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STYLISTIC VARIATION AS MANIFEST IN THE INFORMATIONAL STYLE OF INTONATION
(ON THE BASIS OF ENGLISH AND LATVIAN TV BROADCASTS)

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Abstract. Language variation can be observed on all linguistic levels. Stylistic variation affects not only the segmental but also the suprasegmental level of speech, including intonation, stress, rhythm, tempo and voice timbre. Different speech situations require appropriate intonation styles: systems of interconnected intonational means used in a definite social setting to achieve some particular aim of communication.

The article looks into some features of the informational style of intonation in English in contrast to Latvian. For the analysis excerpts of a news broadcast from the *Sky News*, *BBC World* and *LNT* were chosen as presented by professional announcers. Auditive analysis provides data on voice timbre, logical division of speech, style-marking prosodic features and the prominence of semantic centres.

The results of the present analysis of the style of intonation in English in comparison with the one undertaken in 1991 reveal that the basic features remain relatively stable. A slight difference in the voice timbre of contemporary announcers has been observed: occasionally it bears traits of emotional colouring. The division of the text basically corresponds to grammatical constructions; the pauses are of variable length. The loudness of speech is normal. The English announcers use a relatively wide voice range. The pace of speech is characterized as moderate with a slow-down on prominent parts of the text. Informational style characteristics of English include also a number of high falls and wide falls that create the impression of emphasis on semantic centres.

The basic distinctions of the style in Latvian, in contrast to English, include a generally lower pitch level, a narrower range of high falls, frequent use of mid rises and an occasional high rise that is a feature of colloquial speech. The falling tone in non-final tone units, although less common than in English, is an efficient means of creating emphasis.

Key words: variation, style, intonation, intonational styles, informational style

INTRODUCTION

Language variation is typical of all language levels, including the stylistic level, and it applies to all language units. Style, interpreted very widely in linguistic literature, can be viewed as variations of language use against the background of some context (Simpson, 2004: 3, Verdonk, 2002: 6). Verdonk refers to style in language as distinctive linguistic expression used for some purpose and to

some effect. It is pointed out that style is a motivated choice of linguistic means (ibid: 3-5). There is an opinion that in spoken language the speaker's attitude is revealed more vividly, whilst written language uses different means to the same end. 'The advantages of the living word are associated with intonation as a semantic element, with melodiousness and with pauses, which can be recorded in the written form of language in only a limited way' (Rozenbergs, 2004: 142). On that account stylistic variation manifests itself not only on the segmental but also on the suprasegmental level of speech including intonation, stress, tempo, rhythm and voice timbre. Different speech situations call for different intonational means to ensure communication.

PHONOSTYLISTIC VARIATION

Styles of pronunciation that are not associated with regional variations are the subject matter of phonostylistics. Phonostylistic variations are determined by such factors as the aim and the form of communication (a monologue or a dialogue), the speaker's attitude, the degree of formality and spontaneity. 'What is significant are the changes in pronunciation made, consciously or unconsciously, by speakers according to their perception of the situation in which they find themselves, especially how formal or informal they feel it to be' (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt, 2005: 7). The variable by which pronunciation styles differ is predominantly speech sounds, however, in a particular style intonation contours have an exceptionally important role.

Concerning the sound level, in a formal situation speakers will tend to articulate individual sounds more slowly and carefully. In an informal situation speakers will be likely to speak less carefully, and some sounds will either have their values changed or be elided altogether. Variation conditioned by speakers' perception of the speech situation is stylistic variation (ibid). The style of pronunciation is determined not only by situational factors, but also by the speaker's personality and his/her belonging to a particular social class. A significant factor in determining the appropriate style of speaking is the speaker's relationship to the addressee. '[...] how well you know someone or how close you feel to them – relative social distance/solidarity – is one important dimension of social relationships' (Holmes, 2001: 224).

INTONATIONAL STYLES

Intonation, recognized as a linguistic universal, functions differently in individual languages. The features of one particular language used to achieve a certain semantic effect are not the same as in other languages. In the teaching/learning process of English intonation it is particularly important for non-native speakers to realize that familiar intonation contours may have different effects in a foreign language.

Phoneticians at different periods distinguished the following (often over-lapping) functions of intonation: communicative, distinctive, grammatical/syntactic, attitudinal, expressive, semantic, discourse, etc., the stylistic function is also singled out. In the second half of the 20th century linguists started to consider the discourse function of intonation (Couper-Kuhlen, 2003). Brazil is of the opinion that the discourse function of the utterance depends on the degree of understanding between the speaker and the hearer: '[...] the discourse values [...] are determined on the basis of who knows what' (Brazil, 1997:100). Roach also acknowledges that it is best to see intonation as an essential component of the discourse structure of speech. To communicate it is necessary to interact with the listeners. In a most recent book on English intonation its author distinguishes the following functions: attitudinal, grammatical, focusing (accentual or informational), discourse, psychological and indexical (Wells, 2007: 11-12). Functions of intonation can be interpreted within the framework of stylistic variation.

Cruttenden holds that all languages and dialects involve some intonational variation in style, class and sex. In all languages there are varying styles of intonation appropriate to different situations (Cruttenden, 1997: 128). Sokolova, Gintovt, I.Tihonova, R.Tihonova define them as systems of interconnected intonational means used in a definite social sphere to achieve some particular aim of communication (Соколова, Гинтовт, И.Тихонова, Р.Тихонова, 1991: 153). On the basis of field work research (an analysis of radio broadcasts, the speech of Oxford and Cambridge University students, a public speaker and a lecturer), the authors singled out the following intonational styles: informational, academic (scientific), publicistic (oratorial), declamatory (artistic) and conversational (familiar). In reality the number of styles is indefinite, and there is a certain overlapping between them. Among the factors that are taken into account when analysing intonation styles are the following: the speaker's voice timbre, the borders of utterances marked by pauses, style-marking prosodic features, such as levels and ranges, tempo, pauses, and accentuation of semantic centres: the use of tones in tone units, pre-nuclear patterns and the contrast between accented and unaccented segments (Соколова et al., 1991: 31, 161).

This model serves as the basis for the present analysis, since it comprises the essential parameters of intonation patterns related to some particular style.

INFORMATIONAL STYLE

A text can be presented as spontaneous or prepared speech in a formal or informal manner, or by reading it out. The speaker can address the public or an individual listener. Every intonational style has its own purpose. The purpose of informational style is to present information in a relatively neutral manner. The style usually becomes apparent when a written informational text (educational,

press report or broadcast in the form of a monologue, dialogue or polylogue) is read aloud (Соколова et.al., 1991: 155).

Most often texts presented in this style can be heard on the radio or TV. Since the two media differ concerning the visual presence or absence of the speaker, there is a certain difference in both the prosodic features of text presentation and the accompanying paralinguistic features.

Observations on the basis of the earlier analysis of a radio news broadcast (Соколова et al., 1991) indicate that despite certain variation in terms of the degree of formality and emotional colouring on the part of the speakers all discourse types of informational style share several common features. (Regrettably, the authors do not give full information on the volume of the data; the items analysed take approximately 3 minutes to read.) Voice timbre is resolute and assured, besides professional announcers use the effect of a special chilly distant sounding. Delimitation of utterances is logical, loudness is normal or slightly increased on the borders of phonofragments. Pitch variations include an increase at the beginning of a new piece of information and a decrease in its final part. The pace is rather slow, particularly on important sections of the utterance. Pauses tend to be rather long, mainly at the end of a news segment.

In view of the anticipated fields and purposes of communication in English by non-native speakers (here: the contingent of students of linguistics in Latvia), it is vital they familiarize themselves with the informational style of intonation at least to some extent.

It is of particular interest whether the present characteristics of news reading show any deviation from those observed about 20 years ago, or whether they remain basically the same.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

To obtain information about the intonational characteristics of one of the discourse types of informational style – news presentation – excerpts of a news broadcast from the *Sky News* read by a female announcer and from the *BBC World* read by a male announcer were selected for auditive analysis (the recording was made in 2010). The news items take 7 minutes to read. The excerpts were transcribed indicating stresses, nuclear tones and pauses as heard in the news presentation. The sign ['] before a syllable indicates stress with no pitch contrast between high and medium (most often, and also in the present material the speakers use descending scales); the sign [,] marks a low level stress, [·] – a half-accented syllable. Nuclear tones are marked as follows: [`] – a high falling tone, [ˌ] – a low or medium falling tone, [ˌ] – a low or medium rising tone, [´] – a high rising tone, [↘] – a wide high falling tone, [ˇ] – a falling-rising tone and [↑] – a special rise. The sign [│] stands for a short or medium pause and [‖] – for a long pause. '**W**' is the abbreviation for a female-, and '**M**' for a male announcer.

To indicate some difference between the English and Latvian intonation contours for students to realize the contrast and concentrate on the most characteristic features of English patterns, a few excerpts from the *Latvian Independent Television Channel* (*LNT*) were chosen, presented by two professional announcers (a man and a woman) (also recorded in 2010). The running time of news reading is 5 minutes. Information about the intonational character of the news presentation was obtained after repeated listening to the selected stretches of speech. A precondition for obtaining relevant results is experience gained by regular listening to mass media informational texts.

It can be noted that the English – Latvian contrast might be useful also to students whose native language is Russian, since there are some common features of intonation patterns in Latvian and Russian, particularly concerning the pitch of pre-nuclear contours and the character of nuclear tones. These features can be observed in the pronunciation of Latvian and Russian speakers in their daily communication, and they frequently appear to interfere in the class when students start acquiring peculiarities of English intonation.

INTONATION CONTOURS OF ENGLISH INFORMATIONAL STYLE OF INTONATION IN CONTRAST TO LATVIAN

Since informational style has a definite function, it is expected to share several common prosodic features in different languages. Comparing English with Latvian, there is relatively little difference in voice timbre: it is assured and convincing (one must admit that labels for characterizing timbre are often impressionistic since the phenomenon is not easy to describe). The above mentioned 'special chilly distant sounding' of English professional announcers does not seem characteristic of the present-day style at all either in English or in Latvian. On the contrary, especially the male announcer's manner of presenting news can be described as extremely lively, even emotionally coloured and appealing to the public. The effect is intensified by the facial expression and gestures. The flow of speech, in this case reading, is logically structured, with emphasis on more important pieces of information, which is revealed in the use of nuclear tones and the distribution of pauses. In longer sentences pauses serve to attract attention to what is going to be said next. The impression of slowing down in tempo on semantic centres, especially in the final part of the news item in both languages, is also much the same. The rate on the whole can be described as moderate, although it may vary considerably since it is determined by time constraints.

The analysed material is a monologue consisting of an account of facts, which necessitates an absolute prevalence of falling terminal tones. What is especially characteristic of English informational style is the use of falling tones in non-final tone groups, e.g.:

(1) **W**: The 'rocketed a ˋttack│ˏhappened in the 'country's 'capital ˌSana'a│this ˌmorning. ‖

(2) **W**: It 'happened at the 'Q'M V ˌcompound,│just out'side ˌSana'a│this ˌmorning. ‖

(3) **W**: An 'armed ˌvehicle │'carrying the 'deputy ˏhead │of the 'British ˌEmbassy │ in ˋYemen │ 'has been a'ttacked by ↘ terrorists.‖

The effect is emphasis, especially when the falling tone is realized as a wide high fall (in the first and third tone groups of example (4)):

(4) **W**: 'Gunmen have ·set 'fire to 'twenty 'five ↘ tankers │ trans'porting ˌfuel │ to ↘NATO ˏtroops │ in ˏAfˋganistan.‖

A wide high fall (example (3)) and a high fall (example (4)) as terminal tones also add to the importance of the information provided.

Similarly, the Latvian examples show that a fall in non-final tone units serves for drawing the listeners' attention to particular words, especially if the tone is realized as a wide fall:

(5) **W**: 'Tā 'slimnīcas ˌteritorijā│'izvietotajā↘ glābējsilītē│'ievietots ˋbērniņš. ‖

(6) **M**: 'Kā 'jūtas un kas 'nomāc ↘ Skrundas .iedzīvotājus,│ to 'devās 'noskaidrot 'Gatis .Suhoˌveckis.‖

However, the range of the tone in Latvian is narrower than that in English.

A low rise in non-final tone units mostly helps distinguish the grammatical structure of the utterance, signalling the interdependence of grammatical units and incompleteness of what has been said so far:

(7) **W**: 'Three ˏpeople │ in'cluding a 'British 'Embassy oˌfficial│were ˋwounded.‖

(8) **W**: 'Foreign ˏSecretary│'William ˏHague│has de'scribed the aˌttack │as ˋshameful.‖

(9) **W**: 'And in a 'separate ˏincident │just out'side the ˏcapital│the 'French ˏmanager │ of an 'Austrian 'oil and ˏgas 'company │ has been ˋshot.‖

(10) **W**: O'fficials beˏlieve │ he was 'in the ˏprocess │ of 'setting ·up a 'branch of the ˋTaliban │ 'in the 'U ˌK. ‖

In Latvian the rising tone in the middle of a piece of information is much more common than the falling tone. Often the rising tone, in contrast to the one in English, sounds close to a mid rise:

(11)   **M:** 'Ventas ˌkrastā│aiz šiem ˌkokiem│ 'noslēpusies 'Latvijas│ ˋjaunākā ˌpilsēta.‖

(12)   **W:** Un jo 'tuvāk nāk 'vēlēšanu ˌdatums,│ jo 'iedzīvotāji ˌkļūst │ 'aizvien ˋpesimistiskāki.‖

Among the rising tones one can occasionally hear a high rise that is commonly used in colloquial speech (the first tone unit in example (13) and the second in (14)):

(13)   **W:** ʹOtrs │ 'attīstītākais 'Latvijas ˌreģions │ uz'reiz pēc ˌRīgas, │ 'taču │'Kurzemes ˌmazpilsētās │ 'statistikai ar ˌdzīves 'realitāti │ 'tiešas 'saistības ˌnav.‖

(14)   **W:** 'Ārkārtas 'vēlēšanu ˋizdevumi │ ʹRojā│ un ˏMērsragā │ būs ˋjāatmaksā│ 'pašai 'Rojas 'novada ˏdomei. ‖

A high rising tone is more characteristic of women's speech, and can also be regarded as an individual feature. The main function of the tone does not differ much from that of a low or mid rise, i.e. it points to incompleteness of the thought; in addition, it also brings about a certain impression of liveliness.

   In the male announcer's reading in English a combination of two falling tones without a noticeable pause in between was registered (in the fourth tone unit of (15)). Both the low and the high fall highlight the important words in the given information:

(15)   **M:** In'telligence o'fficials ˌsay│a 'British ˌman│'killed by the ·air 'strike in ˌPakistan │ 'may have been ˏlinked to the ˋplot │to 'bomb ·New ʽYork's ·Time↘ Square.‖

The news presentation contains also a falling-rising tone that is a common feature of English speech. In this material it was registered in the male announcer's reading:

(16)   **M:** ˇFirst │ 'China's ˌPremier │ ad'dresses 'Europe's ˏbusiness │ […]

(17)   **M:** In ˇfact │'over the 'first 'seven ˋmonths of this ˌyear │ the 'E ·U 'exported │   just ·over 'one ·hundred ↑ billion ˏdollars│ˌworth of ˌgoods to ↘ China.‖

(18)   **M:** ˇBut│it is 'less than ↑half the a ˋmount│that 'went in the ↘ opposite diˌrection.‖

(19)   **M:** ˋThey ˌsay │ of ˏcourse │ the 'weak yuˌan │ is ''making it ↘ tougher for ˌEurope's ˌexporters │ 'and has 'led to a 'trade im↘ balance. ‖

In the first tone unit of examples (16), (17), (18) and (19) the complex tone introduces the following piece of information. As a combination of a high fall with a low rise the tone creates the effect of emphasis and signals continuing the thought (in the second tone unit of (17), in the third of (18) and in the fourth tone unit of (19)).

There are cases when some particular word should be singled out in the middle of a tone unit. The function is performed by a special rise (in the fourth tone unit of (17), in the second of (18) and in the fourth tone unit of (20):

(20)   **M:** These are the 'latest and most ˋserious at‚tacks │on supˋply ‚convoys │ after ‚Pakistan │ 'shut a ↑key ˋborder ‚crossing │ into Af'ganistan 'last ˌweek.

A fall-rise can be heard also in Latvian; however, it does not seem to be as common as in English (in the third tone unit of (21) and the first and second tone units of (22)):

(21)   **W:** 'Te│'cilvēki 'sastopas│ ar 'tādām ˋpašām ‚problēmām,│ ‚kādas ir ‚arī ‚citos ˌreģionos.‖

(22)   **M:** Kā ˋdaudzviet ‚Latvijā, │ arī ˋSkrundas ‚iedzīvotājus │ 'galvenokārt 'uztrauc ˌbezdarbs.‖

In two cases only, before a hardly noticeable pause, level tones have been registered (in the fourth tone unit of (13) and in the third tone unit of (17)).

Variations of tempo include a slow-down on some particular words, which is another way of creating emphasis. Occasionally announcers choose to stress function words. Apart from the effect of emphatic rhythmical patterns, stressed function words also slow down the tempo of speech. For instance, stressed function words appear in example (10): the preposition 'in'; in (18): the conjunction 'but'; and in (19): the conjunction 'and'. Example (23) illustrates how tempo reduction is achieved by using a strong stress on the prefix of the final word at the end of the news passage:

(23)   **W:** The 'nature of the 'link be·tween the 'two ‚men │ is ‚said to be 'unˋclear.‖

CONCLUSIONS

Conclusions on the nature of the informational style of intonation in English and Latvian as revealed in news presentation are summarized in the following table.

Table 1

Phonostylistic characteristics of news presentation in English and Latvian

Timbre	**English:** assured, business-like, proficient, occasionally with slight emotional colouring	**Latvian:** assured, business-like, proficient
Segmentation	logical, corresponding to grammatical constructions	logical, corresponding to grammatical constructions
Loudness	normal, with slight variations	normal, with slight variations
Levels and ranges	increase at the start of a news item, decrease towards the end of it; relatively wide range	variable, different for female and male announcers, rise at the beginning of a news item; normal range
Rate	moderate, slow on semantic centres	moderate, slow on semantic centres
Pauses	variable (short, medium or long)	medium, relatively long
Rhythm	stable	not greatly variable
Nuclear tones	predominance of falling tones, esp. high falls	falling, rising
Pre-nuclear patterns	descending scales	considerably variable
Contrast between the accented and unaccented segments	perceptible	perceptible

Comparing the results of the present analysis of the informational style of intonation in English and the one undertaken in 1991 (with a view of the fact that the recent analysis was based on the TV but the earlier one on the radio material), one can conclude that the basic features of the style remain stable, although some parameters bear a slight difference. Pauses in the material of 1991 are characterized as rather long and loudness as normal or increased; the contrast between the accented and unaccented segments is described as 'not great' (Соколова et al., 1991: 178). Also in the present analysis minor variations of loudness were observed: the announcers tend to pronounce more important stretches of speech a little louder. The only conspicuous difference observed lies in the announcers' voice timbre which in the contemporary announcers' pronunciation appears to have lost the effect of 'chilly distant sounding'.

The main style-marking prosodic features do not differ essentially in the female and male announcers' pronunciation; an exception is pitch that depends on

peculiarities of the voices of both sexes. A slightly variable range can be ascribed to the individual manner of the announcers.

The basic distinctions of the informational style of intonation in Latvian in contrast to English are the following: a generally lower pitch level, a narrower range of high falls, frequent use of mid rises and an occasional high rise that is a feature of colloquial speech. Non-final tone units may comprise both the falling and the rising tone; the falling tone, although less current, like in English, is an efficient means of creating emphasis.

Every parameter characterizing intonational style in general and the informational style of intonation in particular undoubtedly requires a detailed research. This refers in particular to pre-nuclear patterns that demonstrate considerable variety in English and Latvian.

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REFORMED PRESCRIPTIVISM: DICTIONARIES OF USAGE

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Abstract. Dictionaries of usage, though popular with the general public in English-speaking countries, often meet with modest acclaim in academic linguistics. The paper reviews standard-setting policies employed by dictionaries of usage over time and explores recent changes in the concept of the standard of usage in practical lexicography, stimulated by the development of large corpora, now commonly used as data sources by general-purpose dictionaries. Differentiation of usage by several levels employed by *Longman Guide to English Usage* (1989), viewed as one of the landmarks in the history of usage guides, has been analysed. The key terms of its metalanguage relating to parameters of usage were collected from the text of all entries, since *Longman Guide* employs no labels outside the main text. The resulting list of key terms showed that it followed the trend set by corpus studies and later by grammars and general-purpose dictionaries. It attempted to bridge the gap between dictionaries of usage and requirements of corpus linguistics which insists that the descriptive approach to language should find its way into dictionaries. The analysis of the metalanguage of the dictionary entries and of eight parameters of usage employed by the dictionary reveals that in *Longman Guide to English Usage* appropriateness substituted correctness in the concept of the standard of usage, thus justifying and legitimising variations within the standard which had been formerly viewed by lexicographers and grammarians as unitary.

Key words: prescriptivism, standard of usage, dictionaries of usage, levels of usage, appropriateness

INTRODUCTION

Dictionaries of usage (or usage guides), unlike explanatory dictionaries, do not aim at describing the word-stock of a language or even its core vocabulary comprehensively. They focus on debatable issues of lexis and grammar: variations in the standard of usage, its dynamics, deviations from the norm, language errors, etc., and offer recommendations on usage. In this sense, they are unequivocally prescriptive.

Gray areas of usage can involve any language level: phonetic (pronunciation, stress patterns), morphological (grammatical forms, word-building patterns), syntactic (word-order, rules of agreement, combinability, etc.), semantic (meanings of words easily confused, words similar in meaning but not interchangeable in particular contexts, etc.), style (levels of usage in both word choice and grammar), spelling, punctuation and even elements of composition.

Since setting standards in language usage has always been both a theoretical and a practical issue and requires some consensus among professional linguists and the general public, the question what kind of balance is feasible and how it can be achieved remains topical forever.

LITERATURE REVIEW

It is only natural that dictionaries of usage contain a fairly limited number of entries or headwords. For example, H.W.Fowler's *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage* (1926) comprised 7732 entries, *A Dictionary of Contemporary American Usage* by B.Evans and C.Evans (1957) – 4974 entries, *The Longman Guide to English Usage* by S.Greenbaum and J.Whitcut (1980) – 5000 entries, *Pocket Fowler's Modern English Usage* edited by R.Allen (1999, 2004) – slightly over 4000.

It is also understandable that, unlike today's general-purpose explanatory dictionaries, usage guides cannot boast of uniformly structured entries and rigid limitations on the range of words used in entries (a standard requirement now for the metalanguage of definitions in explanatory dictionaries).

Despite their claims to follow the language habits of the "best authors", or "the leaders of society", or "the most respected people", dictionaries of usage have long been notorious for their subjective approach to what is "the best usage". There has always been a difference of opinion as to what is correct and what is incorrect. For example, *at about* is incorrect according to E.Partridge's *Usage and Abusage* (1964), just verbose (wordy) in J.Shostak's *Concise Dictionary of Current American Usage* (1968), standard usage (*at about 3 o'clock*) in B. and C. Evans's *A Dictionary of Contemporary American Usage* (1957), standard, but colloquial in M.M. *Bryant's Current American Usage* (1962) (Postnikova (Постникова, 1975:11).

Another evidence of subjectivity is that the very range of language data included in dictionaries varied greatly: the comparison of entries in eight dictionaries of usage (letters A,B,C,H,O,N,V) revealed only 35 common entries in them (Postnikova (Постникова, 1975:12). This shows that the areas of concern differed widely and there was no consensus on either the selection procedures of language data or on their assessment. Paradoxically, at the same time dictionaries of usage were implicitly or explicitly based on the assumption that there is (or, rather, should be) one accepted standard of usage. When the concept of the standard of usage became the object of research in the 20th century, the approach inevitably came in for biting criticism, for it was not backed up by any theoretically sound concept of a single standard or by any reliable criteria of "correctness".

Academic derision, however, has had little influence on the general public which, apparently, requires some authority on language use. Clear evidence of this is the impressive publication record of usage guides in both Great Britain and the USA, which shows that they are in constant demand. A few landmarks are listed below.

A Dictionary of Modern English Usage by H.W.Fowler, one of the best known 20th century dictionaries of English usage, was first published in 1926. Numerous reprints followed (the latest in 1994) and several revised editions: in 1965, by E.Gowers, and in 1996 by R.Burchfield. The latter, *The New Fowler's Modern English Usage* (the so-called Third Edition) was, in Burchfield's own words, largely rewritten, and was regarded as too liberal by some reviewers. Its revised version came off print in 1998, the re-revised one was published in 2004. Burchfield's 1996 version was the parent work of *Pocket Fowler's Modern English Usage* edited by R.Allen (a hard-cover edition) in 1999, paperbacks were published in 2002 and 2004, the second edition followed in 2008. It worded recommendations in a simpler way and added some new entries on American English, neologisms, gender neutrality, etc.

Other brands of usage guides were published too, e.g. *Longman Guide to English Usage.* (Greenbaum and Whitcut, 1989) by Longman, it was reprinted by Penguin Books in 1996. Representing one of the best-known brands, *Longman Guide* came off print at the time when the "corpus revolution", though in progress already, had just started having some impact on works beyond corpus research as such. The breakthrough in lexicography was the *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary* (ed. J.M.Sinclair, 1987) based on the *Birmingham collection of English Texts* (or *Collins Birmingham University International Database*) of 20 million words. An important landmark in grammar was the descriptive *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (Quirk et al., 1985), consulted by the authors of the *Longman Guide to English Usage* which, therefore, used corpus data, but did not employ them as a primary or first-hand source. *The Cambridge Guide to English Usage* by P.Peters (2004) was the first usage book to have made extensive use of data from large corpora of American and British English as primary sources (Online 1).

In this context, and given that American usage guides, unlike British ones, are less influential beyond the USA, it is surprising, at first glance, that Landau considers usage guides to be largely an American phenomenon. However, in terms of circulation numbers and popularity with the public they certainly are an American phenomenon. Many of them are mass-market books which 'combine the direct appeal to personal interest […] with the qualities of a reference book, and can perhaps best be viewed as a kind of etiquette book' (Landau, 2001:263). Landau explains their commercial success by sociolinguistic reasons:

'The insecurity Americans feel about their use of language […] is felt most intensely among the middle class […] most characterized by ambition to move up the scale of social acceptability. The mastery of a particular kind of language use is perceived, correctly, as important and usually essential for upward movement. Since American society is more fluid than British […] those who are ambitious and insecure are the great believers in prescriptive attitudes.' (Landau, 2001:262-263).

Publication record and the popularity of usage guides, evidenced by numerous reviews in the media on both sides of the Atlantic, are striking given that the publications of *Fowler* and other brands in the past 25 years followed more than half a century of attacks on prescriptivism by linguists of various denominations,

starting from American structuralists, e.g., the famous *Leave your language alone!* – 'a condemnation of correctness-mongers', as the book jacket tells us (Hall, 1950). Prescription and standardization were commonly viewed as irrelevant to academic linguistics: 'Linguistics is descriptive, not prescriptive. A linguist […] describes language, but does not prescribe rules of "correctness" '(Aitchison, 1978:13).

The two trends which are still steadily on the rise, discourse analysis and corpus linguistics, though both at odds with structuralism, dislike prescriptivism for their own reasons: the former sees it as an exercise of power and social discrimination, and both point out that prescriptivist recommendations on language use often fly in the face of corpus data.

In spite of that, there are clear signs of reviving academic interest in Fowler in particular and in prescriptivism at large. A noteworthy example is D.Crystal's recent reprint of the original Fowler's *Modern English Usage* and his reassessment of Fowler's contribution in a new introduction and notes on 300 entries (Fowler, 2009). Crystal holds that Fowler bridged the gap between prescriptivism and descriptivism and explores in his notes the 'tensions between his prescriptive and descriptive temperaments' (Online 2).

METHODS

Longman Guide to English Usage is analysed below in terms of the prescriptivism-descriptivism dilemma confronted now by dictionaries of usage in the face of market pressure, on the one hand, and today's requirements of academic linguistics, on the other. *Longman Guide* is viewed here as an attempt to reformulate the concept of the standard of usage, to apply the principles of linguistic research in the field so far least affected by them: dictionaries of usage are most dependent on the constraints of a highly competitive book market targeted on a broad readership.

The concept of the standard of usage is defined briefly in the *Introduction*: 'Standards are different in different periods of time; in different places; and on different occasions' (Greenbaum, Whitcut, 1989:v); but the analysis is based on the list of all the key terms of *Longman Guide's* metalanguage related to the standard of usage and employed throughout the dictionary. Since the *Guide* does not employ any labels marking levels of usage beyond the main text and has no list of labels, they had to be collected from the entries throughout the dictionary. Both frequent and rare terms were considered to be relevant. For the purposes of the analysis the key terms were grouped into eight parameters of usage. Results are summarized and discussed below.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The existence of and need for a standard are acknowledged by the terms *standard – substandard, educated – uneducated, correct – incorrect, recommended – should be avoided*, etc. Numerous evaluations range from the categoric *perfectly good*

English, the only choice, through *usually preferred to, more traditionally accepted, it seems pedantry to object to this usage*, to the once more categoric *sounds dreadful*. In this sense *Longman Guide* fits squarely in the prescriptivist tradition.

At the same time, the dictionary differentiates the standard of usage according to at least eight parameters: 1. Degrees of formality; 2. Dynamics of usage (old-modern); 3. Regional varieties; 4. Frequency of occurrence; 5. Written-spoken usage; 6. General-professional (specialized or technical) usage; 7. Emotive or evaluative connotations; 8. Degrees of appropriateness (Doroshenko, 2006:367).

The first four of the parameters are treated as highly differentiated scales or clines. Thus, the degrees of formality are a broad range from very/decidedly formal through (somewhat/ rather) formal, (rather) informal, informal, very informal, slang, to mention only some distinctions of about 20 (here and below only some examples representing the most obvious distinctions are given). The dynamics of usage is also a highly differentiated scale ranging from modern, fashionable, through now accepted to conservative, old-fashioned, archaic, obsolete (over 15 distinctions are made).. Regional (British and American English) varieties are also presented as a broad scale ranging from only British English, preferred in Britain, through both British and American to exotic in Britain, largely American, only American (17 distinctions, in total).

Frequency is a smaller scale ranging from *rare, exotic, also heard* through *more(less) usual, common, much commoner* to the disapproving *overused*.

Parameters 5, 6, 7 are split into subcategories which are not scaled. Many labels for written and/or spoken usage form pairs of opposites, e.g. *general* and *scientific*, *formal* and *informal*, *careful* and *careless*, *good* or *skilled* and *pretentious*, etc.

However important the distinction between spoken and written usage, it is rarely marked alone, being mostly bound up with other levels of usage, especially with degrees of formality, regional variation, dynamics of usage and regional (British-American) differences. Professional usage is split into numerous occupational fields: business, financial, legal, scientific, military, etc. The terms *language, context, use* (for example, in *modern business language*) in entries commonly imply conformity to standard use. Otherwise the term *jargon* is used, e.g. *modern business jargon*. This term is defined in the entry 'varieties of English', as 'specialised vocabulary condemned as incomprehensible' i.e. a technical term used in the wrong audience (Greenbaum and Whitcut, 1989:746).

Connotations can be divided into two categories: they mark a) the attitude expressed by the speaker/writer or the reaction of the addressee (*disapproving, derogatory, patronizing, impolite, offensive, neutral, polite, flattering*, etc.); b) characteristics of the speaker/writer (*pretentious, pompous, self-important, affected*).

The last parameter, appropriateness, and related terms (e.g., *inappropriate*) are not found in the text of the dictionary entries too often. However, it seems to be the key and, in a sense, the cover term for all the others, and serves as a substitute for the notion *correctness* which had traditionally presupposed a unitary standard of usage.

CONCLUSIONS

Differentiation of usage at several levels employed by *Longman Guide to English Usage* followed the trend set by corpus studies and discourse analysis, which both require that large and representative data-bases be used, and to some extent bridged the gap between dictionaries of usage and requirements of modern descriptive linguistics. The analysis of the metalanguage in the dictionary shows that 'appropriateness' has substituted 'correctness' in the concept of the standard of usage. The parameters of usage serving as constituent elements of appropriateness reflect the rhetorical essence of this notion: language forms and utterances are evaluated from the viewpoint of the communicative situation which determines the choice of language means used by the speaker/writer.

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MOVES IN THE INTRODUCTIONS OF PROBLEM-SOLUTION ESSAYS

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Abstract. Structuring of texts is one of the major problems in essay writing for learners of English as a foreign language (EFL). However, there is little research on the distinction between the moves of a genre and the elements of the rhetorical pattern in essay introductions. The goal of this article is to investigate the use of moves and the elements of the problem-solution pattern in the essay introductions written by 35 undergraduate students majoring in English at a university of Latvia. The analysis of the problem-solution essays revealed that the students mainly used a one- or two-move sequence in the essay introductions, and more than half of the students did not provide the thesis statement. The analysis of the elements of the rhetorical pattern demonstrated that the essay introductions contained information about the problem, situation and/or solutions. It has been concluded that the students using the problem-solution rhetorical pattern neglect the moves typical of essay introduction. Thus, an analysis of the rhetorical pattern and generic features of essay introduction may help to determine the text correspondence to the expectancies of academic community.

Key words: academic essay introductions, move analysis, the problem-solution pattern, undergraduate students majoring in English

INTRODUCTION

In the last decades, several studies have focused on developing written communication skills at tertiary level, as it is an important stage in mastering written communication with academic community. Since Swales (1990) published his monograph on the application of moves to research paper analysis, a remarkable interest has been taken in the investigation of the generic features of different parts of research paper (e.g. Halleck and Connor, 2006; Karapetjana, 2009). Not only moves, but also rhetorical patterns in different academic genres have been analysed. Flowerdew, e.g. describes how different moves and the elements of the problem-solution pattern are used in academic reports (Flowerdew, L., 2000). Paltridge (2002), in his turn, provides an analysis of the abstracts of research papers. Paltridge points out that generic structure and text structure can be analysed alongside (Paltridge, 2002: 75).

The research on essay structure has mainly dealt with the move analysis of some parts of an essay: essay introductions and conclusions (Kusel, 1992 cited in Avilés, 2007) or only essay introductions (Afful, 2006; Avilés, 2007). However, these studies do not provide information about the rhetorical patterns used in the essays.

Thus, the *goal of the present study* was to investigate the use of moves and the elements of the problem-solution pattern in the essay introductions written by undergraduate students majoring in English.

To reach the goal, the following *research questions* were posed:

1. Which moves are used in the introductory paragraphs of the problem-solution essays?
2. How many moves are chosen?
3. What is the sequence of moves and how are they linked with the elements of the problem-solution pattern?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Swales defines *genre* as 'a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes' (Swales, 1990: 58). Bhatia (2002) distinguishes two levels of genre theory application: (1) rhetorical or genre values (e.g. narration, description, etc.), which is school level of application, and (2) genre colony (e.g. promotional genres) and genres (e.g. book blurbs, book reviews, etc.), which is English for Specific Purposes (ESP) level of application. The essay introduction belongs to *academic genre colony* (Bhatia, 2005: 67).

Bhatia (2002) explains that at school level the tasks are more general because students have 'limited experience of the world and limited awareness of the contexts', while at the ESP level students can use disciplinary knowledge to write in a particular context (Bhatia, 2002: 281-283). However, essay writing is taught not only at school, but it is also offered at colleges and universities in many countries such as the USA, the UK, Spain, Latvia and others. Thus, Jordan suggests using the term *English for Specific Academic Purposes* (ESAP) because students are studying texts used in 'specific academic subjects', not texts in general. This also refers to a tertiary level essay writing course because it is essential for students to discuss 'subject-specific essays' (Jordan, 1997: 249-250).

On the basis of a corpus analysis of 23 genres, Biber (1988) has concluded that texts can be viewed from different perspectives, i.e. a genre or text-external features and a text type or text-internal features. The features of a genre refer to a particular purpose of communication, readership and context, while the features of a text type refer to rhetorical patterns used in a text (Biber, 1988 cited in Paltridge, 2002).

Genre characteristics in academic and professional context are studied with the help of move analysis (Swales, 1990; Bhatia, 1993, Halleck and Connor, 2006). According to Swales and Feak (2000), '[m]ove is a functional term that refers to a defined and bounded communicative act that is designed to achieve one main communicative objective. […] [T]he length of a move can range from a single finite clause to several paragraphs' (Swales and Feak, 2000: 35). Moves are commonly located by searching for appropriate signals (Swales, 1990). As move

analysis is still a recent approach to genre studies, there is not enough research on its application to different genres, academic essays including.

The studies of tertiary level essays have mainly focused on the analysis of some parts of the essay. The analysis reveals that the types of moves differ depending on their communicative purpose and context. Kusel has done move analysis of fifty essay introductions and also conclusions across five departments such as Teacher Education, English Literature, History, Geography, and Language Teaching written by native speakers (Kusel 1992 cited in Avilés, 2007: 153). On the basis of the Swalesian theory of moves in research paper introductions, Kusel has suggested seven moves for essay introductions:

1. claiming centrality
2. providing the topic background
3. outlining previous research, i.e. providing general or specific account of it
4. indicating the gap
5. outlining the purpose or aims
6. indicating the route (Kusel, 1992 cited in Avilés, 2007: 153-154).

However, this move division cannot be applied to the essays which are not based on research.

When studying examination essays that have another purpose of communication than research reporting, Afful has chosen only three moves for the analysis of the introductions:

1. backgrounding issues raised in the examination prompt
2. narrowing the field or issue/s of concern
3. previewing the structure of the essay (Afful, 2006).

After the investigation of the examination essays written by second-year undergraduate students at the Departments of English Studies, Afful (2006) has concluded that almost half of the English students in a course of literature had applied only two moves, omitting the third move. Moreover, the students had expanded on Move 2 to demonstrate their knowledge of the theme, commonly expected at the examination (Afful, 2006). Avilés' (2007) research of the essays written in Spanish by five graduate students majoring in Politics has revealed that students used different move sequences and number of moves in their essay introductions. It has been concluded that it is necessary to pay more attention to moves when teaching essay writing.

As stated above, another approach to the analysis of a text is focusing on its internal features. Lee (2001), who has worked at the classification of texts in the British National Corpus, suggests using the term *text type* loosely in terms of the four basic rhetorical patterns: narrative, description, exposition and argumentation. Moreover, several text types can be integrated in a piece of academic writing (Strevens, 1987 cited in Paltridge, 2002: 88). The problem-solution pattern, commonly mentioned as another text type or rhetorical pattern,

can be used in several genres, e.g. academic reports (Flowerdew, L., 2000), letters and the abstracts of a research paper (Paltridge, 2002).

Swales and Feak (1994) distinguish four main 'parts' of a problem-solution text: Situation, Problem, Solution and Evaluation. Hoey (2001), when describing the 'the most common pattern', uses the term 'elements' instead of the *parts*. Similar to Swales and Feak, Hoey also distinguishes four elements in the pattern: Situation, Problem, Response, Positive/Negative Evaluation. Hoey demonstrates that the problem-solution pattern may have different rhetorical sequences and that some of its elements may be optional. The elements of a rhetorical pattern are located on the basis of the signals used in a text, as it is done in move analysis (e.g. Hoey, 2001).

Thus, an essay introduction can be analysed from two different perspectives by focusing on its external and internal features, complementing each other. Moves are used to discuss external features of a text or a genre, while elements are used to discuss a rhetorical pattern or a text type. An analysis of both the types of features is based on the search for appropriate signals in a text.

METHODS

In order to examine the use of moves and the elements of a rhetorical pattern, the corpus of 35 essays (E) written by second-year undergraduate students majoring in English was chosen for the analysis. The students had had academic writing for four semesters. They had studied the communicative function and the structure of an introductory paragraph of an essay and had written several essays, such as comparison/contrast, cause-effect, definition and argumentative essays, prior to the problem-solution essay that was written at the beginning of the fourth term.

The essays under analysis were written at home and peer reviewed in the following class. The students could choose a theme from the list of the topics studied in Spoken Communication. The average length of the essays was 630-1011 words, except for two essays, which were only 277 and 469 words long. All the essays contained the basic elements of the problem-solution pattern: Situation, Problem, Solutions and Evaluation. The samples mentioned below have not been edited. The analysis of the essay introductions was done in three stages: (1) the analysis of the types of moves; (2) the analysis of the frequency of the moves; (3) the analysis of the sequence of moves and the corresponding elements of the rhetorical pattern. The elements of the rhetorical pattern and moves were located on the basis of the analysis of relevant signals.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The first research question was to find out which moves were used in the introductory paragraphs of problem-solution essay. On the basis of Kusel's (1992)

and Afful's (2006) classification of moves in student essays, five moves were traced in the first paragraph of problem-solution essays by the undergraduate students:

Move 1: Claiming centrality of the theme

Move 2: Providing the topic background

Move 3: Narrowing the topic

Move 4: Stating the thesis or the main idea of the essay

Move 5: Previewing the structure of the essay

The quantitative analysis of the moves showed that Move 3 was most frequently used, while Move 5 was not used at all (Table 1). Afful, on the contrary, states that narrowing the topic (Move 2) and providing the structure of an essay (Move 5) were the most frequently used moves in examination essays written by English students. This could be explained by the fact that students had only followed the problem-solution pattern, but neglected the generic structure of an academic essay.

Table 1

Frequency of moves in problem-solution essays (number of cases)

Move 1	Move 2	Move 3	Move 4	Move 5
10	13	20	13	0

As to the number of moves in one paragraph, only one move was used in 16 introductions: Move 1 (9 cases), Move 2 (4 cases) and Move 3 (3 cases). The essays, containing Move 1, focused on the explanation of the topicality of the Problem and/or its scope. As it can be seen in the example below, the paragraph states the centrality of the theme using several signals to state the Problem ('one of the most important problems', 'alarming scientists', 'seriously threatens' and others),

> e.g. (1) *One of the most important problems alarming scientists* and eventually our society is pollution. (2) It *seriously threatens* the environment and *more is* that the pollution causes also climatic changes. (3) As there are *so many* polluters, such as cars, factories and their *number is increasing*, the danger to the environment is *becoming more serious*. (MOVE 1) (E 1; sentence numbers and italics added)

Two-move paragraphs were found in 11 cases: Move 2-Move 3 (5 cases), Move 3-Move 4 (4 cases) and Move 2-Move 4 (2 cases). As an example can serve an essay where Move 2 provides the topic background in S (Sentence) 1 (e.g. 'very important to transmit all the necessary information') and Move 3 introduces a particular problem-situation in S2-S6 (e.g. 'sometimes', 'very difficult'),

> e.g. (1) In every public speech or presentation it is *very important* to *transmit all the necessary information* to audience. (MOVE 1) (2) *Sometimes* it is *very difficult* to attract attention of a particular listener and to be confident that the message you wanted to send is understood in a proper way. (3) That is why it is *vitally important*

> to *imply all the possible techniques* of information delivery. (4) *The most important techniques* are gestures, facial expression, the tone of performer's voice, stance etc. (5) According to Wharton University studies, people perceive information *through five senses*, but two main are eyes 82% and ears 11%. (6) To become a persuasive speaker, the speech has to be *accompanied with body language* that is an *integral part of successful performance.* (MOVE 3) (E 35; sentence numbers and italics added)

The phrase 'accompanied with body language' in S6 signals that the topic is narrowed to 'body language'; however, the thesis statement, providing the controlling idea of the problem-solution essay, is stated only in the fourth paragraph after the explanation of the problem,

> e.g. (6) […] To reach the necessary level of information perception by a public, the experienced narrator should *adhere to some essential rules.* (E 35; italics added; sentence number added)

Eight introductions contained a three-move sequence: Move 2-Move 3-Move 4 (7 cases) and Move 2-Move 3-Move 1 (1 case). As it can be seen in the last example, the second move in S1 provides general information about the theme. The following S2-S7 gradually narrow the topic to the key idea 'climatic change' (Move 3), but Move 1 is used to claim the centrality of the theme (e.g. 'the most serious menace'),

> e.g. (1) Nature is *very varied.* (MOVE 2) (2) There are many places that provide wild animals with home and food. (3) Nature provides people with *fresh air* and cure. (3) But people in the world are becoming more and more. (4) They are cutting the tress to build their houses, and for each house the need clean water and electricity. (5) To provide their house with water, […]. (6) To provide electricity and heating at home, […]. (7) And all these actions that people do lead to *the climatic change* – water temperature rises, air is polluted and it causes acid rain. (MOVE 3) (8) Climatic change is the *most serious menace* for animals and plants, because they cannot adapt to so rapid climatic change. (MOVE 1) (E 8; sentence numbers and italics added)

On the one hand, the first two sentences seem unrelated to the theme about human impact upon the environment; on the other hand, the writer asserts that people are responsible for nature, animals as well, which is stressed in the first sentence of the next paragraph,

> e.g. What can people do to protect nature? (E 8; italics added)

This sentence provides the main idea or the thesis of the essay, which is followed by the discussion of three solutions. Thus, the student uses a topic sentence to provide the main idea for describing solutions in one paragraph.

In one essay, the controlling idea was brought out in two sentences,

> e.g. (1) Teaching proper pronunciation of English to adults who learn it as their second language could be *quite a challenge*. (MOVE 2) (2) It is scientifically proven that a person's ability to acquire certain skills *decreases* with age. (3) This *may discourage* older learners; however, one must bear in mind that adults are superior in different learning fields, especially those where analytical thinking is needed. (MOVE 3) (4) *Acquisition of an accent is a younger learner's advantage*, but how could an adult learner advance towards more native-like pronunciation? (5) Certainly, *different approach of teaching* should be used. (MOVE 4) (E 15; sentence numbers and italics added)

In this example, the question-answer sequence (e.g. '…but how could…? Certainly, …') is used in Move 4.

Although it is commonly expected that the first paragraph of an Anglo-American essay contains a thesis statement, developed by the body paragraphs (Kaplan, 1966: 15; Reid, 1992: 211-212), which states the controlling idea and the structure of the body paragraphs, the majority of the problem solution essays (22 out of 35 cases) commonly started with the description of the situation, which is followed by presenting a more detailed discussion of the problem and its solutions in the following paragraph(s),

> e.g. (1) The levels of acid rain vary from region to region. (2) In countries without pollution restrictions, acid rain tends to be very high. (3) Because *acid rain* can *move about so easily*, the *problem* is definitely *a global one*. (E 1; sentence numbers and italics added)

In the example above, the topic is introduced (signal: 'acid rain') alongside with the threats to nearby countries (e.g. 'can move about so easily', 'a global one'); however, we cannot trace the controlling idea of the whole essay, as it is stated only in the third paragraph after the discussion of the causes and effects of acid rain,

> e.g. (1) Modern science has verified that acid rain is a dangerous and highly destructive problem. (2) As a result, *various ways* have been invented *to control the level* of acid rain, and *some are now being used*. (E 2; sentence numbers and italics added)

The analysis of the essays revealed that the Moves in the introductory paragraph corresponded to the elements of the rhetorical pattern of the text (Table 2).

Move 1 claimed the centrality of the theme by introducing the problem, Move 2, in its turn, provided the topic background, which corresponded to the situation. Move 3 narrowed the topic by describing a situation, but Move 4 mentioned the solution of the problem, thus bringing out the controlling idea of the body paragraphs. Although Move 5 was not traced in the selected corpus, it should have provided the list of solutions, discussed in the essay.

Table 2
Moves in the introductory paragraph of the problem-solution essay

Moves	Elements of the rhetorical pattern
1 Claiming centrality of the theme	Problem
2 Providing the topic background	Situation
3 Narrowing the topic	Situation
4 Stating the thesis or the controlling idea of the essay	Solution
5 Previewing the structure of the essay	Solutions

We should also note that the essays, containing a thesis statement in the introductory paragraph, were easier to read, as they met the reader's expectations of the schematic structure. Although the essays under analysis had all the elements of the problem-solution pattern, namely Situation, Problem, Solution and Evaluation, almost one-third of them did not follow generic expectations of providing a thesis statement in the introductory paragraph of the essay and none of them explained the structure of the essay. Thus, EFL students focusing on the problem-solution pattern had not observed the generic features of academic essays.

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the problem-solution essays revealed that undergraduate students used four moves: claiming the centrality of the theme, providing the topic background, narrowing the topic and stating the thesis. Move 3, which narrows the topic, was the prevailing move in the selected corpus. The students had chosen either one or two moves for introductions.

It may be also stated that focusing on the rhetorical pattern had made several students neglect the generic expectations of an essay as a representative of an academic genre. The students had not used Move 5, which provides information about the structure of the essay. The students had introduced the topic, but had not stated the thesis, which is unusual in Anglo-American writing. Thus, it should be researched whether these students use the thesis statement in their L1 essays or whether there is another reason for the choice.

The analysis of the essays proved that the four moves correspond to different elements of the rhetorical pattern: Problem, Situation and Solutions, discussed in the body of the essay. However, these findings cannot be generalized across other disciplines.

Although the present research has raised new issues for further research, we can still conclude that the analysis of moves and the elements of rhetorical patterns should be used to discuss not only research papers, but also academic essays in the EFL classroom to determine whether the text corresponds to the expectancies of academic community.

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THE SEQUENCING OF CONTRASTIVE DISCOURSE MARKERS IN ENGLISH

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Abstract. This paper examines an understudied area of pragmatic research, namely, the sequencing of Discourse Markers (DMs). Looking only at the sequencing of Contrastive Discourse Markers (CDMs), thereby excluding both Elaborative and Inferential Discourse Markers, it is shown that only "but" may occur as the first with all of the other CDMs, e.g., "But, on the other hand…," with "yet" occurring first with a small subset. The rest of the CDMs are relegated to second place in a sequence with the exception of "however." The sequencing of CDMs adds support to the claim that "but" has more than a single use, the evidence showing both a direct contrast use and a contradiction and elimination use, depending on which CDM it is paired with.

Key words: discourse markers, contrastive discourse markers, sequence of discourse markers

INTRODUCTION

Discourse Markers (DMs) have received considerable attention in the pragmatics research literature in recent years, both studies dealing with their theoretical status as well as descriptive studies of individual DMs (Fraser, 2010a). What has not appeared in the literature, to date, is a treatment of which DMs co-occur in sequence, for example (see Oates, 2001)

(1) We could go to Jamaica. **But, on the other hand**, we could stay home and save money.

In this short paper I will begin the discussion of the sequencing of Contrastive Discourse Markers (CDM), focusing on sequences such as those in (2), where the first discourse segment, S1, is followed by two CDMs, which in turn are followed by a second discourse segment, S2.[1]

(2) S1. CDM1 CDM2, S2
   a) Don't study Psychology, **but instead** study computer science.
   b) I think we should leave. **Yet**, **on the other hand**, there may be something in waiting.

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[1]   A comma separating the two CDMs may or may not be present.

Unless special mention is made, the CDM1 is always the Primary CDM, *but*, and the CDM2 is one of the secondary CDMs. Contrastive Discourse Markers include the following:

(3) (al)though, (this/that point) notwithstanding, alternatively, although, contrariwise, contrary to expectation, contrary to this, conversely, despite (this/that), however, in comparison (with this/that), in contrast (to this/that), in spite of (this/that), instead (of this /that), nevertheless, nonetheless, on/ to the contrary, on the other hand, rather (than this/that), regardless (of this/ that), still, whereas, while, yet,

where the members of the class fall syntactically into conjunctions (e.g., *but*), subordinate con-junctions (e.g., *although*, *whereas*), adverbs (e.g., *however*, *nevertheless*) and prepositional phrases (e.g., *in contrast, despite*)

I am not considering here sequences of CDMs which are non-contiguous, in which the second CDM occurs in medial or final position, as in (4).

(4) Don't study Psychology. **But** study computer science **instead**.

CDMs occur in discourse segment-final position less frequently than in segment-initial position, and even less frequently in medial position, sometime changing their focus, as in (5), where the subject of S1 and S2 are the same.

(5) We know that the employees cannot make changes to contracts without agreement of management. **On the other hand**, we, (***on the other hand**), realize how difficult it is to invoke the law in these cases.

I am also not considering sequences which involve DMs from the Elaborative Discourse Marker (EDM) class, such as *and, furthermore, in addition,* and *similarly*, or from the Inferential Discourse Marker (IDM) class, such as *so, consequently, thus,* and *in conclusion*. For example,

(6) a) It was raining and very wet. **Thus, as a result**, we stayed home [IDM-IDM]
     b) The picnic was too crowded. **And, in addition**, it rained. [EDM-EDM]

Nor am I considering sequences, which cut across classes, for example (7).

(7) a) John got very angry. **And so**, he left the party. [EDM-IDM]
     b) We wanted them to stop. **However, furthermore**, we wanted them to leave. [CDM-EDM]
     c) The water didn't boil. **So, instead**, we had coke. [IDM-CDM]
     d) She walked to town in the rain, **but as a result**, she got a cold. [CDM-IDM]

In addition, I am not considering *pseudo sequences* of two CDMs. This occurs either when the basic form of S2 contains a CDM which is a subordinate conjunction, such as *although, whereas* or *while*, and the subordinate conjunction has been moved forward, as in (7),

(8) a) He wouldn't talk to me. **However**, I liked him **although** he was so stubborn.

   b) He wouldn't talk to me. **However**, **although** he was so stubborn, I liked him.

or a CDM as a form which permits it to be more forward, as in (9) and (10).

(9) a) The research treatments were almost the same. **However**, Group A received 20 trials. **In contrast,** Group B received 30 trials.

   b) The research treatments were almost the same. **However**, **in contrast to** Group B, which received 30 tries, Group A received 20 tries.

(10) a) He was told to eat it. **But**, he didn't eat it. **Instead** he hid it under the table.

   b) He was told to eat it. **But instead of** eating it, he hid it under the table.

Finally, I am not considering sequences involving DMs and other Pragmatic Marker, as in

(11) a) Yes, I did it. **But I promise** not to do it anymore. [CDM-Basic Marker]

   b) We knew the roof leaked. **Stupidly, however**, we did nothing. [Comt'ry Marker-CDM]

   c) Harry is coming. **So, ok**, what do we do now? [IDM-Discourse Management Marker]

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As a result of removing the above constructions from the focus of this paper, we are left with some 15 CDMs, which can occur originally in segment-initial position (e.g., *instead* but not *instead of*)

(12) *alternatively, but, contrary to expectations, conversely, despite, however, in comparison, in contrast, nevertheless, on the contrary, on the other hand, rather, regardless of that, instead, yet,*[2]

The following Display depicts acceptable sequences. It should be interpreted as follows: *but* can penetrate any circle (in the case of *on the other hand* more than one circle), and may occur as a first member of a sequence with any of the other 14 CDMs, but only pair-wise, not as a sequence of three or more. Thus, *but* may occur in a sequence with *yet* or pass that by and occur in a sequence with *on the other hand* or *alternatively*, for example. Where there is more than one CDM in a circle, e.g. *in contrast* and *in comparison*, I have found their sequencing behavior to be essentially identical.[3]

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[2] I omit relatively rare CDMs such as *notwithstanding, nonetheless,* and *contrariwise.* I also have not included the CDM *still* in this discussion.

[3] I recognize that others may differ on the details of the chart (below), as tastes differ widely. I intend this chart to be a framework which may be further differentiated. It is certainly not the last word/
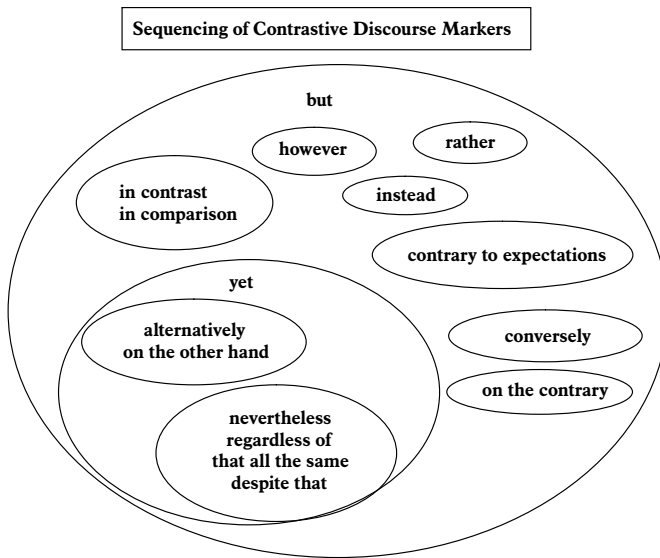
The main result of this study is that the CDM *but* occurs as an initial DM with each of the other CDMs. Simply put, the *but*, whether or not it continues the first discourse segment, S1, or begins the second, S2, signals that the two segments S2 and S1 are in contrast, while the second CDM makes specific the nature of the contrast. For example, over and beyond the interpretation of *but*, in (13),

(13) a) It's rather early, I know. **But**, **nevertheless**, we have to leave now.

   b) All athletes are not scholars. **But**, **conversely**, all scholars are not athletes.

nevertheless signals both that the speaker of S2 considers the message of S1 to be true and also that the message of S2 contrasts and trumps the implication flowing from S1. In contrast, *conversely* in (13b) signals that S1 and S2 are in a symmetrical contrast.

It is worth noting that the research literature at the moment differs on whether the CDM *but* signals two basic uses: Direct Contrast, where *but* signals a simple contrast between the two segments, S2 and S1, as in (14),

(14) a) The simple fact is that three is a prime number **but** four is not.

   b) A: John is brilliant. B: **But** he's not brilliant, he's a jerk.

   c) Everyone left on time **but** Sue.

and Indirect Contrast: where *but* signals both contradiction/contrast between S2 and an implication of S1, with the subsequent elimination of the implication, as in (14).[4]

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[4] I am using the term "implication" to encompass the concepts of implication, implicature, entailment and presupposition.

(15) a) We started late [=>We were going to arrive late.] **But** we arrived on time.

  b) A: Boston used to be a nice city. [=>It's no longer nice] B: **But** it's still nice.

  c) A: John murdered Smith. (Entailment=> Smith is dead) B: **But** Smith is not dead.

In (15) *but* signals both that there is an indirect contrast between S2 and an implication of S1 and that the implication should be considered eliminated. Fraser, 2010b) maintains that there are two uses signaled by *but*, Relevance Theory (Blakemore, 2002) maintains that there is but one use, the latter use. I will not pursue this issue here except to note that the second CDM in the sequence seems to determine quite clearly which of the two uses of *but* is being called upon.

Thus, there turns out to be two types of CDM sequences, one which reflects an S2 in direct contrast with some aspect of S1, as in (16).[5]

(16) a) Henry is rather tall. **But, in contrast**, Jack is very short.

  b) There was no reliable evidence of his guilt, **but**, **on the contrary**, considerable proof of innocence.

  c) We could go to Jamaica this holiday. **But, on the other hand**, we could stay home and save money.

  d) He expected to win the election easily. **But instead**, he lost badly.

  e) Writing is easy. **However**, the pen is not held vertically, **but rather** at an angle.

In contrast, in the example in (17),

(17) a) I don't think he would go that far. [=>His conscience would stop him.] **But**, **however**, some people believe that when they commit a crime it's much easier to commit it again.[6]

  b) I didn't come here to give a speech. [=>I'm not going to say anything.]. **But, nevertheless**, I will say a few words.

  c) I know what's right from what's wrong. [=>I remember it.] **But yet,** when I get into a situation, I sort of forget.

  d) They all came on time and well groomed. [=>And they came with good manners.] **But, contrary to expectations**, they forgot their manners.

the secondary CDM signals that S2 contrasts with an implication of S1 (marked as =>S) and signals that this implication should be eliminated. Both the *but* and the specific secondary CDM reflect this usage.

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[5] The BNC and COCA do not have examples of some of these (surprising what with 500,000,000 words), but the examples come from other sources such as TV, newspapers, and intuitions. There is also the issue of some of the corpus examples being strange or downright unacceptable. I will not address this here.

[6] Many CDMs function as a non-CDM, e.g., Many wives aid their husbands more than the public ever realizes. **But, however** great the wife's contribution, the expectations of her should not be out of proportion to her ability.

The inclusion of *on the other hand, alternatively, nevertheless*.etc. inside the circle that contains *yet* reflects that while *yet* and *however* appear to signal the same relationship, that of indirect contrast, the former but not the latter may occur in a sequence with the CDMs present, while *however* may not, as shown by (18).

(18) a) I know she wants to help me **Yet**/***However, on the other hand**, I think she is angry with me

   b) On the one hand, it appears to denote a change. **Yet**/***However, on the other hand**, it really is little change.

A curious aspect of this sequencing involves the CDM *however*. While neither COCA or BNC contains a sequence, *Conversely, however,* or *Instead, however,* we do find sequences with the reverse order.[7]

(19) a) Migrants often will pay up to $ 3,000 each to be smuggled aboard trains or trucks from Guatemala to the U.S. border .[This doesn't usually happen.] **Instead**, **however**, the smugglers often accept additional payments from Mexican police and then hand over the migrants.

   b) Fans' excitement about the Redskins first-round draft pick was only buoyed by his performance at Saturday's scrimmage. **Conversely, however**, their questions about the team's offense burn as hot as ever just four days before the team's preseason opener at Baltimore.

In addition, we do find sequences like (20) involving *in contrast to* or *in comparison with* where the order is reversed.

(20) a) Harvey is a talented violinist. **However**, **in comparison with** Joan, he doesn't stand out.

   b) Harvey is a talented violinist. **In comparison, however, with** Joan, he doesn't stand out.

An interesting aspect of these DM sequences is not just that the sequence of CDMs may occur but where the sequence pair **cannot occur**. For example, consider the CDM *instead*. Looking at the examples in (21) all of which may contain the single CDM *instead*, the sequence *but+instead* may occur only some of the time, presumably because of the segment details. (Fraser, 2010b)

(21) a) Jack didn't become a rock star. **But instead** he became a priest.

   b) Don't try to be a success as an athlete. **But instead** be like your computer-nerd brother.

   c) I couldn't get through the crowd to the phone. ***But instead** I had to go around.

   d) Nothing from the doctor helped. ***But instead**, we tried a faith-healer.

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7   We do find S1. However, in contrast to…, However, in comparison with, and However, instead of…but these are derived forms, not basic forms.

e) Stop thinking about bad things. ***But instead**, think of something happy.

f) He had hope to be able to talk to Sam. **But instead** he could only talk to Mary.

g) I could take you to the movies. **But instead** I'm going to take you home.

h) The government should get out of the banking business. ***But instead** it should leave it to the private sector.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, in this brief paper I have tried to indicate an area of Discourse Markers that up to this point has been largely ignored. Not only does each CDM sequence, for example *but+ instead*, require examination to determine the restrictions on their acceptable and unacceptable occurrence, but the sequences involving EDMs and IDMs with CDMs has, to my knowledge, not been touched. These areas wait.

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PRONOMINAL CHOICE IN
POLITICAL INTERVIEWS

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Abstract. Ways of achieving interactional goals of interpersonal involvement, responsibility and trustworthiness are fundamental to the political arena. The aim of this paper was to investigate the pragmatics of the pronominal choice in two political interviews. Discourse analysis was used to determine if personal pronouns functioned exclusively pertaining to the speakers' interactional goals and to evaluate their use in the light of what the interlocutor expected. The results revealed that the politician who created interpersonal involvement with the audience and used comprehensible and clear language established credibility, and such a strategy was more likely to receive positive evaluation. It may be concluded that the politician's communicative success may depend on the extent to which the applied linguistic strategy meets the expectations of the interlocutor. In such a case, the interactional goals of interpersonal involvement with its sub-components of responsibility and trustworthiness may be evaluated positively. Thus, the lack of trustworthiness may be experienced due to the politician's failure to communicate important meaning components.

Key words: media rhetoric, persuasive discourse, political interviews, personal pronouns, linguistic strategy, discourse analysis

INTRODUCTION

Media rhetoric maintains that for a speaker to be effective, he has to take into account the following three kinds of persuasion: ethos, pathos and logos, which are the terms dating back to Aristotle. Rhetoric, which is 'the art of persuasive discourse' (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2005), can be viewed as manipulative language. According to Durant and Lambrou (2009), audiences can be persuaded because they believe the speaker to be fair and honest; thus, this largely depends on the personal character of the speaker (ethos); they can be persuaded on the basis of the emotion aroused by what is said (pathos) and by the proof provided by the words (logos) (Durant and Lambrou, 2009: 29). For a discourse to be rhetorical, it must be inclusive and interactive, and both language and content are of considerable importance to effective communication (Atkinson, 1984).

Political interviews are an important tool for conveying a political message. The language used in the political interview accomplishes many functions, going beyond a mere transmission of information. Language is also used to

influence public opinion and engage in interaction with another person, and it 'has a potential for affecting that person' (Schiffrin, 1994: 415), establishing interpersonal involvement or rapport (Gumperz 1982a; Tannen 1989) and creating a credible image based on competence and trustworthiness. Largely, the communication of meaning as intended by the speaker is successful on condition that it is not only understood but also interpreted positively by the interlocutor, which consists in his beliefs and feelings upon hearing an utterance.

Thus, the **aim** of this paper is to identify whether the speakers' use of personal pronouns helps to achieve their interactional goals, which will allow the interlocutor to determine the degree of communicative success in a particular interaction.

It has been **hypothesized** that the extent to which the speaker succeeds in achieving his interactional goals may depend on whether he has managed to create interpersonal involvement with the audience and whether the interlocutor evaluates the linguistic strategy of the use of personal pronouns positively.

The paper deals with the case study of the pronominal choices made in the political interview with Latvian political actors elected to the public sphere: Atis Slakteris, the former Minister of Finance (this part of the paper is based on the talk 'Political Interviews' given at the University of Latvia in February, 2008), and the present Prime Minister Valdis Dombrovskis.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The overriding purpose of language use in the political interview is the proposition that is conveyed through the language use. On the whole, political interviews intend to enhance people's (listeners'/viewers') understanding of a particular issue, and/or inform about possible solutions of the problem. However, the communicative effect of a political message does not only depend on advancing the level of understanding of the interlocutors, but it can also depend on bringing about changes in their opinion about a particular issue and/or attitude towards the interviewee. This can be achieved with the help of discourse strategies, which include a variety of linguistic devices used by interlocutors to serve the intended communicative functions. It is the unique combination of linguistic, rhetorical and other elements that make the investigation of political interviews relevant. Pronoun reference is important in political persuasion as pronouns can be used to fulfil legitimizing strategic functions (Chilton, 2004), granting authority to the speaker and promoting positive self-presentation.

Through empirical investigation of linguistic data in the media, scholars have shed considerable light on the use of pronouns in political discourse (e.g. McCarthy, 1994, Pennycook, 1994; Wales, 1996; O'Keeffe, 2002). It has been found that pronouns have different social roles and stances (e.g. Wales, 1996:

50). The concept *stance* helps to understand how speakers create and signal relationships with the propositions they express and the people they interact with (Biber and Finegan, 1988, 1989; Conrad and Biber, 2000).

In interviews, interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee is often interpersonal. It has been found out that the personal pronouns *I*, *you* and *we* are more prevalent than *he*, *she*, *it* and *they* (O'Keeffe, 2007: 97). The first person pronouns *I* and *we*, the second person pronoun *you*, the third person pronouns *he, she, it*, and *they* derive their functions directly from their relation to the speaker in the communicative event. Interpersonal pronouns are rarely neutral in their reference; moreover, often their meaning is derived from the context.

The first person singular pronoun *I* and the second person pronoun *you* refer directly to the interlocutors engaged in the discourse. The singular forms *I/me/myself/mine* refer to the speaker; they show his personal involvement, being especially useful when good news is announced. They can also indicate that the speaker views himself self-important, placing himself 'above and outside the collective responsibility of their colleagues' (Beard, 2000: 45). The pronoun *you* gives an immediate sense that the interlocutor is being addressed personally, although often it can refer informally to people in general to describe a common kind of experience.

The plural forms *we/us/ours* can vary according to the context; they refer to the speaker and to one or several other people. The distinction is based on whether the listener/viewer is excluded or included in the referential sphere of forms. The use of the pronoun *we* can be divided into two categories: the inclusive *we,* which can be used to refer to the speaker and the listener/viewer and the exclusive *we*, referring to the speaker and one or more others, but that does not include the listener/viewer (Fairclough, 2001:106).

In its broadest reference, the pronoun *we* and its forms can refer to the speaker and one more person (e.g. the speaker and prime minister), the speaker and a group (e.g. the speaker and government and/or political party), the speaker and the people of the country, the speaker and the people all over the world (Beard, 2000:45).

The plural pronoun forms give a sense of collectivity and help to share responsibility, especially when **decisions** are highly controversial, **unpopular** and doubtful. A similar effect can result from the use of the impersonal singular pronoun *one* instead of *I,* which is used to make general statements. Since the pronoun has a distancing effect, politicians often avoid using it because they try to achieve the opposite effect.

Another dichotomy is displayed between the use of the pronouns *us* and *them*. When the plural third person pronoun is used in its nominative *they*, accusative *them* or genitive *their/theirs* case, a sense of otherness is evoked either consciously or subconsciously. Druszak (2010: 194) sees 'othering as a discursive strategy oriented to manage interpersonal, especially group-based, relations by

articulating (or implying) opposite valuations of the self (in-group) and the other (out-group)'. By contrasting the pronouns *us* and *them*, we are claiming that *they* are different and perhaps inferior in some way to *us*, which entails distancing oneself from *them*.

METHODS

The present study takes a qualitative perspective, focusing on the description of what people do and say, the explanation of their attitudes, and the causes of certain phenomena. It deals with pragmatic interpretation of the use of personal pronouns in political interviews using the discourse analysis of two cases: the analysis of an interview with the former Latvian Minister of Finance Atis Slakteris during the infamous 'Bloomberg interview' on December 17, 2008 (Online 1), transcribed by the author of this paper, and an interview with the present Prime Minister Valdis Dombrovskis on February 21, 2010, published on stenmarck blog (Online 2).

To ensure the validity of findings, triangulation was applied. Triangulation in this study involves the application of the relevant theories pertaining to the study, discourse analysis and the description and interpretation of the use of pronouns by two researchers.

The present analysis draws on Goffman's (1981) model of communication called a *participation framework*, suggesting that the participants of the communicative situation occupy different roles in relation to the message they communicate.

The interviews under analysis were transactional in nature and took place in the public sphere; their goal was to find out the politicians' political position and stance on particular political issues related to the problems caused by the economic crisis. The content of the political interviews was dependent on the socio-cultural context in which the discourse of the interviews was embedded and on the participants of the interviews. The interviewers and interviewees were aware of the communicative social context, that is, the interviews were held in front of the audience, who, although not co-present, had the status of the ratified audience. The participation status of such an audience is ratified as 'their attention is planned for in the design of the utterance' (Durant and Lambrou, 2009: 70).

Since the political interview is 'aimed at and shaped for and by the audience' (O'Keeffe, 2007: 4), the participation frameworks were inclusive of the audience as a participant in the interactions in the interviews: they were constructed between the interviewers, the interviewees and the audience who watched and listened to the interviews. Thus, the interviewees were expected to take into consideration the knowledge and understanding of the target audience when replying to the questions posed by the interviewers.

As the interviews took place in institutional settings, the power relationship between the interviewers and the interviewees were asymmetrical, i.e., the interviewers held the institutional power, providing them with the possibility of controlling the interaction by, for example, opening, changing, or terminating topics.

We aimed at finding out if the applied linguistic strategy of the use of personal pronouns had contributed to the attainment of the Ministers' interactional goals through examining the extent of the responsibility the Ministers were prepared to take on themselves, the willingness to share success with other colleagues, their confidence in whole groups of people sharing their views, and the readiness to accept failure as that of their own.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The undertaken interpretation of linguistic interactional strategies and the power relations at play in both the interviews was based on a qualitative analysis of two interviews (a 737-word interview with Mr. Slakteris and a 777-word interview with Mr. Dombrovskis). In the interview with Mr. Slakteris, the language errors in the samples have been retained.

We aimed at uncovering the use of personal pronouns, whose choice, according to Maitland and Wilson (1987), is part of person's individual interactional style. The interactional styles of Mr. Slakteris and Mr. Dombrovskis were largely affected by the following factors: they gave the interviews in English, namely, not their native language; the target audience was assumed to be the English speaking community; the relationship among the interlocutors was formal.

In order to analyse the interactional style, it is important to mention the context and the propositional content of the interviews. The former Latvian Minister of Finance Atis Slakteris secured a 7.5 billion Euro loan from the IMF, World Bank and other organizations in December 2008. Prime Minister Valdis Dombrovskis took office in March 2009 after the previous government had collapsed. He managed to implement an austerity programme, taking the necessary fiscal measures needed to escape from the threat of financial default.

Mr. Slakteris used the pronouns *we/us/our* 29 times, the pronouns *I/my/mine* 12 times, but the pronoun *you* – twice; thus, the analysis of their use gave us considerable insight into what he was saying and probably how he wanted to be viewed.

The inclusive *we* was used to refer to the speaker himself and his interlocutors, thus claiming solidarity, for example 'If we look in real situation about situation in economic around the world and in Latvia. How situation will develop, we'll see'. In the following example, the inclusive *we* stands for the Minister and the people of Latvia, the EU and the world, including the interlocutors: 'it's important to … to … have possibilities and we are part of international community […].' It should be stressed that a more frequent use of the inclusive *we* would have

achieved interpersonal involvement with the interlocutors and contributed to trustworthiness.

The speaker often used the exclusive *we,* which excluded the interlocutors. As it can be seen in the following 40-word response, it is quite densely packed with the personal pronoun *we* used 6 times and the possessive pronoun *our* used once:

> We are in discussion process with IMF and EU and we propose our macroeconomical stabilization programme and we are discussing what we will do and … and… after this we will decide together how much we need and, of course […].

In this case, the plural personal pronoun *we* stands for the Minister and the government. Perhaps Mr. Slakteris used the pronoun to distance himself from the interviewer and to emphasize the authority of his judgement. Also, Mr. Slakteris seemed to be willing to share responsibility for success with other colleagues. In 'we will decide together', the reference is made to himself, the government of Latvia, the EU and the IMF, which might indicate the importance and seriousness of the process.

By using the plural third person pronoun *they* in its nominative case as in: 'And in that time of course not only government but I think all population they were too … too optimistic', Mr. Slakteris either consciously or subconsciously evoked a sense of otherness. By contrasting the pronoun *they* with the *government* and *I*, he was effectively saying that the people of Latvia were not like him, that they were different or perhaps inferior in some way as they were too optimistic.

Mr. Slakteris used the singular form *I* when asked directly about his personal opinion; for example, in reply to the interviewer's question whether he personally thought that 2.1 billion dollars would be enough he said:

> If we look in real situation about situation in economic around the world and in Latvia and I think … I think…ya …it's reasonable number but from my point of view Latvia will be ready to ask a little bit more (laughs) Two billions euros or two point five till three but… but…but…not because we need money exactly now but … but to keep economy working.

The pronoun *I* was employed in the expressions he used for discourse management. It can be seen from the example above that, although the use of the pronoun *I* can be considered as a discourse strategy to gain time to think, its use was not very successful: the Minister was not able to give his point of view; in fact he was rather evasive. It is interesting to note that by making *I* the subject of particular verbs, the politician positioned himself in the discourse as the one of a thinker. The pronoun *I* was used with the semantic category of mental verb *think* (mental process) and *know* (mental state), which is supposed to underline the predominance of opinion.

Mr. Slakteris failed to assume his personal responsibility, whereas he appeared to be quite confident when he was speaking about the global crisis:

> but it's not only Latvian problem, <u>I know</u> it's in London. For example, <u>my</u> daughter …she…she lives in London, for example and…situation very similar.

Mr. Slakteris referred to his knowledge about the global crisis from the point of view of an insider, because his daughter lived in London. Thus, he stepped outside his official role as a Minister and presented himself as a private person. However, that was done rather inappropriately.

The personal pronoun *you* was used twice, for example: 'What do you mean by "this point"?' to refer to the interviewer, which, if used more frequently, would have enhanced his credibility and established interpersonal involvement with the audience.

When analysing the interview with Mr. Dombrovskis, it was observed that the Prime Minister used the pronouns *we/us/our* 28 times, the pronoun *you* once, and the pronouns *I/my* twice.

The most frequent referent of *we* and *us* was the exclusive one, indicating the administration of Latvia, which was represented as a serious and responsible institution. However, the administration has various roles depending on the sphere of action: national, international, and party-political. The use of the particular exclusive *we* might indicate the combined roles of the government and the party, which Mr. Dombrovskis represents:

> That means that <u>we</u> had a huge amount of fiscal consolidation in front of <u>us</u>. That has now been done. <u>We</u> have also taken the necessary decisions concerning the 2010 budget with a fiscal consolidation of another 10 percent, giving <u>us</u> a budget deficit of 8.5 percent.

The use of the administration *we* was represented in contraposition to *they* if another party came to power:

> Of course <u>we</u> are looking to win the election but, in any case, any new government will be confronted with the same issues. <u>They</u> will have a substantial budget deficit.

The use of the pronoun *they* does not have any attitude; it seems to be a mere statement of the fact. However, in combination with the exclusive *we*, the proposition established the competence of the speaker.

Through *we/us* strategy, the speaker identified and invited the interlocutor to identify with the speaker, as it is in the case of the use of inclusive *we* in the following example:

> The worst is behind <u>us</u>. <u>We</u> can see some positive signals in the statistics when it comes to the financial sector. <u>We</u> are back to the pre-crises level. <u>Our</u> credit rating is improving; <u>we</u> saw it last week with the Standard & Poor credit rating, … <u>we</u> are on track again.

In the example below, it can be seen that the Prime Minister also used the first person pronouns *I* and *my* to refer to himself as a politician, and the actual words he uttered might possibly signal his personal responsibility and involvement. Mr. Dombrovskis admitted that he and the government had been too optimistic. For instance, asked how he assessed the situation in Latvia a year ago, he replied:

> In <u>my</u> first statement after I became Prime Minister, 12th of March 2009, <u>I</u> said that <u>we</u> were close to a bankruptcy. In macro-economic terms <u>we</u> were estimating a recession of 12 percent. That was obviously too optimistic, since <u>we</u> can see the result today; a decline of 18 percent during 2009.

However, the speaker was also evasive when using the first person pronoun *I*: '<u>I</u> wouldn't expect to go for any major issue in 2011'.

The Prime Minister appealed directly to the audience through the use of the second person pronoun *you* only once: 'But <u>you</u> could say that it is part of a broader problem'. It is likely that if the speaker had used the pronoun more often, it would have helped him to achieve involvement with his audience and enhanced his credibility more successfully.

CONCLUSIONS

A politician's interactional style is part of one's individual political personality, and the strategy of using personal pronouns is expected to recur irrespective of the situation in which one finds himself. Resulting from the study, the following conclusions have been drawn:

1. The use of personal pronouns can help to identify the speaker's interactional style, which in its turn might create a certain image of a politician.

2. The achievement of interactional goals may depend on whether the interlocutor evaluates positively the linguistic strategy of the use of personal pronouns, creating or distorting the image of the politician accordingly.

3. The pronominal form *I* implies a personal level: it enables the politician to show his personal involvement and commitment, authority and personal responsibility. Used in combination with the semantic category of mental verbs, the pronoun *I* may give the impression that the speaker is willing to account for his convictions and that he can be held responsible for his words. However, the context may fail to enhance the speaker's trustworthiness.

4. By applying the exclusive personal pronoun *we*, a politician may wish to share the load of responsibility. The exclusive *we* as referred to the whole world may also lay emphasis on the importance of the speaker's intentions.

5. By using the inclusive personal pronoun *we*, a politician might aim at establishing rapport with the interlocutors, thereby encouraging solidarity and creating interpersonal involvement with the audience. In addition, the politician who uses comprehensible and clear language is more likely to receive positive evaluation than the one who does not.

6. Politicians' communicative success depends on the extent to which the applied linguistic strategies are those that their interlocutors expect. In such a case, the interactional goals of interpersonal involvement with its sub-components of responsibility and trustworthiness may be evaluated positively. The lack of trustworthiness may be due to the politicians' failure to communicate important meaning components.

To conclude, it should be emphasized that the meaning of pronouns is pragmatic as they can be understood with the reference to co-text or to the context in which they are uttered.

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PERSONALIZATION AND INCLUSION IN LATVIAN ADVERTISING AS A RESULT OF MULTICULTURAL PROCESSES

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Abstract. This paper examines how multicultural processes contribute to the formation of the features of Latvian advertising language – personalization and inclusion. The imperative mood, the singular and the plural form of the 2nd person pronoun are considered as means of making the advertising message more personal. Strategies for including the audience in translated advertisements are discussed. Understanding of these features is of major importance for Latvian translators who deal with trans-linguistic, trans-market, and trans-cultural transfer of promotional and advertising texts.

Key words: advertising discourse analysis, translation, culture, Latvian, language

Advertising has been discussed in a variety of cross-disciplinary studies. The attention of translation scholars has focused on the strategies for trans-linguistic, trans-market, and trans-cultural transfer of promotional and advertising texts that underscore the role of the translator (Torresi, 2010). A translator's decisions depend on the cultural knowledge that, with regard to advertising, has been discussed in works dealing with gender roles and gender stereotypes (Ferguson, 1990: 11; Jones, 1991: 13; Sengupta, 1995: 2; Jones, 1998: 14), as well as with the cultural dimensions of different nations (Hofstede, 1980; Gilly, 1988; Hofstede and Bond, 1988; Milner and Collins, 2000; Hofstede, 2001).

The features of the language used in advertising as well as its effect on Latvian in general have been discussed by Latvian scholars (Zauberga, 1996; Veisbergs, 1997; Ločmele, 1998; Liepa, 2010). The cultural issues of advertisement transfer have been analyzed in our previous work (Ločmele, 1999a; 1999b; 2003). The present paper is a continuation of this study, with a focus on current multicultural processes that leave their impact on the features of Latvian advertising language – personalization and inclusion.

PERSONALIZATION

Personalization is important in all types of advertising. The imperative mood and both the singular and the plural form of the 2nd person pronoun are used in order to make the message personal.

Although using the singular form of the 2nd person pronoun is considered impolite behaviour when addressing a stranger, or an elderly person in particular, copywriters use it. It seems that this happens due to the influence of English advertising texts where the 2nd person pronoun has one form for singular and plural, and where advertising addresses its audience more directly and the distance between the text and the addressee is smaller than in Latvian. In Latvian, the usage of the singular form of the 2nd person pronoun creates a feeling that the main addressee of advertising is a young person that might be viewed as offensive towards older generations. Moreover, Latvian copywriters and translators seem to be guided by intuition when using the singular or the plural form of the 2nd person pronoun, as they use it inconsistently. The same lack of consistency can be observed in the spelling of the forms of the 2nd person pronoun with an upper-case letter (according to the Latvian convention for personal address in a personal letter) or a lower-case letter.

In a considerable number of texts both forms are used: the singular form of the 2nd person pronoun is used in the headline and in the subheading, while the plural form of the 2nd person pronoun is in the body of the text.

Some of the texts show editors' errors in the agreement between the form of the 2nd person pronoun and the form of a verb (in Latvian, the pronoun is matched with the appropriate verb ending). This indicates the difficulty, the internal discussions about the choice of the form of the 2nd person pronoun in the agency.

Ten years ago, there were cases when translators deliberately avoided using the 2nd person pronouns in the Latvian target text, whereas the ST in English contained more than 10 instances of their usage. Thus, a distance was created between the advertised product and the addressee, making the advertisement less personal in Latvian. A reason for this was undeveloped skills for advertising in Latvian and indecisiveness about the correct form of the pronoun to be used. Another possible cause for the lack of personalization at the beginning of advertising after Latvia regained independence in 1991 was the tradition of preserving a large power distance in Latvian culture (see Hofstede, 2001 on cultural dimensions). Due to globalization, distancing in Latvian advertising has decreased, causing a more frequent use of the 2nd person pronouns. However, the problems of choice of the correct form of the 2nd person pronoun sometimes result in the avoidance of direct address. Thus, while the Russian version of the text of the flyer for the brand outlet sale contains the singular form of the 2nd person pronoun: 'Наконец-то ты сможешь нормально одеться' (Literally: 'Finally, you will be able to dress well'), the Latvian text opts for a conversational, yet impersonal: 'Beidzot varēs kārtīgi apģērbties.' (Literally: 'Finally, it will be possible to dress well').

In the next case, the advertisement for the Latvian Mobile Telephone company (LMT) services with the headline 'Līdzsavienojums + Konferences zvans. Nepalaid garām nevienu zvanu!' ('Call Hold + Conference Call. Don't miss

a single call!') has a text that avoids addressing a customer directly in an unusual way for the Latvian advertising language:

> Ja **vēlas** atteikties no šīs iespējas vai atkārtoti pieslēgt to, visērtāk to izdarīt LMT abonentu apkalpošanas centrā internetā – iCentrā [...]. ('If one wants to opt out of this offer or reconnect it, the most convenient way to do it is in iCentre, the LMT customers service centre on the Internet')

The new service is called *Līdzsavienojums* ('Call Hold') and *Konferences zvans* ('Conference Call'), however, due to excessive compression in the headline, the capitalization in the second word combination (*Konferences zvans*) may seem unmotivated and used under the influence of the English language, as according to the Latvian language conventions, only the first word of the headline starts with an upper-case letter, contrary to the English tradition to capitalize all nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs of a headline.

The singular form of the 2nd person pronoun plays a more significant role in personalization. However, one should take into account the cultural conventions of Latvia, namely, excessive familiarity may cause a negative effect. One should also note that personalization does not occur if the plural form of the 2nd person pronoun starts with a lower-case letter in Latvian because everybody is addressed in such a case, however, no one is addressed personally.

INCLUSION

Advertising has to include, and not exclude, a person from its scope of readers, listeners or viewers. One needs to consider this inclusion when translating advertisements. An advertising brochure for the beauty salon *ESPA Rīga* is inconsistent in following the principle of inclusion:

> Rīgā, vienā no lielākajām Baltijas tirdzniecības ostām, atspoguļojas bagāts kultūrslānis, gadsimtu burvība atklājas gan viduslaiku un neoklasicisma, gan lielākoties jūgendstila ēkās, kas sarindojušās gar Rīgas bruģētajām ielām.

> ('In Riga, one of the largest commercial ports of the Baltics, a rich culture layer is revealed. The charm of the centuries is reflected in both the Medieval and the Neo-Classical, and mainly in the Art Nouveau buildings that arrange themselves along the cobblestone streets of Riga')

Residents of Riga are not included in the fragment of the text, and information is provided only from the external point, i.e. for visitors of Riga. Besides, the information is misleading, as it makes one think that all of Riga is built in the Art Nouveau style and has cobblestone streets. Further on, the text attempts at resolving the inclusion problem by using the pronoun '*mūsu*' ('our'):

Daudzslāņainā pilsētvide ietver krievu, vācu un skandināvu dzīvesstila atblāzmu, kas sajūtama **mūsu** pilsētas kafejnīcās mūzikas un mākslas dzīves norisēs, ik uz soļa.

('The multilayered city includes reflections of the Russian, German and Scandinavian lifestyles that are felt in the cafés of our city, in the music and art life, and at every step [you make]')

However, the pronoun '*mūsu*' does not include all Rigans, as only Russians, Germans and Scandinavians are mentioned among the citizens of Riga. The part of the audience, who consider this as a case of putting down the Latvian heritage, is lost.

A copywriter attempts to correct this mistake further in the text by mentioning the architectural contribution of the Latvian architect *Konstantīns Pēkšēns*. However, due to the lack of clarity in presenting the information the text excludes and loses all addressees:

Ievērojamā latviešu arhitekta Konstantīna Pēkšēna veidotā izsmalcinātā tīģeļa sirdī esošā fin de siécle ēka piedzīvojusi jaunu renesansi ...

(Literally: 'The fin de siécle building, which has been created by the prominent Latvian architect Konstantīns Pēkšēns and is situated at the heart of the refined melting pot, has experienced a New Renaissance...')

The French *fin de siécle* ('the end of the century') is used not for information, but for creating the atmosphere, however, it makes the illogical text even more complicated. The fragment ends with an ellipsis that indicates that the text will continue. Yet, a large part of the Latvian target audience is lost in the first paragraphs of the advertisement.

The Russian version of the text is provided next to the Latvian text in the brochure. Although the Russian text contains the same mistakes of inclusion (the residents of Riga are included only in the second sentence), the Russian text does not contain the factological errors observed in the Latvian version. The Art Nouveau buildings are described as the most famous ones, the cultural heritage of the city includes the contribution by Latvians, and the Russian text does not suffer from the excessive use of complicated and untranslated borrowings:

Рига, как один из ключевых портов Прибалтики, вобрала в себя много влияний, которые видны в средневековых домах, зданиях в стиле неоклассицизма и самых известных – югендстиля, которые выстроились на её мощёных улочках.

Космополитическая атмосфера города, которая включает в себя элементы латышской, российской, немецкой и скандинавской культуры начиная с её традиционных кафе и кухни и заканчивая музыкой и искусством, окружают Вас повсюду.

> В самом сердце этого прекрасного города находится здание работы знаменитого латвийского архитектора Константина Пекшенса, которое пережило свой собственный Ренессанс …

> (Literally: 'Riga as one of the key ports of the Baltics, has absorbed many influences that can be observed in the medieval houses, the buildings in the Neo-Classical style and the most renown ones – the Art Nouveau buildings standing in a row along its cobblestone streets.

> The cosmopolitan-like atmosphere of the city, which includes elements of the Latvian, Russian, German and Scandinavian cultures, from its traditional cafés and cuisine to its music and art, surrounds you everywhere.

> A building by the famous Latvia's architect Konstantīns Pēkšēns is situated in the very heart of the wonderful city. It has experienced its own Renaissance...')

However, the text contains a politically marked usage of the word *российский* (literally: 'Russia's'), instead of a more neutral *русский* ('Russian'), and *латвийский* ('Latvia's'). Slightly boosting political connotations, Riga is credited as having cultural elements of Russia, but Konstantīns Pēkšēns is described as a famous architect from Latvia without a reference to his ethnicity, while the Latvian text underscores his Latvian origin. It seems that the Russian text is a translation of the Latvian text – the translator has created a clearer text, yet manipulating with its ideological overtones to increase the inclusion of the target Russian audience.

Untranslated advertisements for the products having a similar advertising campaign all over the world lately have developed an element for the inclusion of the audience – the Latvian translation of an advertisement provided in a footnote:

> In an Absolut World opportunities always pop up.*

> *Absolut pasaulē vienmēr pastāv iespējas. (Vodka *Absolut* advertisement, *Kas Jauns,* 2009, No. 27)

The translation may be misunderstood, as *Absolut* has no ending marking what its case form is. This causes ambiguity in Latvian – it can mean both the intended 'world of Absolut' and the opportunities that the brand may be provided with in the world, as the Latvian translation can also be interpreted in the following way: 'For Absolut, opportunities always pop up in the world'. Fortunately, both meanings are positive.

Untranslated advertisements are published considerably rarer than previously. However, one needs to be careful with untranslated words that can be read and understood differently in two languages: they may create either a positive additional boost or bring unintended negative associations in one of the

languages. The latest example in Latvia is an ad for an Internet computer software store called ATEA. When pronounced, the brand reminds one of the Latvian word 'ateja', which means WC. As a consequence, the advertisement *SONEX jauns nosaukums – ATEA* (Literally: 'SONEX new name – ATEA' (a WC) has caused unwanted humour.

Advertising reflects the cultural level of its producers who sometimes forget about political correctness and create discriminatory advertisements as in the following example:

> Mans gribet remontet Tav's māja! ('I want to remodel your house!')
> (The advertisement for the store of building materials in 2008).

It is a parody of the ungrammatical speech of immigrant construction workers, as it violates the Latvian spelling rules and mimics the speech marked by errors specific to the immigrant community. The advertisement has a picture of a dark- skinned construction worker. Due to this violation of the ethical and the speech etiquette norms this advertisement is not inclusive or appealing, but abusive.

Another reason for excluding the audience is using lexis and grammar that would be used in written communication when forms, mainly used in spoken communication, would be preferable (in translated TV commercials, for instance):

> Atmodini jaunas šūnas ik dienu ar jaunajiem Dermo Genesis ādu atjaunojošajiem līdzekļiem. ('Awaken new cells every day with new Dermo Genesis skin renewing products') (*TV3*, 15. 10. 2008., 19:04)

The Latvian text would have benefited from a simple and understandable spoken form without the affix *–o ajiem* which complicates the text. On a side note, the word *jauns* ('new'), which is one of the typical elements of advertising, seems to have been used too excessively in a text as short as this. Thus, although widely used in advertising in the world, the full potential of inclusion has not been developed in Latvian advertising. This also applies to transferred advertisements from sources having more elements of inclusion than their translations, as well as translations of Latvian advertisements into other languages where elements of inclusion are added.

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CROSS-CULTURAL PRAGMATICS OF INTERACTIONAL COMPETENCE

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Abstract. Interactional competence involves knowledge of the relation between language forms and the social contexts in which they are applied. The paper aims at focusing on the concept of interactional competence within the framework of cross-cultural pragmatics. The study expresses its author's belief that non-native language users' interactional competence to use contextually and situationally appropriate linguistic forms to express the pragmatic intent in question is to be developed at the tertiary level of language studies. The case study was based on the analysis of the speech act of compliment. The research findings indicated that instances of miscommunication resulted from differing beliefs regarding the speech act production and perception. The research has resulted in a conclusion that non-native language learners' interactional competence can be advanced if the contributions on the speech act theories and an empirical research carried out into the area of the speech act are considered in the developmental process of non-native learners' interactional competence.

Key words: cross-cultural pragmatics, interactional competence, interactional identity, speech act, and miscommunication

INTRODUCTION

The paper focuses on a recent research carried out in the area of applied linguistics. It concerns *cross-cultural pragmatics* as a subdomain of sociolinguistics and views *interactional competence* as 'the basis for contemporary understanding of the competence that is created by all participants in social interaction' (Young, 2008: 100). There are scholars (e.g. Boxer, 2002) who consider that cross-cultural pragmatics follows the principles of applied sociolinguistics and the terms *cross-cultural pragmatics* and *applied sociolinguistics* can be used interchangeably. In view of this, cross-cultural pragmatics supports an idea that individuals from different societies or speech communities interact considering the pragmatic norms of the culture they belong to. It often results in a clash of expectations which, ultimately, might give room to misunderstanding or might cause a risk of misperceptions of the linguistic behaviour on the part of the other interlocutors. Today, when cross-cultural communication is the norm not only across societies but also within them, different rules of interacting might cause stereotypes, prejudice and/or discrimination against the entire group of interlocutors. Research in the area of applied sociolinguistics can greatly aid in ameliorating these consequences.

Considering the above stated, it should be mentioned that it was Chomsky (1965) who made a conceptual distinction between the notion of *competence*

(what a speaker knows about a language) and *performance* (what a speaker does with a language). However, Hymes (1971) rejected this dichotomy and argued that 'there are rules of use without which the rules of grammar are useless' (Hymes, 1971: 278); as a result, his theory of communicative competence was put forward. Kramsch (1986) researched *interactional competence* and formulated that 'interactional competence is a relationship between the participants' employment of linguistic and interactional resources and the contexts in which they are employed' (Young, 2008: 101).

In the light of the above discussion, the present study has addressed the following research question:

Why does the cross-cultural discourse represent great potential for miscommunication and/or misperceptions on condition that the interlocutors belong to different speech communities and they possess different levels of interactional competence?

To answer the research question, the study has set its goals:

1. At a theoretical level, to examine the concept of *miscommunication* and to view the recent research carried out in the area of cross-cultural pragmatics;

2. At an empirical level, to analyze an implementation of speech act as it was realized in native/non-native language users' interaction in which the English language served as a means of communication in order to revisit the approaches taken to develop non-native language users' interactional competence.

LITERATURE REVIEW

It is generally accepted that cross-cultural communication occurs when two or more interactants belong to at least two different cultures.

Since the organization of concepts varies across cultures, the interlocutors are expected to possess the ability to display the linguistic behaviour that is considered to be adequate and appropriate to the communicative event. Even more, the interactants are supposed to behave in a flexible manner when confronted with actions, attitudes and expectations set up by representatives of foreign cultures.

The ability to react appropriately is known as *cross-cultural competence*. It is studied within the area of cross-cultural pragmatics, and it involves the study of interactional resources on the one hand (e.g. the interactional organization of the linguistic behaviour) and an appropriate selection of linguistic resources, on the other hand. In other words, cross-cultural competence implies the *pragmatic ability* to deal with the meaning as communicated by a speaker/writer and interpreted by a listener/reader. Interactional competence, in its turn, involves the knowledge of the relation between language forms used by an interlocutor and

the social contexts in which these forms are applied. In other words, interactional competence does *not* concern what an interlocutor knows about the language; it does not concern how he/she uses the language in a specified communicative event. Interactional competence regards what an interlocutor *does* with the language in interaction on condition that the interactants belong to different speech communities. Moreover, interlocutors' interactional competence varies 'according to what the other participants do […]: that is, it varies in different interactional practices' (Young, 2008: 106).

According to Yule (1996), the pragmatic ability is the ability to understand 'people's intended meanings, their assumptions, their purposes or goals, and the kinds of actions (for example, complimenting, responding to compliments) that they are performing when they speak' (Yule, 1996: 3-4). In view of this, it should be presupposed that the speaker's pragmatic ability is closely related to his/her *interactional identity*, which, according to Young (2008) is 'specific roles that people take on in interaction with specific other people' (Young, 2008: 111). Evidently enough, a speaker's interactional identity builds on his/her register, modes of meaning, the way how turn-taking is carried out, the ability to overcome the communicative difficulties or communication breakdown, the choice and sequencing of speech acts.

A *speech act*, according to Cohen (2008) is 'an utterance that serves as a functional unit in communication' (Cohen, 2008: 213-235).

Further, utterances have two kinds of meaning:

1. Propositional meaning, i.e., the literal meaning of the utterance;
2. Illocutionary or functional meaning, i.e., the effect that the utterance or written text has created on the reader or the listener.

In the light of this, a risk of miscommunication and/or a possibility of misunderstanding can result in a total communication breakdown, provided the listener has interpreted the meaning of an utterance in a way that has not been intended by the speaker.

Johnson (1985) points out that 'the interpretation of a message is essentially constructed by the perceiver; hence, the message sent is not necessarily message received' (Johnson, 1985: 325).

Hinnenkamp (2001) distinguishes three degrees of misunderstanding:

1. *Overt* misunderstanding: misunderstanding that is immediately recognized and subsequently repaired;
2. *Covert* misunderstanding: misunderstanding that occurs when recognition is gradual: it gets either gradually repaired, continues, or comes to a halt eventually;
3. *Latent* misunderstanding: misunderstanding occurs without any sound reason: an interactant has a feeling that he/she has been misunderstood and the issue under discussion remains unresolved (Hinnenkamp, 2001: 211-243).

Thus, it can be stated that miscommunication can happen among people from the same social and cultural background. However, interaction becomes more difficult and the likelihood for miscommunication multiplies when interactants come from different backgrounds. Gunthner (2001) asserts that 'what causes problems to interactional communication generally causes more severe problems to intercultural communication' (Gunthner and Luckmann, 2001: 55-85).

In addition, House (1989) lists the following causes for miscommunication:

1. Inadequate perception, which is a hearer-based type of misunder-standing. It can be easily repaired through a speech act of request for repetition, clarification and alike;

2. Inappropriate comprehension, which is located at various linguistic levels. This form of misunderstanding is much more difficult to resolve, because the language proficiency of a language user is involved. Kasper (1997) admits that a lack of the linguistic proficiency is a serious obstacle for both the production and the understanding of the message. The scholar argues that, for example, non-native speakers prefer literal over non-literal interpretation simply because many of them have not reached a proficiency level that enables them to uncover implicature (Kasper, 1997: 345-360);

3. Insufficient relevant knowledge;

4. Uncooperativeness;

5. Production difficulties.

Considering the above discussion, it should be admitted that there exist three domains that are most sensitive to the cases of misunderstanding and/or misperception if they occur in interaction/transaction among interactants belonging to different speech communities. The spheres that require language proficiency to avoid any misunderstanding or communication breakdown are:

1. Social interaction;

2. The domain of education;

3. Interaction in the workplace.

Thus, taking into account the selected theoretical writings on cross-cultural pragmatics, on cross-cultural competence, and on interactional competence several interim conclusions can be made:

1. Nowhere are discourse issues in pragmatics more important than in cross-cultural encounters, because interlocutors might possess vastly divergent norms and rules of interaction;

2. Cross-cultural interactional competence is increasingly critical in the societies in which neighbours, co-workers, and colleagues are likely to come from distinct linguistic and cultural backgrounds;

3. To ignore cross-cultural pragmatics entails running the risk of prejudice, stereotyping, and ultimately alienation. Understanding these differences opens doors not only for those who are in less powerful status, but for all of us.

METHODS

At an empirical level, the following research *methodology* was designed to approach the study from a qualitative research perspective. The investigation reported embodies a case study research type.

Consistent with qualitative-interpretive methodology, the study employed two research instruments:

1. Observational studies in order to investigate what opportunities for cross-cultural pragmatic input and conversational practice the language classroom offers;

2. Role-play interaction/interview as a linguistic strategy in order to collect simulated speech act data.

In addition, it should be stated that it has been a daunting task to obtain observational data on speech act occurrences because the speech act being studied may not often occur naturally.

The research was carried out at the University of Latvia, English Study Department during the period from September to December, 2009. The research population comprised a body of the 3rd year students (33 learners) doing the academic course programme *English Spoken and Written Communication IV.* To meet the research goals at an empirical level, the study had the following procedure:

1. The speech act of compliment was selected as a focus of the study;

2. To get acquainted with a range of responses paid to compliments, four recorded conversational situations were selected. Differences in the responses to compliments offered by native English speakers and Italian speakers of English were elicited. Both speaker groups offered their responses to compliments at the University of Minnesota, USA in the study period from February to May, 2008;

3. Four different conversational situations were selected for analysis. Non-native learners of English studying in the English Philology Programme at the University of Latvia were requested to pay an appropriate compliment in each situation. The students were asked to write in the blank lines provided what they thought to be the socially appropriate verbal response to the compliment. Since compliments could be responded to in more than one way, the Latvian/Russian origin students were requested to write down as many responses as they thought appropriate.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The corpus of 132 Latvian students' responses was obtained in total. The number of responses was compared with the equal number of responses offered by native language users obtained at the University of Minnesota in March, 2008. Then, the responses were categorized into four strategies; two of them will be briefly listed.

Strategy A; a case: thanking for a compliment paid: *You meet an acquaintance you have not seen for some time. After an exchange of greetings, he says: "You look so nice! Even nicer than when I saw you last"*

In the majority of cases, typical responses produced by the native language speakers were: "*Thank you; I appreciate it; Thanks, you made my day*".

The non-native language users' verbal reaction to the same compliment was: "Thank you; Thanks. Really; Thank you. It's rather nice, isn't it?

Strategy B; a case: expressing pleasure that the object of the compliment is liked: You are wearing a sweater. One of your friends meets you in the morning and says: What a nice sweater! You look great in it!"

By and large, the native language users produced very encouraging and enthusiastic responses to the situation under discussion:

"I am glad you feel that way! Thank you; I'm glad you like it. Thanks; I'm glad you enjoyed it; I'm glad you like it. Thank you; But what exactly did I look before?; Thanks. You look very nice, too."

In the same case, the non-native language users' linguistic behaviour could be considered as discouraging and unenthusiastic somewhat:

"Thank you, isn't the colour/ pattern too loud for this situation?; Do you think this colour really matches my face?; Really? Is that supposed to be a compliment?; Don't make me feel embarrassed!"

As regards Strategy A and Strategy B, the native language users applied the linguistic strategies to respond to the compliments paid, such as accepting thanks, agreeing, expressing gladness, joking.

As concerns the non-native language users, they applied the linguistic strategies to respond to the compliments received, such as accepting thanks, expressing a kind of embarrassment/ uncertainty, doubting.

Comparing the responses prioritized by the native language users with those produced by the non-native language users, we can observe a number of differences of compliment responding strategies applied, which can result in us drawing certain generalizations. The differences in communicative strategies applied to perform a speech act of complimenting were analyzed considering Leech's Politeness Principle.

Judging from the responses, the native language users tend to be mostly motivated by Leech's Agreement Maxim (Minimize disagreement between self and others. Maximize agreement between self and others).

The non-native language users of Latvian/Russian origin are likely to be motivated by Leech's Modesty Maxim (Minimize praise of self. Maximize dispraise of self).

CONCLUSIONS

Taking into account the interim conclusions drawn at the theoretical level of the study and considering the results gained at the empirical level of the study, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. All speech acts are face-threatening acts for interlocutors irrespective of the interactional identity of interactants.

2. The importance of cross-cultural pragmatics and the cross-cultural studies of speech acts is to be emphasized in the acquisition of the English language in a non-native speech community.

3. The study of speech act and the study of linguistic politeness offer insights into the specifics of cross-cultural communication thus bridging the gap between the non-native language users' communicative competence and interactional competence.

4. The study of linguistic politeness can explain the reasons underlying cross-cultural miscommunication in an international situational context.

5. To be successful in communication across cultures, the differences of social values among cultures are to be taken into account.

6. Instances of miscommunication result from differing beliefs regarding the speech act production and perception.

7. Miscommunication occurs if the fundamental differences of social values between two cultures are not examined and reconciled, particularly their respective beliefs in the criteria, determining and constituting the self-image,.

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IBSEN'S *ROSMERSHOLM:*
SOCIO-POLITICAL ELEMENTS

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Abstract. The current study, displaying the reflection of political, ethical, psychological and social life of the times in *Rosmersholm* (1886), one of the middle plays of the Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen, aims at showing the social and political conditions in Norway in the early nineteenth century and the way how they influenced the behaviour and attitudes of people and the dramatis persona in the play. This paper also makes an effort to shed new light on the significance of Christianity on the social life of the time.

Key words: social and political conditions, Ibsen, Rebecca, ethics

> The absolutely imperative
> task of democracy is to
> make itself aristocratic.
>
> (Ibsen, *Letters and Speeches*)

In modern drama studies, many a scholar has given a great deal of attention to Ibsen's plays which are regarded as the most exemplary and socially realistic works. Ibsen's plays present new points of view; they pursue a definite ideal of beauty and truth conditions relevant for its evaluation. *Rosmersholm* stands at intersection of Ibsen's works. It is a nineteenth-century drama of human histories and destinies reflecting the political, ethical, psychological and social life of the times, which in turn, may be regarded as the most important dimension of the 'play's existence' (Johnston, 1992: 257). It shows a political awareness and a critical attitude towards socio-political thinking in Norway. The title of the play *Rosmersholm* suggests a tradition, a way of life based on and taking its tone from the dynastic line of the Rosmers. The reverend Johannes Rosmer, a retired clergyman and representative of the ancient estate Rosmersholm, is the last descendant of a long line of dignitaries. His wife, with whom he lived an unhappy life, had committed suicide by jumping into the mill-race.

Miss Rebecca West, a lady of advanced ideas and great personal charm, the companion of the late Mrs Rosmer, has remained with her widower since her death. A delightful friendship has sprung up between the two during the years of their relationship, and Rosmer has never enjoyed such contentment as now. Miss West is intellectually awake, and her presence and conversation stimulate him to thought on unusual lines and spread an affable atmosphere about him. His life is invested with a fresh interest.

Before furthering the discussion, we find it reasonable to deal with the political and social changes in Norway of the nineteenth century by descriptive analysis. In the years immediately following 1814 the newly organised state was fighting repeatedly for its existence. Norway was in the paws of the worst economic depression it had ever seen. The common market with Denmark was dissolved and the British market was closed to Norwegian timber. Mines and sawmills were losing foreign customers. Many of the wealthier middle class citizens in southeast Norway went bankrupt. The crisis seemed to be rather severe and lasting. During this period of economic crisis there were a number of trials of strength between Norway's Parliamentary Assembly, the Storting, and the Swedish monarchy. The Constitution was used as a means of abolishing the Norwegian nobility, partly to prevent the Swedish King from enlisting support for himself thought creating more nobles from the newly appointed nobility. In 1821, a crisis arose when the Swedish monarch assembled troops outside Oslo to force the Storting to accept the increase of the power of the monarchy. The proposals were rejected.

Economic developments were followed by intensified class conflicts. The February revolution of 1848 had serious consequences for the workers political movement among the workers. The calls for democratic reforms grew louder.

The year of 1848 also witnessed lots of revolutions in major European countries. Intellectual and cultural nationalism was boosted by political nationalism. The literary renaissance included Henrik Ibsen, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, Jonas Lie, and Alexander Kielland (*Encarta 98 Encyclopaedia,* 1997).

As Kildahl states, the early nineteenth century experienced many political changes in Norway. The Eidsvold constitution was established and in 1885 the last aristocratic remnants of power were abandoned by King Oscar II. Farmers united and became an influential power in politics of the nation:

> Labour unions and other groups joined their forces with the farmers as a result of which a complete religious and political freedom was won. Due to these great changes, 'economic upheaval accompanied the political shifts. Crown lands became available to everyone by public sake (Kildahl, 1961: 207).

Laws governing social institutions and borrowing of money were liberalized; lumbering and manufacturing industry were broadened and intensified. The pace of life was increased by the commerce with other nations.

By 1886, the year the play was published, these great social changes and innovations were in the process of damaging almost all the traditional foundations of the society. The Norwegian social structure, based on a strict model included in aristocrats, officials of the state, landowners and army officers, formed the leisure class.

> The second in line were professional classes and merchants and third in line were the middle classes, small businessmen, artisans […] at the bottom of the social scale were the landless farmers and labourers (Kildahl, 1961: 208).

In the play Rosmer is representative of the first group. Ibsen got involved in Norwegian politics was set on fire again by his visit to Norway in 1885, after his eleven years of self-imposed exile. The year of 1884 was important for the government of Norway; 'the election of the first Liberal administration under Johan Sverdup signalled the advent of democratic parliamentarianism' (McFarlane, 1997: 108).

Ibsen conscientiously tried to hold the balance between the conservatives and liberals, though he spared neither. Ibsen's views on the new administration are stated in a speech he made to the workers' procession in Trondheim on 14 June, 1885:

> I have found that even the most necessary rights of the individual are still not as secure under the new regime as I felt I might hope and expect them to be. The majority of those in control do not permit the individual either freedom of faith or freedom of expression beyond a certain arbitrarily fixed limit. Much remains to be done here before we can be said to have achieved real freedom. But for our democracy, as it now is, is hardly in a position to deal with these problems. An element of nobility must find its way into our public life, into our government, among our representatives and into our press. Of course I am not thinking of nobility of birth, nor of money, nor a nobility of learning, nor even of ability or talent. What I am thinking of is a nobility of character, of mind and of will. (qtd. in McFarlane, 1997: 108).

Ibsen favoured neither the old nor the new regime represented by Kroll and Mortensgoord respectively. 'Rosmer has a vision of a third way: the creation of an aristocracy of mind. A generation of happy noble men is what he will inspire' (McFarlane, 1997: 109). However, the continuation of Ibsen's speech should make us pause; for the new nobility, he says, will come from two new directions, from two groups which so far have not suffered any irreparable damage under the party pressure. It will come to us from our women and our workers. Rosmer appears to be from the group which is affected by this pressure.

While reading the play, we can easily grasp that the warfare between the progressive and the reactionary elements in society, and the weapons which the latter employed against the former were to be the theme of the play. Ibsen would have had to be a partisan of the one cause or the other to deal with such a theme effectively. And Ibsen sees the relativity of things too plainly to be a partisan. His view is too Olympic, too remote and rising above the petty concerns of the hour. In *Rosmersholm* he holds 'the balance precisely even between the conservatives and the liberals, and though he spares neither, it demonstrates the justification' (Boyesen, 1893: 268).

Rosmersholm is not a play to love and be happy and glad with, but it is intensely interesting. Furthermore, it is the key to the Ibsen puzzle (qtd. in Egan, 1972: 176). In *Rosmersholm* Ibsen centres his drama not within a working class environment, but within that of the aristocracy. The heroine of the play exhibits

her tardily acquired nobility of spirit only at the cost of her will to live. 'The play's subject is the structure of the present and its complex heritage' (Johnston, 1992: 238). Ibsen describes the play as follows:

> For different spiritual functions do not develop evenly and abreast of each other in any one human being. The acquisitive instinct hurries from conquest to conquest. The moral consciousness – what we call the conscience – is, on the other hand, very conservative. It has its roots deep in traditions and in the past generally. Hence the conflict within the individual (qtd. in Johnston, 1992: 239).

Rosmers' words come to turn out more meaningless as the play progresses and he seems to have suffered from some irreparable damage. Rosmer thinks that 'a man weighed down with baggage from the past, in both political and personal sense' (McFarlane 109). In the first words of the play we learn that Rosmer does not dare to cross the footbridge on his way home. Rosmer is not strong enough to face the establishment on his own, and he is aware of that. He desperately needs to get the support of one of Ibsen's "undamaged" groups; and this clearly shows how important Rebecca is to him. She will support him in his challenging task and help him communicate his ideas. However, even with her help, it never begins to look like a practical proposition. 'Rosmer's ideas not only fail to bear any conviction, but also they are so unclear as to be practically incoherent. They are based on notions of purity which seem to include sexual abstinence' (McFarlane, 1997: 109).

Rosmer is obviously surprised when Rebecca argues that a big sorrow is also an honour. It seems that Rosmer must establish a new relationship with the world, and not let the recurring spectre of the past persisting in rising before him, strangle his aspirations. 'To Rosmer there is only one way to shake off all the painful memories, that is, to marry Rebecca' (Boyesen, 1893: 273). However, the suspicion has entered his mind that their beautiful friendship, in the purity of which he has rejoiced, is hardly distinguishable from love. And, moreover, he needs the inspiration of Rebecca's presence in the life work which he is about to undertake. 'Great is therefore his surprise when, with a cry of joy, she refuses him' (Boyesen, 1893: 274).

A superstitious idea and fear of taking the place of the dead wife prevents Rebecca from accepting what she has so fiercely desired. Nothing within him now responds to Rebecca's eager appeal. His humanitarian enthusiasm refuses to be re-awakened. With gruesome persistence he resides in the circumstances between his wife's life and death and the tragedy of her love for him. 'She looked at our relation with the eyes of her love, he says to Miss West; 'judged it from her love's point of view. Inevitably Beata could not have judged otherwise than she did' (Boyesen, 1893: 274).

In conscientious self-torture, Rosmer is tormented by his sense of guilt. He feels in himself a great capacity for a happiness which his self-established principles forbid him to enjoy. All the grave, well regulated, self-denying Rosmers of the past rise in a shadowy procession.

> […] these two incontinently committing suicide when matrimony should, according to ordinary usage, stare them in face. But it is not according to the logic of actual life than Ibsen's creations act; rather is it in accordance with an ideal that draws them as a magnet towards an end that may be imagined (qtd. in Egan, 1972: 173).

Ibsen was for an equal unity between man and woman. The personal becomes entangled with the political. 'The Pan-Scandinavian *sexual morality debate* was raging during this period, and supporters of chastity versus free love were competing with each other in the press' (McFarlane, 1997: 110). One of Ibsen's great contemporaries Bjørnson was a bold champion of purity for both men and women before marriage (McFarlane, 1997: 109). But supporters of chastity after marriage were not many and they were not the males in the debate. Rosmer's insistence on this point and Rebecca's compliance with it, are rather personally than politically motivated. Repression and suffering are synonymous with *Rosmersholm*, and it seems for us that both characters are locked in mutual guilt.

It is obvious that Ibsen suggests that the drama of many characters on the stage should be really the drama of consciousness of spirit. Nevertheless, Ibsen adds, 'the play is first and foremost a story of human beings and human destiny' (Ibsen, 1960: 249). The truth of an Ibsen play is only the totality of its developing relationships; it is not the result of this development. In fact, the subject of the play could be regarded as the confrontation of civilization of tradition and the forces of evolution.

Beata's, Rosmer's first wife, suicide death in the mill-race, has left an imprint on their feelings; Rosmer feels and believes that he might not have done enough to help his wife to get rid of her neurosis, and later in the play Rebecca confesses, she purposely had made Beata feel inferior as a wife for not giving Rosmer a child and had made her suspect that Rosmer cared more for her than for Beata. This discovered, Rosmer realizes the extent of his complicity in Beata's death. Rosmer does not seem to be willing to explore his impossible involvement in the causes of her illness. His wife was an unbalanced and unreasonable woman, neurotically obsessed with giving him a child. 'If he were obsessed with purity to the extent of not consummating his marriage or having stopped sleeping with her, then her childlessness might be his fault rather than hers' (Boyesen, 1893: 277).

Rosmer is aroused to a passion he cannot satisfy. Rebecca admits to have a similar feeling; when she first came to *Rosemersholm* 'she was overwhelmed by a wild and uncontrollable passion for Johannes Rosmer' (McFarlane, 1997: 110). The mainspring of her actions was the resolution to take the place of Beata and take over as mistress of *Rosmersholm*. It appears that Rebecca achieved her aims too, when Rosmer asks her in Act II to become his wife, she refuses.

> Rebecca too conceals a deeper level of guilt than the acknowledged crime against Beata; and her guilt, like Rosmer's is concerned with sex, though in her case it is a sin of commission rather than omission (McFarlane, 1997: 110).

Rebecca knows from the very beginning of the action that her foster-father was in fact her real father and so she feels guilty not just of immoral conduct, but of incest. Freud in his essay on *Rosmersholm* suggests that she is vaguely aware of this fact before Kroll spells it out to her and that it has helped to decide on her actions. She has transferred her original *Oedipus Complex* to her new situation, that is supplanting Beata with a new father when the new father is bound to become a husband; by this old incest fears are reactivated and her desires block her impulse of delight.

Rosmer has confessed to Rebecca that now he has lost the one thing that makes life wonderful; 'when she asks expectantly what that is his reply is: quiet, happy, innocence' (McFarlane, 1997: 110). This is the one thing she cannot give him, it makes her realize how far apart their aspirations are.

As Boyesen (1893) in his *Commentary on the Writings of Henrik Ibsen* states, Rosmer wants to break the chains of the past and labour to make men free and noble. He wants to make 'joyful noblemen', he says, 'for it is joy which ennobles the mind' (275).

Rosmer wants Rebecca not because he returns her desire, but because she must relieve his feeling of guilt. He finally offers her freedom, joy, and passion, but these are hopeless words from a hopeless man, who cannot deliver on his promises. We feel driven to ask why a man like this should be reliant on help from others and incapable of sexual passion. Ibsen's notes on the play from around the time he was composing the first draft can give a clue to this:

> She is an intriguer and she loves him. She wants to become his wife and she pursues that aim unswervingly. Then he becomes aware of this, and she openly admits it. Now there is no more joy in life for him. The demonic in him is roused by pain and bitterness. He determines to die, and she is to die with him. This she does (qtd. in McFarlane, 1997: 112).

For him Rebecca is a woman not only of transcendent intellect, but of a moral purity even more exalted. In sorrow rather than in anger he repels his brother-in-law's accusations, and expresses an innocent amazement at the latter's tactics, which he is yet far from penetrating. In the following phrases the *saviour of society* is unmasked.

> KROLL. What I mean is this: if your present mode of life with Miss West is to continue, it is absolutely necessary that the change of views the unhappy backsliding brought about by her evil influence should be hushed up. Let me speak! let me speak ! I say, if the worst comes to the worst, in Heaven's name think and believe whatever you like […] But you must keep your views to yourself. It is purely a personal matter, after all. There is no need of proclaiming these things from the housetops (Boyesen, 1893: 273).

Ibsen shapes the subject of each act and of the whole of the play to create a formal structure. He sees to it that the first half of the play deals with Rosmer, the

second with Rebecca that Act I deals with Rosmer's present, Act II with his past; Act III treats Rebecca's past and Act IV her present (qtd. in Johnston, 1992: 242).

Let us have a look at the play's shape.

Act I *Evening*. Rosmer's present. Rosmer and Rebecca prepare to challenge society. Brendel appears, sharing this challenge. Rosmer and Rebecca seem firmly united. Action opens with reference to mill-race beyond the window. Act II *Morning*. Rosmer's past. Society begins to strike back at Rosmer and Rebecca. Rosmer and Rebecca begin to move apart. Act III *Morning*. Rebecca's past. Society defeats Rosmer and Rebecca. They seem to split apart totally. Act IV *Evening*. Rebecca's present. Rosmer and Rebecca give up their challenge. Brendel appears, also giving up challenge. Rosmer and Rebecca reunite. Action closes with reference to mill-race (Johnston, 1992: 243).

The movement of the play is circular, beginning and ending in evening: its beginning is in the shadows of a tormented past and it is about to be overcome and end with the shadows of this past completely in control of the present.

> It is also possible to see a distinct interplay of inward and outward, individual and social-subjective and objective forces, and linked to this interplay, that between past and present (Johnston, 1992: 243).

They represent the Rosmer – Rebecca relationship and conflict in the larger world of European order and revolution. Revolution and politics are those functions of the spirit that divide men and society, creating traditions which unite. 'The political references in the play, therefore, are not presented for the audience to take sides with liberal or conservative but to present onstage an image of spiritual battle' (Johnston, 1992: 243). Under this light we could say that the Rosmersholm tradition is founded upon force and passion.

Rebecca's will have become enslaved to laws which she had never before recognised. Rosmer's moral purity and noble disinterestedness had formed, as it were, an atmosphere about her, which she had breathed so long that it had changed her substance, and made her afraid to seize the fruit of her evil scheming. Her passion for him had changed to a love as pure, as capable of sacrifice, as that of his late wife. He is prone to believe, but, having been so cruelly deceived, cries out for a proof. Even though she has shaken his faith in her, his love, which has struck deep roots into his heart, cannot be torn up in an hour. Rebecca offers the same proof as she who died; and Rosmer, being now convinced, resolves to follow her in death. And they walk out into the night together, hand in hand, mount the foot-bridge, and, embracing each other, leap into the waterfall (Boyesen, 1893: 277).

Rebecca's confession to Kroll and Rosmer, in Act III, where she describes how she was self-trapped into the crime against Beate, portrays the same condition of consciousness as Shaw states in his *The Quintessence of Ibsenism* 'Hegel Saw as typical of the northern or Germanic spirit' (Shaw, 1994: 54). Shaw contrasts Rebecca's northern passion with the southern type of passion. Rebecca confesses that she had an uncontrollable passion for Rosmer, she purposely made up the story of their illicit relationship.

> REBECCA (vehemently): Do you think I set about these things in cold blood! I was different then from what I am now, standing here talking about it. And besides, it seems to me a person can want things both ways. I wanted to get rid of Beata, one way or another. But I never really imagined it would happen. Every little step I risked, every faltering advance, I seemed to hear something call out within me: "No further. Not a step further!" And yet I could not stop (Ibsen, 1960: 363).

Besides, Rebecca, as she confesses, has been infected by Rosmersholm's traditions, has been purged of passion.

'The action of the play is essential but accidental because the spiritual dialectic it expresses is one that transcends any particular time and place' (Johnston, 1992: 263). The action discovers parallels with past history. Even before the action of the play starts, we can find out a dialectical tension in the scene of Act I. The living room of Rosmersholm is old fashioned, its walls hung with portraits of officers, state officials, who supply a silent but impressive chorus to the action.

Rebecca brings to Rosmersholm natural vital forces alien to its civic, traditional way of life and Christian values and moralities. This scene shows the collision in the play to be between the civilized, constraining darkening powers and the powers of natural energies, life, renewal and Christian principles.

The play opens with the apparent victory of Rebecca, but will go on to show that she hardly is conscious of the powers she is fighting against. As Boyesen claims, Beata is only greatly *missed* and greatly *mourned* and the house of Rosmersholm is empty. Above all, it sets up the idea of the past as something safe, comfortably contained in the present when Kroll explains that he stayed absent from Rosmersholm in order not to be a reminder of past unhappiness; Rosmer and Rebecca react in the following ways:

> ROSMER: How good of you to think like that. You always were considerate. But it was quite unnecessary for you to stay away on that account. Come long now, let us sit down on the sofa. (They sit) No, it really doesn't upset me to think about Beata. We talk about her every day. We feel as though she still belonged to the house.
>
> KROLL: Do you really?
>
> REBECCA (Lights the lamp): Yes, we really do. (Ibsen, 1960: 299).

The relationship between the past and present are seen here in the minds of the three speakers. The action of the play reveals it. '*Rosmersholm* is unable to comprehend the power of the past in the larger realm of ideology' (Johnston, 1992: 267).

Act I has exhibited the full conflict upon the stage and suggested the wider ideological and historical perspectives that surround the human drama. The

events in the microcosmic world of *Rosmersholm* begin to take on the shape of archetypal events in the evolution of human consciousness:

> enlightenment against traditional prejudice, pagan energies against Christian traditionalism. The mythic, historical, aesthetic and philosophical perspectives of the play are discoverable by paying close attention to the particular details of play (Johnston, 1992: 273).

Act II opens quite vaguely; Rosmer's consciousness is divided. Rebecca has been frightened by Kroll's reference to the dead Beata. Rosmer attempts to avert the process of separation with his offer of marriage, but Rebecca's refusal emphasizes the presence of some huge cause of divisions. Act II ends with Rosmer, asking in perplexity, 'What…is…this' (Johnston, 1992: 278).

After a brief scene between Rebecca and Rosmer, it appears that she has, without his consent, given Ulric Brendel a letter of introduction to Mr. Mortensgaard, the editor of *The Beacon*, and the radical leader in the district. The shrinking selectiveness of the man of many ancestors is hinted at in Rosmer's admonition of her act. He bluntly reveals to him that his wife killed herself in order to enable him to marry Miss West. She had confided to him her distress at Rosmer's religious apostasy; and she believed that a man who doubted God's word would be capable of anything. She had declared that 'they might soon expect the white horse at *Rosmersholm*' (Boyesen, 1893: 293). This is a portent of a death in the family. When Kroll had tried to talk her out of her melancholy fancies and soothe her agitation, she had answered: 'I have not long to live; for Johannes must marry Rebecca at once' (qtd. in Boyesen, 1893: 293). The surprise, the shock, the horror, of Rosmer at this revelation may well be imagined. He knows that his relation to Miss West is perfectly lameless, and it hurts him to have it desecrated by foul suspicions. To him Rebecca is a woman not only of transcendent intellect, but of a moral purity even more exalted.

At the end of the play Rosmer's Christian and Roman traditions could be compromised and Rebacca's spiritual transformation is achieved by means of the test of sacrifice. 'It is the sacrifice of physical life for that of spirit and honour to which the Romans sacrificed their lives' (Johnston, 1992: 283).

> […] with regard to the lovers' suicide, these two – the man of broken faith and shattered ideals, the woman of vanquished vice – could never have been happy, though married, for the shadow of the dead wife must have always haunted him […] (qtd. in Egan, 1972: 175).

The play begins with Rosmer who is attempting and failing to cross the path over the mill-stream and quite interestingly ends with the fall into the same water into which his wife fell. That repeatedly reminds us that the Romans were right in offering sacrifices to the Manes of their ancestors. For the hands of the dead are upon the lives of the living; and, whether we would or not, we have to yield our daily tribute of sacrifice. They walk out into the night together, hand in hand, mount the foot-bridge, and, embracing each other, leap into the waterfall. The

death of Rebecca and Rosmer cannot be regarded a defeat, but it is an affirmation of the reality of a spiritual action that will outlive them. The story is a tragedy, not a melodrama and naturally it ends tragically. Fate has broken the lives of these three beings and they all must go the same way, the sinned against and the sinner.

All in all, the politics in the play could be traced in exactly the same way as the psychology; both indicate spiritual forces that have overtaken on a particular locality. The story is a tragedy, not a melodrama and naturally it ends tragically. The ending of the play could be rendered as an answer, as some scholars claim, to the ongoing contested question whether or not Christian ethics may be expected to survive the death of Christian religion. Rebecca has not abandoned only the myth of Christianity but the whole ethical system of Christianity as well. So we could possibly take Rebecca as Ibsen's answer to that question.

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EXPERIENCES OF MELANCHOLY IN ROSE TREMAIN'S *MUSIC AND SILENCE*

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Abstract: The current paper shows how the experiences of melancholy are represented in *Music and Silence* (1999), a postmodernist historical novel by Rose Tremain. Tremain's novel suggests that the experience of melancholy and the workings of the imagination are interconnected in a variety of ways. It represents the experience of melancholy within the broader context of the relations between the understanding and the imagination as well as between reason and unreason in the first half of the seventeenth century. Tremain's novel makes a valuable contribution to the ongoing debate about reason and unreason, which is an important part of the postmodernist debate with Enlightenment culture.

Key words: melancholy, madness, unreason, Michel Foucault

In postmodernist literature and theory, a great deal of attention has been paid to the question of the interrelations between reason and unreason. Starting with Michel Foucault's groundbreaking *History of Madness* (1961), there have been numerous attempts to unearth and represent the experience of unreason in its various forms. The question of unreason and madness is inextricably interconnected with the question of the relationship between the imagination and the understanding. Indeed, in his *Continental Philosophy* (2005), Andrew Cutrofello refers to Foucault's project of writing a history of unreason as an archaeology of the imagination: 'an "archaeology" that would be able to plumb the depths of what it is tempting to call the "deathworld", the night out of which the imagination shapes the human relation to nothingness' (Cutrofello, 2005: 80-81). Somewhat less poetically, I would refer to Foucault's project as an archaeology of the changing patterns of the relations between the imagination and the understanding and between reason and unreason.

According to Cutrofello, in *The Birth of Tragedy* Nietzsche 'shows how an originally free imagination came to be subordinated to the understanding. More precisely, he shows how an original alliance between sensibility and imagination (Dionysus and Apollo) gave way to one between imagination and understanding (Apollo and Socrates)' (Cutrofello, 2005: 19). To a greater or lesser extent, this subordination of the imagination and sensibility to the understanding is a motif in major Western philosophical works from Plato to Hegel. However, a number of thinkers from Nietzsche to Foucault have stressed the need to free the imagination from the constraints imposed upon its free play by analysing, ordering and classifying rationality that gained ascendancy in the Enlightenment.

The imagination plays such a crucial role in accounts of unreason and madness because, arguably, it can never be fully subordinated to reason and consequently always remains a source of disturbance and unease for the rational mind. In his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) Robert Burton follows the long tradition of subordinating the imagination to the rational faculty when he compares it to 'the rudder of this our ship, which reason should steer'. If the ship of our reason is 'overborne by phantasy', however, 'it suffers itself and this whole vessel of ours to be overruled, and often overturned' (Burton, 1977: Partition 1, 257). According to Burton, the disturbances of the imagination are some of the most important causes of melancholic symptoms. Sounding like Freud's forerunner, Burton suggests that the imagination is especially active and powerful when we sleep: 'In time of sleep this faculty is free, and many times conceive strange, stupend, absurd shapes, as in sick men we commonly observe' (Burton, 1977: Partition 1, 159).

While it does seem to be the case that to a certain extent the imagination became subordinated to the understanding in metaphysics and especially in scientific rationality, it has remained predominant in literature, where it has preserved its alliance with sensibility, which enables literature to open up a space not only of difference but also of empathetic understanding. It is precisely because literature focuses on the experience of the concrete and the particular that it has managed to avoid the trap of a rationality that works by means of analysis and abstraction. In my paper, I would like to show how the experiences of melancholy are represented in *Music and Silence* (1999), a postmodernist historical novel by Rose Tremain. Tremain's novel suggests that the experience of melancholy and the workings of the imagination are interconnected in a variety of ways. It represents the experience of melancholy within the broader context of the relations between the understanding and the imagination as well as between reason and unreason in the first half of the seventeenth century.

Tremain's novel is set in 1629-1630, that is in the Baroque period, which can be seen as a transitional period between the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, when madness is no longer seen as a manifestation of transcendental truth, nor is it excluded in houses of confinement. According to George Rosen, in the Renaissance there was 'an attitudinal shift from the idea of madness as a cosmic phenomenon to the view that madness is born in the hearts of men' and in the late 16th and early 17th centuries 'Folly and madness had become integral elements in the world of people and things' (Rosen, 1963: 225, 226). Thus, there was no sharp division between reason and unreason. Indeed, Rosen writes that 'Montaigne had still been able to accept and to discuss reason and unreason as related, interwoven facets of human behaviour' (Rosen, 1963: 234). In his *History of Madness* (1961), Foucault contrasts Descartes's separation of madness from reason with Montaigne's lack of assurance that 'all thought is not haunted by unreason' (Foucault, 1972: 69). Unlike Descartes, Montaigne does not presume to be able to draw a distinct borderline between reason and unreason and to condemn what passes for unreason as 'false and impossible'. Thus, in the sixteenth

century madness is seen as a cause of doubt on a par with other forms of illusion: 'One is not always sure that one is not dreaming; one is never certain that one is not mad: "Should we not remember how many contradictions we feel in our own judgments?"' (Foucault, 1972: 69).

In Tremain's novel, the Danish king Christian 4 has similar doubts about his '*Phantom Observations*', that is about those of his thoughts whose origin is unclear. The king acknowledges that he does not know the answer to the question whether a man should strive 'only to let in those thoughts which proceed logically from other thoughts and to protect himself from everything that had about it the *feeling of uninvitedness*' (Tremain, 2000: 154). He thinks that the randomness and spontaneity of his '*Phantom Observations*' might overwhelm reason:

> Is the human brain like a plot of earth where mighty crops, flowers, weeds and even the embryos of mighty trees could seed themselves according to the direction of the wind or the flight patterns of birds? If so, might it be overtaken by the random – as if by giant roots and thistles – so that reason has no space in which to thrive? (Tremain, 2000: 154).

He wonders, however, whether it might 'be true that certain kinds of valuable perception only arrive as the wind-blown seed arrives in the water meadow, their provenance for ever unknown or unrecorded' (Tremain, 2000: 154). Despite all his doubts about the value of his intuitive knowledge and his fears lest his intuitions overwhelm his rational faculty, the king does record his '*Phantom Observations*'. When he rereads them, however, they 'sometimes seem to have no meaning at all, as if they were the jottings of a madman' (Tremain, 2000: 154). Just like Montaigne, the king in Tremain's novel is full of doubts about the sanity of some of his thoughts. Nevertheless, he does not shrink back from them and concedes that they may contain a certain truth even though it is different from the truth of logical reasoning.

Indeed, in Tremain's novel there is no sharp division between dreaming and waking, or between the imagination and reason. *Music and Silence* treats dreams as an important type of human experience, only occasionally leading to melancholy and madness. In Rose Tremain's novel, almost every character is given to both dreaming and daydreaming. The boundary between sleep and wakefulness appears to be very fuzzy because the images of the dream keep haunting the awoken mind. In a sense, the characters are not fully awake and hover on the border between sleep and wakefulness. What keeps the dreams present in their minds even when they are awake is their desire not to part with the images of their dreams or the uncertainty about the reality or unreality of the contents of their dreams. They often ask themselves if what they have experienced happened in their dreams or in reality. For example, the king is not sure whether his lutenist Peter Clair is a real person or only an image in his dream: 'I was wrong. I thought I must have dreamed you in the night, but you are perfectly real after all' (Tremain, 2000: 28).

Just like every other major character in the novel, Christian 4 is a great dreamer, and his dreams are of many different kinds. Some of them are of his childhood friend Bror Brorson, the vision of whose terrible death plagues the king's sleep; some others are of his beloved wife Kirsten Munk, who betrays him with her lover Count Otto; and many of them are of his kingdom, which experiences serious financial difficulties, sinking into debt and poverty. In view of all these troubles, it is not surprising that the king feels melancholy. On his lutenist's advice, he attempts to apply Descartes's analytical method to his predicament. Peter Claire explains to the king, that Descartes's method consists in 'reducing the complex to the simple'. According to this method 'we should reject as false everything that we cannot directly know', and that we are unable to verify. If, in the course of this procedure, we arrive at '*one incontrovertible thing*', such as the truths of mathematics or the cogito, 'then, based upon this one incontrovertible thing and proceeding only from it, [we] might be able to find a pathway through what at present seems confusing' (Tremain, 2000: 82-83).

The king, however, has serious doubts about the usefulness of the Cartesian method, for the problems that confuse his mind and that he is powerless to resolve do not concern the principles and demonstrations of mathematics but the mysterious workings of human emotions and desires, which cannot be analysed into their parts, and the unpredictable vicissitudes of life, which elude definition and rationalization. Christian 4 confesses to Peter that the only incontrovertible thing in his life is his love for his wife Kirsten Munk. It is the king's absolute and indubitable certainty, but it is vastly different from Descartes's ultimate certainty, for, unlike the intuition of the cogito, which the thinking mind discovers in isolation, love involves a relationship between two people, and the certainty of the king's proposition *amo, ergo sum* is undermined when his wife stops reciprocating his feelings for her. Christian 4 concludes that it is impossible to apply the Cartesian method of analysis in 'matters of *feeling*', such as love, for in such matters there is nothing that is 'knowable *beyond all doubt*' (Tremain, 2000: 228). Descartes's method fails to work in the king's case because in 'matters of *feeling*' we deal with vague and ambiguous emotions, which cannot be given unequivocal definitions, not with clearly and distinctly apprehended simple natures and first principles. Therefore, it is futile to attempt to rationalize our feelings and to try to fix them in the rigid moulds of definitions. It is important to acknowledge that both rational and non-rational faculties, such as intuition, imagination and emotion, have important roles to play in a person's mental life and, as Blaise Pascal says in his *Pensées* (1677), 'The heart has its reasons, which reason does not know' (Pascal, 2010: *Pensée 277*). What the argument with Descartes in Tremain's novel suggests is that the sphere of life in which the analytical method can be successfully applied is limited and it is important to acknowledge this limitation.

The king finds music, whose harmonious order helps to restore his peace of mind, a much more successful remedy for melancholy than Descartes's analytical method. Indeed, music is one of the king's chief consolations and cures for his dejected condition. As Foucault explains, in the Baroque period music was

believed to cure various mental disorders, including melancholia 'by acting upon the entire human being, by penetrating the body as directly, as efficaciously as it did the soul' (Foucault, 1988: 179). Christian 4 explains to Peter Claire that he loves music because there is order in it, while there seems to be little apart from chaos in human life or in human emotions: 'Order. That is what we long for, in our innermost souls. An order that mirrors Plato's Celestial Harmonies: a corrective to the silent chaos that inhabits every human breast. And music comes nearest to restoring this to us' (Tremain, 2000: 29). Peter Claire's view of the origin of music is somewhat more complicated than the king's, however. He believes that music "is born out of fire and fury […] but also out of the antitheses to these – out of cold reason and calm," (Tremain, 2000: 6), that is music is a fusion of the Dionysian and Apollonian principles. While the king emphasises the Apollonian principle in music, the story of an Irish earl Johnnie O'Fingal told by his Italian wife Francesca O'Fingal brings to the fore the potential for Dionysian intoxication, which is also inherent in music.

Johnnie O'Fingal awoke one night after a very vivid dream in which he had heard music of ineffable sweetness and beauty. He took that music to be a creation of his own imagination. He easily recalled and played a part of the melody, but he found it impossible to recall the rest of it. All his desperate attempts to recollect and record in its entirety the piece of music that he had heard so clearly and distinctly in his dream failed despite the assistance of the talented musician Peter Claire. On one of his visits to Dublin Johnnie O'Fingal went to a church where he heard the same sublime music that he had heard in his fateful dream. It turned out to be the creation of the great baroque Italian composer Alfonso Ferrabosco, which Johnnie must have heard somewhere before. What he had taken for a product of his imagination happened to be the memory of a past event disassociated from its context and appearing in the guise of a dream. Johnnie's experience shows that the imagination and memory are so closely interwoven that sometimes it is impossible to differentiate a memory from a product of the imagination. More importantly, Johnnie's experience of the sublime music in his dream allows him to transcend the lifeworld and leads to a kind of Dionysian intoxication with the ineffable.

Cutrofello compares Kant's and Nietzsche's approaches to the experience of the sublime. While 'Kant describes the feeling of sublimity … as a recoiling from the "horrible" aspect of nature to an inner satisfaction in our moral vocation as rational beings', Nietzsche refuses to recoil, preferring Dionysian intoxication to the constraints of morality and rationality (Cutrofello, 2005: 19). Similar to Nietzsche, Johnnie refuses to recoil and to return to his former position in the lifeworld, endlessly and futilely trying to recapture the irretrievably lost object of desire: 'I have been face to face with the sublime and they have never come near it. I have heard the melody in the heart of the universe and then lost it' (Tremain, 2000: 68). Eventually, however, his obsession with his dream leads him to melancholy and madness. In twentieth century psychiatric terms, his condition can be characterised both as obsessive-compulsive and as maniac-depressive,

for his mood swings from sadness to elation, from a glimmer of hope – when he thinks that he is on the verge of recreating the lost melody – to utter misery, anguish and despair when he realises that he can never recapture the music for, as he says, 'what we achieve in our dreams seldom corresponds to what we are veritably capable of' (Tremain, 2000: 33).

In addition, he develops delusional beliefs, such as the paranoid conviction that it is his wife who is to blame for his misery and anguish. What is even worse, he falls out of the texture of social life as his madness prevents him from carrying out his duties and obligations so that both his professional and social functioning is greatly impaired. His family life is almost completely ruined. He either displaces his frustration and anger onto his children and his wife or simply ignores them, paying no heed whatsoever to their needs and wants and thus causing them not inconsiderable suffering. This is how his wife describes the changes in his behaviour that were due to his obsession with the sublime object of his dream:

> He never came to my bed, but occupied a distant room that looked northwards towards the hills of Cloyne. He never visited the children's schoolroom nor talked to them at mealtimes nor took them out on any picnic or pleasing adventure. In the daylight hours he would either sit and gaze into the fire in his study or go about his lands all alone and often with no coat or hat, and walk for hour after hour until he grew tired and returned to sleep (Tremain, 2000: 67).

Johnnie gradually turns from a loving and caring husband and father into an egocentric brute incapable of showing concern for anyone. As Francesca writes in her diary, his children 'saw him slowly sicken in madness and despair – in which state he could not love any living thing but on the contrary cast about him all the while for some breathing creature to wound, so that others might suffer as he did and know what he felt' (Tremain, 2000: 39). Moreover, he completely neglects his public duties as the lord of the manor, which brings a lot of misery to his tenants and their families:

> Seeing him wandering like this, with his wild distracted look and his hair unkempt and thin clothes in winter […] , his tenant farmers and peasants on the estate grew anxious for their future. Always in the old days, he would stop at every cottage or dwelling and talk to the people there, but now he passed them by and did not return their greetings, […] he did not give them any answer, but only passed by as though he had not heard them (Tremain, 2000: 67).

According to Foucault, madness in the classical age was believed to consist in, among other things, 'fixation of ideas and attention on a theme that gradually prevails over all others' (Foucault, 1988: 172-173). Christian 4 observes: 'This is how the human mind destroys itself – by turning and turning upon the one thing that gives it pain' (Tremain, 2000: 294). In other words, a person runs the risk of becoming mad when he grows blind to the world around him and

focuses exclusively on his own preoccupations. This seems to be exactly Johnnie O'Fingal's case. He becomes mentally deranged when he gets obsessed with the music he hears in his dream to such an extent that he becomes totally oblivious to his family and to all of his social responsibilities and obligations. Eventually, his obsession leads to the severing of almost all of his relations with others. In his highly unconventional account of mental disorders *Madness Explained* (2003), the British clinical psychologist Richard P. Bentall suggests that while there are many cultural differences in approaches to madness, which makes it impossible to draw clear and universally acceptable boundaries between normal and abnormal types of behavior, there is a point on which nearly all cultures agree. Referring to Horacio Fabrega, Bentall writes that

> human behavioral breakdowns are nearly always recognized when individuals are unable to participate and function in social life. The apparent consensus between different cultures about madness therefore concerns behaviors and experiences that are associated with an inability to cope with the demands of living (Bentall, 2004: 136).

Writing about the treatment of mental troubles in the non-hospital domain in the classical age, Foucault explains that to be cured one needed 'to return to the world, to entrust oneself to its wisdom by returning to one's place in the general order of things, thus forgetting madness, which is the moment of pure subjectivity' (Foucault, 1988: 175). Since madness involves concentration, and fixation, on a certain idea or theme, which acquires an overwhelming importance for the mad person, the treatment of madness should include the redirection of one's attention from oneself and the object of one's fixation onto something else. In the classical age, it was believed that a maniac could be cured if his attention were distracted 'from the pursuit of deranged ideas' and directed onto others. Travel, for example, was prescribed for melancholiacs and maniacs in order to distract them from their obsessions (Foucault, 1988: 175). In the novel, Francesca O'Fingal wants to take Johnnie to Bologna, for she hopes that 'in the altered environment of [her] father's house, his maddening dream might gradually float away and cease to torment him' (Tremain, 2000: 41).

The treatment of Johnnie's mental disorder is different, however, and ultimately unsuccessful. When he understands that the sublime melody he has devoted so much of his time and energy to recovering is not his own creation, he finds it impossible to become reconciled to the loss of the sublime and to accept the mundane reality of his life, which leads him to despair again: 'So now I know that I am empty of anything noble, anything that transcends the ordinary and the workaday. I have given up years of my life to this search and it has all been in vain. All that I have done is to make myself ridiculous and contemptible' (Tremain, 2000: 145). When Johnnie understands the true origin of the music he has heard in his fateful dream, he is cured of his obsession but not of his melancholy, nor is he restored to the lifeworld. The Johnnie O'Fingal episode in Tremain's novel seems to suggest that a kind of Dionysian intoxication with some of our

excessive passions and desires may wrest us from our relations with the world, with other people and with ourselves and make the restoration of these relations impossible. After considering Johnnie's rueful story, it is hard not to agree with Ratty Møller's conclusion that 'certain dreams and longings can bring forth more suffering than they could ever cure' (Tremain, 2000: 398) or with George Middleton's conviction that 'It is wretched … when a person goes into realms of fancy'(Tremain, 2000: 376).

Johnnie is the only character in the novel, however, who is tormented by his dream to such an extent that it causes him to become mad. On the whole, the minds of the characters in Tremain's novel are not split between reason and unreason; instead, they are wholes made up of a number of mental functions, or modes of thought, including dreams and daydreams, intuitions and reveries, imaginings and illusions, beliefs and desires, insights and premonitions. *Music and Silence* shows that reason is only one of many important human faculties, and that emotions, or 'passions', imagination, dreaming and intuition are important forces in human lives that have to be reckoned with.

Foucault believes that in his first meditation Descartes surmounts the possibility of error inherent in sensory perception, imagination and dreams, while Derrida claims that Descartes never circumvents it, for 'the certainties and truths that escape perception, and therefore also escape sensory error or imaginative and oneiric composition' are 'certainties and truths of a nonsensory and nonimaginative origin. They are *simple* and *intelligible* things' (Derrida, 2004: 99-100). Tremain's novel suggests, however, that the products of our imaginations, be they dreams or '*Phantom Observations*', may possess a truth of their own, and the fact that their truth lacks the clarity and certainty of mathematical principles and demonstrations does not make them any less important as they are an integral part of our lived experience of the world. While the imagination allied with sensibility is non-rational, it is not necessarily irrational. On the other hand, Tremain's novel suggests that we should not allow the imagination to overwhelm our rational faculty completely, for fully subordinating the understanding to the imagination and sensibility, or the Apollonian principle to the Dionysian, may prevent us from functioning successfully in both private and public domains and disrupt our relations with others. Since we are deeply involved in a multitude of relations with other members of our shared social world, our withdrawal from this world may cause suffering not only to ourselves but also to others. In short, the novel suggests that there needs to be a balance between the speech of reason and the silence of emotions and the imagination to ensure a harmonious functioning of the human psyche. Just as the Dionysian and the Apollonian principles combine to create music so the rational and the non-rational faculties of the soul should function together to enable an individual to live a fulfilling life.

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LATVIAN TRANSLATION AND BILINGUAL LEXICOGRAPHY SCENE

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Abstract. Translation needs tools; the most widespread and the early tools for all nations have been (bilingual) dictionaries. In absence of the necessary language pair dictionary translators seek advice in other language dictionaries. Translators have also often been the authors of dictionaries. Development of Latvian writing, translation and lexicography shows numerous parallel and amazingly similar processes to the neighbours' testifying to the common space of knowledge (Wissensraum). Latvian lexicography starts with bilingual dictionaries connected with translation and religious needs. National awakening/awareness movement in the 19th century led to a greater variety of translations and dictionaries. Notably, monolingual Latvian dictionaries appeared only in the second half of the 20th century, testifying to the importance of bilingual lexicography that facilitates language contacts. Bilingual dictionaries have dominated the lexicography scene of Latvia from its start until today. The 20th century with its expanding translation needs produced an even greater variety of translations and bilingual dictionaries.

Key words: lexicography, bilingual translation, dictionaries, Latvian, German

1. TRANSLATION AND LEXICOGRAPHY

Language is the most distinctive feature of culture (Nida, 2001:13). Language, apart from daily use (which in Saussurian terms is speech, in fact) can be seen in its pure form in dictionaries, grammars and corpora. Dictionaries are linguistic tools, but also 'cultural objects, integrated as such into a culture: they bear witness to a civilization' (Dubois, 1971: 8). They reflect the language and culture, but they also form the current framework for language norms, use and possibilities. In multilingual environment (Latvian environment has been such) translators are to a large extent the main developers of the language, translation is the medium through which new notions and words enter the language expanding its potential and ensuring development. As can be seen further, in the early stages translators/ writers were often also the lexicographers, e.g. Stender, Muehlenbach a.o. Thus, translation and lexicography have two aspects in common (apart from bilingual language material).

Translation is the process by which lexical equivalents are codified in bilingual dictionaries. Translation reference needs (factual and linguistic) arise in this process, which the translator attempts to meet *inter alia* by consulting dictionaries (Hartmann, 1998: 146). Besides, as Baltic translation started with religious

texts, the appropriate method was a close, literal, formal transposition of God's Word. This meant that equivalents (which dictionaries offer) were sought and maintained. The tradition of faithful rendition (Nida's (1964) formal equivalence, Newmark's (1981) semantic translation), however, survived for centuries and was the main strategy in "serious translations" as distinct from localizations.

2. LATVIAN DICTIONARIES AND TRANSLATION SCENE

2.1. EARLY TRANSLATIONS AND DICTIONARIES

It is usual to date Latvian lexicography from 1638 when the first dictionary was published. At that time Latvians were a peasant nation and the official cultural sphere was fully in the hands of non-Latvian governors, the German clergy and landowners. This had lasted for about 400 years since the territory came under the German crusaders and bishops in the 12th century. The dominant powers had changed (and would continue to change) from time to time – Danes, Poles, Swedes, Russians came and went hardly affecting the Latvian language scene, as their sole interest was the territory and the possessions and the power of the nobility. The German nobility retained its position until the end of the 19th century.

The dictionary was preceded by the first books: *Catholic Catechism* published in Vilnius in 1585 and Luther's *Small Catechism* published in Koenigsberg in 1587. The 16th century translation and writing in Latvian is the result of Reformation, that, like in other parts of Europe, was an "engine" of translation (Albrecht, 1998: 127). In the Baltic region Reformation was a major driving force as it was competing with Counter-Reformation/Catholic religion. These translations were followed a century later by the *New Testament* in 1685 and the *Old Testament* in 1689. The first translations into Latvian were very literal word-for-word translations retaining German, Latin or Polish constructions. This seems partly because of the amateur character of the translations, partly because of the genre (God's Words are to be transferred literally), partly because of poor lexicographical resources.

The translation of the Bible (1689) done by Glueck (with one assistant) is viewed today as remarkable, taking into account the shortage of notions and words, scarcity of previous translation samples and the fact that Glueck's knowledge of non-standardized Latvian (as a foreign language) could be far from perfect. Yet, if one can say that Luther's translation of the Bible gave rise to the German language (Brisset, 2003: 344), the Latvian Bible translation to some extent "created" Latvian, and certainly created written Latvian. One can also see the importance of individual figures of translators (Pym, 1998) as agents of change (see further). The quality of Latvian used by the German clergy at the beginning was not high – Mancelius tells a story that after a sermon a Latvian had commented "Who knows what that German cat is saying" (a wordplay on *kaķis*

(cat) and *katķisms* (catechism)). It was to improve the link between the church and the peasant nation, between the German-speaking clergy and the Latvian-speaking people that the first dictionaries were created. They were used by the clergy to acquire more or less decent Latvian that the peasants could understand, as well as to improve the quality of religious translation. One can see elements of missionary language field work in the early linguistic work and translations, its agents incorporating the features of Christian missionaries and "gentlemen-scholars" (Chelliah, 2011: 33).

The first dictionary (Mancelius, 1638) had three parts: a German-Latvian book, containing about 6,000-7,000 words, often providing several Latvian synonyms to the German word. The second part is a thematic lexicon containing about 4,000 somewhat random items on 51 topics (German-Latvian). Though this part seems to be hastily put together, many of these words and expressions are not in the first part. The third part, *Phraseologica Lettica*, consists of 10 parallel conversation pattern chapters (Mancelius, 1638). This division of the macrostructure is to be noted as it tended to be repeated in some later dictionaries. It is also notable that the dictionary preceded grammars.

The other two dictionaries of the 17th century were multilingual, Polish-Latin-Latvian (Elger, 1683) and German-Latin-Polish-Latvian (supposedly Dressel, 1688). Elger's dictionary is worth noting mainly because it creates an early link between Latvian and Lithuanian lexicography – in fact, it is based on the third edition of Sirvydas (1642) – supplemented by the Latvian part, with 14,000 entries, much larger than Mancelius' work. This does not seem to be a case of early plagiarism or copying (Cormier, 2010:133), or piracy, so frequent until the 20th century (Landau, 2001:43), but most likely a concerted attempt of the Catholic Church or Polish rulers to spread their influence. Published in Vilnius and representative of the Eastern (Polish dominated) variety of Latvia, it introduced the Latin script for Latvian. Parallel to this there were several Latvian grammars written in Latin.

The 18th and 19th centuries saw the same – dictionaries (including several unpublished manuscripts) were compiled by non-Latvians, they gradually improved in scope and depth. Lange's (1777) dictionary had 15,000 entries in its German-Latvian part and 10,000 entries in the reverse part, also providing information on regional use, borrowings, biblicisms and toponyms.

Meanwhile the translations gradually changed, while constituting about 90% in the first half of the 18th century, the percentage of religious books fell below 50% already in the 1780s (Apīnis, 1977: 92). Once other type of texts appeared, a different approach was exercised by translators – the texts were freely adapted to suit the level of education and understanding of the peasants. These were translations of moralizing stories and plays, secular information on agriculture, gardening, medicine, cooking and, more important – semi-encyclopedic information. Most of these were translations-adaptations, localizations, domestications, compilations, rewrites. Adaptation is, perhaps,

the most suitable term for these works, as they combine not only localization, domestication, but also elements of foreignization. Thus, they do not conform to the simplified dichotomy of Venuti's (1995) domestication versus foreignization. Moreover, there is no "ethnocentric reduction" taking place. Domestication in the early case of Latvian was a logical approach in a situation when the target audience was semi-illiterate and had little idea of many abstract and novel phenomena beyond its limited vision.

Among the translators and lexicographers G.F.Stender stands out as a paramount representative of the new trends. Stender's (1789) dictionary, though smaller in size, uses the Latin script for Latvian words for the first time in the Germanic tradition. It also pursues the tradition of appendices containing toponyms, personal names, names of birds, fishes, insects, plants, trees, fungi (which Latvians traditionally like and are knowledgeable about). Both dictionaries often retained the mistaken stock of the previous ones: there are still many German elements in their Latvian grammar, collocation patterns and phrases that are not characteristic of Latvian – and that apart from the undeniable German influence that must have already existed in the language (Zemzare, 1961).

Stender was a rationalist, enlightener and educator, as well as the greatest authority of the time on the Latvian language issues. Apart from the dictionary Stender was the author of numerous translations, localizations and original writings. Thus, he translated German poetry (1753), religious stories (1756) from Huebner (1714), wrote Latvian grammars in the 1760s, translated fairytales and stories (1766/1789) later retranslated into Estonian, songs (1774; 1785), wrote ABCs, localized Aesop's, Phaedrus' and La Fontaine's fables, the German enlightener C.F.Gellert's writings, many of which actually entered Latvian folklore. Stender wrote/localized a huge and impressive popular "peasants' encyclopedia": *Augsta gudrības grāmata* (*High Knowledge Book*) (Stender, 1774; second edition 1796, the last edition 1988), which was perhaps a creative localization of J.K.Gottsched's *Erste Gruende der gesammten Weltsweisheit* (1734). The year 1774 saw another localization of Stender's *Svētās gudrības grāmatiņa* done on the basis of the Swiss theologist J. K. Lavater *Aussichten in der Ewigkeit* (1768). Thus, his activities can be viewed as symbiotic: translating and didactic enlightening information according to the principles of rationalist ideology, and in parallel expanding the Latvian lexis. The variety of Stender's work can be viewed as an early example of the cline between the "translation language" and the "real", authentic language (Veisbergs, 2009). A similar cline can be seen also as regards the text/contents: it is almost impossible to state whether many of these works are translations, localizations or original texts (see Chesterman (1996) on the boundaries of the notion of translation), moreover the author/translator is to some extent the creator not only of the concrete translation text, but also of the Latvian language as such.

The early dictionaries attracted also some interest outside Latvia. K.F.Temler (1772) in Denmark produced the first comparative multilingual dictionary

(Latvian–Lithuanian–German-English-Latin-Greek-Slavic) testifying to the early interest in Baltic roots.

The end of the 18th century saw various localized translations of moralizing stories and plays (e.g. A.Stender's (son of G.F.Stender) translation/localization in 1790 of the Danish-Norwegian writer Ludwig Holberg's *Jeppe pa bjerget*, which under the title *Žūpu Bērtulis* became a hit for many decades), as well as short tales or stories. There was a spread of secular information on agriculture, gardening, medicine, cooking. Most of these were translations, adaptations and compilations. Translators often had to face the absence of a word in the target language (Latvian) for a notion expressed in the source language – the linguistic lacunae (Schroeder, 1995:10) had to be filled in with either a borrowed or new native lexis. While in religious texts this mainly concerned specific religious items or occasional unknown cultural items (*lion, olive, camel*), when translation scope and depth increased, so did the amount of lexis created or borrowed.

The Latvian translation scene until the mid-19th century is dominated by religious texts, calendars (since 1757), practical advice on economic aspects of peasants' life, occasional medical (periodical *Latviešu ārste* in 1768-69) and enlightening texts on geography, history, etc. Fiction includes mostly localized sentimental stories, songs and easy poetry that might be interesting to the common people. Practically all texts have German sources, even when the original is in a different language. Thus, 1824 saw the publication of *Robinsons Krūziņš*, a translation by Girgensohn of the extremely popular German adaptation of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) by Joachim Campe *Robinson der Juengere* (1779). The translation had actually been done earlier, as Girgensohn died in 1814. Girgensohn's translation is a landmark – this is the first novel to be translated in Latvian and the translation is meticulously faithful (the translator was advised to localize the heroes and the venues, but refused). Instead foreignizing tendencies can be observed, e.g. Girgensohn meticulously explains unknown words and proper names to the Latvian reader, introduces loans and coins neologisms. This continues the increasing tradition of using translations to develop the language. Later – in 1871, 1885, 1886, 1894, 1886 – the translation was republished in a modified form (getting shorter and shorter) and consumed by several generations, serving as a perfect case of *rewriting* (Lefevere's term) and construction of the image of Robinson. The genuine Defoe's hero appeared in Latvian only in the 20th century. Incidentally Campe's Robinson, translated at the same time in neighbouring Lithuanian, obtained Lithuanian ethnicity and proclaimed nationalistic anti-Russian sentiments, as the Russian government had banned the use of Lithuanian. This is a similar story in many European languages (Monteiro, 2006; Dimitriu, 2006). Robinsons tended to acquire whatever traits were welcome at the moment.

Abolition of serfdom in the Baltic provinces in the first decades of the 19th century (earlier than in the other parts of the Russian empire (1861)) provided an impetus for fast economic and social development, which, however,

did not affect Lithuania and the Eastern part of Latvia – Latgale. The year 1830s saw the first regular newspapers and magazines, in 1822 the first Latvian newspaper *Latviešu avīzes* (*Latvian Newspapers*) was started. In the 19th century Latvian newspapers and magazines played an important role in the development of native literature, there were frequent discussions of linguistic issues and practical advice on the translation or composition of texts (Scholz, 1990). More sophisticated literature, mostly poetry, appeared: Schiller's *Ode to Joy* (1804), *The Robbers* (1818). They were followed by translations of Heine, Goethe, Lessing, Sudermann, Krilov's fables (1847). Newspapers carried many translations of Estonian and Lithuanian literature (*Latvie i*, 2008:103). Many song texts were adapted from German as chorus singing spread.

Early translations from Latvian mainly focused on *dainas* (folksongs): J.G.Herder's *Volkslieder* (1779), *Stimmen den Voelker in Liedern* (1807), *The Foreign Quarterly* carried *dainas*' translations and a review in 1807/08. Herder, who resided in Riga in 1764-1769, is to be noted not only for the translations, but also for his deep impact on Neo-Latvians, who adhered to his idea of recovery of national individuality and political identity through rediscovery of folklore. Another German enlightener to be mentioned is Merkel whose *Latvians* (1797) described in detail the position of the semi-serf Latvian population, their character traits and elements of culture. Another of his contributions, *Wannem Ymanta* (Merkel, 1802), a semi-reworked Latvian tale of the glorious past, was also published for the German audience.

Thus, the historical pattern of Latvian lexicography is explicitly bilingual/multilingual (Veisbergs, 2000). As such it lasted for more than 300 years. Moreover, for the first 200 years the dictionaries were compiled by German speakers and aimed mainly at German speakers. Numerous notions, relevant for the clergy but unknown to Latvians, were introduced. Some of these translation loans seem strange today, yet many were assimilated and have become part and parcel of Modern Latvian, although they keep the traditional German structures (e.g. compounds can hardly be found in traditional folk Latvian texts, most are German loans). Nevertheless, gradually this led to two variants of Latvian. The peasant people were speaking one language at home and another while communicating with the non-Latvian governors in the official spheres: the court, the church, the administration, the manor. Only the second variant of the language appeared in written form. Thus, two parallel languages or two variants of one language coexisted – the so-called Old Written Latvian and the spoken folk language. The dictionaries reflected predominantly the first. So did the translations; they were also central in the Latvian literary polysystem (Even-Zohar, 1990), the written medium of which had virtually nothing else.

2.2. NATIONAL AWAKENING AND NEO-LATVIANS

The situation began to change in the middle of the 19th century when the so-called Latvian national awakening started, led by Neo-Latvians (nationally aware

Latvians who refused being Germanized, as well-to-do and educated people had tended to do formerly). Parallel to the standard menu of sentimental popular German stories, Neo-Latvians glorified the national past embodied in folklore. It sparked an interest also in other nation's folklore; therefore, Russian, German, Estonian folktales were translated. Thus, inspired by Macpherson's *Ossian's songs* (a forged ancient Scottish epic) and simultaneously by the Estonian epic *Kalevipoeg*, Pumpurs compiled/wrote the Latvian epic *Lāčplēsis* on the basis of Latvian folksongs and myths. The other trend focused on the future of the nation and the language that should service it – much scientific and educative literature had to be created. This meant turning the vernacular language into the referential language (to use Gobard's terminology (1976: 34)) in an act of reclaiming identity. Thus, language became both the aim and the means of national emancipation, similar to Finnish, Estonian, Czech, Slovak and other "new" languages and nations (Paloposki, 1998: 376); it assumed a new representative function (Prunč, 2007: 46). A huge growth in translation started – the new writers-cum-translators turned to serious literature in order to prove that anything could be expressed in Latvian. As national literature proliferated the share of translations dropped from 93% in the early 1860s to about 80% in the 80s (Apīnis, 1977: 313), yet it was still predominant. A broader spectrum of source languages reduced the share of German as a source language to about 70%, with Russian and English scoring about 7% each. Yet, German often functioned as an intermediate language. Neo-Latvians also borrowed ideas of Romanticism and put them into their own original practice (Pumpurs' national epic *Lāčplēsis*), as well as translated Romantic and classical works, e.g. fragments of *Niebelungenlied* (1888), *Odissey* in the 90s. Romanticism was followed by Realism (mainly German influence), with much of original literature describing the Latvian country life, e.g. the greatest realist novel Kaudzītes' *Mērnieku laiki*.

Gradually the scope of translations widened and their quality improved, so that in the last two decades of the 19th century satisfactory translations of long prose texts were widespread. One could say that around the turn of the 20th century Latvian literary scene had reached the level of contemporary European literature; it followed and was part of the Western trends. Although no organized groups of symbolist, expressionist or modernist writers were established, individual authors aligned with various trends. Translations were naturally the source of these ideas and leanings. The greatest Latvian poet and playwright Rainis translated several great and important works of Goethe: *Faustus* (1897/8) (done in prison!), *Prometheus and Iphigenia*, Schiller's *Maria Stuart*, *Wilhelm Tell*, *The Robbers*, Byron's *Cain*, Shakespeare's *King Lear*, *Anthony and Cleopatra*. His literary career actually started in the late 1880s with translations of Pushkin, Ibsen, Ovid, Burns, etc. He wrote various surveys of foreign writers, published these, as well as translations of Maupassant, Dostoyevsky, Chekhov, Sudermann in the progressive newspaper *Dienas lapa* whose editor he was in 1891-95. The paper informed the readers on various trends in Western literature as well. *Faustus* was hailed as a remarkable sample of Modern Latvian. The beginning of

the 20th century saw translations from French and its influence on the original literature. This affected also the general translation pattern – it liberated itself from the Germanic faithfulness. Thus, when Rainis translated Alexandre Duma's *The Count of Monte Cristo*, he Latvianized it in a very liberal way, cutting out the less interesting passages according to the French tradition. This could be viewed as a watershed from fidelity and literalness to "target orientation" with a freer and more dynamic use of language (unless one views early localizations as such).

Meanwhile the Germanic element (mainly direct loans) in the language was viewed as alien and fought against. Most dictionaries of the 2nd half of the 19th century were produced by Latvian speakers, e.g. Valdemārs' Russian-Latvian-German dictionary published in 1872 (50,000 entries), and accordingly tended to reflect more of the spoken folk language. These dictionaries were aimed at Latvians. The national, social and professional strife between the German (Ulmann, 1872) and Latvian editors (Valdemārs using the Latin script) and their dictionaries generally was beneficial, bringing together Old Latvian and New Latvian and improving the end products.

The last serious work of the Old Latvian tradition, Ulmann's *Lettisches Woerterbuch* (1872), Latvian-German, comprising 20,000 words, was aimed at the German reader and had the most exhaustive number of entries. It used the Latin script for Latvian, included many dialect words, some etymological elements, phrasal examples, avoided some Germanisms (letters f, h), and all in all was a rather descriptive and traditional dictionary (though it had also some Latvians among compilers, e.g. Neikens). Valdemārs was innovative in many ways – in fact, the dictionary had a team of compilers, they coined and introduced many neologisms, not only for new notions but also substituting many German loans. German was used mainly to explain these Latvian neologisms. In the 2nd edition (1890) the German part was dropped as many neologisms had taken root. The dictionary had two appendices dedicated to proper names. In 1879 a reversed dictionary, Latvian-Russian-German, was produced, with 13,000 Latvian entries.

Other types of dictionaries started to appear, practically all stimulated by language contacts. The development of the national language, the spread of newspapers and international contacts created a need for books of foreign words: Mekons (1878), with 2000 entries, Dravnieks (1886), with 5000 entries. The opening of the wider world, the wish to demonstrate the national intellectual and linguistic potential of Latvia as well as the Russification of schools, spelled a need for encyclopedias. Encyclopedias (according to the German pattern called "Konversation" dictionaries) became popular at the end of the 19th century, e.g. *Dravnieka Konversācijas vārdnīca* (1891-1898, unfinished), and another in 1906-1921, both in the Gothic script. This culminated in a monumental *Latviešu Konversācijas vārdnīca* (17 vols., 1927-1938, in the Latin script) still unsurpassed, though the last 2-3 volumes were not published due to the Soviet occupation in 1940. In all of these, despite the political anti-German drive, one can see the

influence and pattern of German lexicographic ideas of the time, namely the *Brockhaus* dictionaries with their strong emphasis on personalities (differing from *Encyclopedia Britannica* with its more subject-oriented approach).

The beginning of the 20th century saw extensive activities of Dravnieks – the most prolific Latvian lexicographer, who created modern German-Latvian, Russian-Latvian, English-Latvian and Latvian-Russian bilingual desktop dictionaries used by learners and translators, the Latvian public being the target audience.

Translations of the new Latvian literature into other languages started, mainly into German and Russian (Blaumanis, Kaudzītes), Estonian (Blaumanis, 1890, 1892).

Towards the end of the 19th century the two language variants merged and one could speak of Standard Modern Latvian. However, the struggle against German and later Russian dominance and its influence on the language also transferred language purism activities to the making of dictionaries (excluding existing words and including as yet non-existent ones). The historical emphasis on bilingual dictionaries, characteristic of the Latvian lexicographic tradition, has lead to the situation that the term *dictionary* for an average Latvian is associated mostly with a bilingual dictionary. This is typical of small nations where the main purpose of a dictionary is seen as helping to sustain contacts with other cultures. Functional reasons determined that dictionaries with the main contact languages were the first to be compiled and their number was the largest. For example, a decent Latvian-Estonian dictionary had to wait until 1967, despite the geographical and historical proximity; similarly, a Latvian-Swedish dictionary in Latvia appeared only in the 1990s.

The other tradition was more of an intralinguistic character – that of purifying, improving and standardizing which starts really only in the mid-19th century. Paradoxically, German-compiled dictionaries were in some way more descriptive (registering and recording) than prescriptive (inventing new terms for non-existent notions). This tradition affected mostly monolingual explanatory dictionaries, spelling dictionaries (though spelling is so close to pronunciation that there seems to be little sense in them) and of course dictionaries of foreign words where Latvian with its transcription principle (foreign words are respelled in Latvian according to their supposed pronunciation in the original) offers a great playfield for regular linguistic change, innovation and restructuring.

2.3. THE ICONIC DICTIONARY

The bilingual emphasis finds its expression even in the iconic Latvian Dictionary. The Latvian project was started by Muehlenbach (1853-1916), a notable and well-known linguist of the time in the early 1880s. Incidentally, Muehlenbach had tried his hand in translation – Homer's *Odyssey* – and had attacked Rainis' translation of *Faustus* as being too free in the use of language material: deviating

from the standard norms for the sake of euphony. At the beginning he focused on supplementing Ulmann's 1872 Latvian-German Dictionary (20,000 words, with some etymological elements). As a result the dictionary is designed as a bilingual translation book with explanations in German and examples in Latvian. The First World War broke out, and Muehlenbach died in 1916. After the war, on return to Latvia, Endzelīns, by now an undisputed number one of Latvian linguistics, was entrusted with finishing the dictionary and received the manuscripts. The public was involved – a rather novel phenomenon, never to be repeated in Latvian lexicography. Both Muehlenbach and even more so Endzelīns were negative about borrowings (rife in Latvian). The older ones were included, but the more modern ones (as well as most neologisms) were purged. Already in 1911 in a letter to Muehlenbach Endzelīns had advised that the dictionary should have only real Latvian "goods" ('īsta latviešu manta'). As a result the language of Latvian *dainas* (folk songs), fairy tales, proverbs, etc., forms the backbone of the dictionary. Early written texts are represented, too; there is a multitude of local and dialect words. However, there are also many citations from literature, rare local words and neologisms coined by writers. Translations were avoided in the corpus. Doubtful neologisms, considered worthy of including, were supplied with an asterisk.

The dictionary *Muehlenbacha Latviešu valodas vārdnīca* was published between 1923 and 1932 (Muehlenbach, 1923-1932) in folios, then in four big volumes (77,175 entries). Yet the corpus was extended by the addition of new items and texts. Assisted by E. Hauzenberga, Endzelīns compiled two extra volumes of supplements and corrections, published from 1934 to 1946 (55,543 entries) (Endzelīns, 1934-1946). Thus, the dictionary contains 132,718 entries and covers 5,480 pages in total (the figure was certified only after it had been digitalized (A.V.). Sixty years were spent on this dictionary and it luckily escaped the Soviet ideological influence contrary to the iconic Lithuanian dictionary. Begun as a one-man work it turned into a three-people work with some public support. The dictionary was published in the new spelling (as Latvia underwent an extended orthography reform from the Gothic script to Latin (1908-1937). Translations, though, mostly kept the Gothic script until the 1920s; the last newspapers changed the script at the very end of the deadline.

The purpose of the dictionary can partly be seen in its double title: in Latvian it says *Dictionary of the Latvian language*, in German *Lettisch-Deutsches Woerterbuch*. It seems that the authors were actually killing three birds with one dictionary. They compiled the most comprehensive stock of Latvian for the time, they used German for explanations – so one could use it as a bilingual dictionary (mostly aimed in this function at non-Latvians), – and they put Latvian in the framework of comparative linguistics internationally. As such it was reviewed and acclaimed by A. Meillet, M. Niedermann, R. Trautmann, K. Būga and other celebrities of Indo-European comparative studies and lexicographers. It had certainly achieved its external goal. At home it became and remains a monument of 'correct/good' (normative) Latvian. Of course, one can see some irony in the

fact that this iconic Latvian work is mostly composed in German, including Germanized place-names in citations.

The dictionary reflected mostly the spoken language of the end of the 19th century, carefully weeded of undesirable elements, internationalisms, later borrowings. It has a wealth of dialect variants and does not shun rude words, yet on the issue of borrowings it is clearly prescriptive in the sense that loans are mostly omitted (not a single word containing *f* or *h*), despite such frequently used and irreplaceable everyday words as *ha, fui, fakts, filma, forma, hallo, Hanza*. Older and essential loans (e. g. *un* from German *und*, *jā* from German *Ja*) are included. The purpose of this defensive stand is clear, it reflects the traditional *Weltanschauung* of the Latvians – even in independent Latvia the linguistic pressure from the two major contact languages (both with considerable minorities) was felt as dangerous and polluting. In a way it worked against the dominating trend of the time: innovations in language brought via translations.

The normative and purifying aims of dictionary compilation outlived Endzelīns. Even as late as in the 1970s when the first fully monolingual Latvian dictionaries were compiled: the *Latviešu literārās valodas vārdnīca* (1972–1997) in 8 volumes (80,000 entries) and a desktop *Latviešu valodas vārdnīca* (1987) (25,000 entries), their necessity was explained by laying emphasis on the normative and prescriptive function of such dictionaries. Both had large editorial boards, and similar to the general trend (Bejoint, 2010: 221), carry no associations with a particular lexicographer or linguist.

The 1920s saw an enormous growth in translations, a great interest in Lithuanian (belated, because of the Lithuanian language ban by the tsarist regime), Estonian and Scandinavian literatures. The Baltic cooperation, partly supported by governments, created a large turnover of these translations. The 20ies also saw translations from the Eastern languages – Chinese, Arabic, Persian, Japanese, Indian, extending the scope of strategies. Though there were no dictionaries of these language pairs, translations were done by experts in the languages, e.g. P.Šmits translated Chinese tales.

As the scope of translation grew, many translations were still done not by translators, but by distinguished Latvian writers, e.g. Rainis translated Byron's *Cain*, Calderone. Virza translated French and Russian symbolist poetry, as well as Victor Hugo's *Les Miserables* and *Notre-Dame de Paris*, Andrejs Upīts translated Gogol, Krilov and Tolstoy from Russian, as well as Flaubert, France, Heine, Wilde, H. Mann, etc. It seems they used translation for honing their literary skills, borrowing ideas and, of course, to earn extra money.

During the interwar period Latvian literature was frequently translated: folktales were published in Kaunas, Prague, Paris, Chicago, Germany and Russia. Rainis' works in the 20s were translated into many languages: Russian, German, English, Czech, etc.

The Soviet period, especially after Stalin's death, saw many quality translations of various classics, as well as extensive translations from many hitherto less known

languages; however, Russian was frequently used as an intermediary language (Sīlis, 2009: 185). Latvian literature was extensively translated into Russian, many translations were done into the other languages of the USSR. The translation scene was Moscow controlled, and mostly Soviet literature and classics were translated. Modern western literature was considered suspicious and ideologically dangerous. Fidelity approach was paramount, accuracy was a hallmark of proper translation; standard use of Latvian was demanded (Blumberga, 2008: 48). Sometimes omissions were practiced for ideological/manipulative reasons, sometimes footnotes explained ambiguous places. Though the policy determined what could be translated and how it should be done, sometimes the end result undermined the communist party goals despite the censorship. A fine-tuned system of ambiguous subtexts and undercurrents developed behind the official monolith façade. A considerable number of retranslations were done, mostly of classics, making them more accurate and using a more modern language. Literary translation steadily became a profession, while Latvian writers gradually moved out of translation jobs.

Meanwhile bilingual dictionaries spread in volume and variety. Thus, the period 1900-1966 witnessed the publication of 106 bilingual dictionaries (20 Latvian-German, 18 Latvian-Russian, 17 Latvian-English, 28 spelling and 19 dictionaries of foreign words). It was bilingual dictionaries that broke the prescriptive tradition in the 1990s, e.g. the most frequent Latvian greeting form since the mid-20th century *čau* appeared in a dictionary (*Latvian-English dictionary)* first in 1997. Postmodern mobility with its mix of styles, freedom of internet chats, impact of English (Veisbergs 2007), tearing of the barriers has in many ways sharpened the feeling that language is out of hand. Even the Latvian corpus compilation (there is an initial corpus of a few million words) has been delayed to some extent by the unwillingness of many linguists to see the real reflection of the language that, in fact, is functioning extremely well. The second half of the 20th century saw the production of bilingual dictionaries that gradually reached beyond the standard Latvian combinations – German, Russian and English.

Regaining of independence in 1991, establishing of Latvian as the sole official language of the state lead to an enormous growth in the translated information volume and a major proportional shift from expressive (fiction) texts to appellative and informative texts. Most of translations are not in book form or those of fiction. The tradition of adaptation has found a new creative outlet in advertizing translations as well as in software localization. The collapse of the Soviet Union lead to a fast linguistic reorientation as most of the information for Latvian speakers now comes from the West and from English. Within 10 years the source language pattern had changed radically – if in 1985 the proportion of translated books from Russian and English was 15 : 1, in 1994 the proportion had changed to 1 : 6 (Nītiņa, 2008: 268). Finally a change of the cultural paradigm (from traditional to postmodern) has occurred. Translation has become a huge industry and profession in its own, though of a varying status. Translation

criticism has gradually overcome its traditional linguistic limitations. Translation has again (like in the early stage of Latvian) become the main vehicle of language development. This is reflected in lexicography where since the collapse of the Soviet system bilingual dictionaries have retained their dominant position with rarer languages, like Danish, Norwegian, Japanese, Chinese, etc., added.

CONCLUSIONS

In Latvian lexicography there is a clear dominance of bilingual dictionaries. Bilingual dictionaries were first compiled to serve the needs of the clergy in the main contact language pairs and triples. In Latvia this was predominantly the German-Latvian combination. Later, with incorporation into Russia, Russian is added as a dominant language.

Since the 19th century the Latvian translation scene (predominantly German-oriented) has a great variety of texts and is broad and massive in scope. It affected the composition of Latvian considerably by adding to it a substantial foreign element. When the translation scene underwent a huge explosion at the beginning of the 20th century, so did the dictionaries. Since independence the Latvian lexicography has been versatile, but somewhat chaotic.

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