English Language Overseas Perspectives and Enquiries

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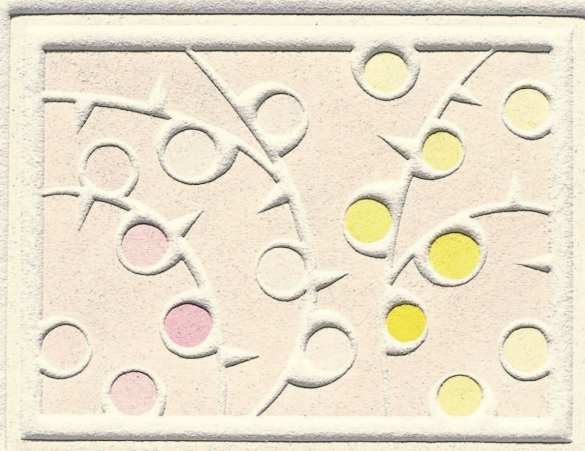Editors: SMILJANA KOMAR and UROŠ MOZETIČ

English
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Sdaš

Slovensko društvo za angleške študije
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The Present Perfect and Definite Temporal Adverbials: Reference Grammars and Corpus Evidence

Summary

The aim of the present paper is to assess the adequacy of how the grammatical status of the present perfect (PP) is established in three reference grammars of English (Quirk et al. 1985; Biber et al. 1999; Huddleston and Pullum 2002). I propose that the categorizations both as aspect and as tense as presented in these grammars have their inherent weaknesses and are particularly deficient when data from varieties other than British or American English is included. To test this assumption, I will analyze PP occurrences extracted from the *International Corpus of English* (ICE) appearing in contexts that have traditionally been considered ungrammatical or at least odd. One such context is the co–occurrence of the PP with definite temporal adverbials. In this case, the PP is used like a simple past, which may be taken as evidence for the tense status of the PP and will therefore be the focal point of the analysis.

Key words: present perfect, temporal adverbials, International Corpus of English, variation, tense, aspect, reference grammars

Dovršni sedanjik in določni časovni prislovi: zgledi iz priročnih slovnic in korpusa

Povzetek

Namen članka je oceniti ustreznost slovničnih opisov dovršnega sedanjika (*Present Perfect*) v treh priročnih slovnicah angleškega jezika (Quirk et al. 1985; Biber et al. 1999; Huddleston and Pullum 2002). Ugotavljam, da so klasifikacije dovršnega sedanjika, ki to strukturo uvrščajo tako v kategorijo slovničnega časa kot tudi v kategorijo glagolskega vida, neustrezne, še posebej takrat, kadar gre za nebritanske in neameriške variante angleškega jezika. Za potrditev te predpostavke bom analiziral pojavitve dovršnega sedanjika v *International Corpus of English* (ICE) s poudarkom na kontekstih, ki so v tradicionalnih opisih dovršnega sedanjika označene kot slovnično nepravilne oziroma nesprejemljive. Primer takšnega konteksta je raba dovršnega sedanjika skupaj s časovnimi prislovi, ki se nanašajo na določeno preteklo referenčno točko. V teh primerih se dovršni sedanjik rabi kot preteklik, kar lahko smatramo kot dokaz, da dovršni sedanjik sodi v kategorijo slovničnega časa.

Ključne besede: dovršni sedanjik, časovni prislovi, International Corpus of English (ICE), jezikovne variante, čas, glagolski vid, priročne slovnice.

The Present Perfect and Definite Temporal Adverbials: Reference Grammars and Corpus Evidence.

1. Introduction

Past time reference represents one of the notorious areas of English grammar, and the present perfect (in its standard form realized as HAVE + V–*en*, henceforth PP) in particular seems to represent an elusive category. It has been given various labels such as 'aspect', 'tense' (Declerck 2006), 'phase' (Meyer 1992) or 'status' (Bauer 1970, cf. Kortmann 1995); the present study will focus on the first two categories as presented in influential reference grammars of English. To be precise, I will comment on the 'aspect' hypothesis, as posited by the *Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (CGEL; Quirk et al. 1985) and, in a similar fashion, the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (LGSWE; Biber et al. 1999), as well as on the 'tense' hypothesis, as suggested in the *Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002).

A related point of interest, which has repeatedly been stated in the extant literature on the PP (e.g., Bauer 1970; Dahl 1985; Mugler 1988; Kortmann 1995; Portner 2003; Sempere–Martinez 2008; Ritz and Engel 2008, 138; Elsness 2009b or Schaden 2009), is that severe restrictions apply as to the combinability of the PP with temporal adverbials that refer to a definite point in the past,[1] which render utterances like (1) ungrammatical or at least odd.

(1) *We've been at the meeting yesterday.

This constraint on combinability is known as the "present perfect puzzle" (Klein 1992; cf. Portner 2003) due to its typological oddity in contrast to perfects in other European languages. Note, however, that the restriction does not apply when non–finite forms, as in (2) or (3), or forms that are modified by a preceding modal, as in (4), are present (Giorgi and Pianesi 1997: 85).[2]

(2a) the process has now slowed down considerably, having passed its peak in the early 1970's (ICE–GB w1a–013)

(2b) Michael Heseltine having been through all that ten days ago went to his campaign office to work on maintaining and increasing his first ballot vote (ICE–GB s2b–003)

(3) John is believed to have arrived at 2:00 yesterday (from McCawley 1971, 100; cited in Mugler 1988, 62–3)

(4) This should've been put up a week ago!

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1   These include relative adverbials (e.g., *yesterday, last week, two months ago*; Schopf 1984, 16) that refer to a point wholly in the past.

2   Further contexts where the constraint is suspended do occur, e.g., with afterthoughts/insertions such as *They have also uhm I think last year uh given a list of of six principles* (ICE–IRL s2b–001), in iterative contexts such as *For example, the diagnostic and statistics manual (DSM) has been updated twice, once in 1968, and again in 1980, with a revised version appearing in 1986* (ICE–GB w1a–007; cf. Engel 1998, 132) or with postponed temporal specification due to pragmatic necessity as in *I've written a letter* (speaker B) *Have you* (speaker A) *Yeah last week* (speaker B) (ICE–IRL s1a–059).

While some authors take it as self–evident that the relative frequency of the PP in contrast to the PT has constantly decreased in both British (BrE) and American (AmE) English (e.g., Elsness 1997; 2009a), others state that the variation between the two forms is diachronically stable in these varieties (Hundt and Smith 2009). Yet others claim that the PP is expanding its territory at the cost of the PT in some varieties, as it may be increasingly used in definite past time contexts (Engel 1998, 131). A number of corpus studies of BrE and AmE have identified instances of the PP with co–occurring definite temporal adverbials in both spoken and written material (Ota 1975, 46; Meyer 1995, 225; Hundt and Smith 2009, 55–7), which cannot all be simply attributed to performance errors or inadvertence on the part of the speaker (Quirk et al. 1985, sec. 4.23; Harder 1997, 417). It has been suggested elsewhere (Rastall 1999, 81–3; cf. Miller 2004, 235; Hundt and Smith 2009, 58 or Davydova 2011, 156–8) that the principle of current relevance might be superseding the combinational constraint explicated above for pragmatic reasons. As regards their overall frequency, examples of this kind are comparatively rare, but seem to be more salient and systematically used in other varieties, such as New Zealand English (NZE; Quinn 1999, 196; but cf. Hundt 1998, 74), Australian English (AusE; Ritz 2010, 3403; see further Ritz and Engel 2008) or various Asian Englishes (Kachru and Smith 2008, 91–2; Balasubramian 2009, 92–3).[3] Thus, it remains to be tested if and to what extent combinations of the PP and adverbials of the definite past group surface in the present dataset (see section 1 for details).

In the earlier literature there are numerous theoretical studies of the PP and the PP–PT contrast as well as empirical studies on this contrast and on temporal adverbials in what are conceived as the two traditional L1 varieties of English, BrE and AmE (e.g., Panzner 1995; Wynne 2000; Schlüter 2002). However, only few studies deal with the PP (e.g., van Rooy 2009) and the PP–PT contrast in further L1 and L2 varieties (e.g., Davydova 2011), and even fewer with the co–occurrence patterns of temporal adverbials in these other varieties (e.g., Hundt and Biewer 2007; Davydova 2011).

The present study can be seen as an attempt to complement earlier work. After a few comments on data and methodology, the first analysis section takes a closer look at the corpus data and tackles the following issues:

- Is there evidence for the PP used as a "proper" tense that is on a structural/functional par with the PT in all or some varieties?

- Are there qualitative differences between L1 and L2 varieties when combinations of PP and definite temporal adverbials occur?

This is followed by a contrastive view of grammatical categories as presented in three reference grammars of English in order to answer the following questions:

- How is the PP embedded in models of grammatical categories in reference grammars?

- What are the potential problems and weaknesses of these models?

In the concluding section, I will sum up the results and discuss further implications, such as the adequacy of current reference grammars in the area of the PP in view of the findings from the first section. I also address the need for potential modifications of future editions.

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3   For the salience of the feature in other varieties see also Feature 100 (2012).

2. Data and methodology

The findings of the present study are based on data from the synchronic *International Corpus of English* (ICE), a family of comparable one million word corpora for a range of national or regional varieties of English. It contains educated English and includes both writing and speech.[4] At present, ten components are publicly available[5] and fourteen more are under compilation (http://ice–corpora.net/ice/index.htm). This corpus material allows for a meaningful comparative analysis of L1 and L2 varieties, which is only possible with parallel corpora that adhere to the same principles of design and thus are as homogeneous as possible with regard to text categories, date of production (early 1990s or later in the case of ICE) and the educational background of the speakers involved.

Relevant instances of PP + definite adverbial had to be retrieved from the corpus files, which had been part–of–speech tagged with the help of the C5 tagset of the CLAWS part–of–speech tagger (http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/claws/). With respect to the reliability of this tagger, the low error rate of 1.5% established for the tagging of the BNC was confirmed for the ICE data with the help of spot checks.[6]

The search was then undertaken with the help of the concordancing software *WordSmith Tools* (version 5.0.0.334; Scott 2008). It was for a selection of adverbials (x + *ago*, *once*, *yesterday*, *last* + x, *in* + cardinal number) that indicate a specific time in the past co–occurring with a PP (tags *_VHB/*_VHZ + *_VBN/*_VDN/*_VHN/*_VVN) and each individual corpus component was searched, leading to a file with concordance lines including a substantial amount of context (approx. 200 characters) before and after the individual occurrences for each component. Subsequently, the concordance lines were manually checked for unwanted occurrences (such as tagging errors or false positives), which were removed.

3. The present perfect and definite temporal adverbials

A corpus search for PP instances that violate the definite temporal adverbial constraint was conducted (cf. above); that is, occurrences that are considered ungrammatical or odd in standard BrE and AmE were identified in the ICE data. This allows us to test the hypotheses that (i) the PP is used as a proper tense that is on a structural/functional par with the PT and (ii) L2 varieties are more flexible in their usage of the PP in these contexts (see also Werner forthcoming). The search retrieved 57 relevant tokens in total. Figure 1 presents the counts for definite past adverbials co–occurring with the PP for the individual corpus components in the present dataset.

The first noteworthy finding is that instances of combinations of the PP and definite adverbials are attested across all varieties. Absolute numbers are low, which suggests that it constitutes a rare phenomenon in the majority of L1 and L2 varieties in contrast to observed frequencies of indefinite adverbials (cf. Werner forthcoming). Note also that other quantitative studies found that, overall,

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4   The exact compositional principles of the corpus material are outlined in detail in a volume edited by Greenbaum (1996). See also http://ice–corpora.net/ice/design.htm.

5   These are the components for Canada (CanE; ICE–CAN), East Africa (Kenya and Tanzania; EAfE; ICE–EA), Great Britain (BrE; ICE–GB), Honk Kong (HKE; ICE–HK), India (IndE; ICE–IND), Ireland (Northern Ireland and Republic of Ireland; IrE; ICE–IRL), Jamaica (JamE; ICE–JA), New Zealand (NZE; ICE–NZ), the Philippines (PhiE; ICE–PHI) and Singapore (SgE; ICE–SIN). Note that data from the Australian component (AusE; ICE–AUS), as kindly provided by Adam Smith (Macquarie University), and from a preliminary version of the Nigerian component (NigE; ICE–NIG; written genres only), as kindly provided by Ulrike Gut (University of Münster), were also included in the present analysis. Recently, the written part of the American component (ICE–USA) has also been made available.

6   See also van Rooy and Schäfer (2002), who found that the accuracy of the CLAWS tagger exceeded 96% for unedited and 98% for edited learner data where spelling errors were manually removed.
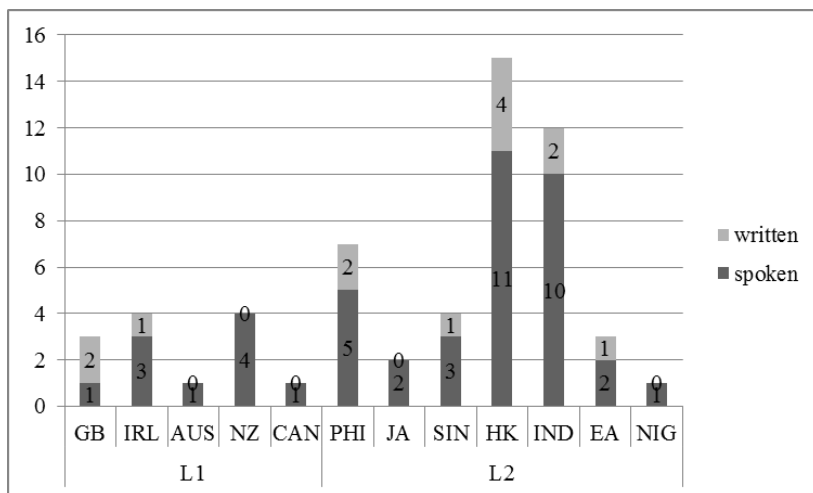
Figure 1. Co–occurrence of PP and definite temporal adverbials (absolute frequencies)[7]

less than one fourth of all PPs are specified by a temporal adverbial (e.g., Schlüter 2002) and the same applies to the ICE data (Werner forthcoming). Despite these low absolute numbers, some tentative conclusions can be drawn. First, PP co–occurrence is apparently more common in spoken data. This could be expected, as this mode has been found to be more susceptible to this pattern elsewhere (Hundt and Smith 2009, 55–6). Second, there is no significant difference between the proportions of spoken and written occurrences of the L1 and the L2 variety groups taken as wholes, as determined by a Fisher exact test. However, within the L2 group, the Asian varieties IndE and HKE and, to a lesser extent, PhiE are conspicuous as to their relatively high absolute frequency of PP co–occurrence with definite adverbials, while the remaining L2 varieties align with the L1 varieties.

There may be various explanations for these outliers. The PP has traditionally been prevalent in all contexts in IndE and it has been suggested that processes of transfer (reanalysis of the Hindi structure past participle + auxiliary and extension of its application to PP contexts) and substrate influence (for speakers of Dravidian languages) play a role for this variety (Davydova 2011, 172–3, 190), resulting in examples such as (5).

(5) He's been good yesterday (ICE–IND s1b–047)

In the absence of contradictory evidence and as no speaker information is available for the ICE components, this hypothesis seems to provide a plausible explanation. For HKE, it has been noted that its speakers commonly do not mark verbs for tense or aspect (or only draw a distinction between present and past tense), instead creating time reference through temporal adverbials alone (Platt 1982, 410; Setter et al. 2010, 49–55), as in (6) or (7), and that more variation in grammatical forms, including the PP with definite temporal adverbials as in (8) can be observed. In addition, forms that are partly marked (*I've mention*) as in (9) occur. All these items again are most likely due to a combination of substrate influence (Kachru and Nelson 2006, 42) and learner effects (Köppl 1983, 127) and surface also in the ICE–PHI data, as in (10).

7   Although only written data are available for ICE–NIG, the example from this variety is categorized as spoken as it represents direct speech.

(6) And then uhm but recently her backbone is very painful […] (ICE–HK s1a–052)

(7) […] we just have a quarrel last night (ICE–HK s1a–035)

(8) Some of them have once been my best friends […] (ICE–HK w1b–004)

(9) So the most important thing when you look at the prologue okay is what as I've mention last time is the fact that it gives you a time structure […] (ICE–HK s1b–010)

(10) Months ago I have written Sen John Sheffield the head of the US Senate Environment Committee about the problems […] (ICE–PHI s2b–032)

A further look at individual examples shows that, qualitatively, a difference between the occurrences in the L1 varieties and the L2 varieties can be established. While in both variety groups the subjective conception of a situation as recent and relevant by the individual speaker might be conveyed by a combination of definite and indefinite temporal adverbials as in (11) (see (12) for a corresponding PT example) or by a premodification (*this last week*; *only yesterday*) as in (13) or (14), the vast majority of occurrences in the L2 varieties clearly represents definite contexts that usually require the PT, as in (15) to (18). Thus, the latter might well be explained by substrate and learner influence that results in establishing an innovative pattern, that is, the possibility of substituting the PT with a PP form in indefinite contexts, arguably leading to a conception of the PP as a proper tense that is on a functional par with the PT in these varieties.

(11) I would not say that women's issues have just started last year I would not even say that (ICE–EA Kenya s1a–028)

(12) I just had this kind of patient a couple of months ago (ICE–PHI s2a–032)

(13) Oh I've had some fun this last week (ICE–CAN s1a–093)

(14) Indeed my English is likely to be a little dodgy as I have only yesterday returned to civilisation after a 3–week sojourn to Derry (ICE–IRL w1b–006)

(15) Actually I've noticed that two weeks ago (ICE–PHI s1a–066)

(16) This work came out of a discussion that Noah and I have had several months ago probably in October uh last year when we were talking about ethics […] (ICE–JA s2b–029)

(17) So he admits Sir what he has stated yesterday was was not correct (ICE–IND s2a–063)

(18) Where have you been last Sunday (ICE–HK s1a–085)

For the L1 varieties, the few examples where PP co–occurs with definite temporal adverbials can be explained in terms of pragmatic necessity, as argued for instance by Rastall (1999: 81–3) and Hundt and Smith (2009: 58) (but cf. (19) and (20)). Therefore, it seems unlikely that a general development towards PP–PT convergence/interchangeability will ensue in the L1 varieties in the foreseeable future.

(19) Well he's come on very quickly last year (ICE–AUS s2b–017)

(20) well because i mean we can read up on everything else again but we've seen that video months ago (ICE–NZ s1b–009)

4. The present perfect in reference grammars

As noted above, two reference grammars that have been very influential and are currently widely used are Quirk et al. (1985) and a more recent corpus–based work, Biber et al. (1999).[8] Therefore, a look at the statements on the PP contained in these major publications will be worthwhile. Both are congruent in that they recognize two tenses (present and past) and accordingly categorize the PP under aspect (Quirk et al. 1985, sec. 4.18; Biber et al. 1999, 452). Simultaneously, Quirk et al. concede that "aspect is so closely connected in meaning with tense, that the distinction in English grammar between tense and aspect is little more than a terminological convenience which helps us to separate in our minds two different kinds of realization: the morphological realization of tense and the syntactic realization of aspect" (Quirk et al. 1985, sec. 4.17). Thus, the defining criterion for excluding the PP from the tense category is mainly formal in that only tenses can be structurally (i.e. morphologically) marked, an approach shared by Biber et al. (1999). Figure 2 illustrates the localization of the PP amongst the grammatical categories.
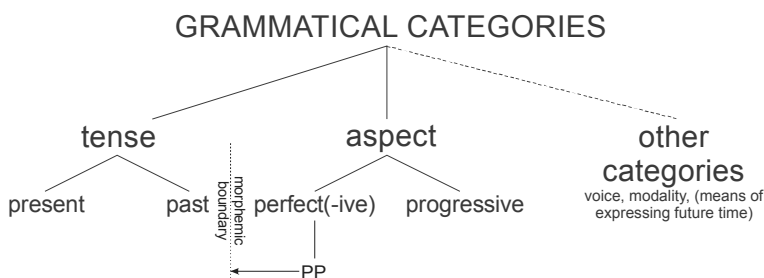
Figure 2. Grammatical categories as represented by Quirk et al. (1985)[9] and Biber et al. (1999)

With regard to the distribution of forms with and without perfect aspect, Quirk et al. (1985, sec. 4.18) state that it can be found in around 10% of all VPs, a finding by and large reproduced by the data analysis by Biber et al., although there might be differences between individual registers (Biber et al. 1999, 461). In addition, both claim that perfects are more frequent in BrE compared to AmE (again with differences between different registers; Biber et al. 1999, 462–3; Quirk et al. 1985, secs. 1.24, 4.20).

Functionally, the two accounts take a slightly different approach. While both agree that the perfect aspect implies anteriority (Quirk et al. 1985, sec. 4.18; Biber et al. 1999, 460), Quirk et al. (1985, sec. 4.20) describe the general meaning of the PP as expressing current relevance, while Biber et al. (1999, 460) emphasize the continuative and anterior properties of the construction. The latter refrain from further explanations of potential semantic readings, while the former can be seen as proponents of a polysemous account that lists three basic underlying meanings of the PP, namely (i) state leading up to the present, (ii) indefinite events in a period leading up to the present and (iii) habit or recurrent event in a period leading up to the present (Quirk et al. 1985, sec. 4.20). For the second reading three further implications are considered relevant: "(i) that the relevant time zone leads up to the present; (ii) that the event is recent and (iii) that the result of the action still obtains at the present time" (Quirk et al. 1985, sec. 4.21).

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8   For a discussion of the PP in older grammars see Vermant (1983, 12–5).

9   Means of expressing future are discussed in a separate chapter in Quirk et al. (1985, secs. 4.41–4.48), while they are included under modals by Biber et al. (1999, 483–97).

As regards the co–occurrence of the PP with definite temporal adverbials, Quirk et al. do not describe the phenomenon in detail. Surprisingly, they state that relevant instances surface "quite often" in BrE, but that these may mostly be seen as "performance errors" (1985, sec. 4.23). Although they recognize that other explanations might be needed, they do not comment on a potential dialectal influence.[10]

Further, both descriptions repeatedly stress the fact that the PP is interchangeable with the PT in some contexts, which strongly contributes to the "overlap of meaning between tense and aspect" (Quirk et al. 1985, sec. 4.18; cf. sec. 4.20) of the PP construction, while the difference in meaning between PP and PT may be attributed to temporal adverbials (Quirk et al. 1985, sec. 4.20; Biber et al. 1999, 467).[11] Various factors are listed that might determine the speaker's choice between the two constructions, such as a more direct relation of the action to the present through the PP (Quirk et al. 1985, sec. 4.20), but the accounts remain at a superficial level.[12]

Huddleston and Pullum (2002) take a markedly different view of the PP. They also recognize "two primary tense categories, preterite (=past; V.W.) and present" (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 125), but because they employ a wider definition of tense, which is inclusive of compound tenses (such as the PP), they class the PP as a "secondary past tense" (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 116, 159; cf. also Huddleston 1996). They are aware, however, that alternatives to their categorization such as 'perfect as aspect' or 'perfect as phase' exist. With regard to terminology, note that they use "past tense" as an umbrella term for both PT and PP forms (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 116). This seems rather odd, in particular as they state later that the PP is indeed a combination of past and present and even that "in the present perfect […] the primary tense is present" (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 142; see also Biber et al. 1999, 460), which is inconsistent with their general approach to grammatical categories (see Figure 3).[13] They further explicate their "past tense" umbrella category by stating that anteriority is the common denominator of both forms (139). Their overall model stands in stark contrast to the views expressed by Quirk et al. (1985, sec. 4.18) and Biber et al. (1999, 460). Specifically, for Huddleston and Pullum the defining feature of the PP compared to the PT is that the former is non–deictic (2002, 140–3), while the latter is deictic and "doubly anterior" as it "locates the writing anterior to an intermediate time which is anterior to the time of speaking" (140). The PP is only anterior to the time of speaking (142).[14] Therefore, in a rather imprecise manner, they see the PT as "a *clearer* instance of a tense" than the PP (159; emphasis added). The explanation of the choice criteria between the two constructions is again based on pragmatic notions such as speaker focus on either past or present (143).

10 A leveling of the difference between PP and PT, which probably is a remnant from older stages of English, has been attested for a number of regions of the British isles, such as East Anglia, Wales and Northern areas (Feature 100 2012).

11 In contrast to the considerations presented by Biber et al. (1999, 467–8), temporal adverbials with the PP are comparatively rare, i.e. less than one fourth of all PPs are specified (cf. above). See Declerck (2006, 316–26) for an attempt to devise a more elaborate description of possible selection criteria in sentences without temporal adverbials. He writes that "when, in a noninterrogative clause referring to a bygone situation, there is no time–specifying adverbial, both the preterite (= PT; V.W.) and the indefinite present perfect are in principle possible" and that pragmatic "speaker focus on NOW or THEN" (2006, 322; emphasis original) is the crucial underlying notion between using either PP or PT (see also sec. 3 below).

12 Note that Biber et al. provide interpretations of their corpus data with regard to the most common verbs that occur in combination with the PP (1999, 464) and the special status of *have got/gotten* and *have had* as highly frequent possessive constructions (1999, 466).

13 Cf. also Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 143): "The possibility of having present time adjuncts like *now* or *at present* shows clearly that we have present time meaning as well as present tense form." However, the counterargument that temporal adverbials that (also) create reference to the past such as *since X* or *previously* may occur and that the PP therefore must (also) have a past time meaning can be considered equally valid. In addition, it seems redundant to propose a binary distinction (primary and secondary tenses) only to abandon it on a lower level of analysis and to substitute it with an ad–hoc category (past tense(s)) that is not anchored in the general model. Simultaneously, this once again highlights the rather elusive character of the PP.

14 *Mutatis mutandis* (with a change of perspective from anteriority to posteriority), this view is reminiscent of Mugler's approach, which states that the PP expresses simple posteriority while the PT expresses complex posteriority (1988, 235).
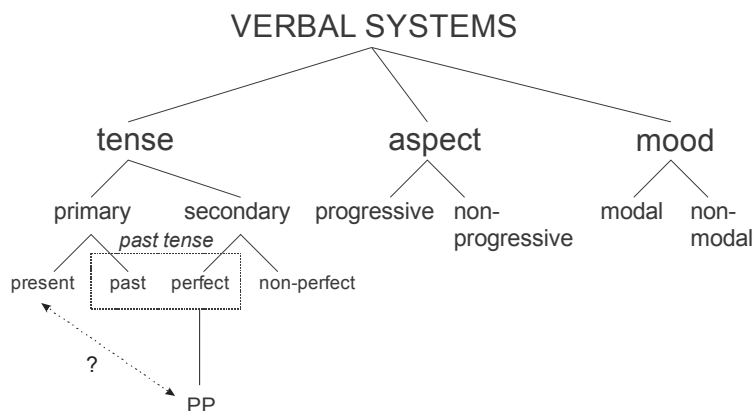
VERBAL SYSTEMS

Figure 3. Grammatical categories (=verbal systems) as represented by Huddleston and Pullum (2002)

Functionally, a polysemous account is provided, surprisingly enough in the chapter focusing on the differences between PP and PT usage (143–6). It recognizes a twofold view with continuative uses, which are claimed to be usually accompanied by temporal adverbials (141–2), and non–continuative uses, namely (i) experiential/existential, (ii) resultative and (iii) recent past (see 143–6 for example sentences and elaborations on when these readings are possible). Note that Huddleston and Pullum concede that these classifications are not necessarily mutually exclusive (2002, 143). Similar to Quirk et al. (1985), a general current relevance notion is asserted for the PP, although no further details are given besides the fact that the PP is somehow concerned with the "time span up to now" (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 143).

As to the co–occurrence of PP and adverbials with reference to a definite point in the past ("past time adjuncts" in their terminology), Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 143) state only that the PP (as a tense which refers to both present and past) is incompatible with adverbials that "refer to times wholly before now". Under certain conditions, however, past time adverbials may co–occur, as long as the reference to the point of speech ("now") is the focus of the utterance, for instance when another non–past adverbial, as in (21), is added.

(21) We've already discussed it yesterday. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 144)

What is clear from the contrastive view and particularly the visualizations is that the PP does not fit into the general models of grammatical categories without some kind of workaround. Therefore, both of the principal approaches (PP as aspect vs. PP as tense) represented in major reference grammars possess some inherent weaknesses: the former as it is solely form–based (see also Nordlander 1997: 16–8); the latter as it bears some internal inconsistencies, in particular by introducing the "past tense" label that comprises both past and perfect. A further issue which is detrimental to the internal consistency of Huddleston and Pullum's model is the finding that they describe "non–perfect" as constituent of their secondary tense system (2002, 116; see also Figure 3). Elsewhere, however, they state that "non–perfect is not a tense" (2002, 159). More generally speaking, both approaches as outlined in the preceding sections remain vague at times in their descriptions of the PP.

5. Discussion and conclusion

In the present paper, I have examined a number of PP examples from various varieties of English that violate the definite temporal adverbial constraint, and reported on the models of grammatical

categories in three influential reference grammars. Below, I will provide a brief summary and relate the findings of both sections.

As regards the weakening of the definite temporal adverbial constraint, it transpired that PP usage in definite temporal contexts occurs in the ICE data, albeit rarely overall[15] and predominantly in spoken genres. A qualitative analysis revealed that while pragmatic pressure on the speaker as proposed by Rastall (1999) may override the constraint in L1 varieties, L2 speakers are more likely to show an innovative use of the PP – that is, to use it interchangeably with the PT – due to substrate or learner effects or a combination of both. As co–occurrence of the PP and definite temporal adverbials is salient in older stages of English (Miller 2004, 235), it is also conceivable that it represents a residue that was introduced in early stages of colonization and has been preserved in postcolonial varieties (cf. Hickey 2004 on the "founder principle"). Therefore, based on the present evidence it is conceivable that change in this grammatical area (development of the PP into a proper tense on a structural par with the PT, i.e. a fully–fledged variant) might occur (cf. the typological evidence in many other languages; Miller 2000, 350). Yet, while PP usage in combination with definite temporal adverbials may become sanctioned in one variety (e.g., one of the L2 varieties or in one of the "transplanted" L1 varieties such as AusE; see Ritz 2010), it remains speculative whether this development will gain currency over time and eventually spread to other varieties. It has to be conceded that at present the case for an extended functional range of the PP in the varieties under investigation is weak and no definite answer can be given as to whether this will materialize. Further work, for example involving longitudinal quantitative study of both L1 and L2 varieties, is needed to establish whether PP usage with definite temporal adverbials has been diachronically spreading or is rather less regular and might therefore be attributed to learner and substrate effects alone.

With the corpus analysis as foil, we can now assess the adequacy of the models of categorization of the PP in the reference grammars. Broadly speaking, it emerged that two types of categorization (PP as aspect vs. PP as tense) are presented. Both models fail, however, to provide conclusive explanations as to why the PP may disregard the definite temporal adverbial constraint within their models. On the one hand, Quirk et al. (1985) ascribe violations merely to performance errors, an approach that does not seem to be universally applicable, particularly for L2, but also for some of the L1 varieties. Thus, the restricted variational focus (Standard BrE and AmE only) that has been most explicitly criticized by Phillipson (2009, 31) is indeed detrimental to the value of the book as a "comprehensive" grammar. Besides, no statement on the issue of combinability or the occurrence of instances that violate the constraint can be found in the relevant section of Biber et al. (see 1999: 467–8), where findings are also based on BrE and AmE data only. On the other hand, the account by Huddleston and Pullum (2002) *prima facie* seems more adapted to the empirical findings, given that in their work the PP is analyzed as tense. However, it is flawed on logical grounds as the PP is categorized both as past and present tense. Furthermore, to label the PP a secondary (past) tense is somewhat infelicitous in the face of the fact that the PP in some varieties fulfills the same function as the PT (which is a primary past/secondary non–perfect tense), as has been shown above. Again, the situation as to the relaxation of constraints on the combinability of the PP in varieties other than BrE and AmE is disregarded.

In conclusion, I suggest that future editions of reference grammars that claim validity for English as a whole (like those discussed in the present paper, with exception of Biber et al. 1999) would do well to build on resources such as Kortmann & Lunkenheimer (2011) and to contain some (more) explicit

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15   Against the objection that the low number of occurrences might be merely ascribed to the compilation principles of ICE, which captures mainly non–vernacular English, note that Davydova's (2011) data on mesolectal and basilectal varieties, which were obtained by way of sociolinguistic interviews, also did not yield sufficient numbers to attempt a meaningful quantitative analysis.

reference to the fact that the definite temporal adverbial constraint might be relaxed in some varieties and under certain pragmatic conditions, allowing tense–like usage of the PP. Admittedly, it might be argued that this feature is only restricted to the vernacular and therefore insignificant in general descriptive accounts of English grammar. However, it appears to be pervasive in a number of South and Southeast Asian varieties (Feature 100 2012) and occurs in the (predominantly spoken) language of educated speakers as contained in ICE, including L2s such as IndE or HKE as well as L1s such as NZE or AusE (see above). With hints to these findings grammars would, at the same time, take account of the primacy of speech, one of the long–standing axioms of linguistic study. Qualitative differences between the variety types would still have to be pointed out, of course. Further, it is already recognized that PP as a less and PT as a more grammaticalized variant in general "have a great deal in common" (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 116); thus, the (quasi–) interchangeability of the two forms in some contexts does not come as a great surprise. A large–scale corpus project focusing on grammatical features as mentioned above would be desirable in order to obtain definitive results. Seen from a more general perspective, while establishing a comprehensive unified grammar of "World English(es)" certainly constitutes a controversial project, extending the focus beyond the traditional BrE/AmE paradigm would do more empirical justice to English as a pluricentric language.

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The Anthropomorphic Metaphor in Slovene and English Wine Tasting Discourses

Summary

The language used to describe the tastes of various wines ranges from specific references to chemical, vegetal and mineral components to a wealth of diverse metaphorical constructions. This paper explores the use and characteristics of the anthropomorphic metaphor in wine reviews from a cross–linguistic perspective. The theoretical framework relies on the cognitive approach to metaphor, most notably on the conceptual theory of metaphor. The case study presented is focused on the conceptual metaphor WINE IS A HUMAN BEING and its linguistic realisations in a corpus of wine reviews collected from selected Slovene and English sources. A number of metaphors will be examined with respect to their level of conventionality, from metaphorically motivated terminology to novel linguistic metaphors. It will be argued that despite some variations in the way metaphors are realised in English and Slovene wine discourses, there is a large overlap in the way the two languages conceptualise the taste of wine through the anthropomorphic metaphor.

Key words: conceptual metaphor, wine discourse, anthropomorphic metaphor, wine tasting notes, cross–linguistic analysis.

Antropomorfna metafora v slovenskem in angleškem vinskem diskurzu

Povzetek

Jezik, ki ga uporabljamo pri ocenjevanju raznovrstnih vin, vsebuje tako podatke o specifičnih kemijskih, rastlinskih in mineralnih lastnostih kot tudi široko paleto metaforičnega izraza. Prispevek obravnava rabo in značilnosti antropomorfne metafore v ocenah vin z medjezikovnega vidika. Teoretični okvir temelji na kognitivnem pristopu k metafori, in sicer zlasti na konceptualni teoriji metafore. V članku je predstavljena študija primera, ki obravnava konceptualno metaforo VINO JE ČLOVEŠKO BITJE in njene jezikovne realizacije v korpusu vinskih ocen iz izbranih slovenskih in angleških virov. Analizirane so številne metafore z vidika konvencionalnosti, od metaforično motiviranih terminov do izvirnih jezikovnih metafor. Rezultati raziskave nakazujejo, da se navzlic nekaterim variacijam, ki smo jih prepoznali med slovenskim in angleškim vinskim diskurzom, konceptualizacija okusa vina skozi antropomorfno metaforo v slovenščini in angleščini v večji meri prekriva.

Ključne besede: konceptualna metafora, vinski diskurz, antropomorfna metafora, ocenjevanje vin, medjezikovna analiza.

The Anthropomorphic Metaphor in Slovene and English Wine Tasting Discourses

1. Introduction

The overall purpose of the present paper is to look at various aspects of metaphors in the language of wine tasting and identify the main characteristics of metaphors in this specialist discourse. In methodological terms, the study is largely indebted to the conceptual theory of metaphor as one of the more prominent frameworks within cognitive linguistics which focuses on metaphors as forms of organising conceptual structure and as language phenomena which play a significant role in our everyday language (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1993; Gibbs 2008). In addition, we have recently witnessed an important trend towards applying the theory across languages. A major influence in this development is the work of Kövecses (2005) on universality and cultural variation in metaphor and metonymy. Underlying these efforts is the belief that a number of insights into the importance of metaphors as mirrors of our cultural and social environment can be gained by analysing metaphors contrastively. Besides the cognitive framework, the paper brings to the foreground two other linguistic areas which are increasingly recognising the importance of metaphor in their research; i.e. the study of discourse and terminology. From a discourse perspective, metaphors are seen as distinguishing features of various discourses (Bratož 2011), while according to the terminological approach, metaphors play a crucial role in lexicalisation processes, giving birth to a number of metaphorically motivated terms (Temmerman 2000).

With the cognitive approach to metaphor the focus has shifted from analysing metaphors almost exclusively at the linguistic level to accentuating the cognitive, communicative, and cultural aspects of metaphor (see Gibbs 2008 for an overview). The conceptual theory of metaphor delineated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and extensively developed thereafter has been seen as one of the most influential paradigms within the cognitive movement which has strengthened the connection between metaphor and thought by proposing that the conceptual system is not only involved in the processing of metaphor but that thought is itself structured metaphorically and that the systematic nature of metaphor on the surface of language merely reflects underlying conceptual structures in which something is understood, stored and processed in terms of something else. Metaphors are defined as means of conceptualising more abstract areas of our experience in terms of the familiar and concrete. They involve a source domain (usually concrete and familiar), a target domain (usually abstract or less structured), and a set of mapping relations or correspondences (Lakoff 1993). For example, in the conceptual metaphor WINE IS A HUMAN BEING, the target domain is wine and the source domain is represented by the concept human being. By mapping the domain of wine onto the domain of human being we can identify a number of correspondences; wine is conceptualised as having a body, an age, a personality and so forth.

Several authors (Suárez–Toste 2007; Lehrer 2009; Caballero 2009) have argued that metaphors thoroughly pervade the wine tasting discourse. To account for the diversity of sensations in the wine tasting activity, a number of metaphorical extensions are used which rely on various source domains, such as plants, objects, human beings and others. One of the most pervasive schemas in the wine tasting discourse is personification, which is the source of several metaphorically motivated

expressions conventionally used in wine description. The main purpose of the present paper is to analyse the use of the anthropomorphic metaphor in English and Slovene wine tasting discourses. Adopting a contrastive perspective, the paper presents the results of a case study aimed at identifying similarities and variations in the realisation of the metaphor in a corpus of wine tasting notes. It will be argued that the conceptual frame WINE IS A HUMAN BEING is a pervasive recurrent schema both in Slovene and English wine tasting discourses. The results of the study suggest that despite some variations in distinctive aspects of the metaphor between the two languages, there is a large overlap in the way the taste of wine is conceptualised through the anthropomorphic theme.

2. Metaphors in discourse

Particular conceptual and linguistic metaphors have been identified as being characteristic of certain discourses. For example, the ubiquity of the conceptual metaphor ELECTIONS ARE A BATTLE has been identified as a distinguishing feature of political discourse (Bratož 2009) and the metaphor THE ECONOMY IS A PATIENT as frequent in economic discourse (Charteris–Black 2000). The pervasiveness of metaphors has been identified in several discourses which are essential to our lives, such as politics, economics, religion, emotions, time, and others. In this respect, metaphors are seen as an important aspect or distinguishing feature of particular discourses. Specialised scientific discourses, too, are often characterised by recurrent metaphorical patterns. For example, the metaphor MEDICINE IS WAR, which is pervasive in medical discourse, the metaphor ELECTRONS ARE WAVES introduced in the discourse of physics by the physicist Victor de Broglie, or the well–known metaphor DNA IS A TEXT identified in the discourse of molecular biology. Table 1 provides examples of conceptual metaphors characteristic of particular discourses and the mappings identified (Bratož 2011).

Type of discourse	Conceptual metaphor	Mappings
Political discourse	ELECTIONS ARE A BATTLE	Political candidates are enemies at war, warriors, they have camps, conduct campaigns, etc.
Economic discourse	ECONOMY IS A PATIENT	Economies may be sick or healthy, they can recover, etc.
Sports discourse	SPORTS IS WAR	Competing is fighting for territory, shooting and defending in football, etc.
Medical discourse	MEDICINE IS WAR	Diseases are enemies which have to be fought, defence is necessary, etc.
Discourse of physics	ELECTRONS ARE WAVES	They have wavelengths, they oscillate, they have interferences.
Discourse of (molecular) biology	DNA IS A TEXT	DNA is a text, which contains information, which is read and transcribed.

Table 1: Conceptual metaphors in different discourses

Wine tasting discourse is characterised by a number of distinctive recurrent schemas which are realised at the linguistic level by various conventionalised metaphorical expressions. According to Alousque (2011), some of the most common metaphorical frames are WINES ARE LIVING BEINGS (they have a *body* and a *nose*, they *grow old*, they are *charming, honest, sophisticated, rich,*

etc.), WINES ARE OBJECTS (they are *long, short, round, sharp*, etc.), and WINES ARE FOODS (they are *greasy* or *creamy*). In addition to these, the wine tasting discourse is characterised by two synaesthetic metaphors: the first is TASTING IS TOUCHING according to which a wine can be *velvety* or *silky*, for example, and the second is the conceptual metaphor TASTING IS HEARING, with wine descriptors such as *harmonious* or *having notes*.

These metaphorically motivated expressions are used by experts in their wine tasting notes and reviews. Does this mean that we can consider them as legitimate members of the wine tasting terminology? Temmerman (2000, 157) points out that traditional schools of terminology considered metaphors and figurative language in general as undesirable linguistic devices. However, she believes that metaphor plays a crucial role in lexicalisation processes and proposes a new perspective in terminological studies which would try to account for the metaphorically motivated terms. With the frequency of applying a particular metaphorically used expression to wine, this might develop a conventional meaning as a wine descriptor and consequently enter the realm of metaphorically motivated terminology. In this context, Caballero and Suárez–Toste (2008, 242) argue that metaphors "not only reveal the way wine specialists conceptualise wine, but also work as an indispensable tool for communicating the complex sensory experience of tasting wine to others". On the other hand, Lehrer (2009, 77) warns that this does not mean that these terms will necessarily be applied systematically and consistently by wine experts since the taste of wine and the assessment associated with it are always partly subjective. Nevertheless, professionals point out that wine discourse often relies too much on subjective experience, promoting a hedonistic attitude towards the description of the taste of wine rather than a scientific approach. The main difference between wine drinking and wine tasting is that wine tasting should imply an objective and methodological approach to what we see, smell and taste. However, in her research on the perceptions of objective characteristics of wine in wine tasting, Lehrer (ibid.) concluded that even wine experts rarely understand wine descriptors in the same way, although they usually do better than novices when describing wines which they are thoroughly trained to evaluate. This suggests that wine tasting is to a certain extent inherently prone to subjective interpretation.

In his seminal work on wine tasting, Peynaud (1987, 163) makes a distinction between three different types of wine connoisseurs: the professional taster, the wine journalist who writes for the readers of a wine magazine, and the informed amateur. He argues that the expert's style of writing about wine is precise and economical, while the amateur's vocabulary is limited and full of metaphors and allusions. As Bruce (1999) points out, Peynaud denounces the use of metaphorical language and imagery as unscientific and imprecise but he does, in a sense unaccountably, make an exception for personification and the anthropomorphic metaphor, acknowledging that "in his comments a taster will attribute a shape and a texture to a wine, he will talk of its youth, its ageing, its defects and diseases, and he will bestow on it the rarest of human virtues: wine is honest, noble, loveable, generous, and so on" (Peynaud 1987, 180–1).

3. Characteristics of metaphors in wine tasting discourse

In the previous chapter we argued that discourses are characterised by particular conceptual metaphors and their realisations. However, it is not just the type of metaphor (i.e. the selection of source domains) which is characteristic of a certain discourse but also the way a particular metaphor operates within it. A closer look at the metaphors analysed reveals several aspects which are characteristic of the metaphors in wine tasting discourse.

The first such aspect can be found in the way mappings stretch out across several domains. For instance, how can we account for the fact that a wine can be described as *supple, generous and beautifully focused* or as *fresh, plump and juicy, deep and concentrated* all in one stroke. Several of these adjectives could be seen as pretty straightforward instantiations from the conceptual domain of human being, for example *generous* and *plump*. On the other hand, *fresh*, *deep* or *concentrated* would normally evoke other domains, such as fruits, containers or liquids. Another aspect which contributes to the complexity of wine discourse is the fact that lexical items (mostly adjectives) from one source domain are used to describe both wine itself as well as some of its specific properties. So, for example, the adjective *seductive* can be used to describe a wine in general or one of its aspects (*seductive currant and blackberry fruit*). Here are some English and Slovene examples from the case study discussed below:

(1) this is still a refined, delicious and Bordeaux–inspired Cabernet
(2) the tannins that lead the way now are sleek and refined
(3) bay leaf and peppery cream aromas and flavours on a refined frame
(4) uglajena mineralnost
(5) poskočna svežina
(6) simpatična pikantnost
(7) nos ne pove veliko
(8) beautiful nose
(9) lep vonj

These examples suggest that once a metaphor has settled into the wine tasting jargon, it often becomes neutralised and operates according to a different logic. This explains why we can portray a wine, tannins, a frame and minerality all with the descriptor *refined* (Slo. *uglajen*) as in the examples (1–4). The metaphors in examples 5 and 6, which could be translated into English as *lively freshness* and *cute piquancy* suggest that the source domain is not mapped onto the target entity WINE but rather extends to one of its properties. Example 7, *nos ne pove veliko* (Eng. *the nose doesn't say much*), evokes another complex mapping by drawing correspondences between the synaesthetic metaphor and the domain of oral communication, while in examples 8 and 9, the *nose* and *smell* are somewhat unconventionally referred to as *beautiful* (Slo. *lep*), given that the target domain is a perceived sensory experience.

Suárez–Toste (2007, 54) concedes that the different figurative schemas suggested by the lexical items are due to the existence of "asymmetrical mappings across domains" and that synaesthetically motivated metaphors – i.e. metaphors which are related to the senses of touch, sight, and sound – are also used in relation to specific parameters, such as body, alcohol, acidity, etc. Lehrer (2009, 22–32) notes the overlapping of various semantic fields and a variety of possible semantic links between them, some extremely loose, based on purely associative and connotative relations.

Another typical feature of metaphors in the wine tasting genre is reflected in the way the qualities evoked by the mappings are interpreted. Lehrer (2009, 76) argues that metaphorical descriptors are often based on source domain stereotypes, for example, a *senile* wine is too old and has lost its desirable qualities. On the other hand, the qualities evoked by the source domain entities may be subject to different interpretations. A case in point is the adjective *honest* as a wine descriptor, which can be interpreted as *respectable* or even *honourable*, suggesting a superior quality, but also as "one in which there is no attempt to mask its defects, for example, by adding sugar to hide the

excessive acidity" (ibid. 32), a sense which would contrast with *pretentious*. In addition, when mapped onto the domain of wine, source domain meanings are not always predictable or reliable. For example, the adjective *polite*, which is undeniably a positive descriptor for a human being, "is a term of low praise for wine, since a polite wine is pleasant but not exciting" (ibid. 37).

The third aspect which distinguishes metaphors in *winespeak* is that the meanings of descriptors mapped from the source domain can be changed or neutralised in the target text. Goatly (1997, 24) suggests that dictionary meanings of words used in a text can change, activating, for example, unconventional semantic relations between lexical items, such as hyponymy, synonymy and others. An illustrative example of this process is again provided by Lehrer (2009, 76), who argues that while the adjectives *heavy, muscular, brawny, stout,* and *big–boned* are synonyms in the wine discourse, they are not synonymous when applied to the human body. A different instance of a change of meaning in text is a shift in connotation, as with the adjectives *fat* and *stout*, which are negative in the description of the human body, but positive for the body of wine (ibid. 77).

Yet another characteristic of the metaphorically–motivated descriptors in the wine discourse is that they can be used as descriptive or evaluative terms. Descriptive terms have concrete physical correlates; they relate to particular properties of the wine which experts have learnt to discriminate. By contrast, evaluative metaphors are expressive in nature, suggesting a positive or negative attitude towards the wine. While purely evaluative terms, such as *excellent* or *terrible*, are highly subjective, there are many which have become conventionalised and have acquired an almost technical status, such as *subtle* or *assertive* (Lehrer 2009, 14).[1] In the metaphor WINE IS A HUMAN BEING, terms which draw on the domains of body and age are mostly descriptive, while those which come from the domain of human personality and behaviour are largely evaluative, although several of these terms have entered the conventional wine vocabulary (e.g. *straightforward* or *aggressive*) . On the other hand, a great deal of lexis from the wine discourse has both a descriptive and an evaluative component. Some metaphorically–motivated terms, like *young*, for example, are generally neutral but may take on evaluative force in certain contexts (ibid. 74).

As a final point, the multifaceted nature of the metaphorical mappings in the wine discourse is well illustrated by Suárez–Toste (2007, 56) in his discussion of personification:

> It is nonetheless extremely odd that concrete physical properties should demand the use of others sometimes not even equally concrete. A case in point is the recurrence of (to a great extent more abstract) personification: most newcomers experience trouble understanding the meaning of such terms as *masculine/feminine*, *shy*, *intellectual*, *diffident*, *sexy*, *demure*, *extroverted*, *restrained*, etc., because they are complex terms when applied to (complex) human beings and therefore what gets mapped and what not is not always clear.

4. Case study

This case study is aimed at exploring and comparing the realisation of the anthropomorphic metaphor in the Slovene and English wine tasting discourses in order to establish the similarities and variations in the way wine is conceptualised in the two languages and cultures. Tasting notes are evaluative texts aimed at the promotion of wine for a general audience. Following Caballero

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1   Lehrer (2009, 14–5) divides evaluative terms into those of high praise, low praise, mild derogation, and strong derogation.

(2009, 75) the main reason for choosing the genre of the tasting note is in the fact that "the tasting note is one of the most representative and popular genres in wine discourse, as well as a key instrument in the process of acculturation" and that "metaphors underlying the wine discourse cut across languages and cultures as well as across national and regional differences," which is also clear from the practice of wine tasting magazines and other publications which usually cover a wide range of wine regions and wine varieties. While tasting notes are essentially evaluative in nature, they still contain many conventionalised descriptive terms which are to a large extent shared by experts. However, since new words are added all the time, it would be impossible to draw up an exhaustive list of descriptors. The references to conventionalised wine metaphors related to descriptive and evaluative terms discussed in the case study are based on the lists of wine words and expressions in Lehrer (2009, 5–41) and the list of wine descriptors in Medved (1997, 210–11).

4.1 Methodology and sources

Having recognised the ubiquity of the anthropomorphic metaphor in wine discourse, several authors (Suárez–Toste 2007; Lehrer 2009; Caballero 2009; Caballero and Suárez–Toste 2010) have stressed that the basic metaphorical schema WINE IS A HUMAN BEING can be broken down into different lower–level, specific schemas bringing to the fore various aspects of the concept HUMAN BEING, namely age, personality and body. Besides these three features, the analysis of our data revealed two more specific aspects of the basic metaphor which I labelled *general appearance* and *economic condition*. At the processing level, the data analysis consisted in identifying linguistic realisations of five different aspects (or specific–level schemas) of the anthropomorphic metaphor in Slovene and English tasting notes.

For this purpose, a corpus of 80 Slovene and 80 English notes (160 in total) has been built, from 12 to 89 words in length. The English notes have been taken from two of the most authoritative wine magazines published in English: *Decanter* and *Wine Spectator*, while the Slovene corpus consists of notes from the publication *Vinski vodič: Slovenija 2012* and the section of the daily newspaper *Finance* dedicated to wine reviews called *Weekend Vinoteka*. The texts for analysis have been selected at random in an attempt to account for several wine varieties and wine–producing regions. Aside from *Vinski vodič: Slovenija 2012*, which was not available in electronic form, the data were sourced from the online versions of the publications, with the *Wine Spectator* available by subscription. Since the research is focused on identifying the productivity of the basic metaphorical schema WINE IS A HUMAN BEING – i.e. the different realisations of the metaphorical concept at the linguistic level, rather than the frequency of key items – the analysis is for the most part qualitative in nature.

4.2 Results

4.2.1 Age

Several conventional metaphors have been identified in the two corpora which foreground the age aspect of wine:

English corpus: *young, mature, youthful*

Slovene corpus: *staran, star, zrel, zelo mlad, prezrel, njegova mladost*

In addition, the analysis revealed several less conventional extensions of the metaphor, particularly

in the Slovene corpus:

(1) still a baby
(2) je šele na začetku svoje poti
(3) je vino še precej 'divje', vendar se bo kmalu umirilo
(4) vsekakor pa bo v polni formi čez nekaj let
(5) je vse zrelostne faze že preživel
(6) vaniljo od šolanja v sodih je še čutiti

4.2.2 Physical body

The majority of expressions related to the body of a wine found in the two corpora are conventional descriptive expressions which reflect specific physical correlates:

English corpus: *full–bodied, big, big–bodied, powerful, well–structured, shows power, well–defined, chunky, heavy, firm, plump, well–framed, weighty, enough weight to say it's serious.*

Slovene corpus: *močan, velik, lahek, okrogel, krepko telo, močno telo, šibko telo, nima telesa, lažjega telesa, polnega telesa, lahkotno kot peresce, v dobri formi.*

4.2.3 Personality/behaviour

A number of conventionally used descriptor expressions have been found in both languages, but this aspect of the metaphor was more productive in Slovene:

English corpus: *seductive, refined, sophisticated, with character, luscious, authoritative, persistent, lovable, gracious, generous, modest, bold, forward, austere, lovely, vibrant, closed, enticing, charming, lively, with finesse, has personality.*

Slovene corpus: *nežen, poskočen, živahen, všečen, divji, enoplasten, uglajen, nezahteven, plemenit, zaprt, zapeljiv, mogočno, lahkotno, šarmanten, zadržan, umirjen, skromnejši, precizen, pretanjen, resen, simpatičen, karakteren, prijeten, diskreten, ima čvrst karakter, ima fineso, kaže prefinjenost, preseže pričakovanja.*

The Slovene corpus contains several verbal constructions which can be related to the domain of personality: *zadovolji, vztraja, vas utegne navdušiti, razvaja, razveseli.*

In addition, a number of creative extensions of the metaphor were identified:

(1) a crowd–pleaser
(2) the intruder, lone Sauvignon
(3) shows a sense of wilderness
(4) kot dober ljubimec
(5) se ne razkrije
(6) potrebuje čas, da se odpre
(7) se pokaže v povsem drugačni podobi
(8) hedonizem prve vrste

4.2.4 General appearance

The data analysis revealed another set of descriptors labelled here under *general appearance* which did not fit into the above categories but was clearly related to the anthropomorphic schema.

English corpus: *amazing, gorgeous, glorious, elegant, polished, sleek, attractive, stylish, appealing, classic, beautiful, classy.*

Slovene corpus: *eleganten, lep, bled, razkošen, (vrhunska eleganca).*

4.2.5 Economic condition

The analysis revealed a high frequency of the adjectival descriptor *rich* in the English corpus (28 occurrences) and the Slovene equivalent *bogat* (26 occurrences) in the Slovene corpus.

English corpus: *rich* (*richness*), *super–rich, opulent* (*opulence*), *ultra–rich, high–class.*
Slovene corpus: *(izjemno) bogat.*

4.3 Discussion

The results of the analysis of Slovene and English wine tasting notes clearly suggest that the conceptualisation of wine as a human being is a recurrent metaphorical schema in both languages. Examples of linguistic realisations have been identified for all five aspects of the metaphor – i.e. age, body, personality/behaviour, general appearance and economic condition – which suggests a high degree of universality of the metaphor. On the other hand, the results revealed some differences in the productivity and scope of the metaphor.

The dimension of wine which relates to its age is based on an assessment of taste and feel, in particular the properties of acidity and astringency. The metaphorical mappings reflect the human life–cycle, with several conventional terms, such as *young*, *old*, and *mature*, but also a number of creative extensions of the metaphorical schema, such as *decrepit*, *senile*, or even *dying*. The great productivity of this specific–level realisation of the basic metaphor in which the age of the wine is mapped onto a person's age is illustrated by Caballero and Suárez–Toste (2008, 246), who concede that "the different stages in the development of a wine are commonly referred to by means of terms like *baby, young, well–aged, venerable* or *dead* (so much so that the drinking of a wine in a premature stage of development is often condemned as *infanticide*)". As we can see from the results in 4.2.1, this aspect of the anthropomorphic metaphor also revealed several extensions in which wine is conceptualised in analogy to different stages of a person's life, from being a *baby* and *na začetku svoje poti* (Eng. *at the beginning of its journey*) in examples 1 and 2, teenage years and adolescence in example 3 (Eng. *the wine is still a little 'wild' but it will soon calm down*) and 4 (Eng. *it will be in its full form in a few years*) to maturity in 5 (Eng. *has already gone through all its maturity stages*). In 6 (Eng. *the vanilla from its schooling days is still to be felt*) wine is conceptualised as a former student or pupil who went through his/her schooling in a barrel. Through the source domain HUMAN BEING, some of these metaphors are also related to other schemas; the reference to a journey in 2, for example, clearly evokes the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY.

The body of a wine usually refers to the combination of alcohol, acids and tannins as they are perceived in the mouth. However, Lehrer (2009, 11) points out that the actual term *body* is a complex concept since some terms (e.g. *heavy*) can be either positive or negative, depending on

the wine. In addition, the metaphorically motivated terms related to the concept *body*[2] extend to domains other than that of human being; a wine's body can be described as *deep*, for example, suggesting the container schema. Most expressions identified in the corpus which draw on the domain of body (*full–bodied, plump, heavy, big, big–bodied, powerful*, and others) are recorded by Lehrer (2009) and Medved (1997) as conventionalised descriptors. The only expression found related to body which has an evaluative force is the Slovene expression *v dobri formi* (Eng. *in a good condition*) which reflects an undefined positive quality.

The domains of personality and behaviour contribute a wealth of expressions to the wine lexis. This is a particularly productive aspect of the metaphor which has generated a number of metaphorically motivated descriptors. Their nature is mostly evaluative, which is not surprising given that they are related to the aspect of the human being which is the most elusive and indefinable of its own accord. In addition, since there is no obvious correlation between many words related to personality and behaviour and any physical quality of the wine, several interpretations are possible. A case in point is the adjective *honest* discussed in 3. A number of conventionally used descriptors have been found in both languages, but this aspect of the metaphor was more productive in Slovene. In addition, the Slovene corpus revealed several verbal constructions in which a particular wine is perceived as a person who can *satisfy* (Slo. *zadovoljiti*), *cheer up* (Slo. *razveseliti se*) or *pamper* (Slo. *razvajati*) another person.

Aside from conventional expressions, the presence of personality and behaviour terms in the wine vocabulary provides the possibility for new terms to be transferred or mapped onto the domain, such as the expressions *authoritative* and *gracious* from the English corpus, which may, if used frequently, eventually acquire the status of terms. In this context, Lehrer (2009, 33–41) discusses a number of personality related expressions which have recently entered the wine jargon, and which, for example, portray wine as *easygoing, approachable, generous, shy, sly, intelligent*, but also as *having pizzazz*. In addition, as we can see from the examples in 4.4.3, the nature of the source domain allows for a number of creative extensions of the metaphor, with wine being conceptualised in terms of different personality aspects, such as a *crowd–pleaser* or *an intruder*. The Slovene corpus was more productive in this aspect, portraying wine as *a good lover* (Slo. *dober ljubimec*), a wine which *doesn't reveal itself* (Slo. *se ne razkrije*), *needs time to open itself up* (Slo. *potrebuje čas, da se odpre*), *comes out with a completely different image* (Slo. *se pokaže v povsem drugačni podobi*) or shows *first–class hedonism* (Slo. *hedonizem prve vrste*).

Similarly to the other aspects of the anthropomorphic metaphor, here there is an overlap with some other domains; expressions from the domain of body can be used to talk about personality; i.e. a *solid, strong, weak personality*. As a wine descriptor, the expression *character* is itself a complex term which may apply both to the quality or complexity of a wine and can be both descriptive and evaluative.

The set of descriptors which were classified under the label *general appearance* are mainly evaluative in nature. More examples were identified in the English corpus suggesting a higher productivity of this aspect of the metaphor in English. Since they are largely evaluative, the expressions found are

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2   A wine can even be described as *having legs*, which is a technical term indicating the alcohol content in the wine is perceived as trickles inside the glass when the wine glass is rolled. The *nose* dimension, which is itself analogous to the anthropomorphic schema, is also related to the domain of the physical body. However, the different metaphorically motivated expressions found in this context are mapped onto other conceptual domains (such as the domain of plants) which are not the focus of this paper.

all subject to individual interpretation of the desirable or undesirable qualities in a particular wine. However, this aspect of the metaphor should not be confused with the dimension of a wine which is referred to as *appearance* and refers to the actual visual aspect of wine, including, for example, various shades of colour.

The last aspect of the anthropomorphic metaphor analysed, *economic condition*, was also identified in both languages. The most common expression found was the adjectival descriptor *rich* in the English corpus (28 occurrences) and the Slovene equivalent *bogat* (26 occurrences) in the Slovene corpus. I would argue that compared to the Slovene corpus, in which only the expression *bogat* was identified, the higher productivity of the metaphor in the English corpus may be interpreted from a cross–cultural perspective. The English terms *rich, super–rich* and *ultra–rich* clearly indicate a grading of personal wealth, interpreted against the social and cultural context to which they refer (a tentative definition would be millionaires for the *super–rich* and billionaires for the *ultra–rich*). In the Slovene corpus, the grading of wealth was sometimes expressed by the expression *izjemno bogat* (Eng. *extremely rich*), but in most cases this wine dimension was described in other terms. One possible interpretation of this can be found in the actual absence of such grading of personal wealth in the Slovene social and cultural environment in which billionaires or the *ultra–rich* are arguably not a category.

One of the major benefits of working with metaphors contrastively is that we are able to see whether a particular metaphor is unique to or more common in one language or whether it is shared by more or all languages and is therefore universal. In this way we can analyse metaphors as products of a particular cultural environment. In addition, setting data from one language against that of another allows us to make inferences about the languages involved in analysis. By contrasting metaphors in the English and Slovene wine tasting notes, for example, we are able to see whether a particular metaphor is more productive in one of the two languages. The data analysed did show aspects of variation in the productivity of the anthropomorphic metaphor in English and Slovene. However, it also revealed a high degree of universality of the metaphor between the two languages, suggesting the existence of a well–established metaphorically motivated terminology shared by both languages.

5. Conclusion

The language of wine, or *winespeak*, is considered by some as highly sophisticated rhetoric and by others as smug *vinobabble*. To the non–connoisseur, wine drinking is above all an aesthetic experience which calls for creative and inspired uses of language. At the other extreme, the idiom used by the wine–expert community (oenologists and professional wine tasters) reflects a large repertoire of technical lexis which should rely on criteria and standards whose aim is to be as objective and measurable as possible. While in most cases, the expert and the layperson differ substantially in their linguistic rendering of the wine tasting experience, there is one aspect of language which is common to both – the ubiquitous use of metaphors. However, unlike the uninitiated rhetoric of the lay population, which often includes novel metaphorical extensions, a large proportion of the metaphorical language used by wine experts is conventionalised expressions which have developed into metaphorically motivated wine terminology and jargon.

As we have seen, one of the most salient schemas in wine tasting notes is the anthropomorphic metaphor. The metaphorically–motivated terms analysed reflect several special characteristics of the use of metaphor in the wine discourse, such as the fact that many wine dimensions are correlated and interrelated, allowing for asymmetrical mappings to be drawn, or the neutralisation

of meanings in the target text, which make the study of metaphor in this particular area all the more complex and intriguing.

The analysis of the metaphor WINE IS A HUMAN BEING in the corpus of English and Slovene wine tasting notes explored five different aspects of the source domain, age, physical body, personality/behaviour, general appearance and economic condition. The results revealed that all these aspects of the metaphor were realised in both languages, with some aspects being more productive in Slovene, others in English. While a larger corpus must be examined in order to understand the full extent of the variation in the use of metaphor in the English and Slovene wine discourse, we may conclude that there is a great deal of overlap in the way the two languages conceptualise the taste of wine through the anthropomorphic metaphor. It is also clear that there is a well–developed metaphorically motivated wine terminology used on the international level which cuts across languages and cultures. Finally, it must be stressed that the wine lexis is an open set, new metaphorically motivated descriptors are created every day, extending the basic metaphors to other, often unpredictable, domains.

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II.

LITERATURE

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Into the Rabbit Hole: The Realism of Simulation

Summary

In the first half of the 1980s, at the height of the postmodernist theoretical debate, the actual literary production already showed signs of fatigue from the postmodernist dictum. Especially the works of American authors from the 1980s onwards show an increasing tendency to abandon the dead-end loops of postmodernist autoreferentiality, and to focus on various aspects of tangible reality instead. The paper argues that such practice should not be considered or theorised in terms of falling back on the great tradition of realism but rather as a necessary literary response to the mechanisms governing the changing of the epochs. My intention is to show that the allegedly realistic modes of contemporary American writing correspond to the epochal social, cultural and political changes accompanied by the rise of digital media. As such, these works effectively reflect, comment on and contribute to the contemporary reality that can no longer be adequately described or theorised about in terms of Cartesian metaphysics.

Key words: Neo-Realism, Postmodernism, Postmodernity, Hypertext, Hyperreality, Real vs. Fictive

Po zajčji luknji nizdol: realizem simulacije

Povzetek

Ko je teoretična debata o postmodernizmu v prvi polovici osemdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja dosegla vrhunec, so se v dejanski prozni produkciji že kazala prva znamenja izčrpanosti literarnega postmodernizma. Zlasti v proznih delih ameriških avtorjev lahko vsaj od sredine osemdesetih let naprej opazimo tendenco odmikanja od neskončnih zank postmodernističnega samonanašanja in vedno večje zanimanje za razne vidike otipljive resničnosti. V članku trdim, da teh praks ne gre obravnavati v smislu vrnitve k tradiciji realizma, ampak kot neizbežen literarni odziv na menjavo zgodovinskih dob. Namen članka je pokazati, da domnevno realistični modeli, ki prevladujejo v sodobni ameriški prozi, ustrezajo družbenim, ekonomskim in političnim spremembam, ki so posledica menjave epoh in vzpona digitalnih medijev. Kot taka ta dela učinkovito zrcalijo in soustvarjajo sodobno resničnost, ki je ne moremo več zadovoljivo opisati ali ovrednotiti z novoveškim pojmovnim instrumentarijem.

Ključne besede: neorealizem, postmodernizem, postmoderna doba, hipertekst, hiperrresničnost, resnično vs. izmišljeno

Into the Rabbit Hole: The Realism of Simulation

1. Postmodernism and Beyond

It is hard to think of a literary tradition that would go through quite as lengthy and as meticulously recorded agony as postmodernism. Nevertheless, literary criticism is still largely at a loss when it comes to identifying and evaluating instances of contemporary literature which significantly depart from the postmodernist mode. One of the reasons for this is certainly connected to the usage and understanding of the terms postmodernism and postmodernity, which especially English and American authors use synonymously. The problems, however, persist even when the two are used as separate categories, the first referring to a specific literary period and the second to the epoch succeeding the modern age.

When speaking of the extent of the agony, one is reminded of the problems with conception and the labour pains accompanying the formation of the theoretical groundwork for the treatment of postmodernism. Various, often contradictory, definitions abounded in the critical discourse of the 1970s and 1980s. As initial empirical analyses and other text-based approaches[1] failed to provide the *differentia specifica* of postmodernist production, the mid-1980s debate increasingly focused on the more metaphysical aspects, foregrounding the social, economic and cultural changes accompanying the rise of the postmodernist tradition. In this respect the most productive answer was offered, in my opinion, by the methodologies close to the *Geistesgeschichte* approach, defining literary and historical periods according to the intrinsic 'spirit of the age' by examining the structure and interrelation of the four basic paradigms (the Subject, the Transcendence, the Truth and Reality) specific to each artistic and historical period. In the case of postmodernism, the examination of the status of the four paradigms reveals that it represents the final phase of metaphysical nihilism and, with that, the definite disintegration of the modern-age-specific metaphysical frame. Its successors should therefore move away from Cartesian metaphysics entirely and abide by a new, postmodern structuring of the world.

In the US, the beginnings of the terminal crisis of postmodernism can be traced back to the first half of the 1980s, when a surge of quality young authors[2] swept the scene. In their fiction, they abandoned postmodernist abstractions and metafictional loops, focusing, instead, on concrete everyday reality and addressing various contemporary social and economic issues. The trend of using realistic modes of representation has been gaining momentum ever since and has resulted in a very diverse spectrum of seemingly realistic works, ranging from the distinctly marginal and Avant-Garde to critically acclaimed masterpieces and global bestsellers. Despite the variety, these works have been more or less collectively categorised as examples of post- or neo-realism,[3] and treated theoretically in terms of the revival of the realist tradition as charted back in the second half of the 19th century.[4] From the point of view of *Geistesgeschichte*, such falling back on a tradition

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1   For example, David Lodge's, Douwe W. Fokkema's and Ihab Hassan's enumerations of formal and thematic characteristics of postmodernist writing, which, due to the intertextual nature of postmodernist writing, can also be found in works pertaining to other traditions.

2   E.g. Tom Wolfe, Brett Easton Ellis, Tama Janowitz, Jay McInerney, Paul Auster.

3   In the existing critical treatments, the term is not used in the sense of a historical, unified literary movement or period, but rather ahistorically, pointing to certain similar features. In this article I use the term with reference to the American literary production since the mid-1980s, which moves away from the postmodernist formal and thematic paradigms to the conventions associated with the realist modes of writing. The article therefore also considers a number of authors who have not appeared in the hitherto critical treatment of the phenomenon, but whose writing fits the profile.

4   The statement is primarily based on the seminal collection of critical essays on the subject titled Neo-Realism in *Contemporary American Fiction* (1992), edited by Kristiaan Versluys. The contributors, who include some of the most distinguished names

which emerged as a result of a very specific spiritual historical environment signals the impotence of this production to adequately reflect and comment upon the existing reality. In this respect, literary neo-realism could hardly be considered a herald of a new era but rather an essentially retrograde literary phenomenon. Nonetheless, most of the fiction labelled neo-realist should not be dismissed as a mere curious instance of literary epigonism, and there are several reasons for it.

The most obvious one would certainly be the diversity of the neo-realist production. Alexander Weber, for example, proposes four subcategories of late 20th century neo-realism: postmodern neo-realism, ex-centric neo-realism, minimalist neo-realism and integrative neo-realism. The distinguishing feature of postmodern neo-realism is, he says "the 'postmodern legacy' of preoccupation with language and other forms of representation. […] Language and representation become parts of the themes of novels – without the works themselves being necessarily metafictional or metanarrative" (Weber 1999, 6). Representative authors of this subcategory are, for example, Don DeLillo, Paul Auster and Walter Abish. Ex-centric neo-realism refers primarily to "minority literatures and feminist or rather female literary production" (ibid., 7), which frequently makes use of folklore, oral history, dreams etc. Its main representatives are Alice Walker, Louise Erdrich, Leslie Silko, Marilynne Robinson, Amy Tan, etc. In the centre of minimalist neo-realism are usually households of white working middle-class characters afflicted by doomed relationships, addictions, unemployment and so on. Descriptions of surface reality often escalate to what Weber humorously compares to "a film script financed mainly by product placement" (ibid., 9). Authors primarily associated with this type of writing are Bobbie Ann Mason, Raymond Carver, Ann Beatie and to some extent also Brett Eason Ellis. Integrative neo-realism refers to fiction which contains all of the abovementioned categories. Such are, for Weber, Russell Banks' novel *Continental Drift* and the writing of Robert Stone (ibid., 10). Further suggestions for this category might, in my view, also include Ronald Sukenick, Jonathan Safran Foer and Don DeLillo's *Underworld*.

If the diversity of neo-realist production is the most obvious reason against automatically writing it off as epigonic, the most pressing reason is certainly the fact that some of the most critically acclaimed works defy, in some segment at least, a satisfactory application of the established critical apparatus.[5] In other words: they are realistic, but not quite so. What follows will concentrate on the 'not quite so' in an attempt to show that this alleged neo-realism is primarily a consequence of the social, cultural and economic changes taking place after the Second World War and connected to the changing of the epochs. What is more, some of its works may already be considered the first instances of literature of the new era which, on top of it all, recognises no distinction between the real and the non-real.

2. Hypertext and the Changing of Paradigms

One may speculate why other arts were faster in responding to the Zeitgeist.[6] The intimacy between the traditional literary canon and European social, political and cultural conscience should certainly be considered in this respect. Another reason that comes to mind would perhaps be the rigidity of the literary academia when it comes to phenomena diverting from established, traditional patterns.

in contemporary literary criticism, unanimously hail the return of American fiction to its natural environment of the realist tradition. This stance also prevails in the treatments of American neo-realism by German literary critics Alexander Weber and Heinz Ickstadt (cf. Weber 1999, 2–4), for example, and in two influential studies of contemporary American fiction, Rebein's *Hicks, Tribes, and Dirty Realists* (2001) and Millard's *Contemporary American Fiction* (2000).

5   Take Don DeLillo, for example, who, despite his popularity with the literary academia, is constantly subjected to criticism regarding the sloppiness of his character creation (cf. Cantor 1991, 39–40).

6   One of the first artistic reactions to the epochal changes in society – triggered by the change in production relations defining the postindustrial stage of capitalism – emerged as early as the 1960s with Pop Art, for example.

However, in my opinion, the decisive factor is on the one hand much more prosaic, on the other, much more complicated, at least as far as the future of our understanding of the literary in general is concerned.

The most convincing reason for literature's delay in transcending the modern age historical and metaphysical paradigms seems to be connected to its medium, the rise of which coincided with and heavily contributed to the development of the defining categories of modernity. As Bolter observes, "[w]hen the printed word supplanted and marginalised the codex, the writing space took on the qualities of linearity, replicability and fixity" (Bolter 2001, 22). These qualities lie at the very core of the modern age structuring of the world; also, they establish the notion of the author as an authority, a God-like creator of finite and unchangeable (fictive) worlds, and the ultimate metaphor of the Cartesian subject. If we remember Marshall McLuhan's famous words that "[s] ocieties have always been shaped more by the nature of the media by which men communicate than by the content of the communication" (McLuhan 2001, 8), it appears that the only solution for literature to productively abandon postmodernism and modernity with it should involve a drastic modification of its medium.

At this point, the neo-realist candidature for succession seems highly unlikely as practically all of its production appeared in printed books. However, the temporal proximity and the nature of the medium, which has taken over most global communication over the last two decades – the hypertext[7] – demands a consideration of the neo-realist writing in terms of its spiritual and historical background, and especially through the lens of this new medium. It goes without saying that in the second half of the 1980s, when the first instances of the writing in question appeared, the hypertext was far from being the *sine qua non* of everyday reality that it is today. Nevertheless, as I will show on the following pages, its logic and its structure correspond to the theoretical and philosophical systems developed by all major theoreticians of postmodernity.[8] As such, it is an embodiment of the mechanisms governing the development of society and culture since the 1950s. It is, furthermore, essentially text-bound and therefore suitable for literary artistic expression, which would make it the obvious successor of print.

The task at hand is, therefore, first to provide the hypothetical framework of the alterations brought by the new medium to the traditional aspects of literature,[9] and then to apply it to the neo-realist writing, especially to those segments which the existing critical discourse pinpoints as problematic. If such a framework proves more productive than the existing approaches, then the neo-realist production might be considered a significant and original departure not only from postmodernism but also from the exhausted literary institution of modernity. It would also mean that the new medium allows the actualisation of its logic within any given medium, which might provide some consolation to those fearing the disappearance of the printed book.

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7   My usage of the term corresponds to Jay David Bolter's definition of the hypertext as a model for any kind of electronic writing:
    At present, electronic (or digital) writing describes a larger category than hypertext or hypermedia. Electronic writing includes word processing, e-mail, listservs, chat rooms, and MUDs and MOOs, none of which have the node and link structure of classic hypertext […]. All electronic writing shares important qualities with hypertext (flexibility, instability, interactivity), so that hypertext, once again in the form of the World Wide Web, serves a paradigm for our cultural experience with electronic writing. (Bolter 2001, xiii–iv)

8   I'm referring to Baudrillard's notion of hyperreality (1981), Jameson's concept of culturalisation of all the aspects of social life within the postmodern situation (2000) , Lyotard's model of the self as a node in an information network (1984), Debord's theory of society of spectacle (1999) and Deleuze's and Guattari's rhizome concept (1987).

9   The technical aspects of the actual hypertext fiction, appearing since roughly the 1990s, will significantly contribute to the purely theoretical speculations.

3. Into the Hyperised Reality

In my outline of the theoretical foundation, which will provide an insight into the processes governing the development of the economy, society and culture commonly associated with the epoch of postmodernity, I will largely rely upon Jean Baudrillard's theoretical system. The reason is simple: his categories provide the most accurate description of the processes connected to the formation and the observable functioning of the existing society. Also, his key concept of hyperreality – a notion also central to what follows here – summarises the observations of his colleagues with ingenious practicability. Hyperreality refers to the reality of the third-order simulacra (Baudrillard 1994, 121–7) conditioned by the shift of production relations which signalled the beginning of the postindustrial stage of capitalism after the Second World War. It is a reality of models, in which consumption is no longer bound to the functional value of the products. Objects of consumption, in turn, "assume their meaning in their differential relation to other signs" (Baudrillard 1981, 66), and ultimately function as signifiers. With that, they acquire social meaning and function as a basis of identity creation. All the aspects of reality and, consequently, subjectivity are then fundamentally network systems of differential signs that can be arbitrarily manipulated according to one's preferences, which in a mediagenic society generally correspond to media-transferred trends. The logic anticipates the processes literally embodied in the World Wide Web and the system at its core – the hypertext.

From the perspective of my argument, the most important feature of hypertext-based communication is the changed status of the receiver of the text. His or her position is no longer *a priori* submissive; within the space of the hypertext, individuals can randomly construct their identity as well as reality. When browsing websites, playing games, reading hyperfiction and blogs, participating in various social networks or visiting chatrooms, the users manipulate the content according to their own inclinations in their own immediate realities through the selection of links and the possibility of a direct response. The medium replaces the principles of linearity and hierarchisation implicit in print by fluidity and rhizomatous decentralisation. Additionally, its interactive and immersible nature enables the creation of a new sociality, social consciousness, and consequently of a new culture, which, has been actively interfering with the non-virtual environments for quite some time.

That brings us to the core question of this essay: how do the traditional categories of literature translate into the new medium? Owing to a comprehensive corpus of digital literature already in existence, the answers are not purely speculative. The most drastic consequence of employing the hypertext as the medium for literary expression is the disappearance of the paradigmatic distinction between the author and the reader established with the invention of print. The meaning is literally realised by the so-called wreader,[10] who, through the selection of links and his or her own responses, constructs fictional realities as well as fictional identities according to his or her interests and desires. This is only rendered possible with the disappearance of textual anatomy, within which literary worlds appear as independent, finite and clearly demarcated units. In the Internet hypertext, the dividing line between the literary work and its environment is completely blurred since the very principle of hypertext functioning enables constant users interventions within the work. With that, another traditional category, the concept of fictionality, is relativised as there is no essential difference between literary and non-literary hypertext environments.[11] Such arbitrary creation of realities and identities from the information available corresponds to Baudrillard's basic categories of postmodernity, at the same time indicating a productive alternative to the impotence of Cartesian subjectivity.

10   The term was proposed by Landow to denote a reader who "creates the story apart from authorial control in choosing links" (Landow 1994, 14).

11   To illustrate: a random browsing can result in entering an instance of hypertext literature without realising it, and vice versa – a link in a hypertext novel, for example, can take one onto a random Internet page, which thus becomes part of a literary work.

4. The Generators of Reality

The following pages are dedicated to the examination of the three categories which in the case of neo-realist and other deviations from postmodernist modes prove the most difficult to adequately tackle with the traditional tools of literary criticism: the concepts of literary subjects, literary worlds and stylistic features. As I believe that the problems are very probably connected to the epochal change of paradigms metaphorised by the new medium, I will first speculate on the possible actualisations of the three areas within the new circumstances, and then apply my findings to the actual production.

Recapping the existing theoretical treatments,[12] we can describe the postmodern subject as a fluid, ever-changing network of mediated data. Their validity depends on the stability of the potential systems they might create between themselves and in connection to the systems already confirmed in hyperreality. These may be considered the core of identity, which, however, is still fluid and prone to alterations: if the clusters of data entering the system create a more stable structure, the core is replaced or updated. The most obvious result of translating such a concept of subjectivity to the field of literary subjectivities is that the 'author' is reduced to a source of data which the 'reader' manipulates into the building of his or her own realities. At the same time the author is also an individual defined by the hyperreal logic of his own identity creation. With that, the autobiographical mode of writing becomes the only possible mode – whoever you are writing about is essentially linked to your current systems of subjectivity. However, such 'autobiographicality' is yet to be actualised as hyperreality, so it effectively points to the future; furthermore, it is shared by all participating in its system. As we all select from the same pool of data, there is no essential difference between narrative perspectives since the logic of literary character creation is synonymous and simultaneous with the building of any given identity.

Casual leafing through the works of what might be considered contemporary 'realistic' writing reveals the absolute primacy of first person, often seemingly autobiographical, narratives, which are frequently combined with sudden and ostensibly unsubstantiated changes of narrative perspectives.[13] The specific nature of the first person narration occurring in the works in question is in my opinion epitomized in Mark Leyner's 1990s fiction,[14] which fully corresponds to the characteristics of Weber's postmodern neo-realism.

The main protagonist of most of his prose is writer Mark Leyner. Consequently, the works strike us as autobiographical. The style of narration is realistic, events are palpable and provide an impression of a coherent structuring of the world. However, the very world into which Leyner places his 'autobiography' simultaneously disqualifies and generates the autobiographical moment. The literary 'Mark Leyner' constantly moves within the mediagenic reality, randomly selecting the elements from it to manipulate his identity. The data seem credible; they are part of our experiential reality, although most individuals will still have to verify them in their everyday practice. Credible is also Leyner's 'autobiographical' identity – the autobiography is constructed along the way, and the reader places individual pieces of information on 'Leyner' within systems of information, whose probability and stability depend on their connectivity. Leyner's authorial existence is thus entirely fluid and depends on the reader's capability of connecting the information

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12 I am primarily referring to Baudrillard's, Jameson's, Deleuze's and Guattari's (see footnote 8 of this article) and Nash's (2001) concepts.

13 Cf. Don DeLillo, Ronald Sukenick, Douglas Coupland, Mark Leyner, Michael Hornburg, Bret Easton Ellis, Jonathan Safran Foer, Philip Roth, etc.

14 I.e. *Et Tu, Babe*, *My Cousin* (1993)*, My Gastroenterologist* (1993) and *Tooth Imprints on a Corndog* (1995).

provided. His identity is realised through the readers' selection of the characteristics they choose to pursue, and thus relies completely on the readers' experiences. Leyner's example also reveals the nature of another feature which frequently appears in the production of authors digressing from the postmodernist modes, namely the dissolving of the difference between literary and non-literary subjectivities. These works are permeated by celebrities and real-life personalities, who sometimes even appear as protagonists. In contrast to the previous cases where real people were introduced into the stories, they function as trademarks, completely open-ended third-order simulacra, liable to change and reconstruction just as easily as any other character.[15]

The existence of postmodern identity as the fluid, ever-changing network of data depends on the continuous influx of mediated data from the environment, and is thus essentially enabled by it. In view of that, a postmodern literary identity would essentially be actualised and defined by the stability of the systems which the information on the environment creates for the reader. To accomplish this task effectively, literary environments should, on the one hand, consist of data that have been already confirmed in hyperreality, which would provide a relatively stable core. On the other hand, consistent with the logic of hyperreality creation, postmodern literary locations would prove to be completely fluid systems, where places would no longer be combinations of a finite number of characteristics, but would only emerge according to the placing of these characteristics within the systems of more or less stable environments. Since these features would be simulacra in themselves, copies without an original, intended for further copying and evaluation in hyperreality, the status of the 'actual' and 'fictive' environments would be completely the same.

Translating these hypothetical assumptions in the actual neo-realist production seems tricky at first: these works function realistically primarily because their literary worlds consist chiefly of elements from our everyday experiential reality. It is the nature of this reality, however, which enables us to examine these works in terms of the above suppositions, and, on the other hand, to provide productive explanations for the hitherto problematic deviations from the traditional realistic modes. Analysing the creation of neo-realist literary worlds in terms of their mediagenic and hyperreal potential, one observes two general patterns: they are either created through the constant influx of information provided by television, advertisements, radio, newspapers, etc., or they take place in environments already existing as hyperreality. A paradigmatic example of the former would be the world of Don DeLillo's *White Noise.* The action mostly takes place in a small university town, Blacksmith. DeLillo provides virtually no information on the town; instead, its features emerge through the references to the existing geographical locations and events. These enter the story via pieces of media-transferred information, which compose more or less stable systems of the realities upon which the protagonists develop their characteristics and corresponding actions. The only constant in the perpetual construction and disintegration of systems formed by the data received via television, radio or newspapers is the idea of the medium, which provides a meaning for each action and functions as its organizing principle. Let me illustrate my point with an example:

> That night, a Friday, we gathered in front of the set, as was the custom and the rule, with take-out Chinese. There were floods, earthquakes, mud slides, erupting volcanoes. We'd never before been so sensitive to our duty, our Friday assembly. Heinrich was not sullen, I was not bored. Steffie, brought close to tears by a sitcom husband arguing with his wife, appeared totally absorbed in these documentary clips of calamity and death. Babette tried

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15 To name just a few more obvious examples: Don DeLillo's treatment of Lee Harvey Oswald and other historical personalities involved in Kennedy's assassination in *Libra* (1988), or – through the character of Jack Gladney – of Hitler in *White Noise*, Sukenick's usage of Elvis in *Mosaic Man* (1999), Jonathan Safran Foer's naming of the main protagonist after himself in his debut novel *Everything is Illuminated* (2002), etc.

to switch to a comedy series about a group of racially mixed kids who build their own communications satellite. She was startled by the force of our objection. We were otherwise silent, watching houses slide into the ocean, whole villages crackle and ignite in a mass of advancing lava. Every disaster made us wish for more, for something bigger, grander, more sweeping. (DeLillo 1999, 64)

Because the reality in the novel is constructed chiefly according to media-transferred information, it is not really surprising that, only a few chapters later, a similar disaster takes place in Blacksmith, which is only recognised as a catastrophe by the protagonists when it is proclaimed as such by the television and the radio**.**

To employ environments which already exist in hyperreality is a tendency shared by virtually all the authors of the fiction associated with neo-realism. Relying upon our media-enhanced ideas of places16 certainly adds to the realistic feel, but it is essentially simulacrous. The logic is, again, best described by the work of Mark Leyner: unlike DeLillo, Leyner does not place the action into a 'fictive' town, which gains its 'non-fictive' or hyperreal status only through its placement within a medium. His environments emerge in the process of reading according to the characteristics they are comprised of. These are stereotypical notions about American cities, which – according to how they appear together – inform us of the place of the action. The decision on where a certain segment is taking place thus completely relies on both the author's and the reader's familiarity with these stereotypes. In Leyner's case, these cliché characteristics rely upon the information one might receive via movies, TV series and tabloids, which means that the data entering Leyner's systems of reality are at the same time also parts of other systems of hyperreality. That makes the reading of his stories essentially hypertextual as it corresponds to the logic of using the Internet.

The majority of the authors associated with neo-realism, of course, do not employ such drastic measures in their environment construction as Leyner does. The underlying principle is, however, the same: operating with locations with significant media coverage automatically triggers the creation of hyperreal systems. The reason is certainly not some conscious effort on the part of the writers to produce something drastically new. Rather, the alterations are a logical consequence of the changes on the level of society, economy and culture that can be traced back to the 1950s but had culminated to the level of everyday experiential reality by the 1980s.[17]

In the domain of style and especially I the use of imagery, radical deviations from established models can already be observed in the production of the literary cyberpunk at the beginning of the 1980s. The most obvious characteristic of cyberpunk metaphors is the reversal of the relation between nature and technology, technology being used for description of natural phenomena. Such metaphors are essentially simulacrous since technological notions in themselves function as copies without originals and the meaning is generally ascribed to them through verification in reality. The shift coincides with the spread of high technology to the level of everyday existence at the beginning of the 1980s, and with the formation of the technosociety, which rapidly progressed to a fully mediagenic one over the next five years. In a media-governed society, each event – or, for that matter, individual – is technological, which eradicates the boundary between nature and technology, or rather, technology becomes the guarantee of nature's existence.

With that in mind, it is only logical that cyberpunk's strictly technological metaphors should

16 These as a rule include cities and landscapes which keep reappearing in the media in very specific contexts, for example New York, Seattle, Detroit, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Washington, etc.

17 For a more detailed discussion, see Krevel 2011, 7–10.

eventually extend across the entire spectrum of media phenomena, which form the foundation for the creation and understanding of the more complex segments of everyday hyperreality. In other words, if metaphors essentially define the unknown with the familiar, the vehicles of postmodern metaphors should be elements that have already become an integral part of various hyperreal systems: media personalities and events, commercials, movies and TV series, heavily advertised consumer goods and so on.

Examining the prose associated with neo-realism, one indeed observes the absolute dominance of mediagenic imagery. Similes and metaphors like the one from Douglas Coupland's *Generation X*,[18] "Silly-Putty-coloured espalier of scars" (Coupland 2001, 40), or Don DeLillo's "Another postmodern sunset, rich in romantic imagery" (DeLillo 1999, 216), fundamentally contribute to the realistic feel of these works, directly connecting them to our everyday reality.

Another feature to be expected in the literature of the third-order simulacra would be the abundance of neologisms, as the logic of their formation is not only fundamentally simulacrous,[19] though in fact paradigmatic of hyperreality creation. The beginnings of the trend can, in fact, be observed already in the production of literary cyberpunk, but cyberpunk neologisms remain strictly within the field of technology. Judging by the development of society and culture in the following years, one could expect neologisms which would, on the one hand, rely on the artifacts of the mediagenic society, and, on the other, contribute to the formation of its hyperreal systems.

A brief inspection of fiction associated with neo-realism reveals an unusual frequency of neologisms which rely upon artefacts of popular media culture. In the majority of these works, our understanding of the neologisms significantly defines how we follow and what we make of a story. Such an approach is best illustrated and even thematised by Coupland's system of footnotes in *Generation X*, which provide more or less random explanations of hip terms and neologisms, albeit without appearing in the body of the text *per se*. However, when the reader encounters a concept described by the neologism, he or she names it with the word provided, and so the neologism, up to that moment just a piece of information, starts functioning as a third-order simulacrum and becomes part of hyperreality.

It seems, however, that in terms of style the most radical alterations brought about by introducing the (modus operandi of) hypertext into literary writing are to take place in the domain of narrative techniques. Hypertext functioning and the logic of its organization are based on procedures traditionally pertaining to the field of the non-realistic, the abstract, allowing manipulation associated with fragmentation, decentralisation and montage. In this regard, the literary production conditioned by the medium of hypertext might be expected to move away from the traditional realist presentation modes. However, taking into account that according to the metaphysical structuring of postmodernity literature is one of the media, and as such generates information for the construction of hyperreality, hypertext conditioned literature would paradoxically create and at the same time mirror the experiential reality of individuals. In other words, its 'realism' would be realised by the usage of techniques traditionally regarded as 'abstract'.

Some of the best works associated with neo-realism have had their style compared to the changing of TV channels (cf. DeLillo, Leyner, Sukenick, Ellis), with individual episodes appearing collage

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18 Coupland's *Generation X* may be added to the rather limited group of representatives of integrative neo-realism. Its formal organisation and preoccupation with language correspond to postmodern neo-realism, its themes and style to minimalist neo-realism, while the inclusion of stories, fairy-tales and dreams partly correspond to the defining features of ex-centric neo-realism.

19 I.e. the sign (word) precedes and thus creates the concept.

like, without any obvious connection. It is, furthermore, hard to define the central episodes, as there are either many, or none. There are stories within stories, novels without an ending – or at least lacking an ending that would connect individual episodes into a coherent whole – sudden cuts and changes of perspective, slogans from commercials, etc. It has all been done before, certainly, but there is a fundamental difference from the previous cases, in which such techniques served the non-realistic, abstract interpretations of reality. In literature from the mid-1980s onwards, by contrast, such presentation modes are directly connected to the principles that form the very core of mediagenic reality. They reflect our hyperreal experience and function completely realistically.

5. Into the Desert of the Real

The practice of conditioning the realistic feel by employing techniques traditionally considered abstract, non-realistic or even 'avant-garde' is paradoxical only as long as we discuss it in terms of established notions and instruments of literary criticism. These, with their attachment to categorisations, hierarchisations and classifications based on clearly demarcated binary oppositions, most intimately relate to the metaphysical foundation of the modern age. Bearing in mind the observations I have made so far, the obvious practical consequence is that at least some of the so-called neo-realist literature (most certainly the works and authors discussed in this article) can no longer be relevantly described or evaluated by the existing literary-theoretical categories and tools except for oxymoronic pooling of previously incompatible notions.

If we, however, discuss this production in terms of the metaphysical framework deducible from both the existing theories on postmodernity as well as the discernible mechanisms governing the functioning of contemporary society, economy and culture, the paradox disappears. Translation of these concepts into the basic *Geistesgeschichte* categories results in a metaphysical foundation which radically differs from the existing models. The concept of Transcendence as the basis for and the guarantee of identity and reality creation most accurately corresponds to the media, the essence and logic of which are on the one hand summarised and on the other accelerated into the everyday reality of individuals by the Internet. Internalising the media logic and principles, facilitated by the media, the Subject is *a priori* a simulacrum, a fluid system of signs that incorporate and are incorporated into different systems of reality. The paradigm of Reality is established through constant corroborations of the stability of systems of signs accepted by individuals into the structure of their subjectivity. The relation between the Subject and Transcendence, establishing the category of Truth, anticipates perpetual rhizomatous, web-like decentralisation, metaphorised by the logic of hypertext functioning.

Within the framework presented, and keeping in mind that before the actualisation in hyperreality all data have the same value, the traditional notions of the real and the fictive are in essence obsolete. One may speculate that the fictive is that which has not yet been confirmed in hyperreality, pure data which have not yet been manipulated by either the writer or the reader. But, of course, here the 'fictive' is not 'unreal', as it is potentially about to become part of hyperreality. Literature is, essentially, a medium and as such it creates and conditions the postmodern 'real' just like television, radio, the Internet or newspapers and magazines. The 'realistic' mode of writing therefore seems the only logical and possible manner of literary expression, regardless of the author's intentions, as the 'realism-ness' relies upon the very act of data manipulation by both the author and the reader.

Let us conclude by returning to the central question of this discussion, namely whether the deviations from postmodernism generally discussed in terms of neo-realism may be considered as a

productive step forward in the history of literature. According to what can already be observed when considering contemporary literary production in the light of the actual mechanisms governing our economy, society and culture, the production in question predominantly seems to be the result of completely different spiritual and historical circumstances than postmodernism as well as all the modern age literary periods preceding it. As such, it relies upon a metaphysical foundation which has absolutely nothing in common with that of its supposed 19th-century model. From the point of view of literary history, the name used by literary criticism with reference to this production is therefore completely inadequate. Referring to the utterly ahistorical formal properties, it tempts theoretical research, which should be – and which indeed set out to be – historical, to treat its subject ahistorically, which relativises the relevance of its findings. On the other hand, it enforces an artificial connection between this production and an already obsolete tradition, which results in the usage of inappropriate, obsolete tools and categories for its handling. It seems that the greatest challenge literary scholarship will have to tackle in the coming decades is abandoning the comfortable binaries and hierarchisations upon which it rests, and developing a scientific apparatus enabling adequate and productive treatment of its subject.

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ELOPE

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Redefining the Boundaries of Historical Writing and Historical Imagination in Carolyn Steedman's *Master and Servant: Love and Labour in the English Industrial Age*

Summary

One of the dominant features of the late 20th and early 21st century academic debates on the nature of history is a curious form of radicalism both in the ranks of defenders of traditional approaches to history/historiography and eloquent champions of postmodern theories. These debates will provide the context for my reading of Steedman's *Master and Servant*, which probes disciplinary boundaries of history and fiction in order to explore the unhistoricised ways of love and labour in 18th century industrial Yorkshire. As Steedman inhabits the position of both a professional historian, with all the ideological implications of that position, and Nelly Dean, a servant and narrator in Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, this paper will consider her approach to historical imagination in the light of deconstructionist genre of historical writing.

Key words: Carolyn Steedman, Master and Servant, history, fiction, postmodernism, traditional historiography, deconstructionist genre, Emily Brontë, Nelly Dean, E.P. Thompson.

Redefiniranje meja historične pisave in historične imaginacije v delu *Gospodar in služabnica: ljubezen in delo v industrijski dobi v Angliji* Carolyn Steedman

Povzetek

V akademskih razpravah o naravi zgodovine ob koncu dvajsetega in na začetku enaindvajsetega stoletja je med drugim v ospredju tudi nenavadna oblika radikalizma, tako med tistimi, ki zagovarjajo tradicionalni pristop k zgodovini/zgodovinopisju, kot med tistimi, ki prisegajo na postmoderne teorije. Omenjene razprave tvorijo kontekst mojega branja dela *Gospodar in služabnica* avtorice C. Steedman, ki s pomočjo proučevanja disciplinarnih meja zgodovine in fikcije raziskuje 'neuzgodovinjene' načine ljubezni in dela v industrijskem Yorkshiru v osemnajstem stoletju. Glede na to, da C. Steedman zavzame hkrati položaj poklicne zgodovinarke, vključno z vsem, kar to predpostavlja, ter Nelly Dean, služabnice in pripovedovalke v romanu *Viharni vrh* E. Brontë, bo članek obravnaval njen pristop k historični imaginaciji v luči dekonstrukcijskega žanra historične pisave.

Ključne besede: Carolyn Steedman, Gospodar in služabnica, zgodovina, fikcija, postmodernizem, tradicionalno zgodovinopisje, dekonstrukcijski žanr, Emily Brontë, Nelly Dean, E.P. Thompson

Redefining the Boundaries of Historical Writing and Historical Imagination in Carolyn Steedman's *Master and Servant: Love and Labour in the English Industrial Age*

1. An introduction into cultural wars in the name of history

History as an academic discipline has suffered many forays of postmodern thought in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. The choice of war metaphor in the opening sentence is not accidental as, more often than a kind academic exchange of arguments, these challenges may be characterized as militant campaigns in the name of history. Although battles *in* history, especially in the war-saturated 20th century, entail horrific death statistics, these battles *for* history, thankfully, rage only on the pages of academic journals such as *History and Theory* and *Rethinking History*. The defenders of traditional approaches and eloquent champions of postmodern historiography have been engaged in fierce, and often cynical, debates over issues such as defining a proper historical methodology, authority of historical evidence, representation of history, literary nature of history, role of the historian and alike. However tempting as it is to resort to simplifications in discussing positions of historians in this academic/cultural war, I will try to think of them as textual battles waged on diverse literary and philosophical fronts whose purpose is not a triumph of any particular side, but the *process* of textual confrontation and negotiation. Surely, some of the more radical supporters of the postmodern turn in historical thought would jump at the previous sentence as a typical example of a liberal (non-ideological) attempt at compromise by locating the truth somewhere in the middle, which, unmistakably points at our inability today to think of history without being aware of our own position in the contemporary theoretical discourse.

Amongst the issues that deepen the gap between the two opposed views of historiography, the rhetorical nature of historical discourse and/or the problematic relationship of the historical writing and the novel as a literary genre have been particularly prominent. In the mid 1970s and early 1980s Dominick LaCapra and Hayden White initiated the process of theorizing the fruitful, although rarely officially acknowledged, exchange between literature/literary criticism and history/historiography.

LaCapra pointed at "the narrowly documentary or positivistic uses of literary texts" (1996, 124) by those mid 20th century historians who focus only on the content of the novel as a source of useful knowledge of the relevant social contexts. He challenged this restricted form of exchange because it made literature redundant, using it as a source of information that can be gained from other documentary sources (ibid., 126). The title of Hayden White's book from 1987, *The Content of the Form*, playfully indicates the inadequacy of a simplistic approach to the form of literary/historical writing which reduces the form to the status of an empty container into which a meaningful content is subsequently implanted. Accordingly, White claims that the use of a particular narrative form "entails ontological and epistemic choices with distinct ideological and even specifically political implications" (White 1990b, ix). Thus, realism, as the chosen mode of writing for majority of traditional historians, is stripped of its aura of neutrality and objectivity, which opens the theoretical space for the discussion of various forms of representation and the

particular cultural and political content inscribed in these forms. This is precisely where history revisits the novel, this time not as a source of ready-made contexts but as an abundance of forms, each of which subversively rewrites the content of history.

Echoes of these debates, as well as instances of far more flagrant usurpation of the border between literature and history, can be discerned in Carolyn Steedman's historical account of love and labour in the English industrial age, *Master and Servant* (2007). The aim of this paper is to discuss the ways in which Steedman's deconstructionist writing redefines the boundaries of historical writing and historical imagination. However, since Steedman is a Professor of History at the University of Warwick, her professional context undeniably interferes with her theoretical position and vice versa, which is why some intersections of a traditional academic and a postmodern approach to history will be considered first.

2. A brief survey of the warring sides

As early as 1973, Hayden White, in his *Metahistory*, addressed the issue of realistic representation in historical writing by defining the historical work as "a verbal structure in the form of a narrative prose discourse that purports to be a model, or icon, of past structures and processes in the interest of *explaining what they were by representing them*" (White 1993, 2).

In doing so, White foregrounds the linguistic aspect of the historical work, thus making its representational strategies the focus of his discussion and not just a vehicle for telling the story. Furthermore, the use of the verb 'purport' adds a dose of uncertainty and incompletion in the relation between the historical work and the historical past whereby the subversive potential of language is inscribed in the very definition of historical writing. Explanation/interpretation is defined as inseparable from representation, which challenges an understanding of interpretation as an independent activity that is subsequent to fact-based description of historical events (White 1990a, 125–8). In other words, a description of historical events, which includes a selection of facts and their arrangement into a meaningful whole, also prefigures answers to questions of why and how things happened in the past, contrary to the traditional view of historical description as a neutral description based on the meaning found in the historical facts. Finally, White claims that this poetizing of historical facts is not an alternative to the realistic representation (ibid., 126). Quite the contrary, it is an integral part of all cultural practices as it is impossible to discipline the language of our thought processes by separating its literal use from figurative use. These concerns have remained central to his conception of the historical narrative defined in his subsequent work as an extended metaphor which does not *image* historical events but invokes familiar patterns within which our culture thinks of such events (ibid., 91). In a more recent appropriation of this idea, Keith Jenkins points out that the very act of committing the historical past to writing, turning it into a conference paper, film or performance entails *troping* that reality into something it never was. As such, it is a linguistic, figurative, *imaginative* (it is an act of imagination and *not* downright fabrication) undertaking as much as it is an empirical one (Jenkins and Munslow 2004, 3).

Reactions and counter-reactions to these ideas over the past 30–40 years constitute a new history of history that is constantly being rewritten and I will briefly look into some of them. One of the prominent traditionalists among historians, Geoffrey Elton, concedes that historical truth can never be recovered in full and beyond all doubt, but claims, nevertheless, that uncertainties surrounding it arise from the deficiencies of the evidence rather than from what Hayden White and his followers attribute to the process of imaginative transformation of events in the organizing

mind of the historian. Even though in his writing Elton problematizes the mythic nature of many historical narratives, such as that of the British Empire, with a critical awareness of the impossibility of dismantling one myth without actually replacing it with another, there is still a myth that cannot be challenged. Namely, by asserting that historians are not bound by any human or divine authority (Elton 1998, 176-9), he places the historians outside of human community and history although they are deeply enmeshed into various human networks.

Another 'traditionalist,' Keith Windschuttle, finds the postmodernists' preference of plurality hypocritical since "they are happy to legitimise a multiplicity of voices as long as they all belong to leftist groups of which they approve" (2002, 275). More important than the usual anti-postmodernist agenda of his writing is his genuine anxiety over a dramatic decline of interest in traditional history at the university level in English speaking countries. Loss of students to the alluring cultural studies is not only symbolically mourned but mentioned in the context of sincere concern for professorial tenures and much dreaded early retirements of those unable to keep up with changes in the study of history (ibid., 271–2). All of this suggests that so-called 'cultural wars' are not mere skirmishes over terminology but developments that affect some previously protected categories such as integrity of historians and historical truth as well as existential issues of those 'doing' history.

Similarly, in what appears to be a balanced view of conflicting approaches to historiography, Lloyd S. Kramer provocatively claims that "[h]istory departments will never advertise for 'carnivalesque historians' with poetic 'historical imaginations'" (1989, 121), which raises the issue of the practical applicability of the postmodern approach in the classroom.

In an interesting and lucid analysis of postmodern fallacies Arthur Marwick draws attention to their highly imprecise use of language. Hence terms such as 'discourse analysis', 'deconstruction', and 'historical narrative' cover a range of meanings and constitute tools for analyzing virtually all cultural products, which results in erudite but essentially ambiguous historical writing. Further on, self-awareness in a historian is, in Marwick's view, an ability to *control* his/her metaphors, rather than the other way round (1995, 6). For the sake of precision, Marwick is eager to appropriately name some postmodern practices so he comes up with the distinction between metaphysical (postmodern) and historical approach to historical study. The label of the 'metaphysical', according to Marwick, allies the postmodernists with the epochalist 19th century philosophy which essentially viewed the world and man in terms of a preset overarching theory. Practitioners of the historical approach, on the other hand, remain humbly convinced that, instead of fitting everything into an obscure theoretical discourse, they should simply consult specialists of the fields with which they are not fully acquainted in order to produce valid interpretations. However, once named, postmodern/ metaphysical obsession with the workings of language fails to stabilize the contested notion because it irresistibly evokes other uses of the word metaphysical in similar contexts, such as its use by the renowned 18th century critic Samuel Johnson in reference to John Donne and his followers. Although initially derided as 'men of learning' for whom showing their learning "was their whole endeavour" and who therefore "instead of writing poetry, [...] only wrote verses" (Johnson 2009, 15), the 17th century metaphysical poets have certainly changed the way we think of the poetic language and its ability to challenge various received notions of poetry and selfhood. T.S. Eliot and many others have challenged the meanings attached by Johnson to the "displaced philosophical term" (Bloom 2008, xv) 'metaphysical,' thus making it a sort of palimpsest which both informs and undermines Marwick's use of the term. Rather than exercising self-conscious control over language, Marwick's attempt to name the practices of the postmodern historians seems only to release the gates of language, thus unwittingly entering the domain of the theoretical discourse.

3. Deconstructive historical consciousness of Carolyn Steedman

Amidst the clamour of orthodox and dissenting voices produced in these debates on the nature of history at the turn of the 21ˢᵗ century, it is difficult to discern the contours of historical writing which would duly acknowledge the theoretical unconscious and yet keep faith in history as an urgent need to know the past, at least in one of its many guises. Carolyn Steedman's *Master and Servant*, however, appears to be acutely aware of all the fine as well as those more disconcerting workings of theory without relinquishing the belief in the meaning of the past. This approach to history, as will be argued further on, corresponds to what is broadly defined by Alun Munslow and Keith Jenkins as deconstructionist historical writing.

The British historiographers Jenkins and Munslow discuss 'the nature of history today' by distinguishing between three basic historical genres: reconstructionist, constructionist and deconstructionist. To these they add the position of endism, as a challenge to the very idea of history, and acknowledge the porousness of the newly installed genre borders.[1] Eschewing the limitations of the subject matter, political agenda or particular theoretical framework in the organization of their readings, they foreground the view of histories as "aesthetic, figurative, positioned, imaginary artifacts – and especially literary artifacts" (Jenkins and Munslow 2004, 5). The historians' choice of a particular genre reflects their attitude "towards empiricism, how they perceive the nature and status of facts and their description, how they deploy the explanatory strategies of emplotment, tropology and ideology, and how they view language as the vehicle for their thinking" (ibid.).

Based on these parameters, reconstructionist historians are distinguished by their endorsement of empiricism as a safe path towards the true knowledge of the past, i.e. the accurate narrative of the individual events in the past, while constructionists believe that an appropriate social theory (such as race, gender, imperialism and nationalism), rather than a scrupulous source analysis, is a way of getting at the true story of the past. Although the methodologies differ, both approaches/genres are characterized by their belief in language as a reliable and neutral tool at the disposal of historians.

Deconstructionists, on the other hand, are influenced by the poststructuralist interventions in the study of history, in particular the linguistic turn, which is why they do not believe in the possibility of dis/re/covering an original meaning of the past. Accordingly, they emphasize the creative role of the historian as an author who "dispens[es] with linear narratives in favour of multi-voiced, multi-perspectival, multi-levelled, fragmented arrangements" that provide new ways of 'representing and figuring' the past (Jenkins and Munslow 2004, 116).

Many of these deconstructionist methods[2] may be recognized in Steedman's exploration of the ways of love and labour of domestic servants in the English industrial age in West Riding, Yorkshire, in

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1   This explains why it is possible for some authors, including Steedman, to flirt with two genres at the same time, e.g. with deconstructionist and endist. However, as Jenkins and Munslow claim, it is very unlikely for an author to combine ideologically disparate genres, such as reconstructionist and endist.

2   Apart from taking obvious pleasure in her authorial role, which allows her to explore the possibilities of subjectivity as an indispensable part of historical methodology, Steedman uses other methods recognized as deconstructionist by Jenkins and Munslow. These methods clearly challenge the epistemological principle of empiricism according to which the content (of the past) has primacy over the form (representation of the past), which is why her hybrid, multi-layered, repetitive narrative form is constantly foregrounded. Likewise, Steedman does not invoke pre-existence of historical meaning in the events and people themselves, but points at the artifice inherent to the reading and emplotting of an already historicised past. This is how she identifies the places where her documentary and fictional historical materials contradict themselves and provide space for her own version of the past.

the period between 1780–1810. The title of her historical narrative, *Master and Servant*, clearly indicates intertextual presence of popular 18th century novels and conduct books, the most famous of which is Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*, whereas her writing is positioned at the intersection of meticulous archival research and the disturbing silence of some of her protagonists. Starting out with what seems to be very little – an obscure 18th century preacher, John Murgatroyd, his domestic servant, Phoebe Beatson and George Thorp, Phoebe's lover and the father of her child who refuses to marry her – Steedman is faced with tenuous historical evidence. Her research is placed within the strictures of Murgatroyd's prolific but fairly unimpressive personal writings, Phoebe's textual absence, which is accounted for by her illiteracy, as well as the stubborn silence of George Thorp.

In order to find alternative entrances into this segment of the past, Steedman tries to *read* their writings and their silences, as well as their failure to act in accordance with our preconceived notions of 18th century clergymen, female servants and their lovers. Here are the 'historical facts' that need to be emplotted: Phoebe, aged 38, gets pregnant by George Thorp while working in the household of a widowed clergyman, John Murgatroyd. Against all the logic of foreseeable patterns of behaviour of 18th century servants and clergymen, George Thorp refuses to marry her and make 'an honest woman of her' although he is summoned by the local authorities to own the child and pay for it and urged by Reverend Murgatroyd to marry Phoebe. Furthermore, Murgatroyd does not dismiss Phoebe from service but allows her to stay in his house and have her illegitimate child whom he baptizes, accepts as a part of his family and endows with 300£ upon his death.

The story of a genuine affection, largely that of an elderly clergyman for his servant's illegitimate daughter, is intertwined with the story of domestic servants as unacknowledged progenitors of the English working class. Prompted by her reading of Murgatroyd's diaries, which give meaning and texture to Phoebe's otherwise unrecorded life, as well as the disturbing absence of domestic servants from E.P. Thompson's acclaimed historical narrative, *The Making of the English Working Class*, Steedman pursues her research of (unusual) love and (unacknowledged/unwritten) labour.

The diaries, namely, provide a valuable insight into Phoebe's constant engagement in the so- called out-working system. Apart from receiving regular payment for her domestic work, Phoebe was also hired by the local agent as a domestic worsted spinner, which means that she used her labour to transform wool into yarn, thus producing a commodity for sale. She was a part of a large out-working network, along with many other women in that region, as well as engaged in domestic service which was "the largest single occupation for women" (Steedman 2007, 21) at the time. Murgatroyd recorded the details of her work and payment arrangements, which casts a fairly different light on the employment of servants and their role in the making of the working class.

Love and labour, therefore, become two aporias that significantly complicate our understanding of larger cultural patterns of 18th century life in England. Although some aspects of Steedman's research are empirical, strictly archival and, therefore, in line with her professional requirements, her historical method is largely based on her *reading* of primary historical sources *against* other historical interpretations, such as Thompson's *Making*, written in Yorkshire and coloured by West Riding sources (Thompson 1964, 13), and several works of philosophy and literature, most important of which is Emily Brontë's Yorkshire-based novel, *Wuthering Heights*, while openly positioning herself within her reinterpretations.

In line with Jenkins' remark that all kinds of historying are "self-referencing, problematic expressions of our various interests, an ideological discourse *per se* without any real access to the past as such, unable to engage in a dialogue with anything other than an 'always already' historiographically

constituted historicized past" (2000, 151), Steedman carefully orchestrates or, more precisely, manipulates several textual threads, thus prefiguring a new interpretation of love and labour in 18th century West Yorkshire. Nevertheless, she manages to escape the echo of endism traceable in Jenkins' writing by neutralizing the severely ironic edge of postmodern theorizing with a genuine passion for storytelling.

She starts by tracing the absence of domestic servants from Thompson's account of the English working class to Adam Smith's characterization of domestic service as non-work in 1770s, which was later adopted by Karl Marx as well. Apart from this obvious example of intertextual and ideological borrowing, Hayden White points out that, for all the praise the book received due to its rejection of methodology and abstract theory, its author is still not immune to the allure of narrative and tropological patterns. In his Preface, Thompson envisions his narrative as "a biography of the English working class from its adolescence until its early manhood" (Thompson 1964, 11), whereby he tropes his history into a metaphor of biography, which is in itself a problematic and subversive genre, while adolescence and manhood are culturally determined metaphors (White 1990a, 16).

In the manner of a genuine deconstructionist, Steedman positions her authorial self within her historical narrative and introduces Nelly Dean, a servant and narrator from Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, as a much needed multi-faceted presence and a source of historical knowledge. In doing so, she clearly defies the rules of empirical epistemology of reconstructionists as well as a plausible social theory of constructionists, while, unlike the endists, she admits the possibility and meaningfulness of historical inquiry. The narrative and ideological scaffolding beneath her historical method seems to be fully uncovered, allowing us to follow closely as she construes her narrative and offers a counter myth. Reconstructionists and constructionists would most probably find this historical method exceedingly relativistic, not to say unethical, and Jenkins' mischievous remark that "the past is utterly promiscuous: [and] will go with anybody – Marxists, Whigs, racists, feminists, phenomenologists, structuralists, empiricists, Eltonists, Foucauldians, 'postists'" (2000, 153) certainly does not help in achieving any kind of reconciliation between the genres.

4. Nelly Dean at the intersection of history and literature

Nelly Dean, as she is constructed and narrated within the bounds of Steedman's historical imagination, sprang out of a number of contradictions surrounding the story of Reverend John Murgatroyd, Phoebe Beatson and George Thorp.

Firstly, the aporetic function of Nelly Dean in *Wuthering Heights* as a character who has drawn far more modern critical attention than the novel's main characters, Catherine and Heathcliff, makes her a source of new readings. Her problematic status is nowhere more apparent than in film adaptations of the novel, none of which dares to deal with Nelly in a creative manner, so she remains virtually unfilmable. Similarly, all the three protagonists from 18th century industrial Yorkshire resist interpretation and refuse to fit into standard patterns of their class behaviour.

Secondly, Nelly and Phoebe have a lot in common. They are both domestic servants living in the same region of England, not far removed from each other in terms of time, who see their work as a particular kind of job they do for money. Phoebe is a servant and an out-worker and Nelly oscillates between Wuthering Heights and Trushcross Grange, depending on the work availability. Still, as Steedman observes, 18th century poor working women remain "as silent as the grave" (2007, 10) to all the probing of historians, which rings false in conjunction with the 'clamorous voice' of the two most famous domestic servants and storytellers in English literature – Nelly Dean and Pamela.

Thirdly, appointing Nelly Dean as the "historian of English industrial modernity" (Steedman 2007, 28), the author places her at the very intersection of fiction and literature, which allows her to inhabit many different roles. Her nodal position in this book draws attention to the literary nature of social and historical knowledge in the story of love and labour in 18th century Yorkshire. Absences and silences in history are particularly susceptible to the influence of literary patterns. Therefore, we read Phoebe Beatson's life as a fortunate escape from the familiar melodrama of a poor woman seduced and then abandoned to the unspeakable misery of prostitution in the streets of urban centres. The power of this representation of female domestic servants that pervaded religious tracts, social realist novels and conduct books proved to be the crucial reason for rejecting William Pitt's proposal for a tax on the employment of maidservants in 1785. Although the government needed money for various political and military campaigns, parliamentarians protested that enforcement of tax would make young women's employment an unbearable financial burden for their employers, which would in turn result in their dismissal and inevitable descent into prostitution (Steedman 2007, 52). This is how literary romance or sentimental plot is transformed into legal fiction.

On the one hand, with his 'untypical behaviour' John Murgatroyd rewrote the plot of domestic romance, thus creating the historical and literary space where Phoebe and Nelly can meet. On the other, Murgatroyd's knowledge of various kinds of love is clearly derived from books, such as Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, London journals, Thomas Nettleton's *Treatise on Virtue and Happiness*, the 'archetypal text of the West Riding Enlightenment' (Steedman 2007, 186) and Henry Fielding's novel *Tom Jones*, which indicates that the subversive influence of literary patterns works in mysterious ways.

Acknowledging a fictional character as a sort of alter ego without actually relinquishing the position of a professional historian, Carolyn Steedman curiously resembles her historical subjects, Nelly Dean and Phoebe Beatson, in the sense that she moves back and forth between her disparate self-imposed roles. In doing so, she invokes another similarity, this time with the famous statement of Hayden White that history takes advantage of the supposedly neutral ground it occupies between science and art so that it borrows freely from both discourses without undertaking the formality of swearing allegiance to either of them. However, unlike history in White's statement, Steedman does not claim neutrality for she does not assume the space between her different roles to be empty. Actually, it is quite the other way around. It teems with hesitation, self-introspection, discourse analysis and, above all, passionate reading of familiar texts in search of crevices that might unfold new interpretations.

Assuming that self-reflexivity of the historical narrative, which implies the application of the analysis of style, genre and narrative structure to the historian's sources and their written interpretations, is crucial to deconstructive historical consciousness (Munslow 2006, 62), Steedman conveniently 'meets the requirements' by writing Nelly Dean into her *history*. Not in the actual *past* because, as she repeats all too often, there was never a real Nelly Dean in the past.

Steedman's authorial intervention, however, is playfully flaunted at the readers when she marries Nelly to Lockwood (2007, 206) and then examines the social, historical and literary consequences of this marriage. Or when she claims that Nelly is what Phoebe is pregnant with (ibid., 197), or that Nelly's narrative begins in the very moment of little Eliza's conception (ibid., 198)!

When it comes to the historical method, Steedman removes epistemological barriers between her primary historical sources (Murgatroyd's diaries), other historians' interpretations (Thompson's history) and Brontë's novel. With the commitment of a professional historian, she points out the facts, both historical and fictional, which make Phoebe and Nelly part of the shared historical

imagination in which they "may be allowed to at least complicate the other histories we have of this time and place, in which servants must forever be a non-industrial, unradical non-productive footnote" (ibid., 228).

In order to historicise Nelly Dean, Steedman considers her as an event in her narrative, thus echoing Foucault's thoughts on effective history, which reads an event as an enactment of discontinuity, as opposed to traditional history, which forcefully dissolves an event into an ideal continuity or a natural process (Foucault 1991, 88). Accordingly, Nelly is a usurper of narrative power and a masked 'other' who erupts into our historical imagination every time she is recontextualised or reimagined "for a thousand purposes never dreamed of by [her] author" (Steedman 2007, 196). Instead of resorting to a traditional historian's search for origins and grand theories, or the past "as it actually occurred," Steedman concurs with Foucault's (and Nietzsche's) vision of natural affinity between history and medicine, writes a "history of the present" (Flynn 2005, 45) and *diagnoses Nelly Dean with historical significance* due to her ability to unsettle our reading of both history and fiction.

Likewise, Steedman claims that Anglican God *happened*[3] in Murgatroyd's writing and taught him to love Phoebe's illegitimate daughter thus signalling discontinuity in history of the same kind that accounts for Nelly's love for the Earnshow and Linton children which thrived, and was an integral part of her employment contract (2007, 212), in spite of morbidity that was constantly read into the novel by the critics.

Finally, Steedman's deconstructionist reading/writing of history problematizes Thompson's narrative of the making of the English working class as an enclosed text whose borders are not to be assailed, but at least disturbed, by the excluded presence of domestic female servants. If this proves to be too demanding a task for Phoebe, Steedman makes sure that Phoebe can rely on the knowing presence of Nelly Dean whom she has released from the novel enclosed by various reductive critical interpretations, perhaps none more so than the preface provided by the author's sister, Charlotte Brontë, who, in order to protect her sister from hostile reviews, relocated the novel from political controversy into the "secret recesses of … emotional life" (Armstrong 1989, 46).

5. Conclusion: What about the future of historical writing?

In my concluding remarks I will try to place Steedman's history in the context of discussions of the prospects for writing and teaching history in the 21st century. The urgency of these issues proves that history, although controversial enough, is far from obsolete in what appears to be the heyday of advanced information technologies.

Education Secretary of the current Conservative government in Britain, Michael Gove, has appointed a committee, among whose members are Niall Ferguson, "the British historian most closely associated with a rightwing, Eurocentric vision of western ascendancy" (Higgins 2010) and Simon Schama, a historian and author of the mega popular BBC documentary series *A History of Britain*, with the aim of revising and revitalizing history syllabus in schools. However, Michael Gove's views of British literature ("Our literature is the best in the world – it is every child's birthright, and we should be proud to teach it in every school.") and history ("Children are growing up ignorant of one of the most inspiring stories I know – the history of our United Kingdom.") (Vasagar and Sparrow 2010) seem to resuscitate the spirit of the Victorian Britain and it is uncertain how they will work for 21st century Britain.

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3   Interestingly, Thompson uses the same term in his definition of class: "I do not see class as a 'structure', nor even as a 'category', but as something which in fact happens (and can be shown to have happened) in human relationships" (1964, 9).

Fortunately, history resides not just in schools but elsewhere as well. These alternative residences of history, such as the novel, film, internet resources and alike, are far more difficult to control, while their influence is more than considerable. And how is the professional academic history to survive all these challenges of political and moral interventionism, on the one hand, and commercial imperatives, on the other? Joan Scott believes history should be a form of critique by which she means a historian's ability to ask questions about the sources of the values and standards by which he/she makes judgments of the past (2007, 34–5). David Harlan draws the attention to the new history being produced outside the academy and the need to meet that challenge by teaching students to be responsive to all those alternative forms as that is the only way for them "to develop historical imaginations that are morally sustaining and politically relevant" (2007, 121). Harlan even proposes the making of a map that would delineate the domains of different modes of historical representation. This resembles a sort of a peace agreement between historical genres which should ensure non-violation of genre borders, although it remains unclear where exactly in that map he would accommodate Steedman's mixing of genres.

Historians are urged to face up to the challenge, not by burying themselves even deeper into the archives to unearth sources not yet seen, but by harmonizing their presentation of history with other modes of art, such as "a collage, a comic book, a dance, a rap-song cycle, a series of emails sent to everyone online, or a combination of expressive forms we have not yet seen" (Rosenstone 2007, 14). However, Joan Scott wisely remarks that, although history and literature are susceptible to the same kind of analysis, "overly enthusiastic disciplinary borrowing" might not be the best way to approach these two forms of knowledge. Boundaries between them should be constantly problematised and investigated but their complete obliteration should not be a precondition of serious scholarship (1999, 8).

Steedman's version of 'historying' is an attempt to respond to the challenges that have besieged history as an academic discipline at the turn of the 21st century. Her historical subjects and methods freely traverse disciplinary borders and she freezes these textual images of a schizophrenic historical consciousness. The result may not always be technically impressive but the images are certainly inviting because they incite our desire to reread and re-imagine history.

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ELOPE

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"Hungarian-Irish Parallels": The Elevation of Mid-19th Century Nationalist Ireland through Irish-Hungarian Parallels by Young Irelanders

Summary

Although documented cultural and social contacts between Hungary and Ireland extend back to the Middle Ages, it is through a series of 19th and early-20th century writings that mutual interest by leading figures of Hungarian and Irish public life in the events of their countries is first revealed. These writings have given rise to the notion of "Hungarian-Irish national parallels", the validity of which, however, has recently been challenged on grounds of historical accuracy. My paper examines mid-19th century works by Irish nationalists that include references to Hungary, some of which have been used so far to demonstrate Hungarian-Irish parallels. While also considering historical accuracy, I will widen the scope of my study by highlighting the ideological aspects of these references. My aim is to show that national parallels are ideological constructions which may reveal an effort of elevating one's own nation to the level of another European nation that is viewed as a model in a given historical moment.

Key words: the Hungarian Reform Age, the Hungarian War of Independence of 1848−49, Young Irelanders, the Young Ireland Insurrection of 1848, language movement, national language, cultural and linguistic nationalism

"Madžarsko-irske vzporednice": dvig nacionalistične Irske s sredine 19. stoletja s pomočjo mladih Ircev ter irsko-madžarskih stikov

Povzetek

Čeprav dokumentirani kulturni in družbeni stiki med Madžarsko in Irsko segajo že v srednji vek, so se medsebojna prepletanja prvič razkrila šele v objavljenih prispevkih vodilnih osebnosti madžarskega in irskega družbenega življenja v 19. in začetku 20. stoletja. Te objave so botrovale ideji o "madžarsko-irskih vzporednicah", čigar veljavo pa so v zadnjem času spodkopali pomisleki o njeni zgodovinski verodostojnosti. Članek proučuje dela irskih nacionalistov s sredine 19. stoletja, ki se nanašajo na Madžarsko in na katera so se do sedaj deloma sklicevali pri dokazovanju madžarsko-irskih vzporednic. Hkrati z upoštevanjem zgodovinske verodostojnosti razprava odpira prostor vprašanju ideoloških vidikov takšnih sklicevanj. Njen osrednji cilj je dokazati, da so nacionalne vzporednice ideološke konstrukcije, ki razodevajo poskus povzdigovanja svoje nacije na raven druge evropske nacije, ki je podlaga za model v določenem zgodovinskem trenutku.

Ključne besede: madžarsko reformno obdobje, madžarska vojna za neodvisnost 1848−1949, Mlada Irska, vstaja Mlade Irske 1848, jezikovno gibanje, nacionalni jezik, kulturni in jezikovni nacionalizem

"Hungarian-Irish Parallels": The Elevation of Mid-19th Century Nationalist Ireland through Irish-Hungarian Parallels by Young Irelanders

1. Introduction

The first extant references to a Hungarian in Ireland are about Lőrinc Tar, a Hungarian cleric living in the time of Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387–1473), King of Hungary and Holy Roman Emperor. Tar paid a visit to St Patrick's Purgatory in Lough Derg and wrote a medieval account of his journey in Latin, mixing legend with travelogue, real with religious and imaginary experiences (Fügedi 1974, 156–7; Glatz 2000, 155; see also Kabdebo 2001, 19). Religion was also the background of an Irishman fleeing Oliver Cromwell's troops and heading to Hungary. Walter Lynch, Bishop of Clonfert, stayed in the north-western Hungarian city of Győr from 1655 to 1663, and donated an image of the Holy Virgin to the local cathedral, which was in subsequent centuries revered as the "Virgin that shed tears" on St Patrick's Day in 1697 (Kabdebo 2001, 19–20). Religious orientation also permeates 17th-century Hungarian chronicles referring to contemporaneous Irish events and commenting upon them in harmony with their own protestant or catholic loyalties which, on the other hand, reflects religious divisions in Hungary at that time (see e.g. Cserei 1661–1711/1983; Rosner 1677).

Then, in the 19th century a series of writings were produced which reveal an upsurge of mutual and genuine interest by leaders of Hungarian and Irish public life in the events of their countries. Written reflections upon the major, sometimes cataclysmic experiences by the two populations inform us about the existence of a certain mental link between Hungary and Ireland, a connection which drew its inspiration from a sense of belonging to politically dependent European nations.

Irish Catholic emancipator and constitutional nationalist Daniel O'Connell's figure and mass movements attracted remarkable attention among Hungarian intellectuals with a political orientation. The development of Hungarian as a printed language in the first half of the 19th century gave rise to a number of periodicals, some of which, like *Rajzolatok* ("Sketches") in 1835 and *Atheneum* in 1837, informed the Hungarian reading public about O'Connell's achievements (Kókay 1979, 458, 509). Lajos Kossuth, future leader of the 1848-49 Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence, also showed great admiration for Daniel O'Connell, and the 1843 issues of his *Pesti Hírlap* ("Pest News") include multiple references to the "Liberator's" Repeal Movement (Kókay 1979, 675).

In the latter half of the 1830s two of Hungary's leading nationalist politicians, Bertalan Szemere and Ferenc Pulszky visited Ireland, and in their separately published travelogues they both write about the economic backwardness of the rural Irish and the growing strength of political agitation in Ireland. As his book *Utazás külföldön* or "A journey abroad" (1840) proves, Szemere, also Prime Minister of Hungary's short-lived sovereign responsible government in 1849, became especially appalled by the poverty and hunger of the Irish countryside, and identified the causes as follows: Ireland's political and economic "slavery" to Britain, the resultant lack of native industry and commerce, the feudal system of land tenure, payment of tithes to the Church of Ireland, potato being the nearly exclusive food crop for the poor, and rapid population growth among them (Szemere 1840/1983, 352–65). In his social essay *Szegénység Irlandban* or "Poverty in Ireland"

(1840) Baron József Eötvös relied upon the experiences of Szemere and Pulszky, both being friends to him, for his own study of the causes and effects of poverty (Eötvös 1840/1902, 38−108).

The year 1848 was witness to a revolutionary wave in Europe, and the Hungarian social upheaval was transformed into a prolonged fight for the country's liberation from the Habsburg Empire. Hungary's War of Independence was crushed by the overwhelming military might of the combined Russian Tzarist and Habsburg forces, and the defeat was followed by cruel revenge and years of severe oppression on the part of the Habsburg government. Hungary's failure to liberate their country and the ensuing execution, exile and sufferings of those involved in the heroic struggle evoked sympathy in Michael Doheny, John Mitchel and William Smith O'Brien, all of whom had played a leading role in the abortive Young Ireland Insurrection of 1848. Mitchel's reflection upon the suppression of the Hungarian freedom fight during his stay in the Cape of Good Hope in 1850, expresses feelings of shock as well as a clear awareness of events going on in this Central-European "fellow/comrade-nation":

> The Austrians are hanging and shooting general officers. Kossuth, the immortal governor, and Bem, the fine old general, are refugees in Turkey, other Hungarians and Poles flying to the US. Justice and right everywhere buried in blood. (Mitchel 1854, 219−21)

2. The notion of "Hungarian-Irish National Parallels"

The above phenomena have led Thomas Kabdebo to do research into the tradition of what he identifies as "Hungarian-Irish national parallels". In his book *Ireland and Hungary. A Study in Parallels* (2001), Kabdebo states that the Hungarian idea of drawing a national parallel between the two countries originates from Prince Ferenc Rákóczi II, leader of a prolonged military campaign (1703−11) to gain independence from the Habsburgs. Although the fight for freedom eventually failed in 1711, at the height of his success in 1707, Prince Rákóczi dethroned the Habsburg House in Hungary, and compared this act to Stuart James II's attempt in 1690 to regain the English crown via Ireland (Kabdebó 2001, 21). Rákóczi also argued that Hungary's connection with Austria was constitutionally similar to that of Scotland and England, yet Austria handled Hungary as England treated Ireland, that is, as a "conquered country" without "ever having conquered it" (qtd in Kabdebo 2001, 21).

Without considering the accuracy or inaccuracy of this alleged parallel (in fact, the English crown had conducted more military conquests of Ireland, for instance, in the Anglo-Norman and the Tudor Times, and, on the other hand, the Habsburgs claimed that they had conquered Hungary in the event of the liberation of the country from the Turks in the late-17th century), Kabdebo gives the following definition of what he considers a "valid national parallel":

> Historical veracity of parallels […] does not depend on the minutiae of chronological, social or institutional or even economic details but on the similarity of situations. Parallels are drawn by active agents of the historical process who discover similar agents acting in a similar historical process. In that sense parallels are always discovered against not dissimilar backgrounds, in situations fairly akin, such as: 'method of rule', dependency, 'empire building, 'colonizing' or 'being colonized.' But, perhaps, the most relevant is the correlation of contexts: emerging nationalism, nationalism in its assertive phase, […] could bring two geographically distant countries into a valid parallel. (Kabdebo 2001, 29)

In his review of Kabdebo's book William O'Reilly (2003) claims that at the core of Kabdebo's effort to construct a narrative thread woven of Hungary's and Ireland's national histories there

is a "persuasive version of historical memory." O'Reilly argues that this historical memory leads Kabdebo to over-simplifications and inaccuracies. It is, for instance, an over-simplified version of the Hungarian Revolution in 1848 that he uses "to underscore the similarities with the (largely failed) events in Ireland in that same year." In conclusion O'Reilly encourages continued research into parallels between Hungary and Ireland, though not so much in the field of historical parallels, which he finds strained at best, but rather in the area of literary parallels.

In an approach which I find alternative to Kabdebo's and O'Reilly's, I am going to demonstrate that "national parallels" are ideological constructions which reveal an effort of elevating one's own nation to the level of another European nation that is viewed as a model in a given historical moment.

3. An Irish-Hungarian parallel in Thomas Darcy Mc-Gee's Narrative of 1848

Kabdebó (2001, 23−5) says that Michael Doheny in *The Felon's Track* (1914) and John Mitchel in his *Jail Journal* (1854) made references to the Hungarian War of Independence. Although the Young Irelander Doheny did not actually write about Hungary in *The Felon's Track*, he was familiar with the Hungarian events because in 1852, in New York, where he fled and resettled after the Young Ireland insurrection, he welcomed Lajos Kossuth despite the fact that the Hungarian revolutionary's religious utterances were frowned upon by Catholics, and particularly by Archbishop Hughes of New York, the idol of the poor Irish in that city (O'Donnell 1986). However, the original 1914 edition of Doheny's book, subtitled *History of the Attempted Outbreak in Ireland Embracing the Leading Events in the Irish Struggle from the Year 1843 to the close of 1848,* included in its Appendices Thomas Darcy McGee's Narrative of 1848, with some reference to Hungary. McGee was another leading Young Irelander who escaped to the United States. But, unlike Doheny, who actively participated in the organization of the Fenian movement in America, McGee modified his political views and proceeded to Canada, becoming one of the first statesmen of the dominion and a member of the Government, until, in 1868, he was assassinated by an alleged Fenian for his denunciation of the movement.

Arthur Griffith (1914) explains in the Preface the inclusion of McGee's account of the period between July and September in 1848 by an attempt to improve correctness of information. It is also Arthur Griffith who, over half a century later, reflects upon the failed insurrection as follows: "That it could have been successful, few will believe. But […] the insurrection if it grew to respectable dimensions might have forced terms from England" (Griffith 1914, 8). McGee's description also includes an element of regret over wasted opportunities and in justifying his/their choice of the Sligo district for a strategic centre of the uprising, subsequently "abandoned without a blow" (McGee 1914/1920, 128), he constructs the following Irish-Hungarian parallel:

> We could not but remember that this was the district chosen by Owen O'Neill after his arrival from Spain in 1645 and that it was here he "nursed up" […] the army […] which in Napoleon's opinion, but for the premature death of Owen, would have checkmated Cromwell. The ground once chosen by a great general for its natural capabilities may safely be chosen again, and usually is, as in Hungary for instance. The very posts and battlefields held and fought by Bem and Dembinski were the same whereon Huniad and Corvinus, four and five hundred years ago, fought against the Turks and Bosmens. Thus we had the sanction of a great example and the stimulus of an inspiring tradition to point to for the choice of ground. (McGee 1914/1920, 128)

In fact it is strategic consideration or given military situation rather than "inspiring tradition" which determines the choice of battlefield. In this sense McGee's parallel appears forcefully romantic. But his awareness of certain aspects of Hungarian history is worth noting. For instance, in 1442 János Hunyadi defeated the Turks at Nagyszeben, Transylvania (today Sibiu, Romania), and in March 1849 General Bem carried out a successful siege of this same town as part of his campaign liberating Transylvania from the occupying Tzarist and Habsburg forces. Also in Transylvania, at a place then called Kenyérmező (now Cámpul Páinii, Romania) King Matthias Corvinus's army, led by Generals Báthory, Kinizsi and Brankovich, and joined by Serbian infantry and cavalry units, defeated a Turkish army in 1479.

With historical accuracy more or less given, let us shift our focus to the purpose for McGee to construct this particular parallel and the reason to select these particular elements of Irish and Hungarian history to explain what his compatriots might have considered a military blunder. In an attempt of self-justification McGee seems to have accomplished an act of elevation: elevating the abortive Young Ireland uprising to the level of what Irish memory cherished as heroic pages of their fights against England, thus integrating it into the canon of Irish national heroism. However, considering the futility of the event as well as the eventual escape of more organizers to America, there remained little chance that the Irish nation, let alone Europe and the world would ever look upon the Young Ireland insurrection as a remarkable act of national heroism. Therefore, McGee tried to elevate it onto a level where it could be associated with national freedom fights attracting European attention. And the Hungarian War of Independence, particularly with its heroic struggle against the Tzarist military force and its severe oppression by the Habsburgs, appeared a most powerful option. All the more so since nationalist Ireland – as is reflected, for instance, in John Mitchel's *Jail Journal* – was aware of the Hungarian events.

On the other hand, it was not only the Hungarian Independence War of 1849 that McGee used for his parallel but its alleged precedents in Hungarian history: a propagated version of János Hunyadi's and Matthias Corvinus's military achievements in defence of Christian Hungary and of Christian Europe centuries earlier. In other words, McGee used a whole block of Hungarian national historiography and constructed a seemingly parallel block of Irish national history in order to elevate the Irish nationalist cause, including the Young Ireland insurrection, to a higher, probably European level.

This parallel fits into the paradigm of efforts to build national ideology, and this act of elevation also includes an act of borrowing. In Enda O'Doherty's words:

> It is another paradox of nationalism that while the notion of distinction is pivotal (this people or nation is essentially different from that one and therefore should run its own affairs), there is nothing more international than the process of forming national identities. The French historian Anne-Marie Thiesse has written of the IKEA system, a kind of kit of essential or desirable items that furnishes national ideologues with everything they need to build their own, of course distinct, identities. (O'Doherty 2012)

4. A Hungarian-Irish parallel in Thomas Davis's Our National Language

Another theme where we can find mid-19th century Irish references to Hungary was national language. The "agent" of this parallel was Thomas Osborne Davis (1814-45), the leading intellectual

of the fledgeling Young Ireland Movement, who, because of his early death in 1845, could not be witness to the European revolutionary wave of 1848.

Throughout the 19th century non-sovereign nations and nationalities increasingly began to underscore their demand and right for political autonomy by emphasizing their cultural and linguistic distinctiveness. While loosening political as well as economic dependence on the Habsburgs meant the main objectives, cultural and linguistic sovereignty was also on the agenda of the Hungarian Reform Age. The success of the Hungarian language movement was proved by the official recognition of Hungarian as a state language in 1844.

Whereas the revival of the Irish language became a central theme of Irish nationalist ideology at the turn of the 20th century, the recovery of the endangered native tongue was not an issue to nationalist Ireland in the first half of the 19th century, that is, to Daniel O'Connell or to most of the Young Irelanders (Pintér 2008, 189−92). As we know, of all the 1848 leaders Doheny was the only one who could both read and write in Irish (O'Donnell 1986). As an exception, Thomas Davis expressed deep concern over the language loss and proposed a programme for the revival of what he called "Ireland's national language." Davis also made references to the status of Hungarian and used the achievements of the Hungarian language movement as an example which could be used by Irish language revivalists. In his *Our National Language* (1846) Davis contrasts a country which, through experiencing language change, becomes a real colony with countries which despite the loss of political freedom have preserved their native vernacular. "To lose your native tongue, and learn that of an alien, is the worst badge of conquest – it is the chain on the soul", says Davis (1846/1998, 175), referring to Ireland's advanced Irish-English language-shift. Then he continues with regard to Hungary, where there is "sure hope" because the "speech of the alien [that is German] is nearly expelled" (Davis 1846/1998, 176).

The theoretical foundations of Davis's ideas fit into a pattern of cultural nationalism first articulated by the German philosophers Kant and Herder, John Kelly (1998, 5−7) claims. Some of Johann Gottfried Herder's (1744−1803) famous statements, like "[h]as a nation anything more precious than the language of its forefathers?" (qtd in Edwards 1985, 24) are echoed by Davis: "A people without a language of its own is only half a nation. A nation should guard its language more than its territories – 'tis a surer barrier, and more important frontier, than fortress or river" (Davis 1846/1998, 174−5).

Writing about language and nation Benedict Anderson (1991) makes the observation that print language is what invents nationalism and not a particular language *per se*. In line with this, Declan Kiberd (1996, 137) claims that "Irish, being largely part of an oral culture, was supplanted by English, the logical medium of newspapers, and of those tracts and literary texts in which Ireland would be invented and imagined." In fact, the importance of the printed version of a national language in shaping national consciousness was already realized by Davis. He emphasised that the absence of at least bilingual, Irish-English newspapers excluded Ireland from an international and European context and made the country a "backwater of England." Among countries set as examples for Ireland Davis (1846/1998, 182) referred to the multi-ethnic Hungary of the time, where "Magyar, Slavonic and German" all appear in print despite the very fact that Hungarian is the vernacular language of the majority population.

It is stating the obvious to note that the position of Hungarian and that of Irish were remarkably different at the time Davis put his ideas to paper. In the early 1840s Irish had approximately 2 700 000 monoglot speakers (Pintér 2008, 169), that is, less than half of the native population, with the upper and urban middle classes almost thoroughly anglicized. This also means that Irish became

confined to the oral, non-official communication domains of the native rural people, until even these population groups abandoned it, reducing the proportion of monoglot Irish speakers to less than 1% by the turn of the 20th century. By contrast, Hungarian had become a fully recognized European language and its path of development in the 19th century was the exact opposite of what was happening to Irish. Whereas it was the means of daily communication for people born Hungarian in all walks of their lives, following its official recognition large population groups of non-Hungarian origin also switched to Hungarian, making even the ethnically mixed towns of Hungary thoroughly Hungarian speaking in two or three generations (Nádasdy 1999).

Regarding all this, the question arises why Davis used this factually invalid comparison between Hungarian and Irish, and applied the label of "national language" to Irish. Obviously, Davis understood the role of linguistic awakening in the formation of modern national consciousness, as well as the importance of national language in emphasizing the cultural-linguistic sovereignty of dependent nations, aspiring to political sovereignty. To this the Hungarian language movement gave a valid model. But, with respect to the linguistic component of constructing a culturally distinct Irish nation, Davis had to face a paradox: English was the majority language of Ireland and the language of their oppressors. Native Irish was distinct from English but its declining status did not actually entitle it to be a national language. To resolve this paradox Davis resorted to the Herderian idea of an organic connection between a people and its native tongue, implying that Irish was the national language of Ireland because of its unique way to express Irish thought and imagination:

> The language, which grows up with a people is [...] mingled inseparably with their history and their soil, fitted beyond any other language to express their prevalent thoughts in the most natural and efficient way. (Davis 1846/1998, 173)

Davis's approach to the language issue was that of the cultural-linguistic nationalist's, and he viewed the role of language in national development, and a comparison between Irish and Hungarian from this ideological perspective. Anthony Smith (1991, 11–3) grasps the essence of the Irish phenomenon as follows: genealogy and presumed descent ties, popular mobilization, vernacular languages, customs and traditions play an important role in the formation of a nation even if the ancient language and language revival has failed, as in the case of the Irish. Furthermore, just like with McGee, with Davis I can also associate an effort to elevate the Irish nation. By setting the successful Hungarian language movement as an example for the Irish, Davis conveyed the message that – despite its critical status – the Irish tongue inherently possessed the potential of becoming a distinct national language, and that the accomplishment of this only depended on the decision of the Irish nation.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion I will state that the tradition of Irish-Hungarian national parallels goes back centuries and that it has been cultivated by both Irish and Hungarian "agents". Therefore, they do offer a challenging research field for social and political scientists. But I have to note that national parallels, like nations or national histories, should be studied as ideological constructions that attempt to elevate one's own nation by means of internationalization or Europeanization. Consequently, the investigation of international or European tendencies contemporaneous to the construction of the parallels should also be included in the research frame because of their importance as motivating forces for the "agents". I propose this theoretical frame for further research into Irish-Hungarian parallels, made in the past or in the recent past.

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ELOPE

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Manuel Tamayo y Baus's *Un Drama Nuevo* (1867) and the Reception of Hamlet in 19th-Century Spain

Summary

The present article discusses how Tamayo y Baus appropriates and refashions in *Un drama nuevo* (1867) the figures of Shakespeare and Yorick, as well as different elements of a number of tragedies by Shakespeare (*Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Othello*), in order to render homage to Shakespearean drama by means of a play that, even if set at the beginning of 17th-century England, particularly addresses the tastes and concerns of 19th-century Spanish audiences. Additionally, this article considers the extent to which the contemporary audience of Tamayo y Baus was acquainted with Shakespeare and *Hamlet*, taking into account both the translations into Spanish of the play and its performances in Spain up until 1867. The purpose of such an analysis is to speculate on the reception and interpretation of *Un drama nuevo* at the time of its release, and on the role it had in raising or renewing interest in *Hamlet* within the Spanish-speaking world.

Key words: Shakespeare, reception of *Hamlet*, Manuel Tamayo y Baus, *Un drama nuevo*, 19th-century drama

Manuel Tamayo y Baus: *Un Drama Nuevo* (1867) ter sprejemanje Hamleta v Španiji v 19. stoletju

Povzetek

Članek ugotavlja, kako Tamayo y Baus v svojem delu *Un drama nuevo* (1867) prireja in preoblikuje Shakespearove osebe in lik Yoricka, poleg tega pa tudi številne druge prvine dramatikovih tragedij (*Hamleta, Romea in Julije, Othella*) kot poklon shakespearjevski drami, ki kljub temu, da se odvija v angleškem 17. stoletju, še posebej naglaša okuse ter zanimanja španskega občinstva 19. stoletja. Poleg tega članek raziskuje, v kakšni meri je bilo občinstvo Tamaya y Bausa seznanjeno s Shakespearom in Hamletom, upoštevaje tako prevode v španščino kot njegove odrske postavitve v Španiji do leta 1867. Namen takšne razčlembe je ugotavljanje sprejemanja in razlaganja dela *Un drama nuevo* v času njegove objave ter določanje vloge, ki jo je odigral pri ohranjanju oziroma poglabljanju zanimanja za Hamleta v špansko govorečem svetu.

Ključne besede: Shakespeare, sprejemanje *Hamleta*, Manuel Tamayo y Baus, *Un drama nuevo*, drama 19. stoletja

Manuel Tamayo y Baus's *Un Drama Nuevo* (1867) and the Reception of *Hamlet* in 19th-Century Spain

1. Introduction

To what extent were Spanish audiences acquainted with Shakespeare in general and with plays such as *Hamlet* in particular by the end of the 19th century? How many times had *Hamlet* been translated into Spanish, and how many times had it been performed in Spain by that time? Providing an answer to these three questions constitutes a central element in the present article's discussion around Manuel Tamayo y Baus's *Un drama nuevo* ("A New Play") (1867), a tragedy in three acts that revolves around the discovery of an adulterous relationship in the context of a company of actors that are preparing to perform a play referred to as "a new play" which centers on the discovery of an adulterous relationship in aristocratic circles. In this manner, the play is about the preparation of a play whose argument eventually matches the actual events of the personal lives of the three main characters that perform it: the husband, Yorick, who plays the role of Conde Octavio; the male lover, Edmundo, who plays Manfredo, and the adulterous wife Alicia, who plays the role of the unfaithful Beatriz. The adulterous situation complicates itself through the discovery that Yorick's wife Alicia is far younger than her husband and that her lover, Edmundo, is not only another actor who works side by side to Yorick, but, furthermore, his adopted son, whom Yorick has maintained and protected for years.

Un drama nuevo, undoubtedly Tamayo y Baus's most renowned play and "the critics' favourite" (Flynn 1973, 78),[1] contains numerous references to Shakespeare and to a number of his plays, chiefly, *Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Macbeth*, and *Othello*, which makes 21st century readers wonder whether audiences contemporary to Tamayo y Baus were sufficiently acquainted with Shakespearean drama to, for instance, understand as meaningful the setting of the play: an early 17th-century London playhouse. Indeed, previous knowledge of Shakespeare and his dramas are not at all necessary to perfectly follow the storyline of *Un drama nuevo*, as the latter works independently from any work by Shakespeare (or by any other playwright whatsoever, for that matter). Still, such previous knowledge would enrich the appreciation of the play by the audience and indicate Tamayo y Baus's willingness to play with the audience's assumptions and expectations of drama and the storyline itself.

The present article opens with an introduction to Manuel Tamayo y Baus's production as a playwright, and a discussion on the manner in which *Un drama nuevo* is built upon other Shakespearean tragedies. Then, the history of the reception of Shakespeare in Spain up to the end of the 19th-century will be outlined, specifically focusing on the trajectory of *Hamlet* in Spain, as *Hamlet* was the first drama by Shakespeare performed in Spanish theatres and, as will be seen, one of the key pillars of the references to Shakespeare present in *Un drama nuevo*.

2. *Un drama nuevo*: Shakespeare and *Hamlet*

Manuel Tamayo y Baus (Madrid, 1829–1898) was a precocious actor and playwright who came from a family of actors and who released his first play, *El cinco de agosto* (1849), before even turning twenty. In 1858, before he was twenty nine, Tamayo y Baus was appointed member of the

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1   Esquer Torres analyses the enthusiastic reception of *Un drama nuevo* by the most renowned critics of the time (Esquer Torres 1965, 197–230).

Spanish Royal Academy of the Language, where a year later he read his academic discourse *La verdad considerada como fuente de belleza en la literatura dramática* ("Truth considered as source of beauty in dramatic literature"), which was in fact his manifesto for dramatic realism. From the time he entered the Academy, Tamayo stopped signing his dramatic creations with his own name and began using a series of pseudonyms instead, no doubt out of fear that failure on the stage would damage his reputation as an academic. After the release of *Los hombres de bien* (1870), Tamayo y Baus decided to stop writing for the theater, and during the rest of his life he dedicated himself to academic and intellectual activities different from literary creation. Finally, in 1884 he was appointed director of the National Library of Spain and Head of the Body of Archivists and Librarians.

Tamayo y Baus experimented with various types of dramatic genres, amongst them, tragedies (*Virginia*, 1853), historical dramas (*La ricahembra*, 1854; *Locura de amor*, 1855), moral comedies (*La bola de nieve*, 1856; *Lo positivo*, 1862), and problem plays (*Lances de honor*, 1863). Traditionally, Tamayo y Baus's dramatic career is thought to evolve from Romanticism to, eventually, the realist comedy of manners. *Un drama nuevo* (1867) represents a transition stage between the Romantic and the Realist – even if, in the view of some critics, it can be read as one of the most representative plays of the Realist movement in 19th-century Spanish drama (Lassaletta 1974). In total, Tamayo y Baus wrote thirty four dramatic pieces; his early ones highly influenced by Romantic authors such as Schiller and Victor Hugo,[2] and his later ones, by others like Calderón de la Barca. Interestingly, Shakespeare's dramatic influence, and the influence of English drama in general, seems to be exclusively felt in *Un drama nuevo* and therefore completely absent from any other play by Tamayo y Baus.[3]

Un drama nuevo's relationship with Shakespeare and his dramatic production is first of all established by setting the play in England in 1605, and by making Shakespeare himself one of its eight characters. Shakespeare is depicted by Tamayo y Baus as the most famous and successful playwright of Elizabethan England, as a director of plays, a former actor, and the author of *Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet* and *Macbeth* (the three plays by Shakespeare explicitly mentioned in *Un drama Nuevo*).[4] Shakespeare is moreover a man of moral authority, respected by all who know him, a friend to Yorick, Alicia, and Edmundo, and someone able to control and handle difficult situations. He is presented as a man of multiple virtues, as for instance he does not feel envious or jealous before the success of others. Indeed, the play performed in *Un drama nuevo* is not a play by Shakespeare but by a novel playwright who is praised on several occasions; Shakespeare, the director of the play, is the first to acknowledge the virtues of the novel author and to applaud his achievements and potential. To Yorick's suggestion that the play has some flaws ("Téngola yo también por cosa excelente, aunque algunos defectillos le noto", "I have it as an excellent thing too, although I find in it some small flaws"), Shakespeare replies the following: "Los envidiosos contarán los defectos; miremos nosotros únicamente las bellezas" ("The envious will count the flaws; let us only contemplate its beauties"). Yorick then states: "A ti sí que nunca te escoció la

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2   As N.H. Tayler explains, from Schiller Tamayo "learned to appreciate and handle the philosophical play and to make use of the stage virtues and resources of the melodrama"; also, "Tamayo parts company with Hugo in that he steadily increases his didactic practices on the stage through his moralising and his application of religion to the affairs of daily life" (Tayler 1952, 397).

3   Tayler (1959) dedicates his book entirely to analyzing the sources and influences of Tamayo y Baus's plays. Tayler discusses in independent chapters the influences of the German (Ch. 2), the Spanish (Ch. 3), the French (Ch. 4) and the English (Ch. 5) dramatic traditions upon Tamayo y Baus's oeuvre, and he highlights that *Un drama nuevo* is the only play by Tamayo y Baus in which the influence of English drama is truly perceived. For a study that connects the work with the biography of Tamayo y Baus, see Sicars y Salvadó (1906).

4   Here there is a discrepancy with reality, as Tamayo y Baus's play, set in 1605, includes references to the performance of *Macbeth* while this tragedy is known to have been completed after that year.

envidia en el pecho. Cierto que cuando nada se tiene que envidiar…." ("Never did envy irk your breast. True it is that when there is nothing one can envy…") (Tamayo y Baus 2008, 62).[5]

Shakespeare behaves not only as the director of the play but also as a counselor, almost as a father-figure to the actors. He worries about them and tries to help and protect them the best he can. In contrast with Shakespeare, the actors (Alicia, Edmundo, Yorick, Walton) are troubled by diverse problems, prove emotionally unstable, under the rule of their passions, unsure of their decisions, and generally seek the help and advice of Shakespeare. Shakespeare eventually finds out about Alicia and Edmundo's adulterous love, and offers to help them put an end to the morally reprehensible situation in which they are caught. Indeed, the two lovers are tormented by tremendous feelings of guilt and seek the advice of Shakespeare (a model of moral superiority) to stop loving each other:

> Edmundo. – Sois noble y generoso.
>
> Alicia. – Tendréis lástima de dos infelices.
>
> Edmundo. – No querréis aumentar nuestra desventura.
>
> Alicia. – Al contrario: nos protegeréis, nos defenderéis contra nosotros mismos.
>
> Shakespeare. – Vamos, hijos míos, serenidad.
>
> Alicia. – ¡Hijos nos llama! ¿Lo has oído?
>
> Edmundo. – ¡Oh, besaremos vuestras plantas!
>
> Alicia. – Sí. (*Yendo a arrodillarse.*)
>
> Shakespeare. – No; en mis brazos estaréis mejor. (*Abriendo los brazos.*)
>
> Edmundo. – ¡Guillermo! (*Deteniéndose con rubor.*)
>
> Alicia. – ¿Es posible? (*Con alegría.*)
>
> Shakespeare. – ¡Venid!
>
> Edmundo. – ¡Salvadnos! (*Arrojándose en sus brazos.*)
>
> Alicia. – ¡Salvadnos, por piedad! (*Arrojándose también en los brazos de* Shakespeare.)
>
> Shakespeare. – Sí; yo os salvaré con la ayuda de Dios. (*Pausa, durante la cual se oyen los sollozos de* Edmundo *y* Alicia.) (Tamayo y Baus 2008, 83-4)

> [Edmundo. – You are noble and generous.
>
> Alicia. – You will have pity of two poor devils.
>
> Edmundo. – You will not want to make our misfortune greater.
>
> Alicia. – On the contrary: you will protect us, you will defend us from ourselves.
>
> Shakespeare. – Come on, my offspring, stay calm.
>
> Alicia. – Offspring, he calls us! Did you hear?
>
> Edmundo. – Oh! We will kiss your soles!
>
> Alicia. – Yes. (*Beginning to kneel.*)
>
> Shakespeare. – No; in my arms you will be better. (*Opening his arms.*)

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5   All the translations of *Un drama nuevo* into English, as well as all the translations into English of quotations from secondary sources in Spanish, are mine.

EDMUNDO. – William! (*Staring and blushing.*)

ALICIA. – Is it possible? (*With joy.*)

SHAKESPEARE. – Come to me!

EDMUNDO. – Save us! (*Throwing himself to his arms.*)

ALICIA. – Save us, have mercy! (*Throwing herself to* SHAKESPEARE*'s arms too.*)

SHAKESPEARE. – Yes; I will save you with the help of God. (*Pause, during which* EDMUNDO *and* ALICIA*'s sobs can be heard.*)]

The melodramatic overtone typical of 19th-century Spanish drama appears evident in the above fragment; indeed, from the perspective of a 21st century reader it seems too exaggerated to be the means of expression of true and honest feelings. Shakespeare concludes that "[s]iesta buena obra pudiera yo hacer", referring to putting an end to the adulterous affair, "reiríame de Otelo y Macbeth, y de todas esas tonterías" ("If I could do this good deed, I would laugh at Othello and Macbeth, and at all that nonsense") (Tamayo y Baus 2008, 88).

Shakespeare in Tamayo y Baus's play works as a symbol, as he evocates the fruitful theatrical environment of Elizabethan England. Still, the fact that the play is set in 1605 does not by any means imply that Tamayo y Baus aimed at reproducing the atmosphere, the thought, or the stage of Renaissance England; certainly, *Un drama nuevo* does not have the slightest ambition to accurately recreate that particular historical period. Otherwise, it would have been a terrible mistake to make Alicia a professional actress in the company of actors directed by Shakespeare in which both Yorick and Edmundo also work.[6] Ironically, it was precisely up on a stage, in a previous performance of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, that Alicia (/Juliet) and Edmundo (/Romeo) declared their mutual love through the loving words that Romeo and Juliet exchanged in the play. That is, Alicia and Edmundo's love declaration occurred through a Shakespearean dialogue; thus, fiction and reality, feigned and actual feelings, again merge in *Un drama nuevo*, as if real life developed through dramatic texts, or as if drama shaped and constructed reality.

The particular setting of 1605 England is therefore purely a framework selected to render tribute to Shakespeare as a playwright, and to a specific historical moment in which drama experienced a golden age. Indeed, the worries, concerns and general behaviour of characters are closer to those of 19th-century Spain than to 17th-century England, and hence, closer as well to the mentality of the audience that would go to see a play by Tamayo y Baus (Sánchez 1980).

Hamlet is the most direct allusion to a play by Shakespeare in Tamayo y Baus's *Un drama nuevo*. References to *Hamlet* in Tamayo y Baus's play appear in several ways. Firstly, through direct quotations from *Hamlet*: in Act I, Scene I, after Yorick tries to eloquently convince Shakespeare to give him the tragic leading role of Conde Octavio, Shakespeare praises Yorick's elaborated arguments, to which Yorick replies: "No, no creas que ahora encajaría bien aquello de 'Palabras, palabras, palabras' que Hamlet says" ("No, do not think that now those 'Words, words, words' that Hamlet says fit here") (Tamayo y Baus 2008, 66). Another clear reference to *Hamlet* is established through the character of Yorick, who, from the mere skull of a buffoon in *Hamlet*, turns into a fully-fledged character in *Un drama nuevo*, where he becomes a double protagonist: the protagonist of the main plot of the tragedy, and the actor that plays the leading role of Conde Octavio in

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6   As is well known, in the 16th century, all female roles onstage were performed by men dressed as women, and it would not be until the Restoration, in the second half of the 17th century, that women would appear onstage too.

the play within the play.[7] Other connections appear through the device of the play-within-a-play, and also through references to incestuous relationships: Gertrude and Claudius in *Hamlet* as wife and husband's brother, and Alicia and Edmundo as, in a way, step-mother and stepson, even if of the same age. Additionally, *Un drama nuevo* blends fiction and reality as the events of real life merge with those of the play that the actors have to perform on the stage. In *Hamlet*, this happened with 'the Mousetrap', and in *Un drama nuevo*, apart from Alicia and Edmundo's declaration when rehearsing *Romeo and Juliet*, Yorick effectively ends up killing Edmundo while they are both performing the scene in which Conde Octavio kills Manfredo for having an affair with his wife. this bloody ending in which the main character gets his revenge is reminiscent of *Hamlet* (Hamlet kills Claudius, and Yorick, Edmundo); also, the final sword fight scene between Yorick and Edmundo reminds us of that between Hamlet and Laertes.

Un drama nuevo moreover suggests a number of other works by Shakespeare: both *Macbeth* and *Romeo and Juliet* are explicitly mentioned; the technique of a-play-within-a-play is also used, for instance, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*; the topic of jealousy within relationships inevitably reminds us of *Othello*, and Yorick's considerations to kill his own wife directly point at the previously mentioned play.[8] The forbidden love between Alicia and Edmundo, the two young lovers, recalls that of Romeo and Juliet, and the character of envious Walton has been seen as "an incarnation of Iago" (Stern 1979, 70). Precisely the character of Walton, an actor of the same company jealous of Yorick's performing the leading role, finally becomes the means through which Yorick finds out about Alicia and Edmundo's relationship, as Walton, during the performance of the play, maliciously gives Yorick a letter in which Edmundo explains to Alicia his plans to run away with her. Again, reality and fiction meet, as, within the play, that letter disclosed to Conde Octavio the identity of the lover of his wife Beatriz.[9] For having revealed the secret of the two young lovers, the play hints that Shakespeare finally murders Walton in the streets after a sword fight; still, to preserve Shakespeare's portrayal as a virtuous man, it is made explicit that Walton died with a thrust through his chest and his sword in his hand, hence suggesting that he died fighting face to face against his opponent, who had not killed him in cold blood but in the context of a proper and fair fight. Walter's murder definitely reminds readers of the violent death of Christopher Marlowe in London.

Surely, the sources of inspiration for Tamayo y Baus's *Un drama nuevo* are diverse and go well beyond Shakespeare too. They include Cervantes's *Pedro de Urdemalas*, Calderón de la Barca's *El gran teatro del mundo*, Corneille's *L'Illusion comique*, Rotrou's *Saint Genest*, Lope de Vega's *Lo fingido verdadero* (House 1922) and *El castigo sin venganza* (Flynn 1973, 134),[10] and Alexandre Dumas' *Kean ou Désordre et Génie*, adapted into Spanish by Tamayo y Baus himself with the title *Navegar a la aventura* (1856) (Rogers 1954, 115).[11] Additionally, Thomas Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*

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7   As Crocker remarks, "Yorick is appropriated as the symbolic jester, metamorphosed into a comic actor. He is used, not to betoken the transitoriness and ultimate uselessness of action, as in *Hamlet*, but to reflect the tragic quality of certain human interrelationships" (Crocker 1956, 412).

8   As Tayler remarks, "La única verdadera diferencia entre Otelo y Yorick es que éste no mata por cálculo y con sangre fría, sino en el fulgor cegador de sus pasiones sobreexcitadas" (Tayler 1959, 185). In English: "The only true difference between Othello and Yorick is that the latter does not kill in cold blood, but in the blinding fury of his overexcited passions".

9   Mazzeo (1968) provides a different reading of the play, and sustains that Yorick was in fact aware of Alicia and Edmundo's affair, and hence himself played the part of unaware husband: "To assume that Yorick, years older than his spouse, was ignorant of the relationship existing between Alicia and her young lover Edmundo […] is entirely implausible" (Mazzeo 1968, 276).

10 Flynn (1973, 84–7, 135) discusses the way in which *Un drama nuevo* follows the precepts laid down by Lope de Vega in his *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* (*The New Art of Writing Plays*) (1609).

11 Rogers (1954) particularly discusses the stratagem of the letter-substitution device in *Un drama nuevo*, which is also used in Benito Pérez Galdós' *La corte de Carlos IV* (1873), within the series of his *Episodios Nacionales*. Rogers speculates that Galdós, a drama lover, might have seen Tamayo's play performed in Madrid and borrowed the strategy from him.

(staged in 1592) constitutes a remarkable source of influence: in Kyd's tragedy, an actor kills a colleague onstage to avenge himself for a past injury, thus also taking advantage of a murder-scene within the play he was performing and turning it to a real stabbing episode. Finally, *Un drama nuevo* has some similarities with other plays by Tamayo y Baus such as *Una apuesta*, *El castillo de Balsaín*, or *Más vale maña que fuerza* (Checa 2002, 57), and the title "Un drama nuevo" itself constitutes a reference to *La comedia nueva o El café* (1792), a play that also discusses the world of actors and dramatic authors and that at the end includes a failed performance of a new drama.[12] Interestingly, *La comedia nueva o El café* was written by Leandro Fernández de Moratín, precisely the first to translate *Hamlet* into Spanish directly from the English original text.

3. *Hamlet* in Spain and the Reception of *Un drama nuevo*

In Spain Shakespeare was traditionally mainly known as an author of tragedies rather than comedies or historical dramas. The tragedies that stand out for the number of times historically mentioned or discussed are, first and foremost, *Hamlet*, followed by *Othello*, *Macbeth* and *King Lear* (Pujante and Campillo 2007, xxv).[13] Ramón de la Cruz's adaptation of *Hamlet* was the first Shakespeare play to be performed in Spanish theatres. The version, entitled *Hamleto, rey de Dinamarca*, was performed in Madrid in 1772 (and only published in 1900 by the *Revista Contemporánea* by instalments) and was based on the free adaptation of the play by Jean-François Ducis released in France in 1769. Ducis had in his turn based his version on the translation by Pierre-Antoine de La Place (published in the eight volumes of his *Le théâtre anglois*, 1745-1748) and not upon the English original, as he did not speak English.[14] Certainly, the French were the ones to introduce Shakespeare to non-English-speaking audiences, and it was Voltaire's "On tragedy", letter XVIII of his *Lettres philosophiques ou lettres anglaises* (written between 1726 and 1730), the result of his three-year exile in England, that truly introduced Shakespeare in continental Europe. In his letter, Voltaire mentioned Shakespeare's dramatic production with recognition of the English playwright's natural and sublime genius, as well as with criticism of his lack of good taste and respect for the dramatic rules. When Pierre Le Tourneur began translating all of Shakespeare's plays in 1776, Voltaire soon enough regretted mentioning Shakespeare and opening the door for the spread of his drama in France.

In addition to de la Cruz's adaptation, there are three other neoclassical Spanish versions of *Hamlet* also based on Ducis's work that remained in manuscript until 2010:[15] an undated anonymous version preserved in the Menéndez y Pelayo library in Santander that cannot stem from much prior to 1793 nor much posterior to 1800; one by Antonio de Saviñón carried out at some point between 1809 and 1814; and another by José María de Carnerero that dates from 1825. These four neoclassical versions have in common that they are in verse and were devised as dramatic

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12 Lassaletta (1974, 856) discusses the differences in meaning of the adjective 'new' in Leandro Fernández de Moratín's *La comedia nueva*, and Tamayo y Baus's *Un drama nuevo*. Flynn (1973, 87) dedicates a paragraph to Tamayo y Baus and Leandro Fernández de Moratín, and Checa (2002, 53-7) discusses the importance of the title of the play, referring to Leando Fernández de Moratín and Lope de Vega. Additionally, Checa discusses the implications of the title *Yorick*, which Tamayo y Baus originally and provisionally gave to the play.

13 For a comprehensive story of Shakespeare's influence in Spanish literature and the history of early performances of plays by Shakespeare in Spain, see Par (1935, 1936).

14 Four other adaptations by Ducis of Shakespeare's plays also found their way to Spanish scenes: *Romeo and Juliet*, *Macbeth*, *King John* and *Othello* in the first half of the 19th century. In France, Ducis' neoclassical version of *Hamlet* got represented two hundred and three times in the Comédie Française from 1769 to 1851, and sixty-five between 1831 and 1840, already in the middle of the Romantic movement (Pujante and Campillo 2007, xxx).

15 Pujante and Gregor (2010) have edited these four neoclassical versions.

texts, not as works in prose simply meant to be read, although it is highly improbable that any of them got performed. At the end of the 18th century, the renowned playwright Leandro Fernández de Moratín translated Shakespeare's *Hamlet* directly from English into Spanish for the very first time. Published in 1798 in the Madridian Oficina de Villalpando under the pseudonym Inarco Celenio, and never taken to the stage, the translation has received considerable scholarly attention (Díaz García 1989; López Román 1989; Regalado Kerson 1989; Zaro 1998; Bobes Naves 2005). José María Blanco White, expatriated in England from 1810 to 1841, was the first after Moratín to translate directly from English into Spanish two fragments of *Hamlet*: Act II, Scene I, and Act III, Scene I, the renowned "to be or not to be" soliloquy. The chosen excerpts appeared in 1824 printed in the London newspaper *Variedades o Mensajero de Londres* under the title of "Shakespeare: Traducción poética de algunos pasajes de sus dramas". A few decades later, in 1856, Pablo Avecilla corrected Moratín's version giving way to his own one. In spite of the new translations and versions that appeared after Ramón de la Cruz's 1772 staging, the next performance of an adaptation of *Hamlet* in Spain after Ramón de la Cruz's happened as late as 1866, this time with the peculiarity of it being in Italian. Indeed, it was the company of the Italian actor Ernesto Rossi that performed it. Rossi, who was part of the Spanish intellectual life of the time (a friend to Bécquer and other writers, for instance), dramatically failed in his first performance, and it was only in his second attempt two years later that he achieved great success (Berenguer 1989, 141). In addition to *Hamlet*, in the 1860s Ernesto Rossi staged in Spain *Othello*, *Macbeth* and *Romeo and Juliet*, in 1875 *The Merchant of Venice*, and in 1884 *King Lear* (Pujáis 1975, 19). Other Italian opera companies led by, for instance, Ristori, Giovanni, Virginia Reiter, Ernete Novelli and Olga Gianni popularized Shakespeare's works in Spain to the extent that, between 1772 and 1900, *Hamlet* was performed in Madrid by Italian companies six out of fourteen times, and in Barcelona twelve out of twenty six (Thomas 1949, 15; Berenguer 1989, 140-1).

Manuel Tamayo y Baus's *Un drama nuevo* opened at the Teatro de la Zarzuela in Madrid on 4 May 1867, with the role of Yorick played by Tamayo's brother Victorino. Thus, by the time that Manuel Tamayo y Baus's *Un drama nuevo* was performed for the first time in 1867, there had been very few performances of *Hamlet* upon Spanish stages, and only one of the productions that performed did so in Spanish. From this naturally follows that the majority of those who went to see Tamayo y Baus's *Un drama nuevo* had never seen any Shakespeare performed at all, and only a small group of them would have read translations of *Hamlet* into Spanish (either the 1798 version by Leandro Fernández de Moratín, or the 1856 version by Pablo Avecilla). Thus, when Julio Checa speculates on the reasons why *Un drama nuevo* became a success on theatres in the 19th century, he unsurprisingly does not allude to Tamayo y Baus's interplay with Shakespeare's works:

> Seguramente, la clave de su aplauso estaría en la presencia de elementos melodramáticos cuya vigencia obedecía a unas coordenadas muy concretas y a la comprensión de la obra desde una interpretación, desde un *horizonte de expectativas*, más concreto aún. Si tenemos en cuenta alguna de las críticas publicadas con motivo de su estreno, veremos claramente las razones de su éxito. No hace falta señalar que esta crítica en ningún momento valoraba el drama por su tratamiento de las relaciones entre la realidad y la ficción, ni siquiera por su habilidad técnica, y, sin embargo, lo hacía precisamente por aquello de lo que el propio Tamayo huyó: el planteamiento moral del problema del honor. (Checa 2002, 64–5)

> [Surely, the key to their [19th-century audiences'] applause was the presence of melodramatic elements whose existence obeyed to very specific coordinates and to the understanding of the work from an even more specific interpretation and *horizon of expectations*. If we bear in mind

some of the critiques published after its opening, we will clearly see the reasons for the play's success. It is not necessary to remark that critics never appreciated the drama for its treatment of the relations between reality and fiction, nor even for its technical ability, and yet, they did so precisely for the aspects from which Tamayo himself fled: the moral problematic of honour.]

Un drama nuevo immediately became a successful performance and toured not only throughout Spain but also in several other countries.[16] Interestingly, shortly after the opening of *Un drama nuevo* the number of translations of *Hamlet* into Spanish and the performances of this play in Spanish rapidly escalated, which allows for speculation on whether there was a cause-effect relationship between the success of Tamayo y Baus's play and an increase in the general interest in *Hamlet* on the part of translators, editors, theatre companies and audiences and readers – or simply a general realization that there were very few translations of the play available in Spanish and, similarly, few performances of it in Spain. Thus, in 1872, Carlos Coello's *El príncipe Hamlet* was performed in Madrid, experiencing a considerable success, as it was performed fifteen times in the capital, and the following year the show was taken to Barcelona. That same year of 1873, two new verse translations of *Hamlet* were put forward by two non-Spaniards: James Clark, who translated three tragedies and seven comedies by Shakespeare, and William Macpherson, who eventually translated twenty-two other plays by Shakespeare, and who, between 1885 and 1897, published them in eight volumes in a series of the *Biblioteca Clásica*. In the American continent, a translation of *Hamlet* by Mateo Martínez Artabeytia was published in Havana in 1872, and in 1886 one by Manuel Pérez Bibbins and Francisco López Carvajal appeared in México. In the 20th century, translations of *Hamlet* into Spanish flourish.[17] Additionally, *Hamlet* was rendered into Catalan in the 19th century: dating from 1896, there is a translation into Catalan of Act V, Scene I by Celestino Barallat y Folguera, which was read in the Reial Academia de Bones Lletres of Barcelona; and in 1898 Arthur Masriera translated *Hamlet* into Catalan too. Indeed, *Hamlet* would end up becoming the most translated and adapted work by Shakespeare in Spain (Pujante and Gregor 2010, 41), to which success Manuel Tamayo y Baus contributed in the mid-19th century with his *Un drama nuevo*, no doubt partly accountable for a growth in interest in *Hamlet* on the part of Spanish-speaking translators, editors, readers and audiences.

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16   Among them, the United States: on 5 December 1874, *Un drama nuevo* was performed in New York at Daly's Fifth Avenue Theatre. The version in English was prepared by Augustin Daly, and the actor Louis James featured Yorick. As Charlotte Stern remarks, "According to Daly's brother Joseph, James rose to the occasion and gave a stellar performance, but the public boycotted the play, thereby forcing it to close one week later" (Stern 1979, 70). Apart from the translation by Daly, there was a second one by William Dean Howells, called *Yorick's Love*. As J.D. Fitz-Gerald explains, these two American versions were "adaptations that took many liberties with the original" (Fitz-Gerald 1924, 175). Both of them, however, are now lost, and the play is currently available in the English version of J.D. Fitz-Gerald and T.H. Guild (*A New Drama*, New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1915), which does not take many liberties with the text.

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III.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE TEACHING

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Implementing Portfolio Assessment in Lower-Secondary School

Summary

Since alternative assessment embraces highly authentic tasks consistent with classroom goals and instruction, its implementation in the language classroom is believed to promote collaboration with peers, transfer responsibility to the learners and, consequently, foster learner autonomy. This paper presents the results of a research study aiming to determine whether portfolio assessment contributes to the development of autonomy in adolescent learners. In order to collect the data, qualitative and quantative methods of research were applied. The research results reveal that the implementation of portfolio assessment failed to affect the overall level of learner autonomy. Introducing one selected pedagogical procedure does not suffice to foster learner autonomy. Teachers need to be ready to pass a portion of their authority to the learners, who, in turn, need to know how to use the new privileges judiciously.

Key words: alternative assessment, portfolio assessment, learner autonomy, adolescents

Uvajanje ocenjevanja s pomočjo portfolija v nižji srednji šoli

Povzetek

Alternativno ocenjevanje sestoji iz avtentičnih nalog, ki direktno odražajo način in cilje poučevanja, njihovo uvajanje v razredu pa naj bi spodbujalo sodelovanje med učenci, njihovo samostojnost ter prenos odgovornosti na učence. Namen predstavljene raziskave je bil ugotoviti, ali uvedba ocenjevanja s pomočjo portfolio prispeva k večji avtonomiji učencev v najstniški starosti. Pri zbiranju podatkov smo uporabili kvalitativne in kvantitativne raziskovalne metode. Rezultati raziskave kažejo, da ocenjevanje s pomočjo portfolija ni vplivalo na učenčevo samostojnost. Uvajanje enega samega pedagoškega postopka ne zadošča za razvijanje učenčeve samostojnosti. Učitelji morajo prenesti del svoje avtoritete na učence, ti pa se morajo zavedati nove odgovornosti in jo premišljeno uporabljati.

Ključne besede: alternativno ocenjevanje, portfolio, avtonomija učenca, najstniki

Implementing Portfolio Assessment in Lower-Secondary School

1. Introduction

As Nunan (1988) observes, modern democratic societies should aim at developing and promoting learner-centred education. The Council of Europe, in *Common European Framework* (2001), underscores the strategic importance of fostering autonomy and adapting curricula to learners' individual needs. In Poland both the educational reform of 1999 and the introduction of the new curriculum delineating foreign language education of 2009 assume that the general aim of education on the lower secondary level is to develop learners' intellectual independence to enable them to make educational choices that would be compatible with their individual abilities and personal interests. In order to meet these objectives, schools should create optimal conditions in which the learners would be empowered to acquire and retain knowledge, develop the ability of observation and reflectiveness as well as seek opportunities for self-education.

Learners attending lower secondary school undergo a transition from childhood to adulthood; therefore, the development of autonomous learning and the ability to take responsibility for their own decisions seem vitally important in the process of holistic development of an individual. The aim of the research presented in this article is to determine whether the implementation of a selected pedagogical procedure, that is portfolio assessment, is conducive to the development of autonomous behaviours in reference to seven aspects of learner autonomy selected for the purposes of this research: selection and implementation of relevant resources, collaboration with other members of the group, the ability to establish learning aims and objectives, engagement in outside classroom learning, capability to evaluate their own learning process, implementation of appropriate learning strategies and attitudes toward the teachers and their role in education.

2. The role of autonomy and assessment in language learning

The notion of autonomy in second language acquisition emerged in 1971 as the result of the Council of Europe's Modern Languages Project aiming to establish guidelines for individual setting of learning goals. Holec (1981) defines autonomy as the learners' ability to take responsibility for their own learning. It can be shaped in three areas: control over the learning process management, control over the cognitive processes and control over the content of learning (Benson 2011). An autonomous learner takes over the responsibility for taking all decisions concerning the learning process as well as their practical implementation. Such a learner is able to define the aims and the content of learning, independently direct the learning process and select the most advantageous methods and techniques of learning. As Little (1991) observes, autonomous learning is reflected not only in the quality of the learning process itself but also in the application of the acquired knowledge in the meaningful context. Autonomy can, to a large extent, determine success in language learning, hence the need to develop learners' responsibility for their learning process.

The ability to direct one's own learning can be developed by a number of specially designed pedagogical tools. Assessment is an important element of the classroom procedure and it does not only serve as feedback on the learners' success or failure in the learning process, but it also

provides valuable insight into the effectiveness of the teaching practice and indicates the areas that need further development and improvement. In recent years a shift from the *culture of testing* to the *culture of assessment* can be observed (Birenbaum 1996; Fox 2008). The *testing culture* is rooted in the structuralist view of language and psychometric methods of measurement. Focusing on obtaining quantitative results of learners' achievement and proficiency, tests ensure high objectivity and reliability of measurement. They fail, however, to take into account the process of learning and the uniqueness of individual language performance. The *assessment culture* offers solutions to these problems as it emphasises:

> (1) the centrality of the classroom (teaching practice and learning process); (2) the active role played by students/learners in assessment processes including standard setting, identification of evaluation criteria, procedures, etc.; (3) a heightened valuing of process; and (4) outcomes characterized by summaries of learner competencies which are detailed, descriptive and informative, rather than a single, quantifiable score. (Fox 2008, 102)

Being an alternative to the traditional assessment, the new approach underlines the process, as opposed to solely the product, of learning and the importance of integrating assessment with the instruction. Paper-and-pencil tests are replaced by meaningful, authentic and communicative assessment tasks which are smoothly incorporated into the ongoing classroom practice. The results, rather than being limited to a numeric grade, provide meaningful feedback and promote learning.

Although a portfolio has been traditionally used by artists and architects to collect examples of their best work, nowadays this technique is widely applied in education as an innovative method of assessing learners' achievement and progress. A portfolio can be defined as "a purposeful collection of student work that tells the story of the student's efforts, progress, or achievement in (a) given area(s)" (Arter and Spandel 1992, 32).

In order to fully understand the nature of successful portfolio assessment, it is worthwhile discussing five characteristic features enumerated by Kemp and Toperoff (1998):

- *Joint effort*: portfolios should be an outcome of cooperation between the teacher and the learners at all stages of portfolio assessment: from planning to the discussion of the results. Peñaflorida (2002) emphasises the role of conferencing between learners and the teacher – regular revisions allow an ongoing adjustment of instruction to the learners' needs.

- *Selection of work*: a portfolio is a selection, and not just a collection of random pieces of student work. Portfolio authors need to be trained how to judge and justify their own choices of materials.

- *Reflection of growth*: portfolios are longitudinal in nature and a wide range of materials accumulated over a longer period of time enable both the teacher and the learners to observe progress and identify strengths and weaknesses. Being able to self-reflect on their work, learners are ready to establish future learning objectives. Because problems and mistakes provide the evidence of development and progress, the content of a portfolio should not be limited to the best pieces of work only.

- *Clear criteria:* portfolio assessment can provide valid and reliable results only if learners are familiar with criteria concerning selection of work samples and organization of a portfolio. Criteria used to assess a single task and a portfolio as a whole should be established in cooperation between the teacher and the learners.

- *Multiple skills:* a portfolio is a selection of diverse materials aiming to assess different skills. The teacher can limit the content of a portfolio to one skill or may decide to display a wider, multidimensional view of the learner's progress.

The content and the structure of a portfolio vary, depending on the application (classroom assessment, university/college admission) and the audience (parents, headmasters, other teachers, general public). It can be used to assess the content of one subject or can adopt an interdisciplinary character. Due to its universal nature, a portfolio finds application on all levels of education: from kindergarten to the university level, and also in teacher training programmes. The use of portfolios is not limited to the in-class teaching as there have been attempts to apply this method on a large-scale in external assessment. In language learning portfolios are mainly used to assess writing (Peñaflorida 2002); however, if designed appropriately, they may also focus on other skills, and thus provide evidence of different aspects of language competence (O'Malley and Valdez Pierce 1996).

O'Malley and Valdez Pierce (1996) note that the key elements of portfolios are: samples of students' work, students' self-assessment, and clearly stated criteria which are agreed on both by the teacher and the learners. A portfolio is claimed to be both an assessment and a self-assessment method as it involves the teacher's verification and grading of the collected work and, at the same time, it gives the learner an opportunity to observe and reflect on the progress achieved over a certain period of time.

Brown and Hudson (1998) discuss the advantages of using a portfolio from three perspectives relating to the impact on the learning process, teachers' position and assessment procedure. As portfolio assessment focuses not only on the product but also on the process of learning, the teacher and the learners involved in portfolio assessment collaborate to attain certain assessment standards and develop metalanguage to facilitate discussions about the learning process. Portfolios also improve teachers' work as a wide range of language samples gathered in a portfolio give valuable insight into learners' language development and individual progress. Moreover, as a result of the ongoing cooperation at various stages of assessment, for instance, during one-to-one conferences, learners start to perceive teachers as guides and counsellors. Finally, the use of portfolios enhances the meaningfulness of the assessment process as both the teacher and the learners are actively involved in assessing tasks that encourage real-life language use in authentic situations. The multitude of tasks enables the teachers to focus on various dimensions of language learning, which can be further reflected on and discussed by teachers and learners. Birenbaum (1996, 10) summarises the impact of portfolio assessment on language learning: "it helps the students develop personal dispositions that are considered essential for effective learning, namely, self-regulation, self-efficacy, self-discipline, and self-assessment, as well as intrinsic motivation, persistence, and flexibility." Moreover, one of the most valuable assets of portfolio assessment is its content validity as the elements collected in learners' files relate directly to the instructional goals and classroom activities (Birenbaum 1996).

Despite numerous advantages of using portfolio assessment, before its implementation in the classroom a number of possible difficulties need to be considered. Birenbaum (1996) points out that as learners are free to select pieces of work, portfolios vary in terms of their constituent parts, and consequently it is difficult to devise a set of standard assessment criteria that would provide consistent and replicable interpretation of the results obtained by individual learners. This problem can be overcome, as suggested by Birenbaum (1996), by applying more detailed scoring rubrics comprising various aspects of performance by well-trained raters. Another risk involved in the use of portfolio assessment is the way it is handled by the teachers and applied in practice. It is the method of implementation that proves portfolio to be an alternative method; nevertheless,

some teachers tend to disregard this prerequisite and treat portfolio as a means of external control directed at grading and emphasising the product, not the process of learning. Instead of developing self-reflective learning, a teacher-centred application of portfolios leads to ranking the learners, and thus loses its formative value (Fox 2008).

3. The research

3.1 The aims of the research

Students of lower secondary school (that is, teenagers of between 13 and 16) undergo rapid emotional and physiological changes. Being aware of their own needs and capable of independent thinking, they are ready to become conscious members of the learning process. The development of autonomy at this age is difficult and requires that the teacher adjust the teaching methods to the learners' stage of cognitive development. Fostering autonomy in this age group can serve as a motivational factor and facilitate learners' personal and social development at school as well as in outside-classroom situations (Komorowska 2001).

The new core curriculum introduced in Poland in 2009 underscores the importance of language learning as a life-long process and, apart from the linguistic aspects, it enumerates a number of key competencies that need to be developed in a language classroom. Consequently, the teacher, apart from teaching the language, additionally needs to focus on non-linguistic elements, such as learning to learn, learners' reflectiveness and independence, ability to cooperate or apply diverse learning resources. The curriculum also mentions that one of the techniques to be used in the classroom is a language portfolio.

As both autonomy and portfolio assessment aim at individual development of a learner, an attempt was made in this research to establish the relationship between the two concepts. The research study presented in this article aims to determine whether portfolio assessment applied in a lower secondary school exerts any effect on adolescents' level of autonomy over the period of one school year. Learner autonomy is a multifaceted concept; therefore, the instruments applied in the research focused on the overall level of this construct as well as its seven subcomponents selected for the purposes of this study enumerated in the subsequent section. Such an approach helped the researcher to analyse the changes in the level of learner autonomy from a number of perspectives. Moreover, the application of qualitative research instruments, i.e. monthly classroom observations and interviews with the subjects aimed to provide insightful information about how the new assessment method was introduced in the classroom by the teacher, and how it was approached by the learners.

3.2 The procedure

The research lasted 9 months, that is, one full school year. Two groups took part in the research – one experimental and one control group. Both groups were comparable in the number of subjects and their level of language competence (beginners and pre-intermediate learners). All subjects attended three hours of English per week and the lessons were based on the same syllabus and course book. Apart from being assessed according to standard assessment regulations established in the school in which the research took place, throughout the duration of the study the subjects in the experimental group were additionally exposed to portfolio assessment. The research can be referred to as an interventionist study since the subjects were exposed to certain pedagogical measures that were supposed to achieve a specific aim. This intervention in the routine assessment procedure was applied

with the aim of observing the emergence of changes in the level of learner autonomy. All the lessons were taught by the regular English teacher, while the researcher remained an objective observer.

The study is an example of mixed methods research as it comprised both quantitative and qualitative data elicitation tools: a questionnaire, monthly classroom observations and semi-structured interviews with the learners. All the instruments were developed for the purposes of the research by the researcher and helped to observe the changes in the overall level of autonomy as well as the emergence of autonomous behaviours in the following areas:

- selection and implementation of relevant resources (subscale 1)

- collaboration with other members of the group (subscale 2)

- the ability to establish learning aims and objectives (subscale 3)

- engagement in outside classroom learning (subscale 4)

- learners' ability to evaluate their own learning process (subscale 5)

- implementation of appropriate learning strategies (subscale 6)

- attitudes toward the teachers and their role in education (subscale 7).

The quantitative data was gathered by means of a pre- and post-questionnaire prepared on the basis of autonomous behaviour lists (Boud 1988; Legutke and Thomas 1991; Dickinson 1992; Breen and Mann 1997; Sheerin, 1997), and acknowledged autonomy questionnaires used in the Polish educational context (Michońska-Stadnik 2000; Pawlak 2004). The questionnaire consisted of 35 items graded according to a Likert-type scale where 1 indicated 'strongly disagree' and 5 – 'strongly agree.' To supplement the numerical data with qualitative information, the researcher observed the groups once a month in a variety of classroom procedures focusing on language instruction, practice, production as well as assessment. The observations were conducted on the basis of a pre-designed observation sheet corresponding to the abovementioned questionnaire. Finally, towards the end of the research, randomly selected subjects from each group were interviewed with the use of an interview scheme prepared by the researcher. Apart from the questions concerning the subscales referring to different aspects of autonomy, the subjects were additionally requested to voice their own opinions about the new assessment method they were exposed to.

It is important to underline that the learners had never used portfolio assessment in the course of education; therefore, a thorough introduction to the new assessment method was necessary. Before explaining the premises of a portfolio as an assessment method, the teacher asked the learners to recall some examples of portfolios used in non-educational settings. Although the learners were familiar with the application of this method in the professional world, it turned out that they had never used it as a form of classroom assessment. Once the aims and the structure of a portfolio were provided, the teacher encouraged the learners to establish their own criteria, which were further used in the course of the research. The learners and the teacher agreed on the following criteria: neatness, grammar and lexical accuracy, the amount and the form of work, a variety of tasks and systematic work. The list of criteria was attached to each portfolio so that the learners would be able to refer to it at all times. Moreover, the criteria were repeated each time the outcomes of a portfolio were presented to the class. The teacher suggested also some examples of additional tasks that could be placed in the portfolio, e.g. translations of songs, new vocabulary, newspaper articles,

etc. The obligatory elements were assigned by the teacher on a regular basis and were connected with the learning content discussed in the classroom (e.g. extension of vocabulary introduced in the course book, written weather forecasts, reports of a classroom survey, letters and other forms of written texts). The learners were asked to prepare a special file with a table of contents in which they would list all obligatory and optional tasks with the date of submission. After a larger portion of material was covered in the classroom, the learners were asked to reflect on their own learning process through open-ended questions or mini-surveys prepared by the teacher. The portfolios were collected twice a semester, and the feedback was provided in form of a grade and a written comment about the weak and strong points of the collected work. The teacher decided to grade individual pieces of work and no overall grade was given for the entire portfolio. The outcomes were then summarised by the teacher and discussed in front of the class.

4. Results and discussion

First, the results of the questionnaire will be accounted for. Table 1 illustrates the mean scores obtained before and after the treatment by the experimental and control groups in respect to the overall level as well as the 7 areas of learner autonomy. In order to determine whether the observed differences were statistically significant, a dependent t-test was calculated for the overall level of autonomy, each subscale as well as each individual questionnaire item.

In the case of the overall level of autonomy in both groups the difference between the mean results of the questionnaire administered on two occasions appeared to be too small to be of statistical importance; consequently, a null hypothesis stating that administration of portfolio has no impact on the overall level of autonomy can be accepted.

In the next step there was an attempt to examine the results obtained before and after the treatment in the experimental group on the subscales referring to different aspects of autonomy. With dt=26, alpha decision level set at α=0.05, and t_{crit}=2.056, the difference between the results obtained in the pre- and post-test on subscale 1 appear significant as t_{obs}=2.541 (p=0.017). The observed value of t on subscale 1 suggests that portfolio exerts a positive impact on learners' ability to select and implement relevant resources.

Subscales	Experimental group Pre-test	Experimental group Post-test	Control group Pre-test	Control group Post-test
Subscale 1	2.76	3.10	2.81	2.82
Subscale 2	3.30	3.34	3.56	3.67
Subscale 3	2.83	2.60	2.85	2.85
Subscale 4	3.11	3.17	2.99	3.05
Subscale 5	3.50	3.64	3.25	3.10
Subscale 6	3.69	3.64	3.68	3.76
Subscale 7	3.27	3.33	3.55	3.37
Total	**3.21**	**3.26**	**3.24**	**3.23**

Table 1. Mean results obtained by means of the pre- and post-questionnaire on learner autonomy in the experimental and control groups.

The second subscale on which the difference between the mean results in the pre- and post-test proved significant in the experimental group was subscale 3 (with t_{obs}=2.165; p=0.04), whose aim was to measure the learners' ability to establish learning aims and objectives. As the results after the treatment are lower than the ones before, it can be concluded that a portfolio as an assessment method exerts a negative effect on learners' ability to set their own learning objectives. The differences on the remaining subscales were insignificant and therefore it can be stated that the applied method of assessment did not affect other areas of learner autonomy.

To obtain more insightful information concerning the emergence of autonomous behaviours in the experimental group, similar calculations were performed for each questionnaire item. The differences between the results before and after the treatment proved to be statistically significant only in terms of 3 questionnaire items: 2 (t_{obs}=2.658; p=0.013), which shows that the learners wanted to have a bigger say in the choice of the course book, 20 (t_{obs}=3.232; p=0.003), which indicates that they tended to be less prepared for classes after the experiment, and 30 (t_{obs}=2.114; p=0.044), which points to the increased use of learning resources in solving language problems.

Similar calculations conducted in the control group did not reveal any statistically significant differences in the overall level of autonomy or the 7 subscales. Some changes, however, were observed in the case of individual questionnaire items. Question 7 (t_{obs}= 2.134; p=0.045) reveals a fall in the level of autonomy, indicating that towards the end of the experiment the learners tended to perceive their progress as conditional on the attractiveness of the lessons. A significant difference was also observed in question 14 (t_{obs}=2.89; p=0.009), which indicates that the subjects were less aware of their strengths and weaknesses when the questionnaire was administered on the second occasion. A rise, on the other hand, was visible in item 11 (t_{obs}=3.215; p=0.004), which suggests that at the end of the research the subjects more frequently sought the possibilities of using L2 outside school.

In order to supplement statistical analysis with qualitative data, let us now proceed to present the results obtained by means of qualitative tools, i.e. monthly observations and semi-structured interviews with the learners. These results will also help to account for the significant differences revealed by the questionnaire.

As pointed out before, in the group subjected to portfolio assessment a significant difference was noted in the case of subscale one, referring to the learners' ability to select and apply additional resources. This might result from the fact that almost all items included in the portfolio exceeded the content of the course book and compelled the learners to look for information in other sources. If the learners wished to obtain a better grade for an additional entry in a portfolio, they had to make all decisions concerning task completion independently. Consequently, they were responsible for selecting a task type as well as choosing relevant resources and evaluating the final outcome. Learners' increased interest in learning resources was also reflected in the abovementioned questionnaire items 2 and 30. The results of the observations and the interviews revealed that the teaching and learning processes in both research groups were to a large extent based on the course book and workbook. The tasks done in the classroom as well as those assigned as homework tightly followed the sequence of exercises in these two books. The learners were encouraged to use additional resources only when they had to submit assignments to their portfolios. Conversely, the control group had hardly any opportunities to employ additional resources in their learning.

Another area of autonomy in which a significant difference was noted in the experimental group was the learners' ability to set their own learning goals. As the mean results after the experiment in

this area are lower than before the treatment, it can be concluded that the applied method hindered learners' ability to establish learning aims and objectives. Taking into consideration the fact that the learners were given relative freedom in the choice of resources and selection of optional tasks to be placed in a portfolio, such results might be surprising. However, the classroom observation and interviews with the learners revealed that although portfolio assessment offered the learners a chance to submit additional tasks, its ongoing implementation was, to a large extent, dominated by the teacher, who was responsible for its planning, administration and feedback. Moreover, the interviewed learners reported that they did not understand the aim of the new method and perceived it merely as an additional burden. Despite the teacher' explanation that one of the aims of this assessment method is to observe the growth of their language competence over time, this premise did not seem to be pursued and the learners were not able to reflect on their own performance. The learners had access to their files at all times, but they were not trained in how to self-reflect on their previous tasks. The negative beliefs about the new assessment method were reflected in learners' actions: some learners failed to set up their own portfolio or did not submit it on a regular basis. Neither the questionnaire nor the qualitative instruments revealed any changes on this subscale in the control group.

The questionnaire shows that the overall level of autonomy on the remaining subscales was not affected as the result of the applied treatment; still, the emergence of some incidental autonomous behaviours could be observed in situations in which the subjects were engaged in the portfolio assessment. For instance, before the learners started using a portfolio, they were requested to set assessment criteria to be later applied during the experiment. The subjects were eagerly engaged in the process and were able to suggest reasonable solutions. Although the teacher needed to guide them, provide suggestions and evaluate the final list, all the criteria used in the course of the treatment were put forward by the learners. Another aspect worth mentioning is that portfolio assessment prompted some of the learners to prepare diverse additional assignments which were later placed in the file. Apart from these tasks, the learners appeared to be reluctant to engage in any other extracurricular tasks or initiatives.

Even though some positive aspects of implementing portfolio assessment were observed, the research revealed also some important problems that need to be attended to. One of the most serious pitfalls was the fact that self-assessment was sorely neglected by the learners. Although both open- and closed-ended instruments were offered, they were not completed and attached to the portfolios by the learners. It might reflect the importance of grading as the major factor motivating learners to work – self-assessment tools were not graded, so the learners did not submit them. On the other hand, such a situation may have resulted from the fact that learners were not accustomed to self-assessment of any type as the ability to reflect on one's learning process is not promoted in the traditional system of education in which the research took place. Even though the subjects were provided with introductory explanation when a self-assessment instrument was used for the first time, they might not have understood the aim of such a procedure and, being left without the teacher's assistance, they simply were not able to interpret their language performance and, consequently, abandoned the unfamiliar task.

The interviews with the learners conducted after the experiment allowed the researcher to collect the subjects' opinions concerning the applied assessment method. When asked about their attitudes to portfolio assessment, the majority of learners were critical of this procedure. The most frequently repeated problem was the necessity to devote additional time to preparing new portfolio entries and carrying the file to school. Responses, such as "I didn't feel like doing it," "I've lost my file and

I don't have a new one," or "I'd rather watch TV instead" indicate that learners' negative attitudes to this method stemmed from their unwillingness to be involved in additional work rather than the nature of the method. The learners who praised the new assessment procedure underlined the possibility of getting good grades for optional work. One learner underlined that she would not have done some additional tasks if it had not been for the portfolio. They also mentioned that the method is novel and interesting. Moreover, the subjects appreciated clear assessment criteria and the practical attributes of portfolios – all pieces of their work were stored together. Even though one learner's overall opinion about portfolio assessment was positive, she complained about the obligation to choose the optional task unaided and suggested that such decisions should be made by the teacher. As negative opinions about portfolio assessment prevailed, most of the interviewees would not like this method to be used in the future.

As the observation and the interviews show, portfolio assessment was not accepted by the learners as a valuable method of verifying their achievement. Therefore, a question arises: why did the new assessment method fail to awaken the learners' interest and stimulate them to work? First of all, this method was a complete novelty to all the learners – they did not fully understand its aim and structure, and they were not aware of the added value it entailed. It seems that the implementation of the new method requires a more extensive presentation of its premises, and a particular emphasis should be placed on practical aspects and possible gains that can be derived from language portfolios. Moreover, as the research was conducted in an educational system in which the summative and grade-oriented assessment traditions prevail, it would appear beneficial to inform learners' parents about the principles of the new method. The interviews conducted with the subjects indicate that parents play an important role in the learning process as they suggest additional materials, help to solve language problems and verify their children's knowledge before tests. It is therefore reasonable to assume that if the parents had been acquainted with the new method, there would have been a bigger chance that at least some of them would impel their children to submit the assigned tasks. Another problem which significantly diminished the formative value of portfolio assessment was the fact that the learners failed to engage in the process of self-assessment. It might have stemmed from the fact that the learners had never been trained to reflect on their own performance or the language learning process. The initial introduction of self-assessment was not sufficient – self-assessment is a difficult and complex process requiring teachers' constant guidance and assistance. Moreover, it seems that more decisiveness is needed in eliciting this element of portfolio as it would not only force the learners to complete a self-assessment tool, but also provide the teacher with immediate feedback on the learners' ability to engage in self-reflection. Finally, in the experimental group both the feedback on portfolio assessment and the grading procedure were directed by the teacher – the learners were not involved in the assessment process and did not have a chance to test in practice the criteria they established at the beginning. It might be suggested that the learners would have been more engaged in building up their portfolios if the frontal feedback and written comments on each portfolio entry had been supplemented with one-to-one conferencing or other forms of direct contact between the teacher and the learners.

5. Conclusions

Portfolio assessment is widely acclaimed for its formative value, as it encourages independence and self-reflection both on the process and the product of learning. The conducted research revealed the emergence of certain autonomous behaviours in the group exposed to portfolio assessment; for instance, the learners were able to establish and implement assessment criteria or apply diverse learning materials without the teacher's assistance. Unfortunately, these elements that appeared

to be task-specific were not transferred to other spheres of classroom teaching; consequently, they were not fully developed. It can be concluded that the effectiveness of an assessment method in developing autonomy depends on multiple factors: the nature of the assessed task, learners' involvement as well as their attitude to the method. Some elements of portfolio assessment failed, but it must be remembered that it was the first time the learners had been engaged in self-assessment or the processes of setting own assessment criteria. It seems that in order to benefit from alternative methods of assessment, one needs to be already equipped with a repertoire of autonomous behaviours, such as the ability to set concrete learning goals or evaluate one's progress. Therefore, the process of introducing assessment methods different from traditional tests has to be preceded by far-reaching changes in the classroom. The teachers need to consent to invite learners to participate in the decision-making concerning at least some aspects of classroom learning so that they will be able to make appropriate choices when working on their own. Finally, unless learning to learn is not encouraged in other areas of classroom practice or is not transferred to other tasks carried out at school or at home, one can hardly expect the newly developed autonomous behaviours to consolidate and become a regular occurrence affecting the overall level of autonomy.

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Summary

What we are faced with at present is a blatant neoliberal transformation of universities, whose social relevance depends increasingly on the ability to serve the needs of neoliberal capitalism. If we see this as a problem – as many of us do – then we also feel the need to defend (and develop) the traditional practices of universities, such as "pure" research and critical reflection on society. Yet such a response, inevitably, goes hand in hand with critique of and struggle against ideology behind capitalism itself, against the logic of competition and profit. Drawing on the legacy of Freire and Althusser, the article highlights some of the links between the English language teaching and the neoliberal politics, and gives suggestions about ways in which departments of English in general, and language classes in particular, can be a part of the socially critical forces rather than a part of the so-called liberal-progressive camp.

Key words: critical pedagogy, Paulo Freire, neoliberalism, language and ideology

Politika v razredu

Povzetek

V današnjem času smo priča transformaciji univerz po neoliberalnem diktatu, ki družbeni pomen univerz vse bolj povezuje s sposobnostjo služenja potrebam neoliberalnega kapitalizma. Če se nam to zdi problematično, potem čutimo potrebo po obrambi (in razvoju) tradicionalnih praks Univerze, kot so, denimo, čiste temeljne raziskave in razvoj družbene kritičnosti. Tovrstni odziv pa je neizogibno povezan s kritiko ideologije kapitalizma kot takega, z bojem proti logiki tekmovanja in dobička. Izhajajoč iz teorij Freirea in Althusserja članek osvetljuje povezave med poučevanjem angleščine in neoliberalnimi politikami in predlaga načine, na katere so lahko oddelki za anglistiko (in jezikovni pouk nasploh) del družbeno kritičnih sil, in se ubranijo trendu, po katerem humanistični oddelki postajajo del tako imenovanega liberalno-progresivnega tabora.

Ključne besede: kritična pedagogika, Paulo Freire, neoliberalizem, jezik in ideologija

Classroom politics

1. Introduction

It is safe to say that the global challenges set before us by the current economic and political situation are unprecedented in their scope and complexity. While the role universities play in this crisis is being redefined along the lines of the neo-liberal agenda – with particularly grim effects for humanities – the syllabi of individual departments continue to promote ideals of critical thinking and active citizenship. In other words, they continue to acknowledge the commonly accepted idea, efficiently phrased by Terry Wrigley, that

> schools and colleges should be a space where creativity is developed, where we learn to live together, where we learn empathy and sensitivity towards one another, where young people can reflect on their relationships. Schools […] should be places where we can acquire a cultural heritage and reshape it for our own times, were we can engage in critical thinking about our society and world. (2006, 95)

In other words, schools *should* be a space where people become genuinely empowered, where "critical thinking" is not an empty phrase, where knowledge and action, theory and practice are considered together rather than separately, where mutual respect is nurtured through dialogue, where the much praised and commonly used idea of "active citizenship" is brought to life. Do universities really cater for such needs and aspirations? Or, more importantly perhaps, do they foster awareness about them? How come all the reforms carried out in the spirit of democratization have not resulted in many more as well as much more active citizens? Should we, linguists and language teachers, feel responsible? Should our students be able to use English in a politically conscious and socially responsible way? Do we teach that kind of English?

The way the article addresses these questions is fundamentally informed by Althusser's theory of ideological state apparatuses (cf. Althusser 1970) and by the legacy of Dewey and Freire, who both, especially Freire, call for what is termed critical (or radical) pedagogy. Our basic assumption is indebted to the uncontentious fact that any educational system both mirrors and perpetuates the political and economic system it serves. Such a stance was fully legitimized in England and in the United States as early as in the 1970s, as a response to the prevalent conservative view of schools as mere instructional sites. Left critics "provided theoretical arguments and enormous amounts of empirical evidence to suggest that schools were, in fact, agencies of social, economic and cultural reproduction" (Giroux 1985, xv), which, in turn, led to the articulation of emancipatory education, of a link between ideology critique and collective action. However, a number of more recent studies of (higher) educational institutions on both sides of the Atlantic report of the same realization: in the market culture of neoliberal capitalism, emancipation through education has become an obsolete idea (cf. Laval 2005; Giroux 2007; McLaren 2010; Orlowski 2011). The pressing requirement for educational programmes to follow the needs-means model has taken its toll; such an approach is a form of social control, subservient to the interests of capital.

The approach defended by this article has to do with general aims and responsibilities of educational institutions in the world of today, and with the expansion of quality further and higher education accessible to all who have the ability and motivation to pursue it, and is perhaps best summarized by the following words:

> Opposing neoliberalism in higher education should be part of the struggle for a society that really does give everyone an equal chance to realize themselves. […] What neoliberalism ultimately represents is a particularly pure form of the logic of capital. Therefore, the struggle for better universities can't be separated from the movement against global capitalism itself. (Callinicos 2006, 7)

The article intends to demonstrate that any serious response of the kind is rooted in Freireian critical/radical pedagogy and requires both a critique of the ideology of neoliberal capitalism and a critique of neoliberal discourse in English. It also seeks to identify the problem of hegemonic ideological discourse and present the need to tackle it, giving some suggestions regarding critical teaching practice. However, given the open-ended nature of such an orientation, the article raises questions rather than provides answers, and in doing so highlights the rationale legitimizing the need for a more politically engaged pedagogy.

2. Why Critical Pedagogy

At the current stage of political and economic crisis in the EU and the world it must indeed be recognized as insufficient to make students read, say, a text about the threat to biodiversity and to social justice posed by our economic paradigm, hoping a personal response to the unsustainable and inequitable economic system will not only be triggered, but will also turn into a willingness and capacity to critique, and to take steps to enact change. It is more naïve still to think that putting a poster of a black athlete or Roma musician on the classroom wall is enough to teach students about the intricate ways in which discriminatory discourses work. Analyzing (and changing) discriminatory discourses and raising awareness of numerous social issues are demanding tasks requiring professionals on all levels of education. Which is why decades old principles of "progressive education" and "radical pedagogy" need to be continually re-considered and re-applied – in all areas of education and in all subjects.

Reading through our secondary school syllabi for the English language, it is not surprising to find a fairly ambitious set of aims regarding education of critically thinking individuals, who will be able and eager to take part in democratic processes. Globally, the concepts of *an informed citizen* and *an active citizen* have shaped the rhetoric of all political parties, and found their way into the language used in national curricula across the countries of the (so-called) West. There is a need for such rhetoric, for, clearly, most of us still think democracy is the optimum political system. And yet people are increasingly disinterested in political participation, including voting at general elections. In other words, the basic forms of democratic rule seem to be on the wane.

The 19th-century thinkers and partisans of democracy (e.g. Tocqueville in the US and John Stuart Mill in Britain) were aware of the pitfalls of democracy, such as uninformed/misinformed people or powerless/disinterested people. Like Mill, who considered *education* to be most important in order to safeguard democratic society from degenerating into despotism, John Dewey too believed in "the potential of public education to strengthen democracy. In *Democracy and Education* (1916), [he] argues that public education offers the best hope against the possibility of despotic regimes" (quoted in Orlowski 2011, 151).

Speaking of the tension between democratic and despotic tendencies, Freire's view of power seems to be a combination of Althusserian theory and his deep Christian beliefs: he acknowledges the ubiquitous nature of power, noting that power relations are inscribed everywhere, not just in the more or less repressive activity of the police, the courts and the military. Like Althusser, he is

also among the first to speak of the more subtle ways in which those in power secure their own stability through various social and cultural relations; he acknowledges the essential ingredient of domination – self-oppression, explaining how we are bound to internalize the dominant ideology, rendering ourselves blind to the means and ways of our own subordination. In other words, he too speaks of the double bind that secures the status quo. But unlike Althusser and other radical theorists whose views are defined by structural determinism and thus deprived of optimism, he "stresses that there are always cracks, tensions and contradictions in various social spheres such as schools where power is often exercised as a positive force in the name of resistance" (Giroux 1985, xix). He also, both directly and indirectly, speaks of hope and possibilities for a fairer world, for a true liberation (from mental oppression) that should be the result of a different kind of education. Establishing a link between ideology critique and collective action, Freire creates the theoretical basis for a radical pedagogy that combines hope, critical reflection, and collective struggle.

Addressing the question of what it means to teach for democracy in North America, Orlowski (2011) finds that the critical left discourse is the least represented in educational contexts in both the USA and Canada. In both countries voter turnout is decreasing steadily (with the exception of the 2008 Obama election), with both systems "suffering from citizen apathy" (ibid., 157). (The voter turnout in Slovenia is decreasing too, with young people shunning political involvement.) To affect some change for the better, Orlowski, unsurprisingly, suggests critical left education and teaching about ideology critique, teaching critical media literacy and teaching about flaws in our democratic system (ibid., 158).

Alongside Orlowski, many contemporary authors stress the need for vigorous debate and public dialogue (e.g. Laval 2005, McLaren 2010, Giroux 2007, Snider 2002, Shuster 2005), which, again, presupposes creative and critical citizens, informed and active citizens. The trouble is, however, that people are not well informed. (We teachers are seldom exceptions.) And this is so despite all the media coverage, an unprecedented variety of TV stations to choose from, newspapers, radio broadcasts and internet sites. The trouble is the language used by politicians and (at least part of) the media tends to be deliberately opaque, making the political ideology behind it difficult to grasp. Since schools and universities are seldom the places where knowledge and skills needed to penetrate these discourses are acquired, it is no wonder so many people are disincentivized to take part in activities that can redefine (and reshape) their social contexts. Moreover, it should come as no surprise that even those who are, in fact, eager to get involved, often suffer from what has been described as *false consciousness*, and vote against their own best interests (the considerable opposition to Obama's plan for health care reform is a case in point). Without learning to think critically and creatively, and act accordingly, people are apt to acquire a kind of self-contradictory consciousness that allows them either to take a conformist attitude and accept a situation/position as normal (even if to their own detriment), or to be aware of the situation/position but refuse to make an effort to change it.[1]

Analyzing the social and political consciousness in the USA and Canada, Orlowski (2011) suggests progressive teachers should do two things: "first, help students understand the insidious ways in which power operates to shape individual consciousness and ways of seeing; second, not run into difficulty with people threatened by such activism" (ibid., 152). Focusing on the first has to do with

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1 In *The Politics of Education* Freire studies how the various "myths", as he calls them, are internalized in schools at all levels of education, including University. He writes of those who speak the language of freedom and democracy, but – mostly unconsciously – conform to the very ideology that negates it all: "Many want a humanistic education, yet they also want to maintain the social reality in which people find themselves dehumanized." By studying how such myths are internalized, Freire was among the first to call our attention to what has become known as *false consciousness,* explaining "the contradiction between forms of action and actual choices made by many people" (Freire 1985, 119).

close reading/listening, discourse analysis, language awareness, the relationship between language and ideology, etc.; focusing on the second has to do with communication and debating skills as well as principles of bohmian dialogue (cf. Bohm 1996). If anything, higher education should equip individuals with tools and understanding instrumental for deconstructing "hegemonic forms of meaning making" (ibid., 154), and this double focus keeps us well on track. Moreover, it also keeps us very much within the four language skills paradigm, which requires language instructors to constantly seek a balance between reading, writing, speaking and listening.

Ken Robinson, a British educationalist currently living in the USA is one of the most popular contemporary theorists of change in education practices. In his latest book, *The Element* (2009), he makes an impassioned plea for a radical transformation of educational institutions. Faced with an unprecedented rate at which global society is both changing and growing, faced with the negative consequences of human activity on the earth's geology and natural systems, we have never before known so little about the future young people are to be prepared for. Robinson is certain that the enormous challenges before us cannot be dealt with if we stick to the old educational paradigms. These paradigms need to be *transformed* rather than *reformed* if we are to benefit from the many and varied talents people possess but rarely if ever develop within the current system – the many and varied talents we might, as a species, soon enough be in dire need of. And while the development of one's potential is of utmost importance for the individual in question, it is with this common need and with the concern for the health of our communities in mind that he makes a number of claims and suggestions: "The curriculum of education for the twenty-first century must be transformed radically. […] First, we need to eliminate the existing hierarchy of subjects. […] Second, we need to question the entire idea of "subjects". […] Third, the curriculum should be personalized" (2009, 247-8). He speaks in favour of the focus on individuals in educational contexts, by which he does not mean only students but also teachers, asserting that most reform endeavours concentrate on the curriculum and the assessment, ignoring the potential of teachers and pedagogy (ibid., 235), while "the most successful systems in the world […] invest in teachers" (ibid., 249).

Robinson identifies two main problems of traditional schooling: the first one is the unnatural and illogical hierarchy of disciplines in schools, which reflects the image of industrialism, and "the other is that conformity has a higher value than diversity" (ibid., 230). While criticizing the former, he builds a strong case for the idea that the creativity of individuals is hampered and lost; shedding light on this, he points to the organic nature of communities as well as to the danger of groupthink – it can dull the individual judgement.

Robinson has a lot in common with contemporary proponents of Freireian pedagogy: while "creativity" is a broader concept than "critiquing", the act of critical thinking is by definition creative. Generally speaking, critique springs from the ability and willingness to think outside the box, and is intrinsically at odds with unquestioned conformity. Robinson's noteworthy emphasis on the dangers of conformity is but a rephrasing of critical educators' commitment "to make the political more pedagogical, that is, to make critical reflection and action a fundamental part of a social project that not only engages forms of oppression but also engages a deep and abiding faith in the struggle to humanize life itself" (Giroux 1985, xiv).

3. Neoliberal Capitalist Ideology and an "Informed Student"

In *The Politics of Education* Paulo Freire (1985) finds the ultimate challenge in the multitude of educated people who are actively passive, who seem to refuse to learn more about their own

powerlessness in the face of social, religious and/or political inequities. His radical pedagogy seeks to understand the very conditions of imposed and self-imposed oppression in its many forms; it seeks to inspire open-minded and critical educators to address these conditions in class in ways that are both illuminating and engaging.

The distressing results of the Asch conformity experiment in 1951 put an end to any doubt regarding the human need for acceptance and unanimity: "The tendency to conformity in our society is so strong," wrote Asch, "that reasonably intelligent and well-meaning young people are willing to call white black. This is a matter of concern. It raises questions about our ways of education and about the values that guide our conduct" (in Robinson 2009, 146). Combined with the way the ruling ideology works on and through us, the forces that shape our decisions – and ultimately our lives as individuals and as interconnected communities – are too important not to be scrutinized. And since the world is currently under the dictate of neoliberal ideology, schools and universities should be engaged in what Freire termed "conscientization" and raise awareness about its implications.[2]

Theorizing from the experience of students and faculty in higher education in Great Britain, Alex Callinicos says that "any real attempt to open universities out and democratize them would run slap against the drive by the government, supported by big business, to harness higher education to the priorities of competition and profit" (2006, 39). The situation in Britain is indicative of the trend apparent everywhere in the West. Throughout Europe, the gradual turn to the job market, which seems to have been progressing according to the inherent logic of the system, has found its administrative scheme in the Bologna Process.

If we see this as a problem – as many of us do – we might be wondering whether we should focus more on developing "critically thinking citizens who are able to address serious societal issues in a sophisticated manner" (Orlowski 2011, 7). There is no recipe as to how this goal is to be achieved, but there are many theoretical signposts (and much practical experience) to be critically appropriated. As already stated, in doing so within the humanities and EFL teaching, we can avoid neither a critique of the ruling ideology nor a critique of English as *the* language of the ruling ideology. It is in the best interest of every individual as well as in the best interest of the global community to have some understanding of the concepts and processes these areas comprise.

4. Critiquing Ideology

One of the documents that is indicative of the trends and plans set in motion by the neoliberal agenda is *EU 2020 Strategy* (2009). The passages that discuss education and research place a heavy emphasis on innovation and creativity, calling knowledge, quite appropriately "the engine for sustainable growth" (ibid., 5). The text acknowledges the fact that Europe has some of the best universities in the world, and professes the plan to create even more centres of intellectual excellence. However, it places this plan in the context of innovative business start-ups in which "universities and research institutions (will) "raise capital through the commercialization of their ideas" (ibid., 5). While universities have always helped to reproduce the existing social system and provide people with socially useful skills, they have also been a space of "pure" research, of individual self-fulfilment and of critical reflection on society. Yet what we are faced with at present is a blatant neoliberal transformation of universities, whose social relevance depends increasingly on the ability to serve the needs of neoliberal capitalism.

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2   It is interesting to note that one of the most systematic attempts to develop and critique Freire's legacy has been made in Australia. For more information cf. the work of Allan Luke, an Australian linguist and educator.

While the main problems of the current capitalist economic paradigm spring from its unsustainability, the main problem of the current neoliberal globalization seems to lie in its demand "that societies should be governed by the rules of trade and understood only in terms of its economic rationality. According to Berthelot, "the much vaunted 'global village' is turning out to be a 'global pillage'" (quoted in Orlowski 2011, 183).

The problem is this neoliberal economic dictate has taken over the whole world. The problem teachers will find difficult to ignore is that the public sector is being run increasingly under the same dictate. The problem is that there is a particular language use that helps to make this tendency – this reality, as it were – seem like an inevitability. Although billions of people feel increasingly oppressed by the system, it continues to be upheld as the most appropriate. Neoliberal ideology is gradually monopolizing the discourse used in the spheres of the upbringing and education of young people. The same international organizations that write economic policy and parliamentary legislation (the WTO, the World Bank, the IMF) are creating a global discourse whose power rests in achieving a symbolic normalization of neoliberal practices, and in creating a codified template that might soon enough turn into a common denominator of national education systems throughout the world (cf. Laval 2005).

There is a general consensus among critics of neoliberal educational policy about the root cause for damage inflicted upon public education: education is regarded as a subsector of economy (cf. works by McLaren 2010, Orlowski 2011, Giroux 2007, Pennycook 2007). American educators Karen Anijar and David Gabbard (2009) have examined neoliberalism's effects on the American public school system and report on the devastating effects (cf. Orlowski 2011, 187). Assessing the situation in France, Christian Laval in his book *School Is Not a Company* poses the following question: "Is it all about adapting the school system to the capitalist economy and liberal society […] or are we dealing with a more serious attempt to abolish the school as such?" (2003, 18; my translation). While he professes agreement with Gilles Deleuze, who believed the latter to be the case (cf. ibid.), Laval is one of the theorists who warn against premature conclusions about the death of the public education sector. Nevertheless, he presents a number of tendencies pointing to the seriousness of the neoliberal attack on the public sector in general and schools in particular.

Schools are subjected to the processes of deinstitutionalization (as "flexible organizations" that are shaped by the dictates of the market), devalorization (the classical values of emancipation and self-betterment have given way to the imperatives of productivity and efficiency) and desintegration (as a result of consumerist conception of individual autonomy and reproduction of social inequalities). Rather than considering knowledge to be of high social, cultural and political relevance, neoliberal ideology understands knowledge as a professional category. Yet the neoliberal agenda continues to be presented as a perfect and universal solution to all social problems, including those related to the educational system. As mass education has not managed to significantly reduce social disparity and to solidify meritocratic values, Laval acknowledges the fact that schools are indeed in need of reform (2005, 21). The neoliberal approach to this reform is not the answer, though. It uses the language of "equal opportunities", but its market logic cannot abolish the existing inequalities; instead, it deepens them.

His study shows how in France general accessibility of scientific and technical culture remains a utopian goal. This is so for two main reasons. The first one has to do with the superiority of capital accumulation above any other social goal, which, in turn, translates into tuition fees and private schools, compromising the right to education, let alone equal access to it. The other restriction is linked to media industry and the fact that in the market society consumerism has a stronger pull than

pleasures derived from intellectual pursuits (2004, 17). By offering hedonistic solutions to invented needs, advertising policy aims to pacify the masses, creating, in the process, submissive subjects – seekers of enjoyment, comfort and status symbols. In other words, the system restricts rather than opens up the space of quality education for all, at the same time conditioning individuals to become alienated from the allure of intellectual pursuits. Crucial in this conditioning is – advertising.

Laval's estimate is compatible with that of Paul Orlowski, who contrasts the North American public schools mission of "educating future citizens in possession of critical thinking skills" with the present "viewing of students as human capital in need of training for their future jobs" (2011, 187). By promoting the latter the neoliberal position creates the citizen's identity that could not be further away from the active citizen pursued by the classical ideals of state education.

Analyzing the educational policies in the USA and Canada, Orlowski suggests that "teachers should be aware of the latest research in the social sciences and cultural studies, especially how it pertains to schooling" (2011, 9). He claims that public life in general and all state apparatuses in particular are determined by hegemonic discourse, defining hegemony as "the ideal representation of the interests of the privileged groups as universal interests, which are then accepted by the masses as the natural order rather than as a demonstration of the construction of power along the lines of race, class, and gender relations" (2011, 6). And that is where critical pedagogy steps in, educating students to be aware of the fact that discourse is always connected with power.

Orlowski's view is, in part, informed by Apple's *Ideology & Curriculum* (2004), which provides an analysis of hegemonic discourses embedded in the formal curriculum. Apple points to an obvious link between the curriculum topics and the dismantling of the social welfare state. In other words, he calls our attention to the relation between the educational programmes and our silent consent to political decisions that have negative long-term effects for the majority. He shows the relation between the (covert) racist attitudes of Americans and the textbooks used in American and Canadian schools, stating that liberal pluralist forms of multicultural education maintain racial and cultural power structures rather than combat them. While a significant majority of sociology students "recognize the horrors of the colonial past", most of them don't understand the ways in which the powerful colonial legacy affects social relations still today, staying blissfully unaware of "systemic racism or the privileges of 'whiteness' in contemporary society" (quoted in Orlowsky 2011, 9). [3]

Furthermore, Orlowski points out the strategic value of omission, listing a number of topics, such as social class, use of taxes, trade unions, the social welfare state, to mention a few that have been removed from the curriculum, demonstrating how "omission as a hegemonic strategy is used to further entrench corporate interests in the United States and Canada", and how both the curriculum and the attitudes of teachers help perpetuate the white middle-class bias as the hegemonic norm. It is particularly noteworthy how the disappearance of class concerns from the curriculum coincides with a specific emphasis on the individual. As a matter of fact, the removal of class consciousness seems to go hand in hand with "the hyper-emphasized individual" (Orlowski 2011) in the educational rhetoric and programmes. Wilkinson and Pickett explained the effect of this trend on society itself: "Instead of a better society, the only thing that almost everyone strives for is to better their own position – as individuals – within the existing society" (quoted in Orlowski 2011, 4). In other words, "the hyper-emphasized individual" is addressed as a consumer, whose choice to invest in their education will improve their position on the job market. The other side of the same rationale is the attitude to the unemployed and homeless, who – such is the

3   And they are equally unaware of how this could be connected to the superiority of capital accumulation. For more on the symptomatic lack of "genuine understanding" within American educational system on all levels cf. Gardner 1995.)

discourse – have only themselves to blame for their predicament. In words of Orlowski, "these social problems are *not* seen as political issues with political solutions" (2011, 185). Instead, they are seen as logical outcomes of bad decisions and poor choices of which individuals have to suffer the consequences.

In the wider social context the paradigm leads to feelings of helplessness and powerlessness, which, in turn, creates an atmosphere of ultimate disinterestedness in political participation, further exacerbated by political parties, whose pro-business policies render differences between them more and more insignificant. Such a social climate is the background of yet another byproduct of neoliberalism: "an apathetic and cynical citizenry without much of a political consciousness" (2011, 186), too busy satisfying their own wants and ambitions, or dealing with threat of eviction from their home, with financial difficulties or unemployment – which they are held personally responsible for – to be interested in active involvement in social and political issues. Orlowski is wary of the dire consequences following a decline in political consciousness around issues of social class and civil rights (such as the Patriot Act or threats to the Canadian universal healthcare system).

It turns out that the identity of the ideal citizen has nothing to do with active citizenship; it turns out that the neoliberal subject is a result of serious corrosion of social values: "Brown (2003) contends that the American individual is being re-made as "calculating rather than rule-abiding" (quoted in Orlowski 2011, 186). This conception of the ideal citizen "renders the concept of the public to be subservient to the needs of capitalism. In other words, we are clearly in a period of regression in terms of supporting the common good" (ibid., 186).

A Slovene sociologist, Kovačič (2010), has come to a similar conclusion, suggesting that the current economic paradigm and the corresponding values fostered within the educational system have created a mass of students whose attitude to knowledge is rather cynical. They have realized that our economy does not appreciate in-depth knowledge, that a degree no longer guarantees a job, let alone a respected and well paid job. The system thus generates an attitude of indifference and disillusionment regarding their professional prospects, at the same time encouraging resourcefulness and flexibility that, translated in pragmatic terms, often equal trickery and bluffing (Kovačič, 2010). In the system that pits one person/worker/candidate/job-seeker against another, the idea of the common good is losing ground. And since the pro-neoliberal governments service corporations rather than the public interest, we are inclined to agree with Orlowski, who believes that social studies teachers and teacher educators (which is what most university teachers of English are) "are in excellent position to make the next generation of citizens aware of the deleterious effects of neoliberalism on civil society", adding that "the classroom is another place where hope resides" (2011, 192-3).

5. Critiquing English

Over the past decades serious concerns and reservations about teaching and/or learning English, the language of oppression and unfair globalization, have been voiced. A number of teachers feel reluctant to accept the role of propagators of things and ways characteristic of North America, Great Britain or Australia. Some have even suggested that the teaching of English should be discouraged, as this is the oppressive language (cf. Pennycook in Tollefson 1995, 34-58).

Twenty years ago the issues addressed within the fields of critical pedagogy and applied linguistics included state language policies (and what/who they serve), ELT in the context of the spread of English as a world language, and a critical self-examination within the fields of applied linguistics and language teaching. These issues started to be observed against the background of

two underlying realizations (and research topics in their own right): the first one postulated that "research in applied linguistics must incorporate, as a central concept, the issue of *power*", and the second one stated that "language policies are both an outcome of power struggles and an arena for those struggles" (Tollefson 1995, 3). In other words, the relevant studies tend to fall on either side of the continuum, or else they are marked by a dynamic tension between a stress on structural determinism and a belief in human agency.

If we acknowledge the fact that schools are an effective ideological apparatus, that they act as agents of social and cultural reproduction, then – of all discursive practices – the spread of English must be granted a special status. It is, after all, the language of ex-colonizers as well as the language of contemporary economic, financial and political elites. It is the most widely used lingua franca, whose spread tends to be seen as natural, neutral and beneficial (cf. Pennycook in Tollefson 1995, 37). While the presence of English in the world is undisputed, Pennycook addresses the important issue of the world in English: English is dependent on forms of Western knowledge; its spread "went parallel with the spread of the culture of international business and technological standardization"(ibid., 42); it is perceived as "*the* language of international capitalism", as "an integral part of the global structures of dependency"(ibid., 43). In other words, the ways of the world are imprinted in English, English is the language of the current division of the world, English is in the world just as much as the world is in English.[4]

Marnie Holborow, an Irish academic and member of the global educational association TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) confirms that "over the last few years English as a discourse of colonialism and resistance to its dictates are themes which have moved centre stage within ELT (Pennycook 1998; Cangarajah 1999) and the controversial nature of them accepted" (Holborow, M. 2007).

The sensitivity regarding the role of English in the world in general and the role of teachers of English as promoters of the language of imperial ideology, of American might, of world domination, as it were, has been heightened especially since the invasion of Iraq in 2003. That was a time of massive public outrage against American aggression, and a time when the global anti-capitalist movement gained new momentum. The way a critique of global capitalism became popular was unprecedented. Millions of people throughout the world saw Moore's *Fahrenheit 9/11* and read Naomi Klein's *No Logo.* The overlap between neoliberal capitalism and war was suddenly made more apparent; the overlap between language and ideology, and the issue of ideology transfer across cultures were, again, held in the focus of heightened attention.

Ideology and language are not the same thing, though. "One is not reducible to the other and interconnections between language and ideology are not given or even predictable. They are in a constant state of flux since speakers can select, interpret, and contest the ideological underpinnings of any specific use of language" (Holborow 2007, 3). Holborow adopts a humanist attitude, but is concerned – like thousands of teachers of English – about her conscious and unconscious

4   This interpretation echoes Freire's perspective on literacy acquisition, which, in his view, should always be related to the learners' social context; "…"reading the word" and "reading the world" must go hand in hand (Freire and Macedo 1987)" (in Tollefson 1995, 12). The idea behind it is that literacy is not deserving of its name unless it is "emancipatory literacy". Emancipatory or critical literacy empowers learners to make meaningful relations among different pieces of information they learn at school on the one hand, and questions of power and social issues (such as class division, discriminatory policies etc.) on the other; it teaches them how to contextualize knowledge. While emancipatory literacy potentially leads to social change, the literacy programmes that refuse to address pressing social issues and ethical questions "perpetuate ignorance or, as Macedo puts it, stupidification" (1987). To put it differently, this is yet another verbalization of the fact that educational practices either contribute to the status quo or they challenge it. In either case, they imply an ideological stance.

involvement in propagating, through mere language teaching, the ways, attitudes and values of the neo-liberal corporate world.

Every ideology reflects and sustains specific beliefs and values, and offers an elaborate interpretation of the ways of the world; every ideology does so on the premises of specific interests of a specific social class. Language is, of course, a crucial ingredient in this interpretation. It is used in the way that renders the interpretation as a self-evident one, as the only natural understanding of the way things are. As speakers we "inherit" a specific language use (and ideology) by being born into it. Although we choose the words and register and language use, much of the choice is unconscious, for speakers are always socially-positioned and thus ideology-specific.[5] Althusser claims "that ideology 'acts' or 'functions' in such a way that it 'recruits' subjects among the individuals (it recruits them all), or 'transforms' the individuals into subjects (it transforms them all) by that very precise operation which I have called *interpellation*" (1970, 25). Does that mean that ideological interpellation is a process that turns a pre-ideological individual into a subject proper? Althusser, in fact, claims that "in reality these things happen without any succession. The existence of ideology and the hailing or interpellation of individuals as subjects are one and the same thing" (ibid.)

It seems we cannot but acknowledge the primary role of the social context we belong to and the ideological nature of the language we cannot escape, but at the same time, we cannot accept the anti-humanist view of the subject as a mere effect of social relations. It goes against the liberal humanist tradition embedded at the very heart of the pedagogical professions. We therefore uphold the dialectic understanding of the relationship between language and ideology, believing that if we can teach *about* interpellation, we can also teach *resistance to* interpellation. While ideology always presents itself as common sense, as natural, whenever language is used to challenge or question "the way things are", it suggests an active thinker/speaker rather than a passive product of a certain ideology; it suggests a more potent position of an individual otherwise determined by one's social placement and hence by a specific ideology.

Raising awareness about these relations and processes is no small feat. Yet it makes perfect sense to consistently draw our students' attention to the connection between language and ideology, starting with (written or spoken) texts that are easier to grasp. An example that springs to mind is the language used for American Indians in the past. When they were referred to as "savages" and "primitives", the expressions reflected a specific ideology, a specific attitude to American Indians, which was instrumental in making it sound acceptable to persecute them.

Another example would be sexism in language: a bulk of research has shown that the habitual use of the so-called "generic man" and "generic he" produce distorted mental pictures of reality, that they result in both children and adults visualizing males rather than females in about 90% of the cases where "generic" he/man is used. Moreover, confronted with the sentence *Dr Jones is a busy person: a clinic to run, medical students to supervise…* my students normally assume that we are talking about *a male* doctor – even without a "generic he/man". When I show the last part of the sentence *…and a husband with polio*, they never fail to react with an audible expression of surprise.

Every aspect of language (spoken or written, productive or receptive) is culture-specific; in every function language (use) is intricately connected with specific modes of analysis, with specific rationalizations of what is considered logical/acceptable/natural etc. When teaching students how to write, for instance, we are favouring certain conventions over others, we are promoting certain

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5   One language can, of course, contain several, at times contradicting, ideologies, but it is the ruling ideology that prevails. Hence the call for a conscious struggle to articulate one's "counter discourse".

principles of, say, register, lexical density, and/or structure that are related to certain standards of credibility – which are, inevitably, approved by the ruling ideology. In the article Developing literacy across cultures, Urška Sešek confirms that "in each culture, new generations are taught through writing to prefer certain ways of thinking and conceptualizing of the world" (Sešek 2004, 294).

Language choices have been adopted, normalized and internalized as part of the process of socialization. It takes a conscious decision and some intellectual effort to dive under the surface of language use, and to understand the delicate interplay of forces within language politics. So if people stop to think whether to say "policemen" or "police officers", whether to "let someone leave" or to "fire them", whether to describe a military attack as "a pre-emptive counterattack", "a proactive approach" or as a "we-attacked-first case", they choose their language to reflect their personal preferences, their moral standards etc, and exercise their freedom to adopt their own attitude to "common practices" or to established policies.

In her article Ideology and Language Marnie Holborow (2007) shows how the language of neo-liberal capitalism penetrated into everyday language use, how other fields, from humanities and health care to political speech, have been "colonized" by the economic field. She starts explaining this semantic stretching by turning to Bourdieu (1998), who defined the neo-liberal language (of flexibility, competitiveness, free market, individualism etc) as "a 'strong discourse', an 'infernal machine', whose necessity imposes itself across society, even on those who stand to lose from its imperatives" (Holborow 2007, 5). Referring to Bourdieu, Holborow reminds us of how today his visionary delineations regarding neoliberal capitalism – its self-presentations that defy opposition and its socially destructive effects – "sound all too familiar almost anywhere in the world" adding that "he showed powerfully the mechanisms by which we are all drawn into the neo-liberal net and assume, almost nonchalantly, its language" (ibid.)

Knowing the situation in North America, especially in the States (where aggressive marketing of "for-profit schools" is a common thing), she draws parallels with that in Ireland: every hospital has a "mission statement" and nearly every local council, government department, GP surgery and tax office all pledge themselves to the highest standards of "customer care". Public language, she writes, has been taken over by corporate jargon and language itself has become part of brand-image, or 'nice-speak'.

In the last decade in Ireland the language of neo-liberalism has spread where it is perhaps least expected – in Higher Education. Referring to Graham, Holborow writes:

> Universities as *competitors* and students as *the target market*, education in global *competition* and *the knowledge economy, value-for-money education, world-class educational provision, managing change, the university industry, delivering and packaging courses, research outputs, teaching outputs, units of resource* (i.e. students*), the pursuit of excellence* and the (fairly vacuous) *international best practice*, as Graham points out, are repeated endlessly in the colossal quantities of electronic communication that flits across campuses (Graham, 2004). (Holborow 2007, 9)

Scrutinizing the OECD Report on Higher Education in Ireland in 2004, Holborow notes that rather than on the type or content of education the report focuses on "recruitment, organization, administration and management" – which is made clear by a most telling presentation of the frequency of certain expressions in it:

*Table 1: "**Word count: OECD Report/Higher Education Ireland**"*

R&D	42	research	294
competitive	27	student	179
change	23	learning	48
market	20	teaching	21
organisation	16	Study	18
industry	15	learner	2
business	13	lecturer	2
manager	9	intellectual	2
competition	5	library	1
		private study	0
		literature	0
		reading	0
		tutorials	0

Significantly, the words used most frequently are *research* and *R&D* and, despite their quite different connotations, they are used interchangeably. For example:

[A] number of measures need to be put in place to create a sustainable *research culture* which will provide the depth of resource necessary to attract overseas companies in far greater number than currently to invest in *R&D* in Ireland and to sustain and enhance indigenous industry… (Holborow 2007, 11)

Such examples are indicative of the significance of understanding the ways in which ideological battles are fought in and with language, of who has the privilege to determine meaning, of how slowly/quickly certain practices are naturalized and certain values accepted. If students are aware of how different vocabulary (uses) – as well as different speaking and listening styles – serve different ideological purposes, they are better able to avoid being misled by often ambiguous and elaborate rhetoric used in various social and political contexts.

Our students still have a chance to decide (and strive) for a different meaning of, say, "research", but the next generation might well be born into the world in which the "dehumanizing overtones" of "human resources" (ibid., 16) are no longer questioned, and where no one opposes the use of "customer" for as diverse groups of people as patients, students, asylum seekers, immigrant workers and passengers, for no one feels such language use "degrades human experience by reducing it to the cash nexus" (ibid.).

6. Conclusion

If the world is always and already in the word, as stated and demonstrated above, then English as a global language spreading the ideology of neo-liberal capitalism occupies a unique position, which teachers of English have the responsibility to communicate to their students.

Alongside many other theorists and educators, Pennycook urges us – linguists and teachers of English – to explore and question the connection between our work and the political/cultural interests it serves; he often warns us against the claims that the spread of English is "natural,

neutral, or beneficial" (in Tollefson 1995). In effect, he reminds us of the fact that English can – unwittingly – be taught as a language of subservience, a language that perpetuates the status quo, but that it can also be taught as a tool for empowerment. In other words, he explores the relationship between language, culture, and discourse, addressing the difference between the (use of) English that encourages people's unproblematic acceptance of their own oppression, and the (use of) English that is potent with new meanings and perspectives, that is capable of carrying idiosyncratic experiences of diverse nations and social classes. In response to some linguists and teachers who believe the teaching of English should be discouraged (as this is the oppressive language), Pennycook says that "as long as English remains intimately linked to the discourses that ensure the continued domination of some parts of the globe by others, an oppositional programme other than one that seeks only to limit access to English will be necessary" (Pennycook in Tollefson 1995, 55). More generally, he suggests that "counter-discourses can indeed be formed in English and [...] one of the principal roles of English teachers is to help this formulation" (ibid.). Inviting us to approach our EFL classes in this manner, he echoes the Freireian call for an education that requires students to create their own words, to re-claim the familiar words and use them in ways that are instrumental for their own emancipation, and to be, as listeners and readers, always on the lookout for hidden meanings:

The theme of an essay is not merely what appears on the surface in words. There is always something hidden, something with a deeper meaning that is the key for complete understanding. Accordingly, whenever possible, writing on or toward real issues entails an extensive effort to see through deceiving appearances that may blur our vision. (Freire 1985, 113)

Between Freire and Pennycook there is a diverse group of scholars (e.g. Giroux, Orlowski, Holborow, Luke, McLaren, Tollefson) highlighting both the relation between power structures and educational practices, and educators' responsibility to raise awareness about the power of neoliberal ideologies. As we are directly and indirectly involved in both education and international communication (which are largely conducted in English), and as social and political change is both reflected in and constituted by language, we need to be able not only to recognize hegemonic cultural discourses, but also resist those discourses and produce what Pennycook terms "counter discourse".

As long as English is THE lingua franca and as long as the so-called "democracy promotion" is still on the agenda of Western countries' foreign policies, teachers of English will be faced with the pedagogical challenge of introducing power politics into the classroom. This text has attempted to clarify the nature of this challenge: it is not really a matter of choice; power politics is already part of EFL teaching – whether we want it or not. What we can – and perhaps should – decide on, however, is whether we want to tackle it in a more controlled and informed way.

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IV.

TRANSLATION STUDIES

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Is Jamie Oliver "Easy Peasy" in Slovene?

Summary

The research aims to identify the idiolectal features in selected cookbooks by Jamie Oliver (*The Naked Chef*, *Happy Days with the Naked Chef* and *Jamie's Ministry of Food*), and how they were rendered into Slovene by Oliver's translators. As a theoretical basis, it relies on Koller's three–stage model for analyzing the original and the translation. The paper also confronts the problems that arise from cultural differences between Slovene and British culture. Lexical items are layered into independent categories in the form of concentric circles to denote quantity, significance and interconnection. Within these layers, I focus on specific analysis of expressions under the influence of word–formation, pop culture, gender specific language, onomatopoeia, phonetic symbolism, deliberate inaccuracy, comparison, informal and colloquial language, and creative instances such as "the icky factor", "childish intimacy" and "the Peter–Pan–syndrome". The translator's subjective point of view was also taken into consideration.

Key words: Jamie Oliver, Luka Novak, Tadej Zupančič, idiolect, cookbook, comparative analysis, translation

Je Jamie Oliver "otročje lahek" v slovenščini?

Povzetek

Namen raziskave je določiti idiolektalne značilnosti Jamieja Oliverja v izbranih kuharskih knjigah ("The naked chef", "Happy days with the naked chef" in "Jamie's ministry of food") in kako sta jih Oliverjeva prevajalca prenesla v slovenščino. Teoretična osnova raziskovalne naloge je Kollerjev tristopenjski model analize izvirnika in prevoda. Naloga se tudi sooča s problematiko kulturnih razlik med slovensko in britansko kulturo. Leksikalni izrazi so bili razslojeni v posamične kategorije v obliki koncentričnih krogov, s katerimi se nakazuje količina, pomembnost in medsebojna povezanost izrazov. Znotraj posameznih slojev sem se osredinila na analizo izrazov, ki so pod vplivom besedotvorja, pop–kulture, jezikovnih posebnosti moške in ženske govorice, onomatopoetičnih izrazov, fonetičnega simbolizma, namerne nenatančnosti, primerjave, neformalnega in pogovornega jezika ter izvirnih pojavov, kot so "dejavnika odvratnega", "otroške bližine" in "sindroma Petra Pana". Subjektivnost prevajalca je prav tako dejavnik, ki sem ga upoštevala.

Ključne besede: Jamie Oliver, Luka Novak, Tadej Zupančič, idiolekt, kuharska knjiga, primerjalna analiza, prevod

Is Jamie Oliver "Easy Peasy" in Slovene?

1. Introduction

Cookbooks are commonly seen on shelves in bookstores and homes. Since they are guides that instruct hobby chefs to cook as professionals by using exact, simple and clear diction, cookbooks follow specific conventions that govern this genre. However, celebrity chefs construct new, creative and individual patterns to convey knowledge and to promote their image as commodities. Such a person is Jamie Oliver, who has revolutionized not only cooking but even language. He shattered cookbook "etiquette" and highly specific cooking terminology in order to appeal to a variety of people and to create a unique level of simplicity. These changes constitute his personality, which can get lost in translation.

Luka Novak and Tadej Zupančič, Jamie's translators into Slovene, face the challenge of rendering not only instructions but also Jamie's personality into a different linguistic environment. The focal point in translating is, thus, not so much the recipe itself but Jamie's exceptional idiolect: "The speech habits of an individual" (Finch 2000, 224). These speech habits incorporate stylistic features usually connected to sociolect and dialect but which are entirely independent and not a group–specific feature — in contrast to the previously mentioned terms. Jamie used his language to set himself apart from other chefs and used it consistently to form a trademark character that is rebellious, adventurous, childish, innovative and a little bit silly, but also nostalgic and warm.

These characteristics found in Jamie's books are as important as the recipe's primary function: to instruct. That is why the translation of Jamie is so difficult and provocative. Since every language breathes with its culture, English interacts with British culture differently from the way Slovene interacts with Slovene culture. Consequently, a transfer of personality from one culture into a decisively different receptor culture is cluttered with obstacles. In the process, a new — in the case of Slovene — Slovene Jamie is formed to instruct Slovene people in cooking. This is resolved in accordance with the possibilities the Slovene language has to offer.

Thus, the questions needing to be asked in this paper are as follows: What are Jamie's idiolectal features? How are they categorized? How are they incorporated into the recipe structure and what is the impact on the audience? After locating these specifics in the original, the main focus shifts to the transfer of these lexical items from the original into Slovene. On the following pages, we will look at how a certain item was rendered into Slovene, how consistent this rendition was, how it fits into the target culture, what was the (most likely) path of translational decision–making and what other alternatives exist. This research explains in detail how complex a simple word can be and how much information it can bear and, consequently, lose. Therefore, I will give a brief insight into Jamie's world of linguistic *smushing away* and *bashing the hell out* of English, focusing on the most interesting and typical words that we have grown to love in his books and TV shows.

2. The Layers

Jamie's expressions are interconnected and expand in meaning and numbers. That is why their organization into concentric circles was the best way to visually categorize them, and depict the peculiarities of Jamie's idiolect.

At the heart of the four illustrated idiolectal circles is the first layer of lexical items, labeled "Jamie–isms". In matters of numbers, it represents the smallest of the four groups, with only 8 listed entries.
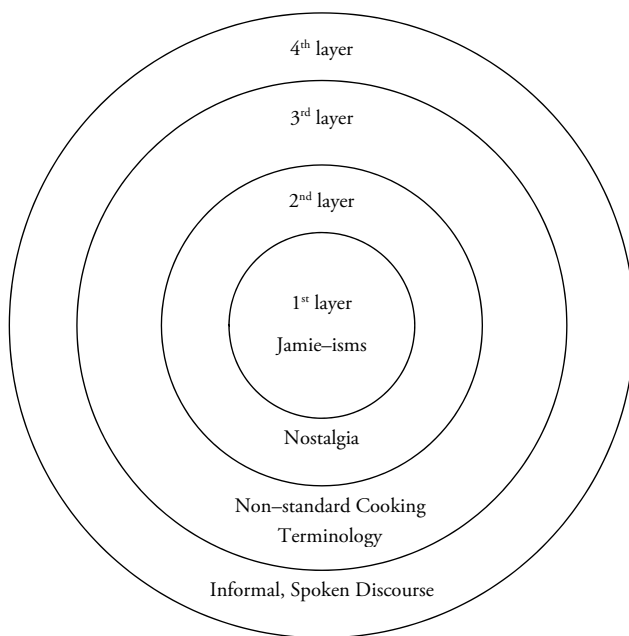
Figure 1: The layering of Jamie's idiolectal words

In spite of this, it is a vital layer, since it illustrates the productivity of the English language and how a celebrity chef can contribute to its evolution. The Slovene language has, similar to English, enough material to produce new words, but its capacities are not used to the fullest in the Slovene translation. This creates a conflict between the ST[1] and TT[2], and a fundamental challenge in the realization of Jamie's creativity to the same degree in the TT. Typical Jamie–words are *meringuey*, *porridgey*, *rolly*, *spinachy*, etc.

The second layer of distinctive lexical items — "Nostalgia" — consists of 19 quotations and allusions from the world of media: music, movies, comics, television and even advertisements. This layer of logemes[3] comes from the golden age of British television — from the 1950s, 60s and 70s. It is a kind of hide–and–seek Jamie has integrated to tease his readers and make them children again — like a modern day Peter Pan who never wants to grow up. The second layer thus sets the basis for his "Peter–Pan–syndrome".

Interestingly, Jamie quotes in a manner that is nearly undetectable for the average listener/reader, since the sources of quotations are very specific. If one does not have the same knowledge or background as the person quoting, the hidden allusion will remain hidden. This obscurity and specificity should be the driving force of the translation in this layer, too. It should hint at media influence in a new cultural environment; however, these cultural environments hinder each other. To give a brief insight into what Jamie's nostalgic words are, here are some typical examples: *don* (from *The Godfather*), *fandabidozi* (from The Krankies), *lovely jubbly* (from an orange drink commercial), *easy peasy* (from a detergent commercial), etc.

1   Source text.
2   Target text.
3   Radó's term for the "element of the ST [the translator] has to distinguish and then to reproduce while composing the TT" (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1999, 97).

The third layer — "Non–standard Cooking Terminology" — with its 113 entries represents the second largest group of Jamie's idiolectal expressions, notable for their "misplaced" usage in comparison with other cookbooks. The term "misplaced" stands for the context in which these unusual words appear, but it is not bound to the register of the words themselves: while the fourth layer — informal, spoken discourse — is marked in register and used in specific situations, the expressions of the third layer can be labeled (as for example *bash*: informal (ODO[4], Bash)), but Jamie's usage deviates from the accepted norm (even for non–standard expressions), since he creates a different context of usage. This can be illustrated with the example of *soggy* for overcooked vegetables — the expression is usually applied to babies' diapers. The Slovene translations deviate less from cookbook conventions, and they even come close to or are Standard terminology. Other influential instances of this layer are gender specific language, onomatopoeia, phonetic symbolism, the "icky factor", deliberate inaccuracy and comparison. These are noticeable in expressions such as *bash up*, *smush ins*, *rugby–ball shape*, *the thickness of two beer mats*, *semi–mushy*, *soggy salads*, *plonk into*, etc.

The fourth and final layer — "Informal, Spoken Discourse" — is the most numerous (counting 281 expressions), since it encompasses informal and spoken discourse. This group consists of logemes which are, in comparison to other layers, codified in dictionaries, but marked in register and restricted to certain contexts. The last layer thus illustrates the outer rim of my concentric circles. It may be a marginal group and less ground–breaking in linguistic terms, but it still defines Jamie's choice of words and indicates the growing de–standardization of the English and Slovene languages.

Although the fourth layer has some similarities to the third, the main difference is that these expressions are not necessarily cooking–related or modified in any way in order to relate to food. Words such as *bum*, *bro*, *scrummy*, *xxx*, *pretty damn* and *pimp up* are used to liven up the language and lighten the strict rules of cookbooks. Such colloquial words are sometimes more, sometimes less skillfully rendered into Slovene: *xxx* was omitted from the Slovene text and is therefore a zero equivalent;[5] *bro* underwent domesticating translation[6] (*stari*); the swear word *damn* was transferred into the mild swear word *prekleman*, and it went through an additional shift in location; *scrummy*, a British informal expression, was translated into Standard.

2.1 The First Layer

A language in itself is a communicative tool that is nearly without boundaries. It is creative, flexible, ever changing and, foremost, expressive at all levels. Another feature of language lies in its creation and maintenance of authority: the speakers themselves. Through the shared "inborn" knowledge of language, they not only reproduce (encompassing morphological, syntactical, semantic, etc. spheres) but also produce it. This productivity is most drastic and visible in neologisms and nonce words (lexical sphere), which were also used by Jamie.

As the expression "Jamie–ism" suggests, this list consists of words that deviate from Standard English vocabulary, and were newly coined by Jamie himself. Conforming to Plag's notion of the term, neologisms are, "derivatives that were newly coined in a given period" (Plag 2003, 52). However, the difference in frequency and codification in dictionaries sets the terms neologism and

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4   Oxford Dictionaries Online.
5   The terms "zero equivalent" and "zero equivalence" are among Kade's translational concepts, where an ST expression is not rendered into a TT expression. Zero equivalence is also known as nil or one–to–none equivalence (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1999, 50; Kenny 2004, 78).
6   Venuti's term "domesticating translation" describes the approach towards translation where the translator brings the author of the original closer to the TT audience by adapting the foreign text to the target culture. The translated text is viewed as another original, rather than a translation (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1999, 43).

nonce word apart: the first can be codified in special dictionaries; the second only occurs in a given situation and fades away immediately. Thus, not every coined word has to enter wide usage; such words can also disappear the moment they were uttered.

Words of this layer are based on derivational rules that are applied out of situational necessity in order to bring about new meanings or slightly different shades of meaning. Such expressions serve the speakers (also Jamie) more truthfully, or rather accurately than established "actual words", which are already distinguished expressions of a certain language community's mental lexicon.

In matters of word–formation, the Slovene language is as flexible as English, but this feature is relatively neglected by Slovenes for reasons of unawareness and perhaps even comfort. Since there is no Slovene dictionary of word–formation, linguists and translators are left to their own devices to cope with such immediate word–formational demands; hence, translators go for English foreignisms[7] or calques[8] rather than performing the more demanding task of coining new words with their limited word–formational tools. In such situations, translators could make use of topical dictionaries from the field of word–formation. Such an attempt was made by Stramljič Breznik: *Besednodružinski slovar slovenskega jezika, Poskusni* zvezek za iztočnice na *B*.[9] This dictionary is definite proof that the Slovene language is capable of keeping the pace set by Jamie in his early books.

Other sources such as the Slovene dictionary SSKJ[10] — the main authority on Slovene language — and corpora such as Fidaplus, Nova Beseda and Besedišče are starting to become outdated. The first came to a halt in 1991, and the second codified its native language only until 2006. Though the latter is not obsolete, it is stagnating.

This layer was usually translated into Standard without word formational incisions. However, the translation of *meringuey* (into *meringue*) is questionable. *Meringue* is a word of French origin but quite common in British English; so, for native speakers, there are no hurdles in understanding this expression. Novak translated the adjective *meringuey* into its nominal form (*meringue*), keeping the foreign spelling, declination and pronunciation. Therefore, *meringue* in a Slovene context is an exoticism,[11] which indicates a tendency towards foreignizing translation.[12] The most striking thing about *meringue* in Slovene is its lack of meaning. Since Great Britain is a neighbor to France, cuisine and cuisine terminology went back and forth between these two countries. This did not happen in Slovenia. There is almost no trace of French cuisine terminology, except among chefs, and none among the general public. The sentence, "Dobro izgleda, če se peče v posodi iz nepregornega stekla, saj se med pečenjem nekako razsloji, tako da na dnu nastane nekakšna sirasta limonova krema, na vrhu pa se pojavi rahla in prožna **meringue**"[13] (Novak 2002, 284), is unintelligible to a common Slovene native speaker. Fidaplus has only two entries for *meringue* — as a dance form — the

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7   "Foreignisms" is a collective term for words of foreign origin.

8   The term "calque" is one of Hervey and Higgins's subcategories of cultural transposition. It denotes words of foreign origin which follow the model of the source language's grammatical structures, but are not transferred verbatim from the source language (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1999, 36).

9   English translation: *Word Family Dictionary of the Slovene Language, Experimental Volume for B Headwords.*

10   *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* (English translation: *Dictionary of the Slovene Language*).

11   One of Hervey and Higgins' subcategories of cultural transposition. Exoticisms are expressions which show most of their origin, since they are transferred into the TT with little or no adaptation (on a cultural and linguistic level) to suit the target culture (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1999, 36).

12   Venuti's term "foreignizing translation" is the opposite of "domesticating translation". This approach brings the TT audience closer to the author of the original and the source culture. It restores the foreign text by transferring foreignisms into the TT, and provides the TT audience with "an alien reading experience" (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1999, 59).

13   English original: "It looks good cooked in a Pyrex dish, as it goes into layers as it cooks, with a sort of lemon curdy custard at the bottom and a spongy **meringuey** top" (Oliver 2001, 284).

SSKJ has none, and even our mental lexicon lacks this expression, so we do not understand how the pudding in the recipe should turn out. For the great majority of Slovene speakers, *meringue* carries no information, except if they Google it. However, if the translator had used Grad, Škerlj and Vitorovič's dictionary, or Oxford's English–Slovene dictionary (abbreviated as VASS[14] and VASSO[15]), "meringue" would never have been a problem, since the first dictionary's translation of the logeme is *beljakova pena (pecivo)* (VASS, Meringue), while the second one suggests *španski vetrc* and *poljubček* (VASSO, Meringue). *Beljakova pena* names a raw egg white mixture, whereas *beljakovo pecivo*, *španski vetrc* and *poljubček* denote the baked meringue. These expressions are the accepted terms (even for laypersons) in Slovene cookery that stand for the English "meringue". But during translation, Novak neglected the basic function of a recipe — to instruct. In this case, domesticating translation would have been the better solution. For the sake of keeping the foreign flair, explicitation would have been another option — *meringue,* followed by the Slovene expression (of the translator's choosing) in brackets. However, it must be noted that Oxford's English–Slovene dictionary was until 2005/2006 not yet published, so Novak did not have this particular dictionary at his disposal.

2.2 The Second Layer: Nostalgia

Though there is a great divergence between British and Slovene television, a difference which affects the translation, Slovene translators are given new possibilities through iconic commercials and products that embrace nostalgic notions and iconicity, comparable to the British 1950s image of a picture perfect society and economic wellbeing. Instead of following the American model of a consumer society, Slovenes can draw on socialistic ideals, products with cult status and the marketing strategy of these, tapping into the nation's history and the nostalgic construct of Yugoslavia.

To expand my idea, the Yugoslav economy was not driven by capitalism where only the strongest survived; it encouraged the consumption of Yugoslav products in the spirit of fairness towards the laborer: the people who produce the goods also enjoy them. So, even though foreign brands were not advertised on a large scale, a Yugoslav — and Slovene — advertising legacy from the 1960s and 70s was nevertheless handed down: for example, "Cockta – Pijača naše in vaše mladosti", which is "the symbol of the Slovene consumer revolution" (Rogelj Škafar and Damjan 2010). Foreignizing translation of Briticisms is also possible, but in a Slovene version this would sound strange and unintelligible because of the unfamiliarity with British culture in a more and more "American anglicized" world.

One must be aware that there are many quotations embedded into the cookbooks, and there is simply no way to know everything; the older the sources of quotations get, the fainter our awareness of them. Jamie, nevertheless, has taken a liking to this kind of quoting.

People — including of course Jamie — embed quotations into their idiolect for allusion, or as an expression of personality. Such items illustrate our interests and how we see the world. Some remarks make such an impact on us that we slip them into our daily discourse — even when we talk to people who will probably not get the joke. Jamie, as I suspect, quotes texts (mostly) without the purpose of having them recognized. He simply does this for his personal amusement and to convey his individuality. This approach and his taste in quotations are yet again extremely vital for his writing style in English and in translation.

14 *Veliki angleško–slovenski slovar* (English translation: *Great English–Slovene Dictionary*).
15 *Veliki angleško–slovenski slovar Oxford A–K* in *L–Z* (English translation: *Great English–Slovene Dictionary Oxford A–K* and *L–Z*).

Some of Jamie's most interesting idiolectal expressions are condensed in this layer. One of them is *easy peasy*, which I also incorporated into the title of my paper. *Easy peasy* is a "near Jamie–ism", which (at first glance) appears to be Jamie's copyright material, but is actually a re–introduced word. Unlike the general belief (especially among the non–British), it is not Jamie's invention, but a nostalgic commercial slogan for a detergent.

The meaning of *easy peasy* according to ODO is, "very straightforward and easy (used by or as if by children)" (ODO, Easy–Peasy). In register it is considered British informal. It is difficult to establish whether the expression was part of informal discourse to start with, or has become part of it because of Jamie's influence. Either way, one thing is certain: *easy peasy* came into being as a slogan for the 1970s British TV commercial for Lemon Squeezy detergent, which looked like this: a little girl pointed out dirty greasy dishes to an adult (her mother or a relative); she then cleaned them easily and quickly with Lemon Squeezy, and at the end she said, "Easy Peasy Lemon Squeezy" (UD,[16] Easy Peasy). Knowing the structure of the advertisement is important, since Jamie copies its usage of the phrase, and adds *easy peasy* as an independent sentence, "Drain the pasta, and while still steaming hot mix well with the tomatoes, check the seasoning and serve. **Easy peasy**" (Oliver 2001, 121). He also uses it as an adjective, as suggested by ODO, "**Easy Peasy** Ginger Beer" (Oliver 2001, 297).

Novak copied the sentence structure of the commercial, but translated *easy peasy* as *izi bizi* and the Standard idiom *preprosto kot pasulj* (eq. easy as pie/ABC). Hence, it is a case of facultative equivalence.[17] The expression is a calque, since *easy peasy* was structurally copied into Slovene by transferring the phonetic characteristics by means of Slovene orthography: *easy* was rendered into *izi*, *peasy* into *bizi*. Additionally, *izi bizi* was probably coined on the pattern of rizi bizi — risotto risi e bisi — which shares a structural similarity with *easy peasy*. In its phonetic and word–formational aspects, it comes close to the original and displays creativity influenced by the English language (easy – *izi*, busy – *bizi*). Furthermore, there is a slight change in the voiced consonant (from p to b), which expands the meaning of the English two–part expression, where only *easy* has a meaning, into a newly coined word with elements that have meanings by themselves — easy business, easy busy — hence, the readers can figure out the meaning of the new expression from the existing linguistic building blocks. Through this slight phonetic change, Slovene readers will understand this expression as "something easy to do", and *izi bizi*'s oxymoronic constellation adds another touch of Jamie–ish playfulness in the Slovene translation, so it fits his personality. Furthermore, *izi bizi* was so catchy in Slovene that Novak modified the original expression from Jamie's books and altered it into *bizi bizi* which he used in the theme song of his show *Ljubezen skozi želodec*: "Work it, bizi bizi, bizi bizi. Work it. Bizi bizi, bizi bizi. Work it. Uuu, let's get bizi bizi" (Youtube, Ljubezen skozi želodec).

The second expression, *preprosto kot pasulj*, used a common set phrase to capture the meaning of making something with ease. *Izi bizi* is close to Jamie's personal taste, while *preprosto kot pasulj* is functionally appropriate. It is less spectacular, but it serves the purpose of conveying "easy". Another acceptable functional equivalent would be the phrase *zelo/otročje lahko* (VASSO, Easy–Peasy) as suggested by Oxford's bilingual dictionary, since it also embraces the concept of "something being very easy".

Another interesting example of re–introduction is *lovely jubbly*, which is etymologically even more complex than *easy peasy*. Originally, *lovely jubbly* was a slogan for the 1950s orange juice drink

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16 Urban Dictionary.

17 The term "facultative equivalence" is one of Kade's translational concepts, where an ST expression is rendered into (many) different TT expressions. Facultative equivalence is also known as one–to–many equivalence (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1999, 50; Kenny 2004, 78).

Jubbly, packed in a pyramid shaped, waxed paper carton. Later, John Sullivan — the creator and script writer of *Only Fools and Horses*, a popular British sitcom of the 1980s and 1990s — adopted the phrase for the character of Derek "Del Boy" Trotter. Sullivan and Jason (the actor playing Del Boy) were responsible for the popularization of the phrase *lovely jubbly* in Trotter's cockney lingo ("luvvly jubbly") (Thorpe 2001). *Happy Days with the Naked Chef* (the show and the cookbook) managed to popularize it even further: it entered *The Oxford Dictionary of English* in 2003 (BBC News 2003) and expanded beyond British borders.

The aim of *lovely jubbly*'s translation should be word melody and nostalgia. The translator went for *lušno za znoret* (lit. so lovely, you lose your mind) and *super duper*. The latter choice is somewhat odd, because Novak translated an English expression into another English expression. *Super duper* is an informal or slang (DC,[18] Super Duper), humorous (ODO, Super–Duper) and old–fashioned (MD,[19] Superduper) expression, originating from 1935–40 (it is a slightly older expression than *lovely jubbly*). This translation solution is another example of the English influence on the urban dialect of Ljubljana (Novak's dialect) and the translator's own idiolect (which becomes pronounced layer by layer and gives more proof that Novak rendered Jamie's idiolect with his own — this becomes apparent if we compare Jamie's Slovene language with Novak's language in his show *Ljubezen skozi želodec*). While scanning through *Srečna kuhinja* (*Happy Days with the Naked Chef*), we see that Novak frequently used *super* — *super duper* could therefore be explained as showing consistency, which indicates a general shift.

Za znoret is a colloquial expression spiced up with *lušno* (Novak's translation of *lovely*). This expression is slightly less striking than *super duper*, but both would belong — according to my categorization — in the fourth layer. They do not express a nostalgic feeling, though *super duper* has at least the melody of *lovely jubbly*. Furthermore, both are not as memorable as *lovely jubbly* in the English version. A word play on one of our beverages would have covered nostalgia and familiarity and could have become a catchphrase Slovene readers would associate with Jamie. For example, Fructal's Pingo could have offered this word play: *bingo pingo*. Pingo triggers many memories of field trips (where we usually took this drink with us as a special treat) and of popping the inflated bag with a big bang once we had drunk it (some years ago, the packaging was a soft foil bag that you pierced with a straw).

2.3 The Third Layer: Non–standard Cooking Terminology

This is a layer with many subcategories because it has different elements that modify words in order to relate to food, cooking and its simplification. In other words, we have different tools to obtain the same end result: to have "cooking terminology" without much fuss. These elements are gender specific language (masculinisation of the clichéd "female domain"); onomatopoeia and phonetic symbolism (using sounds to deliver cooking noises into a written medium); the "icky factor" (conjuring gross images to shock the audience); deliberate inaccuracy (using estimated quantities not expressed in kg, teaspoons, etc.) and comparison (comparing food with everyday objects). Cultural differences are also one of the factors causing translational dilemmas.

The main driving force of this layer is male language, which is strongly entwined with male culture and solidarity — especially in the framework of cooking. Expressions with Jamie's "everyday objects" form an example of how men embrace simple, comparative diction — a general feature of male language, where keeping things clear without excessive explanation is the norm. Male speakers

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18   Dictionary.com.
19   Macmillan Dictionary.

want to be straightforward and simple to understand, and this is something we also notice with Jamie, who prefers to de–complicate instructions by applying rules of thumb instead of following the cookbook convention of giving exact quantities in centimeters or inches (depending on the unit of measurement) for the thickness of, e.g., dough. To avoid a mathematics class approach, Jamie gives us a variety of universally accessible tools: coins, matchsticks, fingers, etc. These items are used more easily when actually comparing something: one can put a £1 coin next to the pastry, a thumb next to root ginger cubes, a matchstick next to sliced bacon; one can even scale up a doughnut. Practicality in comparing is Jamie's greatest aim.

A fine example of a comparative is *a big Christmas cracker*. A Christmas cracker is an oversized, colorful, shiny sweet–wrapper filled with sweets, amusing riddles, jokes or poems and a king's paper crown, which is then worn once the cracker is popped with a small bang. The British and people of the Commonwealth traditionally pull crackers in the manner of a wishbone before tucking into the turkey dinner. Since the cracker is a unique British Christmas treat, it is impossible to find anything similar in other cultures. It becomes even more difficult to translate when Jamie uses it as a comparative for Beef Wellington: "Roll the mince up in the pastry until it's covered completely. Squeeze the ends together – it will look like **a big Christmas cracker**!" (Oliver 2008, 156). By comparing his Beef Wellington to *a big Christmas cracker*, he projects the whole image of Christmas dinner onto this dish: something fun and surprising waiting on one's plate, the excitement of popping the wrapping, the joy of dining together with friends and family, and, last but not least, the explosion of taste in one's mouth. The Slovene translation replaced *a big Christmas cracker* with *velika petarda* (a pyrotechnic cracker), and the positive Christmas connotation was converted into a negative one, since the Slovene expression conveys something dangerous and ear–shatteringly loud. However, *velika petarda* is an approximative (one–to–part) equivalent,[20] since the meaning of a cracker partially covers the meaning of a Christmas cracker: it still produces a big bang and has the same shape as a Beef Wellington. It is also something with which adolescent boys (or now adult men) are familiar, since crackers are thrown during New Year's festivities. This is something nearly all boys did during their high school years, no matter how dangerous it was. So, there is a "bad boy" connotation and knowledge behind the Slovene Jamie. This translation contains some of Jamie's personality, though it does not incorporate a nostalgic family atmosphere, but connotes juvenile sassiness. This characteristic in the framework of *Jamiejevo ministrstvo za prehrano* is questionable, since Jamie has grown older and calmer; accordingly, his youthful and spunky vocabulary has also moderated. Nevertheless, Zupančič did a good job in showing an overall calmer side of Jamie in the whole translation, so *velika petarda* can be labeled as a youthful spike embedded into *Jamiejevo ministrstvo za prehrano*.

2.4 The Fourth Layer: Informal, Spoken Discourse

This layer contains non–standard English language — English that is usually spoken and is informal in nature — and shows a tendency to express oneself in a more relaxed manner in written media, which is usually governed by Standard language. Since Jamie's target audience is the middle class — in his last book, even the working class — he adjusts his language to a less rigid structure (spoken language), and creates a more casual atmosphere (as if speaking to his readers in his favorite pub or his own kitchen, and telling anecdotes from his personal life). Jamie takes into account audience design, i.e. "speakers changing their style of speech according to the person or people

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20 The term "approximative equivalent" and "approximative equivalence" are one of Kade's translational concepts where the TT expression partially covers the meaning of the ST expression. Approximative equivalence is also known as one–to–part(–of–one) equivalence (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1999, 50; Kenny 2004, 78).

they are addressing" (Thornborrow 2004, 67), even though the convention for written English dictates Standard English. By imposing a friendlier environment, Jamie labels himself, his cooking and his language as something casual, and signals group membership and social identity. The latter term is closely bound to covert prestige, where "the maintenance of stigmatized forms is viewed as a positive marker of group membership and non–acceptance of the norms of more prestigious social groups" (Jones 2004, 143). Through these mechanisms, he establishes a down–to–earth personality and an honest connection to his audience.

This same category of informality can be determined in the Slovene TT, but not as a result of equivalence that pairs an informal English expression of the fourth layer with a corresponding informal expression in the Slovene text. Informal discourse in Slovene is established by itself through a general shift, tinged with the urban dialect of Ljubljana and even the Americanized spoken language of the young (like *paštica*, *tripati*, *ultra*, *fotka, trik* and *itak*[21]). Furthermore, *Kuhinja do nazga* and *Srečna kuhinja* are an excessive imitation of Jamie's style; especially *Kuhinja do nazga*, since Jamie incorporated his style into the text of *The Naked Chef* with great care and (it appears) more timidly than in *Happy Days with the Naked Chef*, while Novak, who translated both books at the same time, imitated the style without considering the first book's reserve, making it slightly more informal than it was originally. Additionally, elements of other layers (as we have established above) are usually compensated by informal language. So, even if the fourth layer's equivalents appear Standard, this does not mean that the Slovene TT has no informal language.

Since there are different factors influencing Jamie's informal language, related expressions are usually arranged in subcategories such as general informal (*stylie*, *missus*, *'cos*), cultural specifics (Briticisms: *Yorkie*, eggs with *soldiers*, *helffy, pukka*; Americanisms: *surf and turf*, *ya*, *pig–out*, *buddy*; Australianisms: *barbie*), vulgarisms (*bloody*, *bloomin'*, *dead easy*) and infantilisms (childish expressions and word play: *tart* meaning a pastry and a prostitute).

One of Jamie's typical expressions is *pukka*, a Hindi word for excellence. It has a considerable rate of occurrence and thus greater chances of variation. Therefore, *pukka*, which occurs thirteen times in the ST, has nine different forms of realization in the Slovene TT. Among them, *mega*, *epohalen* and zero equivalence are repeated. *Mega* is considered part of the language of youth (influenced by English) and, furthermore, an expression frequently heard in the Štajerska region (mostly uttered by the young — less than 30 years old). *Epohalen* is, according to SSKJ, an expressive word, which means "of great importance, especially for mankind"[22] (SSKJ, Epohalen). Considering the meaning and context of *epohalen*, such a description for chicken would be highly unusual. Furthermore, *epohalen* is rarely heard in informal language on television. Consequently, such a choice of word seems slightly odd in modern Slovene.

The most interesting translation of *pukka* is *nabrit touch*: "Sicer dodajajte začimbe, kakor vam je všeč, ampak tule je nekaj predlogov, s katerimi bo vaša zelenjava dobila malo bolj **nabrit touch**" (Novak 2002, 220) for the English "Feel free to flavour your veg as you like but here are my suggestions to give you a bit of a **pukka** edge to your veg" (Oliver 2001, 220). In addition to the informal *pukka*, there is even a rhyme in the sentence: *edge* and *veg*. After deconstructing the Slovene *nabrit touch*, a double structure or a two–fold complex layering is revealed: the first consisting of *nabrit*, the second of *touch*. *Nabrit* is an expressive word which means inventive, smart and cunning ("ki zna z iznajdljivostjo, duhovitostjo presenetiti, prevarati" (SSKJ, Nabrit)). It is appropriate in meaning (*nabrit* includes creativity and some "evil mastermind thinking" suitable

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21   English translation: pasta, to trip, ultra, photo (with a diminutive suffix), trick and of course.
22   Slovene original: "Ki ima zelo velik, trajen pomen, zlasti za napredek človeštva […]" (SSKJ, Epohalen).

for Jamie's preferences), but not so much in context, since it is usually applied in written language and not as frequently in spoken or informal discourse. A sharp contrast is then created by the English exoticism *touch*, which shows its strong foreign influence in its spelling, pronunciation and grammatical features. This word is another indicator of the youthful language Novak endorses in *Kuhinja do nazga* and *Srečna kuhinja*. Finally, *nabrit* and *touch* combined as *nabrit touch* form an unusual collocation.

The translation of the word *helffy* had a similar approach. *Helffy*, where the pronunciation of "th" as "f" (Jones 2004, 143) is one of the indicators of Cockney English — or of the broader Estuary English — represents the transcription of the word "healthy". Though it is Jamie who writes, he is actually quoting his friend, and has thus chosen to reveal something of this friends's origins. With this accent Jamie makes use of the strategy of covert prestige. Cockney in particular is considered an "ugly" and "low class" dialect, but it "make[s] [its] speakers appear warm, 'cool', humorous and masculine or tough" (Melchers and Shaw 2003, 53). That is what Jamie wanted to achieve: in spite of his celebrity status, he wanted to appear as the kid next door with whom you can always hang out. This is the image he chose for himself, and he used different means to uphold it.

For "I eat **helffy** now, Ollie" (Oliver 2001, 90) the translator used a sentence with a foreign word of English origin, which is highly unusual in Slovene: *tripati*. Since an isolated word is difficult to comprehend, here is the co–text for clarification's sake: "Imam frenda z imenom Andy Slade, plinarja iz Essexa, ki trdi – ravno se je preselil v svoje novo samsko stanovanje – da zdaj **'tripa na zdravi hrani'**"[23] (Novak 2002, 90). Because of the word *tripati*, this sentence has a difficult code to break. *Tripati* can be traced back to the English word "to trip" with the informal meaning of to "experience hallucinations induced by taking a psychedelic drug, especially LSD" (ODO, Trip). So, the Slovene translation can be read as "he's getting high on healthy food". Since *tripati* takes its meaning from ODO's fifth sense of "to trip", understanding it in Slovene is greatly limited: first, it is an English word which is not understood by everyone; second, it is an informal expression from a specific field (narcotics). In the ST, Andy the gasman was laid back and easy to understand (with only a tinge of dialect — a single phoneme); in the TT, Novak created a highly complex expression which is understood only by young people (teenagers and people in their early 20s) and people exceptionally proficient in English, while everyone else is left in the dark. This kind of approach addresses mostly teenagers — this is further aided by the word *frend* (a typical expression in youth language) — which is selective in comparison with Jamie.

3. Conclusion

As the result of my research into Jamie's idiolect and its realization in the Slovene translation, the following general observation was made: both Novak and Zupančič made use of a variety of domesticating and foreignizing translational tools to render Jamie's British, caring, childish, nostalgic and adventurous personality into the Slovene environment. Each layer represents unique tendencies the author constructed as part of his personal (and consumer oriented) development. These specific categories were usually subjected to a general translational shift in the direction of informal and youthful English–colored Slovene language or plain Standard.

The first layer was Jamie's expression of linguistic creativity, by which he coined simple and understandable words to establish uniqueness. The translators might have tried to follow his lead, but were confronted by the lack of up–to–date linguistic databases (dictionaries and corpora

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23   English original: "I've got a mate called Andy Slade, the local gasman back in Essex, who swears, as a bachelor just moved into his new house, that 'I eat **helffy** now, Ollie'" (Oliver 2001, 90).

on the topic of word–formation) and were thus left to their own creativity to fill these voids. Consequently, translators (in general) usually resort to foreignisms and calques, or spare themselves the trouble and translate into Standard. The latter approach was also chosen by Jamie's translators.

The second layer conveys media relevance through quotations. Many of these are very specific and require in–depth cultural knowledge which made it difficult for Novak and Zupančič to transfer them into domesticating translations, since (alternatively) direct references to British media culture do not evoke meaning in Slovene culture, owing to Slovenes' unfamiliarity with British TV programming. The translators usually missed the media implications and translated the logemes into media–unrelated expressions or rendered a specific item into a Slovene equivalent by chance. Even based on such trivial matters as quotations from advertisements, Jamie projected a nostalgic environment into the present day. This complex web of childhood memories ("Peter–Pan– syndrome") was usually ignored in the TT, since a Slovene word's connotation shifted the whole image of a present casual and past nostalgic Jamie into a youthful present state for his character.

The most interesting elements of the second layer are, however, the near–Jamie–isms. The Slovene translations were influenced by globalized English to such an extent that an English logeme was translated as another English foreignism. This gave — as another conclusion of my research — the first indication of the impact English has on Slovene, Novak's and (indirectly) the Slovene Jamie's idiolect. Thus, Jamie was rendered into Slovene by means of Novak's personal linguistic coloration.

The third layer is Jamie's take on introducing non–standard cooking terminology in the form of cooking–related linguistic adjustments which use different instances to break cookbook conventions. In my research, these specific subcategories were submitted to a general shift in the direction of Standard and informal language. Most of them were translated in accordance with contextual consistency (especially in Novak's case), whereas Zupančič was more analytical and used Novak's already established expressions in a consistent manner or created new ones (if there were no existing translations). One can state that no uniform tendency is to be observed in the translation of the third layer.

Last but not least, the fourth layer with its informal language was meant to liven up the language and — similar to the third layer — to lighten the strict rules of cookbooks. Generally, these informal expressions were rendered into Slovene mostly by means of general shift. This means that English informal expressions of the fourth layer were established through independent Slovene expressions — especially in the direction of Americanized spoken language and the Ljubljana coloration. Furthermore, the analysis showed that *The Naked Chef* and *Happy Days with the Naked Chef* were translated at the same time, so both cookbooks were translated with an equally strong informal character. Consequently, *The Naked Chef* was exaggerated in matters of informality, and Jamie's initial reserve and his personal growth on the way to becoming a celebrity chef were reduced.

Another important aspect of the fourth layer's translation is Novak's evident usage of the urban dialect of Ljubljana and his personal idiolect. Similar to Jamie, who bonded with his readers by means of informal discourse and some Cockney expressions, Novak, too, sent out a signal to establish group membership on a regional level (Ljubljana's urban dialect). However, there is also some divergence between the ST and TT point of view, since Jamie used Briticisms and general informal language — thus, his discourse is non–preferential concerning region and age group, and understandable nonetheless — while Novak excludes many specific groups: people from other Slovene regions, older people (the age limit is a startling 40 or 50 years) and people not proficient

in English. Through these limitations, "ljubljanščina"[24] sets out an indirect image of high prestige, modernism, cosmopolitanism, a chic persona, specific knowledge and (also) pretentiousness. Novak thus uses a double–edged blade: he signals a modern, stylish and youthful personality with local coloration (positive image in accordance with Jamie's individuality); on the other hand, it also connotes strong exclusion and haughtiness. Therefore, owing to the overly "in vogue" character of the Slovene Jamie, he does not appear down–to–earth to a wide range of people; instead, he establishes a connection only with an educated, trendy young audience. Zupančič, in comparison, tried to imitate a general Slovene informal language, but re–used Novak's most popular expressions to achieve a consistent style as in the third layer.

To sum up, the boundaries of Jamie's individual layers were, in Slovene, blurred and subjected to a general shift in the direction of Americanized informal language. One can state that the translators created a list of possible Jamie–ish expressions, and used it according to the given co–text and contextual consistency. Hence, expressions were usually translated into a variety of words and were meant to be interchangeable.

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Translation as a Paradigm Shift:
A Corpus Study of Academic Writing

Summary

In recent decades the increasing reliance on computer technology and the emergence of electronic publishing have precipitated changes in both the production and reception of academic writing. At the same time, the dominance of English as the medium of academic communication has been asserted in all fields of study. While many scholars write their own texts in English, it is not exceptional for others to have their papers translated into English. It is interesting, however, that translation of academic discourse has received relatively little research attention so far. In the study presented here, the question how translated academic texts differ from comparable original English academic texts is addressed. To explore this question, a 700,000–word corpus comprising 104 research articles (Slovene–English translations and comparable English originals) is analyzed in terms of references to the entire text itself. The results show considerable differences between the translated texts and the comparable English–language originals.

Key words: scientific translation, academic discourse, academic writing, corpus study, metadiscourse

Prevod kot sprememba paradigme:
korpusna študija znanstvenega pisanja

Povzetek

V zadnjih desetletjih sta vedno večji vpliv računalniške tehnologije in razvoj elektronskega objavljanja pospešila spremembe tako pri tvorjenju kot pri sprejemanju znanstvenega pisanja. Hkrati pa je angleščini postala prevladujoči jezik v znanstveni komunikaciji v vseh vedah. Čeprav mnogi znanstveniki članke pišejo v angleščini, tudi prevajanje tovrstnih člankov ni izjema. Vseeno pa je zanimivo, da se je raziskovalno s prevajanjem znanstvenega diskurza doslej ukvarjalo le malo študij. Pričujoči prispevek se osredotoča na vprašanje, kako se prevedena znanstvena besedila razlikujejo od primerljivih znanstvenih besedil, ki so izvirno napisana v angleščini. Raziskava temelji na analizi korpusa 104 znanstvenih člankov, ki obsega 700,000 besed, vsebuje pa tako prevode iz slovenščine v angleščino kot primerljive angleške izvirnike. Analiza se osredotoča na izraze, ki se nanašajo na besedilo samo v celoti. Rezultati pokažejo precejšnje razlike med prevedenimi besedili in primerljivimi angleškimi izvirniki.

Ključne besede: znanstveno prevajanje, akademski diskurz, znanstveno pisanje, korpusna analiza, metadiskurz

Translation as a Paradigm Shift: A Corpus Study of Academic Writing

1. Introduction

In recent decades the increasing reliance on computer technology and the emergence of electronic publishing have precipitated changes in both the production and reception of academic writing. At the same time, the dominance of English as the medium of academic communication (see for instance Pérez–Llantada, Plo and Ferguson 2010; Lillis and Curry 2006; Burrough–Boenisch 2006) formerly asserted above all in the natural sciences has spread to the social sciences and, to a somewhat lesser extent, the humanities (see Tardy 2003; Flowerdew 1999). When it comes to the question of non–native English–speaker scholars producing English–language texts, there seems to be a general assumption that they – as a rule – draft their own texts in English. This, however, is certainly not true of all non–native English speaker scholars, since their English–language proficiency varies to a great extent depending on factors such as cultural and language background, age, and experience. The scholars with a very low proficiency in English have to resort to translation services to produce acceptable English–language texts, which raises interesting issues concerning this specific type of translation. It is must be noted, however, that translation of academic discourse has received relatively little attention, with a few notable exceptions (Montgomery 2009; Bennett 2007; Williams 2004) in recent years. (For a more detailed discussion of the relative neglect of translation of academic discourse, see Pisanski Peterlin 2008.)The relative lack of research interest means that issues related directly to the process of translation arising in translation of academic discourse have not been addressed in a systematic way. In order to gain a better insight into the specifics of translated academic discourse, a paradigm shift in our approach to English–language academic texts by non–native English–speaker scholars is needed: in addition to studying the characteristics of texts written by non–native English speakers in English, characteristics of translated texts should also be examined.

In the study presented here, the question how translated academic discourse differs from comparable original English academic discourse is addressed using a corpus study. To explore this question, a 700,000–word corpus comprising 104 research articles (Slovene–English translations and comparable English originals) is analyzed in terms of references to the entire text itself. The results show considerable differences between the translated texts and the comparable English–language originals

2. Metadiscourse in translated texts

In recent years research has shown that intercultural differences in writing conventions may impact translations of academic discourse (cf., Pisanski Peterlin 2008, Williams 2004). Interference or transfer, i.e., the impact of the source language or source text on the target text, has long been recognized as an important feature of translation; understanding interference as an inherent part of translation process, Toury (1995, 274–97) posits the law of interference. While interference from the source text may be easy to detect and avoid (if desired) at the level of lexico–grammar, it presents a greater challenge at the level of discourse, because the intercultural differences in rhetorical conventions may be less obvious or less familiar to translators.

Studies in contrastive rhetoric focusing on academic writing (e.g., Mur–Dueñas 2011; Pisanski Peterlin 2005; Dahl 2004; Čmejrková and Daneš 1997; Mauranen 1993; Hinds 1987) have

highlighted metadiscourse (defined by Hyland 2005, 37) as "the self–reflective expressions used to negotiate interactional meanings in a text, assisting the writer (or speaker) to express a viewpoint and engage with readers as members of a particular community") as a particularly interesting discourse phenomenon because of the considerable cross–cultural differences in terms of its use. Hinds (1987) proposes a typology based on reader versus writer responsibility, suggesting that languages differ in attributing responsibility for successful communication to either the writer or the reader. In writer–responsible languages, the writer is primarily responsible for presenting the content in such a way that it is easy to interpret for the reader. This generally means that metadiscourse is used extensively to explicitly help the reader interpret the text and to provide explicit text organization. In reader–responsible languages, the reader is primarily responsible for piecing together the intended content. As a rule this implies that explicit writing is not necessarily valued by the audience; consequently, metadiscourse is not used as frequently as in a writer–responsible language. Hinds's (1987) study focused on the differences between English and Japanese; he suggested that whereas English is writer–responsible, Japanese is reader–responsible. Previous contrastive research into metadiscourse use in Slovene and English (Pisanski Peterlin 2005) suggests that Slovene is somewhat less writer–responsible than English.

Various models of metadiscourse have been proposed in the past; in recent years Hyland's (2005) model and the so–called narrow or "reflexive" model developed by Mauranen (1993) and Ädel (2006) have been the two principal models used in analysis of metadiscourse. A functional rather than formal approach is generally used in studies of metadiscourse because metadiscourse items are defined by their function rather than their form.

However, when it comes to research focusing on translated texts, the impact of translation on discourse phenomena should also be considered. In fact, in some cases discourse–level interference may be revealed by focusing on the form. If the translator is unaware or only vaguely aware of the discourse function of a selected rhetorical element, such as a metadiscourse item, he or she may opt for a translation solution that entails a target text expression formally closely resembling the source text expression. As a consequence, a formal methodological approach may yield interesting results in a comparison of translated texts and comparable target–language originals, and for this type of analysis a corpus study is particularly suitable.

The present study is restricted to a small subset of metadiscourse items used to structure the text at the macro level, i.e., items that are used to refer to the entire text itself: *article, paper* and *here*. Dahl (2004, 1812) highlights the importance of the role of expressions which she labels as "locational metatext" (these include expressions referring to the text itself or part of the text in academic discourse); their function is to help the reader navigate through the text. In a research paper, expressions referring to the text itself help maintain a clear distinction between references to the study or experiment presented in the paper and references to the discourse used to convey that study or experiment. This is illustrated in examples 1–6 below. All the examples cited in this paper are taken from the corpus used in the study presented here. The expressions referring to the text itself or to the study are highlighted in boldface.

(1) *The **research** outlined in this **paper** will attempt to provide a holistic perspective on one specific waste management behaviour–household recycling.*

(2) *In this **paper** we report on **research** aimed at developing a set of methods designed to assist road departments in rural jurisdictions mitigate hazards along roads under their management.*

(3) *In this **paper** we present an applied geographical **analysis** of this issue, arguing for a re–examination of the availability and quality of the underlying agrometeorological data that will be available for timely input to these DSS.*

(4) *The **analysis** of QDs put forth in this **paper** contests any single operator to induce QDs in the semantics.*

(5) *This **paper** presents **the results of a survey** of 238 speakers of Slovenian.*

(6) *In light of the argument that the close relationship between stress and high tone in class (iv) words is indicative of their being part of an accentual system, if there were observable stress effects on non–class (iv) words, this would pose a problem for the **analysis** presented **here**.*

In Hyland's (2005) typology they would be classified as interactive metadiscourse (either as endophoric or frame markers, due to the functional nature of his classification). Within the framework of Tuomi's (2009) modification of the so–called narrow or "reflexive" model of metadiscourse, they correspond to what Tuomi (2009, 68) classifies as metatext of highly explicit reflexivity.

3. Corpus and method

3.1 Corpus

The 700,000–word corpus used in the analysis presented here comprises 104 research papers from two disciplines, geography (60 texts) and linguistics (44 texts). All the research papers were published between 2000 and 2007 in peer–reviewed journals indexed in relevant international databases. The corpus is composed of two parts, translated texts (52 research papers originally written in Slovene by native speakers of Slovene and subsequently translated into English by experienced translators, native speakers of either Slovene or English), and comparable originals (52 research papers originally written in English by native speakers of English). To enable a better analysis, the corpus is divided into four subcorpora; the first subcorpus (EngTranG) comprises English translations of geography research papers originally written in Slovene, the second subcorpus (EngTranL) comprises English translations of linguistics research papers originally written in Slovene, the third subcorpus (EngOrigG) comprises comparable geography research papers originally written in English and the fourth subcorpus (EngOrigL) comprises comparable linguistics research papers originally written in English. In Table 1, an overview of the size of the subcorpora is provided in terms of the number of texts it contains and in terms of the approximate number of words.

	EngTranG	EngTranL	EngOrigG	EngOrigL
Number of texts	30	22	30	22
Subcorpus size (words)	150,000	120,000	200,000	230 000

Table 1: Subcorpora size

The data on the corpus size shows that there are considerable differences between the four subcorpora; because of this, the quantitative results are presented in terms of raw figures, number of occurrences per 10,000 words and mean value per text.

3.2 Method

All the texts in the corpus were made electronically accessible and tables, figures, notes, and bibliographical references were excluded from the research. The subcorpora were searched

electronically using WordSmith Tools 5.0. The electronic search was followed by a manual examination of the output in which all the non–metadiscoursive instances were removed. The analysis was carried out in three steps. In the first step, the frequencies of the selected items in the subcorpora were compared in terms of the number of occurrences per 10,000 words and the mean value per text. In the second step, the frequency of the individual lexical items was compared in the four subcorpora. In the third step of the analysis, the collocational patterns of the search words identified in the four subcorpora were compared. The collocational patterns were identified using the clusters function in WordSmith Tools Concord with three words left and right of the search word and a minimum frequency of at least five instances.

4. Results

The results of the corpus analysis are presented in sections 4.1–4.3 below, in terms of the overall frequency of references to the entire text itself, the frequency of the individual lexical items in the four subcorpora, and collocational patterns identified.

4.1 Overall frequency of references to the entire text itself

Table 2 presents the overall frequency of references to the entire text itself in the four subcorpora.

	No.[1]	Per 10,000 words[2]	Per text[3]
EngTran	140	5.19	2.63
EngTranG	73	4.87	2.43
EngTranL	67	5.58	3.05
EngOrig	422	9,81	8,12
EngOrigG	217	10.85	7.23
EngOrigL	205	8.91	9.32

[1] Total number   [2] Frequency per 10,000 words   [3] Mean value per text

Table 2: Frequency of references to the entire text itself in translated and original texts

In addition to the raw number of items in the first column, the results are also presented as the number of occurrences per 10,000 words in the second column, while the third column presents the results in terms of the mean value per article.

4.2 Frequency of lexical items

Table 3 presents the frequency of the three lexical items used as search words per 10,000 words. The results are presented separately for each of the subcorpora.

	here	paper	article
EngTranG	0.73	1.73	2.4
EngTranL	1.5	2.08	2
EngOrigG	2.2	8.05	0.6
EngOrigL	4.35	4.22	0.35

Table 3: Frequency of lexical items per 10 000 words

To enable a better comparison, the ratio of lexical items relative to the total number of instances identified is presented below in Figure 1; the ratio is presented separately for each subcorpus.
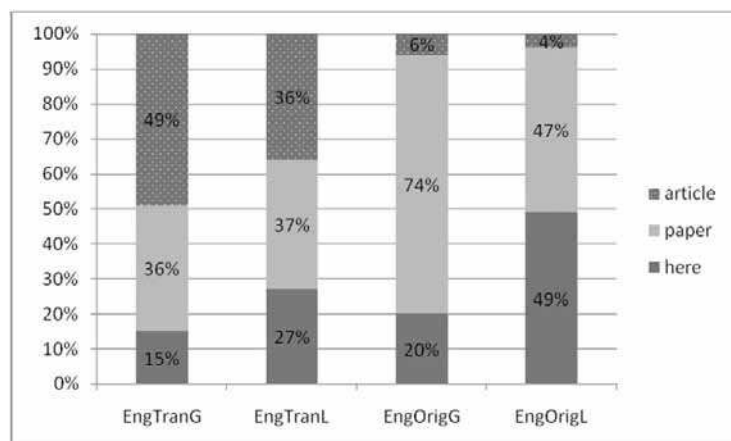

*Figure 1: **Percentage of lexical items***

4.3 Clusters as potential collocational patterns

In Figures 2a and 2b below, the clusters identified by the clusters function in WordSmith Tools Concord are presented for the EngTranG subcorpus. In the EngTranG subcorpus, clusters were identified by WordSmith Tools for the search words "article" and "paper", but not for the search word "here".

N	Cluster	Freq.	Length
2	THIS ARTICLE WE	7	3
3	IN THIS ARTICLE	7	3
4	THE ARTICLE IS	6	3
5	THE ARTICLE PRESENTS	5	3
6	OF THE ARTICLE	5	3

*Figure 2a: **EngTranG clusters for the search word "article"***

N	Cluster	Freq.	Length
1	IN THIS PAPER	6	3
2	IN THE PAPER	5	3

*Figure 2b: **EngTranG clusters for the search word "paper"***

In figure 3 below, the clusters identified by the clusters function in WordSmith Tools Concord are presented for the EngTranL subcorpus. In the EngTranL subcorpus, clusters were identified by WordSmith Tools for the search word "paper", but not for the search words "article" and "here".

N	Cluster	Freq.	Length
1	OF THIS PAPER	5	3

*Figure 3: **EngTranL clusters for the search word "paper"***

In figure 4 below, the clusters identified by the clusters function in WordSmith Tools Concord are presented for the EngOrigG subcorpus. In the EngOrigG subcorpus, clusters were identified by WordSmith Tools for the search word "paper", but not for the search words "article" and "here".

N	Cluster	Freq.	Length
1	IN THIS PAPER	45	3
2	OF THIS PAPER	17	3
3	THIS PAPER IS	15	3
4	THIS PAPER HAS	14	3
5	THIS PAPER THE	7	3
6	THIS PAPER WE	7	3
7	PAPER EXAMINES THE	6	3
8	THIS PAPER FOCUSES	5	3
9	OF THE PAPER	5	3
10	DESCRIBED IN THIS	5	3
11	PRESENTED IN THIS	5	3
12	THIS PAPER EXAMINES	5	3
13	THE PAPER IS	5	3

Figure 4: EngOrigG clusters for the search word "paper"

In figures 5a and 5b below, the clusters identified by the clusters function in WordSmith Tools Concord are presented for the EngOrigL subcorpus. In the EngOrigL subcorpus, clusters were identified by WordSmith Tools for the search words "here" and "paper", but not for the search word "article".

N	Cluster	Freq.	Length
1	HERE IS THAT	9	3
2	IS THAT THE	6	3
3	HERE AS A	5	3

Figure 5a: EngOrigL clusters for the search word "here"

N	Cluster	Freq.	Length
1	IN THIS PAPER	21	3
2	OF THIS PAPER	18	3
3	THE PRESENT PAPER	15	3
4	THIS PAPER IS	12	3
5	OF THE PAPER	8	3
6	THIS PAPER I	7	3
7	THIS PAPER HAS	6	3
8	OF THE PRESENT	6	3

Figure 5b: EngOrigL clusters for the search word "paper"

5. Discussion

The results of the analysis presented in the previous section are examined in more detail below, in terms of the overall frequency of references to the entire text itself, the frequency of the individual lexical items in the four subcorpora, and collocational patterns identified.

5.1 Overall frequency of references to the entire text itself

Because of the considerable differences in the size of the four subcorpora (cf. Table 1), the overall frequency should be compared in terms of the number of occurrences per 10,000 words or in terms of the mean value per text. The results presented in Table 2 show substantial differences in the frequency of use of references to the entire text itself between texts which have been translated into English from Slovene (the overall frequency per 10,000 words for both disciplines combined is 5.19) and texts originally written in English (the overall frequency per 10,000 words for both disciplines combined is 10.85). On average, 2.63 instances of references to the entire text itself occur in the translations whereas in the originals, the average number of occurrences is much higher (8.12). It seems that in the translated texts less importance is attached to signalling the distinction between the two levels of reality (the experiment/study – vs. the discourse) discussed in the text, and the reader is generally expected to work out which level is referred to on his or her own. Since studies (e.g., Pisanski Peterlin 2005) have shown that Slovene texts tend to attribute more responsibility for effective communication to the reader (compared to English texts, where this responsibility is generally attributed to the writer, cf. Hinds 1987), the features of translated texts could be the result of interference. It should be noted, however, that the translated texts are English–language texts, yet they seem to follow Slovene writing conventions.

A more in–depth look at the overall frequency shows that there are also interesting differences between the two disciplines. In terms of the frequency of occurrences per 10,000 words, the gap between the translated and the original geography research papers is more pronounced (4.87 occurrences per 10,000 words in the EngTranG subcorpus as opposed to 10.85 occurrences per 10,000 words in the EngOrigG subcorpus) than the difference between the translated and the original linguistics research papers (5.58 occurrences per 10,000 words in the EngTranL subcorpus and 8.91 occurrences per 10,000 words in the EngOrigL subcorpus). However, the ratio between translations and originals is practically the same for the two disciplines when it comes to the number of occurrences per text: in both cases, the number of occurrences in the translated texts is just over 30% of the number of occurrences in the originals.

5.2 Frequency of lexical items

The results in Table 3 and Figure 1 show that the translations also differ from the comparable originals in terms of preference for individual lexical items. In the translated texts, the word "article" is the preferred word for referring to the entire text itself in the geography texts; in the linguistics texts, it is the second most frequent choice (after "paper"), although the difference in the frequency of use of the two is very small. On the other hand, in the comparable originals, the word "article" is very rarely used to refer to the entire text itself in both disciplines. This trend once again points to the possibility of interference: since "članek" is used in Slovene to refer to a research paper (as well as a newspaper article), the translators perhaps inadvertently translated this term using what they may perceive as a "standard" translation equivalent, i. e., "article". Examples 7a and 7b illustrate this type of translation solution. The relevant expressions are highlighted in boldface.

> (7a) V **članku** smo obravnavali stometrski in petindvajsetmetrski digitalni model višin Slovenije glede na razlike pri višinah, naklonih in ekspozicijah površja za Slovenijo in štiri reliefno različna območja.

> (7b) In this **article**, we describe the 100–meter and 25–meter digital elevation models of Slovenia relative to differences in surface heights, surface slopes, and surface aspects for all of Slovenia and for four areas with different relief.

Another interesting observation can be made about the word "here". Figure 1 suggests that there is a considerable difference in the use of this lexical item in reference to the entire text itself between the two disciplines in both translated and original texts. In the linguistics papers originally written in English, the word "here" is used in approximately half of the time to refer to the entire text itself; in the translated linguistics texts the preference for "here" is somewhat less pronounced, but it is nevertheless used in 27% of the cases. In the geography papers, the word "here" is used less frequently: in the original geography papers it is used in 20% of the cases, in the translated geography texts, the figure is 15%. The manual "weeding" of the original output clearly showed that the word "here" can be problematic in geography texts in some contexts because of its locative meaning: in geography research papers, locations are frequently described and "here" can be too ambiguous in some cases to clearly indicate whether it is used in reference to the content to describe a location or in reference to the text. Example (8) illustrates the locative meaning of here and example (9) illustrates the metadiscoursive meaning of here. Both examples are taken from the same text. The relevant expressions are highlighted in boldface.

(8) *Whereas the seasonal trend in the upper and mid–canopy was towards a more normal distribution in leaf areas, in the lower canopy, the reverse was the case. **Here**, leaf area distribution became progressively more skewed and by mid–September the range in leaf area was 1.013.4 cm^2 with a modal class of 45 cm^2.*

(9) *Although the pre–leaf value is comparable to the 0.51 recorded in the present study, LAI is double the valuereported **here**.*

5.3 Collocational patterns

As Figures 2–5 reveal, the collocational patterns identified by the clusters function of WordSmith Tools Concord are almost restricted to the word "paper". Three–word clusters containing the word "paper" that occur at least five times are identified in all four subcorpora. A comparison reveals that only three rather basic collocation patterns can be identified in the translated texts. In the translated geography texts, the patterns are "in this paper" and "in the paper", and in the translated linguistics texts, the pattern is "of this paper". In the comparable originals, the variety of clusters is far greater. In the originals from both disciplines, the following clusters, relevant as collocational patterns, can be found: "in this paper", "of this paper", "this paper is", "this paper has", "of the paper". In the original geography research papers, the following relevant clusters should also be mentioned: "[in] this paper we", "[the/this] paper examines the", "this paper focuses", "described in this [paper]", "presented in this [paper]" and "this paper examines". In the linguistics research papers, additional relevant clusters include: "the present paper", "[in] this paper I" and "of the present [paper]".

In addition to the word "paper", the word "article" also generates a clusters list for the EngTranG subcorpus. This is not surprising, given the fact that the word "article" constitutes about one half of all the examples of references to the entire text itself in that subcorpus. The list of clusters for the EngTranG includes: "[in] this article we", "in this article", "the article is", "the article presents" and "of the article".

Similarly, a list of clusters is also generated for the search word "here" in the EngOrigL subcorpus. (Again, "here" accounts for about one half of all the examples of references to the entire text itself in that subcorpus.) The list is, however, limited to the following two relevant collocational patterns: "here is that (the)" and "[PAST PARTICIPLE] here as a".

The findings show that many more collocational patterns emerge in the original texts as compared to the translations, where the list is very limited for the word "paper". Although more diverse collocational patterns can be identified for the word "article" in the translated geography texts, it should be remembered that the use of the word "article" is very restricted in the English–original texts. All in all the results seem to indicate that not all of the translators were very familiar with the realization of rhetorical functions at the level of lexico–grammar.

6. Conclusions

The corpus study presented in this paper addressed the question how academic discourse translated from Slovene into English differs from comparable original English academic discourse. The study was restricted to a small subset of metadiscourse items used to structure the text at the macro level, i.e., items that are used to refer to the entire text itself: *article, paper* and *here*. The analysis revealed important differences in the frequency of use of the selected metadiscourse items: references to the entire text itself were used far more frequently in the original texts than in the translations. This suggests that the distinction between the references to the study or experiment presented in the paper (content) and references to the discourse used to convey that content was maintained far more consistently in the originals, which might have contributed to greater clarity and coherence.

Furthermore, the analysis revealed considerable differences in the forms metadiscourse items used in the translations and the comparable originals: it seems very likely that this was a direct consequence of interference. Finally, the analysis also identified more diverse collocational patterns in the originals, suggesting that perhaps not all of the translators were sufficiently familiar with the realization of rhetorical functions at the level of lexico–grammar.

The findings of the present study raise several important questions for further research. Since it seems that interference was the most prominent factor contributing to the differences between translations and comparable originals, it seems possible that translators in general are only vaguely aware or even completely unaware of the reader and writer responsibility, and the differences in this respect between Slovene as a source language and English as a target language. A study focusing on translators' understanding of these issues would shed more light on this matter. The second question that remains open is the question of the translator's options regarding this issue. Even if the translator is fully aware of the differences between the source and the target language, it seems possible that he or she might be reluctant to insert metadiscourse items. A study focusing on the attitudes of the translators of academic discourse and their potential clients (scholars who commission translations of academic texts into English) would provide more information on whether a target–oriented approach to translation, advocated in the context of translation of academic discourse by Williams (2004), should be followed. Finally, the limited scope of the present study, which focused only on references to the entire text itself, raises the question whether similar patterns can also be observed for other types of metadiscourse items used in structuring the text. A corpus study of related metadiscourse items would provide important additional information on this matter.

Studies focusing on English–language academic texts written by non–native English–speaker scholars have identified many features that are not typical of Anglo–American rhetoric. In the case of translated academic texts the situation may be even more complex. A paradigm shift in the approach of academic discourse which incorporates translation as of the ways of producing academic discourse in English is necessary for a better understanding of the characteristics of texts by non–native English–speaker scholars.

As a final point, some limitation of the present study must also be considered. The corpus used was relatively limited in size due to the small number of translated texts available for analysis. Moreover, the corpus comprises texts from only two disciplines: as research has shown important differences in the use of hedging among various disciplines (cf. Hyland 2005: 144–147), this certainly limits the scope of the present findings.

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