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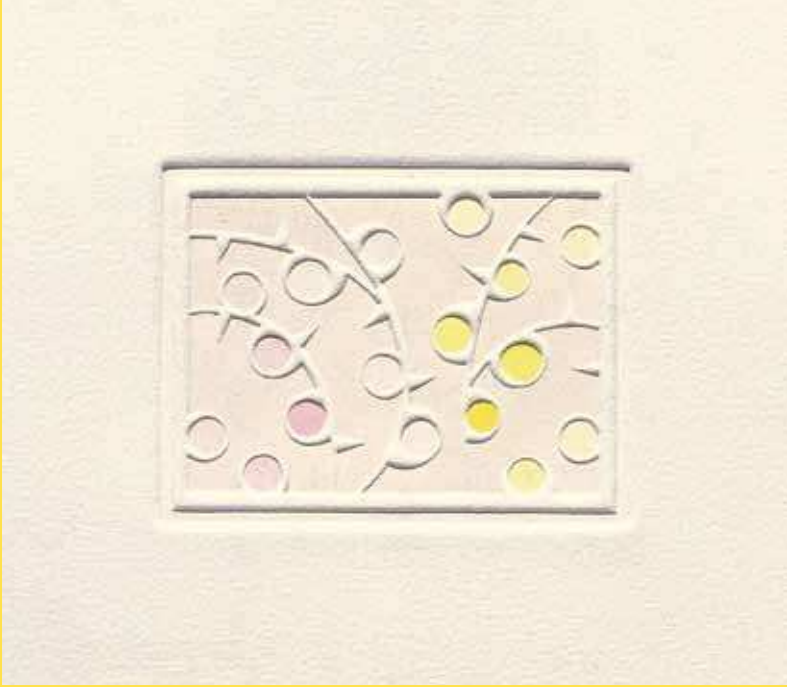
English Language Overseas Perspectives and Enquiries



Volume XI – Autumn

Journal Editors: SMILJANA KOMAR and UROŠ MOZETIČ

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Slovensko društvo za angleške študije
Slovene Association for the Study of English

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Department of English, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana

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Sdaš

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Extending Binary Collocations: (Lexicographical) Implications of Going beyond the Prototypical a – b

Summary

The paper focuses primarily on the Sinclairian concept of extended units of meaning in general and on extended collocations in particular, investigating their nature and types. Such extended units are extremely varied and diverse; they are regarded as instances of the functioning of the coselection principle. Some extended forms are used far more commonly that the corresponding prototypical (binary) sequences. The final section delves into the ABCs of extended collocations in the context of lexicography, suggesting that dictionaries should make an effort to include a selection of such strings, especially for encoding tasks that are to be shown as examples of use. Most dictionaries incorporate very few such "loose" units, probably because of a powerful tradition to include as examples of use chiefly binary collocations and full sentences.

Key words: extended unit of meaning, extended collocation, pattern, general monolingual dictionary, general bilingual dictionary

Širitev binarnih kolokacij: (Leksikografske) posledice širjenja prototipičnih dvočlenskih struktur

Povzetek

Prispevek se osredotoča na razširjene pomenske enote na splošno in zlasti razširjene kolokacije. Ukvarja se z naravo in vrstami tovrstnih enot, ki so izredno raznolike in kompleksne, in sicer v luči t.i. principa besedne zveze Johna Sinclairja. V nekaterih primerih so razširjene enote celó pogostejše kot ustrezne osnovne dvočlenske enote. Zadnje poglavje postavlja osnove za obravnavo razširjenih kolokacij v slovarjih; slovarji bi vsekakor morali vključevati tovrstne enote, predvsem za potrebe uvezovanja, navajali pa naj bi jih dosledno kot primere rabe. Vendar pa večina slovarjev vključuje zelo malo takšnih "ohlapnih" enot; razlog za to je verjetno dolga tradicija, ki med primere rabe v slovarjih uvršča predvsem prototipične (dvočlenske) kolokacije in cele stavke.

Ključne besede: razširjena pomenska enota, razširjena kolokacija, vzorec, splošni enojezični slovar, splošni dvojezični slovar

Extending Binary Collocations: (Lexicographical) Implications of Going beyond the Prototypical a – b

1. The Core Units: Collocation and Extended Collocation

Since about the mid-to-late 1980s, collocations have been a hot topic in English phraseology, in both research and language teaching. Commonly defined as frequent, semantically transparent, recurrent, psychologically salient, typically binary sequences such as *fatal accident, scheduled flight, readily available, to somebody's advantage*, and *to make a statement*, collocations display a variety of combinability restrictions that are often language-specific and as such largely unpredictable in cross-linguistic terms, particularly in encoding-oriented (L1→L2) language tasks. Moreover, a number of collocations allow what Sinclair (1991, 111) labeled "**internal lexical variation**" (Partington 1998, 26), as for example *in some cases/instances*, being indicative of synonymous collocational variation,[1] and also observed e.g. in *to give/make/deliver a speech*, *at top/full speed, a highly/largely speculative theory*, *absolute/complete/dead/deadly/total/utter silence* etc. Another feature of a number of even highly restricted binary collocations such as *vested interest(s)* is that they can have words inserted into them to produce **extended syntagms**, or more specifically **extended collocations**, e.g. *vested financial interest* or *vested political interests* (Partington 1998, 26). Considered from a wider phraseological angle that goes beyond collocation alone, this process illustrates the sometimes multistage "buildup-type" creation of a great variety of "extended" sequences that are, for the most part, also (most) commonly used in their basic, prototypical (=mostly binary) forms.[2] This means that the extension process can be observed not only in collocations, where extended collocations are thus duly observed, but also (though less commonly) in **extended idioms** and in **extended compounds**; however, the latter two are indicative of a (somewhat) different process of extension. Overall, this is an important phenomenon in phraseology that may not (yet) have been given its due; if anything, it has important implications for dictionary making, both monolingual and bilingual. Some of the major bilingual lexicographical implications are to be also addressed in the final sections of this paper, chiefly in the restricted framework of *extended collocability*.

2. Background: Extended Units of Meaning

After years of dedicated corpus-based research, John Sinclair (1996 [and 1998]; quoted in Stubbs 2002, 63) insightfully suggested that meaning, rather than being primarily a single-word-based feature (the traditional way of looking at it), is to be sought basically in what he dubbed **extended units of meaning**,[3] the underlying idea being that units of meaning are "largely phrasal." Since

[1] I have argued that in an advanced learners' dictionary the logically unassailable principle of "the more the better" need not apply as a matter of course when it comes to synonymous collocations listed in it (Gabrovšek 2011).

[2] An exception can be found e.g. in *to take a turn*, a binary collocation that is uncommon on its own, being as it is chiefly used in extended sequences such as *to take a sudden/dramatic/new/strange turn* and *to take a turn for the better/worse*.

[3] The **extended unit of meaning**, first suggested in the 1990s, stands in sharp contrast to most earlier views of the nature of the unit of meaning, covering a complex inventory of units and unit-like sequences whose formation can be viewed as a "buildup" process, as in (two-"level") the prepositional phrase *on hold* and *to put something on hold* ('to delay'); or (three- or four-"level") the noun *eye*, the collocation *naked eye*, the colligational string *to/with the naked eye*, and the extended unit *visible to/with the naked eye* that can itself be expanded to the four-"level" *barely visible to/with the naked eye*. An example with a weaker real-language evidence of the "mid-level" position can be found in *an eye – a blind eye – to turn a blind eye* [to something]. The basic distinction is often one between a collocation or compound and its pattern-type expansion, e.g. *common ground* vs. *to be* [quantifier] *common ground + between*, or *an easy victim – something makes someone an easy victim (for somebody else)*, which contrasts with the fixed but not pattern-type *fall victim (to something)*. A four-"level" example with additional grammatical requirements can be

these units are complex, they have been defined in Sinclairian terms with reference to four lines of work:

a) identification of **collocational profile** (the item and typical collocations it forms)
b) studying **colligational patterns** (the item and its recurrent grammatical environment)
c) establishing **semantic preference** (i.e. identification of a common and well-defined semantic field)
d) possible existence of **semantic prosodies** (these exist in certain collocations only, being in essence semantic "coloring" of the sense of a collocational component).

Stubbs (2004, 122) notes that a – d are increasingly abstract relations, adding that we can also specify another three relevant properties:

e) **strength of attraction** between node and collocates
f) **position of node and collocate**, variable or fixed (as in *spick and span*, but not **span and spick*)
g) **distribution**, wide occurrence in general English or in broad varieties (e.g. journalism), or restricted to specialized text-types (e.g. recipes: *finely chopped*, or weather forecasts: *warm front*).

However that may be, one should perhaps treat separately composite "frame"-like combinations, sometimes dubbed **patterns**, i.e. strings with "real words" and diverse "slots". Thus e.g. at the basic (prototypical), i.e. binary, level, while the adjective *devoid* combines (to form a grammatical collocation) with the following preposition *of*, it is – following a buildup process – usually used in a wider pattern formalized in the following way:

> [inanimate noun] + *to be devoid of* + [abstract noun denoting a good quality such as *warmth, compassion, humor, feeling*].
>
> Likewise, the noun *matter* is typically used, in one of its senses, in the pattern *to be* + *(just/only) a matter* + *of* + *noun* or + *of* + *-ing*-clause.

Also, the combination *to speak of*, in addition to what it does in syntactic terms, can be used idiomatically with a preceding negative to mean 'very little of something or a very small thing' (Mayor 2009, 1688), as in *At this stage, the young bird doesn't have any wings to speak of*.

Why, one might wonder, do we need extended units of meaning, or unit-like sequences? Why not use, for the most part, single-word items used merely in accordance with grammar rules? The reason is likely to be the **complexity** of what we wish to talk or write about, probably coupled with language economy, resulting in different degrees of not only syntactic complexity but also **phraseological complexity**. This complexity appears to be at its strongest with (fairly) frequent, contextually significant, salient and/or topical issues characterizing our everyday communication.

3. Extended Units of Meaning and the Coselection Principle

Extended units of meaning represent one "direction" of the functioning of the **coselection principle**, aka **phraseological tendency** (Sinclair 1991, 110ff., and Sinclair 1996), which operates in a great

observed in the noun *table*, the collocation *conference table*, the prepositional phrase *at the conference table*, and the extended unit *to sit at the conference table*, where *sit* is often in the progressive form and preceded by a noun/pronoun subject. The collocational "buildup" can likewise be observed e.g. in *career – a promising career – a promising career derailed (by alcohol abuse)*, or in *problem – a cocaine problem – a cocaine problem plagued baseball (in the 1990s) – a rampant cocaine problem plagued baseball (in the 1990s)*.

variety of ways; it is at work **whenever the choice of one word affects the choice of others in its vicinity**. We only need to consider, by way of exemplification, any out of a number of conventionalized, "frozen" phrases such as the laudatory SI *le tako naprej!* and its English equivalent, *keep up the good work!* As Lord (1994, 78) puts it, a word is able, to a considerable extent, to "predict" its environment, owing to a strong cohesive tendency between words. Not all words, witness e.g. function words such as *for* or delexical(ized) verbs such as *to take*.

The coselection principle sometimes shows (subtle) semantic changes in superficially similar binary and extended sequences that may be of relevance in foreign language teaching; thus many English teachers are well aware of the possibility of their students' misinterpreting or confusing the meaning of *to be sure of (doing) something* ('to be certain to get something or that something will happen') vs. *to be sure to do something* ('remember to do something'), or failing to grasp the role of the article and thus confuse or regard as synonymous *to take the place (of)* and *to take place*. Also, many learners are blissfully unaware of the fact that *at the beginning* is usually followed by a prepositional phrase starting with *of*, whereas *in the beginning* is usually used on its own. On the other hand, phraseology may be responsible for semantic distinctions that do not apply to the otherwise synonymous single-word items making them up; thus e.g. the prepositions *below* and *under* are more or less synonymous as single-word items, whereas *below the belt* is an idiomatic expression meaning 'unfair, cruel' (a comment may *hit below the belt*), whereas *under your belt* means '[having something] useful or important' (an employee with several years' experience *under his belt*).[4]

Even some of the more recent grammars (sic) have demonstrated an increased awareness of the many-sided nature, and pervasiveness, of the functioning of the coselection principle, witness e.g. the substantial treatment, in the corpus-based *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (Biber et al. 1999, 990-1024), of **lexical bundles**, defined as "sequences of word forms that commonly go together in natural discourse" (ibid., 990), i.e. common and structurally often not complete recurrent expressions (such as *going to be a, do you want me to, it should be noted that*) that show a statistical tendency to co-occur.[5] Such sequences could well be regarded as a type of "**extended collocations**" (ibid., 989). However, in this paper, an *extended collocation* (alternatively referred to as **composite collocation**) is a structurally complete sequence in which the prototypical, i.e. binary, collocation – usually regarded as the basic string – has been augmented by at least one lexical item (this is a quite common process) that is largely (con)text-bound; while keeping (either most or some of) its collocational character, each extended sequence is typically (but not unavoidably![6]) less frequent and phraseologically "looser" than the corresponding basic form, as for example in

an embarrassing decision → an acutely embarrassing decision,
to give a sigh → to give a grim sigh
to make allegations → to make serious/false allegations,
to provide an analysis → to provide an in-depth analysis,
to receive coverage → to receive wide coverage → to receive wide(spread) media coverage

[4] Semantic distinction can be occasionally observed even in denotatively synonymous compounds (themselves not very frequent to begin with), witness e.g. *a senior moment*, 'a time when you cannot remember something, because you are getting older – used humorously' and its synonym *brainfart*, which is stylistically marked, viz. informal (Mayor 2009, 1585, 190).

[5] Following the publication of the *Longman Grammar*, the *lexical bundle* was subjected to a typological investigation (e.g. Biber et al. 2003, Granger and Paquot 2008). In Biber and Barbieri (2007, 264), *lexical bundles* are defined as "multiword sequences that occur most commonly in a given register", "the most frequently recurring sequences of words (e.g. *I don't know if*)" that are "usually not structurally complete and not idiomatic in meaning, but they serve important discourse functions in both spoken and written texts".

[6] Thus it is difficult to maintain e.g. that *to take responsibility* just has to be commoner than *to take full responsibility*.

an allergic reaction → to have/suffer an allergic reaction → to have/suffer a severe allergic reaction[7]
to pass a bill → to pass a landmark bill → to pass a landmark health-care bill → to pass a landmark health-care reform bill
to score a goal → to score an away goal,
to take a break → to take a short/lunch/career break,
to take a turn → to take a wrong turn.[8]

In consequence, most of such extended formations can logically be broken down into two or more collocations making them up (e.g. *to provide an analysis + an in-depth analysis* and *to receive coverage + wide coverage + media coverage* in two of the examples just cited). Let us merely note that aside from "standard" extended collocations, there are in existence also "**patterned**" **extended collocations** that consist of "real" words and "slots" (e.g. *common knowledge → it + to be + common knowledge + that*-clause; *naked eye → to be + [barely] + visible + to/with + the naked eye*).

Incidentally, the extension of a multiword collocation-type string can also be found in another, idiom-type phraseological mode, as "a common type of idiom variation", "making idioms more specific by the addition of words that link them to the context," producing e.g. *toe the education authority line* from the more general *toe the line* (Bernardini 2004, 18).

4. Extended Units of Meaning at Large

First of all, we need to zero in on the broad-based **extended units of meaning** at large, such as Sinclair's own oft-cited *(barely) visible to/with the naked eye* referred to above. How exactly does one go about determining them, say in the case of [somebody] *never appeared truly in danger of coming out on the wrong end against* [an opponent], found online (Yahoo) on 26 May 2009 in a daily Roland Garros tennis report? There is more – for instance, combinations such as *think nothing of* (+*ing*-verb), with its contextual, or pattern-type, colligational requirement.

To start with the essentials, the basic-level, or prototypical, i.e. binary, collocations, which are quite common, are those which are extended by another collocating item, as found e.g. in

to make a discovery → to make a significant discovery,
to take a turn → to take a subtle turn,
a pay cut → a steep pay cut,
a twist of fate → a strange twist of fate.

There are also cases in which sequences verge on idioms, or are at the very least more idiomatic, such as *to take a turn → to take a subtle turn*.

Such extended formations can take not only additional collocational (=lexical) elements but further "logical" colligational (=grammatical) additions, as in *to keep a watchful eye on* [somebody/something], to *keep a sharp lookout for* [something/somebody], or *to exert an undue / a strong/*

[7] One might argue here that the basic collocation is *to have/suffer a reaction* rather than *an allergic reaction*; for such issues, corpora should be consulted to determine frequency figures.

[8] Extended collocability has been interpreted in different ways, e.g. as **collocational cascades**, or "sequences of interlocking items," where collocational patterns extend from a base to a collocator and on again to another base, creating "chains of shared collocates" (Gledhill 2000, 212). Moreover, one can look at the "buildup" process as one starting with a single-word item, say *work* (n.) → *to do work → to do heavy work → to do heavy outdoor work*. Dictionaries typically prefer the binary combination; thus in the *Longman* (Mayor 2009, 817), from which this example was taken (*heavy* adj, sense 3), only *heavy* and *work* are printed in bold type.

powerful influence <u>*on/over*</u> [something/somebody]. Again, such extended units can be **non-collocational**; they can be, though less frequently, either idioms or compounds. But are we to argue that their length aside, extended collocations are fundamentally different from (the decidedly fewer) **extended idioms** including idiomatic phrasal verbs, and **extended compounds**, such as

the idiom *to lend [somebody] an ear → to lend [somebody] a sympathetic ear*,
the idiom *to pack a punch → to pack a hard/hefty/strong punch,*
the idiom (in the form of a phrasal verb) *to pick up → to pick up an accent*,
the compound *the all-clear → to give the all-clear*,
the AmE compound *rain check → to take a rain check → to take a rain check on something,*
the compound *cloud nine → to be on cloud nine,*
the compound *senior moment → to have a senior moment,*
the compound *self-inflicted → a self-inflicted wound → a self-inflicted gunshot wound*,
the compound *self-image → a positive/negative/good/poor self-image,*
the compound *pickup → pickup truck*, and
the compound *self-fulfilling → self-fulfilling prophecy*?

Do extended forms preserve their prototypical, basic-form features? Indeed, quite a few of them merely add (slight) emphasis, so that they are largely synonymous with their prototypical counterparts, as in *to keep an eye out for → to keep a sharp eye out for*. Come to think of it, there are in existence also quite a few **(near-)synonymous extended collocations** (but far fewer synonymous extended compounds and extended idioms), e.g. *to be in need → to be in urgent/desperate need*, or in *to bear a resemblance → to bear a close/great/marked/remarkable/striking/strong/ an uncanny/eerie resemblance to somebody/something* (McIntosh 2009, 693).[9] So why make a fuss over the issue? Not really – matters are not nearly as simple and straightforward.

First of all, interestingly, some of such extended units – whether collocational or non-collocational (=idiom- or compound-type, provided they are considered to be comparable) – appear to exist, for the most part at any rate, chiefly or even solely in the extended form, as in the case of the idiom-type string *to give somebody/something a clean bill of health*, or the "mixed," idiom-cum-collocation-type *to keep a straight face*, where the verb *to keep* virtually always collocates with the entire nominal collocation rather than with the headnoun *face* alone. Next, *to take a twist* is characteristically used in an extended form such as *to take another twist* or *to take a new/cruel/unexpected/strange etc twist*, itself often further expanded into e.g. *to take a deadly new twist*. Also, *long-haul* is chiefly used only attributively, being as it is normally followed by *flight/route/destination* and only a few other similar nouns. Such examples may suggest that collocations can easily "become" larger while still keeping (some of) their phraseological, i.e. collocational, character.

Similarly, also some idioms are commonly used in "logical" colligational extensions, such as *to cut corners* <u>*on*</u> *something*. Finally, in certain extended items the extension is not restricted to one item since it offers synonymous alternatives, and in some others the basic (=unextended) phraseological form hardly enjoys phraseological salience, as it were, as in the compound *taskmaster* that is mainly used in *to be a hard/stern/tough taskmaster*, 'to force people to work very hard' (Mayor 2009, 1804).[10]

[9] Note that the more selective *Longman Collocations Dictionary and Thesaurus* (Mayor 2013, 1039) only offers, for this particular sense, *a close/strong/striking/remarkable resemblance* and *an uncanny resemblance*; still, the idea of (near-)synonymous collocations remains unchallenged. Another collocational competitor, the *Macmillan* (Rundell 2010, 690), shows the same thing in not one but, interestingly, two sections to capture visually the "intensity" distinction in the *resemblance* entry, as follows: *close/distinct/great/marked/strong resemblance* and *remarkable/startling/striking/uncanny resemblance*.

[10] Overall, as the above examples suggest, the complexity of the issue of phraseological extension goes a long way toward indicating

5. The Concept of Wider Patterning

Extended units of meaning are clearly related to the – considerably broader – concept of **wider patterning** (Francis 1993; Hunston and Francis 2000, 1-3); in this respect, it has been observed that a word often comes with its "**attendant phraseology**"; for instance, the noun *matter* frequently occurs with '*a ___ of* -ing,' this phraseology here being "the grammar pattern belonging to the word *matter*". The interaction between particular lexical items and grammatical patterns they form a part of is of the utmost importance, going as it does beyond the limits of particular collocations. In this approach, a **pattern** is "a phraseology frequently associated with (a sense of) a word, especially in terms of the prepositions, groups, and clauses that follow the word", or (ibid., 35) "all the words and structures which are regularly associated with the word and which contribute to its meaning." When used in this sense, *pattern* signifies a lot more than frequent co-occurrence.[11] A pattern can be identified if a combination of words occurs relatively frequently, if it is dependent on a particular word choice, and if there is a clear meaning associated with it.

6. Extended Collocations and Kinds of Extension

While recognizing the complexities involved in phraseological, or syntagmatic, extensions at large, this paper focuses on extended collocations alone. What must be pointed out at the outset of this section is that extended collocations can be quite predictable in pragmatic terms and thus less collocationally salient, i.e. less phraseological, in terms of the item used for extension. Thus for instance in *to foster creativity* and *to foster a child's creativity* the added noun is far from being phraseologically special, that is, hardly significant in collocational terms.

An important status-related issue is likely to arise when one starts considering the **syntagmatic status** of extended collocations. Is such a string a phraseological unit to begin with? Is it on a par, as it were, with the "basic" collocation, or is it merely an expanded – significant because recurrent – typical co-text of the base, to be regarded perhaps merely as a typical example of use, devoid of any additional specific phraseological features? The issue is usually examined either in a monolingual context, where frequency of co-occurrence typically prevails, or in a bilingual framework, where what really matters is rather overall idiomaticity in the broader sense (i.e. when used to refer to restricted nativelike textual selection and restricted nativelike textual sequencing) as well as the twin contrastive criteria, viz. unpredictability (semantic) and non-congruence (structural) as observed in cross-linguistic phraseology and translation, especially in encoding tasks (L1→L2).

The extended collocation may take a variety of forms aside from the prototypical one, viz. that of a binary lexical collocation adding another lexical element, sometimes with synonymous alternatives, such as

war crime → war crime suspects,
to give a cry → to give a sharp cry,
to make progress → to make good progress, or
to take a breath → to take a deep/long/big breath.

the diverse ways in which the co-selection principle operates in the billions of acts of communication carried out in everyday language use.

[11] Hunston (2004, 112) argues that grammar information in a learners' dictionary be given in the form of patterns, because they capture what a learner needs to know about a particular word. This is consistent with a *lexically-driven* concept of language.

Another common type of extension involves a colligational constituent and can well start with a single-word item; it can be illustrated e.g. by

rampage → on the rampage → to go on the rampage (where the noun is virtually always to be found only with *on the*, with *go* being very frequent but not indispensable), or
pressure → under pressure → to be/come under pressure.

Extended forms are often more complex and/or varied, consisting of e.g. either a phrasal verb + a single-word item or a compound + a single-word item, or some conceivable variation of these, as in

foul play → to suspect foul play, and *foul play → to rule out foul play*,
lip service → to pay lip service to somebody/something,
hands down → to win (something) hands down, and *hands down → to beat somebody hands down*, or
second nature → to be/become second nature to somebody.

Intriguing cases include phraseologically different but still basically synonymous sequences such as *an educated guess* (compound) and *an informed guess* (collocation), both of which are commonly extended by the verb *to make* (resulting in *to make an educated/informed guess*), or *to give a performance* that can be extended, in the same sense, by either *terrific* or *stellar* (resulting in *to give a terrific/stellar performance*). Furthermore, as has already been mentioned, an extended form can incorporate not only collocational but also colligational elements, as in *to make a discovery → to make a significant discovery → to make a significant discovery about something*. Likewise, the extension may transform a lexical collocation into a lexical-grammatical one, or indeed the other way around, another possibility being for a grammatical collocation to be expanded into a lexical-grammatical one, as in

make an accusation → make an accusation against (someone),
make an attempt → make an attempt to do something / at something / at doing something,
give one's approval → give one's approval to something,
in progress → work in progress,
be in need of something → be in urgent/desperate need of something.

Clearly, then, an **extended lexicogrammatical unit** may be formed in a variety of ways, some simple and others more complex. For example, it can comprise a compound augmented, in two or more "buildup" stages, either by a single-word item such as *rock bottom → to hit/reach rock bottom*, or by a phrasal verb, as in *the nitty-gritty → to get down to the nitty-gritty*.[12]

Moreover, the "buildup" process may not only vary in complexity but can, and not infrequently does, consist of more than two stages (cf. footnote 3). Thus in discussing *collocation*, Pearce (2007, 37), for one, points out that a frequent collocate of the noun *gamut* is *whole*, and that the two are typically used in "extended phrases" like *to run the whole gamut*. Likewise, *a look* forms the collocation *to take a look* that can be itself expanded into the three-item *to take a fresh/quick look* and even into the emphatic four-item *to take a long hard look*; moreover, there is often a colligational element (*at somebody/something*) following the string. Also, *faith* forms a frequent collocation, or

[12] Note that idiomatic-collocational expansions can be phraseologically different from the basic binary item. Thus e.g. the collocation *to take a view* can be seemingly expanded into the idiom-like string *to take the long view*; however, in this case the regularity of the extension may be called into question because of the fixed *the* used idiomatically only in the longer structure.

compound, *good faith* that itself forms part of several frequent and progressively larger – and more complex – combinations: *in good faith, to act in good faith*, and *something is declared as a sign/gesture/show of good faith*. The extended unit can be a combination of an idiom expanded by a literal single-word element, as in *to mutter* used in front of the idiom *under one's breath* (*to mutter under one's breath*). However that may be, instances of the collocational **"buildup" process** going beyond the basic a - b are not too difficult to find, e.g.

problem → the drug problem → to tackle the drug problem,
mind → an open mind → to keep an open mind,
a visit → to make a visit → to make the first visit → to make the first official visit (to).

Note that combinations that involve phrasal verbs and compounds are not usually counted among extended collocations because most phrasal verbs and compounds are themselves not (regarded as) collocations. Compounds in particular are not commonly regarded as being complex items to begin with.

A caveat: not every (seemingly) expanded string is automatically an extended unit of meaning; those that must be ruled out on logical grounds are either purely grammar-based and -generated, or idiomatic in the sense of being semantically opaque, thus being different from their constituents, as in *to bring up* ('mention,' 'look after,' 'charge with a crime,' 'make something appear on a computer screen') vs. *to bring somebody up short* ('surprise someone and make them stop doing something').

And another caveat: one can sometimes encounter a "pattern-type" extension of a phraseological item, a phenomenon that usually does not get recorded in dictionaries: Thus the complex item *in the way of* or its synonym *by way of*, used to specify the kind of thing one is talking about, is characteristically preceded by a "slot" calling for a restrictive or negative element, as in *... a country without much in the way of natural resources* or *Meetings held today produced little in the way of an agreement* (both taken from the last substantial revision of the *Collins COBUILD* [Sinclair 2001, 1766]). What such "extensions" produce is not to be regarded as extended units, because what is added is not an item as such but rather a **slot-like place** to be filled by *any* out of a number of items fulfilling a general criterion (in this particular case they have to belong to the category of "restrictive or negative elements").

Again, the variety involved in the creation of such composite combinations is great; for example, they can consist of a phrasal verb followed by another single-word lexical item in the singular or the plural, as in *to draw up a list* and *run out of money/ideas*, or of a link verb + phrase, as in *to be up for grabs*. Perhaps the most obvious and "logical" type of the extended collocation is the prototypical, binary collocation extended by the addition of another "pragmatically relevant" lexical element. Such sequences can be made up of a verb + noun with an additional premodifying adjective or attributive noun, as in *to take a turn → to take a wrong turn,* or *to make a visit → to make a surprise visit*.[13] Another commonly encountered possibility comprising a single-word item plus a compound is, one, a nominal compound associated collocationally either with a verb, such as *to do a head count*, or with another noun, the compound being used as an attributive noun, as in *a landmark decision/case* (two lexical elements), or in *to give a keynote speech* (three lexical elements),[14] and two, a compound that exhibits "two-layer" or "two-stage" collocational or colligational links,

[13] Note that unlike many of the basic forms, some of the extended collocations may be unexpectedly challenging in the decoding process – and, in quite a few cases, even more so in encoding, thus typically representing encoding problems that can well be nothing short of being formidable.

[14] There is, of course, more variation to be found in premodification: In *to give an after-dinner speech*, the premodifying element is not really a compound but still a complex premodifying element.

as in *fast lane* that is frequently used in the prepositional phrase *in the fast lane* (layer 1) that is itself usually found in *life in the fast lane* (layer 2). Yet another structural possibility is the combination of an adjective or premodifying noun + compound, as in *emotional fallout* or *traffic gridlock*. But then again such combinations cannot be regarded as extended collocations, given that one can hardly consider a compound to be itself a composite unit forming either the node (=base) or the collocator of the extended unit – indeed, the reason why most English dictionaries list compounds as main entries is precisely because their lexical status is on a par with single-word units.

Could one maintain that overall, the resulting extended sequences are phraseologically "looser" and less internally cohesive than their corresponding "tighter" base-level binary units, in a way that might affect their overall lexical status? To a point where their phraseological status might be called into question? Not really. True, one needs to account also for extended collocations that are more syntactic, pattern-like in that they exhibit one or more open "slots" in a "frame," as in *it* + *to be* + *common knowledge* + *that*-clause. Some other combinations may be perceived as being simply longer and thus necessarily more complex than the corresponding "base-level" formations, with syntagmatic preferences being, for the most part, very much in evidence, as in *a long drawn-out war*. A more complex example is provided e.g. by Danielsson (2007, 17-18): The noun *scruff*, 'the nape of the neck,' is not only chiefly used in English in the set phrase *by the scruff of the neck* but also the verbs on the left-hand side of the phrase tend to belong to a group denoting the action of grasping something: *take, grab, drag (in),* or even *pick up*. Moreover, the objects associated with *take by the scruff of the neck* are most often *a game, a match, an opportunity*. Needless to say, such usages are only likely to become obvious when the researcher views the **repetitive patterns** of language data through a concordance program. But what invariably makes them significant as multiword units, or at least unit-like sequences, is in essence their recurrence coupled with the high level of phraseological salience dubbed phraseological experientiality (a concept I suggested and tried to elaborate recently at an EUROPHRAS conference (Gabrovšek 2012)).

It seems only logical that in addition to being investigated within general language, extended collocations and similar units may also be a feature of **specialized discourse** while also showing – keeping – both collocational and colligational links. In many cases, they turn out to be contrastively significant, witness e.g. (from the field of law) the collocational *to plead guilty* and its colligational-cum-collocational extension *to plead guilty to a charge* (SI *priznati krivdo za obtožbo*). Many a non-expert Slovene translator would typically encode the SI structure as **to admit guilt for a charge / an accusation*.

In broader terms, too, it has already been implied in this paper that phraseological extension can be seen as a pervasive phenomenon, to be considered in line with Hoey's (2005, 8) suggestion that not only single words, which are acquired through encounters with them in speech and writing, in which process they become **cumulatively loaded** with the contexts and co-texts in which they are encountered, but also word sequences built out of them become **loaded** with the contexts and co-texts in which they occur.[15] Hoey himself goes on to provide the following example to illustrate the process: *winter* collocates with *in*, producing the phrase *in winter*. But this phrase has its own collocations, which are separate from those of its components, so that *in winter* collocates with a number of forms of *to be* (*is, was, are*, etc.), something that neither *in* nor *winter* can apparently do. Similarly, the noun *word* collocates with *say*; the combination *say a word* in turn collocates with *against*, and *say a word against* collocates with *won't*. In this way, a variety of lexical items and bundles are created (ibid., pp. 10-11). But how much of this is to be captured in a (bilingual)

[15] This property of sequences has been labeled **nesting**, "where the product of a priming becomes itself primed in ways that do not apply to the individual words making up the combination" (Hoey 2005, 8).

dictionary, and how should one go about assessing the (diminishing) phraseological relevance of such formations? If anything, this kind of analysis does seem to be far more relevant to encoding needs than to decoding needs, and thus to be far more significant in encoding-oriented dictionaries.

7. Extended Collocations in the Dictionary: Monolingual and Bilingual

This section concentrates on the ABCs of the treatment of extended collocations in the dictionary, clearly a significant "applied" aspect of the topic. If collocations are largely and uncontroversially an encoding issue, and granted that today's leading British-made advanced monolingual learners' dictionaries of English (notably Mayor 2009 / Fox and Combley 2014, McIntosh 2013, Rundell 2007, and Turnbull and Lea 2010, or their online versions) usually assign collocations and most of the extended collocations that they include the status of **(highlighted) (parts of) illustrative examples of use**, we must conclude at this point that the key question is not necessarily whether this is the best policy in general, but rather whether it is one to be adopted and consistently applied in particular in bilingual dictionaries too. However, one must hasten to add that overall, extended collocations have been given short shrift by most general-purpose dictionaries (including learners' dictionaries of English), the main reason in all probability being that following a long and powerful tradition, English dictionaries strongly favor the inclusion especially of binary-phrase-length and sentence-length examples. Bilingual dictionaries in particular prefer simple (binary) collocations to extended ones, even though not infrequently, this means distorting, in a sense, or perhaps better reducing, the language, or more precisely part of the way we communicate in English, to the basic level. For instance, if, in English, one commonly encounters extended collocational strings such as *to win thunderous applause* (SI *požeti buren aplavz*) and *to take a comfortable lead* (SI *povesti z veliko razliko* or *preiti v prepričljivo vodstvo*), why break such real-language sequences into their binary components as a matter of course?

What at the very outset is a key criterion-related interlingual desideratum is that in a bilingual dictionary an extended collocation should be included – always as (part of) a translated example of use – in the first place if it offers, in translational terms, something more than the binary collocation does. This, to be sure, is a contrastive, or cross-linguistic, consideration. Additionally (or perhaps even initially), there is likely to be also the key monolingual L2 consideration, most of the time at any rate: Ideally, at the same time, extended collocations will be included if they also serve to illustrate idiomaticity of the L2 (English) – idiomaticity here referring broadly (and, unfortunately, rather vaguely) to a sequence exhibiting restricted native-like textual selection and sequencing. What is almost bound to be problematic in devising and implementing a consistent policy of entry selection (inclusion/exclusion) has to do with the overall length of extended collocations to be included in the dictionary. One might well decide to draw, as a matter of principle, on the logical fact that the longer the extended collocation, the less "tightly" phraseological, and indeed the less frequent – hence the more purely contextual – is it likely to be.[16] This means, at least by implication, that the longer the extension, the less likely it is to be a fitting extended collocation to be considered for inclusion in the bilingual dictionary.

[16] Small wonder, then, that a Google search carried out on 1 April 2012 shows almost 50 million hits for the collocation *the naked eye*, some 10 million hits for *visible to the naked eye*, and just over 2 million for *barely visible to the naked eye*. The figures are comparable to those obtained from a standard corpus, the COCA (http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/), where there are 581 hits for *the naked eye*, 121 for *visible to the naked eye*, and a mere 7 for *barely visible to the naked eye*. However, even the last figure is not really insignificant, if only because there are no hits at all for either **hardly visible to the naked eye* or **scarcely visible to the naked eye*.

Such being the case, the question must be addressed as to whether one can really frame a sound and consistent dictionary policy (based on both L2 idiomaticity (partly) in terms of the length of the extended collocation and the ensuing L1/L2 translational relationship) regarding the selection and treatment of extended collocations in the general bilingual dictionary. Next, there is the related issue of what inclusion/exclusion criterion or criteria one should apply in the case of the existence of synonymous extended collocations. More significantly, the question of whether or not to draw a principled distinction between "standard" and "pattern-type" extended collocations is to be considered too; it does appear that, overall, extended grammatical collocations with an "added" non-prepositional slot-like element are a lot less phraseological and as such less relevant as a kind of multiword units, witness e.g. the binary lexical collocation *to feel the need* as extended colligationally into the pattern-like sequence of *to feel the need* + *to*-infinitive/infinitival clause. In an advanced learners' English monolingual dictionary, such strings could well be included, albeit selectively, but not (solely) in the form of formalized statements, which is at best artificial to most dictionary users. Since they illustrate – however selectively – typical actual use, they are to be shown primarily as real-life-type language segments, that is, as frequent actual realizations of the pattern-like elements. If they are to be shown in metalinguistic terms as well, the recommended treatment might well be one with concise metalinguistic statements immediately followed by specific "real-life" collocational or colligational extensions. But can – should – this be done in a bilingual encoding-oriented dictionary? Hardly. A judicious selection of translated examples of use appears to be the answer.

8. Conclusions

The basic recommendations, then, are the following:

1) A selection of extended collocations should definitely be included (always in the form of (highlighted) (parts of) examples of use) chiefly – but not exclusively – in the general encoding-oriented bilingual dictionary. They can be incorporated either each on its own (extended-phrase-length exemplification) or as (highlighted) parts of sentence-length examples of use. Note that for encoding purposes, one invariably starts with the L1, where the string provided may be distinctly different from its rendering in the L2, and indeed not even be an extended collocation to begin with – or indeed the other way around, witness e.g. SI *popolnoma ozdraveti* EN *to make a full recovery* or SI *pošten/dober spanec* EN *a good night's sleep*.
2) The selection of extended collocations to be included is to be based on contrastive considerations (translational relevance with respect to the rendering of the basic binary collocation vs. the rendering of the extended one) and, if possible, on the broad-based idiomaticity of the L2 strings being shown as translation equivalents. Frequency[17] is clearly also a factor in assessing the relevance of a given extended collocation for the purposes of exemplification to be included in a dictionary.
3) Most of the included extended collocations will consist of three or four components, i.e. the prototypical (=binary) collocation extended by one or two constituents, whether collocational (lexical), colligational (grammatical), or both. This does not mean that longer sequences, while being uncommon, are automatically out of the question; however, if they are included (on account of being recurrent and salient as units), they are likely to illustrate primarily typical and predictable syntactic strings rather than facts of phraseology, with the proviso that the dividing line between the two is far from being clear – on the contrary, there is a cline, with the binary collocation and the lengthy extended collocation being merely the two end-points.[18]

[17] As shown e.g. in the standard COCA (450-million-word) corpus of American English (http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/) covering the period of 1990 – 2012.

[18] That the makeup of such units can be problematic can be seen even in glossary-type analyses of certain terminologies;

To illustrate the above recommendations, here are just two examples (merely a foretaste of the things to come) of the relevant parts of a possible treatment of aspects of extended collocability[19] to be offered within the relevant senses of two specific nominal entry-articles considered in their sporting senses, as drafted primarily for encoding purposes in the general bilingual Slovene-English dictionary:

gol *sam* [...] *prejeti/dobiti poceni gol to concede a soft goal*
kmalu prejeti/dobiti gol to concede an early goal
doseči gol na gostovanju to score an away goal
razveljaviti prvi gol to disallow the first goal
zaostajati za dva gola to be two goals down
imeti prednost treh golov to be three goals up

vodstvo *sam* [...] *kmalu priti v vodstvo to open/take an early lead*
kmalu priti do tesnega vodstva to open up a small lead
priti do suverenega[20] *vodstva to build up a commanding lead*
zapraviti prepričljivo vodstvo to blow a comfortable lead
povišati vodstvo iz prvega polčasa to extend the first-half lead
boriti se za ohranitev vodstva to struggle to stay in the lead.

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thus in an exploration of English football jargon (Jellis 2006), the author lists a number of extended units (italicized or boldfaced to show their status as units – only italicized here for the sake of simplicity) including *get into the squad, coming back from injury, [not to be] caught in possession, [to be] on a yellow card, [to be] shown the red card, to head for an early bath, [to be] good in the air*, etc.; however, in other cases parts of expressions are, for reasons unknown to me, not given in italics/bold, implying that they are not really parts of the expressions: to keep the ball *in play*, to avoid the *offside trap, to lay* a ball *off* to a *teammate*, to score *against the run of play*, to blow *the final whistle*, the ball slams into *the wall*, to make *a late tackle* in the *penalty area*, to score the *winning goal*, for example.

[19] Let us merely note here in passing that even at the basic – binary – level of collocability, there are in most of the general-purpose advanced learners' English dictionaries and in quite a few general-purpose bilingual dictionaries cases of a curious lack of the "reciprocity" logic: Thus e.g. while virtually all such dictionaries routinely list, under *goal*, the collocation *to score a goal*, many of them fail to record the "reciprocal" collocation *to concede a goal*.

[20] Frequently used these days by some Slovene tennis commentators (on TV), apparently in a variety of senses including 'comfortable', 'substantial', 'obvious'.

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Encasing the Absolutes

Summary

The paper explores the issue of structure and case in English absolute constructions, whose subjects are deduced by several descriptive grammars as being in the nominative case due to its supposed neutrality in terms of register. This deduction is countered by systematic accounts presented within the framework of the Minimalist Program which relate the case of absolute constructions to specific grammatical factors. Each proposal is shown as an attempt of analysing absolute constructions as basic predication structures, either full clauses or small clauses. I argue in favour of the small clause approach due to its minimal reliance on transformations and unique stipulations. Furthermore, I propose that small clauses project a singular category, and show that the use of two cases in English absolute constructions can be accounted for if they are analysed as depictive phrases, possibly selected by prepositions. The case of the subject in absolutes is shown to be a result of syntactic and non-syntactic factors. I thus argue in accordance with Minimalist goals that syntactic case does not exist, attributing its role in absolutes to other mechanisms.

Key words: absolute constructions, case, Minimalist syntax, small clauses

O zgradbi in sklonu v absolutnih zgradbah

Povzetek

Članek obravnava vprašanje zgradbe in sklona v angleških absolutnih zgradbah, ki po sklepanju mnogih opisnih slovnic vsebujejo osebek v imenovalniku na podlagi domnevne registrske nevtralnosti tega sklona. Nasproti temu sklepu so navedeni sistemski pristopi, ki so predstavljeni v okviru minimalistične teorije jezika in ki povezujejo sklon v absolutnih zgradbah z ustreznimi slovničnimi dejavniki. Vsak pristop je prikazan kot poskus analize absolutnih zgradb kot osnovnih predikacijskih zgradb, bodisi celih bodisi malih stavkov. Slednji pristop zagovarjam kot ustreznejšega, saj se v manjši meri zanaša na pretvorbe in edinstvene predpostavke. Predlagam tudi, da mali stavki razvijejo enotno kategorijsko zgradbo, in prikažem, da je rabo dveh sklonov v angleških absolutnih zgradbah mogoče razložiti, če so absolutne zgradbe depiktivne besedne zveze, ki lahko nastopijo kot dopolnila predlogov. Sklon osebka v absolutnih zgradbah je prikazan kot posledica skladenjskih in neskladenjskih dejavnikov. Temu ustrezno v skladu z minimalističnimi prizadevanji zagovarjam hipotezo, da skladenjski sklon ne obstaja, in njegovo vlogo v absolutnih zgradbah pripišem drugim mehanizmom.

Ključne besede: absolutne zgradbe, sklon, minimalistična skladnja, mali stavki

Encasing the Absolutes

1. Introduction

Absolute constructions present an intriguing puzzle for theories of grammar, because they typically lack any discernible connection to the matrix clause. They are also exceptional clauses in that they contain an overt subject despite their non-finiteness. Furthermore, English absolute clauses may contain a considerable variety of predicates. As shown by the following examples, these range from nominal, adjectival, and prepositional categories to the verbal one, which may host any of the non-finite verb forms (the infinitival being the least frequent):

(1) a. *73 people have been drowned in the area*, most of them **children**.
(Quirk et al. 1985, 996)
b. *73 people have been drowned in the area*, most of them still **young**.
c. *73 people have been drowned in the area*, most of them still **in their teens**.

(2) a. The discussion **completed**, *the chairman adjourned the meeting for half an hour.*
(Quirk et al. 1985, 993)
b. Her aunt **having left** the room, *I asked Ann for some personal help.* (loc. cit.)
c. *We shall assemble at ten forty-five*, the procession **to start** at precisely eleven.
(Visser 1972, 1056)

The external structure of absolute clauses is also diverse. This is seen in the fact that absolute constructions can be introduced by the preposition *with* or its negative equivalent *without*. Stump (1985) refers to instances of absolutes introduced by these prepositions as augmented absolutes. These are not to be confused with free adjuncts where the prepositions imply some form of possession associated with the matrix subject (Stump 1985, 294-5):[1]

(3) a. **With** the discussion completed, *the chairman adjourned the meeting for half an hour.*
b. **With** a girl in every port, *Harry feels pretty contented*. (McCawley 1983, 227)
= **Having** a girl in every port, *Harry feels pretty contented*.

Finally, though personal pronouns seldom realize subjects in absolutes, such instances reveal another puzzling aspect of these constructions. In bare absolutes pronominal subjects sometimes occur in the nominative and sometimes in the accusative form. Stump's (1985) view on this variation is one-sided, as he suggests the latter form is unacceptable in standard English. In contrast, Jespersen (1965, 48) accepts both options, but suggets that the nominative has been supplanted due to a general dislocation of the feeling for cases. Literary examples like (4a) attest to the fact that the accusative, though more frequent in colloquial speech, has become widely acceptable. Jespersen (1965) supports his view that both forms are active by formalizing the surviving nominative subjects like those in (4b) as resulting from some form of coreference with the matrix subject (46):

(4) a. *I, with whom that Impulse was the most intractable, the most capricious, the most maddening of masters* (**him** before me always excepted) ... (C. Brontë, *Villette*)
b. *At the church door, however, **they** separated,* **he** driving back to the Temple, and **she** to her own house. (A. C. Doyle, *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*)

[1] The semantic value of the prepositional phrase does not fully overlap with that of the participial clause. As Stump (1985, 296) shows, the prepositional phrase is a stage-level predicate (denoting a transient state) and may be associated with a modal reading, whereas the participle - an individual-level predicate (denoting a lasting state) allows no such reading (ibid.):
With three-inch claws on each paw, *a Bengal tiger would be a match for any lion.* = If it had three-inch claws on each paw, *a Bengal tiger would be a match for any lion.* ≠ Having three-inch claws on each paw, *a Bengal tiger would be a match for any lion.*

The existence of augmented absolutes and the survival of nominative pronominal subjects in bare absolutes, as explained by Jespersen (1965), suggest that absolute constructions are not entirely disconnected from the matrix clause. Though the two connections affect the case form of pronominal subjects, they are regarded as separate phenomena. In search of a more systematic account of the structure of absolutes and the case of their subjects, I examine three attempts at explaining such constructions formulated within the Chomskian generative grammar, a structuralist approach based on a universalist view of language. Rejecting the previous proposals for their non-generalizable assumptions and their inability to account for the nominative-accusative subject alternation, I then formulate my own account of absolute constructions. In keeping with the reductionist goals of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 2000, 2004), the current framework within the Chomskian approach, I propose the same core structure for all absolute constructions, and argue against the need for an external structural licenser.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 outlines the key notions of the Minimalist Program. Section 3 presents three previous Chomskian analyses of absolute constructions with critical remarks on their stipulations and disregard for case dualism with pronominal subjects of bare absolutes. In section 4 I pursue a composite approach to absolute constructions, presenting the case dualism as evidence that absolutes have two possible structures and discussing the implications for Case theory. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. An overview of the Minimalist syntax

One of the key assumptions of the Chomskian generative grammar is that language is a human faculty which is governed by a set of universal principles. Though valid in any given idiolect, such principles are general and thus allow parametric variation, observable in morpho-syntactic differences between specific languages. Accordingly, the Chomskian approach has been dubbed the Principles and Parameters theory (Chomsky 1981). Another crucial assumption of this framework is that linguistic expressions have two interface levels of representation, where the expressions are interpreted phonologically and semantically, while syntax, the system which provides a basic structure for the two representations, is abstract. These assumptions have been incorporated into the most recent Chomskian approach, the Minimalist Program,[2] which defines language as the optimal solution to interpretation conditions at the two interfaces. As such, its goal is to determine the smallest quantity of mechanisms needed to account for the grammaticality of linguistic expressions, reducing the complexity of some systems suggested within the earlier framework or dismantling them altogether.

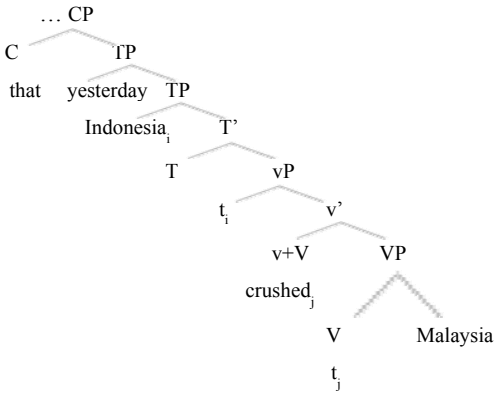
One of the systems affected by the evolution of the Chomskian approach is syntax. Rather than a system which forms an initial and a post-transformational syntactic structure, it is described within the Minimalist Program as a system of continuous derivation. In the process of this derivation, smaller items are combined to form larger objects. The simplest units to enter this process are lexical items, which combine to form more complex syntactic objects such as phrases. Chomsky (2000, 102) distinguishes between substantive and functional lexical items. Substantive items belong to four categories, N(ominal), A(djectival), V(erbal), and P(repositional), and are the carriers of the core semantic content. Conversely, functional items lack independent semantic content, and expand on the value of substantive elements. The core functional categories are C(omplementizer), T(ense), light v(erb), members of the extended verbal category, and D(eterminer), an extension of the nominal category. Apart from these, other functional categories have been proposed, such as an aspectual category as the bearer of the perfective semantics in (1). In terms of syntax, extension via

[2] The following outline is based on the revised Minimalist Program of Chomsky (2000, 2004) because of its economical advantage over the initial model (Chomsky 1995) in terms of the complexity of syntax.

functional categories amounts to complementation - a functional head *D* selects as its complement a nominal phrase (*NP*). Although the number of core verbal categories is greater, their sequence of complementation remains constant - *C* selects a *TP*, *T* selects a *vP*,[3] and *v* selects a *VP*. The selection of complements by functional elements is referred to as functional selection (f-selection) by Abney (1987, 38). In contrast, the complementation of substantive elements, where the head and its complement semantically describe distinct objects, is called categorial selection (c-selection). This type also depends on the properties of the head, so that a preposition always selects a nominal object, whereas a verb may select either a nominal, a prepositional, or a clausal complement.

Categorial and functional properties can thus be said to be a driving force behind the computation. In abstract syntax, such linguistic properties are represented by features associated with lexical items. Chomsky (2000, 134) suggests that the selectional feature must simply be "satisfied" to enable the operation Merge. This operation combines pairs of elements to form new syntactic objects, whose categorial label and features are identical to those of the respective head (the new object is a projection of the head). Though Adjunction also combines pairs of elements in this way, it is optional, because it does not involve selection. The binary nature of Merge and Adjunction can be seen in the structural representation of the *that*-clause below:

(5) *Jones based her judgement on the fact* that yesterday Indonesia crushed Malaysia ... (*The Independent, electronic edition*)



The schema above is simplified in that it includes only labels of verbal categories. The structure it represents is derived through consecutive applications of Merge and Adjoin, starting with the merger of the verb *crushed* and the nominal phrase *Malaysia*. During the course of the derivation, items like the lexical verb *crushed* and the subject *Indonesia* are copied and their copies adjoined and merged to their attractors, respectively. Because only the copies are preserved when the structure is transferred to the phonological interface, these mechanisms are regarded as movement.[4] In the case of the subject, movement is triggered by the EPP feature on *T* which is uninterpretable at the interface and must be therefore deleted to prevent the ungrammaticality of the structure. Its deletion is enabled by the operation Agree, whereby the EPP feature probes the contents of the

[3] In the earliest stages of the Minimalist Program, the light verb is attributed only to structures with transitive verbs. However, Chomsky (2004) has come to regard all verbal structures which contain a TP as also containing a projection of the light verb, marking the latter as *v** where it selects its own argument (typically an agent). To simplify syntactic representations, all instances of light verbs in the present article are marked only as *v*.

[4] The movement of verbal heads will not be explored further, so readers are referred to Chomsky (1995, 133-8) for more details.

structure it has merged with for the nearest matching interpretable feature. Locating its counterpart on the subject, the EPP feature attracts the subject and is then checked and marked for deletion.

Another uninterpretable feature is abstract case (henceforth Case), a remnant of the Principles and Parameters theory, where it was the driving force of movement, since it had to be assigned to nominal projections to license their presence in the clausal structure. Though related to morphological case, it is not necessarily realized by a case inflection. For example, noun subjects in simple English clauses lack a nominative inflection, but are construed as having the nominative Case by analogy with pronominal subjects. Within Minimalist syntax, both subjects are merged into the clausal structure with their Case unchecked and unvalued. Because Case has no matching counterpart, it is checked and provided with a nominative value as a reflex of agreement between the ϕ-features (gender, number, and person features), uninterpretable on *T,* and interpretable on the subject. The Case of the object is valued similarly, its accusative value being due to agreement between the ϕ-features of the light verb *v* and those of the object (Chomsky 2000, 123). The checking of both Cases is exemplified below with the nominative Case feature listed under the original position of the subject, since checking occurs at the earliest opportunity:

(6) [$_{CP}$ Ø [$_{TP}$ I_i [Ø [$_{vP}$ t_i [asked$_j$ [$_{VP}$ **her** t_j for some personal help]]]]]].
uϕ → iϕ, uCase[*nom*] uϕ → iϕ, uCase[*acc*]

The valuation of Case features shown above can only take place when the uninterpretable ϕ-features (uϕ) on verbal heads are complete. As Chomsky (2000: 102) suggests, *v* has a full set of ϕ-features when the lexical verb is transitive and active, while *T* has a full set of ϕ-features when its projection is selected by *C*. The relation between the ϕ-features of *C* and the Case of the subject can be seen in the fact that infinitival clauses in English typically contain a specified subject when they are introduced by *for*, as below:[5]

(7) *It is difficult* [$_{CP}$ *(for) [$_{TP}$ him_k [to [$_{VP}$ t_k stay calm]]].
uϕ - - - - - - - - uϕ → iϕ, uCase[*acc*]

The influence of the complementizer *for* in (7) can furthermore be seen in the obligatory use of the objective form when the subject of the infinitival clause is realized by a personal pronoun. In terms of morphology, the relation between the complementizer and the subject in (7) therefore resembles that between the preposition *for* and its complement. While the preposition values lexical Case on its complement, realized by semantics-related morphological case in languages with a richer inflectional system, pronominal complements of preposition in English occur in the objective form.

3. Previous generative accounts of absolute constructions

3.1 Pre-Minimalist accounts of absolutes

As mentioned in the Introduction, absolute constructions display a considerable structural diversity, which makes finding a suitable Minimalist description of them challenging. The two accounts presented here were formed within the Principles and Parameters theory, though their proposals are well-suited for Minimalism due to their reliance on basic syntactic devices. In keeping with the overview of the previous section, the outlines provided below are adapted to the Minimalist syntax.

Rather than attempt to provide a comprehensive analysis of absolute constructions, Reuland (1983) focuses on the properties of the *-ing* constructions. He argues that these are clausal gerunds, as they

[5] The placement of the asterisk outside the brackets surrounding *for* signifies that omission of *for* causes ungrammaticality.

share some characteristics of clauses and some of nominal elements, though they do not fully belong to either category. Their nominal nature is evident where the *-ing* construction occurs as the complement of a prepositional verb, while the possibility of including non-argument subjects points to their clausal status (Reuland 1983, 108-9):[6]

(8) a. *You may count on* [it raining tomorrow].
b. **You may count on* [it to rain tomorrow].
c. **You may count on* [its raining tomorrow].

(8b) is ungrammatical due to the requirement that the complement of a prepositional verb be valued for Case, a feature that the infinitival clause lacks. On the other hand, the nominal gerund in (8c) is also ungrammatical, because its subject is valued for possessive Case, an instance of lexical Case, but receives no semantic role from the head *raining*. To account for the grammaticality of (8a), Reuland (1983) suggests that clausal gerunds contain a special type of Tense head:[7] a nominal *-ing* which bears a Case feature. The subject in a clausal gerund is then said to receive its Case from the *-ing* head through percolation or spreading of the Case, in the same way the Case of a Determiner spreads to its complement *NP*. In augmented absolutes, the Case on *-ing* is thus said to be valued by the preposition, which Reuland (1983) analyses as a complementizer on a par with *for* in (7). He comes to this conclusion by assuming that the clausal gerunds in examples like (8a) are *CP*s as well, treating the preposition *on* as a complementizer. As proof, he (1983, 132) offers sentences like:

(9) **John is the one* who$_i$ *I'm counting* [$_{CP}$ [[on] [**t$_{i1}$**]] [$_{TP}$ t$_{i2}$ *marrying her*]].

Reuland (1983) argues that the movement of *who* in (9) is disallowed, because the complementizer *on* is required to be adjacent to the verb *counting* (to act as its intermediary in Case valuation), while the subject *who* must also somehow assume the peripheral position in the *CP* (represented by t$_{i1}$). This can only be accomplished if the two are merged, so that they both occupy this position. However, before *who* can move out of the *TP*, its Case must be valued by the complementizer, which can only happen if the complementizer merges with the *TP* in question. Due to these irreconcilable requirements the derivation in (9) crashes. Still, Reuland's (1983) example is not the best choice to show that gerundial clauses are CPs, since it is generally accepted in Minimalist syntax that the trace of a WH-element is merged with *C'* and is accordingly closer to the matrix verb. Another problem of Reuland's (1983) analysis is his view that bare absolute constructions are also *CP*s, whose null complementizer cannot value the Case of the subject. Based on observations of descriptive grammars regarding the frequent use of the subjective form of pronouns in the role of subjects in bare absolutes, Reuland (1983) resorts to the stipulation that the Tense head of such absolutes values nominative Case. Finally, he argues that pronominal subjects of gerunds frequently occur in the objective form as a side effect of percolation being an indirect means of Case valuation. He (1983, 125) supports this claim with the following examples, where the morphological accusative is possible, since the pronouns are embedded within a conjunction phrase and do not undergo Case valuation themselves.

(10) a. *Him and me are going to the party*.
b. *He and I are going to the party*.

Like Reuland (1983), Hantson (1992) also considers absolute constructions to be clauses and analyses them as *CP*s. However, his proposal is distinct in two ways. First, he (1992, 87) believes accusative

[6] For further details, readers are referred to Reuland (1983, 107-9).

[7] The Tense element is a category of the Minimalist syntax, so Reuland (1983) discusses its forerunner - the inflectional element (*Infl* or *I*). Also, while he makes clear references to inflectional and complementizer heads, his structural analyses label their phrasal projections as S and S', respectively.

Case to be the only choice for the subject of absolutes, claiming pronouns in the subjective form to have no place in productive patterns, only occurring under the influence of prescriptive grammar. Second, his analysis encompasses all absolutes, and he argues that they all contain a verbal head. This head is overt where the Tense[8] is associated with non-finite morphology (i.e. with the infinitival *to*). Where the Tense head is realized by a null element (in the case of *-ing*,[9] *-ed*, and non-verbal absolutes), this triggers a deletion of the verb *be*. Under Hantson's (1992) analysis, the absolute constructions in (11a) and (11b) would therefore have virtually identical structures prior to *be*-deletion.

(11) a. $[_{CP}$ Ø $[_{TP}$ The discussion $[[_{T}$ [Ø] [~~be~~$_j$]] $[_{VP}$ t_j completed]]]]
b. $[_{CP}$ Ø $[_{TP}$ Him $[[_{T}$ [$Ø_{ing}$] [being$_i$]] $[_{VP}$ t_i a lawyer]]]]

The null *T* in (11a) differs from that of (11b), as the latter contains a feature associated with gerundial morphology,[10] which preserves the auxiliary after it has adjoined to *T*. In contrast, the null *T* in (10b) lacks the appropriate feature, resulting in the deletion of the copula after its adjunction to *T*. Although the comprehensive nature of this analysis has its merits, it also creates a number of difficulties. One of these is represented by infinitival absolutes, where *T* cannot check the accusative of the subject unless the *TP* is selected by an overt complementizer. Hantson (1992) dismisses the significance of this by viewing infinitives as diminishing in use and acceptance.[11] Regardless of this, his assumption that the *T* of absolutes checks accusative Case contrasts with the established view that a non-finite *T* cannot do so by itself. The second problem is the issue of *be*-deletion, which is tied to the stipulated null *T* of absolutes, because it again contrasts with the general Minimalist notion that elements are deleted only where their identity can be recovered from the context, as in:[12]

(12) *James Baur is part of a musical family: his father is a composer, his mother* (is) *a flutist*.

The deletion of the verb in the second clause is an example of gapping, which is made possible by the parallel structure of the two copular clauses. With absolute constructions there is no such parallel, so the presence of *be* in the structure of absolutes is stipulated, rather than inferred. The final problem of Hantson's (1992) system has to deal with the choice between bare and augmented absolutes. In the majority of cases, the null complementizer and *with* are interchangeable. As Riehemann and Bender (1999, 477) show, however, the overt complementizer is generally required where the absolute construction involves a predicative idiom with a *DP* predicate:[13]

(13) *(With) peace talks old hat, *it's hard to get a sense of hopefulness in the Middle East these days*.

[8] Like Reuland (1983), Hantson (1992) also uses the categorial labels of the Principles and Parameters framework (see note 9).

[9] Also like Reuland (1983), Hantson (1992, 80) assumes the *-ing* affix to be associated with tense in the same way the infinitival *to* can realize a Tense head. The latter is only possible, because *to* is a lexical item, however. The affix *-ing* is not, and is rather meant to represent a kind of gerundial feature, a combination clausal (Tense) and nominal (Case) properties.

[10] Hantson (1992) and Reuland (1983) assume that the head of *TP* (or *S*) is not null, but actually contains the gerundial morphology, which triggers the movement of the verb to *T* (*I*/*Infl*). This view is incompatible with the Minimalist syntax, where verbs enter a derivation fully inflected, and are then attracted by functional heads. Only when combined with specific heads, can their value be interpreted (e.g. the transitivity of a verb is only interpreted after it has adjoined to *v*).

[11] Hantson (1992, 91) does this by showing that infinitival absolutes are deemed progressively less acceptable when containing passive predication, expletive subjects or when introduced by *without*:
(i) ?With Jane to look after his children, *his future was looking brighter*.
(ii) ?With his children to be looked after by Jane, *his future was looking brighter*.
(iii) ?With there now to be someone to look after his children, *his future is looking brighter*.
(iv) *Without there soon to be someone to look after his children, *his future would be very gloomy*.
(v) **After listening to the weather forecast, we decided that*, with it to rain all day, *we had better stay at home*.

[12] For more details on gapping and ellipsis, readers are referred to Smith (2001) and the references listed there.

[13] Riehemann and Bender's (1999) conclusion is based on a brief survey of acceptability of with and with-less idiomatic absolutes. Since their findings are formalized within the Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, they are not examined in further detail.

3.2 A Minimalist account of absolutes

The fact that absolute constructions involve a form of predication motivated Reuland (1983) and Hantson (1992) to analyse them as clauses, though both had to resort to stipulations regarding some of the Case properties of absolutes. For Hantson (1992), non-verbal absolutes also present a problem, because he views them as clauses which have undergone *be*-deletion in a manner that has no parallels in Minimalist syntax. Rather than assume that the auxiliary enters derivation and is then deleted, Lundin (2003) argues in favour of a structural analysis that does not need to include the auxiliary in the first place. Such a construction is referred to as a small clause.

In her analysis of Swedish absolutes, Lundin (2003) expands the analysis of small clauses suggested by Stowell (1981), who argues that they are not a uniform category, but projections of non-verbal heads. Although Lundin (2003) agrees that the substantive category of a small clause matches that of its predicate, she redefines small clauses to include participial predicates. Assuming that these project a vP[14,15] (the simplest structure to involve a subject position), she proposes that the other small clauses also form light functional projections of substantive categories, as below:

(14) a. *73 people have been drowned in the area*, [$_{nP}$ [most of them] [$_{NP}$ children]].
b. *73 people have been drowned in the area*, [$_{aP}$ [most of them] [$_{AP}$ still young]].
c. *73 people have been drowned in the area*, [$_{pP}$ [most of them] [$_{PP}$ still in their teens]].
d. [$_{vP}$ Her aunt having left the room], *I asked Ann for some personal help.*

By suggesting that *vP* and *nP* have parallel structures, however, Lundin (2003) regards the predicative element of the latter as an *NP*. This is problematic, since it means that any articles within this element would be located within an *NP*, whereas they should occur as the head of a DP. Lundin (2003) also adopts Stowell's (1981) views regarding the Case of the subject in small clauses, which is said to be valued by an external head. This is obviously not possible if the small clause analysis is directly applied to bare absolutes, so Lundin (2003) assumes that all absolutes are prepositional phrases containing either an overt or a null preposition, which values the Case of the subject in the small clause. According to Quirk et al. (1985, 1124), the prepositions which introduce small clauses assign their complements the semantic value of an accompanying circumstance. Lundin (2003, 149) reinterprets this by suggesting that the prepositional head bears an interpretable Tense feature, which is comparable to the one found on the infinitival Tense head *to*.[16] These features anchor the predication to the temporal frame of the matrix *T*.[17] Thus, the "accompanying" value of the small clause roughly corresponds to simultaneity with the matrix proposition (when the small clause denotes a temporary state) or to a perpetual circumstance (when the small clause denotes a property). The two interpretations are showcased by (15a) and (15b), respectively.

(15) a. Without her being conscious of it at the time, *her struggle for independence rotated around the figure of Hansel.* (J. Casterton, *Creative writing. A practical guide*)
b. And him being a lawyer and all, *we cooked up a grand scheme between us*. (E. Richmond, *Love of my heart*)

[14] In Lundin's (2003) approach, intransitive participles are also understood to project a *vP*.

[15] It should be noted that Lundin's (2003) analysis of small clauses is not the sole option within the Minimalist framework. Thus, Al-Horais (2007) suggests that the core structure of bare absolutes is a TP, which may contain any of the predicative phrases, which is problematic, because T otherwise only ever selects a vP. Al-Horais (2007) also lists other generative accounts of small clauses, though an overview of these is beyond the scope of the present paper, so readers are referred to his article for further details.

[16] The fact that this element is of prepositional origin supports this analysis.

[17] The temporal interpretation of infinitival clauses also depends on the properties of its selector:
(i) *Ian has* **decided** *to pursue other activities.* (the infinitive has the irrealis and posteriority reading)
(ii) *I'm* **glad** *to see you: Yet I'm* **sorry** *too*. (the infinitive has the realis and simultaneity reading)

Considering the examples of absolute constructions listed in the previous sections, however, Lundin's (2003) analysis has two weaknesses. First, the assumption that the preposition *with* may select a small clause of any category defies the c-selectional properties of prepositions, which typically accept nominal complements. Secondly, prepositions value a non-nominative Case, so the suggestion that all absolutes have the structure of *PP*s entails the dismissal of subjective form pronouns as subjects in bare absolutes.[18]

4. A composite account of absolute constructions

So far, I have reviewed proposals claiming that all absolutes have the same syntactic structure (notwithstanding the distinctions of inner structure in Lundin's (2003) account). A common feature of these accounts is the suggestion that bare absolutes are headed by null elements, which has been shown to be problematic for depending on stipulations regarding the nominative form. Thus, Reuland (1983) merely observes that the nominative subject occurs when the absolute contains a null complementizer, while Hantson's (1992) and Lundin's (2003) analyses reject nominative subjects altogether. However, since Reuland (1983) focuses solely on clausal gerunds, and Hantson (1992), though briefly discussing even infinitival absolutes, relies on an *ad hoc* rule of *be*-deletion to explain verbless absolutes, Lundin's (2003) account seems the most promising for its comprehensive economy. The main issues of her approach result from the nature of the prepositional head, which should disallow non-nominal complements and the nominative subject within the small clause. To circumvent these problems, I propose a modification of Lundin's (2003) account whereby small clauses are projections of a category-neutral head and may occur in unselected positions.

4.1 The categorial status of absolutes

Lundin's (2003) suggestion that the core predication of absolutes is a small clause can be salvaged if small clauses are analysed as projections of a head without inherent categorial features. An example of such an element is the conjunction *and*, whose lack of categorial features allows it to assume the characteristics of objects with which it is merged. The conjunction phrase may therefore only be an object of a preposition when it contains nominal, but not verbal (clausal) or prepositional elements:

(16) a. *Europe unites in austerity protests* against [cuts and job losses].
(*The Guardian, electronic edition*)
b. **Europe unites in austerity protests* against [that salaries are being cut and that people are losing their jobs].
c. **Europe unites in austerity protests* against [with lower salaries and out of a job].

Unlike the conjunction *and*, however, the head of a small clause must be able to select constituents of distinct categories. The item in question is called the depictive, a non-core functional item first suggested by Pylkkänen (2002) as the head in depictive secondary predication. In her terms, the depictive phrase (*DepP*) consists of a head and a predicative phrase, and is merged into the clausal structure just prior to the *DP* with which it is associated. A subject depictive thus combines with *v'*, and the resulting second *v'* is merged with the subject (before the latter is copied and merged in *TP*), as below (Pylkkänen 2002, 29):[19]

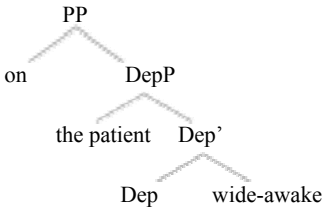
[18] To my knowledge, the only instances where the complement of a preposition is realized by a personal pronoun in the subjective form are marked due to the influence of the relative clause, so these cannot be invoked to support Lundin's (2003) proposal: T*emporal and causal sequences are ordered retrospectively by us, i.e.*, by **we** who have some idea of the development we seek to organize. (D. A. Duquette, *Hegel's History of Philosophy: New Interpretations*)

[19] According to Pylkkänen (2002), the DepP in (17) actually combines with a projection of voice, which is comparable to light *v* as the bearer of the transitive feature which checks accusative Case.

(17) Sue *saw Peter* tired. [$_{TP}$ Sue$_i$ [$_{T'}$ T [$_{vP}$ t$_i$ [$_{v'}$ [$_{v}$ saw Peter] [$_{DepP}$ tired DEP]]]]]

The original proposal is amended by Marušič, Marvin and Žaucer (2008), who show that the depictive and its associate do not enter the derivation as separate objects, but are merged so that the *DP* is a constituent of *DepP*. Instances of secondary predication in prepositional phrases, though rare in English, seem to support this conclusion and are said to have the structure represented below:

(18) *The brain surgeon had to operate* on the patient$_i$ wide-awake$_i$. (Maling 2001, 424)



According to this analysis, the *DP* functions as the "host", because it is targeted for Case valuation and the assignment of the semantic role by external items, while the depictive itself receives neither of these. It only assumes its host's nominal feature, which enables it to merge in a Case position. These traits are not unique to free adjuncts, however. They are shared by small clauses with a concurrent reading, the only exception being the assignment of the semantic role by an external selector (which targets the entire predication, rather than the subject entity alone). The idea that small clauses of this kind can be analysed as *DepP*s is supported by a number of syntactic parallels. Like the free adjunct depictives, small clauses can occupy a position which is not associated with Case. A typical example of this is passivization, where the host and the subject are forced to move out of the *DepP* and into a position that is accessible to nominative Case valuation.

(19) ... salsify *can be eaten* **raw** *in salads or cooked.* (*Ideal Home, electronic edition*) (*cf. People often eat* salsify raw.)

(20) John *is considered* **very stupid / a nice guy**.

Although the *DepP*s in the previous examples contain a null depictive head, its position can also be occupied by an overt item. This item can be found in both free adjunct depictives and small clauses when they have a qualifying meaning and a nominal predicate:[20]

(21) *Not until much later was* a similar vegetable ... *served* [$_{DepP}$ **as** a side dish] ... (*The National Trust Magazine, electronic edition*)

(22) *I'd long considered* [$_{DepP}$ him ... **as** a man with a severe personality disorder] ... (*The Telegraph, electronic edition*)

The majority of free adjunct depictives contain either an adjectival or a nominal predicate, but they can also contain prepositional and verbal predicates. Such a categorial range of predicates can also be observed with small clauses, where the verbal predicate is predominantly participial in nature.[21] However, while the infinitive can appear as the predicate in free adjunct depictives, it

[20] The depictive head in small clauses can also be overt with non-nominal predicates:
Eliot ... is able to see his childhood **as** containing ... *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. (R. Crawford, *The savage and the city in the work of T S Eliot*)

[21] Like Lundin (2003), I assume that the *-ing* predicate of small clauses is participial and that *v* is the locus of participial morphology. By assuming that the depictive head borrows the nominal nature of its host or subject, I dispense with the need for a gerundial *-ing* along the lines of Reuland (1983) (for an alternative view of gerundial structure, which could represent a counterpart to my

is rarely interpreted as implying an arrangement for the future like the one used in (2c). Instead, the infinitival predicate in post-verbal positions is mostly interpreted as either an adverbial clause of purpose or as an object clause with a simultaneous interpretation typical of non-verbal small clauses. The preference for a non-posterior interpretation of the infinitival predicate in such positions is showcased by parallels between examples in (23) and (24):

(23) a. Sue *saw Peter* tired / as a concerned friend / in high spirits / wearing her new dress.
b. *I consider* John very stupid / a nice guy / out of order / as lying too much.

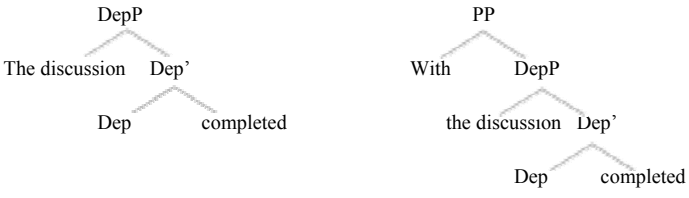
(24) a. Sue *saw Peter (anyway)* to leave.
= Sue saw Peter (anyway), so she could leave.
≠ Sue saw Peter (anyway), as she was set to leave.
b. *I consider* John to be very stupid.
= It is my opinion that John is very stupid.
≠ It is my opinion that John will be very stupid.

As such, the non-argument absolute construction appears to be the only clear instance of a small clause with an infinitival predicate which implies a posterior arrangement. Such an interpretation is also unambiguous in a small number of free adjuncts, mainly those which occur in the clause-initial position and contain *about*:

(25) About to be leave, Sue saw Peter (anyway).

The scarcity of infinitival predicates is therefore not detrimental to the depictive analysis of absolutes outlined in this section. Rather, the unavoidable issue with suggesting free adjuncts and small clauses share the same structure has to do with the transparency of depictives for external operations. As discussed above, only free adjunct depictives allow their subjects to be assigned a second semantic role by an external head, otherwise subjects of both free adjuncts and small clauses are accessible for Case valuation and movement, which is presented in (19) and (20). This distinction can be attributed to a semantic difference between the depictive head used in free adjuncts and small clauses, respectively, with the only the latter requiring a semantic role of its own. The assignment of a semantic role to the depictive therefore takes precedence over the assignment of another semantic role to the subject of the small clause. Finally, the crucial similarity between the two types of depictives is seen in the fact that both borrow the categorial status of their subject, which enables them to occur as complements of prepositions. An example of such a small clause can be seen within the prepositional free adjunct in (3b), while an example of a free adjunct inside a *PP* can be seen in (18). Having thus established the advantages of the *DepP* analysis of small clauses, I propose that bare absolutes are *DepP*s, while augmented absolutes are *PP*s with DepP complements. These are showcased by the representations of absolutes in (26a) and (26b) below:

(26) a. The discussion completed ... b. With the discussion completed ...



DepP-analysis, see Abney (1987, 151ff)).

The structural distinction between the two groups is corroborated by the fact that subjects realized by personal pronouns obligatorily occur in the objective form only in augmented absolutes. Conversely, the dualism of subject forms in bare absolutes suggests that the Case value of the subject is neither due to a syntactic relation, like the one between the complementizer *for* and the subject in infinitival clauses, nor to lexical properties of a prepositional selector. However, such a conclusion is at odds with the stipulation that all nominal projections bear an uninterpretable Case feature, which I argue in the following subsection to be superfluous.

4.2 Absolute case versus abstract Case

Any discussion of Case in absolute constructions is based on observations regarding the case form of their subjects. In this, I assume Jespersen's view that both the subjective and the objective forms are available with pronominal subjects in bare absolutes, though the latter one is prevalent. According to Jespersen's (1965) proposal that the subjective form is mainly manifested when the subject of the absolute is coreferential with the matrix subject bare absolutes must be transparent to external influence. Nevertheless, the following example serves as evidence that coreference is not needed to trigger the subjective form of the pronominal subject:

(27) *Once*, **she** being childishly curious, *her father had given* **her** *a sip of the tot of rum he had bought to ease her grandfather's chest*. (E. Rhodes, *Ruth Appleby*)

Such examples further show that the case of the subject in bare absolutes cannot be universally determined through syntactic relations, which is not necessarily a drawback. For one, morphological case does not always reflect abstract Case. Also, due to the adverbial status of absolutes, the case of the subject could be attributed to the semantic and morphological factors rather than syntactic or lexical ones. A similar instance of semantic case morphology could be attributed to nominal adjuncts, such as *these days* in (13), which also appear to lack a structural licenser. The fact that nominal adjuncts do not cause the derivation to crash despite the lack of ostensible licensers suggests such nominal projections do not have a Case feature in need of valuation. A similar conclusion is reached by Bošković (2006), who shows that a preposition which values instrumental Case on its complement in Serbo-Croatian is not a suitable choice, if the adjunct is to convey the meaning of direction (op. cit.: 530):

(28) a. Trčao je šumom. (*He ran through a/the forest*.)
b. Trčao je *s(a)/kroz pet šuma. (*He ran through five forests.*)

The adjunct *šumom* in (28a) has instrumental morphology, and signifies direction, while the adjunct in (28b) consists of a nominal in the quantificational genitive form and thus requires a preposition to convey the same meaning. The preposition which values instrumental Case *s(a)*, however, is not semantically suitable, and it is *kroz*, which values accusative Case, that enables the interpretation listed in the brackets. Since *šumom* in (28a) is not in accusative form, Bošković (2006) suggests that such nominal adjuncts are bare and that their Case feature is semantically interpretable. This conclusion is a further departure from the Case theory of the Minimalist Program, which identifies Case as the only feature without an interpretable counterpart, whose valuation is a reflex of agreement between ϕ-features.

Schütze (2001)[22] also opposes the idea that all nominal projections bear uninterpretable Case, arguing that even argument *DP*s can enter the derivation Caseless, and have their form determined

[22] Although Schütze (2001) admits his analysis is better suited to the theory of Distributed Morphology, it can also be seen as complementary to the purely syntactic approach of the Minimalist Program.

through other devices. One of these is case matching,[23] which makes a Caseless *DP* mirror the case form of one which has been checked for Case, if these elements are coreferential. The other is what Schütze (2001, 221) calls default case, a form that is either "least featurally specified" or simply used to realize Caseless *DP*s. In English, the default case is accusative and can be seen on *DP*s who are in – Reuland's (1983) terms – not adjacent to its Case-checking selector (as with conjunction phrases, left dislocation, and gapping), and on predicative pronouns:

(29) a. **Me** / *I, *I like beans.*
b. *We can't eat caviar and* **him** / *he (eat) *beans*.

(30) ... *I hope I've paid him due credit, thought he did start that nasty rumour that* he *was* **me** *or* I *was* **him**. (*She Magazine, electronic edition*)

As shown by (29), case matching is weaker than default case in English. Furthermore, due to the scarce case system of English, the common case of *DP*s which are used as temporal adjuncts can also be said to be an instance of default case.[24] This accounts for the objective pronominal subjects in bare absolutes, though it still leaves the issue of subjective pronominal subjects unresolved. According to Jespersen (1965), these are a remnant of an earlier dominant pattern, when the subjective case was the default form in English. Their survival may be due, in part, to coreference with matrix subjects, bearers of nominative Case, which suggests that subjective forms in such instances are determined through case matching. Their use is not restricted to such instances, however, and it is irrelevant whether this is a reflex of prescriptive grammar, as argued by Hantson (1992), since the pattern is still productive, albeit no longer prevalent.

Acknowledgement of subjective pronominal subjects in bare absolutes is comparable to arguments in favour of semantically determined and default case forms in that these phenomena point to a gap in the Case theory. Nevertheless, attributing interpretable Case to the subjects of bare absolutes or suggesting them to be exceptional for not having Case does not resolve the issue of dissociation between abstract Case and morphological case. Since neither of the two proposals offers a definitive generalization regarding the relationship between two, I follow Sigurðsson (2009) in taking the aforementioned dissociation as evidence that abstract Case, an exceptional feature to begin with, does not exist. Instead, case is a purely morphological device, whose value depends on the interplay of lexical, syntactic, semantic factors with the morphology of individual languages. This conclusion is desirable from a minimalist perspective, since it removes several exceptions, which could not be explained without further, non-generalizable stipulations. These include the indirect method of Case valuation and the non-relational determination of case with nominal adjuncts and the bearers of default case.

Finally, the removal of Case from syntax is desirable, since its original roles, triggering movement of nominal projections and licensing their presence in the structure, have been assumed by other mechanisms in the Minimalist Program. As shown in section 2, movement of nominal projections is triggered by the EPP feature. Licensing of nominal projections, however, is already regulated by the Full Interpretation principle, which requires that only elements which contribute to the interpretation be present in the structure. As such, it prohibits the adjunction or merging of nominal projections which cannot be assigned a semantic role at the interface. Since semantic factors and case morphology have been shown to be connected in the case of nominal adjuncts, this also explains why in most cases English absolutes with nominal predicates must be selected by an overt preposition. This requirement is due to the poor morphological system of English, which is unable to distinguish between nominal

[23] This mechanism should not be confused with feature matching under Agree.

[24] Conversely, in Latin and classical Greek subjects of absolute constructions typically occur in case forms associated with adverbial functions (ablative and genitive, respectively), shared by any case-bearing predicative elements.

adjuncts on the basis of their meaning, as opposed to languages like Serbo-Croatian. As such, nominal adjuncts are licensed either for their semantics, specifically when they refer to time.[25] On the other hand, bare absolutes with nominal predicates can only be licensed through their distributive coreference with the matrix subject, as in (4b). Beyond this, English morphology does not facilitate an adverbial interpretation of the absolute construction or the relation between its subject and the nominal predicate. In compensation for this deficit, English absolutes with nominal predicates are obligatorily augmented, so that the preposition enables the predication of such absolutes to be interpreted as an accompanying circumstance of the matrix predication. Surprisingly, examples like (31) seem to be exempt from this requirement:

(31) *Anita wears a Tibetan scarf and high grey leg-warmers*, her hair a tumble of untamed curls. (A. L. Hall, *Deliria*)

Although the small clause in (31) has an adverbial function, it is closely associated with the matrix subject. This connection leads me to believe such instances actually contain free adjuncts whose predicate is headed by a non-overt preposition or a participle, comparable to those in (3b).

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have examined several options of accounting for the case of the subject in English absolute clauses and its correlation with the category of these constructions within the Minimalist Program. I have shown that, contrary to descriptive grammars, Minimalist accounts tend to favour the accusative absolute, striving for a common structural analysis of absolutes, which becomes the source of difficulties for each proposal. Hantson (1992) and, in a limited way, Reuland (1983) consider absolutes to have the structure of clauses, which is problematic for stipulating unique occurrences of mechanisms like Case checking by a non-finite Tense and *be*-deletion. Lundin (2003) advocates a small-clause analysis with four categorial subtypes, undermined by her assumption that all absolute small clauses are selected by a preposition. This is irreconcilable with categorial distinctions between small clauses due to selectional restrictions of prepositions, and due to the resulting dismissal of any instance of a nominative subject within absolutes. Finally, I have proposed a mono-categorial small-clause analysis of absolutes as depictive phrases, whose case is determined through an interaction of syntactic and non-syntactic factors. Despite the semantic differences between depictive secondary predication and small clauses, I have shown the analysis to be viable since the two behave alike in many circumstances. Furthermore, the proposal that case dualism in bare absolutes is enabled by the unselected status of such constructions and the corresponding rejection of abstract Case are shown to be advantageous. Not only does the dismissal of Case remove an exception from syntax, but its role as a licenser of nominal elements can readily be shifted to semantic and morphological mechanisms in the case of nominal adjuncts. It remains to be seen whether such mechanisms suffice as licensers of nominal elements in other functions.

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[25] McCawley (1988) shows that the choice of premodifiers influences the ability of temporal nominals to occur as nominal adjuncts, though he regards them as *PP*s with a null head (588):
(i) *We went there the same day*. (ii) *We went there* *(on) *a subsequent day*.

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Mediaeval and Modern Metaphorical Concepts of Emotions

Summary

This article aims to study emotion metaphors found in a selection of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and compare them with conventional modern metaphors from current dictionaries and other sources, in order to find out whether mediaeval emotional metaphorical concepts have survived to the present day and, if so, what changes can be perceived in them. The study is based on the cognitive theory of metaphor, as developed by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980) in *Metaphors We Live By*.

Key words: emotion metaphors, conventional metaphors, modern metaphors, mediaeval metaphors, metaphorical concepts, cognitive theory of metaphor

Srednjeveški in sodobni metaforični koncepti emocij

Povzetek

Prispevek proučuje emotivne metafore v izboru Chaucerjevih *Canterburyjskih povesti* in jih primerja s konvencionalnimi sodobnimi metaforami iz sodobnih slovarjev in drugih virov ter tako raziskuje, ali so srednjeveški koncepti emotivnih metafor preživeli do danes in kakšne spremembe lahko zaznamo v njih. Raziskava temelji na kognitivni teoriji metafor, ki sta jo razvila George Lakoff in Mark Johnson (1980) v delu *Metaphors We Live By*.

Ključne besede: emotivne metafore, konvencionalne metafore, sodobne metafore, srednjeveške metafore, metaforični koncepti, kognitivna teorija metafor

Mediaeval and Modern Metaphorical Concepts of Emotions

1. Introduction

Metaphors have proved to be a valuable device in conceiving of the world, as well as in efforts to express it. In spite of that, they have rarely been used to investigate the changes that might have taken place in the human mind over a considerable length of time. Admittedly, we lack historical corpora that would enable us to grasp metaphorical concepts existing in the distant past. Historical dictionaries, with digital word counts, are almost useless for the purpose, as metaphors are most often idioms and phrases of diverse structure and vocabulary, and cannot be understood out of context. However, we can always investigate samples of old literature and compare them with today's materials, in order to draw some conclusions about the issue, no matter how incomplete the data might be.

For this purpose we carried out research on metaphors of emotion in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, specifically in the "General Prologue," "the Knight's Tale," "the Miller's Prologue and Tale," "the Wife of Bath's Prologue and Tale," and "the Second Nun's Prologue and Tale." The primary objective was to find out which concepts mediaeval metaphors were based on and how they were expressed, and the secondary was to see how many of the mediaeval metaphorical concepts found are still creative in the minds of English speakers. For modern metaphorical expressions we referred mostly to *Metaphors We Live By* and *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things* (Lakoff 1987), the Concise Oxford Thesaurus, the Cambridge International Dictionary of English, and other dictionaries.

Regarding corpus collection, it might seem that we attempted to compare the incomparable, since metaphors in the *Canterbury Tales* are the product of artistic fantasy, while those taken from modern dictionaries are conventional, that is, created and used mostly by common people in written and spoken language. Nevertheless, we believe that the Tales are suitable for such research for several reasons. Firstly, they were composed more than five hundred years ago, and that is a considerable length of time for changes in the mind, if indeed there are any, to show. Then they are composed in vernacular English, the native language used naturally in informal situations. Additionally, the story-tellers come from different social strata and represent almost the whole of contemporary English society: the aristocracy, the middle class and the Church; and, no less importantly, they express both masculine and feminine contemporary attitudes.

2. Scientific Foundation

The starting point in our research was the cognitive theory of metaphor, as elaborated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in *Metaphors We Live By*. It claims that "metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language, but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (3). Accordingly, metaphor is not a purely linguistic device, used mostly in literature for stylistic purposes and by especially talented individuals, but primarily a cognitive process, used effortlessly by ordinary people in common situations, and expressed by means of language. As such, it necessarily includes two constituents: a metaphorical concept, by means of which we experience one kind of things in terms of another, and a metaphorical expression, by which we convey the underlying concept through language. Since one of the general properties of language is its productivity, we are able to express one and the same metaphorical concept in many ways. In other words, the notion which we try to grasp, that is, the target, can be

understood in terms of several different notions or sources. Moreover, we can understand one and the same notion by means of several different metaphorical concepts. Metaphorical concepts can roughly be classified according to their function into ontological, structural and orientational concepts. Briefly, by ontological metaphors, immaterial objects, such as events, activities, emotions, ideas etc., are viewed as material ones; by structural metaphors, one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another; and, by orientation metaphors, certain notions are viewed in terms of human orientation in physical space, such as up-down, in-out, front-back, deep-shallow, central-peripheral.

The purpose of metaphor is the better understanding of notions, especially abstract ones, such as emotions. They appear to be much more difficult to grasp than material ones, and subsequently our perception of them is often vague and diverse. As emotions represent an important part of human life, many artists, philosophers, art historians, linguists, psychologists, sociologists and neuroscientists have taken an interest in them. Nevertheless, because of their complex nature, as well as because of the different perspectives and experiences of those who have dealt with them, various definitions of emotions have emerged so far. The contemporary definition, which interprets emotion as a subjective conscious experience with mental and neurophysiological expressions, is not conclusive, but encompasses different aspects and theories from different research domains. This vagueness of definition is the reason why many synonyms for *emotion* have been used to date, such as *feeling, affect, sensibility, sentiment, passion* and *fervour*; but, according to current psychological studies, none of these is completely equivalent to emotion. There has also been the stumbling block of a set of basic emotions. Several classifications have appeared, among which the most frequently cited is that of the psychologist Paul Ekman (1984, 1992), which encompasses six primary emotions: anger, disgust, fear, happiness, sadness and surprise.

Some psychologists claim that the number of basic emotions can be reduced to two only, such as pain and pleasure (Mowrer), or happiness and sadness (Weiner and Graham), while some others, like Plutchik, Arnold, McDougall, Tomkins and Izard, have identified many more, up to eleven (Arnold), as we read in Ortony and Turner (1990, 316). The differences in opinion are due to the fact that some scientists do not perceive certain emotions, called compound or complex emotions, as clearly separate, but as combinations of a few primary emotions. So, for example, love is understood as a combination of affection, lust and longing, and anger as a mixture of irritation, rage, disgust, torment, envy etc.

As has been mentioned, linguists have also shown great interest in emotions. Some of them, especially those engaged in cross-cultural linguistics, have noticed that psychologists, in their efforts to identify fundamental and universal human emotions, have based their theories on research performed mostly among speakers of the English language and have neglected Whorf's general idea that differences in language structure have caused people to view the world differently. Anna Wierzbicka (1999) provides evidence that "the way people interpret their own emotions depends, to some extent, at least, on the lexical grid provided by their native language" (26). Thus, for example, "the conceptual categories of sadness or anger are highly relevant to the speakers of English, and also to the speakers of other languages which have words corresponding in meaning to the English words *sad* and *angry* or *sadness* and *anger*" (27), but the speakers of other languages may have different concepts of these emotions. This does not mean that universals do not exist: only that they can be reached merely on the basis of empirical findings from a great number of languages. Such an approach to emotional concepts has encouraged a great number of synchronic studies.

Some diachronic studies have appeared, too, focusing mostly on the semantics of emotional concepts in particular languages in the last few centuries. Our article, however, deals with English language

and culture in the period from the late 14th century to the present day, and explores the metaphorical side of emotional concepts.

3. Organization of the Text

In our selection of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* we found about sixty metaphors that express a wide range of emotions, such as love, happiness, unhappiness, lust, disgust, jealousy, rage, sorrow, blame, pity and fear. All of them are elaborated in the next section, according to the three specific types of metaphors in Lakoff and Johnson's classification. So Subsection 1 deals with ontological metaphors, Subsection 2 with structural metaphors, and Subsection 3 with orientational metaphors. Since the creativity of the human mind and language is unlimited, as has been said, it is not surprising that most of the emotions mentioned are expressed through all three types of metaphor.

In each subsection we move from major to minor metaphors, that is, from metaphorical concepts common to several emotions to metaphorical concepts typical of particular emotions, attaching to each concept illustrative example(s) from the *Canterbury Tales* and modern example(s), if available. Metaphorical concepts are given in capital letters, examples from Modern English in italics, and quotations from the *Canterbury Tales* inside quotation marks (with line numbers added in brackets), but in our own translation. Although many Modern English translations of the *Canterbury Tales* exist, in some of them original Middle English metaphors are replaced by modern ones, or even dropped, in order to make the translation more accessible to modern readers. As our intention was primarily to study Chaucer's original metaphors, we translated them word by word.

Some metaphorical examples in the following section are actually metonymies, but since metonymy can be defined as a subtype of metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 35-40), metonymic examples are neither separated from metaphors nor elaborated any further.

We must also point out that in the text we do not label emotions according to any of the above-mentioned classifications, but use quite general terms, as common people do in everyday life. Although there are some objective conceptual differences between particular emotions, for example, sadness and distress, or joy and happiness, as shown by Wierzbicka (1999, 51), the fact is that ordinary people (or even scientists) sometimes label the same emotion with two different terms. So we are aware that some readers may consider the emotion we classify as unhappiness to be pain, or the feeling we label as anger to be rage, etc.

Additionally, instead of *emotion*, we occasionally use the term *feeling* or even *emotional state*. Actually, most English dictionaries subsume under the item *emotion*, for example: a strong *feeling* such as love and anger, or strong *feelings* in general (Cambridge Dictionaries Online), a strong *feeling*, such as love, anger, joy, hate, or fear (Merriam Webster), a strong *feeling* deriving from one's circumstances, mood, or relationships with others (Oxford Dictionaries), etc.

4. Mediaeval versus Modern Metaphors

4.1 Ontological Metaphors

The CONTAINER METAPHOR, one of the major ontological metaphors, appears to be basic in the conceptualizing of various emotional states in the *Canterbury Tales*, such as jealousy, happiness, rage, sorrow etc. We actually find two types of this metaphor: one relying on the concept that *a person is a container (of emotions),* and the other relying on the concept that *emotion is the container* in which a person is, typically, immersed or placed.

The former is noticeable, for example, in the "Miller's Tale," when Alison warns her young lover that her husband is "full of jealousy" (3294), or in the "Nun's Prologue," when the Nun invokes the Virgin Mary with "o, thou, full of grace" (67). Both expressions show that a person who experiences an intense emotion is generally understood as a *full* container. The container can be filled with solid substance, gas or fluid. In the "Knight's Tale," the noble widows label the cruel King Creon, who killed their husbands, as "ireful" (940) and plead with Duke Theseus: "let our sorrow sink in your heart" (951). Obviously, Theseus is presented here as a container full of fluid.

The other concept, *emotion is the container*, can be observed in the expression from the "Wife of Bath's Tale" that "his heart was bathing in a bath of bliss" (1253), where happiness is understood as a container of liquid in which the Wife's hero is immersed.

Nevertheless, the presence of emotions is also often viewed as location in a BOUNDED SPACE. Typically, when an emotion exists, the person is in that space. This is firmly rooted in human experience of living in the open, since a territory or land area has been seen as a container; and, consequently, everything within or outside it is actually thought of as being within or outside the container. Thus, in the "Knight's Tale," young Arcita regrets he has been released from prison, saying, "Then I had been in bliss, and not in woe" (1230), and Chaucer himself, apologizing for the Miller's rude story, begs his fellows: "put me out of blame" (3185). The origin of such understanding of emotions lies in our experience with physical objects, especially our own bodies. Lakoff and Johnson put it simply, as: "Each of us is a container, with a bounding surface, and in-out orientation" (1980, 29). Apparently, the container and bounded-space concepts are nowadays still creative, and are expressed in numerous idioms, such as: *The sight filled them with joy, She couldn't contain her rage any longer, They are deeply in love*, *She was in an angry mood,* etc.

However, there are types of ontological metaphors other than container or bounded space that allow us to understand emotions as separate entities that can be identified, referred to, or quantified in various ways. Sorrow, pity or love, for example, are viewed as material objects that can be possessed, given, sent or bought at a high price. The Wife's young husband thus, having named a series of evil women, concludes in the "Prologue" that "husbands always have sorrow" (756), and the Roman officer Maximus in the "Second Nun's Tale" "wept for pity that he had" (371), while the Knight ends his story happily with the following words: "So God … / Has sent to him his love so dearly bought" (3099-100).

The lines from the "Miller's Prologue," "May he find God's plenty there, he shouldn't inquire of the rest" (3165-6), show the conceptualization of a woman's love as a material substance that can be divided among her lovers, with a certain remainder. Nowadays, love and sorrow are still spoken of in similar ways, judging from the following examples: *have a love, hold dear, bear love to, take pity on, and give/send her my love.*

A specific subtype of ontological metaphor used in the *Canterbury Tales* to express emotional states or their changes is personification. Describing the change from fury to calm in the heart of Theseus, the Knight says, "his ire has thus gone" (1782), and adds, "for pity runs soon in a gentle heart" (1761). Apparently, CHANGE OF EMOTION is perceived as MOTION. Actually, the very word 'emotion' comes from Latin *emovere,* "move out, remove, agitate".

Emotions, such as love, possess typically human features, thus "love is free" (1606), as Arcita says. Theseus finds out that love "brings" Arcita and Palamon to Athens to die as if they were blind: "yet has love, in spite of their eyes, brought them back here" (1796-7). The very emotion of happiness is often conceptualized in the shape of Fortune, the goddess of happiness, as, for example, in the "Knight's

Tale," where the noble widows stop Theseus, saying, "Lord, to whom Fortune has given Victory" (915). On the other hand, misfortune is thought of as caused by the evil influence of Saturn. Thus, Arcita explains to Palamon: "Some wicked aspect or configuration of Saturn / . . . Has given this to us" (1087-9). Likewise, love is personified in Cupid, whom Chaucer, in the same tale, names a ruler: "O Cupid, out of all charity! / O rule, where no compeer is allowed to be!" (1623-4)

4.2 Structural Metaphors

A whole range of pleasant and unpleasant emotions, like anger, love, jealousy, pain, suffering and shame, are conceived of as heat or fire. Generally speaking, it emerges that WEAK EMOTIONS ARE WARMTH and STRONG EMOTIONS ARE FIRE. The concepts have arisen directly from our bodily experience, that is, from physical reactions triggered by emotions, such as higher blood pressure, rapid heartbeat, increased body temperature, etc. The reactions vary in intensity from emotion to emotion, and from person to person, but are definitely easiest to notice when anger turns into RAGE, since increased body temperature is shown as REDNESS IN THE FACE AND NECK. The expressions of anger and rage in the *Canterbury Tales* are also based on this concept, but, interestingly, we find them in the descriptions of classical gods and goddesses who are all personified and therefore share typical human features. So, in the "Knight's Tale," Ira, the goddess of rage and revenge, is depicted as "red as burning coal" (1997). Similarly, the god of war, known for his bad temper and terrible rage, is also painted red: "The red statue of Mars" (975). Modern expressions of anger and rage, based on the same concept, are, among others: *He's a hothead, Don't get hot under the collar, She was scarlet with rage, He got red with anger*, etc.

Not only rage, but the strong feeling of SHAME, too, can easily be recognized in one's face. Thus, the Wife's young husband's face was "often red and hot" (540), because she used to reveal his secrets to her close friends.

The concept LOVE/DESIRE IS FIRE is no less common. The Wife declares: "better is to marry than to burn [of love]" (52), and "it [love] has desire to consume every thing" (373-5). Arcita pleads with Mars, who was passionately in love with Venus, to help him: ". . . by that same hot fire / In which you once burned with desire" (2383-4). Absolon, deeply in love with Alison, even claims, "for your love I sweat" (3702), showing that burning love can not only increase body heat, but eventually cause sweating. On the other hand, when love fades or completely disappears, it is conceptualized as lack of heat. So we read of poor Absolon that "his hot love was cooled" (3754) after Alison had made a fool of him. The concept of warmth or fire is still creative today. Typically, when we start loving someone we *warm ourselves towards someone*, and when our feelings become strong we speak about *burning/ardent/fervent love* or about *hot-blooded lovers*, for example. Conversely, for the lack of love we use expressions like *their cold relationship, his cool wife, his frigid partner*, etc.

JEALOUSY is often closely connected with love, and similarly metaphorically conceptualized as FIRE. The Knight in his Tale describes jealous Palamon, the rival of Arcita, in the following way: "the fire of jealousy started up / within his breast" (1299-1300). Even today, it is still common to hear that somebody is *burning* or *consumed with jealousy.*

PAIN is also experienced as FIRE and frequently expressed in terms of *hell*, a place where eternal fire burns, according to Christian belief. Describing his life far away from his beloved Emily, Arcita says, "It's now my fate eternally to dwell / Not in purgatory but in hell" (1225-6), and Palamon likewise grieves: "I have no words to tell / The ravages and torments of my hell" (2227-8). Even today it is common to say, for example, *I've been through hell in the last ten days*.

So far we have offered expressions of diverse emotional states in the *Canterbury Tales* which are experienced as fire and, in the case of rage and shame, visible as redness in the face and neck. However, the strong emotion of FEAR is also manifested in appearance, but as WHITENESS IN THE FACE, since it is bodily experienced in a completely different way than rage. When we are afraid, blood circulation slows down, and body temperature subsequently decreases. Coldness results in paleness. So it seems natural that, in the "Knight's Tale," the image of Fear, exposed in the temple of Mars, is described as "pale Dread" (1998).

According to frequency, the FIRE metaphor is clearly a major one within the structural metaphors. However, we find a considerable number of minor metaphors that appear in the *Canterbury Tales* as emotion-specific. Thus, LOVE is the only feeling conceptualized AS ILLNESS or DEATH. Like any illness, love causes pain. So, Duke Theseus, full of compassion for unhappy lovers Arcita and Palamon, admits: "I know love's pain / And know very well how it can hurt a man" (1815-6). In the "General Prologue," Chaucer depicts the Wife, an experienced middle-aged woman, who married five times, as one who "knew remedies of love" (475), and the Miller, in his Tale, says that young Absolon, having been humiliated by his adored Alison, "was healed of his malady" (3757). Similarly, Arcita, hopelessly in love with Emily, describes his state thus: "I'm as good as dead, there is no remedy" (1274). The perception of love in terms of sickness is also common today, since there is a whole range of conventional expressions, such as: *You drive me out of my mind, I'm sick to death of your love, Your love will kill me, You'll be the death of me*, etc. However, lovesickness is currently rarely thought of as caused by love darts, which, directed from the eyes of his mistress, hurt the lover's eyes and then his heart, causing serious illness, even death. For example, Arcita points out: "to slay me utterly, / Love has, with its fiery dart so burningly / Stuck into my true, troubled heart" (1563-5), and "But I was hurt just now through the eye / right to the heart and it will kill me" (1096-7) as well as "You slay me with your eyes, fair Emily" (1567). But, if we do not speak any more about love darts that pass through the eyes, the eyes are still important in love, so we can often hear something like this: *His eyes were filled with love, There was passion in his eyes*, *Her eyes welled with emotion,* etc.

Another love-specific metaphorical concept found in the *Canterbury Tales* is LOVE IS WAR. It is clearly noticeable in Arcita's expression, "my sweet foe" (2780), addressed to Emily. The Wife, in her "Prologue," says that her young husband "could win" her love (512), and in her Tale she wisely concludes: "A man shall win us best with flattery" (932). Love is nowadays still experienced in terms of war, as evident from the following expressions: *He won my heart, She gained his affections, I lost my heart, They were captured by love*, etc.

LOVE IS CLOSENESS, too. Emily declares, "I do not want the company of man" (2311), actually speaking about sexual intercourse, as seen from the context. Absolon, in the "Miller's Tale," states that "The one nigh and sly / Always makes the distant dear one loathed" (3392-3), and the Miller explains: "Because he was far out of her sight / Nigh Nicholas stood in his light" (3395-6). The word *light* actually stands here for happiness.

The emotion of love appears to be closely connected with the emotion of LUST, which is metaphorically structured in the *Canterbury Tales* as HUNGER. Thus, the Wife, talking about her love affairs, points out: "But [I] always followed my appetite" (623). She is not ashamed to admit: "For profit I would endure all his lust, / And feign an appetite; / In bacon, though, I never took delight" (416-8). *Bacon* obviously denotes old men, and the whole idiom expresses the Wife's disgust, not lust. Nevertheless, it suggests another concept: THE OBJECT OF LUST IS FOOD. Lust, just as love and anger, is often visible in someone's eyes and mouth, and when Absolon says, "My mouth has itched the whole day long" (3682), we understand from the context that he actually anticipates kissing, at least. Cute Alison, on the other hand, "had a lickerish eye" (3244).

Nowadays, sexual urge is similarly conceptualized in terms of hunger (or thirst), for example: *She is love-starved*, *I hunger for your touch, You have a remarkable sexual appetite,* and the object of lust is still conceived of in terms of food, for example: *She's quite a dish, What a piece of meat! Hi, sugar!* etc. Nevertheless, we cannot hear anyone saying, "But I had always a coltish tooth" (602), or "With empty hand you cannot lure a hawk" (415), as the Wife does, although the underlying concept LUST IS ANIMAL is current today. Neither lust nor sexual urge is commonly identified today with Venus, as we find in the Wife's words: "Venus gave me my lust" (611) and "And after wine, I would think on Venus" (464).

For JEALOUSY we find in the *Canterbury Tales* only a metaphor that refers to the facial expression of jealous Arcita. Chaucer says that his eyes are: "bright-citron" (2167), associating the yellow-greenish colour of lemon with bitterness. Even today, the most common metaphorical expression for a jealous person is *green with envy* or *green-eyed monster*. Nevertheless, metaphors of revenge or retribution, caused by jealousy, anger and pain, are quite frequent. Thus the Wife, in revenge for her husband's infidelity, "made him a cross of the same wood" (484), "made him fry in his own grease" (487), and was "his purgatory on earth" (489), etc. Similar expressions are still in usage, for example, *We all have our crosses to bear, His first marriage was purgatory*, etc.

4.3 Orientational Metaphors

The concept GOOD IS UP, which is based on our physical upright posture in space, shows the up-orientation to general well-being and is coherent with many other concepts, but considering the topic, we shall deal with only a few of them, the first being: HAPPY IS UP. Lakoff and Johnson clearly explain that "Drooping posture typically goes along with sadness and depression, erect posture with a positive emotional state" (1980, 15). They give numerous examples, such as *I'm feeling up, My spirits rose, I fell into a depression, It gives me a lift, That sinking feeling..., He was floating on air,* etc. In the "Second Nun's Tale," Chaucer says, about St. Cecily, who converted her husband and his brother to Christianity, that "the maiden has brought these men to bliss above" (281). When Arcita has to leave Emily, his spirits are "so low" (1369) because she does not care if he "sinks or swims" (2397), and when Palamon is allowed to fight for Emily against Arcita, his happiness is expressed literally in: "Who looks as *light* now as Palamon?" (1870). Obviously, the notion *light*, which literary means "not heavy, light in weight" and entails moving up, lifting, stands for *happy*. Similarly, in the "Nun's Tale," Pope Urban baptizes Tiburce "with glad and light heart" (351).

Happiness and positive emotions in general are not understood only as upright-directed, but in terms of increased energy, which is shown through motion and other activities. Thus, the Wife's art of love is expressed as "the old dance" (476), where dance is nothing but an output of positive energy.

As has been said, the concept that good is up is coherent with many other concepts, one of them being HAVING FORCE IS UP / BEING SUBJECT TO FORCE IS DOWN, currently expressed, for example, by the idioms: *I have control over her, He is in a superior position, He is under my control, He is my social inferior*, etc. In the *Canterbury Tales*, the main emotional force is love. Love is a lord who rules the hearts of his subjects. Therefore, it is true that LOVE IS UP / LOVERS ARE DOWN, especially where the knights are concerned. So Duke Theseus describes both Arcita and Palamon in the following way: "Thus has their lord, the god of love, paid / Their fee and wage for serving him! / Yet they think themselves very wise / In serving love, whatever may befall" (1802-5). He understands them well, admitting: "In my time I was love's servant, too" (1814).

5. Analysis

The examples from the *Canterbury Tales* have shown that a whole range of emotions, such as anger, rage, love, sorrow, pain, jealousy, blame, happiness, pity, shame, fear, lust and longing, was conceived of in mediaeval times by means of metaphorical concepts. When we compare them with modern ones, we find out that almost all of them are still active. In other words, English speakers have continuously thought about emotions in more or less the same way through a period of five hundred years.

Of course, this refers only to the emotional metaphorical concepts, not to the source notions used in their expression, which have considerably altered over such a long period, mostly because of social and cultural development. For example, *love arrows* are not thought of as a cause of lovesickness any more, although the concept LOVE IS ILLNESS / LOVE IS DEATH is still in operation. Likewise, *hawk luring* or *coltish tooth* are not used today to express sexual urge, despite the fact that the concepts LUST IS HUNGER and LUST IS ANIMAL are still active. We also cannot hear that someone is a *servant of love*, or *serving love*, except for in poetry. Especially unconventional at present are the expressions with personified classical gods and goddesses, since no one understands love, lust, happiness, anger or unhappiness as acts of Venus, Cupid, Fortuna, Mars or Saturn. All the terms used belong to the domains of mediaeval feudal tradition, including skills and sports (archery, falconry, horsemanship), art (court poetry), and mediaeval pseudoscience (astrology). Since they do not make up part of modern people's common experience, they were abandoned long ago by English speakers and replaced with new source notions, which were closer and clearer in their mind.

However, what strikes one more than the change of source notions is the fact that emotional metaphorical concepts were subject, in mediaeval times, to social and cultural differentiation, while today they are not. So at least it seems, judging from the metaphors uttered by Chaucer's characters. For example, the concepts of lust in the *Canterbury Tales* are evident only in the language of the Wife, Absolon and Alison, who all happen to be members of the middle social class, but not in the language of Arcita, Palamon, Theseus and Emily, who belong to the upper class. Jealousy is verbally expressed only by the Wife, who extensively elaborates on the revenge she took on her unfaithful husbands. By contrast, jealous Arcita remains silent. Anger is also not directly expressed by any noble figure in the *Canterbury Tales*, but when it eventually arises, it is rapidly suppressed, and soon "goes away", as in the case of good King Theseus. Further on, the linguistic expression of shame appears only when the Wife mocks her young husband, and that of blame when Chaucer pardons readers for the vulgar Miller's Tale that follows. However, there is no place for blame or shame in a noble heart. The Nun and the characters in her tale, St. Cecily, Maximus and Pope Urban, express only feelings of mercy and pity for "brothers", as well as of happiness, when these become Christians. Naturally, there are no traces of anger, jealousy or lust in them, as completely incompatible with their Christian beliefs and profession.

So, from metaphorical expressions used by the characters in the *Canterbury Tales*, one can conclude that the emotional experience of mediaeval people was heavily restricted according to their social status and occupation.[1] Thus, negative emotions, such as blame, shame, lust, rage, and longing for revenge, were typical of members of the middle class, while positive emotions, like mercy and pity, were characteristic of those of the upper class and representatives of the Church. Even the emotion of love, expressed metaphorically by all the characters in the *Canterbury Tales*, appears at different levels. While the Nun and her heroes convey Christian love, the others express 'earthly' love, either sensual (the Wife, Absolon, Alison) or platonic (Arcita, Palamon, Theseus).

[1] Admittedly, metaphors represent only one feature of their language, while others, including emotional expressions with literal meaning, are not discussed here. Nevertheless, in the light of Lakoff and Johnson's theory, metaphors can clearly indicate how people experience certain ideas.

Indeed, from the modern point of view such distribution of emotions seems completely unnatural. Current scientific research argues that emotions are part of spontaneous, innate, conscious and *universal* experience, meaning that all humans are capable of them. This refers to all emotions, positive and negative, pleasant and unpleasant. Accordingly, we may reasonably assume that the mediaeval aristocracy or clergy also experienced 'low' feelings, like the other people, but did not want to show them overtly.[2]

Naturally, the question is why. Did they willingly decide to hide their negative emotions, or were they forced to by social constraints? Concerning the spontaneous nature of emotions, we would rather say that such behaviour was caused by the then dominant social and cultural norms, which imposed a certain set of values, according to which some emotions were perceived as desirable and some as unacceptable. Members of the upper class seem to be more subjected to the prescribed social norms, and they were expected to experience only 'elevated' or 'noble' feelings, at least in most contexts. On the other hand, the middle-class participants seem to be less subjected to social and cultural sets of norms, and therefore less impeded in emotional experience, as reflected in their metaphorical expressions of both 'high' and 'low' emotions.

Interestingly, against all established prejudices according to which women are tenderer, more refined, more vulnerable, and generally more sensitive, while men are more restrained in emotional expression, it seems that in mediaeval times there was no differentiation on the basis of gender, since female and male members of the same social class similarly expressed their 'rough' or 'elevated' emotions: for example, the Miller and the Wife, on the one hand, and Arcita and Emily, on the other. The same is true for male members of the aristocracy and female members of the Church, as for example Theseus and the Nun, who, both privileged, shared only cultivated and refined feelings.

Understandably, the imposed social and cultural norms did not only determine what emotions might have been expressed, but also shaped how these emotions had to be thought of. This is why some metaphorical concepts were accepted and used only by members of specific social classes, and not by others. Since metaphorical concepts represent the underlying foundation of metaphorical expressions, it is logical to conclude that the concepts were equally subjected to social differentiation as the expressions. However, this does not refer to gender differentiation.

By means of numerous examples in the previous section, we have shown that all mediaeval metaphorical concepts have remained active to the present day – but, we claim, with one essential difference: that nowadays they are not partly, but highly, conventional. It could be said that today they represent a common way of thinking for most English speakers, no matter whether used in conceiving of negative or positive emotions. Apparently, the clear-cut boundaries between social communities have faded, and now all English speakers belong to one large social and, consequently, emotional community, in which there are no restrictions on how people think or express emotions. If there are differences, these are individual and not social. Such change is probably due to the fact that the once dominant social stratum, which was most subject to imposed social and cultural restrictions, has become marginal, and another, which was once less bound by social and cultural norms, has become prominent as economically more powerful. Although this growing middle class, (in the 18th and 19th centuries often called bourgeois), has tended to acquire position once held by the upper class, it has preserved its former authenticity and independence in the conceptualization and expression of emotions. And with this, the imposed cultivation and education of emotions has fallen into oblivion.

[2] However, some emotions cannot be denied, even if one seeks to hide them. Modern science can pretty well detect the presence of various emotions, and even measure them by means of specific instruments and tools. In his time Chaucer detected them from facial expression, complexion or eyes by mere observation. Thus he revealed Arcita's jealousy in his "bright-citron eyes" and the shame of the Wife's husband in his "red and hot" face.

6. Conclusion

The comparison of mediaeval with modern metaphorical concepts has shown that the conception of emotions has remained permanent over a long period of approximately five hundred years, but the level of metaphorical conventionality has changed significantly. While the mediaeval metaphorical concepts of mostly negative emotions were conventional for the middle- or lower-class participants, those of mostly positive emotions were conventional only for high-class or Church members. Thus, specific social communities were, at the same time, specific emotional communities. Such conceiving of emotions was shaped by contemporary social and cultural norms, which imposed a certain set of values, according to which some emotions were perceived as desirable and some as unacceptable. Today, in spite of the fact that some mediaeval source notions have been replaced by new ones, all inherited metaphorical emotional concepts seem to be equally conventional for all members of society, regardless of one's social status or profession. The existing differences in emotional conceptualization are purely individual and not social.

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II.

LITERATURE

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Irish Women's Fiction of the Twentieth Century: The Importance of Being Catholic

Summary

This paper explores the ways in which some of the best and most representative Irish women fiction writers of the twentieth century responded to the exigencies of Catholicism in their selected works. It also attempts to demonstrate how the treatment of Catholicism in Irish women's fiction changed throughout the century. The body of texts that are examined in the paper span almost seventy years, from the early years of the independent Irish state to the turn-of-the-century Ireland, during which time both Irish society and the Irish Catholic Church underwent fundamental changes. How these authors tackle the relationship between the dominant religion and the shaping of woman's identity, how they see the role of woman within the confines of Irish Catholicism, and to what extent their novels mirror the period in which they are written are the main issues which lie in the focus of the paper.

Key words: Irish women's fiction, Catholicism, censorship, religious ideology, authority

Leposlovje izpod peres irskih pisateljic dvajsetega stoletja: Pomembno je biti katolik

Povzetek

Prispevek obravnava, kako so se nekatere najboljše in najvidnejše irske pisateljice dvajsetega stoletja v svojih delih odzivale na zahteve katoličstva. Predstavi tudi, kako se je pristop h katoličstvu v delih irskih avtoric spreminjal skozi čas. Izbor analiziranih besedil obsega skoraj sedem desetletij od zgodnjih let Svobodne irske države do Irske na prelomu stoletja, torej obdobje, v katerem sta se irska družba in irska katoliška cerkev bistveno spremenili. Članek se osredinja na pristop avtoric do odnosa med dominantno religijo in oblikovanjem ženske identitete ter na vlogo ženske v okviru omejitev irskega katoličstva. Prispevek ugotavlja tudi, v kolikšni meri proučevani romani odsevajo obdobje, v katerem so bili napisani.

Ključne besede: leposlovje irskih pisateljic, katoličstvo, cenzura, verska ideologija, avtoriteta

Irish Women's Fiction of the Twentieth Century: The Importance of Being Catholic

1. Introduction: Irish Catholicism and Censorship

Until the last decades of the twentieth century, Catholicism as a way of living, thinking and behaving was deeply ingrained in Irish society. More often than not the terms "Irish" and "Catholic" seemed naturally intertwined. The tacit "marriage" between Church and State resulted in the huge impact the former exerted on the latter in virtually every matter, from the beginning of the fragile Irish statehood. Catholic moral doctrines, especially those related to the family, divorce and contraception but also those related to censorship and education, were finally incorporated into Irish legislation when the 1937 Irish Constitution came into force. The highly controversial constitution might be said to graphically illustrate philosopher Louis Althusser's remarks on how individuals are subjected to certain ideological forces he terms "ideological state apparatuses." In his famous 1969 essay, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses", Althusser examines the function and influence of social forces such as religion, school, family, the political system, and censorship, to name a few, which continually control the everyday lives of individuals. According to him, they function both by ideology and by repression. Althusser's view on the repressive aspect of these apparatuses is especially significant if we have the Irish context in mind: "Schools and Churches use suitable methods of punishment, expulsion, selection, etc., to 'discipline' not only shepherds, but also their flocks. The same is true of the Family ... The same is true of the cultural ISA Apparatus (censorship, among other things), etc." (2006, 98). Observed in the light of his thesis, the Irish were deeply "steeped in," that is, subjected to the ideology of the Irish Catholic Church. Unsurprisingly, it completely permeated not only education and family, but also the political and cultural state apparatuses for most of the twentieth century. In other words, religious ideology consistently hailed the Irish as subjects.

It is therefore virtually impossible to discuss twentieth century Irish literature without mentioning the rigorous censorship apparatus set up in the twenties. In the Irish context, literary censorship was eagerly enacted under the patronage of both Church and State. Louise Fuller stresses how it was "expressively designed to protect Irish Catholics from secularist or corrupting influences emanating from abroad." Anything that members of censorship boards considered even a minor threat to public morality had to be officially proscribed (2002, 37). As Marjorie Howes remarks, the initial draft of the Censorship of Publications Act, "equated sexual passion with sexual immorality" (2002, 928). In this light, it is not surprising that even the slightest reference to sex or any kind of "immoral" conduct in a book was to be condemned and proscribed. Julia Carlson reasonably argues in her book *Banned in Ireland* that the apparatus of censorship kept the Irish in total ignorance not only of intellectual and artistic developments in their own country and abroad but of sexual matters, as well (1990, 12). Lee Dunne, whose novel *The Cabfather* was the last novel banned in Ireland (as late as 1976), thinks that what lay behind Irish censorship was "shame, shame relating to sex, guilt relating to sex, fear relating to sex" (1990, 89).

It should be noted that reviewers had publicly dismissed books even before the official foundation of The Censorship Board in 1929, always relentlessly invoking Catholic values. A negative review of James Joyce's *Ulysses* (funnily enough, never officially forbidden in Ireland, although it was banned in Great Britain and in the United States)[1] might serve as a perfect paradigm of a

[1] *Ulysses* was unbanned in the United States in 1934 after the court ruled that it was "not pornographic." However, this was not

censorship mentality in the young Free State. *Dublin Review* assessed the novel in September 1922 and demanded "destruction or, at least, its removal from Catholic houses" as "in it lies not only the description but the commission of sin against the Holy Ghost" (Cairns and Richards 1988, 134). In the decades to follow, many remarkable books were banned and had to be taken out of "good Catholic houses," and many of the best writers driven into Joycean exile. The banned writers, as Julia Carlson suggests, were all "tagged as nasty, indecent and immoral" (1990, 2). John McGahern was thus fired from a teaching post in a primary school after his novel *The Dark* was banned in 1965 and, consequently, he could not get any job in Ireland. He went to London, where he stayed for several years, and then returned to Ireland. Irish moralists accused Edna O'Brien, on the other hand, of having offended both the Catholic Church and Irish women with her early work, *The Country Girls Trilogy.* She was stigmatized as a "smear on Irish womanhood" (1990, 76). Her enraged local community went as far as to burn "heretic" copies of her books in "the chapel grounds" (1990, 72). Needless to say, O'Brien was soon forced to leave Ireland and go to live in self-imposed exile in London, where she has lived ever since. As Cairns and Richards comment and, as we will see also in the case of another banned writer, Kate O'Brien,[2] for a long time throughout the last century, "exile seemed to offer the only space in which critical thinking on Ireland and its identity could occur" (1988, 134).

This paper will therefore attempt to examine how Althusser's ideological apparatuses of religion and censorship influenced Irish literature, especially Irish women's fiction throughout the last century. How some of the best women authors of the twentieth century tackle the relationship between the dominant religion and the shaping of woman's identity, how they see the role of woman within Catholicism, and finally, to what extent they question and criticize the Catholic Church are the key issues which lie in the focus of the paper. Their selected novels span almost seventy years, from the early years of the independent Irish state to the turn-of-the-century Ireland, during which time both Irish society and the Irish Catholic Church underwent fundamental changes. The paper will also attempt to demonstrate how the treatment of Catholicism in these works changed throughout the century.

2. Kate O'Brien and how the Censorship Board (re)acted in the thirties and forties

The above mentioned constant shame, guilt and fear relating to sex and sexuality in general is perhaps best reflected in the banning of Kate O'Brien's 1941 novel *The Land of Spices*, which is set entirely in the enclosed space of an Irish convent school. Irish journalist Brian Fallon bluntly terms this act of censorship a "piece of official stupidity" (1998, 202).[3] The novel fell prey to the Censorship Board due to a sentence which subtly invokes a homosexual relationship: "She saw *Etienne* and her father, in the embrace of love" (1941/2006, 165). In what sounds rather like an affectionate moment between two people in love, Kate O'Brien entirely avoids any direct reference to sexuality, let alone male homosexuality. Her main protagonist, Mother Marie-Helene, Reverend

Joyce's only experience of censorship. *Dubliners*, his early volume of short stories, was also a hot potato at the time. Censorious English publishers who feared prosecution for the alleged obscenity kept the book from being published for eight years. It was accepted by the London publisher Grant Richards in October 1906, but it was not until 1914 that it was published.

[2] Kate O'Brien and Edna O'Brien are not related.

[3] In *An Age of Innocence; Irish Culture 1930-1960,* Fallon uses the terms "stupid" and "stupidity" rather often when referring to the decisions of the members of the censorship board. However, he offers a quite radical revisionist reassessment of the three decades in Irish cultural history. Using a comparative analysis, that is, observing Ireland against the background of other European countries, he re-examines some widely accepted academic assumptions about this period. On the influence of the Catholic Church and the effects of the literary censorship, see Fallon, chapters 14 and 15 (1998, 183-210)

Mother to the convent school, is after a few decades of inner torment finally able to reconstruct her past, that is, a moment in which she realized that her widowed father was gay. The euphemism itself indicates that it is rather indirect regarding sexuality. Since one of her previous novels, *Mary Lavelle* (1936), had already been banned, the use of the highly euphemistic phrase might be even seen as an act of self-censorship. Mary Breen points out that the sentence is "psychologically credible, whether it is the young sexually innocent construction of the adolescent who witnesses the scene, or the celibate nun's reconstruction of the traumatic event from memory" (1993, 171). It is therefore hard to believe that it provoked such a tremendous moral outrage in Ireland. A reviewer in the *Irish Independent* found the sentence "so repulsive that the book should not be left where it would fall in the hands of very young people" (Brown 1981/1985, 196).

However, the book reflects Kate O'Brien's huge disappointment with the official state policy and Ireland's neutrality in the Second World War.[4] Breen argues that this novel indeed presented "a subtle threat to the narrow and xenophobic politics that ruled Ireland in the 1940s" on many various levels, and that this fact might have been the real reason behind its banning. According to her, the novel

> questions and criticizes the whole ideology of that period in Irish cultural history … by its detachment from Irish nationalism, its emphasis on individual freedom and responsibility, its championing of religious and educational structures, detached from parochial concerns, its foregrounding of the viability of female identity outside patriarchal family units, and its determinedly outward-looking European perspective. (1993, 168-9)

Already living outside Ireland (in London), O'Brien was physically and spiritually detached from her native country. This fact enabled her to imaginatively subvert what she saw as deeply wrong in the dominant state and religious ideology in Ireland of the period but also to offer her own image of Catholicism almost completely disengaged from any notion of Irish Catholicism. Interestingly enough, she decided to have an English heroine, someone with an inverted perspective on Irish life. Her English Reverend Mother simply fails to comprehend the constricted Irish view of Catholic faith, and feels awkward and out-of-place in the country she considers only in terms of "Irish exile" (1941/2006, 55). What is more, the convent of French provenance placed in the middle of Ireland is branded "too European for present-day Irish requirements" (1941/2006, 220). Represented as a somewhat different type of a religious woman, one with much more tolerant views of Catholicism than those of her Irish colleagues, Mere Marie-Helene simply encapsulates O'Brien's ideal version of Catholicism. It is also the idealized image of the convent school embodied in *La Compagnie de la Sainte Famille* that perforce subverts the then educational system whose aim was only to "train girls in nationalism and the Irish language, not train them to develop their talents and widen their horizons" (Weekes Owens 1990, 123). In both the character of Mere Marie-Helene and the school, Kate O'Brien obviously offers a completely idealized alternative to the unyielding religious ideology in the initial years of the Irish Free State. As Eibhear Walshe suggests, "this invented version of Catholicism is used to strike against the Ireland that censored her" (2006, 86).

However, *The Land of Spices* was un-banned five years later, in 1946, which was not the case with the novel *Mary Lavelle*. This novel remained blacklisted for a much longer period of time.[5] Kate O'Brien's eponymous heroine, a beautiful young woman, falls in love with a married man

[4] The novel takes place in the initial decade of the twentieth century, between 1904 and 1914.

[5] In the period between *Mary Lavelle* and *The Land of Spices* O'Brien wrote *Pray for the Wanderer* (1938), a novel which critics agree to belong to one of her least successful works.

in Spain, where she works as a governess. She realizes that the strict order and supervisory eye of her traditionalist home country (Ireland) are exactly what she needs to prevent her from falling deeper into what she sees as a moral abyss. Although away from home and seemingly free from the suffocating concerns of life in a small rural community, Mary is, in Athusserian terms, "interpellated" or hailed by the controlling forces of state, religion and family: "Ah God, to be back there, back in her own quiet heart, in coldness and tenderness" (1936/2006, 208). Once she has freedom to decide on her own what course her life would and might take, she is, quite expectedly, at a loss as to know how to behave. She decides, however, to get involved in an illicit love affair and thus goes along with her passion in the face of the severe punishment for transgressing morally accepted behaviour. What especially irritated the censors of the day was that Mary is not just a passive girl lured into an adulterous affair but demonstrates a sexual assertiveness which totally defies Catholic submission.

What is also of great importance here is the foreign setting of the novel.[6] As most commentators agree, to place a novel in which a naive Irish girl becomes involved in a sexual relationship with a married man within the Irish setting would have outraged the Irish readership to a far greater extent. However, the decision to set the plot in a foreign country did not prevent the Irish Censorship Board from proscribing it. It has to be noted that O'Brien also introduced a lesbian character, Agatha Conlon, who falls in love with and confides in Mary Lavelle, giving the censors yet another reason to ban the novel. It is therefore not difficult to imagine why Irish readers were not allowed to have access to the novel. It simply could have given ideas about alternative ways of conduct to well-brought-up Irish girls.

Walshe suggests that Kate O'Brien's fiction was truly "radical in content – each novel a Trojan horse smuggling in forbidden topics, such as adultery, lesbianism and venereal disease through the medium of her civilised, graceful narrative" (2006, 2). In the light of Walshe's observation, it is perhaps somewhat odd that *The Ante-Room* (1934) did not fall foul of the Irish Censorship Board. The novel contains direct references to the venereal disease of the main character's brother: "Ten years ago, in 1870, he had been infected with syphilis, and for three years had spent long periods in nursing homes, until sufficiently cured to live uninterruptedly at home" (1934/2003, 18). Although Reggie Mulqueen's disease is never openly mentioned later on in the novel, and nor does it ever enter any discussion of the family member, it lurks like an object of loathing, acting as a kind of backdrop against which the main events take place. The reason, however, for escaping the claws of censorship probably lies in the fact that O'Brien set the story in the milieu of the late nineteenth-century middle-class Irish bourgeoisie, and thus managed to obfuscate the too obvious allusions to contemporary Irish society. Agnes Mulqueen, the heroine of the novel, recognizes the "law," as it were, and is too well aware of the restraints that the fixtures of both religion and family impose on her. Although deeply in love with her brother-in-law, she is never really tempted to defy authorities and transgress the moral principles of her time (and Kate O'Brien's time as well). Unlike Mary Lavelle, she remains loyal (that is, subjected) to both her family and Catholic religion, and, consequently, the Irish Censorship Board did not to proscribe the novel. As Eamon Maher argues, *The Ante-Room* is "the closest Ireland has come to producing a Catholic novel" (2006, 111-2).

[6] *Mary Lavelle* is Kate O'Brien's first "Spanish novel." The other one with a Spanish setting is a historical novel *That Lady* (1946). Walshe claims that in this novel, Spain offered O'Brien "a way out of the dead-lock" of Ireland, and goes on to say that

> placing her Irish protagonists within a Spanish milieu energized her as a novelist and she returned with a new intensity to her familiar preoccupations; the formation of individual conscience, ... the cruelty of passion and the variety of sexual identity. ... Spain allowed her to transcend the limitations of her imagined Mellick by suggesting a historical link between Catholic Ireland and the humanist civilization of Catholic Europe. (2006, 59-60)

3. Edna O'Brien and the sixties: sex, scandalous behaviour, and "bad girls"

Despite this hidebound atmosphere and a fixation with purity that dominated Irish life for decades, Irish society could not totally escape the loathed external influences, especially from Great Britain and America. The greatly exaggerated emphasis on the righteousness of Irish people as the only genuine manifestations of Irish post-independence lifestyle began to wane gradually in the forties and fifties. The insular concept of life which advocated rigid adherence and subjection to the precepts of the family and church could not hold any more. Along with the growing popularity of the cinema, newspapers, magazines, radio and particularly television as newly emerging media began to offer insights into more current lifestyles and ideas. The Catholic Church was rather helpless in countering the alterations of the 1960s, which would make way for a sea change in late twentieth century Irish culture. It was during this watershed era for sexuality worldwide that the parochial climate in Ireland slowly but decisively started to change

Irish literature, of course, vividly reflected this change. Around this time, coinciding with the rise of the second wave of feminism in the sixties, Edna O'Brien published the already mentioned infamous *Country Girls Trilogy.* The trio of novels consisted of *The Country Girls* (1960), *Lonely Girl* (1962) and *Girls in Their Married Bliss* (1964). Throughout her *Trilogy*, Edna O'Brien traces the development of two Irish girls in contemporary Ireland: their childhood in the rural West, education in a convent school and expulsion due to inappropriate behaviour, moving to Dublin and later to London in search of a job, first loves and frustrating sexual experiences, failed marriages and extramarital affairs, and, finally, the death of one of the girls in the Epilogue, which was added in 1986. In her famous essay, "Why Irish Heroines Don't Have to be Good Any More", O'Brien argues about the decision to have two heroines, "one who would conform to both my own and my country's view of what an Irish woman should be and one who would undermine every piece of protocol and religion and hypocrisy that there was. … Kate was looking for love. Baba was looking for money" (1986). Subverting the stereotypical virgin/whore dichotomy that burdened the image of Irish womanhood for a long time, she portrays it ingeniously in the characters of the doleful and God-fearing Caithleen and the astringent Baba.

It is significant that the former epitomizes a woman painfully torn between traditional Catholic values and modern city life which compels females to be self-confident, assertive and sexually uninhibited. The confines and oppression of a small, patriarchal and Catholic society determine her behaviour and her destiny almost as much as they do in the world of Kate O'Brien's heroines. These women recognize only too well the constant control of state and church in postcolonial Ireland and mainly comply with it. The latter, on the other hand, represents "the other side of what it means to be good," as Edna O'Brien claims (J. Quinn 1990, 137). The gold-digging Baba continually and stubbornly resists subjecting herself to the control of the social forces and thus disengages herself from the image of an ideal woman fostered by church and state. When the girls move to Dublin, Baba's main objective of getting as much pleasure out of life as possible totally undermines the concept of Catholic self-denial and frugality: "We want to live. Drink gin. Squeeze into the front of big cars and drive up outside big hotels. We want to go places" (1987/1988, 145). Even though Baba does not altogether escape the entrapment of the suffocating Catholic culture, and even though she does not get everything she wants from life (she ends up in a loveless marriage with a man she despises, gets pregnant during a one-night stand, has a bad relationship to her daughter), she still finds a way to go about things. The fact that in the Epilogue to the *Trilogy* Edna O'Brien kills off one of her characters, that of Caithleen and not of Baba, demonstrates symbolically

but unambiguously that in Irish literature, the "bad" side of Irish womanhood should prevail over the often irksome kindness of the "good girl." Far from feeling that she is "interpellated" by any authority, Baba behaves in a way that Althusser terms "wicked" (2006, 113).

Edna O'Brien's early pioneering fiction scandalised the conservative Irish readership by openly introducing women's sexuality to the Irish literary scene. Although censorship gradually began to relax its grip in the course of the sixties, her novels were banned because she dared to blatantly subvert the dominant Catholic ideology and the feminine ideal embodied in the asexual Virgin Mary. In the words of Eavan Boland, O'Brien's contemporary in poetry, as a young poet she was reading and writing "in a world where a woman's body was at a safe distance, was a motif and not a menace" (1995, 26). To inscribe the female experience, particularly that pertaining to the body and sexual desire in the context of mid-century traditionalist Ireland, was simply unheard of. Edna O'Brien thus challenged the unquestioned cultural and social norms of traditional Irish society and the authority of the up-to-that-time untouchable trio of ideological apparatuses: family, Church and State. Although the easily offended Irish morality could not put up with it and each of the books was immediately banned, as we have already seen, the more liberal readership, mostly young women, readily embraced her early fiction as "catalysts for women to exchange confidences" (O'Faolain 1996, 58). O'Brien says that she is "not the darling of the feminists" who perceive her as too preoccupied with "old-fashioned themes like love and longing" (Guppy 1984). Nevertheless, it seemed that her "sexually graphic fiction" (St. Peter 2000, 73) also symbolically foreshadowed changes that were going to sweep Ireland from the late sixties onwards.

The second wave of feminism inevitably started to influence the everyday lives of Irish women, following the emergence of a worldwide hippy movement and more liberal(ized) society. Linda Connolly and Tina O'Toole argue that "consciousness-raising brought about collective knowledge of the reality of women's lived experiences, still 'invisible' and unexplored in Irish public discourse at this time." In consequence, they say, "subjects such as reproduction and sexuality entered the political arena" (2005, 27). It was only in 1979 that contraception, for example, was finally legalized in Ireland. The same year is also significant for Pope John Paul II's visit to Ireland. His address to Irish women contained the Church's fixed perspective on womanhood, despite the fact that a great many global changes regarding women's rights had already taken place: "May Irish mothers, young women and girls not listen to those who tell them that working at a secular job, succeeding in a secular profession, is more important than the vocation of giving life and caring for this life as a mother" ("Apostolic Journey" 1979). The Pope's visit and his messages to the Irish have prompted many heated reactions from Irish feminists, but also imaginative literary responses from women writers ever since. A harsh critique of the Pope and his view of women is also to be found in the Epilogue to Edna O'Brien's *Trilogy,* written a few years after his Irish visit and twenty years after the last novel of the *Trilogy*, *Girls in Their Married Bliss.* Apart from recognizing many actual changes that had occurred in Irish society throughout this period, Baba cannot restrain herself when it comes to the dogmatic rigidity of the Catholic ideology:

> Now, when Pope John Paul II travels he says what Popes have been saying since *secula seculorum* – "Thou shalt not sin." He's still for keeping women in bondage, sexual bondage above all, as if they weren't fucked up enough with their own organs, and whoever said that all the women enjoy all the fucking they have to do – no one, certainly not me. (1987/1988, 522)

Edna O'Brien's enraged heroine simply points out the reluctance of the Pope and the Catholic Church to acknowledge the considerable progress that has been made in the area of women's

sexuality and reproduction. Moreover, Baba's outspokenness and transgression might be said to portray what many Irish women would have liked to be but never dared to try. In creating her character, O'Brien recognizes the need for a totally different, bolder type of woman in the more secular and more global Ireland in the second half and towards the end of the twentieth century.

4. Towards the turn of the century: (Un)Concerned with Catholic Heritage?

Beginning in the seventies, submission to the Catholic Church and the Catholic worldview, taken for granted and unquestioned up until that time, began to wane and to be replaced by different concepts and outlooks on life. The sweeping processes of globalization and consumerism wrought the inevitable secularization of Irish society (Inglis 2008, 18). Conservative Catholic culture has gradually turned into a contemporary consumerist lifestyle similar to many other Western European cultures, even though conservative tendencies in Irish politics and legislation are certainly not entirely marginalized.[7] It has to be said that Catholic practice still persists, if only symbolically, alongside the newly and easily acquired consumerist habits in the lives of most people. For most Irish Catholics, "not to marry in church, not to send their children to Catholic schools, not to celebrate First Holy communions and Confirmations, and not to have a Catholic funeral would be an anathema" (Inglis 2008, 16). However, it is quite evident that the Irish at the turn of the century no longer feel that they have to subject themselves to the once controlling social forces. A view of the new sort of ubiquitous culture that has replaced these "old" authorities is contained in Inglis's ironic commentary. Arguing about the altered habits of the Irish, he states that "much as Irish Catholics did not see themselves as dominated and controlled, neither do contemporary Irish consumers" (2008, 21).

It is no wonder then that the generation of Irish women writers born in the sixties and seventies are not as concerned with the Catholic and the national heritage as their predecessors were. Their fiction seems rather unburdened by the legacy of religious, cultural and literary tradition and is situated in a wider and more universal context. Following the gradual decline of the Church's monopoly and normative discourse that once heavily defined Irish womanhood, many of them have redirected their literary "targets." Irish writer Dermot Bolger's comment on the change of subjects Irish novelists have dealt with from the sixties onward, encapsulates well this problematic:

> Growing up in Ireland in the 1960s, it was like you had these huge puppets of oppression, or alleged repression, to whom you could take a baseball ball and smash them. There's a new generation for whom De Valera or John Charles McQuaid mean nothing – their shadows don't stretch that far – and that's great. But their targets are far less obvious than mine were. (Maher 2006, 107)

In this respect, it might even be argued that contemporary Irish writing has lost some of its "authentic Irishness." As Gerry Smyth suggests, "Irish novelists no longer feel constrained to locate their work in terms of self-conscious 'Irish' concerns." He goes on to suggest that writers "deal instead with a broad spectrum of human experience, and with themes which, perhaps possessing local significance, also have a wider resonance" (1997, 47). As if going along with this argument, Eugene O'Brien points out that "no longer relegated to a sub-genre of Anglo-Irish writing, Irish writing has now assumed central stage." The corollary of this process, he contends, is that "Irish writing, while still occupied with Irish themes, has assumed a more Eurocentric perspective, looking towards European and world literature to provide images, analogues and a broader outlook on these themes" (Peach 2004, 19).

[7] The abortion issue remains a sort of a "hot potato" and a recurrent subject of numerous public debates.

Without fear of being censored anymore, Irish women authors of the younger generation attempt to answer the nagging question of what it means to be a woman, heterosexual or homosexual, in the hugely changed Irish society. In dealing with modern existence in Ireland, contemporary authors still tackle the issues of national and Catholic identities, but not to the extent their predecessors dealt with them. In this way, they often relegate these issues to the margins of their experience. Moreover, when contemporary women writers refer to the issues of the Catholic faith, they deal with it in a rather mocking manner and often demonstrate a great deal of irreverence. In this respect, they can be truly considered Edna O'Brien's literary successors. When O'Brien undermines Catholicism, it is mainly through Baba Brennan, who impertinently laughs at the authority of the Church. However, especially in the Epilogue, Baba is also livid at the Catholic worldview and the way church doctrine and mores contain women and women's sexuality. Edna O'Brien explains that it was "a sort of rebelliousness in me ... a scream of a kind, against my society" (Claffey 1988). Younger authors at the turn of the century apparently have no need to rail against their society, and this notion of rage is no longer present in their novels, but they still do have a need to subvert it.

In Emer Martin's novel *More Bread or I'll Appear* (2000), the author conveys a totally dysfunctional Irish family: an overprotective mother, five children scattered around the world, and an uncle priest in America. These motifs typical for the traditional Irish experience exist in this book only to get completely subverted and represented in the light of the changed existence at the turn of the century. She also addresses issues such as anorexia, obsessive-compulsive disorders, teenage pregnancy, incest, and AIDS, and conveys a postmodern world where every notion of stability is shattered and traditional values have disappeared or turned twisted, sick and degenerate. Particularly through the caricatured character of the hedonist gay priest Martin laughs at the doctrines of the Catholic ideology. Uncle Oscar blatantly disrupts the traditional image of a priest, and Martin seems to ascribe to him all those moral flaws discovered in the ranks of Catholic priests over the past few decades. Oscar's outrageous behaviour (alcoholism, drug use, homosexual relationships, hedonism, paedophile and incestuous tendencies) continually runs through the novel as a leitmotif against the background of the seemingly respectable position of a priest figure in American/Irish society and in the Irish family. She clearly demonstrates that after all kinds of scandals in the Church at the end of the twentieth century, Catholic priests are the very last people to be trusted.

In Martin's novel, it is not only uncle Oscar who both amuses and confuses the reader with his often exaggerated numerous addictions, twisted obsessions and sexual escapades with partners of both sexes. As a priest behaving in such a way he of course defies every notion of the traditional and profanizes the sacred in a much more extreme way than any other character in the book. Nevertheless, Martin's other characters, Oscar's nieces and a nephew who travel around the world in the course of the novel, also contribute to constructing a postmodern world where nothing seems to sit comfortably. The world of Martin's novel is totally free of any authority figure, as her characters do not feel that they are 'interpellated' by any repressive social force at any moment. If a Catholic priest is not in any way restrained, then it is quite unsurprising that other "lay" characters do not flinch from getting involved in all kinds of weird and carefree mostly sexual relationships and situations. When Fintan O'Toole says that in contemporary Irish fiction, sex, drugs and rock 'n' roll have replaced "the old Irish totems of Land, Nationality and Catholicism" (Smyth 1997, 18), it seems as if he had, particularly, Emer Martin's frenzied fictional world in mind.

The hidden, unspoken, marginal, unheard of and untoward issues that mostly pertain to sexuality thus finally find their legitimate place in the works of contemporary female authors. Gerry Smyth claims that much of the fiction

> produced in and about modern Ireland can be analysed in terms of its engagement with the social and individual fall-out from the gender division imposed by the post-colonial state, and the gradual (re)introduction of sexual desire as one of the fundamental aspects of modern Irish identity. (1997, 56)

How sexual desire has been gradually (re)introduced to contemporary Irish fiction is best seen in the works of a proclaimed lesbian author, Emma Donoghue. Her fiction voices homosexuality, a virtually impossible practice in the literature of previous periods hampered by censorship, as we have seen in the case of Kate O'Brien.[8] Donoghue's novels are notoriously populated with lesbian characters. Apart from challenging "the 'brainwashed with heterosexuality' traditional Irish culture," they also attempt "openly to explore topics of homosexual experience in an Irish context" (Jeffers 2002, 11). In her 1995 novel *Hood*, Pen, the main protagonist, is compelled to mourn the death of her long-time girlfriend furtively, as the society in which she is so deeply grounded would most probably stigmatize her if she did it in public. Despite the implementation of the more liberal homosexual laws[9] and a sea-change that Ireland underwent in the eighties and nineties, Pen does not want to come out of the closet. There is a notion that Donoghue wants to problematize her heroine's predicament further, as she situates her in the middle of a Catholic school as a teacher and thus necessarily links her to traditional Irish culture. Pen is thus not only faced with the most probably negative reaction of her friends and family if she revealed to them the truth about her deceased "housemate" but also with the Catholic Church's unforgiving stance on homosexuality. Surrounded by nuns on a daily basis, she is too well aware of the fact that she should not risk her job by telling them the truth. It is no surprise that Pen is still intimidated by nuns and the authority of the Catholic Church just like generations of women before her. Pen cannot escape their control and authority, feeling out of place most of the time**.** The doors to the head nun's office always reduces her feeling like she is "twelve years old" (1995, 36) and whenever she enters the staff room, she "felt a thrill of taboo, as if I were still a pupil, forbidden to enter" (1995, 175).

However, this does not prevent the main protagonist from continually undermining the Church, its sacred symbolism and its rituals. One of the most prominent features of Donoghue's novel is the way it humorously challenges traditional Irish culture. As Antoinette Quinn says, this novel is "rarely a sombre narrative." "Irony and ridicule," she continues, are "Pen's defences against a public display of emotion, a strategy for not outing Cara posthumously by casting herself as the grieving widow" (Harte and Parker 2000, 156). I would add that irony and ridicule also imbue flashbacks into her past and the sexual reveries about her dead girlfriend which are scattered throughout the novel. Pen just cannot help questioning Catholic doctrine and observing it with a lot of healthy humour and common sense. During the memorial service for Cara, she keeps drifting off in daydreams and muses about the stern church building facilitating sexual daydreams and thoughts of masturbation**.** This obvious discrepancy between the setting and the state of Pen's mind is only one in the string of many moments which blatantly profanise the sacred, so to speak. Pen's sexual fantasies, vivid descriptions of masturbation and love making with Cara are certainly the most controversial parts of this book that still manage to defy Irish Catholic morality at the turn of the century.

Anne Enright's novel *What Are You Like?* (2000) does not exactly share the subversiveness and mockery towards traditional Irish culture of these two novels. Enright argues straightforwardly that "the Catholic Church used to enrage me, but doesn't any more. It's been well and thoroughly

[8] Emma Donghue is considered a diasporic Irish (Irish-Canadian) author since she lives in Canada with her partner and children. The fact remains that writing lesbian fiction is perhaps easier and less problematic outside Ireland, which is still struggling to come to terms with the voicing of other sexualities.

[9] Homosexuality in Ireland was officially decriminalised in 1993.

dismantled" (Moloney and Thompson 2003, 59). This novel seems to sustain her argument as it contains very few disconnected references to Catholicism. However, Enright, too, seems unable to disengage completely from her Catholic heritage. Her narration constantly shuttles backwards and forwards, delving into the childhood of the twin girls separated at birth, Maria and Rose, then returning to the present moment, the mid-eighties. When dealing with Maria's childhood, one of the central experiences Enright focuses on is the preparation for the First Communion, probably the most important day of every Irish child's Catholic education. The way this episode is represented reveals subtle humour and even an affectionate attitude towards the whole experience. Enright's first communicant is a typical Irish girl who stands in awe of Church authorities, and this whole ritual just as it would be for any other Irish girl. She is both proud of participating in it, her soul being "white after confession, and light as an ad for margarine" (2000, 28), and afraid that she will be unable to receive her First Communion the way nuns have taught them to.

When Enright's narration switches to the present moment, however, Catholicism assumes totally different qualities from those it had in the past. As if wanting to distinguish between the ways her protagonists experience religion as children and as grown-up women, Enright now conveys the image directly connected with new consumer practices. Rose, a twin sister who lives in London, decides to fly to Dublin and look for her biological mother. Before her flight she enters a Heathrow chapel. The only episode in the twins' adult life that deals with Catholicism offers an image of the inside of the "church" that is almost totally disengaged from any notion of the sacred. Rose acts here as a disinterested tourist-like observer. She does not enter the chapel because she feels a need to pray but because she is drawn by the almost secular appearance of the chapel (a "bunker" reminding her of "a nightclub" (2000, 217)). It is not surprising that Enright employs the image of a non-believer and of a consumer church replica offering quick spiritual comfort between flights in order to convey her relationship to Catholicism. Whereas Donoghue and Martin demonstrate that they are in various ways still concerned with Catholicism and tend to laugh at it, Enright seems largely unbothered and even uninterested in disrupting the Church's authority.

5. Conclusion

It can be argued that Kate O'Brien's critique of the Church in the thirties and forties is subtly subversive. Her women mainly subject themselves to the controlling authorities of church, state and family. The eponymous heroine of *Mary Lavelle* makes a conscious decision to become a transgressor, but in the end she herself forestalls the stigmatization and punishment of the intolerant Irish society by intentionally withdrawing from that same society and going into self-imposed exile. It is somewhat of a paradox, however, that Kate O'Brien makes the severest critique of these social forces through the character of the Catholic nun in *The Land of Spices* who should herself obey and not question religious doctrine. Edna O'Brien's debut novels, on the other hand, are already unspeakably explicit and, for the time of the sixties, greatly irreverent towards Catholicism. She situates her criticism somewhere between the nagging submissiveness of a rather typical mid-century Irish woman (Caithleen) and the defiant straightforwardness of the new type of woman (Baba). While contemporary society demands a new, much bolder and more assertive type of woman, Caithleen is, throughout her adult life, stuck in the image of an inexperienced Irish virgin and is unable to escape her predicament. The embodiment of her "dark side," Baba is quite simply Edna O'Brien's blatant response to the decades of Irish society's strict moral prescriptions. She is also the predecessor of more assertive and straightforward female protagonists in contemporary Irish fiction. As Declan Kiberd states when commenting on the importance of her *Trilogy*, "O'Brien was arguably the writer who made many of the subsequent advances in Irish women's writing possible" (1995, 556).

Finally, the influence of Catholicism is less apparent in the works of younger authors such as Emma Donoghue, Anne Enright and Emer Martin. In contemporary Ireland which some claim to have turned post-Catholic, preoccupations with the once dominant religious ideology are certainly not in the foreground any more. It is then quite obvious that younger Irish authors are not as nearly concerned with their Catholic heritage as their predecessors were. When they write about it, however, they mostly keep mocking the Catholic Church and authorities in general. It also comes as no surprise that, unlike Edna O'Brien's Caithleen or Kate O'Brien's women, the central female protagonists in these novels do not exclusively define themselves in terms of their religion/nationality but rather explore other aspects of their identity. Emma Donoghue portrays the dominant atmosphere in Ireland in the mid-nineties, when she started to write:

> It is a time of transition and confusingly rapid change, a time in which it has been immensely exciting to be out as an Irish lesbian writer. Reactions have varied from great warmth, through naïve surprise, to pulpit-thumping (my sister went to Mass the day after I appeared on television, and heard me denounced from the altar as a danger in this time of AIDS). (Tarien Powell 2004, 110)

Irish Society, which was at the time still undergoing tremendous changes, was simply at a loss to know how to tackle the fiction of the young author, who was not only unashamed but also proud of her "deviant" sexual orientation. What is significant about this quotation, however, is Donoghue's affirmative view on acting out as an Irish lesbian writer at the end of the twentieth century. She seems to acknowledge the fact that, despite the Catholic Church's uncompromising stance on homosexuality, coming out of a closet as a gay woman is not as outrageous as it used to be. Although pulpit-thumping might be still present in Irish society, it is nowadays a marginalized phenomenon as the weakened power and monopoly of the religious ideology is fortunately no longer able to proscribe and punish "disobedient" Irish writers.

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III.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE TEACHING

ELOPE

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From Blackboard to Blogs: Teaching English Literature in the Digital Age

Summary

This essay explores the digitization of the English literature classroom and considers its current and future incarnations. What can web-based courses offer students and teachers of English literature? How might the use of blogs, Twitter, hypertexts, and course management systems like Blackboard, among other digital tools, change the structure and very nature of literature pedagogy? These questions are particularly important to consider as our society is transformed by digital technology and during a moment in which the internet has promised inclusivity and the democratization of culture. Concomitantly, however, the humanities have become vulnerable in our tech-focused era and digital divides among different social groups persist in higher education. Hence, we must deliberate our adoption and adaptation of digital pedagogy with great thoughtfulness and care.

Key words: digital pedagogy, digital divides, digitization of literature, literature pedagogy, web-based courses

Od Blackboarda do blogov: Poučevanje angleške književnosti v digitalni dobi

Povzetek

Prispevek obravnava digitalizacijo poučevanja angleške književnosti in raziskuje njene sedanje in prihodnje inkarnacije. Kaj lahko spletni pouk nudi študentom in učiteljem angleške književnosti? Kako bodo blogi, Twitter, hiperteksti, sistemi upravljanja z učnim okoljem, kakršen je *Blackboard*, in druga digitalna orodja spremenili zgradbo in in naravo poučevanja književnosti? To so vprašanja, ki so pomembna posebej v času, ko digitalna tehnologija spreminja družbo, internet pa obljublja večjo vključenost in demokratizacijo kulture. Kljub temu humanistika v tehnološko naravnani dobi postaja ranljiva, digitalni razkorak med različnimi družbenimi skupinami pa ostaja tudi v visokem šolstvu. Zato moramo natančno premisliti, kako uvajamo in prilagajamo digitalno pedagogiko.

Ključne besede: digitalna didaktika, digitalni razkorak, digitalizacija književnosti, didaktika književnosti, spletni pouk

From Blackboard to Blogs: Teaching English Literature in the Digital Age

1. Introduction

In 2001 I taught my first Introduction to Literature course entirely online, employing a course management system called Blackboard, which is now ubiquitous in the United States. I never saw a single one of my students that spring, and I think all of us agreed by the end of the semester that the experience had been less than ideal. However, since that time, my university has whole-heartedly embraced digital technology as a pedagogical resource, including the regular offering of web-based English literature classes, and in 2011 I embarked on a new enterprise in which I taught an upper-level literature seminar entirely online. This time, my tools were greatly improved, my students better prepared, and the course was much more successful. There are lingering questions, however, about such endeavors: Would my students have been better served by attending a live classroom in which we discussed the works in person? Or does learning in a virtual environment provide essential skills that contemporary educators should consider in order to prepare students for 21st-century success? This essay explores the digitization of the English literature classroom and considers its current and future incarnations. What can web-based courses offer students and teachers of English literature? How might the use of blogs, Twitter, Facebook, hypertexts, and course management systems like Blackboard, among other digital tools, change the structure and nature of English literature pedagogy? And how will the rise of digital technologies in our colleges and universities play out among different populations of students?

I must confess that I am still very much of a 20th-century educator. I take great pleasure in the classroom tools with which I learned to read, write, and think critically, and I still really like to use them – primitive tools like lecture, chalk and board, and print materials. I regularly employ YouTube, wikis, online readings, and web-based assignments, of course, but, overall, the technology I use for face-to-face teaching is fairly archaic. My 19th-century predecessors would find my face-to-face classrooms quite familiar, right down to the chalk dust. One might imagine that I suffer slightly from technophobia, then, resistant to a wholehearted embrace of 21st-century forms of technology. But this is far from the truth; like many faculty members of my generation, I have sought to incorporate technologies that might help to make my classroom a better space for learning.

So what might account for my reliance on primitive materials? The fact is, for a significant portion of the student body, these old tools do promote learning. We have thoughtful and provocative content; lively visuals; the sounds of our discussions and lectures; and a variety of methods to combine and manipulate them, with which we hope to reach a variety of learners. And even digital junkies will admit that the traditional form of the university, including its reliance on the same set of structures for centuries, has been tremendously successful, not only in replicating itself, but in helping students become more fully realized citizens. Moreover, as Mary McAleer Balkun warns, new technologies, as exciting and useful as they may be, come with their own sets of challenges, including sizable investments in time and training on the parts of both professors and students, divisions between haves and have-nots, questions about technological literacies, uncertainties about the pedagogical efficacy of new technologies, and the great speed with which new technologies change (2011, 15).

2. Teaching Online: An Initial Foray

Despite what some might consider my anachronistic tendencies, when I was first presented with

the opportunity to teach my Introduction to Literature course online, I was enthusiastic about the possibilities such a format engendered. However, like many faculty members educated in the 20th century, I continued to think of the traditional classroom as a paradigm for online learning: instead of lecturing and posing verbal questions, I posted background information in text format about the works we read and then sent written questions for the students to discuss. Students would debate the same issues as their face-to-face classmates via written discussion threads. Essays retained their traditional formats, as did other forms of evaluation, like tests and quizzes. Overall it seemed like a fairly painless – and promising – transformation.

During the spring of 2001, though, as I attempted to teach twenty online students the same sorts of materials I had been successfully teaching my face-to-face Introduction to Literature classes for three years, I realized that the course was not going well. It may be worth noting that I was teaching – and continue to teach – a population that comprises the majority of college students in the American higher education system, although they are underrepresented in journals and monographs: so-called non-traditional students, most of whom are adult women, often parents, who work at least part time. This population is typically a joy to teach; students generally care about their education and are sincere in their efforts to learn. Moreover, they are particularly keen to take classes that suit their busy lives, and web-based coursework, with its emphasis on asynchronous work, can feel like a better fit than face-to-face classes. However, non-traditional students are also more likely to be on the wrong side of the digital divide in contrast to their 18-year-old counterparts. In 2001, my students not only experienced challenges accessing computer hardware, software, and the internet – the latter of which is still an issue in rural Maine, where I teach – but, as Joanna Goode (2010) asserts about economically disadvantaged college students she studied in California, they also lacked the technological fluency that comes with growing up with computers at home. As Goode notes, "Computer expertise is more than a set of technical skills – it is a holistic conglomeration of interactions, experiences, and understandings with new technologies" (588). And this set of skills is highly impacted by issues such as gender and class. Despite my university's relatively early commitment to online education, then, our students' preparation for such developments was uneven at best.

The first tipoff to the negative trajectory of my Introduction to Literature class in 2001 was my discovery that within a month of making initial contact, exactly half the class had dropped out. The second was that two of the remaining students had begun to flame me on a regular basis.[1] And the third was the emergence of flagrant plagiarism. What could I have been doing so wrong so as to engender such radical student abjection and misbehavior? I attempted to make reparations with more direction, a lot of midnight interventions, and a typical humble-teacher response: "Here's an open discussion board. You tell me what you want – even anonymously." But this did little to improve the quality of the class, and we limped along until the end of the semester, when the 10 remaining students and I heaved a collective (our first) sigh of relief.

Afterwards, I reviewed all the discussions and emails and final evaluations to see what I could uncover about and hopefully learn from the disaster that had been my first online course. What I found was discouraging. Several students had dropped out early in the semester because as easy to use as the software appeared to be, they were completely flummoxed by it. One of them had never even used email before and, despite many phone calls and pleas to visit my office, it took him a month to figure it out. By this time, it was much too late for him to start learning the ins and outs of Blackboard, not to mention to catch up on the readings and assignments. A couple of students lacked home or office access to a

[1] "Flaming" is when one participant in an online discussion sends a derogatory comment to another person. In this case, the only derogatory comments were sent solely to me; thankfully, students in my class did not flame each other.

computer and found it difficult to log on regularly from local libraries or parents' or friends' houses. A few students admitted that they thought an online course would be "easier" than traditional classrooms, and dropped out when it turned out to require a tremendous amount of reading and writing. Evidently, a majority of these students had signed up for the course without a clear picture of prerequisite skills or resources; this was a common occurrence in the early days of online teaching.

The flamers were a different matter. Sometimes students who send flaming remarks are just bullies, analogous to the occasional loudmouth that can crop up in a traditional classroom.[2] But in this case, I was fairly sure that these students did not mean to sound derogatory; their messages were off tone because they were frustrated and they were not yet good enough writers to know how best to communicate with their professor solely through emails. Neither of these students had taken an online course before and both of them were used to talking to their professors in person when they had a problem. When I reached the flamers on the telephone, we were able to have much more productive conversations and the flaming ceased.

If you add up the list of problems my online class incited here, it is tempting to view them merely as the challenges of a new format and to dispense with them piecemeal: First make sure all the students know how to use the necessary digital tools; then ensure they have regular access to a computer with web access; finally, explain how emails to fellow students and professors should be appropriate in tone and content. And, undeniably, these directions would have improved certain aspects of my course. However, a larger problem superseded, and perhaps provoked, all the others: my online course was a pale, flat version of its traditional form and could not employ as many kinds of teaching and learning styles as even my 19th-century predecessor. Lacking sound (discussion), visuals (beyond the texts, a few images, and links), and in-person interaction, at which I excelled in the face-to-face classroom, the technology I employed actually limited the kind of teaching and learning that could take place. Moreover, instead of inspiring the formation of a virtual community, it alienated the student participants.

In retrospect, merely transferring my traditional course materials to an online format was destined to fail. Over a decade later, it is clear that this course's problems were indicative of the larger set of challenges faced by institutions of higher education during this period of technological growing pains. It's not just that I was trying to transfer my old pedagogical tools to new technology, but that I failed to understand what was essential about teaching online, and, moreover, that I was responsible for educating students who would require a new set of skills with which to negotiate a constantly morphing digital environment.

3. New Directions in Digital Pedagogy

Rena Palloff and Keith Pratt (2001) argue that in the cyber classroom, course development needs to focus on form, not content, which is a significant departure from traditional classroom techniques (152). According to Pallof and Pratt, professors must learn how to decenter themselves and act as directors rather than founts of information. Students, who often expect that the teacher is the only person from whom they can gain knowledge, should learn how to work and learn more collaboratively; they need to be "oriented to their new role and the ways in which learning occurs online" (153). Moreover, Pallof and Pratt assert, "Learning through the use of technology takes more than mastering a software program or feeling comfortable with the hardware being used. Students in online learning situations need to come to an awareness that learning through the use of technology significantly affects the learning process itself" (108). Palloff and Pratt were on the forefront of this thinking over a decade ago, before the age

[2] For more on difficult online students see the work of Rena Palloff and Keith Pratt (2001). Their chapter "Online Classroom Dynamics" includes a section usefully entitled, "Working with Difficult Students."

of Twitter, Facebook, and other transformations that have led to the myriad ways we now live our lives in cyberspace. Now, more than ever, it is imperative for institutions of higher education to help students become thoughtful citizens of the 21st century. And that includes those of us who have always found pleasure in the delights of discussing a good book with a room full of engaged people.

In his recent book, *Netsmart: How to Thrive Online*, Howard Rheingold asserts that students "who understand the fundamentals of digital participation, online collaboration, informational credibility testing, and network awareness will be able to exert more control over their own fates than those who lack this lore" (2012, 2). There is some question, however, about the role of higher education to assist students in such endeavors. In their 2009 report *The Future of Learning Institutions in a Digital Age*, Cathy Davidson and David Theo Goldberg query the value of traditional learning institutions when

> there are also many virtual sites where learning is happening[.] From young kids customizing Pokemon, to college students contributing to Wikipedia, to adults exchanging information about travel, restaurants, or housing via collaborative sites, learning is happening online, all the time, and in numbers far outstripping actual registrants in actual schools. What's more, they challenge our traditional institutions on almost every level: hierarchy of teacher and student, credentialing, ranking, disciplinary divides, segregation of "high" versus "low" culture, restriction of admission to those considered worthy of admission, and so forth (10).

As they note, there is a greater degree of fluidity and access to participation online than at traditional educational institutions. Davidson and Goldberg point out, too, that "digital technologies have dramatically encouraged self-learning. Web interfaces have made for less hierarchical and more horizontal modes of access," which has, in turn, "flattened out contributions to knowledge making… making them much less the function of a credentialed elite and increasingly collaboratively created" (24-5). If digital tools have made education in general more horizontal, then those of us in higher education must rethink how to make what we do more relevant to our students.

In part to answer this charge, in the spring of 2012, Harvard University and MIT announced a partnership, called edX, that hosts free online courses from both institutions. The platform, its creators argue, has the potential to improve face-to-face classes on the home campuses while giving students around the world access to a blue-ribbon education. Students who complete courses on the edX platform do not receive university credit, although they can earn certificates. This may be a new framework that higher education needs to help educate 21st-century citizens, but it will take some time before we understand the full ramifications of such an enterprise. Likewise, it is notable that neither Harvard University nor MIT has altered the requirements for its own students as a result of this new endeavor: elite students admitted to these institutions, in other words, continue to take classes in traditional formats, in face-to-face classrooms and laboratories with in-person professors, only dipping into Massively Open Online Courses (MOOCs) like edX for supplementary information when desired. In an article published in the *Harvard Political Review*, Harvard Provost Alan Garber makes a distinction between edX and traditional course offerings that are considered essential to a "top-notch quality education": "edX is not a replacement for Harvard's model of residential post-secondary education," Garber is quoted saying. "As we expand the number and variety of courses offered, we want to ensure that we maintain the rigor of the traditional classroom" (Finegold n. d.). Despite Garber's enthusiasm for the edX project, it is clear that he believes that greatest amount of "rigor" is found in the "traditional classroom." Additionally, even while a year after its initial founding nearly one million students had enrolled in edX courses, notably low completion rates raised questions about such a platform's efficacy.[3]

[3] See, for example, Amna Hashmi and Cynthia Shih's (2013) piece in the *Harvard Crimson*, "The EdX Student."

4. Teaching English with Digital Tools

Despite potential inequities and other challenges within and among digital teaching tools and techniques, pedagogies for teaching literature must evolve. Even those of us married to the book-club paradigm of senior seminars must be mindful of the possibilities that the digital world opens up for pedagogy of all kinds. While there continues to be a danger of adopting technologies just because they're cool or potentially cost effective, there are numerous strategies that enhance and expand multiple learning experiences. Many new technologies allow us to have different kinds of conversations with students, incorporate richer and multilayered sources of materials into the classroom and in assignments, accommodate various learning styles and paces, and enable sustained collaborative learning among our students. And there is a proliferation of online forums[4] dedicated to helping those of us who entered the academy in the 20th century to become more savvy to 21st-century tools – tools like Google Hangouts, which allows for synchronous meetings with online students (or colleagues, for that matter); screencasting software to make quick and easy videos; wikis that promote collaborative projects; and remind101, which helps students stay on track. However there are also tools that can change the way we read texts even in traditional classrooms. Applications like Google Lit Trips,[5] Second Life, Google Ngrams,[6] Wordles, and other digital tools can help us revamp discussions of the discipline itself, explore further what we study, and even rethink what we do when we study literature. However, as Trebor Scholz (2011) cautions, "Today, learning to learn through digital media implies that it simply isn't enough to have access to Wikipedia or YouTube or syllabi by MIT faculty and others; the urgent question becomes how we meaningfully and effectively learn with these tools, repositories, platforms, and all open education materials. How do we ignite student engagement, political and creative imagination, intellectual quest, and the desire for lifelong learning?" Thoughtful incorporation of digital tools is trickier than it seems, as this necessitates substantial investments of time and resources training, and, in many cases, retraining 20th-century educators to adopt and adapt 21st century pedagogies. Moreover, as previously mentioned, because digital tools change very quickly in our era, it can be overwhelming for 20th-century educators to keep abreast of developments. Scholz asserts that because of the fast-paced changes that take place in the world of digital technologies, "we are all laggards." And while many of us educated in the previous century would have had no problem articulating standard techniques for teaching and learning two decades ago, today those standards have expanded so greatly that we would find it difficult to say with certainty what every 21st-century classroom should incorporate.

In the summer of 2014, as I revisit this essay, I recall a recent conversation with an instructional designer at my university. Her reply to my question about how I should best keep up with the latest developments, figure out which of those tools I should employ in my virtual and face-to-face classrooms, and learn to use those tools effectively, was a simple shrug. "Try one or two new things for each class," she instructs. Come to her for help if I can't figure it out. While I agree that unless one has, say, a grant or release time to change a course's delivery system wholesale or rethink a class via new technologies, a professor should make incremental alterations in the digital realm, this answer

[4] I'm thinking of sites like Hybrid Pedagogy, an online journal, and HASTAC, the online Humanities, Arts, Sciences, and Technology Advanced Collaboratory.

[5] Google Lit Trips are free downloadable files that mark the journeys of characters from famous literature on the surface of Google Earth. At each location along the journey there are placemarks with pop-up windows containing a variety of resources including relevant media, thought provoking discussion starters, and links to supplementary information about "real world" references made in that particular portion of the story. The focus is on creating engaging and relevant literary experiences for students.

[6] This is a word-frequency charting software that draws from Google's huge collection of books. You type in a word, or a few words separated by commas, that you want to see mapped over time. In return, it provides you with a usage chart. See the HASTAC website for further discussion of how this might be employed in an English class.

does not address the more global issue regarding how a university faculty member is meant to stay informed in the developments in his or her field(s) as well as in the rapidly changing world of digital tools. While some colleges and universities have worked out productive, structural ways to help professors rethink their approaches to digital pedagogies, many institutions, especially those with fewer resources, embark on these endeavors piecemeal, leaving the bulk of professional development efforts to individual faculty members themselves. Such a situation can cause a 20th-century professor to respond with paralysis. And yet Elizabeth Ellsworth (2011) reminds us that pedagogy always "needs to be worked out again and again":

> The pedagogical set-up is a teaser, a guess, a speculation. It's a summoning of best guesses.... [T]he work of pedagogy is to tear teachers and students away from the curriculum's static objects of mourning, and challenge their loyalties to knowledge-objects – those ways of knowing that were created elsewhere at another time and to be made responsive to contemporary conditions.

Ellsworth advises that we proceed with a "confused awareness" that pedagogy may be productive, even if it is a cause of concern. Working fast and loose with new pedagogies, while uncomfortable, is not necessarily alien to the American professoriat, which has had little time to come up to speed technologically in the 21st century. As with the example of my 2001 class, many of us have had to dive into new forms of pedagogy without knowing exactly what we were doing, and the learning curve for some of those efforts has been steep.

While I'm intrigued by the ever-expanding list of digital tools available to those of us who teach literature, and I employ many more than I did in 2001, I'm not always sure that deploying these tools will help my students reach already solid outcomes for literature classes like improving critical thinking, reading and writing skills. Hence, the current decade's iteration of my failed online course may not look radically different from its earlier cousin, although my recent attempts at teaching online are more thoughtful, designed to take into account a greater range of challenges, and thus more successful for both myself and my students. While I continue to employ Blackboard as the center of my course, my conveyed material and assignments are more diverse in format, employing screencasts instead of text-based lecture notes, and student video presentations in addition to text-based research, group keyword wiki projects, and multimedia portfolios. Colleagues of mine have made similar inroads using social media groups, YouTube videos, and other like tools to help create communities of virtual learners. These implements have made a great deal of difference in the look, feel, and process of our literature classes, and there is no doubt that they are more effective learning environments than the text-based desert that I created in 2001.

It is also worth mentioning that students today, even those in the non-traditional population, are likely to be more digitally savvy than a decade ago. In the meantime, universities have created tools to help students determine if they have what they need to take online classes, thus setting the stage for a better-equipped student population to enroll. In other words, we are all at least somewhat more prepared to teach and learn online.

5. Final Thoughts

As this essay goes to press in the fall of 2014, I am preparing the latest iteration of one of my now-regular online literature classes. I reflect on the last time I taught this class a couple of years ago and am satisfied with the few improvements that I intend to make this coming fall in order to promote a more dynamic, supportive, and challenging online classroom, including asynchronous video lectures by guest speakers, and Twitter assignments designed to connect my students with living

authors. During the last version of this class, most of my students wrote in their evaluations that they enjoyed the course; they generally felt that they made progress in their reading and writing and, more specifically, in the material that comprised the focus of the class; in addition, they really liked the texts we read together. Only a handful withdrew, and not one of the students that completed the course failed.

Overall, especially in contrast to the 2001 class, this was a successful endeavor. Nonetheless, in my notes summing up this online class, I've written, "how great it would have been if we'd all been able to read these books together in person." This is illustrative of the loss of certain pleasures that are attendant in face-to-face teaching. As Richard Rose (2012) points out, online teaching not only requires new sets of instructor skills, but it also requires new sets of expectations. One of the primary losses in online teaching is the "constant validation" that successful professors can achieve in face-to-face classrooms. Rose asserts, for example, that "there is a world of difference between a warm face-to-face encounter and an e-mail – no matter how appreciative it might be. While there has been much discussion about how e-mail or even video interaction might not meet students' emotional and security needs, the emotional vacuum on the teacher's side has gone largely unnoticed." Moreover, online interactions with students can engender misjudgments. Instructors miss non-verbal cues that can help us understand students' ideas, their commitment to the class and even whether or not they are adequately understanding the course materials. Two of my now-favorite students, whom I first encountered in an online class, remained mere names associated with good online discussion posts and lively close readings until I met them in person and realized how smart, insightful, and congenial they were. While these students received good grades in my online course, I wasn't able to enjoy them and appreciate their progress as thinkers and writers until we shared the same space and time.

The other issue that continues to worry me about web-based course offerings at places like the University of Maine at Augusta, where I teach, is the digital divide. For example, our provost, unlike his counterpart at Harvard, would never claim that a MOOC is insufficiently rigorous for our students; in contrast, UMA encourages our students to enroll in MOOCs and other web-based courses when we cannot offer them what they need. Moreover, because web-based courses are perceived to be relatively cost-effective ways to offer our working-class commuting students degree programs, our faculty is urged to develop more and more online classes. Needless to say, such classes have not, and will not in the near future, become part of Harvard or other elite students' regular course loads. And this situation contributes to a larger irony as our less tech-savvy students at UMA and similar public universities pursue online degrees while their much more digitally prepared counterparts at Harvard and MIT continue to take primarily face-to-face classes.

I relate these ambivalences not to throw water on the subject, but as a way to register lingering concerns about the digitalization of teaching, especially teaching literature. I still believe that it is imperative that those of us teaching literature embrace digital tools – messy, confused, experimental as these pedagogies may be – but it is important that we not lose sight of the reasons we became excited by teaching literature in the first place: making connections with other readers, helping students reach "aha" moments in critical thinking, and creating communities of higher learning. Digital tools should be able to do all of these things and more: they can take us into virtual worlds of all kinds, provide us with data for conclusions that would have been unthinkable a generation ago, make space for new collaborations, and provide access to higher education to students for whom it would be otherwise prohibitive. Nonetheless, in order for all students to access these resources, higher education's investments in these endeavors must be rigorous. To ensure that all of our students are fully educated for the 21st century, our institutions must make certain that its programs and

educators are properly prepared to embark on this work. Moreover, in a cultural moment in which the humanities fields like English are regularly being scorned in favor of STEM (science, technology, engineering and math), which are touted as more "employable," those of us teaching literature in the U.S. are aware of our increasing vulnerability in higher education.[7] And yet, as poet David Lehman asserts, "The ability of an educated populace to read critically, to write clearly, to think coherently and to retain knowledge… seems to be declining at a pace consonant with the rise of the Internet search engine and the autocorrect function in computer programs" (2014, 18). Hence, it is imperative that those of us teaching literature in this moment walk a fine line: we want to provide our students with the best of what studying literature can offer – the pleasure of reading, the importance of discoursing about the human condition with others, the conveyance of ideas, both old and new – and yet we also want to make sure that the students are able to harness new technologies with which to raise new questions and elevate our discussions. Teaching literature in our current digital age, then, is a complex endeavor without complete answers, but there is no turning back.

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[7] American news is filled with gloomy pronouncements of the end of the humanities, and front page articles in major news outlets like the *New York Times* regularly report on such crises in higher education. My own English Department has been asked to justify its existence several times in the last two years. For a broader perspective, see David Lehman's essay, in which he argues that "more than ever the humanities today stand in need of defense" (2014, 18).

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Business English as a Lingua Franca – A Cross-Cultural Perspective of Teaching English for Business Purposes

Summary

In our era of globalisation, English is at the top of the languages used in international business. A vast majority of business communication in English is carried out by non-native speakers of English. In a cross-cultural exchange of information, the sender and the recipient come from different cultural backgrounds. The patterns of communication vary across the globe and non-native speakers tend to apply their native language patterns when communicating in English. This paper thus focuses on the concept of spoken communication and dimensions of culture and how they are reflected in communication patterns in different business situations. It also addresses the teaching of Business English as a lingua franca and the role of Business English teachers in helping learners develop their communicative and intercultural competence in order to communicate effectively in a multicultural work environment.

Key words: Business English, lingua franca, cross-cultural communication, communication patterns, Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR), communicative competence, intercultural competence

Poslovna angleščina kot *lingua franca* – medkulturni vidik poučevanja poslovne angleščine

Povzetek

Angleški jezik je v današnjem času globalizacije eden izmed najbolj razširjenih jezikov v poslovnem svetu. Velika večina poslovne komunikacije v angleškem jeziku poteka med nematernimi govorci tega jezika. Pri medkulturni izmenjavi informacij pošiljatelj in prejemnik sporočila prihajata iz različnih kultur. Načini komunikacije se med državami razlikujejo in nematerni govorci angleškega pogosto prenašajo jezikovne vzorce lastnih maternih jezikov v komunikacijo v angleščini. Pričujoči prispevek obravnava koncept govorjene komunikacije in dimenzije kulture ter ugotavlja, kako so te dimenzije izražene v komunikacijskih vzorcih v različnih poslovnih situacijah. Prispevek prav tako obravnava poučevanje poslovne angleščine kot *lingua franca* in vlogo učiteljev poslovne angleščine pri razvijanju komunikativne in medkulturne kompetence študentov kot dveh dejavnikov učinkovite komunikacije v večkulturnem poslovnem okolju.

Ključne besede: poslovna angleščina, lingua franca, medkulturna komunikacija, komunikacijski vzorci, Skupni evropski jezikovni okvir (SEJO), komunikativna kompetenca, medkulturna kompetenca

Business English as a Lingua Franca – A Cross-Cultural Perspective of Teaching English for Business Purposes

1. Introduction

In the past decades, the expansion of economic globalisation has brought about an increase in international business co-operation and in the number of cross-border business partnerships. This, in turn, has resulted in the increasing number of contacts between business people from various cultural and linguistic backgrounds, as more and more people deal with foreigners either in their own communities or when travelling abroad. It is a well established fact that today English is one of the most frequently used languages in international communication. Apart from the communication between native speakers of English and non-native speakers of English, English is also the main language of communication between those who learn it as a foreign language. According to Sharifian and Jamarani (2013, 4), as much as 80% of communication around the world that takes place in English is carried out between non-native speakers of English. To illustrate, in 2004 about 74% of all communication in international tourism was between non-English speaking individuals and non-English speaking individuals, which "demonstrates the scale of need for face-to-face international communication and a growing role for global English" (Graddol 2006, 29). English has thus in a way become de-nationalised as it is no longer exclusive to the countries where it is used as the native language, which clearly gives its use a multicultural dimension (McKay 2002).

As business co-operation is more and more global, the knowledge of cultural norms and communication styles of individual countries has become one of the key factors influencing business success. Since English plays a major role in the communication between business people from different nations and cultures, the main objectives of this paper are to address the dimensions of culture in communication, to highlight the differences in communication patterns of individual nations and to relate them to the use of English in international business settings. These issues serve as a framework for the discussion of BELF, i.e. Business English as a lingua franca, and its impact on the teaching of English for Business Purposes. Here, the focus is mainly on the communicative language competences and intercultural competence (i.e. the ability to successfully communicate with people from other cultures) as integral parts of Business English courses.

2. Dimensions of culture and business communication in an intercultural context

Apart from specialised business knowledge, success in international business strongly depends on the knowledge of cultural norms of individual countries, which are also reflected in the way people communicate. As business co-operation becomes increasingly culturally diverse, the need for understanding how ideas are expressed in individual cultures arises. According to Gudykunst and Lee (2003, 8-9) "[c]ommunication is unique within each culture and, at the same time, there are systematic similarities and differences across cultures". Tannen (1984, 189) similarly claims that the aspects of communication vary from culture to culture and asserts that the "ways of speaking are not extra-linguistic nor even paralinguistic but are the essence of language". Focusing on the way members of individual cultures communicate, Hall and Hall (1990), for example, distinguish between *high-context* and *low-context* cultures, depending on the amount of linguistic context that is required for

understanding a message. In high-context cultures (e.g. Japan, Arab countries, Greece, Spain), speakers rely on implicit communication and an indirect style of writing and speaking. On the other hand, in low-context cultures (e.g. Anglo-Saxon countries, German-speaking countries and Scandinavian countries) the emphasis is on explicit communication and a direct style in writing and speaking.

According to the principle of linguistic relativity (often referred to as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis), the structure of language affects human thought processes and the way in which humans conceptualise reality. This view is also shared by Richard D. Lewis (2006), who focuses on cultures and their communication patterns primarily in business contexts. In his book on conducting business across cultures, When Cultures Collide: Leading Across Cultures, Lewis writes: "Whatever the culture, there's a tongue in our head" (Lewis 2006, 63). Lewis sees thought as internalised language and claims that nationals of different countries use their language and speech in different ways since different languages express different patterns of our thinking and of our behaviour. One of his key claims is that patterns of communication vary across the globe and that non-native speakers tend to apply the patterns of their native language when communicating in English (Lewis 2006, 11). The fact that different cultures have their specific ways of speaking and listening is important for raising the awareness of potential misunderstandings in communication. In order to be successful in business, one must be able to communicate their ideas well and one should be aware of how to communicate proposals and ideas to business partners from different cultures since, in the words of Rogerson-Revell (2010, 443), "[w]hile people may well need to 'speak the same language' in […] multilingual contexts, they may not necessarily 'speak the same way', for instance, because of underlying differences in sociocultural conventions or differences in linguistic competence."

Based on his extensive research into different cultures and their communication patterns, Lewis (2006) distinguishes between three cultural types, i.e. the linear-active cultures (e.g. Germany, the USA, Austria, the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Norway, the UK, the Netherlands), the multi-active cultures (e.g. Italy, Portugal, Spain, Greece, Argentina, Mexico, Brazil, Chile) and the reactive cultures (e.g. Japan, China, Vietnam, Korea, Thailand, Malaysia). According to Lewis (2006), individuals from linear-active cultures are considered to be polite but direct in their speech, talk half the time, confront with logic and use many facts, dislike losing face and have limited body language. On the other hand, people from multi-active nations are defined as those who talk most of the time, are emotional and also confront emotionally, often interrupt and display their feelings freely. The third group, i.e. the reactive nations, listen most of the time and are considered to be polite and indirect; they tend to hide their feelings and are keen on not losing face. They also conceal feelings and in general do not interrupt. Of course, these generalisations should be considered as guidelines only as one should be careful not reduce all "the members of a certain national group to pre-defined characteristics of a cultural label" (Holliday et al. 2010, 26).

Communication in business-related situations is directed towards the achievement of business objectives, which in the plainest of terms means reaching agreements, making deals. Apart from being used in written communication for business purposes (e.g. various types of business and commercial correspondence, business reports, proposals, etc.), English is also used in spoken interactions with business partners and clients mainly in the form of meetings, negotiations, presentations as well as socialising. Since the aim of these interactions is to achieve the common goal, i.e. to conduct business, it is very important for business people to present their ideas in such a way that they will be understood by their interlocutors.

Business presentations, for example, serve to introduce a certain product or service, or to provide information to potential clients or business partners. As a discourse, they are relatively structured,

with the speaker presenting the contents and the audience listening. However, as has been established, cultures differ also in their listening habits and expectations as regards the general structure of business presentations. Again we turn to Lewis (1999, 54-7) for some examples of different listening habits around the globe. For instance, Americans would appreciate a lot of humour, joking and a hard sell; Germans and Dutch dislike jokes in business. Japanese and Finns prefer quiet and modest presentations with a lot of politeness and respect. In Arab countries, for instance, rhetoric, eloquence, liveliness and respect are expected, and in India, people are used to patience, sympathy, humility and 'flowery speech'.

The patterns of spoken communication are even more obvious in meetings, negotiations and even during small talk (including socialising). In meetings and negotiations, the participants are given a chance to communicate with their interlocutors and use their speaking skills to achieve the set objectives. For example, UK business people use humour, understatement, vagueness and a lot of small talk, whereas Americans speak clearly and directly, and they 'put their cards on the table immediately' with the sole purpose of doing business as soon as possible (Lewis 1999, 7). While the people from Finland "say only that which is absolutely necessary" and when something is considered unclear by their counterparts, they "repeat it in summarised form" (Lewis 1999, 14), the Italians "deliver their proposals at length" (Lewis 1999, 14) and in case of miscomprehension "may launch into a half an hour clarification of the original proposal" (Lewis 1999, 14). Although these generalisations could be considered stereotypical, they point out a very important fact: people do speak and behave differently across the world. If individuals from other cultures are not aware of these differences, this can cause misunderstandings, which, in turn, may lead to a loss of business. Nevertheless, we should not "allow the notion of 'culture' [and generalizations about different cultures] to become greater than the people themselves" (Holliday et al. 2010, 26).

3. International business communication in English and Business English as a lingua franca

In recent years, the research into business-related communication of non-native speakers of English in the English language has resulted in the emergence of the concept of BELF, i.e. Business English as a *lingua franca*. While some studies deal with BELF in general (e.g. Kankaanranta and Planken 2010, Gerritsen and Nickerson 2009), others look at specific instances of the use of BELF in a variety of professional contexts. For example, Wolfartsberger (2009) investigates the practices of the use of BELF in international meetings, and Ehrenreich (2010) presents a case of the use of English in a family-owned German multinational company. Also, Randén (2011) studies the use of BELF by Swedish professionals working in the pharmaceutical sector, while Louhiala-Salminen and Kankaanranta (2012) study English as business *lingua franca* as the context-specific resource for international internal communication. In addition, Rogerson-Revell (2010) is interested in the language adjustments that native speakers and non-native speakers of English make for an international audience in business meetings while Pullin (2010) researches small talk in English in international business situations. There is also the need to define the contents of Business English courses in view of the increasing international use of English in business contexts. Jung (2009), for instance, discusses pedagogical implications of teaching BELF in view of its communicative purpose in business contexts.

What kind of language is, then, Business English as a *lingua franca*? If English as a *lingua franca* is used in communication between speakers with different first languages (Seidlhofer 2005, 229), then Business English as a lingua franca is English used as the language of communication between business professionals whose first language is not English. It can thus be claimed that BELF is a variety of English used mostly in international business for conducting business between individuals and

companies from various parts of the world. In the words of Louhiala-Salminen et al. (2005, 403-4), Business English as a lingua franca refers to English used as a neutral and shared communication code. It is neutral in the sense that none of the speakers can claim it as her/his mother tongue; it is shared in the sense that it is used for conducting business within the global business discourse community whose members are BELF users and communicators in their own right – not non-native speakers or learners. Business English as a lingua franca is thus a variety English that is used by non-native speakers of English in which the characteristics of the speaker's mother tongue communication patterns are present. Further, it is considered to be simple and clear English (and is far from simplified English like Globish) which includes neither idiomatic expressions nor complicated phraseology. The sentence structures tend to be simple and its users make frequent grammatical mistakes. The most prominent feature of BELF, however, is business-related vocabulary and technical jargon. In short, Business English as a lingua franca is seen as a tool for communicating information with accuracy and clarity. And in business, this is undoubtedly related to 'getting the job done', which is the purpose of business in its most basic sense.

4. Impact of BELF on teaching of English for Business Purposes

All the issues presented above have an effect on Business English courses as the specific position of English as the main language in international business communication presents a challenge for the teachers of Business English. Our discussion so far thus gives rise to questions referring mainly to the contents of Business English courses the teachers are to deliver. What kind of Business English are we to teach? According to Smith (cited in McKay 2002, 12):

(a) learners of an international language do not need to internalize the cultural norms of native speakers of that language,

(b) the ownership of an international language becomes 'de-nationalized', and

(c) the educational goal of learning it is to enable learners to communicate their ideas and culture to others.

Focusing on the use of English in an international context, Sharifian (2009, 2) emphasises that it does not stand for any particular variety but is "a language of international, and therefore *multicultural*, communication".

Although the statements made by Smith (cited in McKay 2002) and Sharifian (2009) refer to the international use of a language in general, parallels can be drawn with the concept of Business English as a lingua franca. Namely, since the majority of its users are non-native speakers of English who are most likely to communicate with other non-native speakers of English, the need for the internationalization of native speakers' cultural norms becomes to a large degree unnecessary. We can also agree that the focus regarding the use of English in international business is on enabling the business people to communicate their business ideas to their business partners from other cultures.

Since language is embedded in the culture(s) in which it is used, the importance of cultural awareness in international business has become an important issue in Business English courses, due to the need of 'non-native English language' business people to communicate with other (both native and non-native) speakers of English for Business Purposes. Recently, there has been a lot of discussion on this topic among Business English practitioners who teach Business English to pre-experience

students as well job-experienced learners (e.g. IATEFL BESIG[1] Annual conference in Dubrovnik 2011, IATEFL BESIG Pre-Conference event at IATEFL Glasgow 2012). The requirements of both groups of learners are not only for grammar and vocabulary (i.e. linguistic knowledge of English), but also for being able to understand how people from other cultures communicate.

The challenges that Business English practitioners face are hence twofold. On the one hand, there is still the necessity to enhance the *linguistic knowledge* of the learners, while on the other hand the teachers are required to provide the learners with *intercultural knowledge*, more specifically, the knowledge of cross-cultural communication. That is, Business English teachers are expected to prepare the students to communicate well in English in a multicultural business environment.

4.1 Linguistic knowledge and BE(LF)

Let us address the question of linguistic knowledge first. Since English for Business Purposes is predominantly taught at tertiary level or to adult learners, and based on the fact that most learners of Business English have at least a core knowledge of general English vocabulary and grammar, the main emphasis, in our opinion, should be placed on specific business related terminology.

In the European context, the standards and levels of language knowledge are frequently identified and examined by referring to the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (Council of Europe 2001, henceforth CEFR) scale descriptors. For the purpose of this paper, we have decided to focus on certain aspects of the communicative language competence as well as on the intercultural competence as defined in CEFR (since these two seem to be most relevant for the teaching of English for Business Purposes), and to relate them to the notion of Business English as a lingua franca.

4.1.1 Communicative BE(LF) competence

According to CEFR (Council of Europe 2001, 13), communicative language competence includes *linguistic competences* and *sociolinguistic competences*. Linguistic competences consist of *lexical*, *grammatical*, *semantic*, *phonological*, *orthographic* and *orthoepic* competences (Council of Europe 2001, 109). Although all these competences are important in language use, the focus in this paper will only be on lexical, grammatical and phonological competences as the core linguistic competences.

First, lexical competence of a language user is "the knowledge of, and the ability to use, the vocabulary of a language [and] consists of lexical elements and grammatical elements" (Council of Europe 2001, 110). If lexical competence in general means vocabulary range and vocabulary control, then it can be claimed that *lexical BE(LF) competence* refers to business related terminology range and control. It is impossible to state exactly which level of lexical competence the speakers of BE(LF) should be required to reach, for this question is related to the types of interactions they will have with their business counterparts. In general, however, the learners should be encouraged to master as extensive a general and specialised business-related terminology (e.g. marketing / accounting / financial terminology) as possible since words are key for communication. In our opinion, the minimum requirement for a competent speaker of English in business-related situations should be at least B2, i.e. they should have "a good range of vocabulary for matters connected to [their] field and most general topics" (Council of Europe 2001, 112).

[1] BESIG stands for Business English Special Interest Group, which is a professional body within IATEFL. Its main interest is to bring together Business English practitioners all over the world to discuss issue related to teaching Business English. <http://www.besig.org/events/default.aspx> (accessed 17 August, 2012).

Second, "[g]rammatical competence is the ability to understand and express meaning by producing and recognising well-formed phrases and sentences in accordance with these principles" (ibid., 113). The range and the types of grammatical categories should be closely related to the various business purposes and situations in which English is to be used. Similar to lexical competence, as high a grammatical accuracy as possible (although comprising simple grammatical structures only) without doubt contributes to effective communication.

The issue of the level of linguistic competence becomes more complicated as regards *phonological competence*. The concern arising in relation to this competence is mainly to which level the students are supposed to master an English phonological system. Is it enough to settle for the A2 CEFR level, which defines pronunciation as "generally clear enough to be understood despite a noticeable foreign accent" (Council of Europe 2001, 117), or the B1 level, which says that "pronunciation is clearly intelligible even if a foreign accent is sometimes evident and occasional mispronunciations occur" (Council of Europe 2001, 117), or should the norm be the C1 level, where the speaker "can vary intonation and place sentence stress correctly in order to express finer shades of meaning" (Council of Europe 2001, 117)? Also, considering different English accents, which variety is to be the norm, and should one aim for C1 level of proficiency? Since we know that most communication for business purposes takes place between non-native speakers of English, the need for achieving the C1 level does not seem to be very important.

4.1.2 Sociolinguistic competence and BE(LF)

Sociolinguistic competence, as "the knowledge and skills required to deal with the social dimension of language use" (Council of Europe 2001, 118), is closely related to sociocultural competence, i.e. to "the knowledge of the society and culture of the community or communities in which a language is spoken" (Council of Europe 2001, 102). It includes concepts such as the use and choice of greetings and different forms of addressing people (formal or informal), the conventions for turn-taking and politeness conventions, expressions of folk wisdom (e.g. idioms, proverbs, familiar quotations, etc.) as well as register differences and dialects and accents (Council of Europe 2001, 119-21). In view of the definition and purpose of Business English as a lingua franca, this area of language can be quite challenging to address in a BE(LF) course.

As mentioned, the speakers of BE(LF) tend to apply the norms of their native languages when communicating in English. The first concern regarding the above concepts is therefore what kind of greetings, address forms, forms of politeness and (forms of impoliteness) speakers of BE(LF) are to use/evaluate sociologically or to only recognise. For the teachers of BE(LF), this consequently means making decisions about the types of functional language they are to include in their course (e.g. various formulaic phrases referring to different levels of formality, for expressing indirectness, expressing rejections, expressing opinions, etc.). To illustrate, formulaic phrases used for expressing disagreement can vary from a simple and direct phrase ('I don't agree'), to something a bit more polite bit still direct ('Sorry, but I don't agree'), to quite indirect phrases, such as 'Well, that may be, but...' or 'I'm afraid that's not how I see it'.

The second concern is expressions of folk wisdom. Although one of the characteristics of BE(LF) is that it is clear, simple and without idiomatic expressions, its speakers may nevertheless use (in English) expressions of folk wisdom originating in their own culture. Let us consider idioms first. High-transparency idioms such as 'to bring something to the table', 'to compare apples to oranges' and 'to have one's hands tied' are more easily understood than low-transparency idioms such as 'to score

brownie points', 'to bite the bullet', or 'to be an eager beaver'. In international business context, the low-transparency English idioms would most likely be the ones that would not be used by non-native English speakers, although they might be commonly used by native speakers of English. For example, idiomatic expressions such as 'to flog a dead horse', 'to get the wrong end of the stick', 'money for old rope', 'where there's muck, there's money' are not likely to be used in a dialogue between non-native speakers of English. They could, however, be used by native speakers of English.

Moreover, if for instance native speakers of English speak of 'the early bird catching the worm', the Slovenes speak of 'early hour, golden hour' and the Chinese say 'a fast foot is first to climb' (cf. Fordham 2010). When the Spanish talk about 'into a closed mouth flies will not enter', they mean 'think before you speak' and while they say 'there is no bad of which good does not come', the English speaking nations would say 'every cloud has a silver lining' (cf. Succeed at Spanish n. d.) and the Slovenes would say 'after every rain the sun starts to shine'. The question thus arises to what extent and which idioms, proverbs, etc. (if any) are to be taught in a Business English course. Are we to teach idiomatic expressions of English origin only, or should we look at other cultures as well? We believe that although non-native speakers of English may not necessarily actively use such expressions, it is advisable that they at least recognise their meaning.

4.2 Intercultural awareness and intercultural competence

Intercultural competence is closely related to sociolinguistic and sociocultural competence. According to Meyer (1999, 137)

> intercultural competence, as part of a broader foreign speaker competence, identifies the ability of a person to behave adequately and in a flexible manner when confronted with actions, attitudes and expectations of representatives of foreign cultures. Adequacy and flexibility imply an awareness of the cultural differences between one's own and foreign culture and the ability to handle cross-cultural problems which result from these differences.

Further, Byram (cited in Sercu 2005, 3) discusses the components of intercultural competence, which include, among other things, the knowledge of individual and societal interaction, the knowledge of how culture affects language and communication, the ability to interpret and relate, a positive disposition towards learning intercultural competence, and critical engagement with the foreign culture under consideration of one's own. As regards the users of English in an international business context, the importance of intercultural awareness and intercultural competence is (as we have seen above) undisputed.

How does this relate to the teaching of Business English and the teachers themselves? Since Business English practitioners are increasingly required to deliver language courses with an emphasis on cross-cultural communication, they are faced with the challenge of addressing the issue of culture in their classrooms. Sercu (2005, 5) argues that "in order to support the intercultural learning process, foreign language teachers need additional knowledge, attitudes, competencies and skills to the ones hitherto thought of as necessary and sufficient for teaching communicative competence in a foreign language." Sercu further claims that "teachers need an adequate sociocultural knowledge of the target community, frequent and varied contacts with it and a thorough command of the pragmatic rules of use of the foreign language in contexts that may be considered to belong to their professional sphere" (Secru 2005, 5). Considering the global (multicultural) use of English for business-related purposes, this is quite a challenging (if not impossible) task. One could hardly be expected to acquire adequate knowledge of all target communities all over the world that will use English for Business Purposes.

How can Business English practitioners therefore introduce intercultural topics into language courses? Frendo (2005) proposes two approaches. The first one is an "culture-general approach [which] encourages the learners to understand what culture is, gain awareness of how their own culture works, and appreciate that the way they do things is not necessarily the only way. [...] It is not about learning to deal with specific countries, but about how to deal with people who may have different ways of doing things" (Frendo 2005, 112-13). The second approach is "culture-specific training [if] the learners only need to deal with one or two cultures" (Frendo 2005, 113). According to Frendo (Frendo 2005, 113), this kind of approach can be superficial and may lead to excessive generalizations and stereotyping. Nevertheless, we would propose a combined culture-general and culture-specific approach to teaching intercultural contents on condition that the culture specific part does not become a mere list of dos and dont's. In our opinion, awareness-raising as regards different communication and behaviour patterns is the most important.

5. Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to discuss the concepts of cross-cultural communication in business related situations and to address some of the issues related to the teaching of English for Business Purposes in view of the increasing use of English in multicultural/international business and the consequent need to incorporate culture and cross-cultural related topics into Business English courses. Apart from presenting the international framework within which business people today operate, we have shown that the international business community strongly relies on the English language as the main tool for communication. Also, we have demonstrated that non-native speakers of English tend to transfer the patterns of their native languages and communication styles when speaking in English. We have also established that Business English as a lingua franca and as a neutral communication code is becoming an important variety of the English language, since it is perceived and used as a tool for communication between non-native speakers of English with other non-native speakers of English as well as with native speakers of English in business-related contexts.

The presentation of the current reality of the use of English for business purposes has also raised a number of questions concerning the contents of Business English courses. Our main concerns were the questions associated with the communicative, sociolinguistic and intercultural competences which should be developed within these courses.

Based on our discussion, we see the main role of Business English practitioners in teaching the language for effective communication in business-related context. In other words, the role of a business English teacher is to help the learners develop (enhance) their communicative language competence. This would enable them to successfully communicate in various business related situations, to achieve their business objectives and avoid mistakes. As regards Business English as a lingua franca, we agree with Kankaanranta (2008), who claims that "practitioners and trainers alike should approach intercultural business communication from a new perspective, the BELF one, which would make the specific aspects related to the use of English in intercultural business encounters explicit". In terms of the introduction of the incorporation of the topics on culture into Business English language courses, we believe that any such course should provide the students with, at least, a core understanding of how communication differs across cultures despite being carried out in the same language.

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The Role of Written Corrective Feedback in Developing Writing in L2

Summary

Feedback plays an important role in developing L2 writing in young learners. The article provides a brief overview of the history of giving feedback and of some contemporary views within this field. Special attention is paid to cognitive perspectives, such as the influence of written corrective feedback on short-term memory, the influence of focused and unfocused written corrective feedback on error correction, the influence of written corrective feedback on a particular category of error, the influence of direct and indirect written corrective feedback and combinations of various types of written corrective feedback, and the influence of educational background and L2 learning background on the effectiveness of written corrective feedback in terms of sociocultural perspectives. The main aim of the article is to present readers (especially teachers) with the variety of aspects of giving written corrective feedback in developing L2 writing and thus in enabling young learners to develop their L2 writing skills more effectively.

Key words: L2, young learners, writing, corrective feedback, written corrective feedback

Vloga povratne informacije pri razvijanju pisne spretnosti v dodatnem jeziku

Povzetek

Povratna informacija pomembno vpliva na razvijanje pisne spretnosti mlajših otrok v dodatnem jeziku. Sledi kratek pregled zgodovine dajanja povratne informacije ter sodobni pogledi na to področje, med katerimi so posebej izpostavljeni kognitivni vidiki, kot so na primer vpliv pisne povratne informacije na kratkoročni spomin, vpliv fokusirane in nefokusirane pisne povratne informacije na odpravljanje napak, vpliv pisne povratne informacije na določeno vrsto napake, vpliv neposredne in posredne pisne povratne informacije in kombinacije različnih načinov dajanja pisne povratne informacije ter vpliv izobraževalnega okolja in predhodnega znanja dodatnega jezika na učinkovitost dajanja pisne povratne informacije (družbenokulturni vidik). S člankom želimo predvsem predstaviti bralcem (učiteljem) razsežnost dajanja pisne povratne informacije pri razvijanju pisne spretnosti v dodatnem jeziku. Posredno želimo vplivati na učence, da bi lahko s pomočjo pisne povratne informacije hitreje in bolje razvijali pisno spretnost v dodatnem jeziku.

Ključne besede: dodatni jezik, mlajši učenci, pisna spretnost, povratna informacija, pisna povratna informacija

The Role of Written Corrective Feedback in Developing Writing in L2

1. Introduction

The ability to write well enables one "to participate fully in many aspects of society" (Cushing Weigle 2011, 4). Within a certain culture, writing in the first language (L1) has a common purpose; however, the specific purposes of individual situations can also be addressed. According to Vähäpässi's (1982) general model of writing discourse, we write "to learn, to convey emotions, to inform, to convince or persuade, to entertain, delight or please and to keep in touch". In terms of cognitive processes, we write to reproduce, organise or reorganise, and invent or generate something (Cushing Weigle 2011, 8). The ultimate purpose of writing in many cultures is literacy.

Compared to the purpose of writing in L1, the purpose of second language (L2) writing is rather diverse: there are numerous situations of L2 use, in the school environment and beyond, with children and adults. The purpose of learning L2 and writing, as a part of this, is also related to one's (lack of) desire to integrate into a new culture. Some other motivating factors in learning L2 and consequently L2 writing may be grades, higher proficiency, learning new information, a future job or promotion, and impressing the teacher or other students (Cushing Weigle 2011, 37). In terms of the child's purpose in learning L2 (not only writing), we can distinguish between immigrant children who are members of a minority and children living in a bilingual environment, and other, non-immigrant children who learn L2 at school. Minority children have to learn L2 for survival, whereas for majority children L2 represents enhancement. All children learn L2 in order to make progress at school (Cushing Weigle 2011, 5-6).

Taking into account the importance of writing, this article explores the role of feedback in developing L2 writing in young learners. The main focus is on the variety of aspects of giving written corrective feedback in developing L2 writing and thus in enabling young learners to develop their L2 writing skills more effectively.

The structure of the article is as follows. In section 2, some definitions and models are presented to familiarise the readers, especially teachers, with contemporary concepts of writing. An insight into the history of giving feedback is given in section 3, along with the issues of the development of the understanding of error and Krashen's theory of second language acquisition. In section 4 research of written corrective feedback is presented. Section 5 shifts from theory to some practical aspects underlining positive teacher-student communication and the timing in giving feedback to writing. Finally, the conclusion suggests some answers to the open question of giving written corrected feedback.

2. Definitions and models of writing

Writing ability can be defined as a linguistic, cognitive, social and cultural phenomenon (Cushing Weigle 2011). However, many writing models define writing ability more precisely. Three such models have been selected for presentation in this article.

The writing model developed by Hayes and Flower (1980) consists of three basic factors: the task environment, the writer's long-term memory and various cognitive processes. The main new insight of this model is that "writing is a recursive and not a linear process" (Cushing Weigle 2011, 23), meaning that the writer moves back and forth between different phases. This meaning is not implied

if we perceive writing as a linear process. Importantly, the teacher's understanding of what writing is influences the choice of his/her pedagogic approach to teaching writing. The model can also explain students' different approaches to writing. More experienced students spend more time planning and revising, as well as editing content and organising the text, while also taking the audience into account (Cushing Weigle 2011, 22-3).

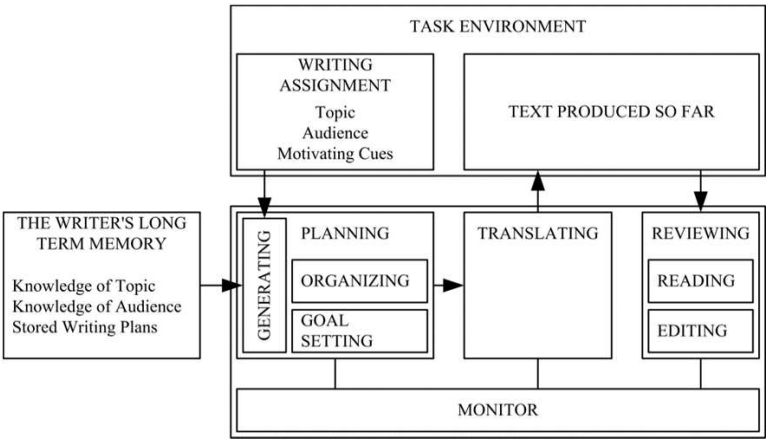

Figure 1. The Hayes-Flower (1980) writing model (Cushing Weigle 2011, 24).

In the Hayes model (1996), the dimension of motivation is added, which is composed of goals, predispositions, beliefs and attitudes, as well as the cost/benefit estimates of the writer. Reading is seen as the most important cognitive process and is defined quite precisely.

Bereiter and Scardamalia (1987) divide writing ability into two main parts: knowledge telling and knowledge transforming. Knowledge telling is rather undemanding, as it requires very little or no planning or revising; it can be described as natural. Knowledge transforming, on the other hand, is a very demanding process that has to be practised.

Grabe and Kaplan's taxonomy of language knowledge (Grabe and Kaplan 1996) divides language into linguistic, discourse and sociolinguistic knowledge. As it provides a detailed list of the components of writing, the model can serve as a suitable basis for researching the writing ability of young learners. For example, research could comprise the following parts of the taxonomy: knowledge of the written code (orthography, punctuation, paragraphing), knowledge of phonology and morphology (sound/letter correspondences, syllables, morphemes), vocabulary (interpersonal words and phrases, topic-specific words and phrases), and basic syntactic/structural patterns. If young learners of writing were being studied in terms of discourse knowledge, their knowledge of specific genres might be selected, as well as intrasentencial and intersentencial cohesion, such as conjunctions; when focusing on the sociolinguistic part of the taxonomy, the functional use of writing (purpose) as well as register and situational parameters – such as age, the language used by the writer (L1, L2), proficiency in the language used, topic, means of writing (pen and paper or computer) – could be studied (Cushing Weigle 2011, 30).

As support, children should receive most effective corrective feedback on as many factors as possible. In order to understand what effective feedback is, an insight into its history is first provided, as this is strongly related to the understanding of error. Later, the present state of research in the field of corrective feedback is presented.

3. An insight into the history of giving corrective feedback

Over time, the prevailing paradigm of learning and teaching has changed, as has the perception of error, according to different theories of children's learning. Accordingly, the ways of giving corrective feedback have changed as well.

In the behaviourist approach of the 1950s and 1960s, errors were perceived much more negatively than today (Bitchener and Ferris 2012, 4). According to the reference cited, the term error refers mainly to grammatical errors. Behaviourists believed that teachers should correct errors strictly and systematically. L1 and L2 were compared, and errors in L1 were corrected to prevent students from making errors in L2. Later, it was found that children do not make language errors due to a lack of L2 or L1 knowledge, but due to their way of thinking, i.e., they are able to produce not only different, new sentences, but also their own language rules and language, which they can develop systematically. These cognitive findings about language learning substantially reduced the importance of error and, as a result, the role of continuous error correction.

Towards the end of the 1980s, errors started to be understood as a developmental stage, which was an important turning point heralded already by Shaughnessy (1977). Making an error began to lose its highly negative connotation, which had previously often stigmatised students as being "illiterate", "irremediable" and so on. Investigation turned to the question of what an error is and, consequently, to what extent it should be focused on (Santa 2006). Truscott (1996) suggested no error correction should occur at all. As a matter of fact, questions concerning the reasons for correcting errors, which errors should be corrected, when (in which phase of writing), how and who should correct them have been asked by researchers since the very beginnings of research into second language acquisition (Bitchener and Ferris 2012, 6).

Later on, the perception of giving corrective feedback was influenced by the first general second language acquisition theory that was proposed by Krashen (1985), who did not believe that focusing on errors should play a very important role; nor, consequently, should corrective feedback (Bitchener and Ferris 2012, 27). For a deeper understanding of the reasons that led Krashen to this conclusion, the five underlying hypotheses of his theory are presented. Firstly, the acquisition-learning hypothesis distinguishes two separate processes of language learning in terms of subconscious learning (the acquisition process) and conscious learning (the learning process) (Bitchener and Ferris 2012, 9). Secondly, the monitor hypothesis claims that learning can only enable the learner to monitor or edit what is produced by his/her acquired system. Thirdly, according to the natural order hypothesis, we learn a language in a predictable order, although there are slower and faster learners. In the fourth place is the input hypothesis, which states that input has to be just slightly beyond the learner's current level; if there is sufficient input, we learn grammatical rules automatically, so there is no need to correct errors. Finally, there is the affective filter hypothesis. In order for linguistic knowledge to reach the part of the brain responsible for language acquisition, the learner's affective filter must be low; otherwise feelings such as anxiety and low self-esteem can increase. The level of the affective filter also varies according to the learner's positive or negative attitudes towards second language acquisition (Bitchener and Ferris 2012, 9-11). Taking into account these hypotheses, we could conclude that, when giving corrective feedback, teachers should not ignore the (sub)conscious processes of learning, the system already acquired by a learner, the predictable order of learning a language, providing input that is demanding enough but at the same time not too difficult, and a teaching approach that evokes positive feelings in the learners.

Over the last twenty years, research into second language acquisition has intensified, as has research into the role and treatment of error. Special attention is paid to cognitive perspectives related to

ways of processing information, as well as to sociocultural perspectives (Bitchener and Ferris 2012, 12). The influence of corrective feedback on second language learning is still being researched, and an important part of this research concerns written corrective feedback as one of the ways of giving feedback (Bitchener and Ferris 2012, 25-7).

4. Research of written corrective feedback

Written corrective feedback, according to Bitchener and Ferris (2012), can be defined as grammar/error correction. It can be direct (the wrong word is crossed out and the right word is given), indirect (an explanation, an example, a hint is given, but not the correction itself), or focused (only one or a smaller number of errors are corrected), or unfocused (all errors are corrected). This is explained in more detail in the continuation of this paper.

Truscott's famous paper "The case against grammar correction in L2 writing classes" (1996) did not put a stop to all correction of errors, but it did trigger research on the interrelation between written corrective feedback and language improvement.

Referring to Bitchener and Ferris (2012), the main question of research into written corrective feedback is cognitive. Researchers would like to determine the degree to which written corrective feedback can contribute to the acquisition of a second language; in other words, they are interested in the effect of written corrective feedback on short-term and long-term memory. From this question, three further questions are derived. Firstly, the question of the influence of unfocused and focused corrective feedback; secondly, the question of written versus other/non-written corrective feedback; and thirdly, the difference between the effects of different kinds of written corrective feedback on L2 acquisition. Sociocultural questions deal with the learner's educational and L2 learning background, as well as with the question of how a better understanding of sociocultural theory could contribute to a better understanding of corrective feedback (Bitchener and Ferris 2012, 49-50).

The area of written corrective feedback has, to some extent, been researched in Slovenia as well. Pižorn (2013) proposes a new model of written corrective feedback, with twelve factors: educational context (aims and reasons of L2 learning, motivation to learn L2), knowledge of L2 learning theories, approach to teaching writing (process, sufficient oral and reading L2 input, feedback in pairs and groups), level of L2 knowledge, the learner's age, zone of proximal development, the learner as an individual, teacher's attitude to errors, type of written corrective feedback, and who should give feedback. As introducing the model into teaching is a process, teachers need additional training to use it as effectively as possible.

Foreign research of written corrective feedback presented in the continuation deals with the effectiveness of written corrective feedback that can be unfocused and focused, direct and indirect or combined and with the role of the educational and L2 learning background of learners related to the effectiveness of written corrective feedback.

4.1 The effectiveness of written corrective feedback on the short-term memory

The effectiveness of written corrective feedback was investigated in many early studies. L2 writers were given feedback on their drafts, and if this feedback helped them to improve the accuracy of their drafts, learning, or at least short-term learning, was proved. However, if the feedback was direct or explicit, or if the error identified by the feedback was a mistake or an oversight by

the writer, the improvements were not necessarily the result of learning. Therefore, the writers were given another writing task and improved accuracy was checked again. In order to determine whether or not the improved accuracy was a result of learning, the texts of the writers who received written corrective feedback were compared to the texts of the control group who did not receive written corrective feedback. To show the results, studies by Truscott, Hsu and van Beuningen et al. are presented.

Truscott and Hsu (2008) and van Beuningen et al. (2008, 2012), who researched the influence of the second language writing on the learning/storing of knowledge in the short-term memory, found that after written corrective feedback the number of errors in the new written texts had been reduced. However, unlike van Beuningen, Truscott and Hsu did not demonstrate that learning had occurred in terms of storing new knowledge in the short-term memory (Bitchener and Ferris 2012, 52).

According to Bitchener and Ferris (2012, 53), further research on the reasons why written corrective feedback has (or has not) been effective in error reduction in newly written texts is needed.

4.2 The effectiveness of unfocused and focused written corrective feedback on treating L2 errors

Early research dealt more with a wide range of error categories, whereas more contemporary research focuses on one or a few linguistic categories only (Bitchener and Ferris 2012, 53). Methodologically, some early studies had certain shortcomings, such as the lack of control groups; however, newer studies have been improved in this respect. Nevertheless, early studies did not find any significant differences between the correction and no-correction groups.

Studies of focused written corrective feedback (Bitchener and Ferris 2012, 59) show that although focused written corrective feedback has a positive impact on error reduction if the range of errors is limited, the degree to which we can extend the number of errors in question and still expect written corrective feedback to be effective remains unknown. Nor is there a conclusive answer to the question of which type of written corrective feedback is more effective: unfocused or focused. In fact, the interaction of feedback type could be more effective.

4.3 The effectiveness of written corrective feedback on different error categories

There have not been many studies related to this question. A clear, final answer to the questions regarding the effectiveness of written corrective feedback on different error categories has not yet been found. Truscott (1996), for example, argued that no single form of correction can help learners acquire all linguistic forms and structures. As a reason he stated that, in the case of syntax, morphology and lexis, it is not enough to understand only the form. The meaning of use and its relation to other words and parts of the language should be taken into account as well. Later he found that written corrective feedback was most effective in the case of the learners' initial texts and simple, non-grammatical errors and not in the case of syntax. Truscott believed that written corrective feedback can be effective only when the error can be understood as a discrete item (Bitchener and Ferris 2012, 63). The main open question still concerns the effectiveness of written corrective feedback on error reduction with regard to more complex language structures, e.g. syntactic structures (Bitchener and Ferris 2012, 64).

4.4 The effectiveness of direct and indirect written corrective feedback

Written corrective feedback is direct when we cross out the error and provide the correction explicitly near or above the error, or when we insert the correct word, morpheme, phrase (Bitchener and Ferris 2012, 65). Recently, metalinguistic corrections have appeared, along with a grammatical rule or added example of correct usage and an additional oral explanation. Indirect correction is made when the error is only marked (circled or underlined) or the number of errors is recorded in the margin at the end of a given line. Coding can also be considered as indirect correction.

Those who support indirect written corrective feedback suggest that it is more effective than direct corrective feedback as it directs the L2 learner towards guided learning and problem solving (Lalande 1982); it cannot, however, be claimed that language structures are internalised in this case. On the other hand, direct written corrective feedback has certain advantages: the information is clearer, more suitable for more demanding language structures and hypotheses, and more immediate. The type of written corrective feedback also depends on the level of the learner's knowledge (Bitchener and Ferris 2012, 65).

Studies of different types of direct written corrective feedback have been conducted that compare control groups receiving no correction to groups receiving direct error correction only, direct error correction and oral meta-linguistic explanation, written and oral meta-linguistic explanation, direct error correction and written meta-linguistic explanation, and direct error correction, written and oral meta-linguistic explanation (Bitchener and Ferris 2012, 68). No final answer has been given regarding which is more effective.

4.5 The role of the educational and L2 learning background of learners and the effectiveness of written corrective feedback

The effectiveness of written corrective feedback can also be influenced by sociocultural factors, such as subject/participant classification and the learners' former exposure to the target language (Bitchener and Ferris 2012, 70). Hedgcock and Lefkowitz (1994) studied three groups of participants: second language writers, foreign language writers and students of English as a foreign language who do not study in an English speaking country. They found that foreign language writers may be less motivated to receive written corrective feedback than second language writers, since their purpose of writing is more related to meeting a qualification requirement and they might not be highly motivated to learn the language to a level that would enable them to become a full member of a society. The motivation to receive written corrective feedback of students of English as a foreign language who do not study in an English speaking country has been reported as varying. In the same study the educational background of learners is introduced as a variable that can affect the students' motivation to receive written corrective feedback. Their motivation may be higher if the students have received formative (as opposed to summative) feedback, which is process-oriented. There have also been studies of the effectiveness of written corrective feedback related to other sociocultural variables, such as international and migrant students, where the former were more used to formal classroom learning and consequently receiving written corrective feedback (Bitchener and Knoch 2008). Research into sociocultural aspects will, however, have to be continued (Bitchener and Ferris 2012, 73).

5. Some practical aspects of giving written corrective feedback

Rules of supportive, positive communication can and should be applied generally when working with people, hence also in the teacher/student relationship. It is only communication of this kind that leads to a supportive, cooperative, equal, but at the same time very active student/teacher relationship (Čačinovič Vogrinčič 2008). The teacher's positive approach is most important also in the case of giving (written) corrective feedback regardless of the applied approach.

A practical example of the above is a group of researchers at the University of South Australia[1] studying the process of writing with different writing groups. They base their positive approach on the following: firstly, a positive approach encourages the writer to persist in writing; secondly, it helps him/her to see which parts have been written well and which still need revision; and thirdly, it helps others to identify and model good examples. The approach also implies some examples of positive and negative communication of teachers towards students. As far as organisation is concerned, it suggests the formation of special writing groups where the teacher offers all of the support needed. The approach is partly based on non-scientific literature dealing with the process of writing from the writer's point of view (Cole 2006).

The timing of feedback is another important practical issue in the teaching and learning process. Fluckiger et al. (2010) have found new ways of providing formative feedback more frequently, as well as ways of involving students in providing feedback to each other (peer feedback). The study involves techniques for doing so, such as midterm student conferencing and collaborative assignment blogs. The effects of using the techniques developed indicate that it is worth spending more time on giving feedback. Better products, enhanced student learning and the involvement of students as partners also contribute to a productive classroom climate, where the focus is more on learning than on grading.

How to make feedback as effective as possible has also been researched by Hattie and Timperley (2007), who propose a model by focusing attention on two frequently discussed issues: the timing of feedback and the effects of positive and negative feedback. They also suggest some practical ways of making feedback more effective in classrooms.

6. Conclusion

The issue of giving any corrective feedback, including written feedback, is broad and diverse. Different types of written corrective feedback are still being researched throughout the world, including in Slovenia. The main open question is to what extent, how and why a certain type of written corrective feedback contributes to the more rapid and, most importantly, long-lasting correction of various types of errors in writing. To motivate teachers to develop the professional attitudes that underlie their day-to-day practical work in the classroom, this article has informed them (and other readers) on the purposes of learning L1 and L2 writing, definitions and models of writing, the history of understanding errors, the effectiveness of written corrective feedback on error correction, direct and indirect written corrective feedback, unfocused and focused written corrective feedback, combined written corrective feedback, the role of the educational and L2 learning background of learners in giving written corrective feedback, the importance of positive teacher-student communication in giving feedback to L2 writing and the importance of feedback timing. Apart from the theory

[1] http://w3.unisa.edu.au/researcheducation/students/feedback.asp

of giving written corrective feedback and some writing theory, the Australian approach to giving feedback on writing as well as Cole's non-scientific book dealing with the process of writing from the writer's point of view and other practical aspects might be supportive to teachers as well (Cole 2006). In the future, more evidence-based research is needed to show which models of written corrective feedback are most applicable and effective for a particular population of writers who differ in age, needs, motivation, language proficiency, sociocultural background, and many more idiosyncrasies.

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IV.

TRANSLATION STUDIES

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Explicitation and Implicitation as Translation Universals and Their Occurrences in the Slovene Translations of Anglo-American Literary Texts

Summary

The paper examines explicitation/implicitation as one of the most prevailing occurrences in Slovene literary translation practice. Drawing on the received typology of explicitation – obligatory, optional, pragmatic and translation-inherent – the paper seeks to identify the reasons for, and consequences of, certain (in)adequate translation processes, suggesting more adequate solutions where possible. An analysis of the examples selected from the corpus of Slovene translations is introduced by a detailed discussion of the explicitation and implicitation phenomena.

Key words: explicitation/implicitation, literary interpretation, translation universals

Eksplicitacija in implicitacija kot prevodni univerzaliji ter njuna prisotnost v slovenskih prevodih angloameriških leposlovnih del

Povzetek

Članek obravnava eksplicitacijo/implicitacijo kot enega najbolj prisotnih pojavov v slovenski prevajalski praksi. Na podlagi sprejete tipologije eksplicitacije, ki loči med obvezno, neobvezno, pragmatično in prevajanju lastno eksplicitacijo, skuša razprava iz izbora primerov v slovenski prevodni literaturi poiskati razloge za vrsto (ne)ustreznih prevajalskih postopkov ter hkrati predlaga, kjer je to mogoče, boljše rešitve.

Ključne besede: eksplicitacija, implicitacija, literarna interpretacija, prevodne univerzalije

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Explicitation and Implicitation as Translation Universals and Their Occurrences in the Slovene Translations of Anglo-American Literary Texts

1. Introduction

The practice of literary translation into Slovene (or into other languages, for that matter) has always evinced a tendency towards explicitation, that is, towards interpretation, commentary, explanation and other forms of directing the reader's production of meaning. This observation is confirmed by even a cursory comparison between certain seminal works written in English and their translations into Slovene. These shall be used here to elucidate and account for this widely popular translation strategy. But while it is possible to note and describe how explicitation affects the reception of Anglo-American literature in the Slovene cultural and literary systems, the reasons behind such translation measures are often more difficult to explain. These measures, as shall be shown, may be either conscious or unconscious. When translators have approached their texts in a scholarly manner, selecting at the very beginning a set of parameters to guide them through the translation process, readers and critics face an easier task because their reading is supported by coherent, consistent and – to a certain extent – expected translation solutions. A different situation emerges, by contrast, when the translator opts for a solution intuitively, on the spur of the moment, without being able to justify it. While the majority of well-trained and experienced translators do tend to choose their strategies and techniques consciously, there still occur unexpected oscillations, often regarding precisely the explicitation or implicitation of the original text. This paper shall seek to identify the reasons for, and consequences of, certain (in)adequate translation processes, suggesting more adequate solutions where possible. An analysis of the examples selected from the corpus of Slovene translations shall be introduced by a detailed discussion of the explicitation and implicitation phenomena.

2. Explicitation vs. implicitation

The issue of explicitation or implicitation has been alive ever since the first attempts at translation, but no definition had been attempted before 1958. It was then that Vinay and Darbelnet (1958) described explicitation as "the process of introducing information into the target language which is present only implicitly in the source language, but which can be derived from the context or the situation" (qtd. in Klaudy 1998, 80).

A more tangible and systematic theoretical framework came in 1986 with the publication of "Shifts of Cohesion and Coherence in Translation", the celebrated study by Shoshana Blum-Kulka which defined explicitation as follows (Blum-Kulka 1986, 19):

> The process of translation, particularly if successful, necessitates a complex text and discourse processing. The process of interpretation performed by the translator on the source text might lead to a TL text which is more redundant than the SL text. This redundancy can be expressed by a rise in the level of cohesive explicitness in the TL text.

If the definition of explicitation/implicitation is expanded beyond the functioning of cohesive elements, explicitation may be described as the verbalisation of something which might be inferred by the reader from the text even if left unverbalised; implicitation, by contrast, is the non-

verbalisation of something which may be inferred by the reader. The prerequisite for examining explicitation/implicitation is that the element which is explicated in the language of the target text should be implicitly present in the language of the source text, and vice versa: any element subject to implicitation in the TT language must have an explicit basis in the ST language. I consistently use the pair 'explicitation/implicitation' in this particular order because the former is far more common in Slovene translations than the latter. In other words, it is highly unusual for a Slovene translation to suppress something which is conveyed in the original. While this claim may elicit surprised protests, arguing that translated texts, especially poems, are known to omit much that is present in the originals, I should stress that implicitation is not to be equated with omission. Rather, it is to be addressed in accordance with the definition given above: implicitation is not the omission of information but a vague expression of it. It should be remembered that we are dealing with artistic texts: texts which should not, and do not, consent to explicate their meanings, since explication would thwart their very purpose. I agree with the opinion voiced by Simona Šumrada, namely, "that the type of text is an important criterion: what is important in an expressive text (literature) is to preserve the aesthetic function. This is why it is more proper to avoid the explication of implicit elements which have been consciously left obscure by the author, as it helps the translator avoid narrowed-down meanings and idiosyncratic interpretations" (Šumrada 2009, 22). My paper shall thus concentrate on the phenomenon of explicitation in translated texts – a translation practice only too rampant in Slovenia, as I propose to demonstrate.

This daring feat of Blum-Kulka was still enhanced by her famous 'explicitation hypothesis'. The category of explicitation/implicitation thus gradually developed into a translation axiom, an irrefutable fundamental truth. The author of the hypothesis started from the assumption that every translation act was necessarily subject to explication: an assumption providing an answer to the question why translated texts tend to exceed the originals in length, regardless of the degree of explicitness dictated by the source and target language specifics. As was to be expected, the boldness of this assumption, which had been fermenting in translation studies for some time but had never been voiced so decisively, prompted both favourable and unfavourable theoretical and critical responses to the hypothesis. It found a staunch supporter in a leading translation scholar, Gideon Toury (1995), who dubbed the hypothesis as "the general law of translation"; in addition, it was adopted in the research of Mona Baker and Maeve Olahan (2000), who largely concentrated on the conscious dimensions of the explicitation strategy, and in Linn Overas's (1998) research into the subconscious circumstances of its operation.

The hypothesis thus gradually assumed the status of a translation universal. This implies that explicitation subsumes linguistic elements which are typical of translated – but not of original – texts, as well as independent of the specific language pairs which occur in the translation process (Baker 1993, 243). Explicitation thus joins a string of other translation universals, such as simplification, disambiguation, conventionalisation/normalisation, standardisation, levelling out, avoidance of repetition, overtranslation and undertranslation. Based on my analyses and research into Slovene translations of English literary texts, I may safely foreground at least three of the most common translation universals or tendencies: disambiguation, avoidance of repetition, and explicitation.

2.1 Disambiguation

Shakespeare's sonnets are generally characterised by an ambiguity which enhances their metaphorical expressiveness. The much anthologised Sonnet 116 in particular may be said to employ the ambiguity principle as a means of expressing the speaker's doubt on the central issue. The doubt

concerns the existence of (true) love or, more precisely, the ability to remove any qualm or obstacle in the way of such love. According to Meta Grosman's treatise on Shakespearian sonnets and Slovene readers, "the zealous negation with which [the poet] seeks 'not to acknowledge' suggests the presence of powerful pressures and/or reasons for acknowledging obstacles to love, its flaws and dubiousness, but the poet is determined to believe in love's perfection: in not having to acknowledge the obstacles or yield to the pressure of his doubt" (Grosman 1997, 121). The original text conveys the speaker's ambiguous attitude through the use of modality in the opening words, "Let me not". The translation, by contrast, with its absence of a speaker, denies the existence of obstacles without leaving room for parallel readings. While the English speaker seeks to convince himself, his Slovene counterpart merely notes the state of affairs. This neutralisation of ambiguity (syntactic disambiguation) results from a change in the illocution of the speech act, that is, from replacing hortative modality with the indicative mood:[1]

Let me not to the marriage of true minds
Admit impediments. Love is not love
Which alters when it alteration finds,
Or bends with the remover to remove:
O no; it is an ever-fixed mark,
That looks on tempests, and is never shaken;
It is the star to every wandering bark,
Whose worth's unknown, although his height be taken.
Love's not Time's fool, though rosy lips and cheeks
Within his bending sickle's compass come;
Love alters not with his brief hours and weeks,
But bears it out even to the edge of doom.
  If this be error and upon me proved,
  I never writ, nor no man ever loved.
(Shakespeare 1994, 60)

Poroka zvestih duš, glej, ne pozna
zadržkov! Ne, ljubezen ni ljubezen
če varanje jo v varanje peha
in izogibanje v umik oprezen!
O, ne, ljubezen je svetilnik žarki,
ki neomajno na viharje zre,
je zvezda v tèmi tavajoči barki,
ki kaže smer, čeprav globine ne.
Ljubezen Času ni pavliha bedni,
čeprav ji srp cvet ust in lic dohaja;
o, ne spreminja z dnevi se in tedni
temveč do konca dni, do groba traja.
  Če to ni res, če bom jo kdaj pogúbil,
  jaz nisem pesnil in nihče ni ljubil!
(Shakespeare 1990, 120)

2.2 Avoidance of repetition

As a common figure in literary texts, the repetition of words, phrases or grammatical structures should cause few problems in translation. Nevertheless, it is ignored by many Slovene translators in their attempts to avoid repetition. The omission of recurrences is usually subjective, due to the translator's imperfect awareness of their role in the text. Their significance is highlighted by Tomaž Onič in his study on translating the recurrences in Pinter's plays: "Its importance is even greater in texts where recurrences are common or, as in Pinter's plays, they represent one of the important elements of the author's style" (Onič 2005, 293). Needless to say, frequent recurrences have a clear function defined by the context. In the excerpts cited below, the figure of repetition has an idiolectal function: it is used to portray a character, the maid Maria in the short story "Clay" from Joyce's *Dubliners*. Maria's favourite word is *nice*, used at least twelve times in the text:

(2) The fire was nice and bright and on one of the side-tables were four very big barmbracks. (110)
SLO: Ogenj je bil živ in svetal in na eni pomožnih miz so ležale štiri štruce. (88)

(3) What a nice evening they would have, all the children singing! (111)
SLO: Kako lepo bodo prebili večer, ko bodo vsi otroci peli! (89)

[1] As in all subsequent quotes, underlining by U.M.

(4) … (though Joe's wife was ever so nice with her) … (111)
SLO: … (četudi je bila Joejeva žena zmerom tako prijazna z njo)… (89)

(5) She used to have such a bad opinion of Protestants but now she thought they were very nice people, a little quiet and serious, but still very nice people to live with. (111)
SLO: Prej je imela tako slabo mnenje o protestantih, a zdaj je sodila, da so prav prijazni ljudje, nekoliko tihi in resnobni, pa vendar prijazni ljudje, s katerimi je kar moči živeti. (89)

(6) … but the matron was such a nice person to deal with, so genteel. (111)
SLO: … toda upraviteljica je bila tako ljubezniva ženska, tako plemenita, tako lahko se je bilo sporazumeti z njo. (89)

(7) … in spite of its years she found it a nice tidy little body. (113)
SLO: Letom navkljub se ji je zazdelo, da je telesce kar čedno. (90)

(8) She hoped they would have a nice weekend. (113)
SLO: Upala je, da bodo preživeli prijeten večer. (90)

(9) … she wanted to buy something really nice. (113)
SLO: … rada bi kupila kaj res lepega. (91)

(10) He was very nice with her … (114)
SLO: Bil je zelo prijazen z njo … (91)

(11) He was very nice with her. (115)
SLO: Zelo prijazen je bil z njo. (92)

(12) Maria had never seen Joe so nice to her as he was that night… (117)
SLO: Maria ni pomnila, da bi bil Joe kdaj tako prijazen z njo kot nocoj … (94)

The adjective *nice* is evidently translated in six different ways. By itself this would not be 'fatal' if it was not for an additional dimension: the figure of repetition crucially marks the narrative mode – free indirect discourse, to be precise – thus determining the narrative perspective or focalisation. According to Katie Wales, the rhetorical figure of repetition is a key component of free indirect discourse, suggesting as it does "the unsophisticated nature of ordinary thought-processes such as would be reproduced in informal speech or writing" (Wales 1992, 41).[2] While the English text leaves no doubt about the focaliser's identity – it is always Maria – the reader of the translation may well wonder in places about the identity of the observer/speaker in the narrative discourse.

2.3 Explicitation

Despite extensive support (e.g. Baker 1993; Klaudy 1996, qtd. in Mauranen and Kujamäki 2004; Chesterman 1997, qtd. in Hermans 2014; Toury 2001, qtd. in Dimitrova 2005), the universals mentioned above have been subjected to recent critical objections, but their original proponents seem to remain adamant. One of the loudest protests can be found in Juliane House's treatise "Beyond Intervention: Universals in Translation?" (2008), which questions the existence of any translation universals whatsoever. Her objections are supported by five arguments: (a) what the

[2] "With repetition that occurs in close juxtaposition rather than over successive pages we are likely in *Dubliners*, as in Joyce's later prose, to be also in the presence of a marked subjectivity (of character), rather than an objectivity (of narrator). So the repetitions suggest then unsophisticated nature of ordinary thought-processes such as would be reproduced in informal speech or writing" (Wales 1992, 41).

advocates of translation universals actually discuss is the universals of language, which simply happen to apply to translation as well; (b) these advocates examine the specific features of the language pairs in a given translation situation, when they should begin by analysing individual phenomena linguistically and only then seek to determine possible universals; (c) in the case of certain suggested universals, research outside the canon of translation universals has discovered irreversibility, that is, a translation feature may function only in translating from language A into language B, but not vice versa; (d) it is important to consider the special requirements of the genre – a tendency, such as the use of explicitation in German translations of general interest texts, may be toned down in translating texts on economics; (e) an important factor in identifying universals is the diachronic study of text development, since the use of language elements may change considerably over time, especially in transitions from one genre to another.

Criticism has not been levelled only at translation universals but at the explicitation hypothesis itself. The most uncompromising seems to be the study by a German translation scholar, Viktor Becher, entitled "Abandoning the Notion of 'Translation-inherent' Explicitation: Against a Dogma of Translation Studies" (2010). Becher cites three major reasons for discarding the explicitation hypothesis: (1) the methodological unsuitability and misleading interpretation of the results yielded by corpus research into explicitation – that is, by research based on text segments which display a tendency towards simplification; (2) the explicitation hypothesis runs counter to the principle of Ockham's Razor (i.e. the problem-solving principle that among competing hypotheses, the one with the fewest assumptions should be selected); (3) the hypothesis presupposes explicitation as a universal category that is inextricably intertwined with the process of language mediation, without explaining whether this strategy is a conscious one or not (Becher 2010, 7-8).

But as the purpose of this study is not to evaluate the hypotheses of explicitation or of its status as a translation universal – such a venture would call for a solid factual foundation, a corpus analysis of Slovene translations of English literary works – I shall focus on several more or less evident occurrences of explicitation/implicitation in Slovene translations, classify them according to the extant typology, and (where possible) provide the reasons or motives for their appearance.

In identifying the explicitation type, I draw on the typology of the Hungarian translation scholar, Kinga Klaudy (2008, 80-5). Klaudy distinguishes four types: (1) **obligatory** explicitation; (2) **optional** explicitation; (3) **pragmatic** explicitation; (4) **translation-inherent** explicitation.

2.3.1 Obligatory explicitation

The notion of **obligatory explicitation** applies to cases of obvious divergence between the source and target text languages: of divergence based on structural or systemic differences between the two languages. Such differences are either grammatical or semantic. Grammatical explicitation may be illustrated by means of a number of sentences taken from Joyce's short story "Eveline" from the *Dubliners* collection:

(13) She *would not cry* many tears at leaving the Stores. (38)
SLO: Zato ker zapušča trgovino, *ne bo prelila* mnogo solz. (*D*, "Evelina", 31)

(14) People *would treat* her with respect then. (38)
SLO: Tedaj *se bodo vedli* z njo spoštljivo. (31)

(15) She *would not be treated* as her mother had been. (38)
SLO: *Ne bodo ravnali* kakor z njeno materjo. (31)

(16) Frank *would save her*. He *would give her* life, perhaps love, too … Frank *would take her* in his arms, *fold her* in his arms. He *would save her*. (41-2)
SLO: Frank *jo bo rešil*. *Dal ji bo* življenje, morda tudi ljubezen … Frank *jo bo vzel* v naročje, *jo stisnil* k sebi. *Rešil jo bo*. (33-4)

The complex temporal dimension of the text at the discourse and plot levels, coupled with the **modal force of the text** (Toporišič 1992, 120), affects the element which is vital to the reader's coherent production of relationships within the narrative world, as well as to the correct identification of the characters' motives. This element is the use of the word ***would*** in its double function: as an **auxiliary verb** for the formation of the future-in-the-past tense, and as a **modal verb** expressing hypothetical modality. The loss of this duality cannot be attributed to the translator's lack of language proficiency: the systemic differences between English and Slovene virtually preclude retaining this source potential by suitable morphological or syntactic means. Still, the translator's strategy in choosing the future tense to render the original *would*-structures is dubious: after all, **modality** is one of those elements in the original which are crucial to the production of the meaning. The dénouement may thus strike the Slovene reader as unconvincing and unmotivated, at variance with the textual hints dropped throughout the narrative. It is certainly difficult to accept the final backing out of a character who has (in translation) categorically been repeating what she is going to do, who is going to save her, what life in a new environment will be like, etc. If a loss of meaning is inevitable, one might well opt instead for the modality at the expense of the future tense. But it is in fact possible to compensate for the loss of one function of ***would***: by coupling the future tense with such modal adverbs as *nemara* ('possibly'), *nekako* ('somehow'), *menda* ('supposedly'), etc. While such insertions might admittedly heighten the explicitness of the text, they would also substantially lower the declarative force of future-tense statements.

2.3.2 Optional explicitation

Optional explicitation largely stems from the textual norms and/or stylistic preferences in individual languages. These may manifest themselves as textual additions (often enhancing the cohesion of the text); as morpho-syntactic expansions prompted by the complexity of the original (see Sheppard 1997); and through the translator's personal style, preferences and strategies. This shall be illustrated with examples motivated by three different contexts.

2.3.2.1. Explicitation intended to facilitate comprehension

Slovene literary translation practice fosters a silent concern for the 'correct' reception of the text – a concern which often stems from the translator's underestimation of the reader's text processing ability. Indeed, it may even be due to the translator's unreflective reading and inability to analyse the source text stylistically. The result is a misperception or imperception of seeming gaps in the text, which should – in the translator's view – be filled in if the text is to be brought closer to the reader. While such textual economisation may be fully justified in translating technical or informative (denotative) texts, it is bound to reduce the original connotative potential in literary translation, which is dominated by the principle of stylistic innovation and rhetorical expressiveness. This process may take place at various language levels, but it often appears as replacement or explicitation of cataphoric deictic words. An example is the opening lines from Coleridge's poem *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* (1798) / SLO: *Pesem starega mornarja* (1961). Semantically, these two lines represent no novelty, let alone a translation problem:

(17) It is an ancient Mariner, In enega od svatov treh
And he stoppeth one of three. ustavi star mornar. –

/Part One, ll. 1–2/

The lines are of both syntactic and semantic interest: by postposing the subject, Coleridge creates the illusion of a gap, of incohesion caused by the absence of a preceding sentence, for instance the question *Who is it?*, which would find a meaningful reply in the opening line. This juxtaposition opens many possibilities of interpretation, hinting at a cycle of epic dimensions, perhaps even a narrative *perpetuum mobile*. While this effect is partly re-created in translation by the introductory conjunction *in* ('and'), the original discontinuity between the two clauses is nevertheless smoothed over through their congestion into a single clause and an increase in cohesion.

The rhetorical level yields an interesting use of cataphoric reference: the description of the Wedding-Guest as "one of three". The two texts differ in that the source text does not identify the addressee until the fourth stanza, whereas the target text does so at the very beginning. This filling of the gap precludes the element of suspense, which is a vital building block of any literary text.

2.3.2.2. Explicitation for the sake of expressiveness

A brief allusion may be made to a cognate phenomenon, a variant of explicitation which might be described as the expansion of a translation unit for the purpose of achieving more colour and expressiveness in the target text. The result of this procedure is not disturbing for the reader as such – that is, it does not curtail the aesthetics of reading, mainly because it functions at a microstructural level and is thus more limited in scope. Indeed, there are cases when such expansion is welcome despite a touch of pleonasm, such as in the following passage from Heller's popular novel *Catch 22*:

(18) "Metcalf," said the colonel, "you're a goddam fool. Do you know that?"
Major Metcalf swallowed with difficulty. "Yes, sir."
"Then keep your goddam mouth shut. You don't make sense."
(74)
SLO: "Metcalf," je rekel polkovnik, "vi ste tepec na kvadrat, strela. Veste to?"
Major Metcalf je težko pogoltnil slino. "Da, gospod."
"Potem pa držite svoj trapasti gobec. Govorite brez repa in glave."
(98)
BT [backtranslation]: "Metcalf," said the colonel, "you're *a bloody fool, damn it*. Do you know that?"
Major Metcalf swallowed with difficulty. "Yes, sir."
"Then keep your *goddam gob* shut. You don't make sense."

While this form of explicitation is fairly harmless, the next example illustrates a very different procedure: explicitation at a macrostructural level, which takes the form of the translator's own additions. It is hardly necessary to stress what havoc such text manipulation can play with the portrayal of the characters. This is the language of Pap Finn in Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*:

(19) "You think you are better'n your father, now, don't you, because he can't [read]? I'll take it out of you." (21)

And in the translator's version of *Huckleberry Finn*:
SLO: "Zdaj si gotovo domišljuješ, da si kaj boljšega kot tvoj oče, kajne? Paglavec nesramni!

Le čakaj, da mi prideš v roke!" (34)
BT: "Now you think you're better than your father, don't you? *You cheeky punk*! Just you wait!"

(20) "The widow, hey?–and who told the widow she could put in her shovel about a thing that ain't none of her business?" … Well, I'll learn her how to meddle. And looky here–you drop that school, you hear? I'll learn people to bring up a boy to put on airs over his own father and let on to be better'n what he is." (21)
SLO: "Vdova, a? In kdo je dovolil vdovi vtikati svoj nos v stvari, ki je prav nič ne brigajo, kdo, a? Ji že pokažem, babnici stari! In ti, cepec, mi ne smeš nikoli več v šolo, razumeš, smrkavec grdi! Pokažem pa tudi vsem drugim ljudem, kaj se pravi takemu *paglavcu*, kot si ti, vtepati v glavo trapasto misel, da je boljši kot njegov oče." (34)
BT: "The widow, hey? And who let the widow pry into things that are none of her business? I'll show the *old hag*! And you, *stupid*, forget about the school, do you hear me, *you dirty brat*? I'll show everyone what it means to fill the head of a *punk* like you with *half-baked* ideas that he's better than his father."

2.3.2.3. Explicitation in translating book titles

A separate problem of explicitation occurs in Slovene translations of literary titles, a topic little examined so far in Slovene translation theory and criticism. Indeed, even such fundamental translation textbooks written in English as *A Textbook of Translation* (2005) by Peter Newmark or *In Other Words* (2011) by Mona Baker spend little time on this topic. Newmark, for example, dismisses it by establishing two categories of title translation: descriptive and allusive (Newmark 2005, 56-7). This division, while perfectly possible, is by no means an exhaustive one, and this aspect of translation in fact requires much more attention. The Slovene practice, marked by strong oscillation in the translators' strategies, reveals five major procedures in the translation of titles:

- The translators opt for a literal translation of the source metaphor, particularly when the metaphor is the author's own coinage, e.g. Richard Brautigan: *In Watermelon Sugar* (SLO: *V lubeničnem sladkorju*).
- In their excessive concern for the reader, many are driven to clichés or idioms in translating the author's metaphor, even an innovative one. This is evident in the translation of an Agatha Christie title, *Postern of Fate* (SLO: *Nič ni tako skrito*; BT: *Nothing is too hidden* – the beginning of a Slovene proverb).
- There is a noticeable tendency towards the explicitation of the title through expansion, as in the translation of John Galsworthy's *Beyond* (SLO: *Onkraj sreče in ljubezni*; BT: *Beyond Happiness and Love*) or P.S. Buck's *Portrait of a Marriage* (SLO: *Zakon iz ljubezni*; BT: *Love Match*).
- The greatest liberties are taken by those translators who render a more or less original metaphorical title interpretively, that is, who draw on the narrative to formulate a new title, which will, as they believe, encapsulate the essence of the work more effectively, e.g. Alexander Cordell: *The Rape of the Fair Country* (SLO: *Mortymerjevi*; BT: *The Mortymers*).
- The reverse process may be observed in the translation of another Agatha Christie title, *The Mirror Crack'd from Side to Side* (SLO: *Ledeni pogled*; BT: *The Cold Look*), or James Baldwin's *If Beale Street Could Talk* (SLO: *Šepet nežne ulice*; BT: *Whisper of a Tender Street*, which is in fact an instance of implicitation).

The translations of literary titles thus reveal a range of translators' views and solutions – a burning issue which calls for systematic analysis and appropriate categorisation in the near future.

2.3.3 Pragmatic explicitation

Since any translation act represents a contact, in a sense even a clash, between at least two cultures, it is the intercultural dimensions of the translation process that are being increasingly foregrounded these days (see e.g. Grosman 1997, 1999, 2007). There have been seemingly interminable controversies between two schools of thought: those who consider the target culture to be central and therefore promote the domestication principle, and those who believe that the target text should include admixtures of the source elements and accordingly promote the foreignisation principle. Many translators thus opt for **pragmatic explicitation** as dictated by the culture-specific information implied in the source text: while the author takes it for granted that such information will be comprehended by the reader, the translator assumes the opposite and seeks to facilitate comprehension by certain explicitation procedures. In addressing and re-creating the role of elements which include culture-specific admixtures, I, as an opponent of the domestication method and proponent of foreignisation, argue above all for maintaining a consistent demarcation line between literary and non-literary texts, and (with regard to the former) an equally consistent demarcation line between 'high' and 'low' literatures. A comic text, for example, written for the sole purpose of making the reader laugh by wittily alluding to well-known circumstances or personages in a given cultural milieu, will not produce the desired effect in the target culture unless the translator employs certain naturalisation procedures, that is, adapts the references for the target audience. On the other hand, to read a literary text of some weight is primarily to become acquainted with a more or less unfamiliar foreign culture; from this perspective, the use of the same measures as above would deprive the source text and its cultural tradition, brought into the intercultural context, of its aesthetic and humanist significance. In addition to the explicitation of cultural peculiarities, which inevitably neutralises all hints of exoticism, translators have at their disposal such strategies as commenting and glossing.

A typical text interwoven with culture-specific patterns is Waugh's novel *Brideshead Revisited* (1945), translated as *Vnovič v Brideshead* (BT: *In Brideshead Again*; 1988). Set in the 1920s, the language is heavily coloured by the expressions which were in vogue at the time and by the slang phraseology of the upper middle class. The translator is thus faced with the demanding and time-consuming task of decoding the complex network of social, cultural and political connotations. The specific nature of the language underlying the text is manifested in the following passage:

(21) Rex, indeed, was neither starched nor wrinkled; his seniors thought him a pushful young cad, but Julia recognized the unmistakable chic – the flavour of 'Max' and 'F.E.' and the Prince of Wales, of the big table in the Sporting Club, the second magnum and the fourth cigar, of the chauffeur kept waiting hour after hour without compunction – which her friends would envy. (177)
SLO: Rex v resnici ni bil ne naškrobljen ne naguban; starejši od njega so ga imeli za komolčarskega mladega neotesanca, Julija pa je spoznala njegov nezamenljivi čar − vonj po 'Maxu' in 'F.E.' in po valižanskem princu, vonj velike mize v Sporting Clubu, druge velike steklenice in četrte cigare, šoferja, ki ga je ure in ure puščal brez kesanja čakati − ki bi ji ga njene prijateljice zavidale. (184)

Without appropriate help from the translator, Slovene readers may reasonably be expected to lose their way in this maze of names and metonymies. The majority of references should be

supplied by the translator's footnotes: 'Max', for instance, is Max Beerbohm, English humorist and caricaturist, while 'F.E.' is F.E. Smith, a well-known English lawyer and orator. Others would require explicitation through expansion: (in the game room of) the Sporting Club, the second large bottle (of champagne), etc. Naturally, such encyclopaedic annotation demands an extraordinary amount of time and research. Sooner or later the Slovene milieu will have to accept a fact which is already recognised in countries with rich literary and translatorial traditions: literary translation is not only art but academic work as well, since it presupposes a scholarly approach and a store of philological, culturological, lexicological and encyclopaedic knowledge. In the absence of such knowledge and skills, the translation will possess an – often truncated – informative value at best.

The above example demonstrates that pragmatic explicitation, enthusiastically promoted by the majority of international translation scholars, is dependent on time. In the early 1980s, when Waugh's novel was translated, access to works of criticism – let alone the Internet – was severely limited. Today's technology, by contrast, enables a reader of the translation who is unfamiliar with the cultural allusions and references to 'Google up' any concept and obtain the desired information in a fraction of a second. But even so the dilemma persists: to what degree should the translation consider the principle of pragmatic explicitation, and to what extent is the translator permitted to make assumptions about the reader's cultural horizon? Uncertainty about such decisions is evident from the following passages in the same novel:

(22) "He was in Mercury again last night." (43)
SLO: "Sinoči je bil spet namočen v vodo." (Waugh 45)
BT: "He was dipped into the water again last night."
/Tom Quad, the largest college quadrangle in Oxford, houses the Mercury Fountain./

(23) "[I]n his speeches he said the sort of thing which 'made a story' in Fleet Street …" (283)
SLO: "[V] svojih govorih je izrekal reči tiste vrste, ki so bile zanimive za časnike…" (294)
BT: "[I]n his speeches he said the sort of things which were interesting for the papers."
/In the period depicted in the novel, Fleet Street was the hub of British journalism./

Of further interest is the fact that both explicated units result from generalisation rather than specification, although translation theory normally highlights the pairs 'explicitation− specification' and 'implicitation−generalisation', which is, of course, logical and in most cases correct (cf. e.g. Kamenicka 2007).

2.3.4 Translation-inherent explicitation

The only observation to be made about the fourth type of explicitation, that is, **translation-inherent explicitation**, is that it is grounded in the very nature of transferring a text from one language code to another, and that it takes place during the translator's interpretation of the source text. Its manifestation is supported by no example in translation theory, and the arguments for its existence are thin and subject to sporadic criticism. Officially its existence is still ensured, but I believe that, sooner or later, the hypothesis will have to be either reformulated or discarded.

3. Conclusion

Why, then, does explicitation occur in Slovene translations of English literary texts, and indeed in many cultural practices? The language-, literature- or culture-related factors listed above should be complemented by another factor, purely human and subjective: since translators are, above

all, mediators between two – often quite different – communication systems, they want to make themselves understood. Therefore they have recourse to aids which are perceived at a distance as unnecessary. As argued by certain studies (e.g. Heltai 2005), explicitation is the shield with which translators "cover their backs", especially in translating technical texts, where the transfer of reliable information from one language code to another is of paramount importance.

Research has shown, too, that younger and inexperienced translators have recourse to explicitation more often than their experienced, professional colleagues (cf. Becher 2010, 20). To this I can personally attest as a translator of English and American literary texts into Slovene: in my salad days, when I tackled my first translation of Walt Whitman's poetry for the central Slovene publishing house, Mladinska Knjiga, I was in an agony of uncertainty. Since my poet was relatively unpredictable and of uneven aesthetic quality, I oscillated between staying true to the original and striving for the best possible response on the reader's part. It is these uncertainties that account for the possible cases of explicitation in my Slovene translation of Walt Whitman.

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