourse, pragmatic or sociolinguistic information. A careful analysis of the similarities and differences between Serbian and English would offer better grounds for understanding whether specific problems result from L1 transfer or not.

Still, notwithstanding its limitations, this study showed that EFL students had different problems in the reading and speaking tasks. Therefore, both these aspects of oral performance need to be addressed in teaching prosody, and both should be taken into account when assessing EFL students’ oral competence in the domain of prosody and intonation. Last but not least, our findings suggest that the perception and interpretation of prosodic cues should receive special attention in the EFL classroom, and that the relatedness of production and perception problems associated with the use of prosodic cues calls for much further research.

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Tatjana V. Paunović

VISINA TONA I OPSEG VISINE TONA U ČITANJU I GOVORU KOD STUDENATA ENGLESKOG KAO STRANOG JEZIKA U SRPSKOJ GOVORNOJ SREDINI

Rezime

Sve više pažnje, kako u teorijskim pristupima tako i u empirijskim istraživanjima, poklanja se načinu na koji se prozodija koristi u usmenoj komunikaciji, posebno u kontekstu učenja stranih jezika. Naime, adekvatna upotreba prozodijskih sredstava smatra se veoma značajnim ciljem komunikativno orijentisane nastave. U učenju engleskog kao stranog jezika, posebno su značajna ona prozodijska svojstva koja se tiču fundamentalne frekvencije i opsega visine tona, a koja se koriste kao markeri različitih intonacijskih funkcija.

U ovom radu predstavljeno je istraživanje u kome su ispitanici bili učenici engleskog kao stranog jezika (studenti prve godine na studijskom programu osnovnih studija anglistike na Filozofskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Nišu). Istraživanje je imalo cilj da ispita upotrebu opsega visine tona (pitch range), visine tona (pitch height) i kretanja tona (pitch movement) u čitanju i u govoru, da bi se iskazala sledeća intonacijska značenja: delimitacija intonacijskih celina (prema gramatičkim, diskursnim i intonacijskim indikatorima), markiranje informacijske strukture iskaza (u smislu označavanja različitih vrsta fokusa) i interakcione i ilokucione funkcije iskaza (signaliziranje govornikove namere, ilokucionog sadržaja, organizacije dijaloga i sl.).

Rezultati našeg istraživanja su pokazali da su ispitanici adekvatno koristili ova prozodijska sredstva za označavanje granica među gramatičkim, intonacijskim, pa i diskursnim celinama (npr. tema diskursa, pasus, rečenica i (prozodijska) sintagma) i, delimično, za označavanje informacijske strukture iskaza. Osnovne poteškoće su se javljale u razumevanju prozodije kao indikatora pragmatičkog značenja i u tumačenju interakcione i ilokucione funkcije iskaza.

Opseg visine tona u dijaloškim delovima teksta bio je nešto višeg nivoa, ali ne i šireg opsega. Širi opseg visine tona nije adekvatno korišćen za označavanje fokusa ili parenteze (kompresijom opsega visine tona). Ispitanici su imali više teškoća u čitanju nego u govoru (prepričavanje priče). Sa druge strane, u govoru je korišćen relativno uzak opseg visine tona i uglavnom srednja visina tona; u govoru su ispitanici takođe koristili uzlazne umesto silaznih kontura tamo gde to nije bilo kontekstualno prikladno.

Rezultati našeg istraživanja ukazuju na značajne pravce daljeg istraživanja u kontekstu učenja engleskog kao stranog jezika u srpskoj govornoj sredini, kao i na značaj detaljnih kontrastivnih ispitivanja maternog i stranog jezika u domenu upotrebe prozodijskih sredstava za označavanje komunikativnih funkcija, strukture diskursa, strukture informacija i pragmatike.

Ključne reči: intonacija, prozodijska sredstva, F0, opseg visine tona, visina tona, kretanje tona, engleski jezik, srpska govorna sredina

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TEACHERS’ PERSPECTIVES ON THE USAGE OF SOCIAL NETWORKS AND LMSs IN LANGUAGE TEACHING

A Learning Management System (LMS) is a web-based system that allows learners to authenticate themselves, register for courses and complete them, and take assessment tests. The aim of this paper is to determine the extent to which English teachers in Serbia are familiar with LMSs and use them in foreign language teaching. The main instrument used in data collecting is a questionnaire that comprises ten close-ended questions and two open-ended questions designed to define teachers’ familiarity with the key terms related to LMSs and the type of applications they use in their teaching process. The survey has included 31 respondents – English teachers from Serbian higher-education institutions. The results of the questionnaire show that the majority of the respondents are familiar with the abbreviations associated to LMSs but not with E-learning. Although the examined teachers agree that the usage of LMS can improve the process of teaching and motivate even shy students to participate in class activities, only 29% of the teachers know how to use the system, while 19% of them are still unsure about it. The respondents also consider LMS to be an easy and quick way for sharing teaching materials among students. Thus, it can be concluded that the implementation of LMS into university teaching curricula may lead to a new kind of learning resources development and learning management, while the conducted survey and similar ones can offer an insight into students’ and teachers’ perspectives on formal learning/teaching by means of LMS and social networks.

Key words: Learning management system, social networks, language teaching/learning, university teaching

1. INTRODUCTION

The fast-paced growth of E-learning has brought about a new context for learning within corporate and academic organizations. The exciting and developing sphere of learner-centric methods balances the traditional classroom approach with the constantly evolving technology-based learning. This balance has a tremendous potential for building an increased performance

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within all educational organizations. By mixing traditional methods with the new ones, we now possess synchronous and asynchronous tools that provide modern training and learning programs with some enormously powerful methods (Woodall 2010).

A Learning Management System (LMS) is a typical web-based system that allows learners to authenticate themselves, register for courses, complete courses and take assessments (Gallagher 2005). Learning Management Systems (LMSs) are specialized Learning Technology Systems (IEEE LTSC 2001) which are based on the state-of-the-art Internet and WWW technologies in order to provide education and training with various open and distance learning paradigms.

The design and the implementation of such systems is not an easy task, since they are complex systems that incorporate a variety of organizational, administrative, instructional and technological components (Moore & Kearsley 1996, Carlson 1998). Therefore, some systematic and highly disciplined approaches must be devised in order to leverage the complexity and assortment of LMSs and achieve an overall product quality within specific time and budget limits. One of these approaches is the use of already designed patterns, so that the specific learning management system does not have been designed nor implemented from scratch, but based on the reusable design experience gained over several years of try-and-error attempts.

LMSs grew from a range of multimedia and Internet developments in the 1990s. In the last four years, the systems have matured and they have been adopted by many universities across the world. Also referred to as “learning platforms”, “distributed learning systems”, “course management systems”, “content management systems”, “portals”, and “instructional management systems” they combine a range of course or subject management and pedagogical tools to provide a means for designing, building and delivering online learning environments. LMSs are scalable systems which can be used to support an entire university teaching and learning program. With an appropriate elaboration, they can also be used to drive virtual universities.

Among various Language Management Systems, The Blackboard Learning System and Moodle are the most prominent ones. The Blackboard Learning System is a world-class software application for educational institutions, highly intuitive and easy-to-use. It possesses powerful capabilities in three key areas: instruction, communication and assessment (Beatty & Ulasewicz 2006). Moodle is the leading open source LMS which is commonly used by North American and European universities. It is a software package designed by the help of sound pedagogical principles in order to assist educators to create effective online learning communities.

Though reports comparing LMSs are abundant, they are few comparative studies between Blackboard and Moodle regarding their teaching and learning effectiveness. Bremer and Bryant (2005) provide a comparative report acquired during the process of migration from Blackboard to Moodle and describe the advantages of Moodle over Blackboard, as 1) ease in implementation, 2) saving costs for licensing, and 3) higher functionality for discussion forums. On the
other hand, they see disadvantages of Moodle in comparison to Blackboard in its functionality, concerning 1) the grade book, and 2) the quiz activity imported from other LMSs. A post-course online survey of the students (n=14) reveals that overall, 80% of them prefer Moodle over Blackboard. On the other hand, comparing the two E-learning platforms, Miyazoe (2008) found in his study that positive evaluations of the blended course design may have derived from the higher usability of Moodle over Blackboard, especially in the elements concerning discussion forums.

Being relatively new technologies, there have been no large-scale studies of the actual uses and pedagogical implications of LMSs. However, in a recent study on online education, Bell et al. (2002), reported about a widespread incorporation of online technologies into teaching programs at Australian universities. Although the penetration of new technologies is the most common in the areas of commerce, education and health, where there is a strong demand for mixed-mode or off-campus delivery, the study has found out that in around 60% of Australian postgraduate subjects and around 25% of undergraduate subjects some form of online technology is used, which means, that in general, around 54% of these subjects contain an online component. The report concluded that “even though the percentage of fully online courses and units is low, the percentage of web supplemented and web dependent units seems to be a clear statement that many institutions are using online technology to add value to teaching and learning” (Bell et al 2002: 27).

Within the limited educational research about the pedagogical impact of LMSs, there has been an explosion of small-scale, localized and descriptive case studies looking at the influence of information and communication technologies in teaching and learning (Kezar 2000, Merisotis & Phipps 1999). These studies typically focus on the use of particular technologies in particular classes or subjects (Flowers et al 2000, Kuh & Hu 2001, Kuh & Vesper 2001). With technological and economic factors often the primary drivers behind the adoption of technologies, researchers have frequently produced some post hoc observations and explanations of their pedagogical qualities. Despite considerable practical impact and much exploratory attention in the research literature, researchers have only begun to identify the underpinning practical and theoretical issues. However, choosing a system to manage and deliver learning is one of the most crucial decisions any organization can make. Though most of these systems contain the same basic collection of functional elements, they are optimized for different types of learning goals, learners, and organizations (ADL Instructional Design Team 2010).

It is also important to refer to the term “computer - supported collaborative learning” and its abbreviation CSCL, which exists along with the term LMS. Collaborative learning allows WWW to become an active environment in which users can create and share information. The users, in this case – students or teachers, can select user-friendly applications to assist in content delivery and collaboration. English language teachers can use the tools that are available through free and open source applications in document and information sharing for the purpose of synchronous and asynchronous
communication. Some of the examples of these tools include networking sites, such as Facebook, Skype, Twitter, social bookmarking sites such as Linkroll, then the sites for information publishing such as SlideShare, PinIt, Blogger and a multimedia sharing tool, YouTube (Kim et al 2005).

Bearing in mind the importance of Learning Management Systems for language teaching, in this paper we aim at determining the extent to which teachers in Serbia are familiar with LMSs in language teaching, which could make the first step in its full integration in the Serbian educational system.

2. RESEARCH: INSTRUMENTS AND METHODS

The main instruments used for data collecting were a survey and a questionnaire. The survey data were collected by using an online survey, while the questionnaire contained 10 close-ended questions and two open-ended questions that aimed at defining teachers’ familiarity with some key terms in LMSs in language teaching and at determining the applications that teachers use in the teaching process.

The questionnaire was created in Google Drive and later sent by e-mail or social networks to teachers of the English language who teach it as a foreign language at higher education institutions in Serbia. It examined two main factors that teachers perceived as potential barriers to or opportunities for using LMSs in language teaching, as well as teachers’ familiarity with LMSs. The questionnaire was constructed by using the statements adopted and modified from previously published questionnaires in the study conducted by Larsen (2012).

The teachers (respondents) were reassured that there was no right or wrong response to the close-ended questions and that the researchers were only seeking for their opinions in order to determine their perspectives on the usage of LMS in language teaching. Also, they were assured that complete confidentiality would be maintained at all times. A total of 31 teachers responded to the questionnaire.

The next step in the research was to analyze the obtained data based on the responses from the questionnaire. Then, descriptive statistics was used in the statistical analysis.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In order to examine the teachers’ perspectives on the usage of LMSs in language teaching it was necessary to determine whether the teachers were familiar with the terms that are associated to LMS and are important for

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3 By synchronous communication we assume a virtual communication that occurs simultaneously with the people who are communicating. It is synchronized in time and includes online chats, instant messages, videoconferencing, VoIP (voice over Internet protocol), and virtual classes (Lavooy & Newlin 2008), while asynchronous communication does not require real-time interaction. It is a two-way communication in which there is a delay between when a message is sent and when it is actually received. It takes the form of e-mails, voicemails and discussion boards (Tomei 2009).
language teaching. The following terms were examined: E-learning (Enhanced Learning), CALL (Computer-assisted language learning), WELL (Web Enhanced Language Learning), MALL (Mobile-Assisted Language Learning), NBLT (Network-Based Language Teaching), CSCL (Computer-Supportive Collaborative Learning). The results are presented in the table and the chart below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E-learning</th>
<th>LMS</th>
<th>CALL</th>
<th>WELL</th>
<th>MALL</th>
<th>NBLT</th>
<th>CSCL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Know</td>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>Know</td>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>Know</td>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>Know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>19.35</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>80.65</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>77.42</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Know</td>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>Know</td>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>Know</td>
<td>Don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>81.65</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>77.42</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>77.42</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 1.** Teachers’ familiarity with the abbreviations associated to LMSs

![Teachers' familiarity with the abbreviations](chart)

**Chart 1.** Teachers’ familiarity with the abbreviations associated to LMS

The obtained results indicate that the respondents are familiar with the abbreviations associated to LMSs, which can be explained by the fact that the teachers who participated in this study had already had certain experience in the field while they were working at higher education institutions. Some of them know how to benefit from LMS, since their institutions have already introduced them to learning platforms such as Moodle. The teachers are also familiar with the abbreviation CALL, due to the fact that they have talked and learnt about it during their bachelor studies. They are also familiar with the abbreviation NBLT, as they have heard of it through their professional seminars or symposiums, while some of the teachers have already undergone a
certain training concerning network based language teaching, such as WELL and MALL.

The “problematic” terms were the ones associated to E-learning: the results show that even 78% of the respondents think that this term indicates electronic learning, not enhanced learning. Only 19% of the examined teachers showed familiarity with the term. The confusion about this term probably comes from the letter ‘e’, which is directly associated with electronic technology that plays an important role in modern language learning. Thus, it can be concluded that teachers should be directly shown the way electronic devices and software, as well as LMS with its different platforms, enhance language learning. Another term diagnosed as problematic was CSCL (Computer-Supportive Collaborative Learning) since the majority of teachers have never heard of it. However, this term is significantly important for modern language learning because of its frequent usage nowadays in blended learning. It is closely related to LMS and it directly explains what kind of learning system it actually presents today.

After the extent of the teachers’ familiarity with the terms important for LMS had been demarcated, the next step was to determine whether the teachers knew how to use some of the platforms, such as Edmodo and Moodle, and how to use them in language teaching. The acquired results indicate that only 29% of the questionnaire respondents know how to use them while 19% of them are still unsure. This relationship is presented by the following chart:

![Chart 2. Teachers’ knowledge of using learning platforms](chart2.png)

The next question in the questionnaire aimed to define the particular reason for the teachers’ using social networks and LMSs in language teaching. The results show that the examined teachers mainly use these devices to communicate with students and colleagues, which can also be seen in the following chart:

4 “Blended learning” can be defined as “combining the Internet and digital media with established classroom forms that require the physical co-presence of teacher and students” (Friesen 2012, available online)
Chart 4. The usage of LMS and social networks for communication with students

From the results stated above it can be concluded that although LMSs are important for online teaching, teachers in Serbia do not use them in online language teaching, but rather as a means of both synchronous and asynchronous communication and for the preparation for their classes. It means that Serbian teachers choose to use them for blended rather than online learning.

The next two questions aimed to define how the teachers communicate with their language students. Firstly, it was important to delineate whether they prefer using social networks for such communication to using LMSs, and then to find out which social networks and platforms they use. The results show that about 90% of the teachers prefer communicating and providing students with study material in person in class, while the rest of them (only 10%) use social networks and learning platforms as a means of blended learning, especially Facebook and Mail. They rarely use Twitter or MySpace for communication. For providing students with the material, the teachers mostly use FB, Mail and Skype. The results also show that the teachers commonly use Slide Share for sharing their PowerPoint Presentations with the classes, and learning platforms for short quizzes. Some of the teachers create blogs, while the others use YouTube links either to post the students’ activities or to introduce them to the topics of the next class. Some of the teachers (32% of them) also use social network applications in their teaching, mainly for grammar and vocabulary learning, such as Flashcards, My Word Book, and British Council Podcasts.
The results concerning the teachers’ preference for the usage of a particular social network indirectly reveal the fact that the language teachers at the higher education institutions in Serbia prefer synchronous (58%) to asynchronous (42%) communication.

Although the majority of the teachers who participated in this study do not use either LMSs or social networks to a large extent in their language teaching, even 87% of them think/have thought about introducing them into their teaching process. The reasons why the teachers do not use them as often as they should are given below (with the indicated percentage of the gathered opinions):

- The teachers think that the above-mentioned devices are better for informal (87%) than formal (19%) learning and teaching.
- According to the teachers’ opinion, too much time is required for the preparation of the teaching material (68%).
- Some schools do not allow the usage of LMSs and social networks (61%).
- The teachers do not know how to use them in formal teaching (48%).
- The teachers do not have time to interact with the students outside the classroom (45%).
- There is always a possibility that inappropriate content can be placed by the students (42%).
- Cyber bullying can be an issue (35%).
- Too many students in a class are difficult to control and to have their activities checked regularly (23%).

The last question in the questionnaire aimed at defining the teachers’ perspectives on the usage of LMSs in language teaching. It was devised to outline their opinions concerning the benefits of introducing LMSs into language teaching. The results can be seen in the following chart:
According to the above-stated results, it can be concluded that the teachers agree upon the fact that the usage of LMSs and social networks in language teaching can encourage even shy students to participate in learning activities and can also increase their class collaboration. The examined teachers think that LMSs and social networks make an easy and quick way of sharing materials among students and can be successfully used to promote students’ activities concerning language learning. It is important to stress the teachers’ awareness of the opportunities these web-systems offer both to students and to teachers, as well as their readiness to implement them in their language teaching. First, by using LMSs and social networks students can personalize their learning and can choose the platform which is the best for them and their way of learning. Students can also be provided with various kinds of authentic input, while teachers can make connections with native speakers and initiate students’ pair learning. Another reason for the implementation of LMSs and social networks in language learning is their ability to ensure an effective use of classroom time. If teachers use them for blended learning and in a flipped classroom⁵, they may afford more time for practice and discussion during the class. Students can become familiar with the topics in advance if teachers lecture by using LMSs and by sending their lectures and instructions for activities before their actual appearance in the class.

Since Serbia is facing a massive problem with the availability of teaching devices, the usage of LMSs which are free of charge (such as Moodle and Edmodo) can spare schools from huge expenses. Also, by using social networks as learning platforms both teachers and students huge expenses. Also, by using social networks as learning platforms both teachers and students can

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⁵ The expression ‘flipped classroom’ refers to an educational technique that consists of two parts: interactive group learning activities inside the classroom, and direct computer-based individual instruction outside the classroom (Bishop & Verleger 2013).
benefit, and at the same time avoid extra charges for photocopying materials and other classroom devices.

4. CONCLUSION

Numerous studies have shown that teachers’ acceptance of technology and its implementation in the teaching process depends on the attitudes they have towards technology itself (Huang & Liaw 2005). The results from this study offer several conclusions. Firstly, teachers agree LMSs to be a good means for increasing the efficiency of teaching. In addition, the teachers in the research agree upon the fact that the usage of LMSs and social networks in language teaching can encourage students of different affective profiles to participate in the learning activities and can increase their collaboration. They also have favourable opinions about the usage of LMSs and social networks as easy and quick ways for sharing study materials among students.

However, it is obvious that the studies concerning the pedagogical impact of LMSs are sporadic, which is in line with apparent limitations of LMSs and their implementation in language teaching. Nevertheless, this and similar studies can show a general understanding of students’ and teachers’ attitudes towards the usage of LMSs and social networks in formal language learning and teaching. Moreover, this study indicates that English language teachers in Serbia are interested in using such platforms for language learning, although they prefer using them in blended than in online learning.

The introduction of new technologies into a university teaching program has a tendency to create new relationships between academic staff and students, as well as some relationships between academic and administrative staff. The implementation of LMSs into university teaching programs leads to a new kind of organization in the development of learning resources and the management of learning. It is important for educational institutions to be open, inclusive and well-informed in order to develop an understanding of the educational role of LMSs and their importance for learning in general.

REFERENCES


Savka N. Blagojević
Miljana K. Stojković Trajković

STAVOVI NASTAVNIKA U VEZI SA KORIŠĆENJEM DRUŠTVENIH MREŽA I LMS SISTEMA U NASTAVI JEZIKA

Rezime

Learning Management System (LMS) je sistem zasnovan na internet mreži koji svojim korisnicima omogućava da se upoznaju sa različitim kursevima, između ostalih, i kursevima za učenje stranih jezika, da se prijavljuju za njih, da ih pohađaju, i na kraju, da se podvrgnu proveri znanja. Cilj rada jeste da utvrdi stepen do kojeg su nastavnici engleskog jezika u Srbiji upoznati sa ovim sistemom, kao i vrstama društvenih mreža koje se mogu koristiti prilikom učenja engleskog jezika, i u kojoj ih meri koriste u svom radu. Za dobijanje podataka sprovedeno je istraživanje koje je uključilo 31 ispitanika – profesore visokih škola u Srbiji, a kao osnovni instrument u istraživanju koristi se anketa sa deset zatvorenih i dva otvorena pitanja, osmišljenih tako da se utverdi stepen do kojeg su nastavnici upoznati sa terminologijom iz oblasti učenja jezika preko web-mreže, već i da se donese zaključci o tome koje vrste od raspoloživih internet sredstava oni koriste u nastavi. Rezultati ankete su pokazali da većina ispitanika poznaje skraćenice LMS, ali ne i E-learning. Mada se većina ispitanika slažu u tome da LMS sistema može da poboljša nastavni proces i motiviše studente da više učestvuju u aktivnostima na času, samo 29% od ispitanih nastavnika zna kako da ih koristi, dok 19% od njih još nije sigurno u vezi sa njihovim korišćenjem. Svi ispitanici smatraju da se pomoću ovih sistema nastavni materijali mogu lako i brzo dostavljati studentima, te su dali pozitivne odgovore u vezi sa tim. Na osnovu rezultata dobijenih sprovedenom anketom može se zaključiti da su ispitanici svesni i činjenice da implementacija LMS sistema u univerzitske programe vodi ka razvijanju nove vrste resursa u učenju stranih jezika i u organizovanju učenja uočite u studenata u vezi sa formalnom nastavom stranih jezika putem društvenih mreža i korišćenjem LMS sistema.

Ključne reči: Learning management system, društvene mreže, stavovi nastavnika, nastava stranih jezika na univerzitetskom nivou.

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Marijana D. Matić
University of Kragujevac,
Faculty of Philology and Arts

TEACHING SPEAKING SKILLS IN EFL IN LOWER
ELEMENTARY GRADES IN STATE SCHOOLS IN
SERBIA

The aim of this paper is to look into the opportunities learners may have in lower elementary grades (namely 3rd and 4th grade) in state schools in Serbia for building and developing the speaking skills in English, the quantity and quality of exposure to English in class as well as into the results of methods which teachers use in the classroom when teaching the speaking skills. The paper further looks into the fluency, vocabulary and the range of constructions which learners use, and investigates whether the teaching methods comply with the needs of the modern global society, including the extent to which learners are instructed so that they may become competent speakers of English as a foreign language. At the same time, methods of instruction are examined in order to see if they match the level of cognitive development of young learners.

The methods of data collection are both quantitative and qualitative. They include questionnaires, class observations, semi-structured interviews and focus group interviews. The methods of data analysis include multiple regression (quantitative) and narrative (qualitative) analysis.

The results show that little systematic attention has been given to developing the speaking skills in 3rd and 4th grades of elementary schools. A limited exposure and use of the methods which do not focus on the systematic development of the speaking skills as well as a low demand for productive communication imposed on learners, jointly contribute to an underdeveloped level of the speaking skills. In the long run, such practices are inevitably futile: adult speakers of English as a foreign language may be cognizant of the English language system and at the same time exhibit low conversational capabilities.

Keywords: young learners, EFL, speaking skills, listening skills, accuracy, fluency, mixed methods

1. INTRODUCTION

It is believed that for most people speaking is the language skill which represents the main mode of communication. It is the first skill parents work on when teaching their babies in the mother tongue. By acquiring speaking skills children become an active part of a family and a community (Shin and Crandall 2011: 121). The same may be applied to the learning and use of a foreign language. Speaking is the skill used extensively; moreover, it is learnt

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first in the process of acquiring a foreign language. Taking into consideration that the pressure on the education system is to introduce English as a foreign language as early as possible, it is very important to analyze teaching speaking to young learners. The paper looks at the practices of teaching speaking at elementary state schools in Serbia.

2. THE ROLE OF ENGLISH

Today, it is estimated, a few billion people speak English “of some kind” (Crystal 2012). Apart from the countries in which English is the mother tongue, or those in which it has had a long history being used as a second language, the largest number, estimated at 500 million to one billion English speakers live in countries where “...English has no official function and opportunities to use English are usually only with those who do not share the same mother tongue” (Shin and Crandall 2014: 3-4). It is also estimated that there are three times as many non-native speakers as there are native speakers of English (Crystal 2012). As English becomes lingua franca, it also becomes part of regular instruction and educational systems of many countries all over the world.

In many countries learners begin to learn English as a compulsory subject at the primary level, and there is a tendency to start learning English at an increasingly younger age (Jenkins 2009: 15). In a recent survey of 55 countries around the world, more than 50% introduced compulsory English language courses by third grade (Shin and Crandall 2011: 119). This is the consequence of a growing demand for English by prospective employers and by parents who believe that English skills provide their children with better education and better employment opportunities (Enever and Moon 2009, Gimenez 2009).

There are opposing views as to whether learning a foreign language is more efficient if learners are young or older. However, there is a number of language policy documents which “explicitly state the advantages of early language learning”; the European Commission, for instance, identifies as benefits of early language learning “better language skills” and “favourable attitudes to other languages, people and cultures, if conditions such as trained teachers and small classes are in place” (Nikolov and Mihaljević Đigunović 2011: 98).

3. CHILDREN AS LEARNERS

Young learners’ characteristics are widely known. They are first introduced to their mother tongue orally, and the same goes for learning a foreign language in a classroom context: they spend time learning a foreign language solely orally before reading and writing skills are introduced.

As learners they are inquisitive, ready to experiment and make mistakes, inventive and enthusiastic. They are willing to try out an activity even if they do not completely understand why and how. At the same time, however, children “also lose interest more quickly and are less able to keep themselves motivated on tasks they find difficult” (Cameron 2001: 1).
As for their cognitive development in lower elementary (in case of our research aged 7-12) they are not able to benefit from the meta-language that teenagers and adults can understand when teachers use it to explain grammar and discourse (ibid.). Harmer (2001: 38) points out that young learners often learn indirectly rather than directly: “their understanding comes not just from explanation, but also from what they see and hear and, crucially, have a chance to touch or interact with”.

Children tend to transfer their drive for understanding and the instinct for interpreting the sense or meaning of a situation (Moon 2000: 5). Thus, in order to understand the world around them, young learners use all the knowledge they have about the society, the world and about how adults manage conversation. In this way children are able to perceive the language as a means of communication, because by using their knowledge and experience, they learn words and phrases in certain contexts (Cameron 2001: 53). While learning, children take an active part in re-constructing the meaning connected with the world around them focusing on the social element (Vygotsky 1962: 145). It has been noted that during this process children develop a so-called “learner language” or “language in construction”. In order for the instruction to be effective it should undergo “scaffolding”, that is, it should be tailored in such a way that it matches the cognitive level of development and needs of young learners (Bruner 1977: 271).

4. TEACHING SPEAKING TO YOUNG LEARNERS

Although this paper focuses on the speaking skills, it is worth noting that speaking and listening cannot be divorced either in real life or in the classroom. Much of the listening in real life is part of a two-way conversation which requires speaking in response (Shin and Crandall 2014: 120). As Cameron (2001: 40) notices, “Listening can be seen as the active use of language to access other people’s meaning, whereas speaking is the active use of language to express meanings so that other people can make sense of them”.

Speaking is considered to be a very difficult skill to learn due to the fact that speaking fluently and thinking occur at the same time. “As we speak, we have to monitor our output and correct any mistakes, as well as planning for what we are going to say next” (Pinter 2006: 55). In addition, there are affective factors which can create anxiety and prevent learners from speaking.

Despite the common belief that the longer exposure to a foreign language is, the better the speaking skills become, research shows that it is not enough to have long periods of exposure and that contextualization and scaffolding are also necessary (Gibbons 2002: 17).

Cameron (2003: 109) suggests that teaching the oral skills should be divided into teaching vocabulary and discourse as they both reflect children’s focus on meaning. Discourse is defined as speaking in extended talk in an exchange while extended talk refers to stretches of conversation which are longer than a sentence. Songs, rhymes, chants and stories are regarded as examples of discourse. Conversation skills involve understanding and using phrases and sentences in interaction with others, children and adults alike.
As for the question of accuracy versus fluency Shin and Crandall (2014: 124) are of the opinion that the teacher’s approach should be “more message oriented or based on meaningful activities with a realistic context”.

Vocabulary in teaching speaking is considered to involve understanding and use not only of single words but rather of chunks of language (Cameron 2003: 109). Shin and Crandall (2014) agree, regarding teaching short, fixed chunks of language as necessary. Pinter (2006: 56) believes that these unanalyzed chunks² are “the first building blocks that allow children to move from listening to speaking and to begin to participate in interactions with others”.

Shin and Crandall (2014: 124-125) further suggest that in order to help learners develop their speaking skills, teachers should try and use every opportunity to build real communication in the classroom. They point out that speaking activities should be fun, keeping learners active, and even if a lot of repetition is used, it has to be meaningful. They propose seven principles to be taken into consideration when designing activities for young learners of English as a foreign language (EFL):

1. Build classroom activities in English
2. Use speaking activities that reflect real-life communication
3. Use speaking activities that are developmentally appropriate
4. Use a variety of activities to improve both accuracy and fluency
5. Build classroom interaction by giving students plenty of opportunities to participate
6. Keep speaking environment active – do not correct errors explicitly
7. Equip your young learners with negotiation strategies.

5. THE SAMPLE

The paper analyses the teaching speaking practices of EFL in state schools in Serbia. The research was carried out in classes of 3rd and 4th grade in different schools all over Serbia. It covered 71 different teachers and 1316 learners (50.91% girls and 49.09% boys). The sample included 779 3rd graders and 537 were 4th graders (Matić 2015: 208-210).

The method of gathering and analyzing data included classroom observations, interviews with teachers, focus-group discussions with young learners and questionnaires for teachers and young learners.

6. THE RESULTS

Based on the results of the quantitative data analysis (as stated in the questionnaires by the teachers; cf. Larsen-Freeman 2003: 5), the following classroom techniques are used according to their frequency: reading

² Also known as “formulaic language” (see Brewster et al 2004:105) and “formulaic sequences” (Cameron 2001: 50).
comprehension and answering the questions (grammar translation method), reading out loud with reinforcement (the direct method), dictation (the direct method), fill in the gaps (grammar translation method), deductive grammar (grammar translation method), role play (the communicative method), questions and answers by using complete sentences in order to practice the target grammar (the direct method), sentence translation with the aim of practicing vocabulary and grammar (grammar translation method).

As can be seen from the range of methods used, it is only role plays that focus on an extensive use of the speaking skills. Reading out loud, another widely used technique, promotes speaking skills development to a very limited extent as it improves the pronunciation, and intonation to an extent. Since listening and speaking influence each other, we would also like to point out that the listening skills are, apparently, only practiced in dictation. Although this technique is carried out in the observed state school classrooms in Serbia, we consider it not to be sufficient for the development of the listening skills.

The classroom observations show that class time is predominantly teacher-centered and carried out in Serbian. The amount of time spent in exposure to and in the active use of English is, on average, 12-17 minutes (out of 45). The instances in which English is used are mostly divided between reading aloud, teaching and learning grammar and listening and speaking (according to the time spent on the respective activities). Finally, the class observations have attested the use of the abovementioned methods and techniques.

The speaking activities used in the English classes of 3rd and 4th graders in state schools in Serbia include sporadic routines, such as greetings (Hello, Good morning, Good afternoon, Good bye!) and functional language (May I go out? Who is absent? See you on Friday! How are you?). However, according to the teachers’ own statements and opinions given in the interviews, these are not systematically carried out, built on, or even perceived as proper opportunities to use (teach or learn) an authentic contextualized language. Furthermore, young learners in state schools in Serbia show reluctance and lack of ease in responding in English even in these basic speaking instances. They also seem not to realize that the activities are simulations of real-life communication.

Total physical response (TPR) is also used as a predominately listening (listen and do) and partly speaking activity, and is organized in such a way that (in most cases) teacher is the one giving commands and students respond in performing the activities. In cases when teachers use English for organizational purposes, such as to open and close (activity) books, work in groups, draw, colour, match, fill in the gaps, answer the questions, etc. (e.g. Open your books, page 47, Otvorite knjige na strani 47), we have noticed that teachers give commands in English and immediately repeat them translated into Serbian. Young learners are, therefore, not motivated to respond to the English commands given that they can immediately get the same information in their mother tongue. In consequence, they lack valuable practice and are inevitably robbed of speaking fluency, turn-taking and responding in English (Matić 2015: 312).
Instances of speaking also include reading out loud texts from textbooks and quasi role plays. Young learners find them the most interesting types of activity in English classes. The language used is not only contextualized reflecting real-life situations, but is also developmentally appropriate. However, the role-play activity is strictly limited to the textbook lines (i.e. to short English sentences) and as such does not give learners the opportunity for expressing their personal preferences or in any way contribute to the contents of the conversation. Judging by the way these quasi role-play activities are carried out in state school classes in Serbia, they turn out to be too controlled to cater for the development of the speaking skills let alone build competent English language users.

Storytelling as a means of developing both speaking and listening skills seems to be underused in lower elementary grades in state schools in Serbia. Although it also gives opportunities to use and explore interesting topics for young learners, and is appropriate for their age and level of cognitive development, it is, nonetheless, organized by the state school teachers mostly in such a way that the role of learners is rather passive; for instance, they are not asked to tell parts of a story or the entire story later on, or to contribute in any personalized way to the content of the story. Furthermore, chunks, repetitions, rhyme and other vocabulary devices that a story offers, which may teach learners chunks of language and build on their vocabulary, are rarely used by the teachers or not used at all.

The same is true of pairwork and groupwork activities in Serbian state schools. In activities in which speaking, listening and conversation are used at all, the language is partly contextualized and controlled although there are cases in which the foreign language is freely used (e.g. in questionnaires about likes and dislikes, free time activities, etc.). Still, we have noticed that young learners find them difficult because they do not have enough practice in such activities, especially in asking questions and giving short answers, and also because teachers do not provide enough pre-task preparation activities. Given that teachers do not stress the importance of such activities, young learners quite often discontinue their English exchanges and turn to Serbian.

7. CONCLUSION

As can be concluded from the above, young learners in state schools in Serbia do not have enough opportunities to use English and develop their speaking skills. They are assigned a rather passive role by their teachers. In the majority of cases the quantity and quality of the exposure to English is not sufficient, graded or systematic. Low demands on the learners’ production of English and a lack of contextualized English along with a constant use of Serbian do not contribute to the development of the speaking skills of young learners in Serbia.

In the long run this way of teaching and learning produces adults who know a lot about the language itself but are not competent foreign language users ready for the global community and global labour market. What we
need, instead, is a systematic attention to activities that enhance the listening and speaking skills of young learners as well as constant and consistent practice if our educational system is to succeed in this most important task.

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Marijana D. Matić

NASTAVA VEŠTINE GOVORENJA NA ENGLESKOM KAO STRANOM JEZIKU U NIŽIM RAZREDIMA OSNOVNE ŠKOLE U SRBIJI

Režime

Cilj ovog rada jeste da se istraže mogućnosti koje učenici u nižim razredima osnovne škole u Srbiji (tj. u trećem i četvrtom razredu) imaju da razviju i izglađu veštinu govorenja na engleskom jeziku, kvantitet i kvalitet izloženosti engleskom jeziku u učionici i rezultati koje daju metode i tehnike koje nastavnici u učionici koriste kada podučavaju veštinu govorenja.

Rad dalje istražuje fluentnost, vokabular i opseg konstrukcija koje učenici koriste i pokušava da utvrdi da li i u kojoj meri su one u skladu sa potrebama modernog, globalnog društva i u kojoj meri se ostvaruje cilj da se učenici osposobljavaju da koriste engleski jezik samostalno. Uz to, rad takođe istražuje u kojoj je meri način podučavanja i predavanja u skladu sa kognitivnim razvojem učenika.

U radu je primenjena metodologija kvantitativnog i kvalitativnog sakupljanja podataka: višestruka regresija (kvantitativni metod) i narativna (kvalitativna) analiza. Dobijeni rezultati pokazuju da se malo sistematske pažnje posvećuje razvoju veštine govorenja u trećem i četvrtom razredu osnovne škole u Srbiji.

Ograničena izloženost i upotreba metoda koji se ne usmeravaju ka sistematskom razvoju veštine govorenja, kao i niski zahtevi za komunikacijom koji se postavljaju pred učenike, govore u prilog nedovoljno razvijenog nivoa veštine govorenja te dugoročno ne stvaraju nezavisne, odrasle govornike engleskog kao stranog jezika nego odrasle govornike koji imaju znanja o sistemu engleskog jezika.

Ključne reči: učenici na mlađem uzrastu, engleski kao strani jezik, govorenje, slušanje, tečnost, tačnost, kombinovane metode

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Literary texts present a plethora of challenges for linguistic research due to the depths of readings and interpretations they provide. When texts are translated, each new translation is a challenge that invites fresh analyses and approaches to a newly produced literary piece. This paper presents an analysis of a translation of Ivo Andrić's The Story of the Vizier's Elephant into English. It focuses on the analysis of clauses used as discourse segments, including complementation and topic continuity. Even though the main aim is to research morphosyntactic and syntactic means used by the translator, the attention is also paid on psycholinguistic traits that reveal the presence (or absence) of the translator’s voice as the Other.

Key words: topicalisation, complementation, transfer, translator’s visibility, intersubjectivity.

1. INTRODUCTION

Translation studies rely on approaching their issues multiperspectively. Namely, very rarely would one find researchers who claim that interdisciplinarity and multidisciplinarity do not lie at the basis of their work and that it is almost impossible to tackle any problem one-sidedly. Nevertheless, translation studies generally draw an almost invisible, still much felt, line between the translators’ and linguists’ views and tactics in approaches to some basic issues which occur during the translation process. Such an approach can be used as a security blanket if something goes wrong. Moreover, there is always the other side of the dichotomy – the very one which can appropriately be accused and blamed for the unsuccessful and dubious results obtained. In other words, a general principle may be formulated: be of help, even in defining problems rather than in solving them – they must not be avoided.

2. METHODOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

Second language acquisition draws on a number of theories in order to establish a system usable with most general typological issues. In the last decades of the twentieth century, the functional approaches have tried to avert our attention back to what the previous approaches neglected, namely, the “form-only” as opposed to the “inclusion of function” approach. Givón (1979: 208) states that processes such as historical language change, the development of pidgin languages into creoles, the first language acquisition

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and the relationship between informal and formal registers unitedly represent the process of grammaticalization. Dittmar (1992) elaborates the actual definition and claims that grammatical development of the second/foreign language should be regarded as a type of linguistic change which is affected by grammaticalization. Givón (1984: 10) depicts a full circle by linking a pre-syntactic pragmatic mode to a syntactic mode, and, at the same time, to different levels of information processing, emphasising separate pre-syntactic and syntactic modes. At the same time, the same process has occurred in translation studies. The German school regards translation as an act of intercultural communication, and not as a static linguistic phenomenon. Reiss (1976) links language function, text type, genre and translation strategy. Vermeer (2004), accordingly, introduces his skopos theory, which views translation as a communicative transaction involving initiator, commissioner and the producers, users and receivers of the source and target texts.

The majority of research directly focuses on translatable and untranslatable points and transfer as the core issues. It is from there that they draw their conclusions and set standards for further research. Enkvist (1978: 180), for instance, emphasises the following:

A translator should be aware not only of cognitive meanings and basic syntactic structures in his text, but also of its information dynamics. Such awareness does not necessarily imply theoretical sophistication in linguistics, or an ability to analyse sentences into themes, rhemes, and focally marked or unmarked elements. Here too a translator must rely on intuition and Sprachgefühl. But in situations where theory may be of help, even in defining problems rather than in solving them, it should not be avoided.

When we speak about the Serbian language, researches have mainly been focused on transfer and its influence on translation into Serbian. In her research on the specificities of translation of adverbials, into and from Serbian, Babić (2011, 2013) focuses on the aspects of translation that emerge as a consequence of focusing on similarities rather than on differences in the source- and target language texts. Having Serbian as a mother tongue means focusing on transfer and non-transfer errors in the second language acquisition process, attributing them to certain issues which have been recognized in the second/foreign language acquisition practices (or establishing new ones). There are not many researches that are focused on errors which occur when ostensively similar linguistic structures are translated from Serbian into English. The aim of this research has been to apply some of the findings from the previously mentioned researches onto the translation from Serbian in order to see whether the results would concur with the previously acquired data.

This paper is neither pro nor contra Hallidayan postulates of SFG (Systemic Functional Grammar) when dealing with topicalisation. Still, the most convenient approach for this research has been found in FSP (Functional Sentence Perspective) where “the communicative goals of an interaction cause the structure of a clause or sentence to function in different kinds of perspective (Baker 2001: 160). When approaching the theme/rheme
dichotomy, Firbas (1987: 46) states that, in embracing the dichotomy, he and his colleagues “consider rhematic information to be always new, but thematic information old and/or new. On the other hand, old information is always thematic, but new information thematic and rhematic”. This approach, at least to me, seems closer to understanding Andrić’s sentences in Serbian. There are too many layers there; there is too much background knowledge present. In every clause he creates, Andrić makes it evident, in a well-planned manner, that he presumes his readers to share his schemata or just leaves it to them to interpret the so-called presumed general knowledge data according to their own devices. In addition to this open discussion, Baker (2001: 163), without taking sides, adds that according to FSP postulates, “[A] clause consists of two types of elements: foundation-laying/context-dependent elements and core-constituting/context/independent elements. The former have a lower degree of CD and are always thematic. The latter, however, may be thematic and rhematic”, where CD stands for communicative dynamism, “a property of communication displayed in the course of the development and consisting in advancing this development“ (Firbas 1972: 78). Therefore, the underlying aim of this paper is to shed some personal (and, hopefully, new) light on these research points.

3. DATA DISCUSSION

When studying Serbian language as a mother tongue, students are always reminded that they should follow the examples of “good” writers such as Andrić and Selimović. Still, when Serbian L1 students of English use novels in Serbian language as a corpus for their translation classes, it is usually these authors who present the greatest difficulty for translation due to the complexity and density of texts they created. Moreover, if one looks at the style and personal traits through syntactic and morphosyntactic means used, Andrić seems an obvious choice for researching translational traits in the target texts. His sentences, sometimes even unnaturally long, succumbed to discontinuous dependencies, even on the verge of being overburdened with absolute and embedded clauses, present occasionally an insurmountable challenge for some of the native speakers when they try to follow his train of thoughts. One could not but wonder how successful would a non-native speaker be in transferring these linguistic devices without detriment to the overall literary style and personal imprint which Andrić’s writings possess?

Andrić’s short stories present even bigger challenge for translators because of their intricate personal marks of the writer himself through the voice of the other so visible and audible through his storytellers. The Story of the Vizier’s Elephant has imposed itself as the corpus for the study because of its quantitative and qualitative characteristics. The translated text of fifty, densely printed pages promises enough positive and negative usable transfer characteristics. At the same time, the text was translated by a native speaker (Celia Hawkesworth), so the attention has been drawn to the presence of the “other” Other, i.e. the visibility of the translator within the text. Namely,
some of the previous contrastive researches of the literary text translated from English into Serbian (Babić 2011, 2013), the most notable characteristic marked has been the possibility of a specific type of back translation. Namely, the translators into Serbian retained the English word order and even rhythm of sentences to such an extent that the text itself felt and looked as an artificial creation. If the reader knew English, it was possible to follow the text in Serbian and apply backward translation into English without even casting a glance at the original.

Enkvist (1978: 178) posits that “a sentence is not autonomous, it does not exist for its own sake but as part of a situation and part of a text. And one of the most important functions of information dynamics is precisely to link a sentence to its environment in a manner which allows the information to flow through the text in the desired manner.” How can we apply this to a translation? Is it possible to retain Venuti’s (1995/2008) prescribed “invisibility” and still remain present in the depth of the text? How coherent would a text be and is linearity the only solution to most of the problems? Let us look at some examples.

As expected, the most commonly used way of topicalisation has been the fronting of time and place adjuncts. It is customary in the Serbian language to place the adverbial at the beginning of the sentence, so the translator retained the style of the author.

On his arrival to Bitolj he had summoned the leading men to him and ordered each of them to cut an oak stake of at least four metres in length and to bring it to the Vizier’s Residence with his name carved on it. (V, 4)

From that height, he now looked at his home town from a curiously slanted perspective, as if with new eyes. (V, 27)

It was then, in the first days of May, that the Vizier acquired an elephant. (V, 6)

There are languages (Serbian being one of them) which allow fronting without too much detriment to the theme – rheme relationship. The freedom of choosing word order allows for rhythmical cascades which are not always influenced thematically. The second example illustrates that. By putting the adverbial at the beginning of the sentence, the author of the source text just wants to add certain feeling to the environment the action is taking place in. However, the translation carries some additional meaning as well, possibly not intended by the author of the original text.2

The third example of coordinated fronting of both noun and prepositional phrases functioning as adverbials in English adds some peculiar archaic value

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2 The translation of the first sentence somehow undermines the urgency with which the leading men were summoned, which is evident from the source text, for it starts with the conjunction as soon as. Moreover, the depiction of a stake will awake with most native Serbian speakers reminiscence on specific historical events, those of which non-native speakers do not necessarily have to possess the knowledge. The second example presents the usage of aktuelni kvalifikativ in the construction kao+NP. The temporal quality of the event is not felt in the translation itself. The third example in the source language text is presented as a narrative with an embedded clause present, but without topicalisation. Therefore, the force of the translated sentence in much stronger than the original one.
to storytelling. One feels as if some extra information is added in relation to the times of the plot. The translator, even more than the author, adds quality to the actual time of the year in which the elephant was brought to Travnik. Even though the sentence in Serbian has the same word order, the retainment of word order in English definitely adds this other quality to the interpretation of the sentence. The rhythm, enhanced by the usage of a simple noun phrase within the fronted subject, and then a complex noun phrase functioning as the object of the preposition within the second fronted subject, prepares the English-speaking reader for the story from some past times which is to follow and which has to be understood as a tale about something entirely disconnected from the present moment or the reader’s ways of thinking and living. Clefting (i.e. the use of a dummy subject) not only enables retaining a storytelling rhythm, but also brings vivacity and jovial feelings into the very depiction of the elephant itself. The entanglement of the story proves the elephant to be as interesting as this first announcement of its existence shown by the usage of a specific kind of topicalisation.

There are examples of fronting of other adverbials as well.

On the Sultan’s order, Dželaludin summoned all the prominent Bosnian beys, leaders and town captains to an important discussion in Travnik. (V, 5)

It is noticeable that the translator insists on keeping the original word order, and, therefore, topicalisation, wherever possible. In some cases it is really difficult to explain why certain adverbials are marked as such by using commas and why the same has not been done with others (as exemplified above). It is precisely here that the translator reveals herself. The adverbial fronting, typically used by Serbian speakers, in these cases influences the transfer of the second language structure into the mother tongue.

The choice of the subject topicalisation varied.

It is the people of Travnik, the wisest in Bosnia, who know the greatest number of such stories, but they rarely tell them to strangers, just as it is the rich who are most reluctant to part with their money. (V, 1)

Fronting seems natural in Serbian texts to the extent that it is considered not to be a cohesive device but a common feature of everyday parlance. The above-mentioned sentence carries a great weight in English. Not only is there the fronting present, but also postmodification by an absolute, small clause, and then a further expansion by a coordinated clause again containing another example of fronting. The insistence on the usage of two coordinated noun phrases within the same sentence seems strange in English, even though the Serbian example is in line with Andrić’s writing style.

As expected, cases of wh-fronting have also been attested.

What impelled the people of Travnik to ask so many questions about each new vizier and his slightest physical and moral characteristics and habits was neither curiosity nor arrogance, but their long experience and pressing need. (V, 2)
As with the previous examples, topicalisation seems the only solution for resolving the conundrum called the Andrić’s sentence. Even native speakers sometimes have quite a lot of problems in grasping the incessant flow of information in his sentences. Tight syntactic bonds and meticulous planning of a plethora of information lead the translator into following the current of the sentence. Nevertheless, the translator makes herself apparent and visible only through her insistence on retaining the rhythm of the original sentence.

One of the noticeable aspects in the translation is the effort to retain the Serbian word order, wherever possible. Still, unlike translations into Serbian, the English translator is ever so mindful of the mother tongue syntactical restrictions, so that we are always aware of the fact that the translated text can be read in English without being aware of the source language text influence on the surface level structure. Therefore, it was not surprising to find a vast number of structures introduced by the dummy *it*.

It was an African elephant, just two years old, not yet fully grown, and brimming with life. (V, 7)

Adjectival phrases functioning as subject complements have often been used as fronting elements, whether their function in Serbian is that of a specific kind of adverbial called *aktuelni kvalifikativ* (which is related to both the subject and predicate, and defines the quality whose spatio-temporal array is limited) or the actual true complement.

Wise and experienced as they were, the people of Travnik were often able to extract from these lies a grain of truth which even the liar had not known lay amongst them. (V, 2)

His smooth-shaven face, round and somehow childish, had a barely perceptible red moustache and regular patches of reflected light on his rounded cheekbones, like a porcelain doll. (V, 5)

There are also cases of the fronting of the operator.

Nowhere do curses and complaints, whispered rumours and plots remain simply words for long and least of all in Bosnia. (V, 33)

Surprisingly enough, very few examples of such fronting were attested in the translation. The translator, instead, mainly fronts the adverbials and uses the emphatic *do* as a last-resort operation. Discontinuous dependencies still prevail throughout the text. Andrić’s sentence, long but translucent, enables both the reader and translator to add personal interpretation of concatenatedly ordered words.

Postponement is also used in various forms, sometimes as embedded clauses, sometimes as appositive or absolute clauses, but always attached closely to their heads in order not to lose linear syntactic representation.

The older people began to join in the children’s jokes, cautiously and unnoticed. (V, 34)
Once more, it is up to the reader to interpret postponement as a translator’s pathway into key words that are needed for a full interpretation of the sentence. The psychological implication of such rearrangements of words brings us, in a subtle way, into the cultural realm of Bosnian society where everything is done in a tempo slower than otherwise expected, and with a specific quality of cautiousness, alertness and distrust so typical for the society described.

We end our analysis on an excerpt which is illustrative of the translator’s self-awareness that extremely long sentences should, nonetheless, be retained.

This was not a head accustomed to thinking so keenly and cogently, but today, here, even his mind admitted a weak, brief ray of consciousness about the kind of town, the kind of country, the kind of Empire, it was that he, Aljo, and hundreds like him, a few madder, a few cleverer, a lot poorer, were living in; the kind of life they lived, a wretched, unworthy life which was insanely loved and dearly paid for, but when one thought about it, it was not worth it, no, it really was not worth it. (V, 27)

Cumbersome with embedding and fronting of various modifiers, the sentence shows the true nature of the approach used for translation throughout the text: the translator cherishes the inextricable connection of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic levels which encompass the original text. Not wanting to break the thread of storytelling, she deliberately immerses into the web of coordinated phrases, carefully ordered not to disrupt the narrative. Again, even though the sentence consists of ninety-eight words, it can be read effortlessly.

4. CONCLUSION

When approaching the problem of analysing clauses as messages, Baker (2001: 121) states that one either analyses them as thematic or information structures. The Hallidayan School insists on the separate approach to both structures, even though it is evident that there exist some overlapping features of discourse organisation. The Prague School uses both structures as a combination within the same description. Even though the two approaches stand at sometimes utterly opposite standpoints and results of their application may be contradicting, it is up to the translator to choose which one will be used for each of the translation process he/she deals with. The measuring point should be the actual target language. It is solely in the hands of the translator to choose which of the issues or prescribed rules one should put into usage in each particular text translation. Baker herself never explicitly chooses the side, but rather presents both quite aware of the fact that the times of prescribed, closed solutions have long gone. Dealing with translation and its product means being put in front of multiple challenges and facing them on daily basis. Moreover, there is no choice to be made in the first place. Languages like English are subject-prominent, and, therefore, syntactic rules determine word order and interpretation of elements used. Some characteristic features of English can be attached to Serbian, but inflection used in the latter allows for more versatile usage of word order. Linear progression can be interpreted
in much wider sense and sometimes it is up to the reader to determine if
topicalisation is present.

Still, translation is not a linear process. Recursiveness is present in text
production and changes are constantly made in text understanding. At the end
of this process, a text is turned into a target language product. Albir and Alves
(2009: 61) define translation “as a complex cognitive process which has an
interactive and non-linear nature, encompasses controlled and uncontrolled
processes, and requires processes of problem-solving, decision-making
and the use of strategies”. The insistence on cognition ultimately leads to
individualisation and personalisation of the process. Even though Bell (1991)
adopted and built his psycholinguistic model on the framework of systemic-
functional linguistics, it is impossible to apply it wholly on all languages. Both
analysis and synthesis as integral parts of information processing have to be
interpreted according to the needs of the target language. Bell mostly relied
on the fact that his model was to be used with the aid of artificial intelligence,
but when applied to literary text it somehow lost its wholeness. Building
the system on the basis of arranged algorithms seems plausible, but there
is something lacking: the self that each translator is inserting into the final
product called the translated text. The subjective self of the translator emerges
from the product of her work. The relationship of respect for both the culture
and language of the source text is overtly visible in the retention of syntactic
structures used in translation. However basically English the text may be,
it echoes underlined innuendos of the cultural issues depicted by constant
usages of topicalisation so typical of Andrić’s prose.

The question of the translator’ (in)visibility is of a subjective nature.
Furthermore, the above-mentioned interpretation of the The Story of the
Vizier’s Elephant is also subjective. And it is intersubjective. For although
the author of this paper wanted to be objective, it was only natural that any
personal views should become interwoven in the reading. The aim of the
paper has been to present one understanding of the translated text; this, by
no means, implies exclusiveness, uniqueness or correctness. The purpose is
found in constant re-evaluations and confirmations of the existing hypotheses
in order to shed some new light on underexplored issues.

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Željka Lj. Babić

ODJEK TRANSFERA TOPIKALIZACIJE

Rezime

Književni tekstovi predstavljaju mnoštvo izazova pri jezičkim istraživanjima zbog dubina i interpretacija koje omogućavaju pri čitanju. Ako su tekstovi prevedeni, onda se, pri svakom novom prevodu, izazovi produbljuju i otvaraju mjesta novim analizama i pristupima ovom novonastalom književnom uratku. Ovaj rad predstavlja analizu prevoda Priče o vezirovom slonu Iva Andrića na engleski jezik. Osnovni fokus je usmjeren na analizu klauza koje su korišćene kao segmenti diskursa, kao i na komplementaciju i kontinuitet topikalizacije. Iako je cilj istraživanja prevashodno bio istražiti morfosintaktička i sintaktička sredstva kojima se prevodilac služio, pažnja je posvećena i psiholingvističkim crtama koje otkrivaju prisustvo (ili odsustvo) glasa prevodioca kao Drugoga.

Ključne riječi: topikalizacija, komplementacija, transfer, vidjivost prevodioca, intersubjektivnost.

Primljen 29. decembra, 2014. godine
Prihvaćen 26. aprila, 2015. godine
The essay focuses on the part of W. H. Auden’s poetry that demonstrates his lifelong interest in history. The analysis starts with the poems composed during the 1930s that reveal Auden’s historical affinity and strengthen his reputation as a modernist poet. The attention is then drawn to the poems included in the collection entitled Homage to Clio (1960) which show Auden’s deep insight into the crucial aspects of historiography that in modernist epoch took quite an unexpected turn. Auden’s denial of historicism, seen as a part of Nietzschean heritage, is correlated with T. S. Eliot’s and Ezra Pound’s meditations on the problems of history and tradition. The poems we analyzed refer to the problem of the malleability of historical truth, traditional, objectivist vs. idealistic and uncritical historiography and the gradual degradation of the classic idea of history embodied by Clio. In spite of the fact that Auden did not offer any new concept of history the touch of his poetic genius, magnificently displayed in his musings on history, makes them the true monuments of his epoch.

Keywords: history, historicity, modernism, truth, muse, tradition, historiography

History in general and the whole range of its aspects used to be one of the most favourite topics of Wystan Hugh Auden (1907-1973), late modernist and one of the most influential British poets of the 20th century. It permeates almost the whole body of his poetic work. Auden’s meditations on history range from those rather short sayings such as “History opposes its grief to our buoyant song / to our hope its warning” (Auden 2007: 169) to those that expound on the mythic history of man from the creation to the present. The first quoted fragment in which history is seen as a restrictive force to poets and the second one tending to provide us with the overall view into the spiritual development of mankind are both included in the famous Auden’s and Isherwood’s (Christopher Isherwood 1904-1986) poetry collection Journey to a War (1938). The authors’ motive to compose this rather eclectic collection came, among other things, as a result of their firm decision not to stay out of the tumultuous historical events of the decade that Auden used to call “low and dishonest” (Auden 1979: 86). They went to China in 1938 and witnessed the hostilities that broke out between the Japanese, who at that time invaded Manchuria, and the Chinese forces.

Auden was known to have visited Spain, a year before his Chinese adventure, in the days when the Civil War was in full swing. As a notorious
leftist and an enthusiastic supporter of the Republicans, Auden was determined to take an active part in fighting. However, the atrocities committed by both warring sides and the betrayal of left-wing values, shocked him deeply. After a couple of months he returned to Britain but with a firm decision to offer a poetic response to the horrors he witnessed. *Spain 1937*, the collection of poems published in the same year, contains some of Auden’s most memorable views on history such as the one when poor, famine-stricken Spanish pleads: “History the operator the / Organizer” (52) to show up so that he and his fellow compatriots could understand the misfortune that came upon them. The general tone of the lines leaves us in no doubt about the further responsiveness of the blind forces of history.

*Journey to a War* and *Spain 1937* are composed at the end of the thirties when the political crisis in Europe seemed to have reached its peak. In a few years’ time, the tragic flow of history leading to the outbreak of the Second World War proved quite an inspiration for Auden. He commemorated the event in a long poem entitled “September 1, 1939”. The empathy expressed in the poem obscures the fact that, in the moment of Hitler’s invasion of Poland, Auden was miles away from the battlefront. Rainer Emig points out that the historic perspective of “September 1, 1939” is a bit different from that offered in “Spain 1937” since it is “not being expressed in political or scientific terms, but in personal and, broadly speaking, Christian ones” (Emig 2000: 110) Besides, Emig draws our attention to the fact that author correlates Luther (the symbolic representative of the aggressive Protestant culture) with Hitler “a psychopathic god misled by a Jungian imago” (Ibid).

Later on Auden refers to “exiled Thucydides” who knew “All that a speech can say / About Democracy, / And what dictators do” (Auden 1979: 87). One cannot miss the highly effective ironic context in which the Greek historian is mentioned. Thucydides is known as an author of the history of the Peloponnesian War, a man who “analyzed all in his book … / The habit-forming pain, / Mismanagement and grief” (Ibid). The book, in fact, contains Pericles’s eulogy delivered in honour of democracy which Thucydides on his part ironizes so as to expose the deficiencies of the political system. Auden’s reference to Thucydides therefore implies that the work of a historian is, as a rule, worthless when used as a means of political propaganda.

The poems analyzed so far present history not as a meaningful process but a chaotic, entropic flow, whose basic premises, if there are any at all, are of a rather doubtful validity. Such Auden’s views on history comply fully with what early modernists used to say about it. The lines from T. S. Eliot’s *Gerontion* became the epitome of modernist concept of history:

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History has many cunning passages, contrived corridors,
And issues, deceives with whispering ambitions,
Guides us by vanities. Think now
She gives when our attraction is distracted,
And what she gives, gives with such supple confusions
That the giving famishes the craving. (Eliot 1991: 30)
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In some of his musings on history Auden, like Eliot (1888-1965), does not hide his skepticism towards so-called magistra vitae. “History to the defeated / May say Alas but cannot help or pardon” claims Auden in Spain 1937 (1979; 55). The pronounced malleability of history, expressed in both Auden’s and Eliot’s poetry is more or less a common feature of the works of almost all of the modernists. The early British modernists “found progress to be an historical structure unsuited to their needs and perception of reality” and the linear concept of history gave way to the cyclical or mythological one (Williams 2002: 2). Modernist rejection of the positivist concept of history, that prevailed in the Edwardian period, in fact originated from the works of Friedrich Nietzsche who in his famous essay On the Use and Abuse history for Life announces that “the excesses of history has seized the plastic force of life … and it understands no more to make use of the past as a powerful nourishment” (Nietzsche 2010: 58). According to Nietzsche, the evil of historicism may be cured by “the unhistorical … the art and the power of being able to forget and to enclose oneself with borders” and “the super-historical … the powers which divert the gaze from what is developing back to what give existence an eternal and unchanging character, to art and religion” (Nietzsche 2010: 59). Influenced by Nietzsche, many British modernists began to perceive both past and present time as chaotic and unfathomable.

However, certain critics think that their anti-historicism does not include the utmost denial of the historical thinking in general. Accordingly, their historical perspective “illuminaessome of the problems of the period as they were felt by informed observers and … illustrate some of the subtle ways in which history can be used.” Besides, modernist notions of history “… were crucial in the development of one of the most important innovations in artistic practice of the twentieth century” (Williams 2010: 3). Paul de Man also tackles the modernists’ anti-historical frame of mind in his musings on Nietzsche’s The Use and Abuse of History for Life. He claims that it “becomes impossible to overcome history … in the name of modernity because both are linked by a temporal chain that gives them a common destiny” (Newman 2002:152). According to de Man the most controversial feature of modernity is its denigration of the past that would, if perpetuated, lead to continual, entropic repetition which in fact never occurs (153).

Therefore we cannot possibly libel Ezra Pound (1885-1972) and T. S. Eliot as the anti-historic thinkers. A great deal of their work is based but on history and, besides, they produced rather influential pieces of criticism dealing with the problem of historical knowledge. In the seminal essay entitled “Tradition and Individual talent”, Eliot elaborates the notion of “historical sense” that makes a writer traditional. According to him this sense is a “sense of the timeless as well as of the temporal and of the timeless and of the temporal together” (Eliot 1975: 38). Pound, like Eliot, came out with his own definition of historical sense. “We do NOT know the past in chronological sequence,” asserts Pound, ”It may be convenient to lay it out anesthetized on the table with days pasted on here and there, but what we know we know by ripples and spirals eddying out from us and from our time” (Pound 1970: 60). Both
these highly idiosyncratic views on history imply that past and present are intermingled inseparably and that the act of creation would be impossible without any kind of historical perspective.

The modernist approach to history is easily recognized in Auden’s poetry. Auden, unfortunately, did not speculate upon the history of historical knowledge but what we observe in the poems he composed in 1930’s is that his attitude towards history was, like his predecessors’, dialectical, marked not only by the resistance to historicity but by the incessant return to historical topics and sources as well. At that time Auden was not recognized by the critics as an author particularly interested in history. He came to be known as such in 1950’s when he published the whole series of poems dealing with the relationship of history and art, history and present time and problems of historiography. The most outstanding ones are “Makers of History”, “The Old Man’s Road”, “The Epigoni”, “The Secondary Epic” and “Homage to Clio.” The name of the last of these was taken as the title of a slender collection published in 1960. It includes the poems that we mentioned and several others. Some of the critics, Auden’s contemporaries, were not so enthusiastic about the collection. Thom Gunn considered it Auden’s worst book and Philip Larkin claimed that “it had not advanced significantly beyond the work of the 1930’s (Sharpe 2007: 63). Later critics, however, used to appreciate Homage to Clio.

The thing that both Auden’s poems of the 1930’s and Homage to Clio have in common is the author’s extraordinary viewpoint, a sort of a trait, that Auden inherited from Thomas Hardy whose work he admired. In his piece of criticism on Hardy’s poetic technique Auden points out that what he valued most in Hardy is: “his hawk’s vision, his way of looking at life from a very great height” (Wetzsteon 2007: 4). He further explains that taking such a vantage point means: “to see the individual life related not only to the local social life of its time, but to the whole of human history, life on the earth, the stars, gives one both humility and self-confidence” (Ibid).

Such a perspective is something we could easily observe in Auden’s Spain 1937, Sonnets from China and “September 1, 1939”. Auden looks both as an author immersed in the woes of every single individual in war torn societies and the one who could bridge the distance between Hitler’s psychology, explained by Jungian concept of a “huge imago”, and Martin Luther’s reversal of Christianity tenets. Auden’s historical poems of the 1950s, on the other hand, provide a very profound insight in the problems of history and reliability of historical knowledge. The author retains his “hawk’s vision” but is definitely less personal in his judgments.

“Makers of History” (1955) deals with two different approaches to history. Firstly, there are the protagonists of the traditional, objectivist historiography, favoured by Auden, who are interested in the remnants of the past such as “coins and weapons” whereas they wilfully discard “those reiterations of one self – importance / Bywhom they date them” (Auden 2007: 598). Their historical premises based on the thorough insight into artefacts, are juxtaposed with the conclusions reached by the uncritical historians, legend-makers who belong to another school of historiography the who could “… soon compose
W. H. AUDEN'S POETIC SENSE OF HISTORY

a model / As many as any of whom schoolmasters tell / Their yawning pupils' (Ibid) Instead of history that draws up from” might-be-maps of might-have-been campaigns” and “Quotes from four-letter-pep-talks to the troops” (Ibid), Auden offers the one whose task is:

Simply to add Greatness, incognito,
Admired plain-spoken comment on itself
By Honest John,
And simpler still the phobia, the perversion,
Such curious as tease humanistic
Unpolitical palates. (598-599)

Auden’s view on history can be related to some of the principles that Georg Lukacs formulated in The Historical Novel (1955). In his critical survey of Walter Scott’s historical novels Lukacs dismisses the Hegelian concept of world – historical individual referring to some great man, king, reformer or military commander who is the chief event initiator in the flow of history. Lukacs claims that the importance of such individuals arises not from their extraordinary personal qualities, but from the way they represent the important social forces of the time. (Kemal 2002: 251) Scott’s true heroes are not the princes but people of a modest social position, “Honest John” as mentioned in Auden’s poem, those who clearly do not play the leading role in some great historical conflict.

Auden does not spare the ironic remarks on account of an idealistic historian captivated by legends and big words. For Auden he is a: “Composite demi-god, prodigious worker, / … The burly slave to a ritual and martyr / To numerology. (Auden 2007: 599) In the last stanza the author is quite emphatic in his praise of the historians who are ready to put to test their assumptions thus winning the gratitude of the Muse of history since Clio: “…. loves those who bred them better horses, / Found answers to their questions, made their things….“ (Ibid).

“History of Truth” written in 1958, confronts truth of the past and of the present time thus laying the stress on the mutability of human vision of truth. In the times bygone “when being was believing / truth was the most of any credibles / more first, more always, than a bat-winged lion …” (608). The second strophe confirms that as for the people of the past: “Truth was their model as they strove to build / a world of lasting objects to believe in” (Ibid). The conditio humanae referred to in the first two strophes resemble, to an extent, the first two stages or epochs in the development of the history of mankind as designated by Gianbattista Vico in his seminal work The New Science (1725).

These epochs are the age of gods and the age of heroes. The first one is characterized by the belief of the people that they live under the divine governments whereas the language they use is a mute language of signs and physical objects having natural relations to the ideas that they wished to express (Vico 1974: 20). The second epoch is the era of heroes who “reigned everywhere in aristocratic commonwealths, on account of a certain
superiority of nature which they held themselves to have over the plebs” (Ibid). The language they use is “heroic language” consisting of “heroic emblems, or similitudes, comparisons, images, metaphors, and natural descriptions” (Ibid). The third epoch, according to Vico, is the *age of men*, in which “all men recognized themselves as equal in human nature, and therefore there were established first the popular commonwealths and then the monarchies” (Ibid). The language that is used is known for “using words agreed upon by the people, a language of which they are absolute lords, and . . . a language whereby the people may fix the meaning of the laws” (Ibid). What Auden introduces as the truth in the third strophe looks like an ironic reversal of Vico’s views on *the age of men* since:

…practical like paper dishes,
Truth is convertible to kilo-watts,
Our last to do by is an anti-model,
Some untruth anyone can give the lie to,
A nothing no one need believe is there. (Auden 2007: 608)

The very title (“Homage to Clio”, 1955) of the pivotal poem of the collection vaguely suggests that one (poet or historian) is to pay or has already paid respect to the Muse of History. At the beginning of the poem a lyrical subject presents us with a pleasant pastoral scene. He enjoys himself in the realm of Aphrodite (goddess of love) and Artemis (goddess of hunt and wilderness) where even “banalities can be beautiful” (Auden 1979: 233). The only thing that is in discord with singing and shining flora and fauna is the book that he reads which is “dead” (Ibid) and as such it is found unsatisfactory by the reader. Then, all of a sudden, the poet is summoned to appear before the Muse and the encounter is supposed to bring an enlightenment or a relief to the poet whose inspiration dried up. The Muse, however, does not utter any response to poet’s plea. Disappointed the poet replies in the name of all the poets (historians):

After that
Nothing is easy. We may dream as we wish
Of phallic pillar or navel stone
With twelve nymphs twirling about it, but pictures
Are no help: your silence already is there
Between us and any magical centre
Where things are taken in hand. (Ibid)

The poet addresses her again as “Madonna of Silence” and “Muse of the Unique Historical fact” (234) but the deity remains unresponsive as if she hinted that the solution is to be found by poets or historians themselves. Rainer Emig resolves this dubious situation by claiming that: “The Muse of History is a source of inspiration because she is an absence which invites completion” and that “… she is not so much an explanation, an ontology explaining origins or a teleology providing a perspective for the future or justification for prescribed actions, as she is the desire for such explanations” (Emig 2000: 113).
That is why Clio symbolically remains a mysterious figure whom the poets or historians of the present time cannot even recognize. “How shall I describe you” (Auden 1979: 234) wonders the poet not even knowing how to conjure up Muse’s eyes:

They
Can be represented in granite …
… but what icon
Have the arts for you, who look like any
Girl one has not noticed and show no special
Affinity with a beast? I have seen
Your photo, I think, in the papers, nursing
A baby or mourning a corpse: (Ibid)

The poet wishes to model her eyes out of granite, which, as a solid material, is perfectly becoming to Goddess’s magnificent stature but, as we can see, Clio of our days is “like any other girl” whose photo can be “seen … in the papers” (Ibid). It is evident that the Muse of History deteriorated, in the course of the centuries, into a silent observer who looks like an ordinary mortal.

In the next line the poet (historian) looks as if he overcame his lack of confidence and begins to grasp his Muse’s hidden workings. Now he knows that the important characters in history like “Duke of Cumberland” and the Frankish kings” …The Short, the Bald, the Pious, the Stammerer,” are not of her immediate concern (Ibid). Her true “children” are observed as the “Lives that obey [her] and move like music, / Becoming now what they only can be once, / Making of silence decisive sound” (235). Clio’s constant neglect of so called key-figures refers to Auden’s obvious denial of monumentalism in world’s history which, as we said, originated from Nietzsche and influenced Georg Lukacs. Both authors put forward that it deadens the past thus preventing the future from developing. The patronage of Clio is enjoyed only by those poets and historians who could operate within the realm of her over imposing silence.

Enlightened, the poet assumes pious attitude again and pleads the “Muse of Silence”: “to forgive [their] noises / And teach [them their] recollections” (Ibid). The last stanza, however, contains an additional address that the poet imparts to the muse but this time piety is mixed with a feeling that he and his fellows (poets and historians) will remain permanently estranged from the Muse:

Approachable as you seem
Idare not ask you if you bless the poets,
For you do not look as if you ever read them
Nor can I see a reason why you should. (Ibid)

We can, naturally, know for certain that the “Muse of unique historical fact” does not read poets nor she will ever try to do so since poets unavoidably violate the truth by diverting from the historical fact to mythmaking. The historians commit the identical adulteration of the historic truth since every single version of historical events they produce makes these more obscure instead of clarifying them.
Susannah Gottlieb draws the attention to the striking similarities between Auden’s poem and the beginning of Nietzsche’s famous collection of essays *Thoughts out of Season*. Both of them begin with the description of the idyllic world of the animals. Nietzsche points out that the bliss of the animal world springs from the fact that animals’ reasoning is not anchored in history (Gottlieb: 2013, 187). When summoned to speak about its happiness the beast remains silent since it “immediately forgets what it wanted to say” (Ibid). The animals from Auden’s poem also “escape the pains of memory” since they “chirp like a tearless bird – unthinkably” (Ibid). There is, however, a difference between the two as far as this specific state of mind is concerned. According to Nietzsche, man who remembers and is a historical being envies the animal that “immediately forgets and sees each moment really perish” (188). Auden’s lyrical subject, on the other hand, does not envy the beasts that shook off the burden of history and is paradoxically “glad [he] could be unhappy” (Auden 1979: 235). The common characteristic for both authors is that they condemn historicity.

Among the numerous essays W. H. Auden wrote throughout his life, there is not a single one wholly dedicated to the problem of history, historical truth and historical knowledge. His thoughts upon the matter are scattered in his writings as much as in his lectures and interviews and these fragments do not fully reveal the true scope of Auden’s interest. The poems we analyzed, however, affirm his competence and high originality in treating the ontological problems of the sort. As we could see, Auden’s historical perspective changed through the decades. In the poems composed in the 1930’s the author assumes so-called “hawk’s eye” standpoint breaking open the amazing historical vistas on Spain, China and Europe set ablaze by the Second World War. The poems written in the 1950’s are less personal and prove that Auden was well-acquainted with the works of Friedrich Nietzsche, Georg Lukacs, Gianbattista Vico and other famous protagonists of the philosophy of history. His meditations of history are typically modern and as such comply, as far as basic aspects are concerned, with the ones formulated by T. S. Eliot and Ezra Pound. The greatest quality of the collection, achieved by Auden’s poetic genius, is that the basic problems of the philosophy of history are clad in a strikingly new aura. Auden’s rather relaxed and unique approach, however, must not trick us into overlooking things such as the implicit controversy with Vico in the third strophe of the “History of Truth” or preventing us from realizing that his unorthodox, deconstructive presentation of Clio paves the way to the aesthetics of postmodernism. Sometimes Auden can turn quite unhistorical when like in the poem “This Lunar Beauty” exclaims that the moon, patron of poets, “has no history” (16). These contradictions, unpredictable turns and the author’s everlasting readiness to challenge the allegedly affirmed historical creeds and tenets will undoubtedly provoke the new readings of Auden’s poems in the decades to come.
Ovaj rad predstavlja osvrt na deo opusa istaknutog engleskog modernog pesnika Vistana Hju Odna koji se na zanimljiv način bavi teorijskom mišlju o istoriji. Odn je identifikovan kao stvaralac pomenutih usmerenja već tridesetih godina prošlog stoleća kada je, inspiriran ratnim događanjima u Španiji i Kini, napisao antologijske stihove o takozvanom „teroru istorije“ čije je delovanje neposredno osetio. Upravo tim pesmama u kojima se mešaju univerzalna i individualna poetska perspektiva, započinje analiza Odne istorijske misli. Potom slede pesme koje su pisane pedesetih godina prošlog veka i koje su sakupljene u zbirci Poklonjenje boginji Klio, objavljenoj 1960. godine. Ove pesme afirmišu Odna kao tipičnog modernistu, baštinika ničeanskog antiistorizma, kao i Eliotovih i Paundovih koncepcija o prožimanju tradicije i istorije. Odn, osim toga, pokazuje i da mu filozofska razmišljanja o pojmu istorijske istine, suprotstavljenim istoriografskim školama i vekovnoj degradaciji idealnog pojma istorije, od koje odstupaju kako istoriografija tako i umetnost, nimalo nisu strana. Kao pravi stvaralac modernog doba, distanciran od predmeta o kojem spekuliše, Odn se ne može uzdržati od ironijskog osvrta na neke klasične koncepcije istorijskog razvoja kao što je ona.
osmišljena od strane istaknutog filozofa Danbatista Vika. Iako sklon implicitnim polemikama ove vrste, Odn nije bio tvorac revolucionarnih hipoteza u ovoj oblasti. Umesto toga, on je čitav kompleks aktuelnih ideja o istoriji odenuo poetskom aurom neospornih vrednosti koje će nas stalno podsticati da im se vraćamo.

Ključne reči: istorija, istoričnost, modernizam, istina, muza, tradicija, istoriografija

Primljen 3. septembra, 2015. godine
Prihvaćen 5. oktobra, 2015. godine
The paper is a response to what has been recognized by the filmmaker Clay Claiborne, the author of the 2008 documentary *Vietnam: The American Holocaust*, as an urgent need to face the suppressed truth about the Vietnam War as the best vantage point from which to examine the mechanism of historical repetition. The continuity of war and violence, despite declarative promises of peace and stability, is the paradox that since the WWII has increasingly engaged the attention of historians, cultural critics and commentators, and artists. In the first part of the paper the views are represented of those among them who come from different fields yet, like Claiborne, use the benefit of the same, post-colonial, hindsight to reach the common conclusion about the holocaust, not as a unique aberration, but as historically recurrent and culturally conditioned phenomenon. The strategies used to justify and perpetuate it – the second major focus in this part of the paper – are not limited to deliberate falsification of historical facts though, for beyond what Harold Pinter called “the thick tapestry of lies” concealing the crimes of the past, there is the willingness, generated by western myths of racial supremacy, to believe the lies and/or condone the crimes. Within this (imperialist, patriarchal) mythic tradition, a particular kind of split identity is produced by, and reproduces in its turn, the kind of violent history we tend to take for granted: I argue, along with J. Habermas, L. Friedberg, C. Nord and H. Giroux, that the factual truth will stop short of the transformative effect, political or moral, we traditionally expect from it as long as the deep-seated affective alienation from whatever has been construed as the other that constitutes this identity remains unrecognized and unattended. Confronting such forms of radical inner dissociation, considered normal or desirable in patriarchal culture, have been, at least since Shakespeare, art’s ultimate *raison d’être*. In the second part of the paper I provide what I consider one of the supreme examples of literary deconstructions of western identity-forming traditions – *Dusklands*, Coetzee’s novel about the continuity of consciousness bringing together the geographically and historically distant events: the colonial massacres of the African Hottentots and the genocidal assault on Vietnam. Rather than offering a thorough examination of this richly layered novel, the aim of my analysis is to point to the ingenious strategies, particularly to the ironic intertextual allusions to Hegel’s master/slave paradigm, Coetzee employs to
represent the ‘demanifestation/denazification’ of western historical sense as a process parallel to that of dismantling of patriarchal identity. 

**Keywords:** historical repetition, holocaust, falsehood, identity, myth, Coetzee, Dusklands

1. **AMERICANIZING THE HOLOCAUST: HISTORICAL REPETITION, LIES, AND SUPREMATIST MYTHS**

> “History may be servitude, history may be freedom” T. S. Eliot

> “On the horizon of any human science there is the project of bringing man’s consciousness back into its real conditions, of restoring it to the contents and forms that brought it into being, and elude us within it…” Michel Foucault

Produced in 2008, as the American war in Iraq entered its sixth year, Clay Claiborne’s documentary Vietnam: The American Holocaust begins with the author’s suggestion that the failure of the Americans to fully understand what happened in the Vietnam War condemned them to repeat it in Iraq. A reminder of various officially produced falsehoods surrounding the Vietnam War, the film reveals the real sequence and political significance of the events leading to the conflict and its escalation (including the evidence never before disclosed that the Tonkin Gulf incident, which served as a justification for LBJ to launch the most massive air raids known in the history of warfare against North Vietnam, had never really happened), the methods employed by the American troops (from nonselective killings, rape, torture, mutilation of corpses required to establish the body count, extra paid in money and career enhancement), to the use phosphorus, napalm, and Agent Orange (only one in the series of color-spectrum nick-named lethal chemicals, known as “the rainbow of death”), and their long-term consequences (with a chilling record of monstrous births resulting from genetic malformation). Among the staggering figures are more than 3,4 million dead Vietnamese (admitted by McNamara, but higher according to the Vietnamese sources), 3000 villages burnt to the ground, 19 million gallons of Agent Orange spread to permanently poison the Vietnamese soil. Yet the film’s chief significance lies in the connection it establishes, for the first time in documentary film, between Vietnam and the U.S. current wars. The question of what makes a holocaust is also raised: suggested in the title itself, a plea is repeated at the end of the film to reconsider the wider social and cultural context in which the Nazi Holocaust, once believed to have been unique and safely consigned to the history of tragic errors, its painful lesson remembered for ever, was allowed to happen again, in a scenario which except for the perpetrator and the victims, followed basically the same underlying principle of total annihilation.
To historicize the Vietnam War, in one or more senses of the term\(^2\), was however a project undertaken much earlier, in the closing years of the conflict, among others by the South African Nobel Prize recipient J.M. Coetzee whose two novellas published under the common title *Dusklands* I propose to examine in the second part of the paper. In *Dusklands*, Coetzee’s first novel, the conflict in Indo-China becomes a starting point of a larger exploration of the deep archetypal matrix underlying the genocides that mark the entire period of modernity. This ‘philosophy of history’, intentionally reminiscent of Hegel, is shown to be closely bound up with the way identity is constituted in western patriarchal culture. In this respect, Coetzee’s novel fulfills the demand facing, according to Jürgen Habermas, not only legal successors to the German Reich, but all responsible individuals implicated in the crimes of history. Habermas formulates it in a rhetorical question: “Is there any way to bear the liability for the context in which such crimes originated, a context with which one’s own existence is historically interwoven, other than through remembrance, practiced in solidarity, of what cannot be made good other than through a reflexive, scrutinizing attitude towards one’s own identity-forming traditions?” (Habermas 2003: 66).

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The crucial significance of re-examining the past in an attempt to understand the present and control the future became particularly clear in the years following the WWII. It is true that the monolithic, imperialist, approach to history had been challenged before, notably by Nietzsche, and then Eliot in England, but in these cases it was done from the romantic standpoint of a superman, a saint, or a poet, whose exceptional personal strength enabled them to resist our history’s death drive\(^3\). If Eliot, like Nietzsche before him,

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2 In their introductory comment to a section from *The Holocaust: Theoretical Writings*, the editors describe the term as referring to three kinds of investigation: the historization of the Holocaust can mean asking where and when historical accounts of the events should begin, considering to which other historical events the Holocaust can be related, and reflecting upon the limits that traditional modes of historical understanding face when addressing the Holocaust. (Levi & Rothberg 2003: 59)

3 In his text about the use and abuse of history (Nietzsche 2010), Nietzsche examines three possible approaches to the past. The first is celebratory: a national (imperialist) history is habitually monumentalized, that is to say, uncritically, unselectively celebrated, with the dire result of transforming its worst injustices and cruelties into patterns of false grandeur to be slavishly followed. The second, antiquarian approach, bent on preserving peacetime cultural values of the past, produces less direct constraint, but provides no impetus to the renewal of life. Only the third, critical approach, whose criterion is the serviceableness of a past to the future growth and unfolding of man’s creative potential, is according to Nietzsche, legitimate. It is enacted by individuals familiar with the examples in the past of heroic rejection of the whole burden of inherited false reverence and possessing sufficient moral confidence in their own will to power to repeat the revolutionary gesture. Nietzsche’s threefold interpretation of historical understanding are comparable to the distinctions Eliot was to make between history as a living tradition, history as a dead form, and to historical sense, which enables critical judgment and choice between the two. Formulated first in his “Tradition and the Individual Talent” in 1920, these notions were
celebrated the individual’s heroic choice of freedom, William Golding’s essay “Fable” explores the more frequent and tragic instances of collective consent to servitude and violence. Published in 1974, but written some years earlier, the essay includes an account of the author’s dismay at the horrors revealed upon the opening of the Nazi death camps. Still appalled by what ‘civilized’ people were capable of doing to their fellow men, Golding developed a (temporary) theory of man as a latently sick animal, the fact, he claims, rational political and philosophical systems serve to effectively conceal. This was a modern version of the pessimistic, medieval doctrine of ‘fallen’ human nature, but Golding apparently had outgrown this view by the time he published the essay, for in its second part his focus is no longer on human nature but on culture as a source of evil. The international mess into which XX century man got himself is not so much due to man’s morally diseased condition as to the historically produced and perpetuated pernicious habits of belief and feeling. History, Golding asserts echoing Eliot, has two meanings, one referring to the “objective yet devoted stare with which humanity observes its past” (Golding 1974: 90), to acquire the knowledge necessary to avoid its errors in the future. The other is subjective history, felt in “the blood and bones” and consisting of prejudices, failure of human sympathy, ignorance of facts, all wrapped in a cloak of national prestige which “the uneducated pull round their shoulders to keep off the wind of self-knowledge”. This other history is “frozen”, it is a dead thing; but “dead though it is, it won’t lie down”; it is handed on, “a monstrous creature, descending to us from our ancestors, producing nothing but disunity and chaos” (94).

These are valuable insights, and relevant in the analysis of the problems Claiborne’s film and Coetzee’s novel address – except for the colossally naïve mistake Golding makes when he attributes the beneficial knowledge of the past to ‘campus’ history, while blaming uneducated parents for transmitting bloodthirsty ignorance and chauvinistic prejudices. Numerous historians and cultural critics have since pointed out that while sheer ignorance of facts must lie behind the tragic irony of so many wars waged “to end all wars”, it is not, as Golding believed, due to the lack of institutional education, but precisely to the ‘campus’ history learnt in elite schools and universities. From G. Vidal, to Craig Wilder, John Osborne to H. Pinter and J. Pilger, non-orthodox historians, cultural analysts and artists have helped unravel “the thick tapestry of lies” spun within universities and media to wrap the

later elaborated within broader, not exclusively literary contexts: initially defined in terms of the individual poet’s ability to reject empty traditional forms and bond himself to the living poetic tradition (a product of unified sensibility as opposed to traditions of poetry stemming from and perpetuating the pervasive cultural disease of dissociation of thought from feeling) – Eliot’s historical sense acquired a wider cultural relevance by the time he wrote the last section of *The Four Quartets*, “Little Gidding”. Inspired by the English refusal to give in under the German air raids through 1940/1 it develops into a philosophical meditation about a choice, facing individuals and nations alike, of which between the two meanings of history – “history may be servitude, history may be freedom” – they are to live by and at what price.
still unconfessed genocidal past of the ‘democratic’ west.⁴ The picture that emerges from their and other recent investigations has two focal points. First it explodes finally the persistent prejudice about the uniqueness of the Nazi Holocaust. It was first challenged by Aimé Césaire in the 1950, but the message of his Discourse on Colonialism – first, its location of the origins of fascism within colonialism, and from, and hence within the very traditions of European humanism critics believed fascism threatened – had been largely forgotten, along with the revolutionary anti-colonial mood of the period, and the myth of the defeat of fascism by the western democratic allies re-imposed by 1980. When the German historians in the mid-eighties opened a debate to prove that Hitler had a historical precedent and pointed to Stalin’s purges as the model for Nazi extermination of the Jews, authors such as David Stannard, Charles Ward, Lilian Friedberg, G. Monbiott, Sven Lindquist and others, supplied fresh, statistical, evidence that the long predating annihilation of the American Indians, Australian Aborigines, and native African tribes in terms of magnitude, cruelty, and conscious intention to exterminate the entire indigenous population were equal or exceeded Hitler’s Final solution.⁵ A good

⁴ In his recent publication Ebony & Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America’s Universities, Craig Stephen Wilder explains the role that prestigious Ivy League colleges played in supporting and normalising slavery and slave trade. He asserts, in an interview, what sounds like a deliberate refutation of Golding: “It’s precisely on campus that the ideas that come to defend slavery in the 19th century get refined. They get their intellectual legitimacy on campus. They get their scientific sort of veneer on campus. And they get their moral credentialing on campus”. It is not only racist theory, Wilder explains, but racist practises reminiscent of Nazi experiments that compromise the elite American universities: “And the ugliest aspects of that is the use of marginalized people in the Americas, in the United States—its enslaved black people, often Native Americans, and sometimes the Irish—for experimentation, the bodies that were accessible as science rose. ... In fact, when the first medical colleges are established in North America in the 1760s—the first is at the College of Philadelphia, which is now the University of Pennsylvania, and the second is at King’s College, which is now Columbia—... what allows them to be established is access to corpses, access to people to experiment upon. And, in fact, it’s precisely the enslaved, the unfree and the marginalized who get forcibly volunteered for that role”. (Wilder 2013)

The same can be said of English universities. In his play Look Back in Anger John Osborne represented the function of the prestigious Oxbridge education with uncanny accuracy: it was to provide the English political cadre whose chief qualifications were a hazy knowledge of facts, the absence of conscience, and self-protective stupidity. For, as his angry young hero says, “The only thing to make things as much like they always have been is to make any alternative too much for your tiny poor brain to grasp” (Osborne 1957: 19-20). As if to confirm the continuing validity of this statement, in August 2010, Florian Bieber, a political scientist at the university of Kent, published his students’ test results which revealed their absurd misconceptions about the history of the Balkans, including the notion that the former Socialist Yugoslavia’s president Tito was an Ottoman vassal – and yet, as one of the apposite comments ran, they were future diplomats, entrusted to make fateful decisions about this and other regions under the control of European powers. (Bieber 2010)

⁵ For the genocide of the American- Indian peoples and its persistent denial see (Stannard 1992), and (Ward 1997). For the genocide of the indigenous peoples of Africa, notably the German extermination of the Herero people in 1904 (see Lindquist 1996). John Pilger’s documentary films and public addresses, such as War on Democracy (2007) and Breaking the Great Australian Silence (2009), speak of the persistently denied crimes of (neo)colonial history in South America and Australia.
example of comparative, historicizing thinking is Lilian Friedberg’s paper “Dare to Compare: Americanizing the Holocaust”, her recent contribution to the debate on the side of those who defy the long-standing view of Final Solution as an unparalleled event in history. Relying on the results of the latest research in the American history of settlement as a model for later genocides, she argues that the extermination of the native Americans by the settlers conforms, in all crucial points, to the definition of genocide applied to Hitler’s treatment of the Jews. Although stretching over centuries and taking place in the pre-industrial virgin forests of the New World, the murder of the Indians possessed the same “merciless, bio-centric intentionality”, with the result of exterminating 98 percent of the indigenous population as opposed to the 60 to 65 percent of the Jews killed in the WWII.

Her comparison also covers the analogous attempts by German and American historians to deny their genocidal pasts, the only difference lying in the failure of the former and the general success of the latter. Friedberg quotes from the reactionary historian James Axtell’s 1992 study Beyond 1492: Encounters in Colonial North America - the following telling passage:

We make a hash of our historical judgments because we continue to feel guilty about the real or imagined sins of our fathers and forefathers…We can stop flogging ourselves with our ‘imperialistic origins and tarring ourselves with the broad brush of ‘genocide’. As a huge nation of law and order and increasingly refined sensibility, we are not guilty of murdering Indian women and babies, of branding slaves on the forehead, or of claiming any real estate in the world we happen to fancy. (Quoted in Friedberg 2003: 469)

Statements like this, Friedberg comments, when proffered in defense of Germany’s genocidal history elicit vehement opposition from the academic and intellectual community, yet with regard to the American past go virtually unchallenged and are integrated into the canon of acceptable discourse. In fact, such statements point to another reason behind the story of ongoing genocidal violence, one that goes beyond mere circumstantial lies and is a version of what Nietzsche called the monumentalizing approach to history. Challenging this underlying myth is the second focus of interest in recent endeavors to historicize the Holocaust. For the factual lies accompanying genocides would never have the power to persuade if it weren’t for an a priori readiness to believe them, implanted by the seductive power of the larger myth. Just as the incoherent concoction of absurd assertions essentializing the Jew into a common enemy (simultaneously as Bolshevist conspirators, capitalists, warmongers, degenerate defilers of German blood, and the international devil) was re-enforced with a promissory myth of the millennial rule of the superior Arian race, so too the representations of the Indians and Negroes (religious or quasi-scientific) as blood-thirsty devils or sexually depraved beasts, used to justify massacres and slavery, tuned in with the myth of America’s leadership as divine election. If the analogy between the Nazi Germany and the post WWII USA is incomplete, Germans having admitted to the facts behind their ideological lies, it is because they were defeated and forced to renounce
(officially and temporarily at least) the Nazi dream of a millennial global rule, while the U.S., as their post WW II history demonstrates, have no intention of giving up on their Manifest Destiny or the colonial practice it validates. Gore Vidal summed the situation up in a text “The greater the lie: Pearl Harbor, Hiroshima, and the origins of Cold War - three myths that America is ruled by”, whose very title alludes to a continuity from Goebbels’s the U.S. practice of political deception: after his exposure of the governmental lies on which the US post WWII history is founded, he concludes laconically – “Good morning Vietnam”. (Vidal 2000)

More recently John Pilger pointed to this unrepentant mythologizing of the American history as a clue to the Vietnam War and the US subsequent international politics. His commentary, originally published in the 02/05/17 issue of The New Statement and reproduced on the Information Clearing House under the title “John Pilger finds our children learning lies”, begins with a question, “How does thought control work in societies that call themselves free?” He draws attention to the seeming paradox that their chief disseminators are teachers, broadcasters and authors of history guides, that is to say, privileged communicators with unlimited access to the facts. (He refers specifically to the director of BBC News, who described the most cynical, unobserved, unverified, illegitimate elections, held in Iraq under the most brutal occupation, as “democratic, fair and free”) This is possible, Pilger points out, thanks to the pre-established world-view, or “the unerring assumption” that ‘we’ in the dominant west have moral standards superior to theirs”. It is this (monumentalizing) historical prejudice that gave the propaganda lies about the Vietnam War their insidious plausibility, seducing not only the deceived but the deceivers too: so that “…the longest war of the twentieth century waged against both communist and non-communist, north and south Vietnam”, and causing the death of at least five millions Vietnamese, came to be seen as a conflict of ‘good’ Vietnamese against ‘bad’ Vietnamese, in which Americans were involved in order to bring “democracy to the freedom-loving people of South Vietnam who were facing a ‘communist threat’”.

As an example, Pilger refers to a widely used revision guide for GCSE course in modern world history, Vietnam and cold war. The falsehoods 14-to 16-year olds are asked to learn in the American schools, Pilger describes as shocking: starting with the false assertion that after the withdrawal of the French colonizers, Vietnam was partitioned into the communist north and democratic south, the authors go on to either falsify or omit the facts that would shed light on the true nature of the U.S. intervention. The fact is that the division of Vietnam, at the Geneva Conference, was not meant to be temporary and that its purpose was to prevent the democratic victory of the communist leader Ho Chi Minh, who had the support of the vast majority both in the north and the south – is conveniently elided. This was the reason

6 “The question for the future concerning the genocidal treatment of native Americans is not ‘Can it happen again?’ Rather it is ‘Can it be stopped?’”, writes David Stannard a propos 40 000 disappeared in Guatemala, and another 100 000 openly murdered in the 15 years preceding the publication of his book. (Stannard 1992: xiii)
why the free national elections, promised to be held on 26 July 1956, were
hindered by the US, and in the meantime a fake pro-American government
of the brutal expatriate mandarin, Ngo Dihn Diem, imported from New
Jersey, was put in place in South Vietnam, the CIA being entrusted with
sustaining the illusion of its ‘democratic’ nature. Thereupon phony elections
were arranged, hailed as ‘free and fair’ by the west, with the desired results
fabricated by the American officials, despite, as the report said, the ‘Vietcong
terror’. That so called ‘terrorists’ were also South Vietnamese, whose resistance
to the American invasion was widely popular, is conveniently omitted. The
guide is silent about these crucial facts, just as it fails to mention the greatest
tonnage of bombs in the history of warfare subsequently dropped on Vietnam,
or the nature of the chemicals used, that combined to ruin the once beautiful
landscape, poison the soil and dramatically change the genetic order, with
lasting human consequences so appallingly documented in Claiborne’s film.
Its silences, parallel to the omissions in the official syllabuses on cold war from
Oxford and Cambridge, reflect, as Pilger points out again, the general tone of
the history recorded from the viewpoint of morally superior ‘us’ as opposed to
the unworthy ‘them’. The resulting amnesia had long swallowed the truth of
its own origins, so that, Pilger concludes, it is now

as if the British empire did not happen, there is nothing about the atrocious wars
that were models for the successor power, America, in Indonesia, Vietnam, Chile,
El Salvador, Nicaragua, to name but a few along modern history’s imperial trail
of blood of which Iraq is the latest. And now Iran?...How many more innocent
people have to die before those who filter the past and the present wake up to
their moral responsibility to protect our memory and the lives of human beings?
(Pilger 2002)

The answer is suggested in the final passages of Lilian Freibug’s “Dare to
Compare”, where she rounds off her analogy between the Nazi and American
Holocaust. Like Pilger, and like Habermas too, she calls for a “fundamental
alteration in the consciousness of this country”. Yet instead of ‘denazification’
- the term proposed by the native American scholar C. Ward - she prefers ‘de-
manifestation’ as a “more apt designation for the paradigmatic shift requisite
for decentering the hegemonistic reign of the master narratives of Manifest
Destiny...” This would allow us, she goes on to explain, “to place the postulates
of Manifest destiny in a proper chronological order”: “denazification” clearly
connotes “a thing in the past”, de-manifestation implies a present, “manifest”
reality, “a trail of rampant plundering, pillage and mass murder” predating
“the subsequent emergence of theories of Lebensraumpolitik” but also
outliving them (Friedberg 2003: 472).

As Friedberg and Pilger indicate themselves, such a radical “alteration of
consciousness” would involve more than acknowledging the facts. Certainly,
shared knowledge about ‘other’ histories, hitherto hidden or marginalized, is
a huge step towards the de-centering of the American (or any other western)
master-narrative, and may lead to the healing of some wounds, particularly those suffered by the oppressed, as Aurora Levins Morales argues in “Historian as Curandera” (Morales 1998). To cure the oppressor’s soul though would require a kind of re-mythologizing that takes place on a deepest psychic level, the zone of our original core humanness which, buried under the layers of culturally acquired pseudo-identities, has become impenetrable to truth, with which, as sociologists and psychologists warn us, an increasing number of people, and not only those “who filter the past”, are out of touch. Indifference to the plight of another seems to be the contemporary form of the pathological relationship to the Other that constitutes the western patriarchal identity: whether distrust and fear, scorn or murderous hatred, these all take a tragic swerve away from the reciprocal ‘I/ Thou’ relationship that in original societies shaped human identity because empathy and solidarity were experienced as an embedded, biologically scripted, strategy of survival. It is the self-centered I/IT relationship, involving in modern bureaucratic and consumer societies the reification rather than demonization of the other, that has recently undermined the traditional belief about the liberating power of truth. “We always seem to believe that all you have to do is tell the truth”, the Canadian philosopher Henry Giroux observes in an interview with Bill Moyers, “but I’m sorry, it doesn’t work that way”. The reason it can no longer be taken for granted, he explains referring to his book Zombi Politics and Culture in the Age of Casino Capitalism, goes beyond the strategies of “organized forgetting of the pasts other than one’s own national history”, and involves what he calls “disimagination” – the more deadly practice of eliminating any but instrumental or pragmatist kind of rationality - which, administered systematically in American schools, has produced “a nation of zombies” (Giroux 2013).

7 The relationship Martin Buber’s well-known phrase designates is also central to the philosophy of Emanuel Levinas. His critique, according to the editors of Holocaust: Theoretical Readings, of the European entire philosophical tradition is relevant to the theme of their book, even where it makes no direct reference to holocaust. As an alternative to the philosophy centering on questions of being and knowledge, essentially egocentric and complicit with violence against the ‘other’, Levinas developed an alternative philosophy of his own, one that begins with the ethical relation, “with the subject’s necessary response to and responsibility for the other, a relation predicated not on knowledge and active mastery but ignorance and open passivity” (Levi & Rothberg 2003: 230). As I have suggested, Levinas is by no means alone in his aim to reverse the western philosophical tradition’s privileging of ‘the same’ against the ‘other’, numerous such reversals having been proposed by poets and playwrights since the Greek tragedians, albeit in a language of their own – non-conceptual, metaphorically binding together what is different and other, and thus infinitely better suited to the purpose. What I want to add here, however, is that the anthropologists, such as Riane Eisler, who provided ample evidence that these alternative modes of relating to the other imagined by poets and philosophers such as Levinas, were once a social reality, have now been joined by neuroscientists, whose latest investigations into the way our brain functions, and particularly the discovery of mirror-neurons and their probable role in the evolution of altruism, seem to confirm that humans are biologically conditioned for empathy, that, contrary to the “selfish gene” theory, we are “hard-wired to care and connect”. See Eisler 1987 and Korten 2008. For discussion on mirror neurons and empathy see Rizzolatti & Craighero, 2005.
2. **THE DISEASE OF THE MASTER’S SOUL: COETZEE'S DUSKLANDS**

Confronting such forms of radical dissociation, considered normal or even desirable in patriarchal culture, has always been its art’s ultimate *raison d’être*. D.M. Coetzee calls the condition the sickness of the master’s soul and examines the symptoms and causes as they appear in the protagonists of the two stories that comprise his first novel *Dusklands*. Positioned at two crucial points in recent history, the Vietnam War and an earlier episode from the Boer settlement in South Africa, their paranoid monologues offer a powerful psychoanalytic x-ray of the pathology inherent in western “identity-forming traditions”, which, from the myth of Zeus-born patroness of *techne*, Athene, through the Judeo-Christian theology to the enlightenment trust in scientific power/knowledge, have been underlined by a single purpose of subjugating or annihilating the other: the mother by the father’s law, ‘barbarian’ peoples by the civilized Europeans, but also the ‘savage’ within by the taming force of reason. Rather than analyze subtle strategies Coetzee employs to weave together his various strands of meaning, I will focus on the points in the novel where this underlying myth seems to bear most obvious resemblance to Hegel’s philosophy. For as the phrase “the sickness of the master’s soul”, as well as the mottos introducing the two stories immediately signal, Hegel’s recurring master/slave paradigm and his *Philosophy of History* are a constantly implied reference in the novel.

The quotation used as a motto for the first story, The Vietnam Project, is the military and political expert Hermann Khan’s comment justifying the “pragmatic rationality” of the American pilots bombing Vietnam:

> Obviously it is difficult not to sympathize with those European and American audiences who, when shown films of fighter-bomber pilots visibly exhilarated by successful napalm bombing runs on Viet-Cong targets, react with horror and disgust. Yet, it is unreasonable to expect the U.S. Government to obtain pilots who are so appalled by the damage they may be doing that they cannot carry out their missions or become excessively depressed or guilt-ridden. (Coetzee 1983)

The identical symptomatology of rational enlightenment and moral impenetrability affects the story’s fictional hero, the American mythographer Eugene, engaged on the military project for a quick victory in the Vietnam “war to end all wars” as well as his predecessor and spiritual double from the second story, the 18th century Boer explorer and slave-owner Jacobus. Neither acquires the healing self-knowledge, suggesting on the contrary that the master’s megalomania is incurable. The unsuspected and often grotesque incongruity their delirious monologues reveal - a sense of unreality in which the identity founded on infinite power over the other ultimately dissolves – is left to the readers who care for more than original narrative strategies and resonant language, to ponder and relate to the versions of history, myth and identity they have accepted as their own.8

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8 Both stories offer a historical and anthropological perspective superior to most official views on the role the US and NATO played in the conflict that disintegrated former Yugoslavia –
The motto to the second novella – “What is important is the philosophy of history” – fuses this kind of consciousness with the master narrative of western expansion. In an analogy with Hegel’s philosophy of history as the self-realization of the spirit, Coetzee’s protagonists both feel to be serving a purpose of which the eradication of the Bushmen, or the devastation of Vietnam, are only local manifestations – that they are heroes in a story, as the intellectual Eugene puts it, of “life itself, life in obedience to which even the simplest organism represses its entropic yearning for the mud and follows the road of evolutionary duty to the glory of consciousness” (Coetzee 1974: 27-8). They have in common a hypertrophied conscious mind, and the worship of the Goddess of techne, set off by the contempt, hatred and fear of all ‘lower’ forms of life – whether the dark-skinned races of the world, the female, or their own bodies. Yet to successfully subdue or eradicate those ‘others,’ which they feel to be their duty to the ‘master-myth of history’, they also need to suppress the enemy within, the natural wellspring of moral imagination that has become the most threatening ‘other’, and that Eugene, the child of enlightenment, appropriately calls “the dark self”. As opposed to the bright self, which strives towards obedience and order, and longs to kneel before a superior paternal authority, the dark self, nourished by the atavistic maternal emotion, strives towards turmoil and humiliation: it craves “to kneel before the slave, to wash the leper’s sores. It is moved by courage”; and it “sickens the bright self with doubts and qualms”. It is only after the eradication of the dark self’s ‘archaic’ virtues of courage, compassion and conscience that the Manifest destiny Eugene feels cracking in his bones will be fulfilled, the rebellious Vietnamese bombed into obedience, and a new perfect world order permanently established. Successfully suppressed in the robust man of action Jacobus, who has no qualms about massacring a tribe of Hottentots as part of fulfilling the white man’s mission, these ‘dark’ vestiges of humanity resurface in Eugene to poison him with the sense of guilt he shares temporarily with millions of TV audiences as they watch an unnamed village after village disappear in napalm flames. Eugene soon reassures himself they are the necessary purgatorial fires before the coming of the future paradise. Yet having pressed back his atavistic guilt, Eugene breaks down mentally and ends in an asylum. His affliction never turns into a healing, Shakespearean madness though: for the symbolic message of his dreams, in which he beckons to the dark shadows of Vietnamese as they are swallowed by flames, reaching towards them with a gesture of an orphan seeking readmission to the home he was exiled from, is never allowed to break through his paranoid delusion of racial grandeur. What his breakdown signifies remains for the reader’s contemplation: it certainly suggests that the asymmetry in the white patriarchal identity paradigm makes the master as vulnerable as the mastered and that the history that might get him out of the trap belongs to the other. This is also comparable to what Hegel observed in an unexpected turn in his parable about the master and the slave.

but very few intellectuals or academics in Serbia have, to my knowledge, chosen to attend to this aspect of the novel.
Hegel's argument, most completely formulated in the section 'Independence and Dependence of Self-Consciousness: Lordship and Bondage' of *The Phenomenology of Mind* (See Hegel: 1807), begins with an assertion that the constitution of the self as an autonomous and free being can only happen in relation to the other. At this initial point, and quite in the orthodox vein, Hegel defines selfhood as equivalent with the status of the master - of the man, that is, who had entered the struggle for recognition, got out of it victorious, and is recognized by the defeated and enslaved opponent as free and autonomous. Here comes the surprising turn in the argument: for what the winner realizes after the struggle is won, is that he is not the man he had wanted to be when he entered it – a man recognized by another man. For the recognition, in order to be valid, must come from the other who is also recognized as autonomous and free. Without this reciprocity, this mutual acknowledgement of each other's human reality and dignity, all identity is illusory: as long as it depends on the testimony of the other that he has overpowered, and precisely in proportion to the degree of the submission inflicted, the western selfhood remains unreal, a ghost, a mirage in a desert the exercise of his power has produced.

There is another, crucial, point in Coetzee's second story, where the protagonist-narrator undergoes a crisis of identity also analyzable in terms of Hegel's parable. It occurs at the culminating point of the narrative, as Jacobus and his men swoop down on a village of the wild Namaqua, and massacre the entire tribe, along with the several of his own defected slaves, in revenge for what Jacobus, the archetypal Judeo-Christian father, calls the unpardonable "crimes against spirit" – irreverence and disobedience. However, the act of retribution – long savored in advance as a redress of proper balance whereby the white master, humiliated, expropriated and exiled, roaming the desert as a “pallid symbol”, “an insubstantial phantom”, was to reclaim his reality – suddenly seems inadequate to its metaphysical purpose. For, as Jacobus realizes, whatever kind of torture he may choose to inflict upon them, the scared, imploring victims strike him as unworthy guarantee of his existence:

But this abject treacherous rabble were telling me that here and everywhere else on this continent there would be no resistance to my power and no limit to its projection. My despair was a despair at the undifferentiated plenum, which is after all nothing else but the void dressed up as being. ...The only sound was the cold whistling of images through my brain. All were inadequate. There was nothing that could be impressed on these bodies, nothing that could be torn from them or forced through their orifices, that would be commensurate with the desolate infinity of my power over them...I was undergoing nothing less than the failure of imagination before the void. I was sick at heart. (Coetzee 1974: 102)

Unlike Eugene who ends up clinically mad, Jacobus overcomes the moment of this existential self-doubt, finding the illusory cure in what may be understood as a horrible travesty of Hegel's master/slave dialectics: among the pitiful crowd of his former slaves, he comes across a Hottentot who demonstrates human dignity and freedom by refusing to beg for mercy and is hence worthy of his respect. In that sense, he qualifies for the kind of
the identity-guaranteeing other Jacobus seeks. And yet, in a grotesque, but historically accurate, parody of Hegel’s original meaning, the “admiration” Jacobus feels for the Hottentot does not preclude the latter’s murder, it only makes it a more satisfying experience – albeit somewhat marred by the clumsiness of the execution. The choice of words leaves no doubt that beyond its uncanny psychological power, the whole scene has an additional purpose of ironic inter-textual allusion. Regarding his victim, stabbed in the throat after the bullet in his chest failed to produce the swift clean effect Jacobus hoped for, he remembers the disgust and the pity he felt in the past, when in his favorite boy’s pastime, instead of killing a bird outright, he only managed to wound it and had to snap its neck once again. He “cuddled the tiny creature expiring in his hands, venting upon it tears of pity for all the tiny helpless, suffering things, until it passed away”. The racist evolutionary trope in the subtext becomes then quite explicit:

Such was the emotion re-awoken in me by him whose passage from this world I have so unkindly botched but who was on his way on his way. He opened his lips and bubbled uncomfortably through the blood flowing inward to his lungs and outward in a red sheet over his chest and on to the ground. So prodigal, I thought, I who had been more miserly of blood than any other of my fluids. I knelt over him and stared into his eyes. He stared back confidently. He knew enough to know I was no longer a threat, that no one could threaten him any more. I did not want to lose his respect. I cuddled his head and shoulders and raised him a little. My arms were lapped in blood. His eyes were losing focus. He was dying fast. ‘Courage’, I said. ‘We admire you.’ (Coetzee 1974: 105)

This persistent denial of the other by Coetzee’s heroes is ultimately not a departure from Hegel, who changed his views with time. What Jacobus calls the disease of the master’s soul, Hegel referred to as the ‘tragedy of the master’s situation,’ and declared that the future belonged to the slave. Yet, as a recent critic phrased it, “his moment of lucidity passes” and Hegel’s subsequent lectures reflected increasingly his time’s racial prejudices about non-European, particularly African societies (Bak-Mors 2003: 373-4). Eventually his Philosophy of History, consisting of lectures he delivered through the period

9 Susan Buck-Morrs attributes Hegel’s moment of lucidity to the historical upheaval caused by the Haitian revolution, whose leaders, armed slaves, forced the French Republic to acknowledge the abolition of slavery in Saint Domingue in 1794 and in other French colonies. The admiration for the heroic risks undertaken by the black Haitians must have qualified them, in Hegel’s eyes, for the status of free men, for his original, historically inaccurate and thoroughly racist, assumption was that slaves are themselves responsible for their condition, having failed to risk their lives in a struggle for freedom. For Buck-Morrs, Hegel’s relapse into his original racism is less significant than the revolutionary content of his master/slave parable, and particularly its hitherto unsuspected connection to the historical reality of the Haitian revolution. For the purpose of the parallel I want to establish between Hegel’s changing views of history and identity and the way they are offered for understanding and judgment through Coetzee’s fictional characters, the eminent European philosopher’s failure to sustain his revolutionary insight is as significant as the fact that he for a moment saw the truth.
of 1822 to 1830, settles into a monumental justification for the two subsequent centuries of self-complaisant, murderous Euro-centrism.\(^{10}\)

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Writing on the eve of the Vietnam War, Arthur Miller identified the drive to “make life real by conquering denial” as the secret thrust of all great art (Miller 1987: 519) The power of great ironic literature, resolving, as it does, its conflicts in defeat or failure, lies in its unique capacity to inspire the reader for the completion of this task. Coetzee’s protagonists never conquer their denial, remaining locked in their solipsistic illusory existence. Yet the novel’s ironic exposures of the self-annihilating contradictions of the master’s omnipotence allow the reader to confront an impasse, a nothingness at the heart of western identity, in such a way as to understand its historical origin, and instead of acquiescence, or cynicism, imagine a path leading back to being.

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\(^{10}\) In fact, the section on the “African Character” from his Philosophy of History, published in 1830/31, more than twenty years after the Phenomenology of Spirit, contains views about the African – as lacking a sense of subjectivity, having no inkling of the existence of an Other, or Higher Power, and hence being incapable of having a history, or destiny; as being quite deprived of reverence, morality or justice and incapable of feeling; and there being “nothing harmonious with humanity to be found in this type of character” (Hegel 2006: 208-9) – that are reproduced almost verbatim in Jacobus’ opening meditation on the wild Hottentots.


Vidal 2000: G. Vidal, The greater the lie: Pearl Harbor, Hiroshima, and the origins of Cold War - Three myths that America is ruled by, TLS, November 10, 16-17.


Lena S. Petrović

JOŠ JEDNOM O VIJETNAMU: ISTORIJA, HOLOKAUST, IDENTITET U SAVREMEНОJ KULTUROLOШКОЈ DEBATI I ROMANU ZEMLJE SUMRaka

Rezime


Ključне rečи: istorija, holokaust, identitet, mit, Kuci, Zemlje sumraka

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REALISM IN THE CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN SHORT STORY

Starting from the premise that the short story observes the laws of narrative and the tenets of realism on its own terms, the paper will explore the realism in the work of two prominent American short story writers: Ernest Hemingway and Ann Beattie. Although considered to lack the “breadth”, scope and universality of the novel and also accused of being fragmentary and subjective, short story can use its brevity to claim its nearer kinship to poetry and yet not violate its realistic frame. Declaring the need for compression, the form combines the increased rigor in detail selection and word choice with an emphasis on suggestive language, in order to convey emotion and render judgment with seeming objectivity within the confines of its generically limited space.

Keywords: realism, representation, American short story, Hemingway, Beattie

Realism shows a pragmatic and empirical understanding of life and human behaviour, recognising both human individuality and conscious experience, encouraging the writers to explore unique individual lives and experiences lived in realistic, intersubjective environments. Realism in literature starts as a representation of the consciousness peculiar to an emerging modern world, with a concern for verisimilitude and fidelity to experience. What the traditional realistic novel expands in narrative is that profound epistemological and ontological revolution announced by philosophers such as John Locke, Descartes or Spinoza, who see that reality is grounded in sense perception and quotidian experience (Richetti 1999: 3).

Ever since the rise of realism, the motto “show, don’t tell” has served as a cardinal rule for fiction writers. Such a mimetic emphasis implicitly assumed the existence of a tangible external reality that could be represented, and the expectation that a writer should have no special competence in deciding the moral issues. This transformation in fiction partly accounts for the emergence of the modern short story. As it declared the need for compression, it combined the increased rigor in detail selection and word choice with an emphasis on suggestive language, in order to convey emotion and render judgment with seeming objectivity within the confines of its generically limited space.

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2 This paper was written as part of the project number 178002 (Languages and Cultures in Time and Space (Jezici i kulture u vremenu i prostoru)), financially supported by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Serbia.
The subject matter the short story covered also related to the reality in itself:

The short story can be anything the author decides it shall be; it can be anything from the death of a horse to a young girl’s first love affair, from the static sketch without plot to the swiftly moving machine of bold action and climax, from the prose poem, painted rather than written, to the piece of straight reportage in which style, colour, and elaboration have no place, from the piece which catches like a cobweb the light subtle iridescence of emotions that can never be really captured to the solid tale in which all emotion, all action, all reaction is measured, fixed, putted, glazed and finished, like a well-built house, with three coats of shining and enduring paint. In the infinite flexibility, indeed, lies the reason why the short story has never been adequately defined. (Bates 1941: 73-74)

Therefore, the short story can represent emotion, action or reaction, and its flexibility is not infinite in the sense that it could serve as an excursion into the unreal. Although considered to lack the “breadth”, scope and universality of the novel and also accused of being fragmentary and subjective, the short story can use its brevity to claim its nearer kinship to poetry and yet not violate its realistic frame. Readers obviously demand subtlety from fiction, but suggestiveness in the modern short story is essential to the form, for the very shortness of the story demands the kind of compression of discourse that lies somewhere between the language of poetry and that of novels. According to Elizabeth Bowen, the short story must be more concentrated, can be more visionary and is not weighed down by fact, explanation or analysis (Lohafer 1983: 12-13). The short story form observes the laws of the narrative on its own terms, never compelled to serve the purpose of detailed analysis or development of character. As Elizabeth Bowen tells us, “the short story allows for what is crazy about humanity: obstinacies, inordinate heroisms, immortal longings” (Ibid).

The difficulty, as Flannery O’Connor sees it, is that in a good short story all that is “essential to the main experience” (O’Connor 1984: 93) must be present. The short story writer, she concludes, has to achieve effects by “showing, not by saying, and by showing the concrete - so that his problem is how to make the concrete work double time for him” (O’Connor 1984: 98). This is done through effective selection of details and the use of suggestive language, both of which lead to compression without loss of meaning. Henry James warned of the immense risks that arise from the difficulty of compression, “for nothing is less intelligible than bad foreshortening, which, if it fails to mean everything intended, means less than nothing” (James 1956: 190).

Suggestiveness, though not peculiar to the short story, is nevertheless peculiarly important. According to Flannery O’Connor, the writer must “realize that he can’t create compassion with compassion, or emotion with emotion, or thought with thought” (O’Connor 1984: 92). The reader’s senses cannot be engaged by a language that is abstract, too formal and impassionate. O’Connor observes that “the first and most obvious characteristic of fiction is that it deals with reality through what can be seen, heard, smelt, tasted, and touched” (O’Connor 1984: 91).
Although vivid detail is important to all fiction, it is essential to the short story because the story has less space in which to construct its fictional world. In constructing the plot and action of a story, the writer must first decide which are the necessary details to provide “specification” and help establish a story’s fictional world, since superfluous detail blurs the story’s plot and action. Flannery O’Connor warns against “the simple, mechanical piling-up of detail”, advocating that details have to be controlled by some overall purpose: “Art is selective. What is there is essential and creates movement.” (O’Connor 1984: 93). Therefore, detail for its own sake, no matter how original, vivid and realistic, serves no purpose if it does not serve the story in its entirety. The details selected by the writer must be the ones that will engage the reader’s imagination just as they once engaged the writer’s mind; they are the signifiers through which the writer expresses and tries to evoke emotion.

It seems that we have been accustomed to a particular image of Ernest Hemingway as a short story writer whose terse, hardboiled style imposes strict rules of reticence and emphasizes reliance on indeterminacy. As a rule, he is seen as the ardent follower of Russian storytellers Chekhov and Turgenev, especially the latter, whose stories and sketches he much admired, along with Sherwood Anderson. Hemingway is rarely seen as a disciplined stylist whose short stories share many characteristics of Imagist poetry, of which he became aware in the 1920s, through his association with modernists like Ezra Pound and Gertrude Stein. Influenced by T. S. Eliot’s theory of the objective correlative and Ezra Pound’s ideas about Imagism, sensing the power in the direct treatment of things, Hemingway created a language, both symbolic and journalistic, in which external reality resonates with connotative meaning. His famous prose style consists of plain but powerful words and simple but artfully structured syntax, and it aims at the direct presentation of the object and the use of language which was carefully stripped of any ornaments that could be misleading. The stories “Cat in the Rain” and “Hills Like White Elephants”, to name but a few notable examples, are replete with symbolic language, functioning referentially to describe a plausible event or real object with symbolic implications. Hemingway chooses to achieve small-scale, concentrated effects rather than construct majestic sentences. However, the minimalist language is conjoined with the hero whose undaunted masculinity is larger than life, but who is more a bitter parody of manhood as conceived by traditional images of masculinity than a paragon of socially constructed masculine authority. This becomes more evident when we remember that his short stories actually deal with a world impossible to handle and control, with the fragmentary nature of experience and chaotic structure of modern life, and consequently with the hero who is frail, alienated and confused, following the victories and defeats of a narrow scope and focusing on the present moment in order to keep his sanity.

The prevailing mood of disenchantment, confusion and bitterness seems to go along perfectly with the artistic form of the short story, which requires the focus on the turning point in the character’s life and chooses to dwell on a particular moment of crisis, climax or change. The disappointment of
the hero is carefully camouflaged by telegraphic language, filled with silence and reticence. Hemingway’s minimalism interrogates the limits of art by rejecting those customary conventions which turn realism into a system of literary artifice. On the other hand, the short story demonstrates a need for compression and an increased rigor in detail selection and word choice, in order to convey emotion and render judgment with seeming objectivity within the confines of its generically limited space.

Hemingway began his writing career as a newspaper reporter on The Kansas City Star, and the precepts he learned on that paper he described as the best rules he ever learned for the business of writing (Lohafer 1983: 75). Some of the 110 rules in the paper’s style-sheet required short sentences and short paragraphs, whereas the others demanded elimination of superfluous words, calling for brevity, precision, accuracy and clarity. The same way he transformed journalist style into a literary one, Hemingway transforms fact into fiction: in his later career there were more examples of how he ended up writing a short story instead of a news dispatch. While covering the Spanish Civil War for the North American Newspaper Alliance (NANA), Hemingway used his field notes to write dispatches on the one hand and short stories on the other, the most notable example being the story “Old Man at the Bridge”.

The very title of Hemingway’s first book of stories In Our Time suggests the connection between fiction and current events, but at the same time it draws the line between what is reported and what is invented. The volume consists of a series of stories about the childhood and youth of Nick Adams, interspersed with very short vignettes or sketches in fifteen numbered “chapters”, mainly dealing with the First World War scenes and bullfights, as well as some other aspects of violence in modern life that called for vivid and expressive language. Hemingway relied on formal devices such as juxtaposition instead of verbosity, as the strategy of juxtaposing stories and sketches helped set a private, individual experience depicted in the stories against glimpses of the largely anonymous life of the public world perceived in the vignettes. What became known as the Hemingway code – honourable behaviour in situations of physical or other danger, fair play, courage and dignity in defeat – was exemplified above all in his short stories, the brevity and intensity of which provided a formal analogy to the brief but intense periods of time in battle or sport. The stories in In Our Time present Nick in various temptations of his childhood, adolescence and young manhood, and constitute a kind of fragmentary Bildungsroman, a novel of growing up amid strange occurrences and inconceivable phenomena that are sometimes almost impossible to convey. While Hemingway’s debt to Imagism can be perceived in clear, referential language, his debt to journalism is understood when we witness the remarkable force of evoking powerful images rather than describing them. Hemingway did not seem to have any proper predecessors who might teach him minimalism. There are clear parallels here with Anderson’s Winesburg, Ohio, but the protagonist of the book in his role of a writer is as much an observer with a talent to describe common things in a poetical manner rather than agent. Anderson’s George Willard is the central intelligence that does not allow the individual stories to disperse, but rather
gathers them in a unique testimony of human loneliness. Nick Adams is more a reflector than an omniscient narrator, and it is only towards the end of the book, in passing, that Nick Adams is referred to as a writer. While we know of George Willard’s life only what the stories of other characters allow us to see, Hemingway’s focus is more exclusively on Nick as a representative young American from the country, his conflicts with his parents, his early love affairs, his encounters with the world of experience, failure, death and war, than on his juvenile attempts at writing literature.

The prevailing sense of this collection of stories’ underpinning atmosphere of contemplation and futility serves the purpose of asking identical questions the reader of James Joyce’s *Dubliners* and Sherwood Anderson’s *Winesburg, Ohio* may ask. Hemingway’s chronological series of stories about an American boy growing up against a landscape of idyllic Michigan is not easy to classify, as it alternates fully developed stories with vignettes that provide only brief and shocking glimpses into scenes of chaos, death, disorder and pain. The structure of *In Our Time* encompasses traditional realistic stories, preceded by brief sketches reporting abrupt and violent events such as police shootings and incidents of the war, the main cohesive element between the two distinctive sets of fictional texts being the character of Nick Adams.

Unlike Hemingway, who was seemingly disinterested in the class issues, Ann Beattie focuses upon the New York white upper middle class and the rich people from the East Coast who are immature and insecure regardless of their age. Her characters are marked with failure to reconcile the idealism of their youth with their present lifestyles, which are marked by disappointments and the ensuing listlessness.

Beattie’s characters seek refuge from emotional misfortunes in connecting to privileged objects or their pets. All of them are ready to choose the lesser evil, turning their lives into an endless sequence of neurotic hesitation to comply with their own wishes and the hidden reaching out to the world. Ann Beattie is a master at portraying the sorts of relationships—the results of divorce, sexual liberation, or youthful aimlessness—that were becoming the norm for a generation that had come of age in the sixties and seventies. Over the years Beattie’s style has shifted to encompass a greater range of narrative voices and descriptive flourishes, but her wry voice, intimate narration, and tart characterization remain instantly recognizable.

Beattie’s prose consists of what Virginia Wolf would call a myriad of impressions, of countless unnoticed quotidian earth tremors that change a person’s character slowly and steadily, almost unnoticeably. Beattie’s characters perceive and conceive all those microchanges in themselves and their surroundings, risking to be misunderstood because they see what others are blind for. Therefore “minimalism” has nothing to do with empty hearts, dull-witted perception and the strategies emotionally crippled people use to distort reality and escape responsibility. Beattie’s writing is often accused of being bland, shallow and unengaging, her stories are considered plotless, and themes and situations all too repetitive because the opponents to her style neglect the fact that her manner of writing only mimics the impassivity of
her characters, which have passed from their youthful anomie in the 1970’s to the struggling with the middle age in the first decade of the 21th century. In recent years, Beattie has made a great effort to make the transition from her early, widely imitated and parodied style of elliptical narratives free of authorial comment but filled with contemporary details and bright fragments of dialogue, to a more introspective and carefully plotted approach. With her collection of stories *Follies* she invents a newly flexible voice that accommodates both her patented gift for social observation and her more recent interest in her characters’ inner lives, a voice that allows her to move fluently back and forth in time, back and forth from memory to rumination.

The theme of random and precarious nature of life has become more prominent in Beattie’s recent stories, which seem to depart from minimalism, at least by offering a broader vision of life and death. In them, even the problems of a less spectacular kind can result in devastating consequences. The theme of random, precarious and even brutal nature of life has become more prominent in both the stories and the novels, accidents and unexplained events are present more than before, along with the author’s unwillingness to explain or connect them. The best example of the newly acquired plot randomness is offered in “Flechette Follies” and its row of aimless searches and misunderstandings that will never be settled, along with half-finished portraits of two women and one man, strangely connected, lonely and ignorant about their real feelings.

The novella starts off with a car accident that brings together a middle-aged CIA operative and a nurse in an assisted-living facility; she hires him to find her estranged son, which is only the beginning of bizarre events which include the agent’s death that will remain unknown to his girlfriend and acquaintances. George Wissone, a secret mission man with a number of aliases, is a special agent who was recruited right out of a summer camp and offered perks of a confidential job such as free college and money in an offshore bank account, together with “a letter of thanks from the president of the United States that consisted mostly of an uppercase warning not to frame it and hang it in public view” (Beattie, 2006: 26).

George travels to London to look for Nancy’s son Nicky. There he meets with a friend Max, who introduces him to Cary, a strange young woman who turns out to be the young man’s roommate. Knowing Nicky’s whereabouts, George goes to the Chinese restaurant he works in to find him, only to be hit by a car in front of the restaurant. George’s death remains secret for his girlfriend Paula and his best friend Rich O’Malley, who try to arrange a date with Nancy, hoping that she might help them about George’s whereabouts. There are several misconceptions about Nancy: Paula thinks she must be a woman George is hooked up with, whereas Rich suspects some foul play because George would never disappear without leaving a note. The bulk of the novella is about the unsuccessful investigations and misconceptions: Nancy fears her son might be dead, but she never considers the option that he decided to burn all the bridges; Paula guesses that George might have retired to Mustique, or left her for another woman, but it never occurs to her that he might be dead. Thus the apparent richness of the plot accentuates the frailty and ignorance.
of characters whose insight and understanding seem to be reduced to a minimum. Instead of questioning her wishes and instincts, Paula trusts her therapist, and her sudden decision to marry the radiologist Kenny is followed by an equally unexpected decision to break up the engagement after meeting his mistrustful daughter. Instead of trying to mend her relationship with her son, a drug addict with serious problems with anger management, Nancy makes a series of clumsy attempts to find him through private investigators. Paula and Nancy are emotionally non-responsive, yet delicate women whose unhappy family histories prevent them from opening up and embracing life to the fullest: Paula’s relationship to her father was filled with silence and rejection, whereas Nancy never succeeded in establishing a healthy marriage, expressing her anger by crushing flowers instead of revealing her wishes and aspirations to her husband.

The story “Tending Something” is about a twentysomething Newyorker Mandy, who is throwing a surprise party for her friend Kathy, but all her endeavors go awry: the borrowed crystal vase gets shattered, the birthday girl comes late with a newly acquired fiancée who is considerably tipsy. Mandy remembers her childhood in Virginia, her father and grandfather, her mother’s death. Her love affair with McLafferty failed before it started because he has loads of problems: addiction to drugs with impotence as side effect and he has recently lost his job. Mandy is vulnerable but reticent, eager to please but quick to hide behind the screens of conventions. The story “That Last Odd Day in L. A.” deals with another elderly character Keller, who separated from his wife and became estranged to his daughter. He lives alone, with no friends and a sporadical girlfriend whose son will shoot him. The wound makes substantial changes in Keller’s life, also exposing his soft spots and problematic relationships.

The plots of the recent stories indicate an intense awareness that the family ties cannot alleviate the sense of alienation and loss, and these characters have also lost the privileged objects and fixed rituals the earlier heroes were clinging to. The most striking example of a privileged object turning into a powerful symbol is found in one of Beattie’s early stories, “Janus”, the story of a bowl which becomes both a lucky charm and a sad reminder for its owner. The real estate agent Andrea got the enticing object from her ex-lover, and she keeps this present only because she did not dare keep the relationship. She never parts with the bowl: it is either on her coffee table, or carefully placed in the houses which she shows to prospective buyers, in order to make them intrigued and trick them into purchasing the estate. Being the symbol of Andrea’s hollow and empty but seemingly attractive life, the bowl is also a magic reminiscence she needs to keep on living, and the reminder that meaningful existence is still possible out there. Another example from the story “The Second Question” refers to a more personal object: a pearl necklace. After breaking up with her married lover, a nameless hand model going under the nickname Rac (short for raccoon) starts taking care of a friend who is fighting AIDS. She is on easier terms with his imminent death than with truth of her life: when the pearl necklace of her lover’s wife she was wearing broke
during a sexual intercourse, Rac swallowed several pearls so that the necklace would not be the same length when restrung. She wanted to warn her rival of the imminent change: however, the message of “breaking bonds” did not get through, and all we know is that Rac’s relationship failed without changing considerably anybody’s life, not even hers. “The Second Question” and “Janus” demonstrate the importance of visual cues: while the bowl is represented as a Holy Grail of inexplicable yet inarticulate power, the pearl necklace invokes the conflicting images of binding and bonding.

Beattie uses lacunae to provide the sense of profundity, following in the footsteps of Ernest Hemingway’s theory of omission, but she never bases her narrative strategies on simple exclusion, which minimalism is often accused of. With her collection of stories *Follies* as a landmark of that transition she invents a newly flexible voice that accommodates both her patented gift for social observation and her more recent interest in her characters’ inner lives, a voice that allows her to move fluently back and forth in time, back and forth from memory to rumination, although Beattie still rejects the privileges of authorial omniscience.

The cases of Hemingway and Beattie show that the need for compression, joined with rigor in detail selection and proper choice of words, leads to a magnificent fiction which manages to achieve suggestiveness within the confines of its generically limited space. Praised as careful observers of the urban landscape and intimate relationships, the two short story writers expand the boundaries of genre that has always been full of, as one of Beattie’s book titles say, secrets and surprises.

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Vladislava S. Gordić Petković

REALIZAM U SA VREMENOJ AMERIČKOJ KRATKOJ PRIČI

Rezime

Rad će se pozabaviti parametrima realizma u američkoj kratkoj priči na primeru dvoje autora, Ernesta Hemingveja i En Biti, polazeći od premise da kratka priča zakonitosti pripovedanja i postavke realističke poetike poštuje na sopstveni način, drugačije nego što to čini roman. Premda se za kratku priču smatra da ne poseduje tematsku širinu romana, da je fragmentarna i subjektivna, kratkoća je ipak prednost koja omogućuje da se ova narativna forma smesti u najbliže okruženje poezije i njenih postulata, a da to ipak ne ugrozi njene realističke okvire. Potreba za sažimanjem, strogost u selekciji detalja i izrazita usmerenost na sugestivnost jezika kako bi se posredovala emocija i poruka dela sa makar prividom objektivnosti biće predstavljeni u okvirima poetika dvoje pisaca.

Ključne reči: realizam, predstavljanje, američka kratka priča, Hemingvej, Biti

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Prihvaćen 3. oktobra, 2015. godine
“THERE WAS NO BACKGROUND MUSIC”: HOME AND ADJUSTMENT IN NADJA TESICH’S *TO DIE IN CHICAGO*

Written in the language of the host country as a way of self-translating and conveying multiple connections within transnational contexts of migration and diaspora, contemporary narratives by women authors from the former Yugoslavia, who have resided and published their works in the United States, have received insufficient critical and scholarly attention. In order to contribute to a new and developing field of research on migrant (autobiographical) literature that voices East European and (post-)Yugoslav women in diaspora, this paper offers a contextual reading of *To Die in Chicago*, a literary memoir by Nadja Tesich, a Serbian-American author whose works abound in references to the narrator’s mediating position between the homeland and hostland spaces of her “third geography”. Anchored in the narrator’s matrilineage and the primary mother-daughter bond, the memoir tackles the issue of persistent patriarchal values in a familial and wider immigrant community while problematizing the notion of home and adjustment to living in the 1950s America. Dealing with certain aspects of immigrant pain and otherness, the paper briefly examines the narrator’s trajectory from the narrow space of the port of entry to her inevitable internalization of hybrid spaces of in-betweenness.

*Keywords*: Nadja Tesich, *To Die in Chicago*, diasporic writing by women, post-Yugoslav writing, adjustment, in-betweenness as hybrid home

In her influential *Writing Outside the Nation*, a study on contemporary diasporic narratives written in Europe and North America by migrants and their descendants, Azade Seyhan recognizes a unique potential of literary autobiographies to create new links within transnational contexts. Viewed as the preferred mode of expression of many writers of diaspora, autobiography is loosely defined as “an out-of-bonds genre that captures the fluid character of memory, migration, and transition in an appropriately nuanced fashion” (Seyhan 2001: 96). Offering a perspective that is personal and confessional, but not less communal, autobiography often defies definition and impersonal generalizations, restoring certain aspects of the migrant author’s familial heritage and giving voice to “structures and experiences that resist naming” (96). Frequently written outside the nation and in the language of the host country, migrant and diasporic narratives, fictionalized (auto)biographies and

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literary memoirs seem to occupy an alternative space or a “third geography” (15), mediating between homelands and hostlands and bringing authentic accounts of personal and collective transnational experiences of migration. Contemporary migrant chroniclers of their own dislocation rarely present their transition to another country as a stereotypical journey from homeland to a promised land, where they are expected to work hard and achieve ultimate success. They inhabit their own “third geography” instead, navigating between experiences of departure and arrival with less rigidity and exclusivity, which ensures transnational blurring of boundaries and new perceptions of national and ethnic identities. Alternatively, the migrant narratives concentrate on specific aspects of (auto)biography, shedding light on particular events or timeframes that mark their authors’ diasporic identity. One such example that belongs to a growing body of post-Yugoslav diasporic writing is To Die in Chicago (2010), a literary memoir written by Nadja Tesich², a Serbian-born author and filmmaker who emigrated to the United States in the 1950s as a teenager. It was only decades later, and soon after the disintegration of Yugoslavia, that the author revisits her experiences of dislocation from Užice, her hometown, to faraway East Chicago, giving her fluid memories a literary shape. In this coming-of-age autobiographical narrative, written partly from a fifteen-year-old girl’s point of view, Tesich focuses on the first two years of her attempts to adjust to American lifestyle and values in the face of her overt disappointment with the new surroundings. The very first chapter points at the clash between the narrator’s idealistic expectations and the reality she encounters on her arrival in the heavily industrialized city with polluted air and lifeless trees:

In Hollywood films immigrants usually arrive in New York harbor wearing folk costumes, bundles in their hands, they cry from happiness and kiss the land. In real life, at least in our case, it didn’t happen like that, and there was no background music suggesting that the film will end soon and our wonderful new life will begin. (Tesich 2010: 1)

The initial descriptions of the other country’s unwelcoming landscape and the narrator’s port-of-entry experience compared to an atypical movie scenario without “background music” serves as a nutshell version of circumstances that continue to intensify the narrator’s struggle for adjustment in her new homeland. Envisioning future hardships, misunderstandings and disruptions in communication within larger immigrant, educational and peer communities, the absence of “background music” at the U.S. port of entry is primarily concerned with a scene of family reunion, in which expected emotions of happiness are insufficiently articulated. Namely, when the narrator, her mother and younger brother reach America in order to reunite with their immigrant husband and father after many years of separation, their encounter is far from cathartic. None of them expresses intense feelings

² Nadja Tesich (1939-2014) also wrote the following three novels that tackle similar issues of growing up, migration and diaspora: Shadow Partisan (1996), Native Land (1998), and Far from Vietnam (2012).
of affection and “nobody wept” (Tesich 2). The mutual detachment between father and his newly arrived family anticipates both family disharmony and the young girl’s difficulties with assimilation into the society much different from the one in which she grew up.

Although the memoir, along with Tesich’s other works with a transnational flair, offers interesting insights into the narrator’s familial ties and her collective’s complex historical heritage, immigrant plight and the notion of the American dream revisited on several occasions, it has not attracted much critical and scholarly attention. This can probably be ascribed to Tesich’s specific diasporic position in the broad field of contemporary American literature, or the position she shares with many other post-Yugoslav women writers of diaspora who are understudied both in their homeland and abroad. The twofold marginality of women writers who originate from East Europe in general and former Yugoslavia in particular has been only recently considered by scholars of transnational literature by women. According to their fresh perspectives, diasporic writing published in the U.S. in the last fifty years has generally received ample critical attention, yet it is evident that migrant and pre-migrant narratives based on particular parts of the world are not equally represented in scholarly publications. Thus, while a considerable amount of research focuses on migrant experiences of women from East and South Asia, the Caribbean, Central and Latin America, and Africa, there is a substantial underrepresentation of East European migrant narratives despite increased flows of immigrants from East European to western countries (Nicolaescu 2014: 9).

Claiming the importance of post-Yugoslav literary voices in diaspora, and recognizing Nadja Tesich’s delineation of the third geography as a creative state of cultural in-betweenness, this paper discusses *To Die in Chicago* as an illustration of my suggestion that women’s literary memoirs, (semi) autobiographical prose and fictionalized autobiographies are often anchored in the authors’ matrilineal lineage, attempting to resist patriarchal disruptions of mother-daughter bonds and strengthen their own agency (Bijelić 2014: 35).

Although the literary and a variety of other representations of migrant and diasporic experiences have been widely discussed in the previous decades, it can be noticed that the notion of migrant has somehow resisted both gendering and positioning within particular geopolitical contexts. Thus, even though the notion of transnationalism stretches to “include a heterogeneous array of voices in building a global narrative, without losing the voice of local culture and specificity” (Parker and Young 2013: 4), it is marked by a significant imbalance in the representation of gendered identities and of a number of geographies within transnational contexts, including those of Eastern Europe and former Yugoslavia.

Gender considerations have been incorporated into migration theories relatively recently and the phrase “migrants and their families” in 1960s and 1970s still denoted “male migrants and their wives and children”, signifying the lack of women’s agency in the migration process (Boyd and Grieco 2003: 1). Despite women’s movements’ hard work on the visibility of female migrants and their subjectivities, it seems that women’s experiences of diaspora and
their literary representations still remain underrepresented in critical and theoretical discussions on a global level. In a number of studies published on women’s world literature, Parker and Young rightly observe that “women’s role in transnational literature remains a neglected domain of research” (Parker and Young 5), which consequently affects reception of migrant and diasporic writing, particularly if its authors’ adoption of the hostland’s language “is not the result of colonial experience but of migration, resettlement, and redefinition of identity” (Seyhan 2001: 12). Thus, along with the understudied perpetual marginalization of women’s migrational experiences on both global and local levels, the absence of critical discussion around diasporic East European fiction and autobiographical narratives by women seems to be even more prominent in relation to the works written and published not in the migrant’s mother tongue but in the language of their hostland.

In order to convey the complex position of East European diasporic female narrator in general, and post-Yugoslav narrating migrant in particular, women-authored literary representations of female migrants in contemporary fiction and memoir frequently draw upon the authors’ matrilineal heritage as a source of diasporic women’s empowerment in patriarchal and otherwise exploitive settings. Nadja Tesich’s To Die in Chicago is one such example of foregrounding the narrator’s rootedness in her immediate motherline. This can be seen in the amount and quality of attention paid to the figures of mother and grandmother in diasporic and pre-migrant settings. However, although the very first pages of Tesich’s memoir acknowledge the narrator’s grandmother as a generating force of her creative expression, depicting her as “a just God”, an ideal image of what “perfect socialism would be,” and a realistic strong woman who rescued the narrator from Germans during the Second World War (Tesich 5), social pressures of adjustment to the new culture eventually threaten to diminish her symbolic presence in the granddaughter’s life.

The narrator’s memories of a painful two-year transition from homeland to hostland are structured around her bond with mother and their respective positions in the immigrant community and a broader context of the 1950s American society. From the port-of-entry scenario to her own resolution to firmly believe in democratic America as the promised land for her children, the mother is presented as an unacknowledged victim of patriarchal power dynamics in her family and community. Not only is she ostensibly unwelcome during the family reunion, she also becomes utterly neglected by her husband and the narrator’s father, who, disgusted by her aging and unkempt body, intentionally fails to recognize her efforts to raise their children in the turbulent post-war period in Yugoslavia.

Belonging to the category of stereotypical male migrants who emigrate from their country of origin well before the rest of his family, the father seems to be caught in his own double bind of having to live a hard immigrant life without family and craving for intimacy and closeness outside the family. Having already adopted some western ideas about the female body’s needs for a constant cosmetic care, and not having to directly experience disastrous impacts of war in which the narrator is injured and their house bombed, the
father’s perception of his sacrificing wife is not only superficial, but extremely degrading. Thus, instead of acknowledging the woman’s difficult fight for survival back in the homeland, he projects his own unfaithfulness on her, while his pre-war memories and fantasies of the idyllic home remain intact (Tesich 74). From the father’s perspective, there seems to be no “third geography”. Although he is as “split” as any other immigrant Tesich encounters throughout her life (193), his homeland and hostland spaces are rather separate, which might explain the unease of having to share his now modernized daily life with the almost conserved, otherworldly figures of his wife and family. Yet, their bodies are alive and changing, which meddles with both his immigrant reality and the fixed image of his native land. The insignificance he ascribes to his wife is further reflected on the behavior of other men from their immigrant community. Although they seem rejoiced at the thought of their own families joining them one day, they likewise fail to recognize that those who stay in the homeland have their own struggles and traumas, which they manage to conquer thanking to strong proactive women of the family. However, in the 1950s America, the stories of strong migrant women were still irrelevant, and women similar to the narrator’s mother were at a risk of having their personal histories completely erased before their actual deaths:

… she wanted Father to say in front of others how courageous she had been, to raise us well and with no help from anyone. Just her own hands. Kids didn’t grow like weeds (…) The men did say what wonderful kids we were but none asked her about her suffering, what others at home knew. Her old stories had to be told, become known to give her a history, who she had been up to now. (12-13)

Unappreciated by her immigrant countrymen in general and her husband in particular, the mother has to find another way of preserving not only her history, but her core identity as well. In order to survive in a new culture with old patriarchal values, she has to adapt to the new surroundings faster than anyone else in the family. Her survival, though, is not directly linked to the preservation of her own individuality, but rather to her responsibility towards the children. Relating parts of her mother’s biography, Tesich suggests that the mother’s urge to place her “children before anything” is additionally forced by the patriarchal tradition in the old country that grants mothers “the most sacred position” (52), envisaging them almost as mythical figures traditionally appreciated only in relation to giving births to future warriors. Tesich here evokes the past of her immediate motherline as “the dark ages” before socialism, when “nobody cared or worried about female children” because their “warrior’s tribe … valued only the sons” (56). The deep-seated prejudice about female offspring is further illustrated by mentioning an old custom from the mother’s mountain village, according to which the villagers “put a black flag on the house when a girl is born” (82). Aware of the long tradition of women’s denigration in her native land and the ways it has affected generations of mothers, Tesich is able to recognize the remnants of this tradition in her own bond with mother. Portrayed as a very traditional woman who was raised in a strict patriarchal environment where women were expected to
be passive and obedient, the mother nevertheless shows a great potential for decision-making and reinvention. It is she, and not the husband, who initiates their family reunion for the sake of the children. Although devalued by her husband and the male immigrant community at the very beginning, and then challenged to succeed without much support, the narrator’s mother manages to incorporate parts of her old, pre-migrant identity into the aspects of everyday life in the new country. Thus, the initial feeling of rejection becomes partly replaced by feelings of optimism and a drive to serve her children and increase their chances for success simply by altering her approach to life and “destroying an unpleasant past” (72). Here it seems that the mother, like many other immigrants, internalizes what Madelaine Hron calls the “myth of success” in order to “play down [her] suffering of immigration” and “conform to the image of the successful immigrant” (Hron 2009: 20). Exploring and contextualizing literary and cultural representations of immigrant pain and suffering, Hron observes that “in certain problematic instances, pain may even become the way in which immigrants define their identities” (xix). Here it may be interesting to note that To Die in Chicago accommodates only several descriptions of intense immigrant pain that threatens to define the immigrant identity. One of them appears in the first part of the memoir, and is certainly symptomatic of the family’s extreme emotional pain felt during the very first days of in East Chicago:

Mother’s [face] had gloom all over it, even Stojan so cheerful in general had a new expression that resembled grief. The new feeling around us was more dreadful than the memory of war, or the poverty after, worse than Grandma’s death...” (Tesich 8)

Even though the narrator further describes “[her] own Slavic grief as pitch-black” (108), it seems that none of the family members is defined exclusively by immigrant pain. The wish to adjust and assimilate becomes a driving force for personal reinvention, which is particularly discernible in the mother’s consciously chosen progressive attitude to life. In order to dispel and “alleviate pain”, the mother shifts perspectives and creates an imaginary life (59) that, paradoxically, tends to be firmly rooted in her present American reality and not in the values of the old country. Witnessing her mother’s staying power and storytelling inventiveness as part of her daily routine, the daughter perceives her mother’s lifestyle as “artistic, without art” (68). The spontaneity with which the mother expresses and reinvents herself in front of the family represents her own manner of translating their changed circumstances and making herself visible. Her strategy of pain alleviation through shifting perspectives ultimately helps her express the immigrant pain and the pain of rejection, which confirms Hron’s statement that “in order to express their pain, immigrants must learn to translate it” (Hron 32).

Whereas Mother manages to translate her pain through performing everyday activities, her daughter, the narrator of the memoir, detaches from the pain by writing about it from an historical distance. However, being a teenage girl during the first two years of adjustment in the host country, she
had no particular strategies for coping with the trauma of leaving her native land. Instead, she appears to be more radical than Mother, responding to her own pain by developing a strong wish to disappear and stop existing, which she later understands as a need to symbolically murder her old self for the sake of better assimilation (Tesich 132). Reflecting on the two-year period of her growing up in East Chicago, the narrator pictures herself as a double outsider, the one who is othered both as an immigrant and a “girl in between” (80). The split immigrant girl seems to be losing her previous identity first by conforming to certain beauty trends that are aggressively imposed on her peers through television and commercials, and then by becoming an enraged rebel in the U.S., although she was a “good pioneer at core” back in socialist Yugoslavia (190). Expected to make herself physically presentable, she succumbs to fashion requirements and artificial posing for photographs, yet she finds it difficult to grasp the lack of female individuality behind the cheerleader mentality of the local girls.

Contrasting Yugoslav and U.S. American ways of living, Tesich observes that “at home … an individual was freer than were Americans in the fifties” (164), often pointing at many advantages of being a member of the society in which pioneers assist in building socialism and everything is shared. However, it is mostly because of her communist origin and ideas that she, “an alien from a Communist country” (188), is frequently bullied at school. Considered “evil and dangerous” (104), communism here also serves as a label attached to those who are disobedient within immigrant families and communities, which is, in the narrator’s case, illustrated by her father’s ridiculous decision to write to “the FBI and the immigration office to accuse Mother and [her] of Communism” (39) on the basis of disagreements and conflicts within the family.

Other illustrations of othering Tesich as an immigrant student coming “from behind the iron curtain” (128) are based on her active socializing with African American students. According to the narrator’s 1950s experiences of racist Chicago, communism and racism were almost intertwined, and her befriending a black girl from school was condemned by her peers and considered an additional “proof of [her] Communism” (110). The teachers likewise supported racial segregation among students and openly disapproved of any joint “savage” and “indecent” activities that might compromise the school’s traditional values. Thus, when the narrator’s dancing performance rehearsals were stigmatized as “savage” and forbidden by the school officials, she initially had no idea why she was silenced and blackmailed into giving up on her and her team’s artistic project. It is only when she revisits her first encounters with racism later in life that she is able to comprehend her being trapped within racial binaries:

I had believed they stopped us because they didn’t like the way we moved. Some of our steps, suggested by the music, resembled African dances, like Dunham, which I saw and studied in New York later on. … I was the only white dancer and the only white person in the dance we had invented… (191)
What alleviated the immigrant pain of the “girl-in-between” and her trauma of being excluded on the basis of origin and racial issues is her own inventiveness and involvement in artistic activities that were different from her mother’s. While mother embellishes and fabricates everyday events and stories from the past, the daughter expresses herself first through dancing and later through a more serious engagement with acting and writing. Even though their ways of communicating intentions and desires are not the same, there is a symbolic link that connects mother and daughter and their co-creation of the immigrant in-betweenness, and it initially materializes in the shape of an item of practical use. Namely, a colorful skirt that belongs to the mother serves as a gypsy costume in Nadja’s show performances (116), signifying the continuum of mother-daughter bond that is further supported by the two women’s position in the space between homeland and hostland. This space of in-betweenness, “a virtual existence between two worlds” (Hron 26), or a third geography between the former and the new home,3 denotes a hybrid home as a platform where women migrants revisit and reinvent their identities, achieving autonomy from a strictly national space and expressing their own agency through transnational mediation:

‘Home’ has often been associated with static immobility, uniformity, and essentialism, as well as narrow perceptions of nationalism and patriotism. …

Evoking the safety of a primary bond with mother, and strongly anchored in the narrator’s matrilineral lineage, Tesich’s literary memoir revisits not only the space of the former home and a series of adjustments to the new living space, but it also creates a lasting hybrid home by relinquishing the pain produced by initial feelings of rejection, exclusion, and non-belonging. While Tesich symbolically compares the process of forced immigrant adjustment to the loss of one’s soul (Tesich 156), or the loss of a spiritual link with her grandmother and their East European heritage (123), she senses the inevitability of adjusting and performing in a space where differences are not mutually exclusive. The previous concern about the lack of “background music” at the U.S. port of entry, founded on the dream of America “stolen from the [TV] screen” (9), transforms into an awareness of the “background noise” as a sensation of hybrid surroundings, where assimilation often means emotional detachment of the narrator through masking and changing costumes (192). The eventual change in the clarity of background sound that is registered in the process of immigrant adjustment may signal the beginning of a new phase in the narrator’s perception of the space that encompasses and connects her home country and the target country. A specific personal wholeness that she links to the land of origin and evokes at the very end of the

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3 For a similar concept of home in reading contemporary diasporic literature by women, see Anastasia Stefanidou’s “Creating a “Third Home” in Diaspora: Reading Meena Alexander and Miranda Panaretou Cambanis” (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag, 225-235).
memoir becomes part of a creative state of cultural in-betweenness in which the narrator internalizes multiple perspectives of the changing world and gives voice to the underrepresented and culturally specific motherlines within national and transnational contexts.

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Tatjana P. Bijelić

„NIJE BILO POZADINSKE MUZIKE”: DOM I PRILAGOĐAVANJE U AUTOBIOGRAFSKOJ ISPOVIJESTI NAĐE TEŠIĆ UMRIJETI U ČIKAGU

Rezime

Iako su napisani u dijaspori i na stranom jeziku kao sredstvu samoprevođenja i interpretacije mnogostrukih veza unutar transnacionalnih okvira migracije i dijaspore, savremenim narativima autorki koje potiču iz bivše Jugoslavije, a žive i objavljivaju svoja djela u Sjedinjenim Državama, nije posvećeno mnogo pažnje u kritičkim i naučnim krugovima. U namjeri da se ukaže na razvoj jednog novog polja istraživanja na temu emigracijske (autobiografske) književnosti koja artikuliše istočnoevropske i postjugoslovenske ženske glasove u dijaspori, ovaj rad fokusira se na Umrijeti u Čikagu, autobiografsku ispovijest Nađe Tešić, srpsko-američke autorke čija djela sadrže mnoštvo smjernica koje upućuju na naratorkinu poziciju medijatorke između prostora zavičaja i zemlje domaćina u kontekstu pojma 'treće geografije'. Zasnovana na naratorkinoj matriliniji i primarnom odnosu majke i kćerke, ispovijest preispituje ustaljene patrijarhalne obrasce u porodičnoj i širokoj emigrantskoj zajednici, dok u isto vrijeme problematizuje pojam doma i prilagođavanja životu u Americi pedesetih godina dvadesetog vijeka. Osvrćući se na neke od aspekata emigracijske boli i drugosti, rad ukratko ispituje naratorkino kretanje od uskog prostora ulazne luke zemlje domaćina do neizbježne internalizacije hibridnih međuprostora.

Ključne riječi: Nađa Tešić, Umrijeti u Čikagu, književnost žena u dijaspori, postjugoslovenska književnost, prilagođavanje, hibridni međuprostor

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IDENTITY AND VICTIMHOOD IN CANADIAN LITERATURE

In her Survival: Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature, Margaret Atwood observes that those who suddenly find themselves teaching Canadian literature, something they never studied before, are encountered with two essential questions: "What's Canadian about Canadian literature, and why should we be bothered?". In countries other than Canada, these questions become even more important, since many students who study English language and literature are exposed through much of their education mainly to the world-wide famous British and American works and authors, and never think of Canadian literature as a separate entity. Due to this, it is imperative to answer Atwood’s questions, and show that in teaching and studying Canadian literature, its national and cultural aspect should also be taken into consideration. The paper argues that much of Canadian literature relies on the quest for an identity which is distinctly different from the American, English, or French. Selected examples from the literary works of some of the most famous Canadian authors serve to illustrate that the quest itself is often hindered by the symbolic gap between Canada’s colonial past and its modern present, as well as between Canadian wilderness and Canadian urban territories. Consequently, Canadian literature abounds with literary figures who are represented as victims, whose victimhood should be perceived as an essential part of Canadian identity.

Keywords: Canadian Literature, Identity, Victim, Wilderness, Atwood, Munro, Ryga

1. INTRODUCTION

In the comedy series Talking to Americans, Rick Mercer, Canada's biggest TV star, visits American cities and asks the locals simple questions with made-up Canadian facts, in order to prove their ignorance and disregard of Canada (McCullough n.d.). In 2000, the US Vice President under Bill Clinton, Al Gore, was asked when he would visit Toronto, “the capital city of Canada”

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2 Some of the works mentioned in this paper are part of the course Canadian Literature and Culture, which is taught at the Faculty of Philology and Arts (University of Kragujevac). This course was introduced to the studies of English Language and Literature by Professor Radmila Nastić, in the academic year 2008/2009. The course Introduction to Canadian Studies is taught at the University of Niš by Professor Vesna Lopičić. The author is deeply indebted and grateful to both Professor Nastić and Professor Lopičić for commending Canadian Literature to her and arousing her interest to pursue the subject further.
(YouTube), to which he replied that he was focused only on the upcoming elections, completely disregarding the wrong fact in Mercer’s question. Famously, even George Bush fell for Mercer’s trick question during the US presidential campaign, when he was asked to comment on the “endorsement by Canadian Prime Minister Poutine”. Bush expressed his thanks for Poutine’s endorsement, not acknowledging the fact that the real name of the Canadian Prime Minister was Jean Chretien, and that “poutine” was the name of a Quebecois dish of French fries and gravy (ABC News). The same episode features various Americans congratulating Canada on reaching a population of one million (over 35 million people live in Canada), on getting a second area code (Canada uses 36 area codes all in all, whereas Ontario alone uses 13 area codes (Area Code Help)), on legalizing VCRs and staplers, on getting electric light in parliament, on allowing dogs as house-pets, etc. Mercer even succeeded in persuading some people that in Canada one hour lasts 65 minutes, and that Canadians use a 20-hour clock. Upon being informed that Canada had finally switched to the US system of measuring time, Tom Vilsack, the former Governor of Iowa (1999-2007) and a highly educated lawyer, heartily congratulated Canada on the wise decision of keeping pace with the rest of the world.

These and similar deep-seated prejudices about the Canadian way of life have made Canadians sensitive about their own identity as different from the American, French or British. In 2000, a commercial for Molson Canadian beer, known as “The Rant”, addressed this nationalistic concern. It features “Joe”, an average Canadian, who rants about the common prejudices against Canadians, saying, among other things, that he is not a lumberjack, or a fur trader, that he does not speak American, but English or French, and does not live in an igloo. A Canadian believes in peace keeping, not policing, in diversity, not assimilation. Finally, Canada is “the second largest landmass” and “the first nation of hockey” (Canada Web Developer). In short, Joe is proud to be Canadian. The commercial has become so popular that many Canadians view it as the appropriate anthem of Canada.

But despite being the second largest country in the world, territorially smaller only than Russia, Canada remains a mystery not only for the Americans, but for many Europeans as well. Canada is likewise a mystery for many Canadians, who struggle to grasp the vastness of its wilderness and to survive in it. Its unique geography—the massive evergreen forests and wildlife in the Canadian Rockies in the west, the flat landforms of Alberta Prairies, the barren and rocky parts of the northern part of Laurentian Shield, and the snowy tundra and frozen glaciers of the Canadian North— is often hostile to humans, so that ninety percent of the country is still uninhabited, making the population of Canada only one-fifth of Russia’s (BBC News). Canada is a young country whose cities are rarely more than two hundred years old, yet its history is rich and extremely relevant for the overall understanding of Canadian anti-American sentiments and the endeavour of Canadians to define their own identity.
2. CANADA AS A VICTIM: “WHERE IS HERE?”

Canadians pride themselves on believing in diversity, not assimilation. Yet the once-sorry state of Canadian Aboriginals tells a different story. The indigenous peoples who migrated from east Asia to western North America sometime between 40,000 and 10,000 B.C. and spread across today’s territories of the United States and Canada in the next following centuries, had always had a specific style of life, which revolved mostly around hunting, living in cone-shaped teepees, respecting nature, having deep spiritual beliefs, and preserving their tradition and spoken language. For the Europeans who reached the North-American continent in the 16th century, these superstitious and in many ways naïve peoples were an easy prey. They were cheap labour and soldiers, as well as pliable and submissive converts to Christianity. But the new way of life which was imposed on them by the whites took away not only their land, but their dignity and health as well. Most of the Aboriginals in Canada died of European diseases, such as small pox, or influenza, to which they had neither immunity nor cure. “Residential schools”, another Christian invention, which operated until the 1970s, proved deadly to many Aboriginal children, who were raised there in abysmal conditions—abused, neglected, sick, their spirits finally broken. Although today the Canadian government is making amends to the natives by granting them special rights and privileges that other Canadians do not have, the fact remains that by the close of the 19th century alone, “Canada’s aboriginal population had declined by more than 90 per cent”, so that today their population number is down to approximately 1,400,000 (Statistics Canada).

The trials and tribulations of the Aboriginal peoples in Canada did not go unnoticed by Canadian authors, some of whom committed themselves to defending the native rights and restoring their human dignity through literature. One of them was George Ryga (1932-1987), a playwright who “made a career of tearing at sensitive wounds, stirring up controversy and often making himself unpopular in the process” (Wasserman 2011: 23). His most popular play, The Ecstasy of Rita Joe (1967), explores the life of a young Aboriginal woman who struggles to become assimilated into the white urban society, and is considered the most popular and best-known Canadian English-language play. The pathos of Rita Joe, reminiscent of Dostoyevsky and Kafka (24), is not reserved only for her tragic end, but is felt throughout. Rita’s constant arrests on different charges—vagrancy, prostitution, theft—impose inexplicable guilt on her by the system that cannot and will not understand and allow her to be different. The Magistrate, who symbolically represents the law of the whites, suggests that the obstacles to Rita’s life are in her head, in her thoughts, possibly even in her culture. “You should fix your hair”, he advises her, “perhaps even change your name”, because “[t]here is no peace in being extraordinary!” (38). Rita’s broken-spirited boyfriend, Jaimie Paul, complains about his loss of dignity to no avail, but he understands that their stolen identities are at the core of the problem. “Gimme back my truth!”, he rants, “Teach me who I really am! You’ve taken that away! Give me back the real me so I can live like a man!” (55). Since
their identities are erased, both Rita and Jamie can only hope to find freedom in death. Thus, for Rita, the heinous crime of repeated rape which leads to her untimely death turns out to be the only means of escape, and Rita becomes one of the best-known literary victims in Canadian literature.

Five years after the first performance of Ryga’s play, Margaret Atwood published her thematic guide to Canadian literature, in which she claimed that “Canada as a whole is a victim” (Atwood 1972: 35), so that the central symbol for Canada and the recurrent trope in Canadian literature is survival. Whether they want to find a way of staying alive, or their obsession with surviving becomes “the will not to survive”, Canadian literary characters, almost without exception, assume one of four “basic victim positions”, from which they cope with their “colonial mentality” (36) and the wilderness that surrounds them. In Position One, characters or countries deny the fact that they are victims, suppress their anger and turn away from certain visible facts (Ibid). Position Two is reserved for those who acknowledge the fact that they are victims, but “explain this as an act of Fate, the Will of God”, the necessity of History, Economics, or the Unconscious (37). Position Three is more active and dynamic, since the acknowledged victims “refuse to accept the assumption that the role of the victim is inevitable” (Ibid) and at least endeavour to change their objective experience. Finally, once victims are able to move from Position Three by releasing their anger and stop being victims, they assume Position Four and become creative non-victims (38), with imaginative activities of all kinds at their disposal. Both life and literature demonstrate how countries, women, men, literary characters shift around these four positions most of the time.

Atwood’s claim that if you “stick a pin in Canadian literature at random … nine times out of ten you’ll hit a victim” (39) is not exaggerated since her model of victims has proven to be a very helpful approach to Canadian literature, especially when attempting to trace the search for identity back to the ominous Canadian wilderness. Atwood herself has used the wilderness motif repeatedly in her work, primarily “as geographical location marker, as spatial metaphor, and as Canada’s most popular cultural myth” (Howells 1996: 21). In “Progressive Insanities of a Pioneer”, a poem from her collection The Animals in That Country, Atwood outlines the journey to madness of an early pioneer, who is trying to keep nature out by building borders around himself. In the opening lines, the pioneer is overwhelmed with the vastness of the open space around him, which paradoxically makes him feel trapped instead of free:

He stood, a point
on a sheet of green paper
proclaiming
himself the centre,
with no walls, no borders
anywhere; the sky no height
above him, totally un-
enclosed
and shouted:  
Let me out! (Atwood 1976: 60)

The only way the pioneer could have survived was by keeping with nature, instead of shutting it out. All his attempts to do without nature proved futile, so that eventually Atwood’s pioneer went insane, devoured by the very dream he believed was going to lead him to a better life.

Hence, the starting point for shaping a distinctive Canadian identity should be making peace with the menacing environment. Northrop Frye (1965: 220) defined this by saying: “It seems to me that Canadian sensibility … is less perplexed by the question ‘Who am I?’ than by some riddle as ‘Where is here?’”. Following Frye’s line of thought, Atwood (1972: 18) maintains that “Canada is an unknown territory for the people who live in it”, stressing that self-knowledge can be achieved only once you discover who you are (16). To do that, a Canadian must first meet the here, use his literature as “a map, a geography of the mind” (18-19), become acquainted with the geographical, historical, cultural, political, and social aspects of his own country, compare those to the same aspects of there—other countries and societies. Only then will he be able to feel his country as having “distinct existence of its own” (29).

The best illustration of Atwood’s claim is found in The Journals of Susanna Moodie (1970), her fictional portrayal of life and thoughts of Susanna Moodie (1803-1885), a nineteenth-century British settler in Canada, who struggled hard to accept the new country as her own. Moodie was an accomplished author herself and wrote a significant body of literature about her experiences as a settler, achieving the greatest success with her book Roughing it in the Bush, first published in London in 1852, and subsequently in Toronto, in 1871. Adopting Moodie’s voice, Atwood traces the gradual change in her attitude towards Canada and her inner fight to accept Canada as her new home, so that eventually, “Susanne Moodie has finally turned herself inside out, and has become the spirit of the land she once hated” (Atwood 1970: 164). This is most clearly seen in “Thoughts from Underground”, a poem from Journal Three, which features Susanna’s voice from beyond the grave. She readily admits hating the country when she first reached it, since it was incredibly difficult to adapt to the life in the bush. But then they “were made successful / and I felt I ought to love / this country” (Atwood 1976: 111). Success notwithstanding, Moodie could not escape the feeling of alienation—“I said I loved it / and my mind saw double” (Ibid). She was still drawn to her British past despite her constructing “desperate paragraphs of praise” of Canada, but eventually learned to accept it and appreciate it.

The poem is followed by “Alternate Thoughts from Underground”, which is not another reminiscence of Moodie’s difficult life in the bush, but rather portrays a disturbing image of a modern society which was being built above Moodie’s grave sometime during the 1960s. She has now long been “down” and “shovelled”, but can still faintly hear “the shrill of glass and steel”, coming from “the invaders of those for whom / shelter was wood, / fire was terror and sacred” (112). Whether the invaded ones are Native Canadians or the pioneers
is not of much relevance, since the lines can easily apply to both (Hammill 2007: 147). However, “the invaders” are doubtless the modern people who destroy Nature in order to build “glib superstructures” (Atwood 1976: 112). She prays to her “wooden fossil God” in vain: “Mrs. Moodie is done under by modern civilization, for which she feels ‘scorn but also pity; scorn because of the shallowness of the present, pity because she knows it too will pass away” (Bilan 1978), leaving her extinct under the piles of glass and steel. According to Hammill (2007: 148), in The Journals of Susanna Moodie, Atwood shows that the “colonial ways of seeing, inscribed into nineteenth-century literature as well as many later narratives, are the dangerous inheritance which the pioneer past bequeaths to modern Canadians”. But Canada needs such an ancestry in order to “discover its own literary and historical origins which gathered pace in the 1960s and 1970s”.

Both “Progressive Insanities of a Pioneer” and “Alternate Thoughts from Underground” fundamentally stress people’s need to fence themselves in and keep Nature out, but ultimately expose this need as counterproductive. In the latter, Moodie openly shows her disgust for mankind, which has severed all ties with Nature. Alden Nowlan (1933-1983), an eminent Canadian poet, playwright, and novelist, expresses the same kind of revulsion for mankind in his superb poem “The Bull Moose”, published in What Happened When He Went to the Store for Bread (1993). The old, dying moose of the title comes “down from the purple mist of trees on the mountain” (Nowlan 2011) straight into a populated parish and mingles with the cattle, who hold the moose in awe and carefully move to the other side of the field, frightened by the very sight of the moose’s “great head / like the ritual mask of a blood god”. But no such fear and respect for the old king of the forest is shown by the people of the parish, who try to pour beer down the moose’s throat, “pry open his jaws with bottles”, and finally “plant a little purple cap / of thistles on his head”. Admirably patient and dignified, the moose stoically endures the mockery. But what the neighbours see as “shaggy and cuddlesome”, soon regains its wild streak: the “scaffolded king” releases a thunderous roar, making all the young men lean on their automobile horns, whose sound is too puny against the roar of humiliated Nature. Thus, Nowlan’s moose becomes the “wooden fossil god” (Atwood 1976: 112) of Atwood’s poem—the god who is able to topple the glass pride of modern civilization.

3. RECONCILING WILDERNESS AND CIVILIZATION

In “Thoughts from Underground”, Atwood’s persona of Moodie complains about the harsh weather conditions in Canada, which often made life unbearable and dull:

In winter our teeth were brittle with cold. We fed on squirrels.
At night the house cracked.
In the mornings, we thawed the bad bread over the stove. (Atwood 1976: 111)
Unpredictable weather and inhospitable climate are probably the most prominent features of Canadian wilderness, which haunts the imagination of many Canadians. Robert Arthur Douglas Ford describes the oppressive atmosphere of Canadian winters in his poem “Twenty Below”. The household of the poem sinks into deep melancholy as the northern cold outside smothers the world and “an impossible sleep / and silence” fall from “a sky of slate” (Ford 1956: 4). The husband, the children, the mongrel, all doze, “half living only through the frozen days”. And the woman weeps, “her life stopped dead and motionless in the hoar and drifted week”. Again, one cannot keep Nature out, despite the thick walls and the cosy fire—“[t]he cold presses into the room / from every side through the logs and stones and chinks / between the logs”. The wife can only take her sadness and thaw it before the flames, but her heart will stay oppressive within her during the deadly stillness of this Canadian winter.

Evidently, if one wishes to survive in Canadian wilderness, one has to reunite with it, not fight it. The theme of reconciliation with Nature is recurrent in Canadian literature. But when one tries to sever the ties with civilization and go back to Nature, the attempt often ends in some form of madness. Atwood’s 1972 novel *Surfacing* features an unnamed heroine who is deeply troubled by the ghosts of her invented past. Since she cannot cope with the terrible psychological aftermath of her abortion, the narrator invents suitable versions of that event in order to calm her psyche. Soon it becomes obvious that she has lost her true identity because of the self-imposed lies about her past. Hence, “the unnamed heroine of the novel has to learn to go back to her roots so as to rediscover her Self” (Vlašković 2011: 102)—back to the wilderness of the Quebec bush, where she used to live as a child. Once there, she searches for her missing father, but ends her quest by finding her Self in the wilderness, which functions as her Other. Atwood uses the motif of wilderness “as geographical location marker, as spatial metaphor … as Canada’s most popular cultural myth”, and as the Canadians’ “own distinctive national space” (Howells 1996: 21). In that space, however, the narrator first has to go insane and become a childlike human animal only to become a sane woman in the end of her quest for identity. She “becomes an animal wandering around naked, living in different lairs, eating raw plants, and dreaming about having a child that will be raised in the wild and not taught to speak human language” (Vlašković 2011: 105). In her reflection in the mirror, she can now see “a creature neither animal nor human, furless, only a dirty blanket, shoulders huddled over into a crouch, eyes staring blue as ice from the deep sockets; the lips move by themselves” (Atwood 1982a: 643). The narrator embraces the form of a monster in order to cure herself in the same manner as Atwood’s imaginative symbolism transforms Canadian wilderness into the figures of the wendigo and Coyote, “the monsters that originally appear in native Indian and Eskimo myths” (Vlašković 2011: 106). They serve as Other, “forces outside and … opposed to the human protagonist” (Atwood 1982b: 233). The wilderness of the Quebec bush from *Surfacing* can thus be seen as the Monster-as-Other, “against which the human characters measure themselves” (235).
The same idea is made manifest in Alice Munro’s short story “A Wilderness Station”, from her 1994 collection Open Secrets. The story combines mystery, murder, and romance in an attempt to describe Canadian pioneer history (Howells 1998: 121). The epistolary form of the story—eleven personal letters written over a hundred-year period (1852-1959)—gives the impression of “hearing the authentic voices out of which colonial history has been made” (125). Munro’s main female character, Annie McKillop, a young Canadian girl of Scottish parents from the Orphanage Home in Toronto, abides in this historical setting. At the age of eighteen, Annie becomes the wife of Simon Herron, a strict and uptight Canadian pioneer, who is clearing the bush in the Huron tract, the rural part of Ontario during the 1850s, with his brother George, in order to make a shanty and start a better life. Only three months into the marriage, while Simon and George are clearing the land one day, a branch falls from a tree and accidentally kills Simon. After George and Annie bury Simon, George soon finds his place in a neighbouring family, while Annie refuses any assistance whatsoever and seems “to develop an aversion to everyone who would help her”, especially so “towards her brother-in-law” (Munro 1995: 198). Like the narrator of Surfacing, Annie isolates herself from civilization and starts living like a wild animal. The Reverend Walter McBain, who tried to help Annie, is appalled by what he finds when he visits her shanty:

[T]he deterioration of her property showed the state of her mind and spirit. She would not plant peas and potatoes though they were given to her to grow among the stumps. She did not chop down the wild vines around her door. Most often she did not light a fire so she could have oat-cake or porridge. Her brother-in-law being removed, there was no order imposed on her days. When I visited her the door was open and it was evident that animals came and went in her house. If she was there she hid herself, to mock me. Those who caught sight of her said that her clothing was filthy and torn from scrambling about in the bushes, and she was scratched by thorns and bitten by the mosquito insects and let her hair go uncombed or plaited. I believe she lived on salt fish and bannock that the neighbours or her brother-in-law left for her. (198-199)

Eventually, Annie realizes that she cannot live a human life and behave like an animal. She needs the help of other people, so she decides to confess to killing her husband with a rock and spend the rest of her days in the Walley Gaol. The mystery of Munro’s story begins to develop from this point, since it is highly unlikely that the feeble Annie could have killed a man as robust as Simon. She is released from prison and sent to work as a sewing-woman in the household of James Mullen, the clerk of Walley. In her confessional letter, which is the crucial part of the story, Annie claims that George killed his brother Simon in a fit of rage. But it is the wilderness narrative that is relevant for the argument that Canadians have to make peace with wilderness in order to survive. According to Howells (1998: 126), there are two kinds of wilderness narratives: “stories of death and disaster or stories of survival … accompanied by new freedom and prosperity”. Simon’s is the first kind; Annie’s is the latter. She manages to survive primarily because she feels “quite at home in the wilderness, but ironically lives a long life of freedom and safety by choosing to
4. CONCLUSION

Canadian literature draws heavily on the national, cultural, political, and historical aspects of life in Canada. Canadian writers skilfully tackle both ancestral and contemporary problems in their works, and by proposing their artistic solutions they attempt to delineate what ‘Canadian’ is. The most pertinent issue is that of a distinct Canadian identity, which is difficult to grasp and accept because of Canada’s colonial past. Canadian literature survives on the notion that those who inhabit Canada view themselves as victims who strive to achieve freedom by being different from other English and French-speaking countries. They do this by continually and fervently fighting the prejudices against their nation, by acknowledging their own wrongdoings in dealing with the Aboriginals, and by highlighting both the beautiful and the challenging features of life in Canada. Their quest for identity is, however, hindered by the symbolic gap between the colonial past and the modern present, as well as between Canadian wilderness and Canadian urban territories. The selected literary examples have shown that this gap can be bridged if Canadians accept their past and incorporate it into their present, and if they acknowledge Canadian wilderness as that Other which makes their Self whole.

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IDENTITET I ŽRTVOVANJE U KANADSKOJ KNJIŽEVNOSTI

Biljana R. Vlašković Ilić

Rezime

U knjizi Opstanak, tematski vodič kroz kanadsku književnost Margaret Etvud piše da se oni koji predaju kanadsku književnost, predmet koji ni sami nisu studirali, susreću sa dva ključna pitanja: „Šta je to kanadsko u pojmu kanadska književnost, i zašto bi trebalo da marimo?“. U zemljama izvan Kanade na ova pitanja je još bitnije odgovoriti, budući da su studenti engleskog jezika i književnosti tokom studija uglavnom izloženi najpoznatijim delima britanskih i američkih autora, te nikada ne razmišljaju o „kanadskoj“ književnosti kao o zasebnoj oblasti u okviru književnosti napisane na engleskom jeziku. Iz tog razloga rad odgovara na pitanja koja je postavila Margaret Etvud i pokazuje da je za pravilno shvatanje kanadske književnosti kao zasebnog entiteta u proces učenja neophodno uključiti i njen nacionalni i kulturni aspekt. Radar zastupa tezu da je kanadska književnost većim delom zasnovana na potrazi za identitetom koji se jasno razlikuje od američkog, engleskog ili francuskog identiteta. Odabrani primjeri iz književnih dela nekih od najpoznatijih kanadskih autora pokazane da simbolički jaz koji stoji između kolonijalne prošlosti i moderne sadašnjosti Kanada, kao i između kanadskih divljine i kanadskih urbanih teritorija, često ometa potragu za kanadskim identitetom. Stoga kanadska književnost obiluje književnim likovima koji su predstavljeni kao žrtve, čije patnje postaju sastavni deo kanadskog identiteta.

Ključne reči: kanadska književnost, identitet, žrtva, divljina, Etvud, Manro, Riga

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MEMORY IN A POST-APOCALYPTIC LANDSCAPE:  
PAUL AUSTER’S *IN THE COUNTRY OF LAST THINGS*

This paper aims at understanding the postmodern victims’ struggle for survival in a post-apocalyptic, unnamed metropolis depicted in Auster’s novel *In the Country of Last Things*. It is a story about the loss of the known, recognizable world and the struggle to stay alive in a dystopian space. On the city streets, Auster’s characters experience loneliness, disconnection and personal disintegration, which are the dominant topics in this novel published in 1987. Individual as well as collective memory emerge from violence, destruction, war and despair in a fictional landscape of destruction and chaos. Auster’s imaginary country, which can be easily understood as an allegory, is peopled by characters trying to emerge from chaos, to preserve any memory mainly through narrative. As it appears, narrative is one way of preserving identities and language, memory and surviving.

*Keywords:* Auster, memory, post-apocalyptic, city, destruction, survival, writing, narrative

*Writing is no longer an act of free will for me,  
it's a matter of survival.*

Paul Auster

*In the Country of Last Things* opens with the following line: “These are the last things, she wrote. One by one they disappear and never come back. I can tell you of the ones I have seen, of the ones that are no more, but I doubt there will be time” (Auster 1989: 1). This is an apocalyptic, dystopian novel which has the form of a letter written by the young protagonist, Anna Blume, to her childhood friend from the country of her origin. Anna travels to this city in search of her long lost brother William, and quickly becomes absorbed in the everyday life of the city. She finds shelter with Isabel and her mad husband, William, falls in love with Samuel Farr, a journalist, who wants to write the story of the city. The novel takes place in a decaying landscape of the city, where everything gives the illusion of future resolution that is always delayed. The imaginary city undergoes a terrifying disintegration. Crumbled objects, streets and buildings are dispersed all around, disappearing each day:

A house is there one day and the next day it is gone. A street you walked down yesterday, is no longer there today. (Ibid)

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But I had not realized that the streets would be gone. It wasn’t that not (...) It wasn’t that the office was empty or that the building had been abandoned. There was no building, no street, no anything at all: nothing but stones and rubbish for acres around. (18)

Slowly and steadily, the city seems to be consuming itself, even as it remains. There is no way to explain it. (21-22)

This city is lifeless and people are faced with isolation, fear, despair. People try to survive by mugging, stealing, scavenging and killing if necessary:

In similar situations, people in this city have been known to kill each other. It is almost nothing to murder someone for a room, for a pocket of change. Perhaps what prevented us from harming each other was simple fact that we did not belong here. We were not people of this city. (105-106)

Furthermore, people can end up in a butcher shop, killed in order to be sold and eaten as beef meat:

(...) there was no mistaking what I saw in there: three or four human bodies hanging naked from meat-hooks, and another man with a hatchet leaning over a table and lopping off the limbs of another corpse. There had been rumors circulating in the library that human slaughterhouses now existed, but I hadn’t believed then. (125)

The streets in this city trace a border between life and death; they prevent every memory of the past by their disappearing, and any escape in the future. Escaping the city seems to be impossible, and thus in order to survive, the protagonist, Anna, has to become an object hunter, a scavenger. People walk through dehumanizing street labyrinths, and wander in circles with no sense of direction. Houses are destroyed in the warlike city and their inhabitants are forced into the streets without protection for themselves. The city is divided into nine zones – an image that recalls Dante’s hellish circle in the Inferno. Orders break down. There are no schools, art has disappeared, and the only ritual that is practised with some order and ceremony is suicide that can be arranged in different ways depending on the financial situation. Social breakdown has triggered an economic breakdown that affects the production of basic goods such as food and clothes. These are extremely rare to find since nothing new is made: “You would think that sooner or later it would come to an end. Things fall apart and vanish, and nothing new is made” (7). The increasing scarcity of materials forces Ferdinand², another character, to build smaller and smaller miniature ships: “From whiskey and beer bottles, he worked his way down to bottles of cough syrup and test tubes, then down to empty vials of perfume, until at last he was constructing ships of almost microscopic proportions” (55). As the result of the disappearance of objects,

² According to Linda Hutcheon’s designation of historiographic metafiction, Blume’s narrative is embedded with historical figures and events: we can find Ferdinand and Isabel, the Spanish monarchs who sent Christopher Columbus on his journey; Anna Blume and Otto Frick whose names remind us of Anne Frank and her father, Otto; the expulsion of the Jews from the library as a reference to the Holocaust.
people forget the names of things all the time, and therefore, communication becomes very difficult. As Anna says:

How can you talk to someone about airplanes, for example, if that person doesn’t know what an airplane is? It is a slow but ineluctable process of erasure. (88-89)

In effect, each person is speaking his own private language, and as the instances of shared understanding diminish, it becomes increasingly difficult to communicate with anyone. (89)

Words tend to last a bit longer than things, but eventually they fade too, along with the pictures they evoked. (98)

At the end, language makes no sense anymore since words have gradually become “only sounds, a random collection of glottal and fricatives, as a storm of whirling phonemes, and finally the whole thing just collapses into gibberish” (89).

In this story, everything means violence, aggression and death. Isolation is to be found everywhere, in the general obsession with death and survival at any cost. The other person is always a potential enemy that one has to fight with, with no mercy; walls of death are everywhere, the city itself is divided by the Fiddlers’ Rampart and the Millennial Gate. There is also the Sea Wall project that would take at least fifty years to build. There is no reliable news about anyone who had survived the crossing of those walls of death. Whoever manages to enter the city is imprisoned by the horror of the city, and taken to an unknown place.

The only way to explore this world is to treat it as an enigma to be deciphered. The writer’s mission is to explore this enigma, to turn it into a text, so that he can find a way out through the chaos of the city.

THE BOOK OF MEMORY

This is the case of Samuel Farr, who is secluded in the rooms of the destroyed National Library. He is dedicated to a book which will commemorate the catastrophe of the city. The book is supposed to be a collection of testimonies, and his work consists of organizing disparate materials into something coherent. His decision is to spend the rest of his life writing the book: “The story is too big, you understand, it’s impossible for any person to tell it” (102). While being chased, Anna Blume finds refuge inside the Library, which is the shelter of a group that includes not only researchers and writers who managed to escape the Purification Movement, but also the last surviving Jews:

“I thought all the Jews were dead,” I whispered.
“There are a few of us left,” he said, smiling at me again.
“It’s not so easy to get rid of us, you know.”
“I’m Jewish too,” I blurted out. “My name is Anna Blume, and I come here from far away. I’ve been in the city for over a year now, looking for my brother.” (95)
Entering the library, a place of shelter surrounded by chaos, means entering the world of books and fiction, which seems to be the only chance of survival when the reality is unbearable: “I lived in the library with Sam, and for the next six months that small room was the center of my life” (107). It is a place of miracles since Anna gets pregnant in a city where children have not been born for a long time. She has a goal now. But then, the spell is broken. As Anna leaves the protected room, catastrophe ensues: her child dies before birth, a fire destroys the room, the library, and Sam’s book. Sam is willing to die in order to save this book since its writing keeps him alive: “I can’t stop. The book is the only thing that keeps me going. It prevents from thinking about myself and getting sucked up into my own life. If I ever stopped working on it, I’d be lost. I don’t think I’d make it through another day” (104). Sam seems to be punished for having devoted so much time and energy to the aimless project of writing, in the solitude of a room, excluded from the external world. The room and the book disappear in the same time in fire, we could say, a purifying fire.

Anna Blume’s last chance in her effort to fight self-destruction is similar to Sam’s: alone, she writes the letters that are the fictional source of the book. Writing letters keeps her alive: “I feel there is something to say, and if I don’t quickly write it down, my head will burst. It doesn’t matter if you read it. It doesn’t even matter if I send it” (3). She starts to write after Isabel’s death, and it is a symbolic gesture of mourning: “(…) there was the notebook with all those blank pages in it, and suddenly I felt an overwhelming urge to pick up one of the pencils and begin this letter. By now, it is the only thing that matters to me: to have my say at last, to get it all down on these pages before it is too late” (79). Writing is an attempt to escape from a past trauma, loss or pain. She would have gone mad if she hadn’t had the possibility to write down all her experiences. After another painful experience, the loss of the rabbi, she says:

> Everything disappears, people just as surely as objects, the living along the dead. I mourned the loss of my friend, felt pulverized by the sheer weight of it (…) Sam’s book became the most important thing in my life. As long as we kept working on it, I realized, the notion of a possible future would continue to exist for us. (113-114)

Her act of writing is an act of survival: she tries to re-establish her identity by narrating stories from the past and the present.

Memory and remembering are related to identity. The city is vanishing, things do not last, and once they are gone, it is forever. At first, Anna is trying to disappear, therefore denying her identity: “Never think about anything (…) Just melt into the streets and pretend that your body doesn’t exist. No musings; no sadness or happiness; no anything but the street, all empty inside, concentrating only on the next step you are about to take” (57). Loss of identity equals forgetting the past and memories. It is possible to think that the desire of erasing the past is in fact the desire of a new beginning:

> You no longer know how to act, and because you cannot act, you find yourself unable to think. The brain is in a muddle (…) One change follows another, each
Forgetting is a necessary act in order to remember and to reconstruct identity: “(...)
each day brings the same struggle, the same blankness, the desire to forget
and then not to forget. Her letters are a “calling out (...), screaming into
a vast, terrible blankness” (183). At the end of the novel, Anna defines her own
storytelling as an act of survival:

The closer you come to the end, the more there is to say. The end is only
imaginary, a destination you invent to keep yourself going, but a point comes
when you realize you will never get there. You might have to stop, but that is only
because you have run out of time. You stop, but that does not mean you have
come to the end. (Ibid)

Anna Blume regains her life through writing and the text itself is an image
of the process of reconstruction: the fragmentation of the first pages turns
into a structured narrative, and although most of her narrative is written in
retrospect, there is a precise chronological order that reflects her will to write.
But like Sam’s project, Anna's never reaches the end: there is always more to
say, that could have been written, the writer cannot produce a perfect account
of the whole reality. So we must consider Anna’s letters as a double process
of survival: a personal survival joined with an attempt to use words so they
would not disappear. Therefore, Anna is reducing the font of her letters, being
economic with them so they would be part of her book. She is not the only one
in the novel who resorts to the process of reduction –Ferdinand has already
done that while constructing his ever more reduced fleet. The motif of “history
in reverse” is present throughout the novel, and symbolizes the criticism of
the idea of historical progress associated with the American Dream myth.

Anna’s book becomes a means of bypassing the unreal city and universe;
it is a collection of missing words, while providing new definitions for some of
them. The book is living while it seems that life has disappeared from the city.
Anna cannot have children, but she will give birth to her letters. It is a way for
her to exist after her death, in the same way she is trying to save the words and
make them alive. Also, the open-ended mode with which the narrative closes
points to the impossibility of a conclusion; everything is almost at the end, but
it is never completely exhausted: “Time is running short now, and I mustn’t
waste any more words than I have to” (183). Storytelling functions as a form
of resistance against death and it takes place in order to postpone the end of
the narrative.

The very last words of the novel are: “This is Anna Blume, your old friend
from another world. Once we get to where we are going, I will try to write to
you again, I promise” (188). Relying on the thought of Paul Auster quoted at

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4 For a more detailed analysis of the pattern of history in reverse, see Wesseling 1991.
the very beginning of this paper, Anna Blume’s could be … écrire pour ne pas mourir encore …

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PRIMARY SOURCE


SECONDARY SOURCES

Katarina V. Melić

SEĆANJE U POST-APOKALIPTIČNOM PREDELU: U ZEMLJI POSLEDNJIH STVARI POLA OSTERA

Rezime


Ključne reči: Oster, sećanje, post-apokalipsa, grad, razaranje, preživljavanje, pisanje, narativ

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NOTES ON THE ROMANTICITY OF A FADE-OUT: SHELLEY, BLAKE AND JEAN PAUL RICHTER

To contextualize the readings of the two poems, the paper reviews the known “textual circumstances” of Shelley’s “Music when soft voices die” and Blake’s “Leave, O leave me to my sorrows”, before examining Jean Paul Friedrich Richter’s views of romanticity as “spaciousness” (even the “spaciousness” of sound). The readings of the two poems in the framework of the aforementioned textual contextualization and Jean Paul’s prose, show not only a similarity between the poems themselves and between the poems and Richter’s prose, but also a connection between the concepts of “spaciousness” and Weltschmerz as they are read in the poems.

Keywords: romanticity, fade-out, Weltschmerz, Blake, Shelley, J. P. Richter

1. INTRODUCTION

To attempt a paper on apparently high-blown topics like “romanticity” or, worse, “romanticity of a fade-out” in a short, ostensibly comparative study seems incongruous, especially if one shares the belief that comparative studies run the risk of being skeletal, mechanical, “restricted to external problems of sources and influences” (Wellek & Warren 1948: 40).

The paper at hand is, thankfully, only partly burdened with “sources and influences”. However, it is, albeit to an extent, an exercise in what T.S. Eliot (1957: 112) has called “lemon-squeezer” kind of criticism, a dinosaur of a methodological praxis that seems to have been, even in its heyday, suitable to “extract, squeeze, tease, press every drop of meaning” that would pretty much surprise the “subject’s” authors (Eliot 1957: 112).

Finally, after contextualizing the poems in terms of their primary texts, and, following the modest dissections of the two poems by Shelley and Blake

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respectively, the paper positions their anatomies against fragments of Jean Paul Richter’s prose, in an effort to identify the similarities between the three texts in terms of Weltschmerz and “spaciousness” of romanticity.

2. THE TEXTS OF “MUSIC, WHEN SOFT VOICES DIE” AND “LEAVE, O LEAVE ME TO MY SORROWS”

Even without going into anything like a comprehensive review of the receptions of the two poems, one might allow oneself to state that, of the two, “Music, when soft voices die” (also known as “To –”) is the better and (more often) regarded piece. Perhaps its author lends it something of his own popularity, and perhaps its “interdisciplinary” topic helps too (the poem’s Wikipedia page lists some 24 composers who set the poem to music, while the number of references to the poem in journals like The Choral Journal, The Musical Times, The Musical Times, Music Supervisors’ Journal, Music & Letters is substantial, to say the least). Perhaps it is also relevant in this context to point out Shelley’s interests in music and musical themes, which produced a corresponding critical interest in the “native” field of literary scholarship (see Cœuroy and Baker 1923 for an early or Vatalaro 2009 for a recent example). And almost any detail related to what is perceived as an important aspect of a major author’s work deserves attention, of course. De Palacio (1964: 345) thus informs us (with a bit of gusto) how in his early life, Shelley was not quite what one might call a music lover: in 1813 he became acquainted with the Newtons, friends of William Godwin, and while Mrs. Newton, who was an accomplished musician, was playing with a fellow artist, Shelley would retire to a corner and tell ghost stories to the children. All the more curious when one bears in mind that later in his life “music affected him deeply”, as Leigh Hunt claimed (Ibid).

On the other hand, finding evidence of critical interest in “Leave, O leave me to my sorrows”, even in this day and age of accessible information, is a bit challenging. The poem did appear in editions of Blake’s selected poems (cf. Blake 1996: 62), but it is not exactly commonplace in anthologies. Sure, it was originally without a title, and it also has an alternative title, confusingly shared with other pieces (“Miss Gittipin’s song”) but these ‘deficiencies’ did not hamper the popularity of Shelley’s poem (which, by the way, has yet a third ‘alias’ – “Memory”).

However, a reading of these two poems calls for the contextualization of the primary texts, which ostensibly show similarly convoluted history and crux-ridden meanings resulting in different critical (dis)interest.

“Music, when soft voices die” was a kind of a textual puzzle, sometimes even appearing as a single stanza (cf. Massey 1960: 430). “Every line in it was written by Shelly, but its final shape is somewhat problematic” (Chernaik 1972: 281). As Irving Massy (1960) has shown, in preparing the 1824 edition of Shelley’s poems, Mary Shelly reversed the order of the stanzas – “Rose leaves, when the rose is dead,” was the first line of the poem (see also Chernaik 1972: 281). Furthermore, the notebook copy of the poem is entitled “Memory”, and
includes an extra line which Mary omitted from the published version. The deletion of this line, “when a poet gone”, Massy (1960: 434) believes, completely altered the meaning of the poem and made it impossible to see that “thy” and “thou” in line seven of the published version referred to the poet himself, and not to the beloved. In other words, Massy has shown (see also Hirsch 1961: 298) that the published (and still anthologized) version of the poem was not the poem as conceived by Shelley.

Although The Island in the Moon only exists in a single unfinished manuscript that does not seem to be the original, but a later transcript (probably by Blake), the text of “Leave, O leave me to my sorrows”, which originates from the same manuscript, seems undisputed in terms of its authenticity. Whereas the need to recontextualize “Music when soft voices die” resulted in a mini-dispute between Massey and Hirsch and promoted further interest in the poem, the unfinished, local, and a bit colorless textual context of “Leave, O leave me to my sorrows” did not effect anything comparable.

3. JEAN PAUL RICHTER, WELTSCHMERZ AND THE “SPACIOUSNESS” OF ROMANTICITY

Jean Paul Friedrich Richter, German romantic author known for his humorous prose, seems to have been the first to use the word Weltschmerz in his 1810 novel Selina. The author, as well as the term, did not really gain much traction when it comes to English literary scholarship: it seems likely that Selina was never translated into English (it is certainly difficult to find this translation, if it exists). OED (1989) cites an 1875 example as the oldest usage of the term, while Britannica has an entry for Weltschmerz but does not credit Jean Paul. Of the six English Dictionaries of literary terms consulted, only two had short entries for Weltschmerz, but did not credit Jean Paul (Baldick 1990: 275 and Cuddon 1977: 918, the other four being Barnet et. al 1960, Mikics 2007, Abrams 1999, Childs and Fowler 1973).

William Rose (1924) authored a comparative study (originally a doctoral dissertation) of English and German literature focusing on Weltschmerz (From Goethe to Byron: The Development of ‘Weltschmerz’ in German Literature); in fact, Byron’s poetry is seen as a prime example of Weltschmerz (Damnjanović 2001: 934) influencing German literary development of the concept in Heine and others. Laurence Sterne’s influence in Germany has been covered by Thayer (2012); Thayer (2012: 155) even promised a detailed study of Jean Paul in connection with Sterne. But I am unaware of any studies dealing with Weltschmerz in Blake, or Blake’s influence on German authors.

On the other hand, Jean Paul Richter’s notes on the distinguishing traits of romantic poetry, and on its “spaciousness”, as far as I was able to ascertain, seem all but unknown in English scholarship. In Serbia, these notes have been translated by Katarina Bles and published in a compilation of essays on Romanticism entitled Romantizam, edited by Zoran Gluščević (1967).

In the text cited above, Jean Paul (1967: 88), asking what makes a scene romantic, states that a Dutch garden is but an echo of the romantic, whereas an
English garden, spread into a seemingly endless landscape, is a better example of romanticity. It’s not the sublime that is so easily turned into romantic, “spaciousness” is what characterizes the romantic (Ibid); the romantic is the beautiful without boundaries, or rather limitless beauty. A narrow and clear-cut sculpture has nothing to do with the romantic, group painting is closer, whereas it’s the landscapes without people in them that attain the romantic.

Barthes (1975: 12), as I have pointed out elsewhere (Bubanja 2015: 202), saw fringes as erotic: ruptures and discontinuities, says Barthes, are like the interruptions of skin between the shirt and trousers. Narratives carry within themselves a kind of tmesis (Barthes 1975: 13-14), a source or figure of satisfaction. But, significantly, Barthes (67) also claims that completeness is in danger of becoming ideological. This would imply that the romantic, if conceived in terms of “spaciousness” or “limitless beauty” is not (in danger of becoming ideological).

Suffice it to say that, when Jean Paul (1967: 93) continues to argue that what remains to the poets after the ruin of the external world is the internal world, he does not seem to be beyond ideology. The bodies are finite, while the spirit is infinite, and the realm of infinity thrives on the ashes of finiteness (Ibid).

This, explains Jean Paul (89), seems to be the reason why the moonlight is romantic: because it is not sharply delineating, because it answers not the need of the ancient Greeks to make clear-cut distinctions. Thus, it is not so much the relatively small luminosity of moonlight, but rather the loss of contrast that it brings: poorer edge definition seems to be a gesture towards the non-finite.

The same standards of “spaciousness” and “non-finiteness” apply to sound and music: the romantic, says Jean Paul (Ibid.), is like distant, redoubled music fused with infinity – an echo that pleases not by the repetition of its tones, but by their gradual softening, dimming and fading. Thus, the romantic, Jean Paul (Ibid.) argues, is an undulating echoing of a musical string or of chiming, where sound waves sink and drift away ever farther and farther, until they are lost within ourselves. Because, when they go quiet in the external world, we can still hear them within ourselves, within our minds, in our internal world.

4. FADE-OUT AS ‘SPACIOUSNESS’

To claim that in the above quoted passages, Jean Paul is referring to musical fade-outs is not as straightforward as it might seem. The practice of fade-out endings did not seem to be common prior to earliest days of recording. The Wikipedia article “Fade (audio engineering)” does cite Joseph Haydn’s Symphony 45 as possibly the earliest example of a fade-out ending, though, and it predates Richter’s writing (1772).

Be that as it may, as any surviving lemon squeezer, I think we can put the problem of authorial intention aside and turn to the intriguing congeniality between early fade-out techniques and Jean Paul’s suggestions about the romanticity of music in terms of its “spaciousness”.

Thus, the above referred to Wikipedia article states, without citing sources, that a common way of achieving a fade-out ending in pre-electronic
recording was to move “the sound source away from the recording horn”. In other words, fade-out is equivalent to the movement of sound away from the receiver, into the infinite distance of space.

Similarly, the same Wikipedia article cites Huron for another example of fade-out music – Gustav Holst’s “Neptune, the mystic”, part of the orchestral suite The Planets written between 1914 and 1916: Holst instructs that the women’s choruses are “to be placed in an adjoining room, the door of which is to be left open until the last bar of the piece, when it is to be slowly and silently closed”, and that the final bar is “to be repeated until the sound is lost in the distance” (Huron 2006: 318). The Wikipedia article further speculates that the effect must have been bewitching and cites Holst’s daughter’s remark that the ending was “unforgettable, with its hidden chorus of women’s voices growing fainter and fainter... until the imagination knew no difference between sound and silence”.

Theoretical explanations as well as those offered by professional audio and music producers fall in line with the assumption of fade-out as something that creates the illusion of end-lessness, infinity; Kopiez et.al (2015: 360) summarize the explanations as follows:

Bartlett and Bartlett (2009, p. 277) also emphasize the perceptual effect of imaginative continuation caused by a faded song closure: “The musical meaning of a fade is something like, ‘This song is continuing to groove, but the band is leaving on a slow train.’” This continuation hypothesis is in line with contributions to this topic in a discussion forum for professional audio and music producers: Whynot (2011, November 25) assumes that the perceptual effect of fade-out results in the “impression that the song goes on forever” – an aspect which is consistent with Kneif’s (1978) assumption of “mood preservation.”

Thus, it is the prolonged nature of a fade-out ending that suggests spaciousness and romanticity: a fade-out is lasting, the sound fades away slowly, it lingers (incidentally, in the holograph, “Music when soft voices die vibrates in the memory” shows a cancelled “linger” in place of “vibrates” (cf. Massey 1960: 431). Jean Paul Friedrich Richter says that the slow fade-out of a musical tone creates the impression of it growing more and more distant (thus suggesting space), disappearing finally within ourselves; although the actual sound is no more, though everything is quiet in the outside world, the tone still echoes in our minds.

“Music when soft voices die” in its published form can certainly be read alongside poems like “When the lamp is shattered”, as a poem struggling to find a way to overcome the passage of time (cf. Kuić 1999: 333). Thus, in “thy thoughts when thou art gone, love itself shall slumber on”, the “thoughts” are tacitly identified with the “the rose leaves” from the following lines. The thoughts are as fresh, as delicate, odorous and colorful as rose leaves. Rose leaves are exactly what makes a rose beautiful; the thoughts, on the other hand, are what is beautiful about the addressee: in other words, this beauty is spiritual. These thoughts shall live on even once the addressee is dead: “Odours live within the sense they quicken”, and so do these thoughts which survive
in the sense (mind, intellect) they stir and transport. Thus, our own mind, our spiritual, intellectual being, is able to prolong the existence of sounds or odours, but the minds of others can prolong our own.

Another explanation along the same lines centers upon the assumption that the poem is dedicated to Emilia Viviani (cf. Chernaik 1972: 284). Namely, the images of this poem appear in the opening sections of *Epipsychidion*: music, sweet melody, dead rose petals. On the basis of the fact that the longer poem apotheosizes Teresa Emilia Viviani (a girl bound to spend the rest of her days in a convent) it is assumed that “Music when soft voices die can be read as a compliment to Emilia’s poetry (*Ibid*). She wrote love poetry, thus, her thoughts would be her poems, the bed on which Love shall slumber. Therefore, it is her poetry that gives her infinity.

Of course, the readings above at least partly rely on the logic of the published version, and so on disregarding the textual evidence that “thy” refers to the poet himself, and not to a real or imagined beloved. But, even if one discards the above readings as based on the published version, there is enough to point towards a certain nostalgic pessimism about the way in which the bodily fails to resist time and to live up to the standards of the spiritual.

“Music, when soft voices die vibrates in the memory”, Shelley says. Just as important as the dying music is the memory, mind, the sense of the recipient, his or her spiritual being; it is the mind that prolongs and preserves the soft sound of music and sweet odors of violets. And the mind is, of course, infinite, and the realm of infinity thrives on the ruins of finiteness, on the ashes of the bodily, external, as Jean Paul states (1967: 93).

Thus, it can perhaps already be suggested that the romanticity of a fade-out taken as suggestive of the infinite, but also of the spiritual as triumphant over the bodily, is strangely in accord with the romanticity of *Weltschmerz*, especially *Weltschmerz* as read here in William Blake’s “Leave, O leave me to my sorrows”.

### 5. *FADING INTO WELTSCHMERZ*

“Leave, O leave me to my sorrows” is effectively a song, sung by a character in Blake’s satire / drama / prose / songbook *An Island in the Moon*. *An Island in the Moon* is perhaps mostly valued for its songs, three of which Blake later included in the *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*. (“Leave, O leave me to my sorrows”, however, is *not* one of these three poems).

Leave, O leave me to my sorrows;
Here I’ll sit and fade away,
Till I’m nothing but a spirit,
And I lose this form of clay.

Then if chance along this forest
Any walk in pathless ways,
Thro’ the gloom he’ll see my shadow
Hear my voice upon the breeze.
The name of the character who sings this song in An Island in the Moon is Miss Gittipin (perhaps based on Nancy Flaxman, John Flexman’s wife), and so the poem can sometimes be found under the title ‘Miss Gittipin’s Song’. Miss Gittipin is said to “sing like a harpsichord”, and sings several songs in An Island in the Moon, “Leave, O leave me to my sorrows” being her last. It does not seem likely, however, that Miss Gittipin is singing to musical accompaniment, although the occasion where “Leave, O leave me to my sorrows” is sung is described as “another merry meeting at the house of Steelyard the Lawgiver”. In fact, some of the songs sung, like “O father, father, where are you going” (“The Little Boy Lost” in Songs of Innocence and Experience) and “Leave, O leave me to my sorrows” itself, are hardly appropriate for a merry meeting.

Apropos the occasion and the songs preceding “Leave, O leave me to my sorrows”, it seems they do have something in common: they all seem to be dealing with children. Mr Obtuse Angle sings “Upon a holy Thursday, their innocent faces clean, / The children walking two & two in grey & blue & green” (entitled “Holy Thursday” in Songs of Innocence and of Experience). Then Mrs. Nannicantipot sings “When the tongues of children are heard on the green” (“The Nurse’s Song” in Songs of Innocence and Experience), which is followed by “O father, father, where are you going” (“The Little Boy Lost” in Songs of Innocence and Experience), sung by Quid (although it seems Blake also considered Tilly Lally and Miss Gittipin for the role of the singer). Tilly Lally then sings “O I say, you Joe, / Throw us the ball”, which is followed by “Leave, O leave me to my sorrows”.

The songs that follow have no obvious relation to children. Neither does “Leave, O leave me to my sorrows”, though the resolution of the speaker to isolate himself / herself from everybody else and the clearly expressed desire to be left alone could be argued to be characteristic of children, or at least of adolescents (more on this below).

The speaker of “Leave, O leave me to my sorrows”, apparently sick and tired of this world, imperatively charges the unnamed listener(s) to leave him alone to “sit” and “fade away”, where, by “fade away” he or she seems to mean “die”. But, this is not simply despair, precisely because of the prolonged nature of fading: the speaker will not simply die, abruptly, finitely, but will fade away and discard the obvious possibility of a cold ending, ending without the fade-out.

The unusual decision to simply “sit” and “fade away” seems to be peculiar to Weltschmerz: Weltschmerz is often seen as characterized by a “lack of will-energy”, by yielding to the painful emotions, and “sitting” can certainly invoke effects of passivity and listlessness (cf. Braun 1905).

Further, the prolonged nature of “fading” does not seem to be clearly motivated, just as the precise nature of the speaker’s Weltschmerz is unclear. If Braun (1905) was right in judging the cosmic (proceeding from the general to the particular) and egotistic (personal, proceeding the opposite way) types of Weltschmerz as not entirely distinct, nowhere is the truth of this judgement more evident than in “Leave, O leave me to my sorrows”, where the speaker’s
dissatisfaction can rightly be judged, in the “Weltschmerz fashion”, to be unreasoned, devoid of philosophical grounds.

Except in one detail: the fading of the speaker, in a distinctly romantic turn, affects only the bodily – the speaker says he or she will fade ‘till I’m nothing but a spirit and I lose this form of clay’. This is comparable to Byron’s “for the sword outwears the sheath, / and the soul wears out the breast” (Byron 1997: 132). Or, once again, as Jean Paul (1967: 93) insists: the bodies are finite, while the spirit is infinite, and the realm of infinity thrives on the ashes of finiteness. And, of course, it is in the nature of Weltschmerz to spring from a dissatisfaction with the physical which is unable to live up to the standards of the spirit. Though, of course, to just sit and fade away seems like extreme, suicide-bomber kind of radical Weltschmerz.

It is perhaps not necessary to anatomize other details which could potentially point towards “spaciousness” and “infinity”, like, the apparent setting of the poem, a gloomy, pathless forest stretching far away in all directions, admitting only a distant possibility of a chance wayfarer.

This possibility, however, may briefly point to a different aspect of the speaker’s Weltschmerz: if anybody happens to enter the pathless forest, he or she will see the speaker’s shadow through the gloom and hear the speaker’s voice on the breeze. Shadow and gloom, voice and wind seem to merge in a romantic ghost sighting envisioning. But, if the pathless gloomy forest can be understood as a representation of the speaker’s state of mind, then, perhaps, this second stanza can be understood as a message to any person that might be capable of deciphering it; this person would be capable of distinguishing the speaker’s voice and of discerning his shadow through the gloom – in other words, this person would be capable of understanding the speaker, of seeing his or her spirit, seeing the speaker as the world apparently cannot / could not.

This line of reading may or may not remind one of the fact that Weltschmerz has historically also been a pose, and may also hark back to the aforementioned possibility that the speaker may just be an adolescent. Still, the introductory, hierarchical then, meaning “only after I become a spirit”, seems to insist that the hinted possibility for kindred companionship is brought about by the changed state of the speaker, rather than any special quality of, after all, a chance “acquaintance”.

6. CONCLUSION

“Spaciousness” is what characterizes the romantic, says Jean Paul: the romantic is the beautiful without clear-cut boundaries. The romantic, insists Jean Paul in a significant comparison, is like distant, redoubled music fused with infinity – an echo that pleases by gradual fading. Thus, the romantic is an undulating echoing of a musical string, where sound waves drift away, ever more distant, until they are lost within the listeners, who can still hear them within, even when they go quiet in the external world.

It is in view of this last position that Richter seems to relate romanticity and spaciousness with the spiritual: the bodies are finite, while the spirit is
infinite, and, Jean Paul insists, the realm of infinity thrives on the ashes of finiteness.

Shelley’s “Music when soft voices die” and Blake’s “Leave O leave me to my sorrows” show marked similarities with the above-referred to positions. The opening verses of “Music when soft voices die” sound like a versified version of Jean Paul’s lines on reverberating music fading away from the listener, yet continuing to thrive within him once it is spent in the outside world. The inner world provides a lasting, non-finite existence, superior to the external world: in this way, reading Shelley’s poem makes it easier to discern that Jean Paul’s concept of spaciousness of the romantic is, perhaps unexpectedly, akin to the concept of Weltschmerz (incidentally or not, introduced by Jean Paul in Selina).

This is made even clearer in “Leave O leave me to my sorrows”, where the speaker, driven by cosmic or egotistic Weltschmerz, decides to “fade away” until he or she “is nothing but a spirit”. In the light of textual contextualization (and historical characteristics of Weltschmerz), it was possible to interpret the speaker’s Weltschmerz as attitudinizing. But the speaker’s clear sequencing (“then”) helps drive home the conclusion that the persona’s “fade-out” is in fact a dimming, leading to and arising from Weltschmerz.

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Beleške o romantičnosti fejdauta: Šeli, Blejk i Žan Paul Rihter

Rezime

U cilju kontekstualizacije namere čitanja Šelijeve „Muzika kad tihi glasovi zamru“ i Blejkove „Ostavi, o ostavi me tugovanjima mojim“, u radu se revidiraju dokumentovane okolnosti u vezi sa autentičnošću i tekstualnim okvirom originalnih / rukopisnih verzija ovih pesama. Značajniji deo teorijsko-metodološkog okvira čini preispitanje Žan Paul Rihterovih stavova o romantičnosti kao prostornosti (čak i prostornosti zvuka koja se u radu povezuje sa audio-inženjerskom tehnikom „fejdauta“). Analize navedenih pesama u ovako postavljenom kontekstu ukazuju na značajnu srodnost ne samo između ovih pesama i između pesama i Rihterove proze, već i na vezu između koncepta prostornosti i veltšmerca, kako su interpretirani u navedenim pesmama.

Ključne reči: romantičnost, fejdaut, veltšmerc, Blejk, Šeli, Ž. P. Rihter

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Vladimir M. Žegarac

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4. Параграфи: формат: Normal; први ред: увучен аутоматски (Col 1).

5. Име аутора: Наводе се име(на) аутора, средње слово (препоручујемо) и презиме(на). Име и презиме домаћих аутора увек се исписује у оригиналном облику (ако се пише латиницом – са српским дијакритичким знаковима), независно од језика рада.

6. Назив установе аутора (афилијација): Непосредно након имена и презимена наводи се пун (званични) назив и седиште установе у којој је аутор запослен, а евентуално и назив установе у којој је аутор обавио истраживање. У сложеним организацијама наводи се укупна хијерархија. Ако је аутора више, а неки потичу из исте установе, мора се, посебним ознакама или на други начин, назначити из које од наведених установа потиче сваки од аутора. Функција и звање аутора се не наводе.

7. Контакт подаци: Адресу или електронску адресу аутора ставља у напомену при дну прве странице чланка. Ако је аутора више, даје се само адреса једног, обично првог.

8. Језик рада и писмо: Језик рада може бити српски, руски, енглески, немачки, француски или неки други европски, светски или словенски језик, раширене употребе у међународној филолошкој комуникацији. Писмо на којем се штампају радови на српском језику јесте ћирилица.

9. Наслов: Наслов треба да буде на језику рада; треба га поставити центрирано и написати великим словима.

10. Апстракт: Апстракт треба да садржи циљ истраживања, методе, резултате и закључак. Треба да има од 100 до 250 речи и да стоји између заглавља (наслов, имена аутора и др.) и кључних речи, након којих следи текст чланка. Апстракт је на српском или на језику чланка. [Техничке пропозиције за уређење: формат – фонт: Times New Roman, Normal; величина фонта: 10; размак између редова – Before: 0; After: 0; Line spacing: Single; први ред – увучен аутоматски (Col 1).]

11. Кључне речи: Број кључних речи не може бити већи од 10. Кључне речи дају се на оном језику на којем је написан апстракт. У чланку се дају непосредно након апстракта. [Техничке пропозиције за уређење: формат – фонт: Times New Roman, Normal; величина фонта: 10; први ред – увучен аутоматски (Col 1).]

12. Претходне верзије рада: Ако је чланак био изложен на скупу у виду усменог саопштења (под истим или сличним насловом), податак о томе треба да буде наведен у посебној напомени, при дну прве стране
13. Навођење (цитирање) у тексту: Начин позивања на изворе у оквиру чланка мора бити консеквентан од почетка до краја текста. Захтева се следећи систем цитирања:


14. Напомене (фусноте): Напомене се дају при дну стране у којој се налази коментарисани део текста. Могу садржати мање важне детаље, допунска објашњења, назнаке о коришћеним изворима итд., али не могу бити замена за листу референци (види под 16), нити могу заменити горе захтевани начин навођења (цитирања) у тексту (види под 13). [Техничке пропозиције за уређење: формат – Footnote Text; први ред – увучен аутоматски (Col 1); величина фонта – 10; нумерација – арапске цифре.]

15. Табеларни и графички прикази: Табеларни и графички прикази треба да буду дати на једнообразан начин, у складу с лингвистичким стандардом опремања текста.

16. Листа референци (литература): Цитирана литература обухвата по правилу библиографске изворе (чланке, монографије и сл.) и даје се искључиво у засебном одељку чланка, у виду листе референци. Литература се наводи на крају рада, пре резимеа. Референце се наводе латинцем и исписују на доследан начин, абецедним редоследом. Референце изворно публиковане ћирилицом или неким другим писмом могу се (нако то није неопходно) након обавезног латиничног облика (у који се такве референце морају транслитеровати), према у даљем тексту наведеним примерима, са назнаком [orig.], навести у свом оригиналном облику.

Ако се више библиографских јединица однесе на истог аутора, оне се хронолошци постављају. Референце се не преводе на језик рада. Са ставних делови референци (ауторска имена, наслов рада, извор итд.) наводе се на следећи начин:

[за књigu]

[за чланак]

[за прилог у зборнику]
[за радове штампане латиницом]
[за радове на страном језику – латиницом]
[за радове на страном језику – ћирилицом]
Радове истог аутора објављене исте године диференцирати додајући a, b, с или а, б, в, нпр.: 2007а, 2007б или 2009а, 2009б.
Ако има два аутора, навести оба презимена, нпр.: Simić, Oстојić; ако их има више: после првог презимена (а пре године) додати et al или и др.
[Техничке пропозиције за уређење: формат – фонт: Times New Roman, Normal; величина фonda: 11; размак између редова – Before: 0; After: 0; Line spacing: Single; први ред: куцати од почетка, а остале увући ауто-матски (Col 1: опција Hanging, са менија Format)]
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18. Биографија: У биографији, која не треба да прелази 250 речи, навес-ти основне податке о аутору текста (година и место рођења, институција у којој је запослен, области интересовања, референце публикованих књига).
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