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Volume VII - Autumn

Editors: SMILJANA KOMAR and UROŠ MOZETIČ

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Summary

The present study focuses on expressions of emotion in online news and blogs and the way in which they contribute to shaping the co-construction of information about an issue of public concern (more specifically the environmental issue) and the discoursal identities of participant communities. The theoretical framework of analysis is based on recent developments in discourse studies and appraisal theory on language about emotions. The corpus of data (BBC online articles and readers' comments) have been analysed adapting the classification system of affect-types elaborated by Bednarek (2008). However limited, the data offer interesting and unexpected insights into participation to news construction and user-generated content: the way in which news and information are reported (the mediated 'narrative') elicits more language about emotion and concern than the central issue at stake (the environmental problem).

Key words: online news, participation, emotion language, affect, discourse

Udeležba in čustva v BBC-jevih spletnih novicah in blogih: pogled na klimatske spremembe

Povzetek

Študija se osredinja na izražanje čustev v spletnih novicah in blogih ter na njihov doprinos k sooblikovanju vesti ter diskurzne prepoznavnosti udeležencev. Teoretični okvir za analizo temelji na zadnjih ugotovitvah diskurznih študij in na teoriji o jezikovnem izražanju čustev. Za analizo besedilnega korpusa (BBC-jeve spletne novice in komentarji bralcev) sem priredila Bednarekov klasifikacijski system čustev (2008). Kljub omejenosti korpusa, je analiza dala zanimive in nepričakovane podatke o sodelovanju udeležencev pri ustvarjanju vesti: način poročanja povzroči rabo čustveno bolj bogatega jezika kot vest sama.

Ključne besede: spletne novice, udeležba, čustveni jezik, čustva, diskurz

Participation and Emotion in BBC Online News and Blogposts: A Snapshot on Climate Change

1. Introduction

Fast developing innovations in technology are offering new tools of communication and creating new types of hybrid discourses by a variety of new virtual communities and groups of stakeholders. The general impression is a great impetus towards 'democratisation' due to modes of 'participation' on the Web 2.0 whereby, instantly and continuously, anybody can respond to, react against, support or denounce anything that is happening or is about to happen (Baron 2008). The starting hypothesis of the study is that 'participation' only partially co-exists with individual and community critical awareness, informed decision-making and authentic co-construction of information and opinions.

The phenomenon of open interactivity of Web 2.0 has become a recurrent aspect in our daily life (Loos, Haddon, and Mante-Mejer 2008; Metitieri 2009; Vincent and Fortunati 2009). The extraordinary possibilities of being permanently 'online', in touch with all the people we want to contact and up-to-date with the latest information we want to acquire (Baron 2008) has transformed our lives and changed the concept of distance and deixis. The overall impression is one of freedom and choice coupled with the virtual disappearance of boundaries on the web between reader and writer and the widespread presence of 'e-users' that can become 'e-actors' whenever they decide to express their views, contact other e-users, make their presence felt online. User-generated content is becoming among the most relevant contribution of the new interactive web; among its latest developments is the phenomenon of 'citizen journalism' namely the grassroots information run by computer users who participate to news-making online. There are websites entirely run as citizen journalism (see, among numerous others the well-established *Agoravox*) while other institutional media are open to the participation of their e-users thanks to blogs and other social network such as Facebook and Twitter. The widespread opportunity to interact online (via computer and cell phone) gives the overall impression of a widespread democratization process; however, some news analysts and media experts (van Dijk 2009; Thorsen 2008; Thurman 2008; Barnhurst 2005; Metitieri 2009) are rather cautious if not critical of the ease with which news can be given emphasis and online visibility.

The present study offers some insights on this highly complex and controversial matter and focuses on a language aspect that is most influenced by interpersonal and subjective factors: the expression of emotions. The article is structured as follows: first data, research questions, type of analysis and the starting hypotheses are presented; then the theoretical framework is outlined. The second part of the article discusses the data analysis and its interpretation.

2. Data and research questions

The paper offers a snapshot of how an issue of increasingly public concern, such as the environment, and in particular climate change, has been recently constructed in a prestigious online media

channel (BBC). The BBC was chosen because of the wide coverage given by this media company to environmental issues (to the extent that several readers/users define its articles as too 'biased' towards an environmental viewpoint). The data consists of a mini corpus (39276 words) of 5 feature articles written by professional journalists or 'opinion articles' written by experts (see Bell 1991) about the environmental issue of climate change and the direct participation of e-users to news construction in the comments posted at the end of each article (see details in Appendix 1). The posts are monitored and edited, since they do not contain any 'spurious' materials as happens in other totally free news blogs (see, for instance, *Alternet*) where users can post any information, even unrelated to the topic. The comments are elicited by a question or a series of questions by the editor or the journalist (see Appendix 1).

The analysis focuses on the interpersonal function of communication and in particular on expressions of emotion which contribute to shaping the co-construction of information about the issue at stake (the specific environmental issue dealt with in the article or comment) and the discoursal identities of participant communities. It is to be expected that the language of the blogposts is influenced both by the language of the article itself and the questions posed at the end of the main article (see Appendix 1).

The data are only a sample of the world-wide debate that has been developing in the past year about climate change and what has been called the 'climategate affair', i.e. 'the publication of e-mails and documents hacked or leaked from one of the world's leading climate research institutions' (ClimateGate1–12–2009, reference to the data are listed in full in Appendix 1). The texts have been chosen among the BBC articles which allow readers/users to post their comments. The articles belong to a very relevant time for environmental issues and capture its latest developments: from December 2009 to March 2010. The Conference about Climate Change, which had created a lot of expectations among environmentalists, was held in Copenhagen (Cop15 – Denmark, 7th – 18th December 2009). Its failure to deliver a generally accepted deal on climate change and the 'climategate affair' had both an important effect on the ongoing debate about climate change.

The research questions addressed are the following:

Is it possible to identify recurrent, similar or contrasting emotions expressed by the journalists and their readers/blogpost-writers about the issues at stake?

To what extent do the expressions about emotion contribute to constructing the issue dealt with and the identities of its stakeholders?

The starting hypotheses are the following:

1. Feature/opinion articles of this kind contain emotion language while seemingly presenting issues 'objectively' or in an argumentative balanced way.

2. Readers' posts are more heavily emotional than the feature articles to which they refer.

3. Affect types will be overwhelmingly negative, since negative issues tend to have more news value.

The section that follows will outline the theoretical framework of the study.

3. Theoretical framework

Defining emotion is no easy task, given that over a hundred definitions can be found in the literature (see an overview in Oatley, Keltner, and Jenkins 2006); however, there seems to be at least consensus in present-day research on the fact that some aspects of emotion are universal because biologically determined (Oatley, Keltner, and Jenkins 2006: Ch 6; Ekman 1997; Gallois 1994), while other aspects are culturally determined by socialization and cultural schemata (Ekman 1997; Turner and Stets 2005; Gallois 1994, Scherer 2005). Among the many definitions of emotion, ground-breaking studies in the field of neuroscience have been those of Damasio (1999, 2003a, 2003b) and his group. He has suggested that, as the five senses connect the external world to the brain activating nerve patterns, emotions are nerve activation patterns that correspond to inner states. In psychology, LeDoux's seminal studies (1998) show that emotion is a process rather than a state and, as Robinson (2005) summarises, the process of emotion contains elements of appraisal and judgement, first pre-cognitive and, in a subsequent phase, cognitive: 'the core of emotion will always be physiological responses caused by an automatic affective appraisal and followed by cognitive monitoring' (Robinson 2005, 59). The overlapping between appraisal/judgement and emotion is interestingly represented in language by the complex overlapping of linguistic evaluation and the expression of emotion as mentioned below (Martin and White 2005; White 2006; Bednarek 2008).

Most studies in different areas remark that emotion includes 'an eliciting condition, a cognitive evaluation, physiological activation, a change of action readiness, and finally an action' (Johnson-Laird and Oatley 1989, 82). In verbal communication this can be expressed directly or indirectly in ways which vary with culture and sub-culture, group and even personal idiosyncratic variations; patterns also vary across text-types, registers and communicative events.

The linguistic literature about emotions in communication is vast (see Bednarek 2008, 7–9 for an overview of main studies in different areas of linguistics). Bednarek (2008, 11) mentions that a fundamental distinction cuts across all these approaches: the study of language *about* emotions (called by Bednarek *emotion talk*) that is all the expressions that denote emotions/affect, and the study or language *as* emotions (called by Bednarek *emotional talk*) that is all those constituents that signal emotions/affect (e.g. paralinguistic features, some metaphoric expressions, emphasis, repetitions, etc). The present study will deal with the first category in order to focus on emotions written *about,* rather than expressions giving vent to emotional reactions of the writers, like in the following example: *We don't need any more " Web 2.0" lily-livered, buzzword laden claptrap* (ClimateGateBlog).

Another basic distinction in linguistic research relates to how emotions are portrayed by the speaker/writer and how texts create an emotional response in the addressee (listener/reader). In this study only the former is investigated, even though the latter is implicitly present and explicitly represented in the blogposts as reactions elicited by the articles (but not necessarily as reactions only to the 'emotion talk' of the articles).

The framework of analysis used in this paper originates from the studies in Appraisal Theory by Martin and White (2005) and White (2006) in which one of the three major categories of Evaluation is Attitude as Affect (the 'emotive dimension of meaning' Martin and White 2005,

4, 46–52); the other two dimensions, at times overlapping with Affect, are Judgement (dealing with ethics and evaluating behaviour) and Appreciation (dealing with aesthetics and evaluating text/process, natural phenomena) (Martin and White 2005, 44). Bednarek (2008) uses Martin and White's classification system of Affect as the basis for her wide-ranging corpus-based study on emotion; complementing it with a variety of other methodological tools (corpus and cognitive linguistics and pragmatic analysis; Bednarek 2008, 13), she offers a revised classification system of emotion talk which has been adopted to categorise the occurrences of emotion in the present article (Bednarek 2008, 171–5; see Appendix 2).

4. Framework of analysis

As already mentioned, the data consists of a mini corpus (39276 words) of 5 feature articles written by professional journalists or 'opinion articles' written by experts (see Bell 1991) about the environmental issue of climate change and the direct participation of e-users to news construction in the comments posted at the end of each article. First the articles were compared as one sub-corpus to the sub-corpus of all the blog comments in order to obtain raw quantitative results; then each article was separately analysed and compared to its blog. The study is not quantitatively representative given the limited amount of data of the corpus, but it belongs to a wider work-in-progress study on emotion in the media and, in particular, on emotion in user-generated news items.

The data was analysed using the W-Matrix programme, which identifies semantic fields connected at some level of generality with the same mental concept (USAS tagging; Rayson 2009). For the purpose of this paper, I identified the occurrences of the major discourse field Emotion (E and its sub-categories E1–E6) and the subcategory A5 (from the discourse field General and Abstract Terms related to Evaluation) (see list of USAS tagging online, Rayson 2009) and then manually analysed them in their discourse context using the categorization of affect types of Martin and White (2005) as re-elaborated by Bednarek (2008).

In Bednarek's categorization, five major sets of emotions (un/happiness, in/security, dis/satisfaction, dis/inclination and surprise) constitute a 'fuzzy system of affect', which, with minor changes, has been used for the present analysis (see Appendix 2). Some occurrences identified by W-Matrix in the Emotion discourse field were discarded because they did not fall into the framework chosen. For the same reason, W-Matrix subcategory A5 (Evaluation) yielded only very few occurrences of terms about emotion, since most of them belong to categories of Appreciation and Judgement (Martin and White 2005). The person or group of people who experience the emotion are called 'emoters' and what evokes the emotion is called a 'trigger' (Bednarek 2008).

Two sub-types of Affect have been added to Bednarek's categorization: General are expressions that referred to emotion without further specification and thus problematic to fit into any more specific category: *emotional intelligence, emotional investment, emotion* (ClimateGateBlog). A sub-type of Affect added to Dis/inclination is 'preference', i.e. *bias* in the occurrences in which they have contextually a meaning of Affect (ClimateGateBlog). Occurrences have been analysed in their wider context and assigned to the affect sub-type of their meaning in context: *I like* used ironically, for instance, has been inserted into the category unhappiness: antipathy (see Appendix 2).

Categorization of emotion is discoursally complex since, as Martin and Rose (2003) point out, it is possible to speak of a 'prosodic nature' of affect: different types of affect often concur together to a certain textual effect and patterning. Even a distinction as basic as negative and positive emotions is not always straightforward due to discourse or pragmatic factors (the effect of irony, for instance) (Galański 2004; Turner and Stets 2005). The issue is further complicated by the overlapping of meaning in emotion terms (Johnson-Laird and Oatley 1989; Ekman 1999; Turner and Stets 2005; Kővecses 2000) (see the next section). The subjective emotional response of the analyst is also a problematic factor that can be limited (but not eliminated) by accurate and repeated cross-checking.

The next section will summarise some of the findings.

5. The articles and their comments by readers/users

BBCArticles	BBCBlogComments
Total number of words: 6493	Total number of words: 32783
Total occurrences: 23 (0.35%)	Total occurrence: 176 (0.53%)
Total number of words: 39276	

5.1 Climate Gate 1–12–2009 and its blogposts

The article ClimateGate1–12–2009 was published shortly before the beginning of the Copenhagen Conference on climate change and deals with the so called 'climategate affair', i.e. the publication of e-mails and documents leaked, earlier in the year (2009), from one of the world's leading climate research institutions (an institution which was accused to have doctored scientific results about climate change). 6 out of 7 expressions of emotion in the article refer to the issue of 'trust' in science on the part of the public opinion and only one occurrence refers to a possible sense of insecurity on the part of the scientists.

This article has triggered a large amount of comments on the part of readers/users who, in the days following the publication of the article, wrote 15023 words of comments containing 71 occurrences of terms about emotion. The most interesting aspect of the comparison is that in the comments there are 2 references to the *trust* of scientists, while the *trust* of the public (3) needs to be re-established after the shock of allegedly doctored documents about climate change released by scientists. In the blog an emotion that should be overcome is expressed as *faith* in science on the part of the public (7 occurrences); in the specific context it has a negative connotation of *blind faith* totally unjustified (*It's always faith based on some rickety construction*) and detrimental to science. *Faith* never occurs in the articles but will re-appear in other blog-comments (see below). The sense of insecurity and danger is directly expressed by readers/comment writers as *fear* (10 occurrences) caused by global warming, but also by lack of integrity on the part of scientists and the negative consequences this has on public opinion; scientists, on the other hand, are portrayed as worrying more about their research grants than about the consequences of climate change. In the area of satisfaction two occurrences out of four refer to the 'pride' of scientists, one positive (*As*

a scientist, I am proud of my discipline and its methods) written by a scientist, while another comment is rather disparaging (scientists are not immune to pride and deception, even self-deception). Feelings of dissatisfaction: displeasure for the scandal and/or the damage it does to the environmental cause are powerfully conveyed using both first person deixis and more generic expressions with a rather dominant feeling of anger: I am angry / ashamed for /unhappy; angry dissent / sad day for science / very disappointing / article is infuriating /indignant /you don't like. Unhappiness expressed as antipathy is rampant (6) with two occurrences clearly directed against scientists and media coverage; this is reinforced by expressions of unhappiness: misery which clearly reveal the personal and collective sadness for the 'climategate affair' and, in particular, the disappointment for media reports about this issue. In 15 occurrences (out of 71) the emoter is the first person singular deixis, which reveals the personal and explicit involvement of the comment writers about the issue and his/her negative view on media coverage and the world of science. It is also interesting to note that in 32 occurrences the emoter is a collective first person plural or a generic reference to the public/stakeholder: you/all/public/people. The emotions expressed are thus generalised and convey the impression of public opinion rather critical of media coverage and scientists' work.

5.2 Climate Change 7–12–2009 and its blogposts

In the article ClimateChange7–12–2009 (published the opening day of the Copenhagen Conference about Climate Change) there is only one term about emotion (want, in the headline), but there are several occurrences of 'emotional talk' which are not included here (see, for instance, the final sentence of the article: To shirk this responsibility would be nothing short of devastating – for our economy, the planet and millions of its poorest people).

The ClimateChangeBlog presents a variety of mainly negative expressions of emotions in the Affect types of inclination: desire (greed, willing); I added to inclination a sub-category for instances that I could not include into the other sub-categories: Preference (bias). Insecurity: disquiet is expressed as three occurrences (very concerned, scares, fear) triggered by environmental issues, but in one occurrence it is presented as the problem of privileged people (emoter). Dissatisfaction: displeasure is expressed as lamentable failure, antipathy as irritating leftist drivel (which is also highly emotional).Unhappiness: misery as sadly and suffer tremendously. The only supposedly positive occurrences refer one to Gordon Brown's words (I loved Gordon Brown flat earther statement concerning skeptics) and the other is rather neutral than positive (in our appreciation).

Similar emotions of unhappiness: misery (sadly, suffer) can reflect opposite positions: the use of negative emotions in the blog comments presents the issue of climate change as either damaging the earth or having a negative impact on personal finance if environmental measures are set in place against it.

5.3 Climate Failure 22–12–2009 and its blogposts

Even before the end of the Copenhagen Conference about Climate Change (7th–18th December 2009), news articles started to appear in the media about its failure to deliver clear guidelines to reduce pollution and limit climate change. The article ClimateFailure22–12–2009 and its blog appeared some days after the conclusion of the Conference (18th December 2009); it is

a sort of anti-climax article which receives only a limited amount of comments (404 words in comparison with 15023 words of the posts in reaction to the ClimateGate1–12–2009 article). The only reference about emotion in the comments is to a hypothetical situation of *oppression and misery* which would have been realised if the conference had been successful; its co-text is a highly emotional passage against the whole attempt to limit climate change:

The more political an issue gets, the more perverted it gets. Climate change is a political hoax and scientific fraud. The whole thing stinks, any binding agreements on cuts in CO2 emissions would only have led to oppression and misery. (ClimateFailureBlog)

This is the only case in which article and blog contain similar frequencies of emotion expressions (0.42% the article and 0.49% the blog). The article contains negative emotions (*disappointing, annoying*) and the trigger of the only positive *affection* is the city of Copenhagen which hosted the Conference (and this highlights even more the lack of positive emotion about the focus of the article). Interestingly, the emotion *trust* appears in the article negated by the verb *destroyed* and the trigger (and cause) is *politicians' behaviour*. Insecurity: disquiet appears in the expressions referring to *threat* (*threatened by climate impacts; climate threat*) due to *climate impact/climate* (triggers). The journalist's disappointment in the article comes mainly from politics and national policies that are unable to deliver clear decisions about climate change.

5.4 Climate Confusion 11–1–2010 and its blogposts

While the article contains only two instances of emotion related to dissatisfaction and disinclination, the blog contains a variety of occurrences: insecurity: distrust (*irreparably damaged public confidence, cannot trust, trust*) and insecurity: disquiet including mainly expressions related to fear and worry (9 occurrences: *scare, fear, frighten, concern, worrying, worried*). Another affect sub-type with high frequency is unhappiness: misery (10 occurrences: *sad, sadness, saddening, sadly, unhappy, depressing, disenchanted, regret*) mainly referring to the disappointing state of information, political interference and scientists' reports. The readers also comment on the *frustration* the journalist expresses. An interesting occurrence, never present in the articles, appears again in this blog: *faith* (see also ClimateGateBlog above); it belongs to affect sub-type security: trust, but in the context of the blogpost acquires the negative meaning of 'irrational trust' (*It's based on faith not fact*) on a subject that should be based on hard facts (climate change). This occurrence is present several times in comments which are critical towards non-reliable scientific reports; as happens in ClimateGateBlog, the readers tend to agree when criticizing the state of information about the climate issue, while they disagree on the actual issue and the action to be taken.

5.5 Still Problems 16–3–2010 and its blogposts

Emotion expressed in StillProblems16–3–2010 and its comments in the blog are predominantly negative and many of the apparently positive emotions are used ironically or in contexts that negate their seemingly positive meaning. The dominant emotion in the article belongs to unhappiness: misery. Even the positive *glee* is part of a passage in which it rather means 'superficial, flippant attitude' rather than 'happy'.

In the blog comments, affect sub-type inclination: desire is closely related to inclination: preference (*bias*) and in/security. The emotion expressions in the texts show that readers *would like* less *biased* viewpoints from the scientific community and the BBC itself (*Given the abject bias held by the BBC on this subject I doubt this will be published; the heroically biased BBC*), because *the damage to public confidence was irrevocable* due to allegedly doctored data released by scientists working on climate change ('climategate affair'). The result is a rather high occurrence of affect type unhappy: misery (13 instances among which *get sick, sadly, sad, depressing, suffer, tragic, despair, tragedy, misery, disillusioned*); this represents a clear criticism of the readers/users towards the people who have the responsibility of delivering 'correct' information: scientists, the media, politicians.

In comparison with the comments in the other blogs, the intensity of emotion is higher. It is possible that this is partly due to intertextuality with the article. However, the context of use is remarkably different: while the powerful negative emotions expressed by the journalist refer to the issue itself (*climate change* as trigger of *horror, tragedy, tragic*), the readers shift the focus of their negative expressions of unhappiness towards a wider range of triggers (*media reports, ignoring information, credibility, politician's attitude, flawed economy, intelligence of humans, Cop15, democracy, scientific reports, climate change*).

6. Emotion in climate change

As anticipated in the initial hypotheses, the overwhelming majority of negative emotions was to be expected due to the genre (news) the texts belong to and topic they deal with. Media and discourse studies literature has clearly shown that negative events seem to have more news value than positive events (Barnhurst 2005). As Bednarek summarises, '*Negativity* can be regarded as the basic news value. It means that the negative – damage, injury, death, disasters, accidents, conflicts, wars, etc – makes the news' (Bednarek 2006, 16). As a result, negative emotions outweigh positive emotions in the news (Bednarek 2008, 194) and the present data are no exception.

Blogposts contain more expressions referring to emotion than the articles they refer to. Quantitative results are far too limited to be representative; however, the general trend clearly sees opinion articles containing fewer occurrences of terms about emotion (raw data 0.35 % of occurrences in the articles and 0.53% in the blogs, but a larger corpus is needed to yield statistically significant data). The result is in line with the difference in genre of the two text-types: on the one hand an opinion article, on the other personal comments elicited by questions posed at the end of news articles (seemingly by the journalist or by the editor of the webpage) and addressed to *you* the individual reader (Appendix 1). One of these questions even overtly elicits an emotive reaction:

Are you enthralled or appalled by the idea of ordinary citizens being involved in reviewing scientists' work? (enthralled and appalled are highlighted in red on the webpage).

The wording of the questions contributes to explaining the high occurrence of emoters in first person singular deixis (31 overt expression of emotion of the comment writer), but also the text-type 'blog comment' tends to be more informal than opinion news articles and contain therefore

higher occurrences of first person deixis (Baron 2008). First person plural deixis (inclusive by default of the comment writer) blends with generic collective nouns such as *public, people, humans* and seems in contraposition with other better specified emoters present in the blogs: *scientists, journalists, media, politicians.* Looking at the wider picture of emotion language in the blogs, whatever the position of the comment writer is towards climate change and the 'climategate affair', it appears that s/he is emotionally distant from *scientists, journalists, media, politicians* who are constructed (at least as far as emotion language is concerned) as if they do not belong to the general public or the collective *we*, but as powerful and untrustworthy stakeholders.

Another peculiarity in the readers' comments is the trigger of emotions: 61 out of 71 refer to general and scientific information (*media, BBC, information, scientific reports,* etc); emotions are more focused on the 'public narrative' of climate change than on the issue itself. While on the one hand this is clearly justified in the blogs of ClimateGate1–12–2009 and ClimateConfusion22–12–2009, since the questions elicit readers' comments on the quality of information, on the other hand, the other three articles and questions deal with climate change and the Copenhagen international conference.

As far as affect-types are concerned, there are two peaks of negative emotions: for the climategate affair (ClimateGate1–12–2009) and the article depicting the lack of clarity and action about climate change (StillConfusion16–3–2010). The dominant emotions relate to fear, worry and security due to breach of trust on the part of those who should have delivered 'objective' and scientific information; dissatisfaction is represented by anger, indignation and frustration; unhappiness by shame and sadness. In ClimateConfusionBlog insecurity seems to increase (*fear, scare and worry*), as does dissatisfaction (*disturbing*); unhappiness increases as well (*sadness, regret and depression*). The most forceful expressions of emotion ca be found in StillConfusionBlog: insecurity due to lack of trust brings to *hysteria, fear, concern*; unhappiness is forcefully expressed as *sadness, tragedy, despair, disappointment, misery, suffering,* etc. This high pitch of emotion is certainly partly due to the interdiscoursal and intertextual influence of the most emotional article in the corpus, containing *horror, tragedy and disappointment*. The difference, however, is that in the article these emotions are triggered by climate change and disappointment as the aftermath of the Copenhagen conference and in the comments they tend to be triggered by media and scientific reports and politicians' attitudes.

7. Concluding remarks

The analysis only focused on a very limited aspect of communication (expressions about emotions) and on a small corpus of data from the BBC website. Results cannot be generalized and further research needs to be carried out at different levels: analysis of a wider corpus of data including websites of participative journalism; further research on emotional expressions (emphasis, repetitions, metaphors, graphic devices, etc.) which have been excluded from the present study would complement the analysis of emotion expressions; a multimodal analysis of how verbal and non-verbal aspect interact in conveying emotion is a further field for investigation.

However limited, the data offered interesting and unexpected insights into participation in news construction and user-generated content. The most important finding is the relevance of media

information and popularization of scientific findings in triggering readers' emotion online about issues of public concern. The way in which news and information are reported seems to have more emotional impact than the issue itself. Reactions about how news is reported rather than the content of news show the (implicit or explicit) awareness the e-users have of media power and gateways of information (scientific reports). At the same time, e-users are contributing to this power and reinforcing it. The issue of public concern becomes once removed: emotions are triggered by climate change narratives (including the 'climategate affair'), rather than by the environmental issue itself. Participating in the blog is, therefore, taking 'verbal action' on media narratives, and focusing emotional investment on public 'stories' rather than on public events.

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Appendix 1

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(last accessed 30th April 2010)

'Show Your Working': What 'ClimateGate' means
By Mike Hulme and Jerome Ravetz
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/science/nature/8388485.stm
ClimateGate1–12–2009
ClimateGateBlog

Questions eliciting comments from the readers:

Do you agree with Mike Hulme and Jerome Ravetz? Does the ClimateGate affair have implications for the way science, and climate science in particular, is run? Does the way we communicate nowadays mean that science has to become more open? Are you enthralled or appalled by the idea of ordinary citizens being involved in reviewing scientists' work?

The world wants action on climate change
By Andy Atkins
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/science/nature/8375406.stm
ClimateChange7–12–2009
ClimateChangeBlog
Do you agree with Andy Atkins? Do rich nations have a legal and moral obligation to lead the battle against climate change? Should rich nations use their wealth to pay for developing nations

to build clean energy infrastructures? Or is carbon trading the best option in a global context to reduce emissions?

Why did Copenhagen fail to deliver a climate deal?
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/science/nature/8426835.stm
ClimateFailure22–12–2009
ClimateFailureBlog

Why do you think Copenhagen failed to deliver a deal? You can send us your views using the form below:

A selection of your comments may be published, displaying your name and location unless you state otherwise in the box below.

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/science/nature/8426835.stm

Science must end climate confusion
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/science/nature/8451756.stm
By Richard Betts
ClimateConfusion11–1–2010
ClimateConfusionBlog

Do you agree with Dr Betts? Is climate science being used as a political football? Do scientists need to take more responsibility to ensure their work is correctly understood? Or is the difference of opinions about climate change the sign of a healthy democratic debate?

It's still real and it's still a problem
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/science/nature/8568377.stm
By Lord Chris Smith

StillProblems16–3–2010
StillProblemsBlog

Do you agree with Chris Smith? Is the real issue about climate change the when or the if? Have we lost hope in the prospect of truly global binding deals in the wake of recent controversies and conference outcomes?

Appendix 2

(categories adapted from Bednarek 2008)

BBCArticles	BBCBlogComments
Total number of words: 6493	Total number of words: 32783
Total occerrences: 23 (0.35%)	Total occurrence: 176 (0.53%)
Total number of words: 39276	

		emotion	emoter	trigger	emotion	emoter	trigger
Affect type	Typical emotion	**Article: ClimateGate1-12-2009** Total frequency of items shown: 7 (0.38%) Total number of words: 1851			**Blogposts: ClimateGateBlog** Frequency in blog: 71 (0.47%) Total word number: 15023		
GENERAL	not specified				- emotional intelligence, - emotional investment - emotion 3	humanity e-mail writers public	information interpretation climate news information
DIS/INCLINATION							
DESIRE	wishes, willingness, volition				- would like - would like - would assert - would - would like - dare - would love - am all for 8	I I I who I people scientists I public	say address [something] name meaning suggesting stop politicizing educating the public
PREFERENCE					3 bias - inclination 4	scientists public	data information

		emotion	emoter	trigger	emotion	emoter	trigger
NON-DESIRE	reluctance, unwillingness, non-volition				- does not like 1	group controlling the data	a point of view
IN/SECURITY							
SECURITY: TRUST	trust in someone or in a future happening	6 trust 6	public	science /scientists	6 faith - confidence 2 trust 3 trust 12	people public scientists public	scientific reports on climate change science science scientific reports
INSECURITY: DISTRUST	distrust, reserve, suspicion				- not faith - not placing confidence - not rely on 3	people people people	science scientific reports reports
SECURITY: QUIET	assurance, confidence, ease, safety, relaxation				- to appease 1	politicians	our results
INSECURITY: DISQUIET	fear, worry, anxiety, puzzlement, confusion, embarassment	- unsettling 1	scientists	climategate	- fear - fear - fear - fear - am concerned - worry - worry - dread	I I scientists public I scientists scientists I	all be buried offend sensibilities lack of integrity climate change conclusion of global warming their grants climate change BBC biased

Affect type	Typical emotion	emotion	emoter	trigger	emotion	emoter	trigger
					- fearful type - afraid of 10	public public	way of reporting climate reports hypothetical climate reports
DIS/SATISFACTION							
SATISFACTION: INTEREST	interest in, fascination with, excitement, entertainment						
DISSATISFACTION: ENNUI	boredom						
SATISFACTION: PLEASURE	admiration, appeal, contentment, gratitude, being impressed, pleasure, pride				- am proud of - pride (neg.) - pleasure - appreciation 4	I (scientist) scientists I public	of my discipline in their work climategate email
DISSATISFACTION: DISPLEASURE	anger, frustration, dissatisfaction (mind/bothered)				- like (ironic) - angry - angry - bother - infuriating - indignant 6	we public I we generic generic	keeping stuff secret reports BBC article trying to communicate BBC article climategate
UN/HAPPINESS							
HAPPINESS: AFFECTION	like, love, respect, pity				- fall for 1	all	ideas
UNHAPPINESS: ANTIPATHY	hate, dislike, scorn				- appalled - revile - rebuke - disliked	I public public scientist	lack of coverage scientists scientists rival
					- do not like - do not like 6	public generic you	inconvenient scientific data colleague
HAPPINESS: CHEER	amusement, cheer, happiness				- to satisfy - happiness - happy - happy-go-lucky - amusement 5	inquisitive young generic you generic you generic guy generic	institutes and encyclopedias poverty having more life reports
UNHAPPINESS: MISERY	sadness, guilt, disappointment, regret, grief				- ashamed for - sad - disappointing - unhappy - disheartening - sadness - feel guilty 7	I public generic I generic generic we	climategate scientists climategate reports points in BBC article reports reports enjoying life
SURPRISE	surprise						

Affect type	Typical emotion	emotion	emoter	trigger	emotion	emoter	trigger
		Article: ClimateChange7-12-2009 Total frequency of items: 1 (0,11%) Total number of words: 865			**Blogposts: ClimateChangeBlog** Total frequency of items: 13 (0.51 %) Total number of words: 2516		
GENERAL							
DIS/INCLINATION							
DESIRE	wishes, willingness, volition	want 1	the world	action on climate change	- would like (hypothetical) - greed	you generic privileged	reduce hot gases advantages

Affect type	Typical emotion	emotion	emoter	trigger	emotion	emoter	trigger
					- willing 3	people generic	favourite tv programme
PREFERENCE					- bias 1	generic	climate issue
NON-DESIRE	reluctance, unwillingness, non-volition						
SECURITY: TRUST	trust in someone or in a future happening						
INSECURITY: DISTRUST	distrust, reserve, suspicion						
SECURITY: QUIET	assurance, confidence, ease, safety, relaxation						
INSECURITY: DISQUIET	fear, worry, anxiety, puzzlement, confusion, embarassment				- concerned - scares - fear 3	most Americans generic privileged people	environment pollution environmental issue
SATISFACTION: INTEREST	interest in, fascination with, excitement, entertainment						
DISSATISFACTION: ENNUI	boredom						
SATISFACTION: PLEASURE	admiration, appeal, contentment, gratitude, being impressed, pleasure, pride						
DISSATISFACTION: DISPLEASURE	anger, frustration, dissatisfaction (mind/bothered)				- lamentable 1	generic	failure of commitment of rich countries
HAPPINESS: AFFECTION	like, love, respect, pity				- loved - appreciation 2	I generic	Brown's words of ourselves
UNHAPPINESS: ANTIPATHY	hate, dislike, scorn				- irritating 1	generic	leftist drivel
HAPPINESS: CHEER	amusement, cheer, happiness						
UNHAPPINESS: MISERY	sadness, guilt, disappointment, regret, grief				- sadly - suffer 2	we the average person	damaging the earth personal finance
SURPRISE	surprise						

Affect type	Typical emotion	emotion	emoter	trigger	emotion	emoter	trigger
		Article: ClimateFailure22-12-2009 Total frequency of items: 8 (0.42%) Total number of words: 1892			**Blogposts: ClimateFailureBlog** Total frequency of items: 2 (0.49%) Total number of words: 404		
GENERAL							
DIS/INCLINATION							
DESIRE	wishes, willingness, volition						
PREFERENCE		- preferred - prefer 2	big countries big players	arrangement			

Affect type	Typical emotion	emotion	emoter	trigger	emotion	emoter	trigger
NON-DESIRE	reluctance, unwillingness, non-volition						
SECURITY: TRUST	trust in someone or in a future happening						
INSECURITY: DISTRUST	distrust, reserve, suspicion	- trust destroyed 1	generic	politicians' behaviour			
SECURITY: QUIET	assurance, confidence, ease, safety, relaxation						
INSECURITY: DISQUIET	fear, worry, anxiety, puzzlement, confusion, embarassment	- feel threatened - threat 2	ones generic	climate impacts climate			
SATISFACTION: INTEREST	interest in, fascination with, excitement, entertainment						
DISSATISFACTION: ENNUI	boredom						
SATISFACTION: PLEASURE	admiration, appeal, contentment, gratitude, being impressed, pleasure, pride						
DISSATISFACTION: DISPLEASURE	anger, frustration, dissatisfaction (mind/bothered)	- annoying 1	every country not on the list	list of important countries			
HAPPINESS: AFFECTION	like, love, respect, pity	- affection 1	most of us	Copenhagen			
UNHAPPINESS:	hate, dislike, scorn						
ANTIPATHY							
HAPPINESS: CHEER	amusement, cheer, happiness						
UNHAPPINESS: MISERY	sadness, guilt, disappointment, regret, grief	- disappointing 1	EU and 27-nation bloc	the deal	- oppression - misery 2	generic	hypothetical cutting emissions
SURPRISE	surprise						
		emotion	emoter	trigger	emotion	emoter	trigger
Affect type	Typical emotion	**Article: ClimateConfusion11-1-2009** Total frequency of items: 2 (0.22%) Total number of words: 889			**Blogposts: ClimateConfusionBlog** Total frequency of items: 35 (0.50%) Total number of words: 6967		
GENERAL							
DIS/INCLINATION							
DESIRE	wishes, willingness, volition				- like (as you wish) 1	you generic	climate
PREFERENCE					- bias 1	generic	climate change
NON-DESIRE	reluctance, unwillingness, non-volition	- do not care 1	those who wish to discredit science	wrong information			
SECURITY: TRUST	trust in someone or in a future happening				- faith - faith 2	generic generic	science reports science reports
INSECURITY: DISTRUST	distrust, reserve, suspicion				- recharge confidence - damaged confidence 2	public public	science reports

SECURITY: QUIET	assurance, confidence, ease, safety, relaxation				- calm 1	climatologist	study
INSECURITY: DISQUIET	fear, worry, anxiety, puzzlement, confusion, embarassment				- scare - scare off - scare - fear - fear - not worth worrying about - worried - not to frighten - concerns 9	people people people people generic generic we generic anyone generic generic	conspiracy fossil fuels climate change melting ice-caps catastrophic events climate change global warming climate change more important concerns
SATISFACTION: INTEREST	interest in, fascination with, excitement, entertainment						
DISSATISFACTION: ENNUI	boredom						
SATISFACTION: PLEASURE	admiration, appeal, contentment, gratitude, being impressed, pleasure, pride				- glad 1	I	problem with media
DISSATISFACTION: DISPLEASURE	anger, frustration, dissatisfaction (mind/bothered)	- teased 1	I	believing in climate change	- disturbing	I	weather as evidence of global warning

					- disturbing - frustration - frustration - frustration 5	I journalist journalist journalist	temperature data climate change climate change climate change
HAPPINESS: AFFECTION	like, love, respect, pity				- love - hate (ironic) 2	I I	this world give weather news
UNHAPPINESS: ANTIPATHY	hate, dislike, scorn				- enjoy (ironic) 1	you generic	ignorant opinions in media
HAPPINESS: CHEER	amusement, cheer, happiness						
UNHAPPINESS: MISERY	sadness, guilt, disappointment, regret, grief				- sad - sad - sad - sadly - sadness - disenchanted - regret - saddening - unhappy	I I generic generic generic people non-environmentalists I we	state of information climate change telling the truth journalist's opinion amount of situation political interference their opinion public opinion scientists' opinion

		emotion	emoter	trigger	emotion	emoter	trigger
					- depressing 10	generic	article and comments
SURPRISE	surprise						

		emotion	emoter	trigger	emotion	emoter	trigger
Affect type	Typical emotion	**Article: StillProblems16-3-2010** Total frequency of items: 5 (0.50%) Total number of words: 996			**Blogposts: StillProblemsBlog** Total frequency of items: 46 (0.58%) Total number of words: 7871		
GENERAL DIS/INCLINATION							
DESIRE	wishes, willingness, volition				- would like - would like - would like 3	I I politicians	saying see reliable reports you to believe
PREFERENCE					- biases - bias - biased 3	generic BBC BBC	weather reports climate change climate change
NON-DESIRE	reluctance, unwillingness, non-volition						
SECURITY: TRUST	trust in someone or in a future happening				- confidence 1	people	scientists's reports
INSECURITY: DISTRUST	distrust, reserve, suspicion				- damage to confidence - cannot trust	public people	reports hysteria on climate change
					- trust hard 3	generic	scientists' reports
SECURITY: QUIET	assurance, confidence, ease, safety, relaxation				- rest -calm -calmer -careful 4	media journalists journalists leading sceptics	false reports climate change reports climate change reports explanations
INSECURITY: DISQUIET	fear, worry, anxiety, puzzlement, confusion, embarrassment				- hysteria - hysteria - hysteria - fear - fear -threat -concern -trouble 8	journalists/scientists journalists/scientists scientists generic I generic generic I	pollution reports pollution reports cold fusion NGOs/environmentalists vested interests climate change welfare of humanity emissions of China and India
SATISFACTION: INTEREST	interest in, fascination with, excitement, entertainment						
DISSATISFACTION: ENNUI	boredom						
SATISFACTION: PLEASURE	admiration, appeal, contentment, gratitude, being						

	impressed, pleasure, pride						
DISSATISFACTION: DISPLEASURE	anger, frustration, dissatisfaction (mind/bothered)				- fed up with - annoyed - angry 3	people I environmentalists	lies not recognition of climate change climate change reports
HAPPINESS: AFFECTION	like, love, respect, pity				- enjoy - happy 2	people I	life article
UNHAPPINESS: ANTIPATHY	hate, dislike, scorn				- enjoy (ironic) - enjoy (ironic) - enjoy (ironic) -cares 4	you generic you generic you generic generic	climate change reports carbon trading grants public opinion
HAPPINESS: CHEER	amusement, cheer, happiness	glee 1	sceptics	damage done	gleefully enjoyed 2	governments people	tax opportunity cool weather
UNHAPPINESS: MISERY	sadness, guilt, disappointment, regret, grief	- horror - tragedy - tragic - disappointing 4	we generic generic generic generic	climate change climate change climate change consequences Cop15	- get sick of - sadly - sadly - sad -suffer -depressing - tragic - despair	I generic generic generic too many we generic I	media reports ignoring info credibility politicians' attitude climate change flawed economy flooding intelligence of

					- disappointment - tragedy - misery - suffering - disillusioned 13	generic generic we humans we humans we humans	humans Cop15 democracy climate change climate change reports
SURPRISE	surprise						

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Catch Me If You Can! – Slang as a Social Phenomenon and the Issue of Capturing It in Dictionaries

Summary

The article discusses slang language from two perspectives. The author first looks at how slang functions in society, that is, at its very important role of either including or excluding an individual from their closest social environment. As an example of the role that slang plays in various social networks, the author discusses the social networks of adolescents. Besides the more sociologically oriented aspects of slang language, the article also pays attention to a linguistic phenomenon frequently occurring in slang, that is, relexicalization of lexical items. And since slang language, despite what its creators and users might wish, cannot be entirely cut off from the rest of language, the article places slang into the wider scope of language. Further on, the article deals with how slang and offensive expressions are dealt with in dictionaries, be they monolingual or bilingual. Finally, a short discussion of the dictionary treatment of a sample selection from slang and offensive expressions follows, based on a previous longer analysis of lexical items of this type carried out by the author.

Key words: slang, social networks, relexicalization, dictionary treatment, labelling

Ujemi me, če moreš! – sleng kot družbeni pojav in problematika obravnave slenga v slovarjih

Povzetek

Prispevek obravnava sleng iz dveh zornih kotov. Avtorica najprej opiše, kako sleng deluje v okviru družbe. Opisana je izjemno pomembna vloga, ki jo igra sleng – raba slenga lahko posameznika namreč obdrži v njegovem najožjem družbenem okolju, ali pa, na primer ob neustrezni rabi, povzroči, da je posameznik iz svoje družbene mreže izločen. Kot primer vloge, ki jo ima sleng v različnih družbenih mrežah, se avtorica posveti družbenim mrežam adolescentov. Poleg bolj sociološko usmerjenih vidikov slenga, je v članku opisana tudi releksikalizacija, jezikovni pojav, ki je v slengu pogosto prisoten. In ker sleng – ne glede na to, kaj bi si njegovi ustvarjalci in uporabniki morda želeli – ne more biti povsem ločen od ostalih ravni v jeziku, članek umesti sleng v širši, splošnejši okvir jezika. V nadaljevanju beremo, kako so slengovski in žaljivi izrazi obravnavani v slovarjih, tako enojezičnih kot dvojezičnih. Na koncu pa avtorica povzame ugotovitve, do katerih je prišla na podlagi poprejšnje daljše analize slovarske obravnave naključnega izbora slengovskih in žaljivih izrazov.

Ključne besede: sleng, družbene mreže, releksikalizacija, slovarska obravnava, raba kvalifikatorjev

Catch Me If You Can! – Slang as a Social Phenomenon and the Issue of Capturing It in Dictionaries

1. Introduction

The following article deals with a linguistic phenomenon occurring in all languages, namely slang as well as with the phenomenon of social networks. Social networks, as we shall see, are exactly that form of social groups which provides the necessary conditions for the development of slang language. Even though social networks exist on all levels of society, I focus only on an example of a social network in the article, that is, on teenage social networks.

Like other levels of language, slang vocabulary receives much attention from lexicologists and lexicographers. It is, however, far from easy to capture slang and confine it to a dictionary, since one of its basic characteristics is its ever-changing nature. While compiling a dictionary of slang, we are constantly faced with the danger that the slang vocabulary we include in the dictionary and try to bring close to the dictionary user will already fall out of use by the time our dictionary (especially if published in book form) sees the light of day.

Apart from specialized dictionaries of slang, slang vocabulary also finds its place in general monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, though of course in a much narrower scope than in specialized dictionaries. The article discusses the difficulties occurring predominantly in the labelling of slang and offensive expressions in general monolingual (learners') dictionaries and in finding suitable translation equivalents in Slovene. I include some conclusions which were arrived at in the course of a longer analysis of a sample selection of slang and offensive expressions.

2. Social networks

A fact which was discussed among others by the father of sociolinguistics, William Labov, is that people behave differently if they talk to a perfect stranger than if they have a conversation with someone they are better acquainted with. The effect a social group has on an individual was also discussed by J. K. Chambers in his work *Sociolinguistic Theory: Linguistic Variation and Its Social Significance*. Chambers (2009, 74–86) points out that even though social class is one of the primary social variables in sociolinguistics, linguists are aware that some social groups belong to the same social class but are nevertheless linguistically different. In tightly-structured, relatively homogenous social clusters or *social networks*, such as neighbourhoods or parishes, individuals nevertheless stand apart if we compare their patterns of linguistic variation. The social function of networks can be essentially seen as "a norm-enforcement mechanism" – if a person is loyal to a given network, they will conform to the collective values of the network.

Speaking in terms of sociolinguistics, we can find a parallel to the compliance with a network's 'rules' if we realize that people adapt their linguistic behaviour to that of their environment. The closer an individual's ties within a network are, the more their language will approach the "localized vernacular norms". Just as an individual's connection with a network may be stronger or weaker, their level of conforming to the local language may vary and the two phenomena

are definitely connected with each other. Studies of social networks consistently come to the conclusion that those individuals who are the most integrated into a network, that is, its core members, are also the ones who use local linguistic variants most often. This conclusion is not surprising, but is the best proof that factors below the level of such variables as social class, age, sex and region are nevertheless important in determining one's speech.

In the work *Language and Society*, William Downes (1998, 223–29; 255, 256) also discusses the topic of social networks. Speakers of vernacular languages who have strong network bonds allow the introduction of a new linguistic element into their language only when this element is not related to an essential characteristic of their network. This means that, as far as a given trait is concerned (the literature I consulted discusses mainly linguistic variables on the level of the pronunciation of sounds such as, for example, (ng), (th), (r), (V), and (A)), the link between the language and the network has to be weakened. If that is the case, a new characteristic can slip through the net of norms oriented towards solidarity and conservatism, since speakers do not connect it with loyalty to the group.

Downes also discusses a specific type of social networks, that is, social networks among teenagers. Peer-groups of young people exert immense normative pressure on their members and are therefore less sensitive to the general norms of society, transmitted by the institutions of the adults and the outside world, for example, schools.

The speech of children and teenagers is closer to the speech of their peers than to that of their parents. As far as the mechanisms of the acquisition of the vernacular language are concerned, linguists are not uniform in their opinion; Labov (1972, summarized in Downes 1998, 225), for example, distinguishes three stages. At the first stage, between two to three years of age, a child gets his or her first experience with speech production. At this stage, the relevant social network is represented by the child's closest family members. At the second stage, between the ages of four and thirteen, the basic vernacular language is created. The most important normative pressure at this stage comes from the social network of peers. However, hypercorrection shows us that the speech of parents nevertheless still serves as a model. As a possible example of this 'battle' between the parents' and peers' influences, I summarize a part of a conversation taking place between two teenage girls on a Ljubljana bus. One of them, explaining her plans for the day to the other, said: "Veš, pol grem pa še z *mami* v trgovino… no, mislm, z *matko*." The fact that she first described her mother by using an expression used in general informal language (*mami*), but then 'corrected' herself to the more slangy expression (*matka*) is probably a reflection of the basic influence of parents being replaced by the more invasive influence of the speaker's peer-group. At the third stage, between the ages of fourteen and seventeen, an individual acquires the norms of the broader community and, after the age of sixteen, the production of prestige (i.e. standard) forms begins. The networks that influence an individual at this stage are also very important for the enforcement of norms, but, in general, their structure is less closely-knit than with teenage peer-groups.

3. The language of teenage peer-groups

Communities differ in the extent to which they stigmatize the newer forms of language, but I have never yet met anyone who greeted them with applause. Some older citizens welcome the new music

and dances, the new electronic devices and computers. But no one has ever been heard to say, "It's wonderful the way young people talk today. It's so much better than the way we talked when I was a kid." (Labov 2001, 6)

As was already explained, the period of adolescence, of teenage years, is connected with close relationships with peers and gradual separation from the parents' influence. J.K. Chambers (2009, 182–4) states that the passage from childhood to adulthood is often, almost typically, accompanied by extremism. On the surface, rebellion against old norms takes on obvious outer sings, for example, vividly coloured hair, piercing, torn jeans. Also linguistically the rebellion is marked through the use of distinctive slang[1] vocabulary. Expressions which are 'in' serve as markers of group membership. However, since the majority of expressions quickly become dated, those individuals who keep using them are easily labelled as outsiders not belonging to the group. Among expressions which come to mind as dated in Slovene (teenage) slang are *džazno*, *špon(sko), mega*. Unlike these expressions, there are *ful* and *kul*, which have become well-integrated into Slovene informal language and cannot be said to serve as markers of group membership anymore.

In order to serve their social purpose, the outer signs must fulfil two requirements. First, elders have to perceive them as frivolous and extravagant (or, as teenagers would say, they have to be *far out*, *crazy*, *the max*. In Slovene, we could say they have to be *odštekani*, *nori*, *super*.) As far as using slang language as an outer sign of rebellion is concerned, it is essential that elders not have access to the 'inner circle', that they do not understand teenage slang expressions. If the markers gain general acceptance, teenagers have no other choice than to change their style and their vocabulary. People in authority are typically regarded with suspicion and teenage slang abounds in derisory terms for them. Chambers lists for example, *pigs* for the police and *peeps* for parents, which have parallel expressions in Slovene, such as, *kapsi* (for the police), *tastari* (for parents) and we can also add *prfoksi* as a term for teachers.

Second, it is essential that the outer signs be approved of and shared by other teenagers. Teenage slang always has many terms for peers who do not conform (among others, Chambers lists *dork*, *nerd* and *jerk*. Slovene equivalents used in this context of not conforming could be *bednik*, *luzer* and *papak*). Adolescents are typically preoccupied by only a few narrow areas, one of them being school and relationships with schoolmates. And since it is not 'cool' to be seen as a hard-working student, the vocabulary of teenagers is rich in expressions for those learners who work hard and cooperate. Chambers lists expressions such as *suck-holes* and *brown nosers*, obviously having to do with such learners being liked by teachers (or at least wanting to be liked). He lists also expressions for notably gifted learners, who get called such names as *brainiacs* or *cram-artists*. Slovene teenage slang does not lag behind in this field – the successful learners are described as *piflar* or *dudlar*. I have also heard the expression *gik* being used, obviously coming from the English word *geek*.

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[1]   Merriam-Webster OnLine dictionary defines **slang** as 'language peculiar to a particular group as a: argot (an often more or less secret vocabulary and idiom peculiar to a particular group) and b: jargon (the technical terminology or characteristic idiom of a special activity or group)'. The second part of the definition of **slang** describes it as 'an informal nonstandard vocabulary composed typically of coinages, arbitrarily changed words, and extravagant, forced, or facetious figures of speech'.

Another area which commonly occupies adolescents is various ways of getting intoxicated. Therefore it is not surprising that we find a number of slang expressions also in this field. Chambers mentions, for example, being *baked*, *blasted* or *stoned*. In Slovene, we can come across terms such as *zadet*, *pribit*, *počen* and *nabasan*, which come about as a consequence of using for example, *alko* (for alcohol), *pir* (for beer), *gandža* or *džoint* (for marihuana) and *čik* (for cigarette).[2]

Music, in all its forms, is very much part of the life of adolescents, so much so that different styles of music give rise to entire subcultures. These subcultures predictably also have their own slang languages, the main aim of which is to separate the insiders from the outsiders. However, important as it may seem to teenagers at the time, the main feature of teenage style, including teenage slang, is its being relatively short-lived. More important than fashion itself is the fact that one follows fashion. As Chambers observes, adolescent networks, unlike the more stable social networks (neighbourhoods, parishes), require active, on-going involvement. The membership is not guaranteed, in order to keep it, one constantly has to be up-to-date.

An analysis of the field of teenage slang and adolescent social networks was carried out by Tina Cvijanović as part of her work for her Master's degree. In the thesis titled *Slengizmi v jeziku mladostnikov* (Slang expressions in the language of adolescents), she analysed the speech of adolescents. She taped it under different circumstances, that is, in a guided conversation, and in spontaneous conversation when the teenagers did not know they were being recorded. Her goal was to see when adolescents are most authentic in their speech.

It turned out that when a teenager's speech is most authentic depends to a large extent on each individual situation. If they are talking to a group of peers they do not know well, or are a passive member in the group, adolescents, wanting to be noticed, to gain recognition or to shock, will overdo the use of slang expressions and especially vulgar expression. In that case, one cannot claim their speech is authentic. After having talked to a number of adolescents, Cvijanović (2007, 70) came to the conclusion that teenagers are most relaxed and authentic when they are talking to their best friends. In such situations, they do not have to try to make a special impression. Cvijanović also writes that the majority of adolescents found the reason for their relaxedness in talking to their best friend also in the fact that their friend knows them so well that he or she would know if they were 'faking it' with unusual, forced expressions. Cvijanović's work shows that the general sociolinguistic findings also hold true for Slovene teenagers. The adolescent social networks have a powerful normative influence upon their members – friends would know when one among them is pretending or trying too hard by using unusual expressions; at the same time these networks are removed from people in authority – when talking to parents and especially when talking to teachers, teenagers do not use their typical slang language to the extent they would otherwise.

[2] A useful source of typical contexts in which the above Slovene expressions are used is the Fida PLUS corpus. It provides material collected from newspapers, magazines, prose and spoken material. Here I list only a short selection of example sentences entered in the Fida PLUS for some of the above expressions: ***Kapsi*** *čekirajo predvsem na velikih partijih, in včasih tuď kej najdejo. Sej bi pršu, pa me* ***tastari*** *niso pustl. Kr neki najedajo. Če ne sicer, se lahko vsaj pri športni vzgoji do sitega norčuješ iz kakega slabotnega* ***piflarja*** *ali počasne špeglaste bunke, kot sem bila jaz. Šofer je bil tako* ***pribit****, da je kinkal za volanom, niti ni vedel, kaj se dogaja. Saj* ***alko*** *itak ni problem, jutri bom že trezen, [...].*

4. Relexicalization as a characteristic of slang language

Another Slovene author who deals with the field of slang or, as he terms it, the excessive sociolect, is Andrej E. Skubic. In his work titled *Obrazi jezika*, he says that the fact that slang expresses an individual's membership in a group does not make slang that much different from all other identifying types of language. All language which socializes an individual into a specific social group has the characteristic of expressing group membership – however, when people use slang language, the membership in a particular group is *stressed*, which is one of the key reasons for the existence of slang in the first place.

In *Obrazi jezika*, Skubic (2005, 214, 215) presents a detailed analysis of the phenomenon of relexicalization which is typical of excessive sociolects.[3] In excessive sociolects relexicalization is used as a tool to call attention to certain aspects of human existence – typically those which the dominant culture shuns. Usually these aspects are connected with hedonism (sex, intoxication, consumption and excretion of food) and the dominant culture is quick to find euphemistic terms for them. Another area where relexicalization can typically be found are specific aspects of the subcultures themselves (music, dance, semiotics of the body and clothing, etc.). In all these areas a profusion of lexemes appear, which enter into complex relationships with one another and with the cultivated lexemes of the dominant culture:

- the expression used in the excessive sociolect can have an opposite sense to when it is used in the non-excessive sociolect (for example, the Slovene *hud* (angry) can mean *dober* (good) or even *lep* (beautiful));

- the expressions in the excessive sociolect can be very broad in meaning; therefore, every time we use them, their exact meaning depends on the context of use or on the way they are pronounced; as above, *hudo* can have either a negative or a positive connotation; *kul*, derived from the English *cool*, can denote either that a person is calm (*ostal je čisto kul*, 'he remained completely cool'), that a thing is likeable (*kul jakna*, 'a cool jacket') or that somebody is good or fair to someone else (*do mene so bili zelo kul*, 'they were very cool to me');

- the expressions within the excessive sociolect enter complex relationships of partial synonymy – this points to the pleasure the speakers get from having a rich vocabulary and from the subtle differences in meaning which are often difficult to capture and which also change very quickly.

In the renaming of the expressions belonging to the broader community, the sub-community can resort, for example, to words borrowed from other languages (Skubic lists *ludnica*, *izi* and *iber* as examples, entering Slovene from Croatian, English and German respectively) or from

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[3] In *Language as Social Semiotic: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning*, M. A. K. Halliday writes the following about relexicalization: "The simplest form taken by an antilanguage [i.e. language used by a specific social subgroup, not meant to be understood by outsiders] is that of new words for old; it is a language relexicalized. […] Typically this relexicalization is partial, not total: not all words in the language have their equivalents in the antilanguage. […] The principle is that of same grammar, different vocabulary; but different vocabulary only in certain areas, typically those that are central to the activities of the subculture and that set it off most sharply from the established society" (Halliday 1978, 165).

dialects not otherwise used by a given community (for example, *kažin*, *žganjica* or *špinel*). Other sources of renaming are the use of archaic expressions (such as the dated Slovene expression *bojda* ('supposedly')), the use of innovative neologisms (for example, *džazno* ('very good')) or the use of metaphor or metonymy to denote words from the general language (for example, *teta* for a woman, or *pička* for an attractive woman). The sub-community relexicalizes in accordance with its value system or simply for the sake of innovation itself. The swift innovations and also the above illustrated complexity of sense relationships demand that a group member constantly pay attention to linguistic development: the group-membership requires constant attention, otherwise one can quickly fall behind. Therefore innovation has two functions: it reflects the value system of a particular sub-group of society and serves as an immediately recognizable sign of those members who are 'in', that is, who use the innovative forms *correctly*.

Another area where Skubic (2005, 221) finds differences between excessive sociolects and cultivated sociolects is orthography. The orthography of slang languages often matches the level of spoken language. While the orthography of the hypercorrect sociolect follows the standard norm, the excessive sociolects refuse to accept this norm and try to bring their orthography close to the spoken, locally used language. Moreover, not only is the orthography of excessive sociolects different from the standard norm, it is not regulated even within the excessive sociolect itself – the written form of an excessive sociolect is unsystematic and a given lexical item may have more than one spelling, even with just one writer and in one piece of text (Skubic lists, among others, *malo* and *mal* (as variant forms of the spelling of 'little'), and *zjutraj*, *zjutri* and *zutri* (as possible spellings of 'in the morning')).

Besides orthography, excessive sociolects differ from the standard norm also in their grammar and syntax; however, as Skubic (2005, 216) writes, excessive sociolects nevertheless do not diverge critically from the cultivated sociolects. After all, slang language is always the sociolect of resocialization, that is, of new and *conscious* alternative self-placement into the society. This self-placement follows the initial, *unconscious* socialization into the sociolect of one's environment. The initial unconscious socialization forms a sound foundation of language on all levels; slang, however, influences predominantly the surface level of language, that is, its vocabulary. That is why Skubic is of the opinion that people have an unnecessary fear that foreign words brought into Slovene via slang languages (for example, *skenslati* ('odsloviti'), based on the English verb *to cancel* or *bejba* (or even *bejb*) ('lepo, privlačno dekle'), based on the English noun *babe*) might achieve dominance over the Slovene vocabulary – elements of slang languages are often temporary and in use only while they are perceived as novel and original. Slang expressions that are in use for a longer time (as, for example, *ful*, *kul*, *šit*, *bed*, *mega* and *stari* used in Slovene adolescent slang) are more an exception than a rule, whereas the Slovene lexical basis is a constant feature one can rely on.

5. The place of slang in the broader frame of language

The slang words listed as exceptions which 'outlive' their counterparts somehow negate one of the basic characteristic of slang language, that is, the generally short lifespan of slang vocabulary. A question which arises at this point is whether such persistent slang words would not fit better

into another category of lexical items, namely, colloquial or informal words. Linguists divide the two spheres following a basic rule of thumb: the term *slang* is used with informal (and typically ephemeral) words used by a specific social group (for example, teenagers, soldiers, or criminals). Slang cannot be equated with colloquial language, that is, the informal, relaxed speech used by *all* speakers. Even though slang expressions are often used in informal speech, not all informal words can be termed as slang. In determining whether a word has its place in informal language or in slang language, corpora provide invaluable information. Through the use of corpora, one is able to assess typical contexts and text genres in which a word appears. However, there is no sharp boundary between the spheres of slang and informal language – the division would be better described as a continuum. Even though the majority of slang expressions are short-lived and quickly replaced by new words, some, such as the above-mentioned *ful*, *kul*, *šit*, and *bed* (used in Slovene adolescent slang), rise from the sphere of slang and join the general informal language.

The following diagram, taken from *The Oxford English Dictionary*, provides a useful illustration of where in the vocabulary slang and colloquial lexical items have their place.

Figure 1. Illustration of slang and colloquial lexical items. (Simpson and Weiner 1989, xxiv)

The accompanying explanation of the diagram is as follows:

"[…] The centre [of the diagram] is occupied by the 'common' words, in which literary and colloquial usage meet. 'Scientific' and 'foreign' words enter the common language mainly through literature; 'slang' words ascend through colloquial use; […]. Slang also touches on one side the technical terminology of trades and occupations, […] and on another passes into true dialect. […]" (Simpson and Weiner 1989, xxiv)

In the introductory text to *The New Partridge Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*, Tom Dalzell and Terry Victor quote Partridge's distinction between technical terminology/jargon and slang:

"The specialization that characterizes every vocation leads naturally to a specialized vocabulary, to the invention of new words or the re-charging of old words. Such special words and phrases become slang only when they are used outside their vocational group and then only if they change their meaning or are applied in other ways […] But, whatever the source, personality and one's surroundings (social or occupational) are the two co-efficients, the two chief factors, the determining causes of the nature of slang, as they are of language in general and of style." (Partridge quoted in Dalzell and Victor 2006, xv)

In the Introduction to *Chambers Slang Dictionary*, Jonathon Green, a leading lexicographer in this field, gives a colourful description of slang:

"Slang is the language that says 'no'. No to piety, to religion, to ideology and all its permutations, to honour, nobility, patriotism and their kindred infantilisms. […] Unlike its Standard English 'cousin' – which, like slang, is just one more variety of the greater English language, albeit of an alternative register – its words are coined at the society's lower depths, and make their way aloft. […] [I]t is sexist, racist, nationalist, prejudiced and welcoming of the crassest stereotyping. […] In comparison with the Standard English lexis its vocabulary covers a tiny waterfront, but in what depth: 3000 drunks, 1500 copulations, 1000 each of penises and vaginas…a glorious taxonomy of the flesh and its indulgence.

For this and other sins it remains a target: reviled, censored, the repository of sneers, dismissals and condemnations. Slang is unmoved. […] It is the great re-inventor: its themes – sex, money, intoxication, insults (racial, national and personal), bodily parts and their functions – may not have changed in half a millennium of its collection, but like the alphabet that underpins it, it is capable of a seeming infinity of variations." (Green 2008, xi)

Not only is the nature of slang such that it sets it apart from the general language, there are also special reasons or circumstances under which people choose to use slang language. Partridge (quoted in Dalzell and Victor 2006, xvi, xvii) offers a list of thirteen reasons:

- In sheer high spirits; 'just for the fun of the thing'.
- As an exercise in wit or humour.
- To be 'different' – to be novel.
- To be picturesque.
- To be startling; to startle.
- To escape from clichés and long-windedness.
- To enrich the language.
- To give solidity and concreteness to the abstract and the idealistic, and nearness to the distant scene or object.
- To reduce solemnity, pain, tragedy.
- To put oneself in tune with one's company.
- To induce friendliness or intimacy.
- To show that one belongs to a certain school, trade or profession, intellectual set or social class. In short to be in the fashion – or to prove that someone else isn't.
- To be secret – not understood by those around one.

6. Slang and offensive language in dictionaries

Slang, as can be understood from the above descriptions, as well as from previous discussion on the role of slang in social groups/networks, is therefore a part of the (English) language that deserves special treatment, a fact which is supported by quite some specialized dictionaries of slang, be it in book form (for example, *The New Partridge Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*, based on the work of Eric Partridge, but thoroughly revised and expanded, and *Chambers Slang Dictionary*, the work of Jonathon Green) or available on the Internet (for example, the *Urban Dictionary* and the Slovene *Razvezani jezik, prosti slovar žive slovenščine*). That is not to say, however, that slang expressions are collected only in specialized dictionaries and not included also in general monolingual dictionaries. They are included, but prove to be quite problematic when it comes to labelling individual lexical items. In *Dictionaries, The Art and Craft of Lexicography*, Sidney Landau states:

> Slang deserves a category all by itself. It is sometimes grouped with the style labels (*formal/informal*) and sometimes with the status labels (*standard/nonstandard*), but it does not fit comfortably with either. Slang does not represent a vocabulary that one can adopt to suit a social situation, as one can with terms on the *formal/informal* index. In fact, when slang is used appropriately it is on the way to becoming standard speech. Unlike other words restrictively labeled, slang is deliberately nonstandard. Much slang has been introduced by criminals, hucksters and gamblers; […] Much slang derives also from the cant of musicians and soldiers and other groups that feel isolated or beleaguered. Their private vocabulary percolates through layers of language to become tomorrow's slang, then routinely peppers the conversations of young people everywhere. Some dictionary users mistakenly suppose that slang is necessarily in the category of taboo words. Although much slang deals with off-color subjects, taboo words are not necessarily slang and most slang words are not taboo. There is only an incidental correspondence between the categories.
>
> […] Since there are no agreed external criteria for identifying slang, we must support efforts to establish them; but in the meantime we must rely on subjective criteria lacking in any authority save that of informed and educated people trained to be sensitive to language style. In day-to-day decisions, words are labeled slang by lexicographers or their advisers because the words are deemed to be extremely informal. This is unsatisfactory; slang is not simply very informal usage. But until we have agreed criteria by which to judge them, slang and informal words will appear in more or less free variation in dictionaries. (Landau 2001, 237, 240)

A similar confusion exists when it comes to deciding which usages should be labelled to warn the dictionary user that an individual item might be perceived as offensive. Landau (2001, 232–4) says that when dictionaries apply labels concerning insult, they follow political and moral guidelines. They warn the dictionary user against using terms which could be perceived as insulting towards, for example, homosexuals, women, racial and ethnic groups, etc. Dictionary labels are therefore chosen on the basis of both the lexicographers' personal opinions and 'the official views of the government under whose laws the business that produces the dictionary operates' (Landau 2001, 232).

Further on, Landau states an important fact which reveals why it is so difficult to label terms of insult appropriately:

Unfortunately, there are no agreed-upon criteria for finding some usages offensive or contemptuous or abusive. There are few studies that shed any light on the degree of offensiveness of specified terms under specified conditions. What matters is the relationship between the speaker and the spoken to, and between the speaker and the spoken about. Do they know each other well or not at all? Are they members of the same in-group? […] This kind of analysis depends upon usage notes, which dictionaries do try to include wherever possible. Labels cannot tell the whole story.

Insult can be affectionate. There is no basis for the flat assertion that *any* term is insulting under all conditions, no matter how offensive it may be under some. In practice dictionaries' labels of insult are based on the assumption that the speaker does not know the person spoken to well or that both do not belong to the same in-group. The advice is only about *public* behavior, […]. (Landau 2001, 233)

Another issue that Landau touches upon is the way labelling changed through time:

> If, in the past, dictionaries were too slow to label terms of insult, they now seem too quick to do so. Many hundreds of terms are now labeled as *disparaging*, *contemptuous*, or *offensive* in dictionaries, often on the strength of dubious evidence but out of fear that they will be taken as insensitive to some group. (Landau 2001, 234)

Henri Béjoint discusses the topic of usage labels in his *Modern Lexicography: An Introduction*. According to Béjoint, we can learn a lot about the (intended) user of a particular dictionary by looking at the usage labels applied, "since any deviation from the norm is signalled by a label. Labels stigmatize the deviations from the portrait of the average user" (Béjoint 2000, 110). However, as we saw with Landau above, also Béjoint warns that the conclusions we might draw about dictionary users based on the usage labels applied to individual lexical items could prove to be deceptive since "they allow conclusions about the dictionary users as the lexicographers see them, not necessarily as they are" (Béjoint 2000, 110).

Nevertheless, if we set aside the fact that the criteria for deciding what to label as a slang expression, an insulting expression or a colloquial expression are somewhat unreliable, we must admit that usage labels are useful. In monolingual dictionaries intended for (foreign) learners, usage labels and usage notes are indispensable since they act as a security measure to help prevent dictionary users from inadvertently using inappropriate expressions.

7. Dictionary labelling

In *A Handbook of Lexicography: The Theory and Practice of Dictionary Making*, Bo Svensén discusses the topic of dictionary labelling or marking. Lexical items which are furnished with a label do not entirely fall in with the majority of items described in a dictionary – their use is restricted in one way or another.

Svensén states:

> The labelling system of a dictionary consists of a number of part-systems, each of which is concerned with a certain type of characteristic of the lexical items. Each part-system can be

viewed as an area with a centre and a periphery, where different items can be located at different distances from the centre. […] A labelling system transforms a continuum to a set of degrees on a scale (e.g. 'colloquial', 'popular', 'vulgar'). Therefore, it is essential always to keep in mind that a label represents an area that has a certain extension somewhere between centre and periphery. For instance, expressions belonging to the area 'colloquial' can be colloquial to varying degrees, i.e. be located at varying distances from the unmarked area or from the one characterized as 'popular'. (Svensén 2009, 315, 316)

Criterion	Type of marking	Unmarked centre	Marked periphery	Examples of labels
1 Time	diachronic	contemporary language	archaism – neologism	*arch., dated, old use*
2 Place	diatopic	standard language	regionalism, dialect word	*AmE, Scot., dial.*
3 Nationality	diaintegrative	native word	foreign word	*Lat., Fr.*
4 Medium	diamedial	neutral	spoken – written	*colloq., spoken*
5 Socio-cultural	diastratic	neutral	sociolects	*pop., slang, vulgar*
6 Formality	diaphasic	neutral	formal – informal	*fml, infml*
7 Text type	diatextual	neutral	poetic, literary, journalese	*poet., lit.*
8 Technicality	diatechnical	general language	technical language	*Geogr., Mil., Biol., Mus.*
9 Frequency	diafrequential	common	rare	*rare, occas.*
10 Attitude	diaevaluative	neutral	connoted	*derog., iron., euphem.*
11 Normativity	dianormative	correct	incorrect	*non-standard*

Table 1. Diasystematic marking in a contemporary general-purpose dictionary. (Svensén 2009, 316)

8. Marking information in different dictionaries

Even though the labels in comparable dictionaries may seem identical at a glance, a closer inspection of their explanations reveals that there tend to be at least subtle differences among them. Svensén also discusses this problem:

> Comparing the marking information provided by different dictionaries is often difficult. There are several reasons for this. Different dictionaries may use different labels, and the categories represented by the labels may have different ranges in different dictionaries. Moreover, there may be differences in labelling practice, so that, in one dictionary, fewer or more lexical items are regarded as formal or informal, correct or incorrect, etc., than in another one […]. (Svensén 2009, 316)

In order to see what is meant by individual labels, I looked up their definitions in three widely used learner's dictionaries, that is, *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (Wehmeier, McIntosh,

and Turnbull 2005; henceforth OALD7), *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* (Rundell 2007; henceforth MED2) and *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (Woodford and Jackson 2003; henceforth CALD2). They provide the following explanations for the labels most closely connected with the slangy, offensive lexical items that are the focus of this article:

→ *informal*:
- OALD7: informal expressions are used between friends or in a relaxed or unofficial situation. They are not appropriate for formal situations.
- MED2: informal – more common in speech than in writing and not used on a formal occasion
- CALD2: informal – used in ordinary speech (and writing) and not suitable for formal situations

→ *offensive*:
- OALD7: offensive expressions are used by some people to address or refer to people in a way that is very insulting, especially in connection with their race, religion, sex or disabilities [...]. You should not use these words.
- MED2: offensive – extremely rude and likely to cause offence
- CALD2: offensive – very rude and likely to offend people

→ *slang / very informal*:
- OALD7: slang is very informal language, sometimes restricted to a particular group of people, for example, people of the same age or those who have the same interests or do the same job
- MED2: very informal – used only in very informal situations and mainly among people who know each other well. Some dictionaries use the label *slang*.
- CALD2: slang – extremely informal language, used mainly by a particular group, especially young people

Besides these labels, OALD7 often applies also the label *taboo* ("taboo expressions are likely to be thought by many people to be obscene or shocking. You should not use them."), while MED2 quite frequently employs the label *impolite* ("impolite – not taboo but will certainly offend some people").

9. Dictionary treatment of slang and offensive expressions

We can see that the labels have similar, yet not identical explanations, thus confirming Svensén's findings. In an analysis of lexical items belonging to slang and offensive sphere of language, I looked at the dictionary treatment of approximately 50 lexical items.[4] I primarily wanted to see how the three learner's dictionaries solve the labelling of individual items and what information is

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4   I chose CALD2 as my starting point for comparison of the three learner's dictionaries and compared items which (in CALD2) bear the labels *slang* on the one hand and *offensive* on the other. The random sample selection of lexical items labelled as *slang* included the following items: *bent, bottle, choppers, cottaging, dog, eliminate, faggot, gag, hot, klutz, lush, mug shot, nosh, plug, rap, shooting gallery, sock, wasted, cock sth up, knock sb up, play chicken, take a leak/have a leak, shut your mouth/face/gob, sick as a parrot*. The sample selection of lexical items labelled as *offensive* included the following items: *arsehole, bitch, bugger/buggered/buggery, cow, cunt, frigging, knob, midget, non-white, piss, prick, retard/retarded, shit, slapper, spade, turd, vegetable, whitey, go ape-shit, cover your ass/butt/backside, get your rocks off*.

conveyed to the dictionary user via labels. Secondly, I looked at the definitions and the examples of use provided. And finally, as a native speaker of Slovene studying English, I wanted to see how well English slang or offensive expressions are represented in three English-Slovene dictionaries, that is, the *Veliki angleško-slovenski slovar* (Grad, Škerlj, and Vitorovič 1978; henceforth VASS), the *Veliki angleško-slovenski slovar Oxford* (Krek 2005-2006; henceforth VASSO) and the *Angleško-slovenski slovar* (Vrbinc and Vrbinc 2009; henceforth ASS). Since I obviously cannot include all the material I gathered for the research here, I can only refer the reader to the entries for the lexical items (listed in footnote 4) in the three learner's dictionaries and the three English-Slovene dictionaries.

In the analysis of the randomly chosen sample lists of lexical items, the following results were obtained. As far as the comparison of labels used with the lexical items in the sample selections is concerned, there are the following relationships among the three learner's dictionaries: with some of the lexical items chosen for the analysis, what is labelled as *slang* in CALD2 bears the label *informal* in the other two dictionaries. The three dictionaries therefore situate these items at varying distances, so to speak, from the general, non-marked English language. CALD2 treats them as being farther removed from the general language than OALD7 or MED2. Some examples of this kind are the lexical items *bent*, *klutz*, *lush* and *mug shot*.

With some other examples, such as *choppers*, *cottaging*, *nosh* and *wasted*, two of the dictionaries (mainly CALD2 and OALD7) treat the lexical items as belonging to slang language. The third dictionary (mostly MED2) applies the label *informal*, therefore again bringing the items closer to general language than the other two dictionaries do.

Examples such as *eliminate*, *hot*, *shooting gallery* or *play chicken* are all similar in the fact that the three learner's dictionaries use very different labels to mark them. With *eliminate*, in the sense of 'to murder', CALD2 provides the label *slang*, OALD7 the label *formal* whereas MED2 provides no label. With *hot* and *shooting gallery*, OALD7 is the one to give no label, while CALD2 labels the items as *slang* and MED2 as *informal*. *Play chicken* is an example where CALD2 provides the label *slang* and the other two dictionaries give no label at all.

MED2 differs from the other two dictionaries in some examples as it provides a warning attitude label (i.e. *impolite*, *offensive*) where they provide a usage label (*slang* or *informal*). Among these examples are *take a leak*, *shut your mouth* and *knock sb up*. However, it has to be said that with at least some of the examples, the other two dictionaries convey the warning, transmitted by the label in MED2, as part of the definition.

The three dictionaries are in agreement, that is, all provide the label *slang* or its equivalent label, *very informal*, in only one case in the sample selection, namely, *gag*. In this case, however, the sample selection paints a very misleading picture – if we check the entire entry lists of the three learner's dictionaries and focus on the two corresponding labels (*slang* and *very informal*), we can easily see that the overlap between the three dictionaries is much greater and that they are in agreement in quite some cases.

The sample selection based on the label *offensive* in CALD2 also revealed some similarities and some differences among the three learner's dictionaries. A number of lexical items have the

following combination of labels – CALD2 and MED2 label them as *offensive*, whereas OALD7 provides the label *taboo, slang*. Some such examples are *arsehole*, *cunt*, *frigging*, *retard* and *spade*. OALD7 therefore treats these examples as obscene and shocking and conveys its strongest warning against their usage.

Another combination of labels also appears quite often in the sample selection, that is, CALD2 marks the item as *offensive*, OALD7 as *taboo, slang* and MED2 only as *impolite*. Examples with this combination of labels are certain senses of the items *bugger*, *piss*, *shit* and the item *get your rocks off*. In these cases, MED2 apparently perceives the lexical items as causing milder offence and consequently its warning is not as pronounced as with the other two dictionaries (another explanation for the difference in labels applied is that MED2 label *impolite* is broader in application and thus covers also offensive/taboo senses). It has to be said, however, that MED2 is sensitive to the seriousness of offence an item might cause with lexical items which in one of their senses refer to a person. Such examples are *prick*, *shit* and *turd*, where the senses referring to people are marked with the label *offensive* even though the other senses carry the milder label, *impolite*.

Considering the definitions and examples of use the three learner's dictionaries provide for the lexical items in both sample selections, one can see that they are efficient in conveying and illustrating the meanings of the chosen lexical items. It is true that with individual lexical items one dictionary may be more efficient or successful in transmitting the meaning than the other dictionaries. It is also true that some examples of use are more useful or crucial for the correct understanding of a given lexical item than others. However, since all three dictionaries are composed by well-versed lexicographers, it is only to be expected that the definitions and the examples of use are individually of high quality, though some might be better than others when placed side by side in the comparison.

The last substantial part of the comparison of dictionaries was the comparison of translation equivalents entered for the items in the two sample selections, in three English-Slovene dictionaries.[5] Generally speaking, VASS was the least successful in providing suitable translation equivalents. A number of items chosen for the two sample selections have no translation equivalents in this dictionary, for example, *lush, wasted*, *cock sth up*, *cunt*, *frigging*, *knob* or *slapper*. In some other cases, VASS provides translation equivalents only for the general-language senses, for example, for *bent* (translated as *upognjen, skrivljen*) and *arsehole* (only the anatomical sense is translated as *ritnik*). There are also cases where VASS provides translation equivalents which do not match the original expressions stylistically – they can be seen as too formal (e.g. *prick* translated as *penis*), too neutral (*plug* translated as *udariti s pestjo, streljati, ustreliti*) or old-fashioned (*dog* translated as *ničvrednež, zagovednež*; *sock* translated as *biti, pogoditi koga (s kamnom)*; *bitch* as *vlačuga*). That is not to say, however, that VASS does not provide any usable translation equivalents, but they are fewer in number if compared with the other two English-Slovene dictionaries.

The two 'new' English-Slovene dictionaries, especially VASSO, have to be complimented on their treatment of slang and offensive expressions. They clearly reflect the change in mentality of dictionary-making that obviously occurred in the time from when VASS was created. VASSO

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[5] With polysemous items, I took into consideration only those senses which belong to the slang/offensive spheres and disregarded translation equivalents provided for senses used in the general language.

and ASS do not try to hide the potentially repulsive, insulting nature of slang and offensive expressions and give the dictionary users a fair presentation of these spheres of language, controversial as they may be.

Given the difference in size of the two dictionaries, it is not surprising that VASSO provides translation equivalents for a larger number of lexical items in the sample selection than ASS does. This, however cannot be taken simply as a disadvantage of ASS, but as an important piece of information an attentive dictionary user should not miss – since ASS is based on the 40,000 most frequently used words, one can quickly see which slang/offensive lexical items or which senses of individual lexical items belong to this 'pool' of words. One could therefore conclude that lexical items which have translations equivalents only in VASSO are a) either too controversial or too recent to be included in VASS and b) not used often enough to be part of the 40,000 most frequently used lexical items and thus included in ASS. The sample selection included a number of such lexical items, for example, *bottle* (in the sense of 'courage'), *choppers*, *cottaging*, *klutz*, *shooting gallery*, *knock sb up*, *cunt*, *frigging*, *slapper*, *whitey* and *get your rocks off*. Two of the lexical items listed, *cottaging* and *shooting gallery*, are included in VASSO, but have only descriptive translation equivalents ('homoseksualna srečanja na javnem stranišču' and '*[med uživalci mamil]* kraj, kjer si narkomani kupijo in vbrizgajo heroin' respectively). The descriptive translation equivalents are a good example of how difficult translating slang and offensive expressions can be. In some cases, a translator has little choice but to depart from the style level of the original expression (for example, the slang expression *choppers* has two rather neutral translation equivalents in VASSO, namely, *zobje, proteza*; another such example is *mug shot*, translated as 'slika obraza (zlasti za policijsko zbirko)' in VASS and as '1 (Am.) *[v policijski kartoteki]* fotografija obraza 2 (šalj.) fotografija' in VASSO) or even explain rather than translate (see the translation equivalents for *cottaging* and *shooting gallery*).

As was said before, colloquial and especially slang expressions often prove to be quite elusive and ephemeral. However, underlying concepts, for example, relationships among peers, sexuality, leisure activities, etc. being described in slang terms are relatively constant. This means that even if dictionaries do not manage to provide a translation equivalent that suits a text completely, they are invaluable in pointing a translator in the right direction in their search for a suitable translation equivalent. The translation equivalents provided by VASSO and ASS for the lexical items in the sample selection are for the most part suitable; some, however, could be further 'colloquialized' to suit the sphere of contemporary slang language better. Two such examples are the translation equivalents for the slang sense of *bottle* (translated in VASSO as 'korajža, pogum') and *to knock sb up* (translated in VASSO as 'narediti otroka'). It is not difficult to imagine contexts which would call for 'dirtier' translation equivalents – the first lexical item could thus be translated also as 'jajca', whereas the latter could be translated as 'napumpati'. Even descriptive translation equivalents, though perhaps less directly usable in a text, can be used as a starting point for creating a translation equivalent. For example, taking into consideration the definition of *shooting gallery* ('a place where addicts congregate to buy and inject drugs', entered in *The New Partridge Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*) and its descriptive translation equivalent from VASSO (*[med uživalci mamil]* kraj, kjer si narkomani kupijo in vbrizgajo heroin), a translator could form a slangy translation equivalent in Slovene. Since the original expression

is an extended meaning of 'a shooting range', one might attempt a similar derivation also in Slovene. Taking 'strelišče' as the staring point, one could create something like *zadevališče*, which would include the form of the base word ('strelišče') and apply to it the informal verb connected with shooting up drugs, *zadeti se*.

The final issue to be looked at is some of the usage labels applied to the chosen lexical items by the three English-Slovene dictionaries. As with the translation equivalents provided, also here the change in the perception of certain lexical items can be noticed. For example, *take/have a leak* and *cow*, which are labelled as *vulgar* in VASS, bear milder labels in VASSO (*pogovorno* and *pogovorno, slabšalno* respectively). On the other hand, *spade*, which is labelled *colloquially* in VASS, has two labels in VASSO, namely, *pogovorno* and *žaljivo*. These two examples show how the perception of what is taboo changes through time – if terms of excretion were considered vulgar at the time when VASS was published, they are now obviously perceived as causing milder offence. Contrary to this, potentially racist terms are now labelled as offensive and the dictionary user is warned against their usage. Another difference in the usage labels applied exists between VASSO and ASS. With some lexical items, VASSO applies the label *pogovorno* whereas ASS applies the label *sleng* – some examples of this difference are the entries for *dog*, *hot* and *bitch*. The two dictionaries provide the same or very similar translation equivalents (*pes(jan)* and *pes* for *dog*; *pretihotapljen* and *tihotapski* for *hot*; *psica*, used in both dictionaries for *bitch*), however, the difference in the usage labels applied situates the lexical items at different distances from the unmarked core vocabulary and might prove to be confusing to dictionary users. At the same time, this very difference is an example of the difficulty of the task of labelling slang/colloquial vocabulary, as well as of the issue discussed by Svensén, that is, the fact that an individual label can be 'stretched' and can cover a different scope of vocabulary in one dictionary than it does in another.

10. Conclusion

All in all, I have to say that this journey through the colourful world of slang has been an interesting and enlightening one. It revealed just how important the role of slang is in people's lives, especially in their teenage years when it may prove to be one of the deciding factors in whether a person is accepted in their peer network or not. Slang, inconstant as it may be if we focus on individual expressions, is therefore nevertheless an ever-present phenomenon in all societies.

Another aspect of slang which revealed itself is how difficult, not to say impossible, it is to capture the nature of slang expressions in dictionaries and to provide uniform labels. As was observed with the lexical items *eliminate*, *hot*, *shooting gallery* or *play chicken*, dictionaries sometimes vary widely in their choice of labels. Such differences in labelling are clearly problematic, since the information conveyed to the dictionary user differs quite considerably. At the same time, these differences are a reflection of the difficulty of applying a uniform label to lexical items belonging to the elusive field of slang. Even when we try to look at slang and offensive expressions in isolation, we are quickly faced with the fact that we simply cannot analyse them without considering the effect they have when used in real life. It is much more difficult to be completely certain that one has taken into consideration all senses and especially all connotations when dealing with this sort of vocabulary, than if, for example, analysing vocabulary belonging to technical language.

Slang expressions and offensive expressions all have their special appeal – the former for their ever-changing, often witty nature which does not let the reader or the listener ever be bored and the latter for the fact that nothing ever is black and white and that what some may perceive as extremely offensive may even be considered affectionate in other circumstances. These spheres of language definitely are worth exploring and it is not difficult to see why some lexicographers and sociolinguists devote much of their time to research of this kind.

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On Fillers and Their Possible Functions

Summary

This paper has its departure point in ten interviews conducted by the famous journalist Larry King on the CNN. It sets out to demonstrate that fillers, words and phrases that may carry a negligible if not void semantic load, may, nevertheless, play an important functional role in communication, as discourse markers and interactional signals.

Key words: filler, discourse marker, interactional signal, symbol function, symptom function

Mašila in njihove možne funkcije

Povzetek

Izhodišče članka je deset intervjujev znanega novinarja družbe CNN Larryja Kinga. Namen članka je dokazati, da mašila, beside in besedne zveze, ki imajo zanemarljav semantični pomen oziroma ga sploh nimajo, lahko v sporazumevanju igrajo pomembno vlogo kot diskurzni označevalci ali sporazumevalni sigali.

Ključne besede: mašilo, diskurzni označevalec, sporazumevalni signal, simbolična funkcija, simptomatična funkcija

On Fillers and Their Possible Functions

1. Introduction

Dialogues are types of spoken interaction, here-and-now social activities that, according to Stenström (1994, 3), are "governed by two main principles: speakers take turns and they cooperate". This, however, does not mean that the listener always waits for the speaker to finish before taking over; nor does it mean that the participants in the dialogue are always in full agreement with each other, that they never contradict each other, that objections to what is being said are never made or that surprising changes of topic never occur. Since speech is delivered spontaneously, hesitations, false starts, repetitions or incomplete utterances are fairly natural in a dialogue. And last, but not least, emotions are always engaged in a verbal exchange between two or more people.

Most of these characteristics of dialogues are embodied in the language used by the participants in this kind of oral communication. Sounds, words, phrases, or even clauses that are "relatively syntax-independent, do not have a particular grammatical function, do not change the meaning of the utterances and have a somewhat empty meaning" themselves (Lee 2004, 117) are illustrative of such language.

They have been paid little attention by linguists on the very grounds that their semantic contribution to the message is, most of the time, negligible, if not nil. It may be due to the reduced interest they have stirred that the terminology referring to them has been inconsistent. Thus, some scholars, such as Lee (2004), include all these linguistic items in the category of *fillers* and point out that some of them function as markers of discourse development); others, such as Svartvik (1980) and Stubbs (1983), while calling them by the same name, analyze only few of the words in this class (basically, "oh" and "well", referring to them also as adverbs, interjections, particles). Still other linguists classify them differently. Schiffrin (1987), for example, abandons the label *fillers* in favour of *discourse markers*, which she defines operationally as "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk". On the other hand, for Stenström (1994, 223), *fillers* are only those "lexically empty items with uncertain discourse functions, except to fill a conversational gap". Words and phrases without a referential meaning that are "used to organize and hold the turn and to mark boundaries in the discourse" (Stenström 1994, 63) are considered *discourse markers*. They "help the speaker organize the discourse. They serve to start a conversation; they serve to introduce and mark the end of a topic; and they signal the end of a conversation". Non-referential words and phrases that "are used to start, carry on and terminate the conversation" are called by her *interactional signals* (Stenström 1994, 61), a definition which does not seem to be very helpful when it comes to making a clear difference between what she calls discourse markers and interactional signals. The fact that the latter "appeal for feedback and give feedback, they respond, they involve the listener in the conversation, and so on; in other words, they play a crucial role for a smooth interaction" (Stenström 1994, 61), may shed some light on the matter.

In the present paper, the term *filler* is used for any word or phrase that has no referential meaning, makes no semantic contribution to the content of the message transmitted, and is syntactically

detachable from the sentence in which it occurs, in other words, a word or phrase whose absence would leave the propositional content of the verbal exchange intact.

On the basis of an analysis of fillers carried out on the basis of ten interviews conducted by the well-known journalist Larry King on CNN (see Corpus), this paper will, however, highlight also a number of specific cases in which one has to admit to the fillers' playing some role (other than semantic in communication), in spite of their being considered useless signs of bad language, "words that jump out of the mouth while we are figuring out what clever things to say next" (Andersson and Trudgill 1992, 95). It is undeniable that fillers have no other role than to fill a gap in conversation in examples such as (1) to (3):

(1) RG: *Well, to tell you the truth, I think*, even the first time I was hit, it was a turn.

(2) RG: Well, I was so numb. *I mean, certainly,* I talked – Barbara knew what was going on.

(3) SB: …it was really comfortable for people like myself, who *just sort of* like to laugh…

However, my paper reveals several communicative situations in which fillers in the category of verbs (*come on, look, listen*), nouns (*man*), adverbs (*yes, right, well, just, now, OK, clearly, totally*), interjections (*oh*), phrases, of which some are exclamatory (*sort of, all right, for sure, in some ways, for god's sake, my gosh, my goodness, oh, dear, oh, boy*), tag questions, non-finite clauses (*to tell you the truth*) and complete or incomplete finite clauses (*I mean, I think, the point is, you know, you see, let me see, I'll tell you what, I'm telling you*) may have some unquestionable functional role.

2. General functions of fillers in communication

In this paper, the general functions of fillers are theoretically seen from three points of view that add to each other to articulate a coherent approach to what the role in communication of these linguistic devices may be – Bühler's (1990) Organon model of language, Schourup's (1985) worlds of conversation and Schiffrin's (1987) perspective on the flow of information in interactive discourse and how this is marked.

If looked at from the perspective of Bühler's (1990) Organon model of language, fillers have no symbolic, representation function, i.e. they have no referents in the surrounding reality, and thus they cannot serve the purpose of "one's person communicating with another about things" (Bühler 1990, 35). However, they have both a *symptom or expressive function*, i.e. they provide information about the speaker's attitude towards his/her words or his/her interlocutor's words, show the speaker's attitude towards the interlocutor or replace whole statements that should have described emotional reactions, and a *signal or appeal function*, i.e. they are directed towards the interlocutor and meant to trigger a certain (linguistic) behaviour or attitude on his/her part.

Partly similarly, if seen from the point of view of Schourup's (1985) description of the worlds of conversation, fillers may be considered linguistic elements that provide hints at the relationship between the private worlds (of knowledge, beliefs, feelings, hopes, etc.) of the participants in conversation and the shared world they are building while communicating. As Andersson and Trudgill (1990, 105) explain, "when we talk, we enter into a conversation from our own private

world of knowledge and beliefs. The speaker has one such world and the listener another. During the conversation, we together build up a shared world of discourse… Small words (fillers) … rise like bubbles out of our private worlds to the surface of the shared world. They help to give indications to do with surprise, irritation, insecurity, and so on, about the relationship between the private worlds and the shared one, without forcing us to spell out the whole story word for word".

Seen from yet another perspective, fillers may function as discourse markers – markers of how the states of information change over the course of a conversation. Discussing presupposes exchanging information, "knowledge and meta-knowledge are constantly in flux, as are degrees of certainty about, and salience of, information. … What speakers and hearers can reasonably expect one another to know, what they can expect about the other's knowledge of what they know, how certain they can expect one another to be about that knowledge, and how salient they can expect the other to find that knowledge are all constantly changing" (Schiffrin 1987, 99). Fillers give indications of these changes.

These general functions branch out into a number of specific roles that fillers may play, as it will be illustrated in what follows.

3. Specific functions of fillers in communication

3.1 Fillers as discourse markers

As suggested in the previous section, following Schiffrin's (1987) theory, fillers may sometimes function as discourse markers. As such, they contribute to the development of conversation in a particular way, by signalling that:

a) the listener has followed the interlocutor's words and encourages him/her to speak on, implicitly acknowledging the temporary dominant role of s/he who has the floor at that point of the exchange. In this case, fillers function as backchannels, used, most of the times, though not exclusively, "at syntactic and semantic 'completion points', where even a takeover would have been natural" (Stenström 1994, 6):

> (4) LK: Now, Muhammad has gotten progressively worse…
> MF: *Yes.*
> LK:… in that he can't speak – he almost can't – I don't think he can speak.
> (5) LK: No one ever hit you?
> RG: No, no. Which is so interesting because I ended up marrying – I mean certainly my mother tried to create a safe, wonderful – or my household was wonderful.
> LK*: Right.*
> RG: But I married a man like my father…
>
> (6) DT: Well, it seemed that all of the folks went back to Saudi Arabia. They got their …
> LK: *OK.*

DT: They put their wives on the planes. They all went back to Saudi Arabia.

(7)   SG: … this is much more about scope and how widespread this might become…and much less about severity.

LK: *All right*…

SG: So it might not be that serious. It could be mild illnesses.

b) the listener has followed the interlocutor's words, but, at some point, s/he feels that a complete change of topic would be welcome and prompts it with the help of "transition markers" (Stenström 1994, 21) (thus, implicitly controlling the topical development of the talk):

(8)   DT: It's a sad thing, but… you have to say to some people "You're fired. The world is different." This is a different world. And … there's probably no business that isn't laying off people.

LK: *Now*, you – you write in the book that people refer to you as being prescient. And your book also happens to have references to Somali pirates who are big news. What do you make of this whole piracy thing?

(9)   Previous topic discussed by the speaker: rehearsing press conferences.

LK (interlocutor): *Well*, let's deal with some of the obvious. You've got to deal with Whitewater, right?

c) the speaker will go on, by introducing a sub-topic to a (general) statement just made or by switching to a different topic (connected or not to what has just been discussed). In order to keep the floor while s/he hesitates, the speaker uses dummy words in the empty spaces between two segments of his/her turn, "much as s/he might drape his/her coat on a seat at the cinema to prevent others from taking it" (Deflice 1995, 1), implicitly discouraging the interlocutor's intervention at this point of their dialogue. Should s/he have left a pause unfilled, the interlocutor might have interpreted it as a take-over signal, as an indication that the speaker had completed his/her message, that there was nothing s/he would have liked to add, and that s/he was ready to give up his/her turn. To prevent being interrupted while planning what to say next, the speaker uses fillers that, according to Stenström (1994, 76), "serve as stallers from a discourse-strategic point of view":

(10)   LK: I'm going to read a little portion… "How we handle difficult situations… says a lot about who we are … Some events that will wipe out one person will make another person even more tenacious. That's why I always ask myself 'Is this a blip or is it a catastrophe?'" *By the way,* … have you ever experienced a catastrophe? (sub-topic)

(11)   DT: I think unreasonable is the war in Iraq. I mean … hundreds of thousands of people killed and maimed and so badly hurt… And, *by the way*, just to get on it, he's not the one that knocked down the World Trade Center. Saddam Hussein did not knock down the World Trade Center. (different topic)

(12)   DT: Here's a man that not only got elected, I think he's doing a really good job. *Now*, the sad part is that he can't just do a good job. He's got to do a great job. Because if he does a good job, that's not good enough for this country… (sub-topic)

(13)   LK: … I sat down for an exclusive interview with the former president to talk about this earlier today. *Now,* in the interest of full disclosure, I was a White House fellow during his administration. (different topic)

(14)   LK: An outstanding group of journalists join us from Washington, Tavis Smiley, host of his own show on PBS and best-selling author. His latest book is "Accountable: Making America as Good as Its Promise". Jennifer Skalka is editor of "Hotline on Call". And Chris Cillizza is the White House correspondent for "The Washington Post"… *All right*, Tavis, we have been asking all the guests all day long to give it a – give it a number.
        Where do you put this, A to D? How's he doing? (different topic)

d) "the speaker needs to make a new start or rephrase what s/he was going to say in the middle of a turn, often because the listener shows that s/he cannot follow or is not convinced" (Stenström 1994, 131). In such circumstances, "monitor" (Stenström 1994, 131) markers such as *I mean* and *actually* may help the speaker put things right:

(15)   LK: How do you assess him?
        DT: Well, I really like him. I think that he's working very hard. He's trying to rebuild our reputation throughout the world. *I mean* we really have lost a lot of reputation in the world. The previous administration was a total disaster, a total catastrophe.

(16)   DT: … he is really doing a nice job in terms of representation of this country. And he represents such a large part of the country. *I mean*, to think that a black man was going to be elected president – I watched television for years where the great political analysts   were saying in 50, maybe in 100 years.

(17)   LK: What's the reality of that statement, that it must be love?
        RG: Well, the reality is that I – for me…
        LK. Yes.
        RG: … for me is that I didn't have a model of what a good, healthy relationship looked like. I was *actually* the third generation in my – my family experienced domestic violence.

e) the speaker is willing to give the floor to the listener, even if for a minimal contribution, by indicating that a declarative sentence may as well be interpreted as having the illocutionary force of a question that may be answered:

(18)   DT: We – in fact, I just built a building. You've *probably* seen it*. It's the tallest building in Las Vegas. (*You've *probably* seen it = Have you seen it?)
        LK. I saw it.

(19)   LK: The natural scheme of life is temptation. It's in front of you everyday, *I suppose**. (*It's in front of you everyday, *I suppose* = Is it in front of you everyday?)
        JO: Sure.

f) the speaker is willing to give the floor to the listener, for the latter to confirm or invalidate the former's opinion, as the case may be. The type of fillers that fulfil this function is represented by tag questions (whose intonation one may guess on the basis of the interlocutor's response, in the absence of indications of intonation in the transcripts) and adverbs with the same function as tags:

(20)   MF: I was diagnosed in '91 and it wasn't until '98 that I admitted publicly that it was a situation I was facing.
         LK: It is not life-threatening, *is it*?
         MF: No.

(21)   LK: But you're not fire and brimstone, *right*? You're not pound the decks and hell and damnation?
         JO: No. That's not me. It's never been me. I've always been an encourager at heart…
         I know there is condemnation but I don't feel that's my place.
         LK: You've been criticized for that, *haven't you*?
         JO: I have. I have. Because I don't know.
         …
         LK: Good news guy, *right*?
         JO: Yeah. But you know what? It's just in me. I search my heart and I think, God, is this what I'm supposed to do?

3.2 Fillers as interactional signals

When they express attitudes on the part of the speaker, fillers may be said to function as interactional signals, in as much as the expression of particular emotions contributes to the carrying on of the conversation along certain psychological mood lines. The linguistic manifestation of the following feelings may be illustrated with examples from the corpus analyzed:

a) the speaker's confidence, strong belief in his/her own opinion, introduced and/or rounded off by the filler (the speaker implicitly acts as authoritative and signals that s/he wants his/her point of view to be accepted by the interlocutor):

(22)   RG: *I'm telling you*, you cannot raise 14 children as a single parent.
         TS:… somebody asked me earlier tonight what I thought the story line out of this was. I have already seen some storylines. *Clearly*, the comment about Chrysler … that is going to be news tomorrow, *for sure.*

(23)   LK: Do you assess him as a champion?
         DT: *Oh,* yes. He's a champion… He's *totally* a champion.

(24)   LK: What does he have?
         MD: He obviously has a great intellect. And, *man*, he has a terrific capacity to persuade.

(25)   LK: But you're not going to march with the tea party?
         DT: I don't march with the tea party. But *I'll tell you what*, they have a good point, because when you see this kind of money… I can understand where

they're coming from.

    (26)   LK: Always – do you remain – it is easy to be an optimist?

           MF: … for me, it's second nature. It's just the way I look at life. And I – it's certainly a challenge now for most people to be optimistic, obviously, with all of the troubles we have and the problems that the country is facing.

b) the speaker's belief that his/her words are important and should be considered so by the interlocutor (the speaker explicitly or implicitly aims at drawing the interlocutor's attention on what s/he is saying; fillers have a "focus" function in this case, as Fleishman and Yaguello (2004) suggest, i.e., they mark the information coming to their right as focal):

    (27)   LK: … do you see any chance of the Mideast having peace?
           BC: I do…
           LK: George Mitchell has a lot to do with it?
           BC: Well, he can. He's going to have to fill in the blanks, you know, with people. But, *look,* however the Israeli government is constituted… there are two things that give us hope.

    (28)   PA: *The point here is* that this is an era of – a political era, but also a media era, because Saddam and his government were very media savvy.

    (29)   LK: What do you make of Sarah Palin, your running mate, apparently making – not apparently – making critical statements about the campaign?
           McC: *Listen* … I'm honoured that she would run with me. And there's – *look*, whenever there's a losing campaign, there's always a little bit of back and forth that happens post mortem. *Look,* I'm so grateful to have her as a friend…

    (30)   LK: Denise, Nicole's younger sister, has written a Web exclusive. So go to CNN. com … to read TB's relevant comments. *Oh*, and if you have a personal story you would like us to share with our audience, that's the place to tell us.

c) hesitation, lack of full confidence on the part of the speaker or intention to make a hedged statement. A possible pragmatic implication here is that the speaker does not want to take full responsibility for the statement made or that s/he considers the information conveyed to have too heavy an emotional load to be delivered directly. On the other hand, hesitation may be caused by the fact that no "option offered by the question provides a sufficient basis from which to choose an answer" (Schiffrin 1987, 106). Among the reasons that might cause respondents to diverge from the choices offered them by a prior question, there might be a lack of adequate information or knowledge, an inaccurate assumption by the questioner, a complication of the situation being questioned (the examples below are illustrative of all these situations):

    (31)   LK: A headline, Dr. Sanjoy, in the "L.A. Times" today said that is not as bad as they're saying. Is that right?
           SG: *Well, you know*, it's hard to say. *You know*, one thing about the news yesterday, Larry – you and I talked about this idea that we are having an imminent pandemic. *You know*, it's frightening to hear that, *I think,* for anybody. What *I think* is important to sort of remind people is what

they're really referring to, *I think* after talking to folks at the World Health Organization, is that this is much more about scope…

(32)   LK: Robin, do you buy the comparison to Jackie Kennedy?
RG: *Well, in some ways, I think* that it's fair to compare them, only because it's a way for us to measure the different ways in which women in public life have progressed…

(33)   LK: How would you describe this White House? Is she right-confused?
WB: *Well, I think* that there are several issues right now that are the most important.

(34)   LK: Now, let's dig into it, Rita. Up and down, polls up, polls down – how would you describe this White House?
RB: *Well,* I…
LK: Is it beleaguered?
RB: *Well*, right now, that they are in a mode of reassessment.

(35)   LK: What should his punishment be?
BS: *Well, I mean. Giving my personal opinion.* I remember the Nuremburg trials after the war, and I was in favor. But I think pinning it all on one person … is not as good as Archbishop Tutu, who talks about truth and reconciliation.

Unlike in the examples above, there are cases when fillers are not used to express the speaker's attitude towards his/her own statements, but rather towards what the interlocutor has just said. Such an attitude may be:

a)   surprise, as a result of having received unanticipated information:

(36)   CS: OK, I Twitter.
LK: You Twitter? You do? You're so modern. And you have a blog?
CS: Yes.
LK: *My gosh*, where do you find the time?

(37)   RG: … when I wrote my book, I was somewhere talking about something. And a woman came up to me and she said I wanted you to stop talking because I felt like everybody would know that you were talking about me.
LK: *Oh, boy*. It seems – and it's the same progression, too – it seems.

b)   disagreement:

(38)   LK: You just seemed a little hyperactive.
MF: *Oh.* What you're seeing here is simply my natural boyish exuberance, that's all.

(39)   LK: They say you have regrets about endorsing McCain.
DT: *Come on,* I've known John for a long time. And I've never met our current president. And I look forward to doing it. But I've known John, really, for a long time. He's a good, he's a quality man. So, certainly, I have no regrets about that.

c)   annoyance:

(40)   LK: … but you had the opportunity to speak to your client these last days.
MD: *For god's sake*, we have been denied that opportunity as we've been denied almost every other right of the defendant throughout this trial.

(41)   LK: … will his [Saddam's] execution affect the popularity of President Bush?
MW: Within Iraq or within this country?
LK: Within this country.
 MW: I guess not.
LK: Maybe in both countries.
MW: *Oh, dear*, no. As I said earlier, we are so far beyond the act of toppling Saddam. … I doubt it very much that it will bring back popularity for the president.

Though impossible to classify as expressions of stance either towards the speaker's expressed view or towards the content of the interlocutor's intervention, fillers such as *you know* and *you see* may be mentioned as illustrative of another type of attitude on the part of their user, directed, this time, towards the interlocutor himself/herself – the desire to intensify the former's relationship with the latter. The socializing strategy that involves the use of such fillers contributes to creating a climate favourable for a smooth continuation of the interaction. Therefore, *you know* and *you see* thus used may be considered interactional signals. Quotes (42) and (43) below exemplify this usage:

(42)   LK: *You know*, it's the cycle of domestic violence, which is about the power and control of one human being over another – the verbal, the emotional, the psychological abuse, *you know*, the chipping away at one's self-esteem – you're stupid, you're ugly, you're worthless, you're no good. I'm sure you heard it Robin, *you know*, nobody is going to want you…

(43)   DA: But I have to say, *you see*, when we started the campaign for president, it wasn't an easy transition for him. There were months of adjustment… I haven't seen that this time… He's comfortable. He's in command. And, *you know¸* there isn't a day that goes by when I don't … think I'm glad he's there.

There are other fillers, too, which, though not intended for strengthening the relationship between the participants in conversation, are, however, linguistic embodiments of emotions that replace spelled out feelings of surprise, excitement, admiration (in my data, manifested towards things that appeared in videos shown during the interviews and, therefore, parts of some side comments). These are also beneficial to the efficient flow of the dialogue. Examples (44) and (45) are illustrative in this sense:

(44)   LK: Have you ever been to the White House?
CS: Yes.
LK: What did you think of it? *Oh, my gosh*. A lemon tree. Lemons are my favorite. That's what I drink my vodka with.

(45)   LK: So this is the very infamous gift wrapping room. *Oh, my goodness.*
        Do you actually wrap the gifts yourself?
        CS: Oh, yes.

4. Conclusion

As explained and exemplified above, though fillers may not carry a heavy load of meaning, it cannot be denied that they are often functional in conversation. At least two main roles of fillers have been identified in the ten Larry King interviews that I concentrated on in the present paper.

On the one hand, they function as discourse management elements, or discourse markers, in the sense that their particular use influences the development of the topic and the succession of turns. By using fillers, the listener may support the speaker's going on or, on the contrary, s/he may prompt a complete change of topic; the speaker may hint at his/her intention of talking on, either by introducing a sub-topic of what is being discussed or by switching to a new topic, at his/her intention to start over or to reword what s/he was going to say or at his/her willingness to yield the floor to the interlocutor, if s/he is ready to take it.

On the other hand, they are signals of the speaker's various emotional attitudes (either towards the content of his/her own words, towards what has just been said or towards things shown during the interview), which may contribute to pushing forward the discussion against a favourable psychological background, or to supporting the intention to strengthen the relationship between the speaker and his/her interlocutor, which may have the same effect.

The examples offered by the interviews scrutinized also prove that the same filler may be multifunctional. It may fulfil different functions, depending on the context in which it is used – the adverb *now*, for example, may function both as a way of the speaker's signalling that a change of topic is prompted, as in (8), or as a marker of his/her intention to go on with sub-topics of a main issue just introduced, as in (11) and (12), while the adverb *right* may be indicative, on the one hand, of the fact that the listener has followed the interlocutor's words and encourages him/her to go on, as in (5) and of his/her willingness to yield the floor for validation or invalidation of his/her opinion by the interlocutor, on the other, as in (21).

This makes one wonder whether the term *filler* might not be used as an umbrella that covers in fact three main uses of such words that have no semantic-referential meaning: that of filling a conversation gap, that of discourse marker responsible for the flow of conversation, and that of marker of emotional attitudes.

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Corpus

30 April 2009, interview with Dr. Sanjay Gupta, CNN chief medical correspondent;

29 April 2009, interview with various Washington journalists and Davis Axelrod, President Obama's senior adviser;

18 April 2009, interview with Donald Trump, CEO "Trump Casinos" and Candy Spelling, widow of late film producer Aaron Spelling;

9 April 2009, interview with Michael Fox, founder of the "M.J. Fox Foundation for Parkinson's Research";

10 March 2009, interview with Robin Givens, Mike Tyson's ex-wife;

17 February 2009, interview with Bill Clinton, ex president of the USA;

22 January 2009, interview with John McCain, Arizona senator and Maureen Dowd, columnist at *The New York Times*;

29 December 2006, interview with various CNN correspondents on the day of Saddam Hussein's execution;

20 June 2005, interview with Joel Osteen, evangelist pastor;

10 January 1996, interview with Rita Braver and Wolf Blitzer, CBS White House correspondents, Brian Williams, NBC White House correspondent, Sandra Bullock, actress, Denis Leary, film producer.

Primož Jurko

Oddelek za prevajalstvo

Slovene-English Contrastive Phraseology:
Lexical Collocations

Summary

Phraseology is seen as one of the key elements and arguably the most productive part of any language. The paper is focused on collocations and separates them from other phraseological units, such as idioms or compounds. Highlighting the difference between a monolingual and a bilingual (i.e. contrastive) approach to collocation, the article presents two distinct classes of collocations: grammatical and lexical. The latter, treated contrastively, represent the focal point of the paper, since they are an unending source of translation errors to both students of translation and professional translators. The author introduces a methodology of systematic classification of lexical collocations applied on the Slovene-English language pair and based on structural (lexical congruence) and semantic (translational predictability) criteria.

Key words: contrastive lexicology, contrastive phraseology, collocation, lexical collocation

Slovensko-angleška kontrastivna frazeologija:
leksikalne kolokacije

Povzetek

Članek predstavlja frazeologijo kot najbolj tvoren in zelo pomemben del jezika in se znotraj le-te posebej posveča kolokacijam. Slednje loči od ostalih frazeoloških enot, kot so idiomi ali zloženke. Izpostavi razliko med enojezično in dvojezično (kontrastivno) obravnavo kolokacij, znotraj kolokacij pa razloček med slovničnimi in leksikalnimi kolokacijami. Osredini se na obravnavo leksikalnih kolokacij, ki predstavljajo tako študentom prevajalstva, kot tudi poklicnim prevajalcem neusahljiv vir prevajalskih problemov. Na podlagi empiričnih raziskav in analize študentskih napak predstavi metodologijo sistematičnega razvrščanja kolokacij na podlagi stukturnih in semantičnih kriterijev oz. strukturne kongruence in prevodne predvidljivosti.

Ključne besede: kontrastivna leksikologija, kontrastivna frazeologija, kolokacija, leksikalna kolokacija

Slovene-English Contrastive Phraseology: Lexical Collocations

1. Phraseology within lexicology: importance and impact today

Lexicology has traditionally been seen as the study of words, as the following entries in some of the prominent monolingual English dictionaries clearly show: "the science of the derivation and signification of words: a branch of linguistics that treats of the signification and application of words" (Merriam-Webster 2003); "the study of the meaning and uses of words" (*Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture*, Summers 2005). These views, however, are to be understood in the broader sense of the term *word*: indeed, it would be more appropriate to broaden the definition with, say, "and anything functioning as words in texts". This definition brings us closer to the concept of *lexeme* (or *lexical item*) as it is perceived in current lexicology: "(...) lexemes may be single words (*crane, bank*), parts of words (*auto-, -logy*), groups of words (the compound blackbird and idiom *kick the bucket*), or shortened forms (*flu* for *influenza*, *UK* for *United Kingdom*" (McArthur 1992, 600).

Phraseology is by definition interested in lexemes that are made up of "groups of words", which is the most vibrant and productive part of any lexicon. Old and new words as well as word combinations compete daily to gain a gradually wider and wider acceptance among speakers of a language; some are rejected and some survive.

Only relatively recent studies have shown the overall amount of phraseology in texts. Although early estimates of the phraseological share in texts were as high as eighty percent (Sinclair 2000), further corpus-based studies brought the number down and suggest that about fifty-five percent of texts are accounted for by phraseology (Erman and Warren 2000). The pervasiveness of what Sinclair (1991, 110) has called the idiom principle (as opposed to the open-choice principle) in language is a fact which is in stark contrast to the traditional views of only few decades ago (i.e. those preceding computational linguistics) that saw lexicon as a pool of mostly single words and a restricted number of idioms, which are ruled by grammar alone.

The role and impact of phraseology in foreign language teaching and learning have received due recognition in the last two decades. With the advent of corpus linguistics, the overwhelming presence of phraseological patterns in texts suddenly became visible and as a direct result phraseological units (other than idioms that have been taught even before language corpora became available) are now considered valuable building blocks of a learner's L_2 vocabulary. Nation (2006, 449) points out that L_2 word combinations which are not "parallel" to the combinations in L_1 deserve special attention and have to be learned, which complies with the underlying methodology of approaching L_2 vocabulary contrastively as applied in this paper.

1.2 Phraseology: its scope and units

There are many (often overlapping) views of what the scope of phraseology is; some are quite broad in setting the ground to be covered (e.g. Cowie 2001), and others take a narrower approach (e.g. Moon 1998). Where the above authors differ from one another is principally in

the delimitations they set between what they perceive as the basic types of units of phraseology and in the terminology they use to name the units – these range from "*gambits, prefabricated routines/patterns, prefabs, chunks, holophrases, semi-fixed patterns, formulaic phrases, routine formulae, (semi-) fossilized phrases, lexicalized sentence stems* to *set/fixed/frozen expressions*" (Gabrovšek 2005, 166). In the last three or four decades, the universe of phraseology was seen as revolving around three kinds of word combinations: collocations, compounds and idioms, and in case of English with the additional class of phrasal verbs. While English idioms and phrasal verbs have received abundant lexicographical treatment (cf. Jarvie 2009; Flavell and Flavell 2006; Parkinson and Francis 2006; Sinclair 2002; Rundell 2005), this was not the case with collocations, which were hardly a lexicographer's favourite, with only a handful of publications (cf. Benson et al. 1986; Lea 2002).

On the other hand, regardless of what denomination is applied to these multi-word lexical units (hereafter simply referred to as word combinations), what all of them appear to have in common are the two criteria according to which they are distinguished from one another and classified, viz. their *structure* (syntactic fixedness) and their *meaning* (semantic [non-]opacity or compositionality).

The present paper will focus on word combinations that are semantically transparent, i.e. collocations, for the following reasons mostly: first, their ubiquity, and second, their importance in foreign language learning at advanced/proficient levels. Compared to idioms (both partial and full), which are exceedingly rare in the current text production (Moon 1998, 85), collocations are found in practically all utterances, but go largely unnoticed by L_2 addressees precisely due to their semantic transparency (Handl 2008, 48). However, this feature cuts both ways – while in most cases collocations pose few problems in L_2 decoding and are readily understood by learners, they are virtually invisible to the learner's eye (unlike idioms, where the addressee's stream of thought comes to an abrupt end if decoded literally), and therefore so difficult to learn in a traditional way. Learners may go as far as to develop an overcautious reaction to idioms, so even when the translation involves only the most predictable translation equivalents and can be translated quite literally (e.g. *počivati na lovorikah – to rest on one's laurels, opeči si prste – to burn one's fingers*), they are blocked: simply because they have identified a word combination as an idiom, they make no attempt at translating it word-by-word. They know better than that and because idioms are tricky, so they were told over and over again, the key to their problem is not to be found in straightforward translation, but rather in specialized dictionaries.

What is needed, it has been argued (Jurko 1997, 79), is for students at intermediate level (secondary school students, typically after having received four to six years of L_2 education) to be made aware of collocational restrictions that pose formidable problems in encoding, so that their L_2 mental lexicon can accommodate more complex and web-like relationships between lexical items (Aitchison 1987, 72).

In the following chapters the notions of structure and meaning, will prove very important and provide the basis of comparison for the contrastive analysis of Slovene and English lexical collocations.

2.1 Entering contrastive ground: lexical collocations in Slovene and English

Collocations need no special introduction to anyone even remotely interested in languages, let alone students of translation and practising translators. Due to their pervasiveness they are a vital factor of idiomaticity of any learner's spoken or written text production. In our analysis we will rely on the basic terminology of the field as introduced by Hausmann (1989) and Benson (1986). Hausmann introduced the terms *base* and *collocator*, respectively, and according to him they are the constituent parts of every collocation. He sees the base as the semantic nucleus (or the meaning bearing element, the entity spoken about) of the collocation, and the collocator as a modifier of the base, i.e. as the element describing the base in more detail. For instance, in the noun-verb collocation *a mosquito bites* it is a mosquito that we are talking about and not entities that can bite in general, which makes it the base of the collocation. The verb *bites* is the collocator then, providing more information on what it is that mosquitoes do[1].

Benson introduced two categories of collocations, viz. grammatical and lexical ones. Grammatical collocations consist of a dominant word (noun, adjective, verb) and a preposition or grammatical structure (cf. Benson 1986, ix-xxiv for a detailed classification), while lexical collocations contain two (or more) lexical words. These mostly binary combinations typically "consist of nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs" (ibid., xxv) and are the subject of this analysis.

There is one important methodological issue that has to be resolved before continuing: the monolingual approach and the contrastive enterprise differ significantly in their respective methodologies and goals. For the purposes of this paper suffice it to say that the monolingual concept of collocation is often based solely on corpus-derived statistics (e.g. Kjellmer 1994), while the contrastive view of collocations primarily takes into account their meaning and structure interlingually, as well as relevant corpus-derived data on frequency of co-occurrence. The main objection to the monolingual approach to collocations is the frequently observed practice of including a sizable amount of free combinations (Bahns 1996), resulting from the fact that it is impossible to draw a clear dividing line between the two kinds of word combinations on the basis of frequency of co-occurrence alone. As a case in point, consider the following list of collocates of the English adjective *marked* as compiled by Kjellmer (1994, 1060):

MARKED

marked arteriosclerosis
marked by
marked contrast
marked difference
marked with
be marked
had marked

---

[1]   Note that the example is interesting from the contrastive point of view as well: in this respect the Slovene equivalent is *komar piči*. While in encoding the base is translated with no difficulty, the collocator *pičiti* is most likely to be rendered in English as *to sting*, which is what bees, scorpions and plants do to people. Vice versa, translating the English *to bite* would produce the Slovene syntagm with the verb *gristi/ugrizniti*, which is considered non-idiomatic by Slovene speakers.

is marked
is marked by
was marked
was marked by
were marked
has been marked

The results of the monolingual approach as shown above undoubtedly yield important insight into the intricacies of word combinability of the English language. For instance, readers learn that *marked* can precede names of medical conditions, and can be used with the prepositions *by* and *with*, etc. However, the fact that it can be used with the verb *be* in various forms (i.e. *be, is, was, were, had been*) seems of little use to, say, a translator into English who needs to find the right translation of the Slovene word combination *znatno izboljšanje* – in English *marked improvement*.

As will be shown in more detail below, even combined with a contrastive filter, frequency of co-occurrence will not always yield useful results: the Slovene collocation *izgubiti potrpljenje* has a matching English expression *to lose patience*, and both collocations have a relatively high frequency of occurrence in their respective corpora (FidaPlus and Corpus of Contemporary American, aka. COCA). However, the pair of collocations is of little contrastive pedagogical value, because the L_1-into-L_2 traslation equivalent is completely predictable, or in Nation's terms the L_2 collocation is "parallel" to that inL_1. Note, on the other hand, that frequency of occurrence can be the decisive factor in discriminating synonymous collocations, i.e. when two or more seemingly identical word combinations exist in L_2, as in e.g. the Slovene *bratovska ljubezen*, for the translation of which there are two competing roughly synonymous adjectives, viz. *brotherly* and *fraternal*. The respective frequencies of *brotherly love* and *fraternal love* in COCA are 160 and 6, which clearly makes the translator's or EFL teacher's choice much easier.

An alternative to dealing with the notion of collocation within the framework of one language is a contrastively conceived approach that would take into account the most prominent features and patterns of vocabularies of both languages of a given language pair, which is also the key principle behind the analysis presented here.

2.2 Key notions in contrasting lexical collocations: sources, parameters

Two kinds of sources of collocations were used in the survey; they served as the basis of the underlying empirical work:

a) dictionaries: the following available monolingual dictionaries of English and Slovene collocations, respectively, were random-sampled: *The BBI Dictionary of English Word Combinations* (Benson et al. 1986), the *Oxford Dictionary of Collocations for Students of English* (Lea 2002) and *Vezljivostni slovar slovenskih glagolov* (Žele 2008). The randomly chosen collocations were then translated into Slovene and English, respectively.

b) bilingual lists of Slovene and English collocations resulting from BA theses of students of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana (Bradač 1996; Štupnikar 2006; Krašovec 2007), as

well as my own privately compiled glossary of contrastively interesting lexical items that triggered many encoding translation errors in Slovene BA and MA students of translation. All word combinations stem from authentic contemporary Slovene and English texts and were checked in reputable corpora of Slovene and English (FidaPlus and COCA, respectively).

As noted above, all parameters presented below will be discussed in terms of either structure or meaning. These parameters are involved in translation of lexical collocations from Slovene into English and are partly based on empirical research found in Jurko (1997).

There is one important caveat to the methodology introduced in the following paragraphs: frequently the listed Slovene-English pair of collocations is not the only possible translation equivalent, nor is it argued that it represents the best or most suitable translation equivalent. It is, however, a legitimate and idiomatic translation chosen for various reasons or motives that do not fall in the scope of our topic. That said, we will also leave aside the (often problematic) fact that each collocation is studied and listed in isolation and not in context, where it naturally appears. In most cases it is precisely the context that provides the clues which make a translation equivalent either more or less suitable.

On the basis of above sources a list of Slovene and English collocations and two-word compounds alongside their translation equivalents was compiled. No principled distinction was made between lexical collocations and compounds, because to the encoding translator compounds behave very much like collocations and frequently feature difficulties that are identical to those observed in collocations. For simplicity's sake both collocations and compounds will be referred to as collocations hereafter. Thus a pool of about 500 collocation pairs was created and analyzed according to the parameters specified below. While the analysis would undoubtedly benefit from a higher number of collocations, the number of 500 was seen as substantial enough to yield reliable insight into contrastively relevant patterns of Slovene and English collocations.

3. Structural parameters: lexical (non-)congruence

The terminology adhered to in this analysis was introduced by Marton (1977, quoted in Bahns 1993, 58), by drawing a distinction between what he called cases of *lexical congruence* (where the structure of a word combination in one language is identical to that in the other), and cases of *lexical non-congruence* (all other cases where any kind of structural change is present). Not surprisingly, lexical non-congruence between Slovene and English turned out to have many faces, which significantly differ from one another in terms of morphology and syntax, as well as their complexity. Five identifiable kinds of lexical (non-)congruence were recorded in our pool and will be described in more detail below:

- word-class shifts
- lexical expansion / reduction
- change of grammatical number
- word order
- no structural change: lexical congruence.

3.1 Word-class shifts

This is the most frequently observed type of lexical non-congruence and occurs when either the base or the collocator (or both) belong to one word-class in the Slovene collocation and to another in its English equivalent. Given the systematic differences between the two languages in this respect, this was expected. In highly inflected Slovene the demarcation lines between individual lexical word-classes are very clear. Each word-class has its morphological markers (mostly suffixes) that make it easily distinguishable from the others. This situation is markedly different from that in English, mostly owing to the fact that English is only poorly inflected. Although this may not be a fitting place to discuss a topic that clearly belongs to word-formation, its implications for the Slovene translator and/or student of translation are far from negligible. Indeed, even advanced students of translation are frequently at a loss when the most elegant or idiomatic translation into English involves the so-called conversion. This feature allows many English words to belong to several word classes without adding any affixes (e.g. *text* can be used as a noun or a verb). To put it simply, the trouble is that students are looking in the wrong place: to translate a noun they look for an equivalent among nouns, when they should also be checking items they have stored as verbs, but can be (and are!) as well used as nouns. A case in point is the unassuming Slovene *občutek za žogo*, which is in students' translations almost invariably rendered as the strange sounding **feeling for the ball/*ball feeling*, yet is best translated into English as *ball feel*. What are the reasons for this oversight? One of the strongest factors at play here is arguably the purely verbal character of *feel* in the mental lexicon of Slovene learners, which is very likely adopted in the early stages of EFL acquisition and is based on a one-to-one mapping of L_2 lexical items onto the established L_1 lexical framework. Thus the English lexeme *feel* is mapped as a verb only in the Slovene learner's lexicon, which makes subsequent expansion of the lexeme's word class affiliation very difficult. While Slovene translation students hardly ever fail in decoding nominal instances of *feel* in texts, it is in encoding tasks that they frequently make errors of the *feeling-feel* type, arguably due to the strict fencing of word classes in Slovene that they have mapped onto English.

Back to our topic, in our corpus word-class shifts in lexical collocations were found to consist of several sub-types, distinguishable from one another in terms of the specific type of shift. On that basis the following two-fold division has been proposed:

- word-class shift I: Slovene adjective rendered as an attributively used noun in English;
- word-class shift II: all other cases of word-class shift.

Let us now take a closer look at the above sub-types, each featuring typical examples.

3.1.1 Word-class shift I

The most frequently observed case of lexical non-congruence was dubbed word-class shift I: it occurs when in the Slovene word combination an adjective is used, and in the English one a noun in attributive position (also called *noun premodification*). In Slovene adjective-plus-noun collocations the adjective is mostly used as the collocator, and the noun as the base. The same relationship is maintained in English: the attributively used noun performs the function of the collocator, while the head-noun is the base.

Slovene		English	
collocator	*base*	*collocator*	*base*
nadurno	delo	overtime	work
oglasna	deska	notice	board
kazenski	proctor	penalty	area
cestna	varnost	road	safety
poulični	izgredi	street	riots
avtobusna	proga	bus	line
destilacijska	buča	distillation	flask
plinski	gorilnik	gas	burner

Table 1. Some examples of word-class shift I.

Note that in encoding the required task of translating a Slovene adjective into an English noun is mastered by most learners almost automatically. However, caution is advisable in cases where English makes a systematic distinction between a premodifying noun and a derived adjective, e.g. *wool – woolly, silk – silky, milk – milky, fruit – fruity,* etc. In these pairs the premodifying noun has the meaning "made of the [noun]", while the adjective has the meaning "resembling or having the quality of the [noun]". Both English noun and adjective, however, are rendered by a single Slovene adjective, as in the following examples:

volnena kapa – wool cap;   *volnen bas – woolly bass*

svilena kravata – silk tie;   *svilen glas – silky voice*

mlečni izdelki – milk products;   *mlečna tekočina – milky liquid*

sadni sok – fruit juice;   *sadni okus* (o vinu) *– fruity taste*

3.1.2 Word-class shift II

All other cases of word-class shift were classified as word-class shift II. In this mixed-bag category of word-class shifts the most frequently recorded change is that of the collocator from a Slovene adjective to a prepositional of-phrase in English. Other cases that make up the word-class shift II category include shifts from Slovene adverb or adjective to English verb (often in the s.c. –ing form), Slovene noun to and English of-phrase and others. Please note that in the tables below there are cases where the collocator does not precede the base: in all such occurrences the collocation will be given in full in a separate column.

Slovene		English		
collocator	*base*	*collocation*	*collocator*	*base*
izpitna	komisija	board of examiners	of examiners	board
ptica	ujeda	bird of prey	of prey	bird
tovorna	žival	beast of burden	of burden	beast
krivo	pričati		to commit	perjury
akcijski	radij		striking	distance
žvečilni	gumi		chewing	gum
nalepiti	tapete [na zid]		Ø	to paper [the walls]
temeljito	razmisliti [o čem]	to give [sth] careful consideration	to give	careful consideration

Table 2. Some examples of word-class shift II.

3.2 Lexical expansion or reduction

The basic criterion for this type of lexical non-congruence is the number of lexical items that make up the equivalent collocations in Slovene and English, respectively. Grammatical items (e.g. English articles, the particle *to*) were left out of the analysis, as they were seen as parts of either the base or the collocator. Since lexical expansion and reduction are reversible relationships, depending on the observer's point of view, we have decided to look at them from the perspective of the Slovene translator into English. In terms of justifying this admittedly arbitrary choice, it is after all in encoding that most collocation-related lexical problems occur, so taking Slovene as the source language and English as the target seems reasonable. With this in mind, lexical expansion will be dubbed the situation in which the English collocation uses more lexical items than its Slovene counterpart, and vice versa, all collocations with fewer items on the English side will be termed lexical reduction.

3.2.1 Lexical expansion

In most cases of lexical expansion we are dealing with an English hyphenated compound that is in Slovene rendered as an adjective. Another frequent feature of expansion are all collocations that contain English phrasal verbs, which are in Slovene expressed by one-word verbs. The latter are often very poorly represented in English texts produced by Slovene translators and/or learners (Drstvenšek 1998, 107), and should accordingly be given more stress in advanced English vocabulary training. Apparently translators frequently rely on the assumption that a one-word entity in L_1 will be rendered as such in L_2 as well, leading to awkwardness or lower idiomaticity of their translations.

Slovene		English	
collocator	*base*	*collocator*	*base*
honorarna	zaposlitev	part-time	employment
	samica [o zaporu]	solitary	confinement
neprebojni	jopič	bullet-proof	jacket
	zaspati (=predolgo spati)	late/in	sleep
biti	zaprepaden	to be taken	aback
	naročiti se [na kaj]	take out	a subscription [to sth]
	maršal	field	marshal
nasesti	ladja	to run aground	ship

Table 3. Some examples of lexical expansion.

3.2.2 Lexical reduction

Cases of lexical reduction predominantly consist of two syntactic patterns: one, a reflexive verb in Slovene becomes in the English translation a simple verb, and two, a Slovene prepositional phrase is rendered as a noun-plus-noun combination in English. Another source of reduction is an adjective-plus-noun combination in Slovene, which is translated as a solid-spelled compound in English.

Slovene		English	
collocator	*base*	*collocator*	*base*
odpraviti se na	ekspedicija	to launch	an expedition
ustvariti si	družino	to start	a family
morska	bolezen		seasickness
bojna	ladja		warship
preiti v	ilegala	to go	underground
za piškote	model	cookie	cutter
mahati s	krili	beat	the wings
pritisniti na	sprožilec	to pull	the trigger

Table 4. Some examples of lexical reduction.

3.3 Change of grammatical number

All pairs of Slovene and English collocations involving a change of grammatical number fall into this category.

3.3.1 Singular-to-plural

A change that hardly ever occurs naturally in translation is the change of grammatical number. Instances of grammatical translation errors involving the pluralization of a Slovene noun in singular (witness the so-called "century" type of error, e.g. Slovene *v 13. in 14. **stoletju*** and English *in the 13th and 14th *__century__*) are well known and dealt with in the realm of contrastive grammar analysis, however, besides those there are also lexical contrastive issues that have so far received less coverage.

Slovene		English	
collocator	*base*	*collocator*	*base*
obratovalni	čas	business	hours
dvovišinska	bradlja	asymmetric	bars
jutranja	telovadba	morning	exercises
kurja	polt	goose	bumps
brez izgubljenega niza	zmagati	in straight sets	to win
zbrano	delo	collected	works
spreletavati	srh	to give somebody	the creeps

Table 5. Some examples of the singular-to-plural change.

3.3.2 Plural-to-singular

Only four occurrences of the plural-to-singular lexical incongruence were recorded in our sample of collocations. This particular form appears to be much less frequent than the preceding one; however, this discrepancy might be caused by the relatively limited size of our sample. The situation calls for extensive testing on bigger samples when larger parallel corpora become available.

Slovene		English	
collocator	*base*	*collocator*	*base*
razviti	jadra	to set	sail
morski	sadeži		seafood
medeni	tedni		honeymoon
študentski	nemiri	student	unrest

Table 6. Examples of the plural-to-singular change.

3.4 Word order change

This particular class of lexical incongruence was recorded only rarely and occurs when the word order of the collocator and the base in Slovene is the reverse of that in English. Most cases of word order change were recorded with Slovene word combinations consisting of two juxtaposed nouns in the nominative case, which is a rather closed set of items and thus not a very productive pattern in contemporary Slovene.

Slovene		English	
base	*collocator*	*collocator*	*base*
angel	varuh	guardian	angel
ptica	pevka	song	bird
država	članica	member	state
država	kandidatka	candidate	state
država	gostiteljica	host	country
pes	čuvaj	guard	dog
brat	dvojček	twin	brother

Table 7. Some examples of the word order change incongruence.

3.5 Lexically congruent collocations

Slovene collocations that when translated into English retain their word-class membership, number of constituent parts as well as their grammatical number are called lexically congruent collocations. This type of collocation turned out to account for approximately a quarter of all collocations in our sample, which is good news for the Slovene translator, of course, as far as structure is concerned.

Slovene		English	
collocator	*base*	*collocator*	*base*
neplačani	dopust	unpaid	leave
glavna	atrakcija	main	attraction
varovalna	barva	protective	color
nastaviti	uro	Set	a clock
neprevozna	cesta	impassable	road
tratiti	čas	to waste	time
ponarediti	denar	to forge	money
iti na	dieto	to go on	a diet

Table 8. Some examples of lexically congruent collocations.

4. Semantic parameters

Our treatment of semantic parameters will focus on two features encountered in translating Slovene texts into English: one is translational unpredictability, and the other is divergent translation equivalents. While there are fewer parameters to examine, they are in most cases quite difficult for translators to cope with and generally represent a greater challenge than structural changes analyzed above.

4.1 Translational unpredictability of lexical collocations

What is translational unpredictability? The issue might be clear to all translators on an intuitive level, because we, translators into non-mother tongue, are all guilty of committing errors when it comes to translating collocations. Errors occur when translators rely on the hypothesis of transferability (Bahns 1993, 61) simply because they are familiar with the meaning and syntactic patterns of both constituents of the word combination, but are oblivious of their co-selection restraints. A quick example is the Slovene *divji kostanj* which the unsuspecting translator is likely to translate as **wild chestnut,* just because s/he finds both words "easy". So, even as a pre-scientific concept, translational unpredictability is hard to define, as it is clear that it is highly subjective and will mean various things to various people.

On the other hand, when it comes to scientific research methods, subjectivity should be ruled out as a matter of principle. To provide a firmer ground for comparison of our analysis, we have turned to the largest Slovene-English dictionary available (Grad and Leeming 1996) and to the most recent one (Zaranšek 2006). Although admittedly quite different in terms of size and scope, the two dictionaries represent a combination of the traditional approach to Slovene bilingual dictionaries witnessed in the former, and the modern corpus-based approach featured in the latter. So, in order for a collocation to be labelled unpredictable, its base or collocator or both had to be either omitted or treated inadequately in both dictionaries.

4.1.1 Translational unpredictability of bases

Slovene		English	
collocator	*base*	*collocator*	*base*
srečno	naključje	lucky	break
izvesti	akrobacijo	to do	a stunt
risalni	blok	sketch	pad
naravna	bogastva	natural	resources
beg	možganov	brain	drain
destilacijska	buča	distillation	flask
adventni	čas	Advent	season
morski	ježek	sea	urchin

Table 9. Some examples of Slovene bases with unpredictable translations.

4.1.2 Translational unpredictability of collocators

Slovene		English	
collocator	*base*	*collocator*	*base*
preklicati	embargo	to lift	an embargo
polniti	akumulator	to charge	a battery
debela	Berta	big	Bertha
enojajčna	dvojčka	identical	twins
dvojajčna/-i	dvojčka/-ici	fraternal	twins
dolgotrajna	bolezen	lingering	disease
zasenčene	luči (avtomobilske)	dipped	headlights
klubska	mizica	coffee	table

Table 10. Some examples of Slovene collocators with unpredictable translations.

4.1.3 Translational unpredictability of both constituents

Slovene		English	
collocator	*base*	*collocator*	*base*
inbus	vijak	hex	bolt
dvovišinska	bradlja	asymmetric	bars
zaključena	družba	private	party
gasilni	aparat	fire	extinguisher
mrtvi	kot	blind	spot
voditi	evidenco	to keep	a record
violinski	ključ	treble	clef
častni	krog	victory	lap

Table 11. Some examples of collocations with unpredictable bases and collocators.

4.1.4 Implications for translation of unpredictable collocations

Readers may notice differences in the above examples in terms of varying degrees of difficulty involved in the Slovene-English translation. Also, the consequences of approaching the translation unsuspectingly, i.e. treating the Slovene word combination as a free combination and as a result producing a nonexistent English collocation, will vary from case to case. The impact of such poorly translated collocations seems closely related to which element of the collocation is translationally unpredictable, e.g.

- the collocator in the pair **klubska** *mizica* – **coffee** *table;*
- the base in the pair *morski* **ježek** – *sea* **urchin;**
- both the base and the collocator in the pair **mrtvi kot** – **blind spot**.

To assess these differences, which are reflected in their respective difficulty involved in the process of correct translation, let us take a brief look at incorrect translations that are not only possible, but likely to occur in Slovene learners' texts:

- **club table*: the addressee will know that the subject of the conversation is some sort of *table*,

and although s/he might not be sure what kind of table, it seems unreasonable to assume that this specific lack of information caused by the wrong collocator would cause communication problems;

- *sea hedgehog*: in this case the addressee is very likely to require additional information, as they would be misled by the wrong base of the collocation. Since the base is the semantic nucleus of the collocation, an error in its translation gives the addresee a wrong point of reference, puts her/him in a wrong picture in a manner of speaking. Although some context is provided by the collocator *sea*, this can hardly be considered helpful to decode the collocation as a whole, as it is semantically too broad.

- *dead angle*: if confronted with a word combination like that the addressee is bound to be clueless as to the intended meaning of the syntagm, so the speaker's failure to provide neither the collocator nor the base of the correct collocation is practically certain to cause a communication breakdown.

4.2 Divergent translation equivalents

In this type of semantic change either a Slovene polysemous base or collocator triggers several translation equivalents in English collocations. As in 4.1, depending on which part of the Slovene collocation is polysemous, i.e. the base or the collocator, all collocations were classified accordingly. This type of relationship is actually a special sub-type of translation unpredictability (4.1), and a particularly difficult one for the Slovene encoding translator.

4.2.1 Divergent base translation equivalents

Cases, where a single Slovene base is translated into a variety of English bases, each depending on the specific collocator, were classified as divergent base translation equivalents.

Slovene		English	
collocator	*base*	*collocator*	*base*
jetniška	celica	prison	cell
plinska	celica	gas	chamber
telefonska	celica	telephone	booth
teroristična	celica	terrorist	cell
razredni	boj	class	struggle
neizprosni	boj	relentless	fight
smrtni	boj	deadly	combat
jedrski	napad	nuclear	attack
spolni	napad	sexual	assault
epileptični	napad	epileptic	seizure
napad	kašlja	of cough	fit

Table 12. Some examples of divergent base translation equivalents.

4.2.2 Divergent collocator translation equivalents

This is another sub-type of translation unpredictability, where a polysemous Slovene collocator is translated into a host of English collocators, most of which will be unpredictable from the Slovene translator's point of view.

Slovene		English	
collocator	*base*	*collocator*	*base*
strasten	ljubimec	passionate	lover
strasten	kadilec	heavy	smoker
strasten	bralec	avid	reader
umetna	noga	artificial	leg
umetno	cvetje	fake	foliage
umetno	zobovje	false	teeth
umetno	oko	glass	eye
umetno	gnojilo	ø	fertilizer
umetno	usnje	imitation	leather
umetni	diamant	synthetic	diamond

Table 13. Some examples of divergent collocator translation equivalents.

5. Conclusion

The above classification of Slovene and English interlingual relationships in the field of lexical collocations is conceived contrastively in that it takes into account lexical patterns in the two languages and focuses on translation procedures that are required to produce idiomatic English translations of Slovene lexical collocations. Two general kinds of parameters that are at play in translation were identified and subsequently contrasted: those related to structure and those having to do with meaning. On that basis the required changes involved in translation were studied. The analysis yielded several classes of collocation pairs, each with its distinctive type of change of either structure or translational predictability. However, the classes should by no means be seen as an exhaustive list of all possible procedures that make up the translation of lexical collocations. It should rather be seen as a practical simplification, hopefully not over-simplified, of a highly complex realm of lexical collocations as seen from a Slovene translator's point of view. The picture painted by the examples featured in the above tables is certainly nicer than the linguistic reality, but the choice seemed justified by its classroom value. Above all, one has to be aware that while only relatively clear-cut examples are included in the tables, very often the difficulty in translating a given collocation is multiplied by a combination of two or more types of the neat classification presented above. Another important caveat is that although all data has been corpus-proven, future parallel-corpora-driven research is bound to bring more fresh and reliable data on the subject, which will undoubtedly have a profound impact on the typology and classification of interlingual relations in Slovene and English lexical collocations.

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II.

LITERATURE

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Contrasts in Metaphysical Writing:
John Donne and Emily Dickinson

Summary

This paper starts by stating what metaphysical poetry is, what its characteristics are, and who the metaphysical poets are. Later the paper focuses on Emily Dickinson's poetry and confirms the thesis that she can be considered a metaphysical poet. The third thing the paper deals with is to what extent Donne's and Dickinson's poetry as well as Donne's Sermons correspond to the Calvinist theology, which is the common credo of the Churches to which they belong. A further issue the paper debates about is rhetorical devices in the metaphysical service.

The last aspect of Donne's and Dickinson's writing that the essay explores is their attitude towards truth.

Key words: metaphysical poetry, Calvinism, John Donne, Emily Dickinson, rhetorical devices

Kotrasti metafizične pisave: John Donne in Emily Dickinson

Povzetek

Članek v svojem začetku pojasni, kaj je metafizična poezija, katere so njene značilnosti in kdo so bili metafizični pesniki. Nato se članek osredotoči na poezijo Emily Dickinson in potrdi tezo, da je ona tudi metafizična pesnica. Tretja stvar, ki jo esej obravnava je, do katere meje poezija Johna Donna in Emily Dickinson odraža kalvinistično teologijo, ki predstavlja skupno veroizpoved Cerkva, ki jima oba avtorja pripadata. Naslednja zadeva, ki se je članek loteva, so retorične oz. pesniške figure v službi metafizične književnosti.

Zadnji vidik, ki je predmet razprave, pa je odnos obeh avtorjev do resnice.

Ključne besede: metafizična poezija, Kalvinizem, John Donne, Emily Dickinson, retorične figure

Contrasts in Metaphysical Writing: John Donne and Emily Dickinson

1. Introduction

As T.S. Eliot (1934, 281–2) acknowledges in his essay "The Metaphysical Poets," the revival of study of the group of writers now called the metaphysical poets began with Grierson's anthology of 17th century English poems. Eliot finds it difficult not only to define the term "metaphysical poetry," but also to enumerate the poems which show the quality of such writing. It is no easier to single out the poets of the school. He, however, finds a potentially common characteristic of this kind of poetry, saying: "Donne, and often Cowley, employ a device which is sometimes considered characteristically 'metaphysical'; the elaboration . . . of a figure of speech to the furthest stage to which ingenuity can carry it" (ibid., 282).

To enumerate more characteristics of metaphysical poets and their poetry it is wise to turn to authors writing less favourably of them, since the features of their writing can be extracted from a negative critique too. Johnson writes in his *The Life of Cowley* that "the metaphysical poets were men of learning, and to show their learning was their whole endeavour" (Hammond 1974, 50). He detects the poets' use of wit too, but in an undesirable way. "The most heterogeneous ideas are yoked by violence together; nature and art ransacked for illustrations, comparison and allusions; their learning instructs . . ." (ibid., 51). Because, according to Johnson, their poetry was all about the rational, they failed to convey a genuine sentiment to the readership. They were observers of, not partakers in the themes they explored; the poetry was didactic (ibid., 51–2). Johnson is therefore offended by the ingenuity of bringing incompatible subjects together. He has a classical sensibility and looks for decorum. The metaphysicals, however, appeal to a modern reader precisely because they are not classical. The surprise of near-paradox pleases the postmodern palate (Gadpaille 1999–2006). The four most widely-known metaphysicals were John Donne, George Herbert, Henry Vaughan, Richard Crashaw and Andrew Marvell.

If, so far, I have talked about the features of the poetry and poets influenced by Donne, it is now time to supply a definition of metaphysical poetry, i.e. the poetry of 17th century England. Simple in form, yet extremely rounded is the definition of Grierson. As we are about to see, Grierson formed his definition by putting it into the context of the European corpus of literary history and history of thought. Grierson (1921, 1) saw metaphysical poetry as poetry that "has been inspired by a philosophical conception of the universe and the role assigned to the human spirit in the great drama of existence".

Moving to more modern critical approaches, let us consider some lucid remarks by another scholar in the field. In the introduction to *Four Metaphysical Poets*, Joan Bennett (1953, 2) states that "the word 'metaphysical' refers to style, rather than subject matter," and she adds "but style reflects an attitude of experience". Bennett agrees with other critics of metaphysical poetry that these poets reshaped the experience in an intellectual way. The poets "looked for a connection between their emotion and mental concepts." These relations were more often logical rather

than sensuous. They connected the abstract with the concrete, the remote with the near, and the sublime with the ordinary (ibid., 3).

The last aspect of the definition of metaphysical is given by John Donne himself in his April 20, 1630 sermon, where he speaks about a Christian person thus: "In regenerate man, all is Metaphyisicall, supernaturall" (BYU, 18). By regenerate, he means a person rejuvenated in his spirit, who has experienced a Resurrection and thus has Easter every day (BYU).

2. Dickinson as metaphysical poet

Emily Dickinson can be classified as a metaphysical poet for reasons of style and subject explained by Bennet (see above). Style is crucial to the definition of metaphysical, because method and epistemology cohere (Gadpaille 2006). In 1961 Judith Banzer published an essay entitled 'Compound Manner': Emily Dickinson and the Metaphysical Poets. The author spots the similarity in matter and style between the verses of Donne and Herbert, on the one hand, and Emily Dickinson's, on the other (418).

Having been brought up in the strict religious atmosphere of her home in Amherst, Dickinson's meditations included topics such as mortality, the temporal presence of God, i.e. God's effects on the material world, and the relationship between a person and God and his creation (417). Let us take an example of Dickinson's poetry to establish initially that her poems deserve to be called metaphysical:

> The daisy follows soft the Sun,
> And when his golden walk is done,
> Sits shyly at his feet.
> He, waking, finds the flower near.
> "Wherefore, marauder, art thou here?"
> "Because, sir, love is sweet!"
>
> We are the Flower, Thou the Sun!
> Forgive us, if as days decline,
> We nearer steal to Thee, –
> Enamored of the parting West,
> The peace, the flight, the amethyst,
> Night's possibility! (Dickinson 2003, 204)

Read metaphysically, this daisy is an ordinary person with the pious desire to follow God till the end of his days. The figure of speech used in this case is a conceit; it changes a common man into a daisy and the Sun into God and by the means of analogy shows what their relationship is like. What is more, there is an allusion made to pagan rituals of Sun worship which then, in the second stanza, is transformed into the Christian speaker's everyday practice. The faithful are equated with a "Marauder," which only adds to the ingenuity of the conceit in the sense that this is an extraordinary comparison. It sets up an atmosphere of slight annoyance from the Sun's – that is, God's – point of view. Surprisingly for a common person, the daisy speaker of the

second stanza is not repelled by being called this name. The need to stay in the presence of the Sun is so strong that it entails enduring even less favourable remarks. In reading the poem this way, one is also able to detect that it is about mortality: "as days decline," "parting West," as well as about the universal order according to the Christian theology and Pagan practice.

Banzer states that Dickinson shares with the seventeenth century poets their "passionate interest in the microcosm of the self, whose 'polar privacy' was peopled with thoughts and emotions which supplied data of existence and stuff of art." The emphasis is on "polar." It signifies her showing two opposite states of mind, two poles, when writing poetry. The school-of-Donne scholars were similarly divided, between "scepticism and faith, desire and renunciation, optimism and despair…" The outcome of contradictory emotions and ideas was the "poetry of paradox, argument, and unifying conceits" (417). Dickinson uses the very same elements in her poetry. For instance, in the poem "I went to heaven" Dickinson uses an idea that challenges the notion of Paradise being a place of eternal bliss:

> Almost contented
> I could be
> 'Mong such unique
> Society. (Dickinson 2003, 215–6)

The adverb "almost" expresses the author's scepticism about heavenly life. It reflects a discrepancy between one's self and the common Christian theological conception of the afterlife.

Doubt and argument were also themes expressed by Donne. In the "Holy Sonnet IX", the persona questions God's judgement: "If lecherous goats, if serpents envious/Cannot be damn'd; alas, why should I bee" (lines 3–4). Goats and serpents stand for the Goat and the Serpent, i.e. the Devil, as well for the animals which possess the characteristics named above. The speaker, meditating on the subject of sinfulness, comes at this stage to a comparison of the ultimate evil (Devil), moderate evil (animalistic foulness) and themselves. In the first eight lines the author argues that their being sinful is not the reason for their condemnation. There is a possible allusion here to Genesis and God's instruction to the two original people: "rule over the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the air, and all living creatures that move upon the earth" (Gen 1:28), and to Jesus' speech on trust: "Behold the birds of the air, for they neither sow, nor do they reap, nor gather into barns: and your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are not you of much more value than they?" (Mt 6:26). It is therefore illogical for humans to be damned if they are masters of all animals, and more worthy than them, as Jesus openly says. No matter how strong the persona's rational argument might be, they soon sober up and retreat to a position that Cefalu calls "filial fear" (2003, 72).

According to Banzer, Dickinson and Donne are alike in their insights and techniques. They both take delight in the divided joys of earth and non-material phenomena; they both seek to fuse these (1961, 418). A typical example from Donne is the final couplet of the "Holy Sonnet XIII". "To wicked spirits are horrid shapes assign'd/This Beauteous forme assumes a piteous mind" (13–4). In this case a body and a spirit compose an interconnected unit. Or better said, one's mind (or spirit) affects the body. Paraphrasing the statement, this means that people who do good things are also beautiful, and the ones who are evil are of "horrid" looks. If we take the original meaning of the

Greek word psyche, soul, the cited example shows psychosomatics in its literal sense. The process might be reversed as well, as is done in "Holy Sonnet II", where the persona addresses God and explains what they are in the relationship to him: "I am . . ./Thy sheepe, thine Image, and till I betray'd/My selfe, a temple of thy Spirit divine (5, 7–8). Here the body is poisoned by sin, and therefore the Holy Spirit cannot live in it anymore. The body, with its attribute of mortality and its inclination towards sin, has affected the immortal component. This fusion of the components of a person, and the relationship between a human being and God are common characteristics of metaphysical poetry. Microcosm and macrocosm mutually affect each other; God as creator controls them both, and a microcosm's relationship towards its creator is, in works of literature, artistically ambivalent. In other words: Dickinson and Donne "addressed God familiarly with petulance, awe, and passion as a divine lover", as Banzer states (1961, 418).

3. Two carriers of the Calvinist flag

Although these two authors come from different eras, their writing expresses strikingly similar ideas concerning religious belief. After all, they are both Calvinists. One of the key beliefs in the life of Calvinists is the conviction that God made a decision at one's birth as to whether or not he would be glorified. This phenomenon is called predestination. A term that also refers to the predestinate status of a person is "election" (Cefalu 2003, 76–7).

Let us consider two examples of this credo in Donne's writing: "first I was made/By thee, and for thee" (Donne, 434, "Holy Sonnet I", 3–4) and "God . . . hath deign'd to chuse thee by adoption . . ." (Donne, "Holy Sonnet XV", 3, 7). Note the key phrases: "for thee", "chuse" and "adoption". They denote the security of being elected. I shall consider them more closely in order to prove this. Firstly, if someone is made "for" God, they had to be chosen or elected, otherwise "the order" for that person's creation would not have been be placed at all. Secondly, being chosen is the result of God's choosing – no further debate needed; and thirdly, being adopted here means elected, and since adoption is, as well as election, an act of one's own volition, God's will was done by God himself, and the person is therefore surely predestined to go to heaven.

Even clearer evidence of Donne's belief in our having a place in heaven, and thus evidently having been elected, is in the sermon preached on Whitsunday, a holiday, when the arrival of the Holy Spirit is celebrated, from 1630:

> By this will [he means Christ's final will, promise] then, . . . having given them [i.e. his Apostles] so great a Legacy, as a place in the kingdom of heaven, . . . he gives more, he gives them evidence by which they should maintain their right to that kingdom, that is, the testimony of . . . the Holy Ghost . . ." (BYU, 1)

From this excerpt we are able to see that the motifs of election recur in the prose, being stated there even more clearly, as prose is usually less metaphorical than poetry. We have here then Christ's promise that we have a place in heaven and that the constant presence of the Holy Spirit who will not let us lose our faith and consequently make our booking in heaven invalid.

Dickinson is confident about the reality of election as well:

Far from love the Heavenly Father
Leads the chosen child,
Oftener through realm of briar
Than the meadow mild.

Oftener by the claw of dragon
Than the hand of friend
Guides the little one predestined
To the native land. (Dickinson 2003, 285)

In this case a human being is "chosen" and "predestined". The meaning of the adjectives above is interchangeable. The person is by all means meant to be glorified.

However, election is not a guarantee of glorification; it is only the first step. To reach it one has to go through these interdependent, yet discrete stages: first, election, then calling, justification, adoption, sanctification, and last comes glorification. Election is explained above. Calling means God's awakening in a person, perhaps by means of feeling desperately sinful. Justification refers to God's assigning one the attribute of righteousness. Adoption is the penitent's being aware that they are a child of God. Sanctification is a gradual repairing of the damaged image of God in the soul, and glorification means the total restoration of the image of God in a person (Cefalu 2003, 76–7).

With these stages – perhaps all were not known to Dickinson since she was not ordained – comes the fear of not being able to pass them all. Donne especially in his Holy Sonnets is concerned about his soul being saved, while Dickinson expresses more optimistic, sometimes even loving attitude towards death and eternity. However, they both scrupulously meditate upon these two subjects. Donne's Holy Sonnets are even called Divine Meditations. Fear is one of the emotions that the persona in Donne's as well as Dickinson's poetry expresses. Cefalu speaks about the two types of fear: servile and filial fear. 'Servile' fear is "the fear of reprobation that predominates in unredeemed sinners but may also be experienced by the saints," while "reverential or 'filial' fear [is] the elects' fear of backsliding during sanctification" (72). While there can be traces of servile fear found in the Holy Sonnets, Dickinson lacks these. The passages below illustrate the type of Calvinistic fear and its intensity:

I read my sentence steadily,
Reviewed with my eyes,
To see that I made no mistake
In its extremest clause, –

The date, and manner of the shame,
And then the pious form
That "God have mercy" on the soul
The jury voted him.

I made my soul familiar
With her extremity,
That at last it should not be
A novel agony . . . (Dickinson 2003, 211)

This example illustrates filial fear. Dickinson puts her persona in a court of law, where they are in the position of the defendant. They read the sentence and want to check whether they understand its most severe provisions. The provision we can interpret as the strictest penalty for their sins. Later, the persona meditates upon their sins to become fully aware of them, in order not to suffer the new pains when death comes. In the *Holy Sonnets* meditation upon one's own sins is practised all the time; it is essential to one's forgiveness, since Protestants do not have a confessor to go to and tell him their sins. These meditations also occur in Protestant journals, as evident in Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, which has the form of one such journal.

Whatever offences Dickinson's persona has made, the soul does not worry about suffering from imminent death. Yet there is anticipation mixed with the fear, since the last stanza begins with the anxiety-relieving conjunction "but," which juxtaposes the whole procedure preceding it:

> But she and Death, acquainted,
> Meet tranquilly as friends,
> Salute and pass without a hint –
> And there the matter ends. (Dickinson 2003, 211)

There is relief felt when the transition passes without any problems, and Death does not question or punish the soul at all. But this relief speaks for a low degree of filial fear. Cefalu's servile fear is not present. Why is the filial fear so low? Because of self-knowledge. It is this knowledge that overrides the fear. In this aspect Dickinson differs from Donne, since he, although aware of his defects in the sight of God, is unable to overcome, or lessen the fear and desperation by himself; he always asks for divine help, like in this "Holy Sonnet IV":

> Oh my black soul! Now thou art summoned
> By sicknesse, deaths herald, and champion;
> Thou art like a pilgrim, which abroad hath done
> Treason, and durst not turn to whence hee is fled,
> Or like a thief, which till deaths doome be read,
> Wisheth himself delivered from prison;
> But damn'd and hal'd to exectution,
> Wisheth that still he might be imprisoned;
> Yet grace, if thou repent, thou canst not lacke;
> But who shall give thee that grace to beginne?
> Oh make thyself with holy mourning blacke,
> And red with blushing, as thou art with sinne;
> Or wash thee in Christs blood, which hath this might
> That being red, it dyes red soules to white. (Donne 1991, 436)

Here Donne is aware of two facts: that his soul is black, i.e. burdened with sin, and that he is about to die. He elaborates much more than Dickinson on his soul's feelings. They are embodied in a metaphysical conceit, which is in this case expressed through similes. The soul is compared to a pilgrim and a thief. As the pilgrim is afraid to return abroad, because he committed some crime there, and the thief wants to stay imprisoned rather than be executed, so is 'our' soul afraid to see and meet God, and wants to stay as long as possible in a body to avoid the final judgement.

Then comes the turn, which is in Donne's case the result of the Holy Sonnets' being Italian sonnets; it is the turn in theme and tone after the octave. While the octave is descriptive and relatively objective, the sestet changes into a modest plea for forgiveness and divine intervention. Dickinson, however, does not use any such poetic form that would by itself induce thematic and tonal switches, yet such switches occur in the second part of her poems, as shown in the example cited above.

The filial fear and despair are visible only in the octave, and they gain in intensity by means of the extended metaphor. The two anti-heroes, a pilgrim and a thief, as well as their stories, make the woe of the soul twofold, when compared with Dickinson's legal process, since the soul, in the former case, identifies with them. The legal process is, indeed, a metaphor too; however, it stands for a single occasion, which is reading one's sentence. What Dickinson's poem lacks in intensity of feeling conveyed, it gains in the ingenious ambivalence of chosen vocabulary, and thus makes "I read my sentence steadily" (1) one of the best examples of wit. What I have in mind is that words "sentence", "mistake" and "clause" can be understood in the judicial as well as in the grammatical context. Each context gives the poem a certain tone, the former a serious one, the latter a slightly comic one – as if God additionally punished somebody for making grammar or elocution mistakes. On the other hand, punctuation and vocabulary mistakes can indeed alter 'both' sentences and here for the persona the situation becomes serious again. One wishes not to be dishonest towards themselves and especially not Death, which is in this case personified and consequently made an animate creature with even such a response.

4. Rhetorical and other devices in the metaphysical service

The works of Dickinson and Donne should be viewed in a literary context. Basically, literary language is metaphorical language. At least two notions are combined in it: the one which conveys sincere and personal emotions of authors and personae, and the one, the purpose of which is to create literature. The position of both notions is combined in the phrase "sincere insincerity". The phrase is borrowed from Veno Taufer's lecture given in 2000 at the University of Ljubljana's (Slovenia) Theological Faculty in Maribor. The thought that Taufer wanted to present is that, although an author incorporates his/her genuine emotions and thoughts into a work of art, the work is insincere because of the nature of such work. It is artificial, because it is meant to be such. A thing cannot be natural and art (cultural) at the same time; and since the work of art is altered for the sake of artistic values, it cannot be completely sincere. By alteration, I mean mainly rhetorical devices, i.e. figures of speech. There are also stylistic devices present in literature, such as the care for sublime in the poems, as well as the struggle towards the refinement of poetry, for instance *Carmen Figuratum* poems. Figures of speech can be studied, but their sensible application requires a craftsman. The refinement of poetry, on the other hand, calls for abilities such as wit, and the sense of decorum; in this case there is an artist needed. The section that follows will try to throw more light on the poetic mechanism spoken of above.

It can be said, with reference to "Holy Sonnet IV" and "I read my sentence steadily", that where Dickinson stops using wit is the place where Donne takes it to the utmost sphere. After

"but", Dickinson's play on words ceases, whereas Donne uses the turning point after the octave to bring about a conglomerate of colour imagery and parallelism. Let us dissect this rhetorical block. In the sestet we are let known that the persona's soul is black. In the octave this colour imagery recurs. This speaks for a parallelism and anaclasis: on the one hand, we have a black, i.e. sinful soul and on the other, black as the colour of mourning, since black has a different meaning in the repetition in the second case, this is a figure of speech called anaclasis. It occurs as well in the cases of "red with blushing" and "[red] as thou art with sin" (12), where red in the first example stands for embarrassment, while in the second it suggests serious crime against God and/or a human being with a possible association with the phrase "red handed" in its literal or metaphorical meaning. Certainly 'red' in the latter sense implies some connection to blood, the blood of wrongdoing. All these contrasting instances of colour imagery create the feeling of the illogicality of Christian faith, the climax being the paradox: "That being red, it dyes red soules to white" (14). To a secular eye, blood is something unpleasant to look at, and it cannot dye a red thing white; on the contrary, to the faithful it represents the remembrance of Christ's last supper, and his suffering on the cross, and it is drunk symbolically as wine by the Catholics, or at least by the priest, during every Holy Communion. In this sense it is a soul's remedy.

Indeed, the above quotation comes very close to that of Tertullian, the African Church Father, who stated: "Credo quia absurdum est", meaning: "I believe because it is absurd", and thus promoted the irrationalistic approach to religious truths (Counterbalance Interactive Library). The couplets of the *Holy Sonnets* often follow this pattern by singling out the paradoxes: "And burne me o Lord, with fiery zeale/Of thee and thy house, which in eating heale" (V, 13–4), "One short sleep past, wee wake eternally/And death shall be no more, death, thou shalt die" (X, 13–4), ". . . for I/Except you' enthrall mee, never shall be free/Nor ever chast, except you ravish mee" (XIV, 13–4), and, referring to Church, "Who is most trew, and pleasing to thee, then/When she'is embrac'd and open to most men" (XVIII, 13–4). All these refer to the Bible or to generally accepted Christian religious truths.

Dickinson's paradoxes are not as clear and dense as Donne's; hence they are more difficult to recognize. They can flow through her poems like a *fil rouge* as in the poems: "Going to heaven!", "A death-blow is a life-blow to some" and "I think just how my shape will rise" (Dickinson 2003, 208–9, 210–11, 231, ll. 1,1,1).

The citations of the couplets from the "Holy Sonnets V, X, XIV and XVIII", which can be paraphrased respectively as: the healing power of burning fire, which at the same time destroys; the death of the inanimate being "death", or to kill him, who is undead; to be enslaved and free simultaneously, as well as to be violated and to preserve chastity; a bride who is shared with several men and is still faithful to the holiest man who has ever lived, are aesthetic dictions of religious contemplation. Their language is formal, elevated, a register from which they rarely digress. Just the opposite is true of the poem "Going to heaven!" Its language is simple, colloquial, for such suits its purpose, i.e. conversation with a friend. The addressee, therefore, is no divine being but a person of flesh and blood. It can be said that in the religious poetry of Donne and Dickinson the language is addressee-conditioned. Donne in those Holy Sonnets, the couplets of which are

cited above, speaks to God, death, God again, and Christ respectively. These elements are by their nature such that they demand elevated speech, or at least dictate its appropriateness. It is an unwritten poetic decorum. Dickinson's elocution is supposed to be intimate, private and silent, since it is a part of her own experience of death. What is more, she also questions her faith in going to heaven, which her strict religious community would not accept. Something like this should be discussed tête-à-tête. The faith in going to heaven is first acknowledged – although with awe then denied, and at the end of the poem acknowledged again when the application is made to the faith of the deceased she knew; correspondingly: "And yet it will be done", "I'm glad I don't believe it", "I am glad they did believe it" (8, 20, 24). It seems that the persona makes no real effort to maintain the faith in immortality. They will rather enjoy their life on Earth for a while. On the other hand, Donne's persona does not dare to think about letting any of their 'faiths' go. They "labour to'admit [him], but Oh, to no end" (XIV, 6); they are desperate, cry for help, try desperately to stay in the union with God, but with no success. The words of the sonnet are actually a prayer to God to fight for their soul, a battle that cannot be won by their own reasoning, because the mind proves to be "weake and untrue" (8). Here the reference can be made to one of his sermons elaborating on the story of Job's being abandoned by people, and, as it seems, by God himself: ". . . God is greater than the heart . . . If he be . . . a Witnesse for me, . . . he is thousands of thousands, millions of millions of witnesses in my behalfe, for there is so no condamnation . . . to them that are in him" (April 20, 1630, 17). Here the self-knowledge and judicial reasoning of one's own sins, of "I read my sentence steadily", bring no salvation or peace to the persona. Action from outside must take place, since the persona is trapped inside their own microcosm, which is ruled by God's archfiend. It is obvious, then, that only God, to whom Satan was once subdued, can untie the unholy knot. The persona is therefore in Lucifer's unlawful possession, so the speaker here wants to be delivered by their spouse, God, in a strict, authoritative manner. "Take mee to you, imprison mee . . ." (XIV, 12), they cry, for they consider themselves God' property.

Strikingly similar to the "Holy Sonnet XIV" in its vocabulary and theme is Dickinson's "Given in marriage unto thee". As Donne's persona in the above-mentioned sonnet is treated as a bride-to-be, so is Dickinson's. In both cases there have been betrothals and marriages made before the forthcoming divine marriage and which have to be made invalid in order for this holy marriage to take place: "Other betrothal shall dissolve/Wedlock of will, decay –", says Dickinson (Dickinson 2003, 235,); Donne speaks: "But [I] am betroth'd unto your enemy/Divorce mee, 'untie, or breake that knot againe . . ." (Donne 1991, 443). A distinction between these two relationships is that in the former example the persona used her own will to get into the previous marriage, in the latter case the persona was usurped and forced into engagement; it is the question of free will that makes the difference in this argument. However, the bridegroom is the same in both poems: "the father and the Son/ . . . [and] the Holy Ghost" in Dickinson (3–4) and "three person'd God . . ." in Donne (1), where the three persons stands for the ones Dickinson mentions. Another difference between these two poems is shown in the preparations for each of the relationships. The fiancée from Donne's sonnet asks for severe measures to be applied in order to make the bride-to-be new. They want from God to "breake, blowe, burn . . ." them. There are no such methods expected to be used in Dickinson's persona remake pattern.

Another paradox from Dickinson's poetry, one that does not require much mental strength to detect, is one which at the same time celebrates the afterlife, even as it points to the people who lack animate force in their lives. "A death blow is a life blow to some/Who, till they died, did not alive become" (1–2). The next two lines repeat the message of the first two: "Who, had they lived, had died, but when/They died, vitality begun" (Dickinson 2003, 210–11). It can be noticed that the poem takes its inspiration from the joys of the life after earthly life. Dwelling in eternity is a hope for those that were in any way prevented from living fully here, on Earth. For them, death stands for a new life.

5. Conclusion

The last significant aspect of the religious metaphysical poetry of Donne and Dickinson I would like to mention is their attitude towards the notion of truth, whether with reference to a wider population or to the speakers themselves.

One of the gems in professing faith in Christ's true Church in whatsoever form is Donne's "Holy Sonnet XVIII". In addition to being a meditation on which Christian Church is the right one, it is also, and this is a quite surprising fact, a love poem. The first evidence in favour of the statement above is as follows. Donne asks a question about the Church as institution: "Dwells she with us, or like adventuring knights/First travel we to seek, and then make love?" (9–10). First, he addresses it with "she", the personal pronoun assigned to the feminine gender. The Church is then treated like a lady of medieval romances whom knights wooed, and whom they loved and made love to. So here is our first love and sexual insinuation, and there are more of both to come:

> Betray, kind husband, thy spouse to our sights,
> And let mine amorous soul court thy mild dove,
> Who is most true and pleasing to thee then
> When she is embraced and open to most men. (Donne 1991, ll. 11–4)

In the last four lines of the sonnet the persona, who has a multiple voice – it represents several people – asks Christ to "betray", i.e. reveal, his Church – wife – to the faithful. In Christian, Catholic in particular, tradition the Church is considered to be His bride, or, in this case, wife. Then the second love suggestion comes, in which the persona, this time as a singular being, courts the lady. The love suggestion is actually the repetition of the one from lines 9–10. The climax, the revelation of the sonnet is given in the final couplet. If we take it in the religious sense, it makes a perfect sense: the right Church, and the one with which Christ agrees, is the Church which accepts and is accepted by the majority of believers. In this sense, the couplet contains a truth which stands even today; or especially today, when Christianity seeks a dialogue among various branches of Christianity through the ecumenical movement, and there is not only one true Church.

On the other hand, the couplet can also be understood as a paradox; it is ambivalent in its sense, and this gives it its freshness, originality of metaphor. Let us take the literal sense of the final two lines: they suggest something that today would be called swinging or offering sexual services. In

Donne's era this would have been called adultery with the husband's consent, and therefore a sin. The paradox, however, lies in the fact that adultery and being "true and pleasing" to one's husband cannot coincide. In spite of all the sexual implications, the sonnet remains morally unstained if we consider the notion that faith is paradoxical, and what is even more important, it is, or should be, people's greatest love towards one another. The notion of truth from this sonnet, and the fact that Church can also stand for the community of believers, effectively coincides with the message of the Apostle Peter, who says: "Above all, love each other deeply, because love covers over a multitude of sins" (1 Peter 4:8). Therefore, although the Church might err, love diminishes those errors.

The poem by Dickinson that deals with truth and alludes to Keats' "Ode on a Grecian Urn" is "I died for beauty, but was scarce".

> I died for beauty, but was scarce
> Adjusted in the tomb,
> When one who died for truth was lain
> In an adjoining room.
>
> He questioned softly why I failed?
> "For beauty," I replied.
> "And I for truth, – the two are one;
> We brethren are," he said. (Dickinson 2003, 191)

This poem delivers the message that beauty and truth are interconnected. When one dies, so does the other. The persona "died for beauty", and immediately after death another human being, a man, is buried in a room next to theirs. The compatibility of their souls, since they are soul-mates, is reflected even in a physical sense. If we presume that the persona is a woman, and we already know that the neighbour is a man, they both make an original match – the Genesis Adam-and-Eve, man-and-woman match. Why are they soul-mates? It is because the qualities of beauty and truth are actually spiritual qualities, and "brethren" stands for spiritual brotherhood, as is typical of monks. The same or similar relationship between them recurs in the third stanza, when they are called "kinsmen" (line 9).

It is appropriate to end this paper with the sonnet that most holistically captures the title of this section. This is the "Holy Sonnet III", where Donne asks woe to return to him, because in the past he suffered in vain. Although this seems to be a method of self-torture, he has a plausible argument to support his wish. Here is the octave, in which the persona lays out the reason why they should redo the whole sufferance. The reason is, as we are about to see, in the light of repentance:

> O! might those sighs and tears return again
> Into my breast and eyes, which I have spent,
> That I might in this holy discontent
> Mourn with some fruit, as I have mourn'd in vain.
> In mine idolatry what showers of rain

Mine eyes did waste? what griefs my heart did rent?
That sufferance was my sin, I now repent;
'Cause I did suffer, I must suffer pain. (Donne 1991, ll. 1–8)

The persona therefore cries and is miserable because of "idolatry", that is, profane love. "That sufferance was my sin" is the contemporary recognition of theirs. This is, however, an enigmatic remark, since sufferance is in most cases understood as paying the debt which resides in the sins committed. Since the persona suffered "in the wrong way", they must, according to their conscience, pay for this by suffering "on the right way". The right way is godly way. Young sees the sonnet as a sonnet about the wrong kind of love and the wrong object of that love.

> Erotic ardor is misplaced love: passion (i.e. suffering) with the wrong motivation and goal. Even more than most sins, it is ultimately its own punishment . . . The very term "passion" suggests what the Petrarchan tradition exhibits, that sinful or disordered love is a form of suffering, a self-deluded pursuit of suffering for its own sake. The simple recognition of this contrast between the willful, defiant suffering of profane love and suffering with and for Christ in His Passion is an unmistakable indication that the speaker has already begun to "Mourne with some fruit." (Young 2000, 181–2)

The sestet confirms the mission of the octave, i.e. that the persona cannot seek comfort in the "past joys", since they were no joys at all. What is more, if the speaker sought some comfort there, their present penance would make no sense for their plea for God's forgiveness would not be sincere.

Both Donne and Dickinson cherish truth above all; for each, it is the only thing worth dying and crying for. The poem "My cocoon tightens, colors tease" discusses the process of seeking truth. The process runs parallel to the desire to be free, free as a butterfly which is the vehicle in the metaphor. Nevertheless, freedom requires a certain procedure in order to be achieved and so does truth. The third and final stanza explains the way to obtain some knowledge, truth, freedom:

> So I must baffle at the hint
> And cipher at the sign,
> And make much blunder, if at last
> I take the clew divine. (Dickinson 2003, 190)

As one can conclude, the path is not an easy one. Whoever undertakes it accepts the job of a code-breaker. They sometimes just cannot understand what someone is saying to them, this someone presumably being God; they must solve many problems; of course, they err too; it is something that accompanies problem solving, and at the end illumination comes. The one who starts the path and finishes it, can be indeed be called a scientist of life.

In spite of differences that originate in Donne's and Dickinson's being of different gender, regardless of their religious standpoint, the diction in their writing, and, what is crucial to understanding of all the above enumerated, the time in which they created their literature, we can conclude that they were both poets of profound style and wit, great knowledge of arts and science, and persistent explorers of the world beyond the one they lived in. On the other hand,

both authors share common characteristics which are embodied in the so called metaphysical style, and common lyric themes as well. Their individuality in creativity as such, and their being placed among other authors who created literature as well, establishes their true value, i.e. being the masters of the craft they practiced in the field of metaphysical poetry.

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Deconstructing Identity in Postcolonial Fiction

Summary

With the destabilization of political and cultural boundaries between peoples and nations, the concept of identity, with its implications in the dialectics of self and other, becomes a philosophical challenge in a globalised cosmopolitan world. The challenge resides in the fact that in such a postmodern situation where identity is viewed as shapeless, shifting and moving beyond the fixity of Manichean thought, a process of questioning is enacted to interrogate identity in its past, present and future implications.

This paper will attempt to look at the ways in which some postcolonial novels set out to deconstruct the concept of identity by constructing ambivalent texts, blurring the borders between self and other, laying the foundations for hybridity where otherness reigns as a process of signification which rests on interpretation.

Key words: identity, hybridity, deconstruction, otherness, ambivalence, interpretation

Dekonstrukcija identitete v postkolonialni prozi

Povzetek

Ošibitev političnih in kulturnih meja med narodi in nacijami vzpostavlja koncept identitete, vključujoč dialektično razmerje med jazom in drugim, kot filozofski izziv v globaliziranem kozmopolitskem svetu. V postmoderni situaciji, kjer je identiteta razumljena kot brezoblična in pomikajoča se onkraj ustaljene manihejske misli, se izziv poraja v procesu izpraševanja identitete v okviru njenih preteklih, sedanjih in prihodnjih implikacij.

Članek skuša orisati načine, s katerimi se nekateri postkolonialni romani lotevajo dekonstrukcije koncepta identitete, ko z ustvarjanjem ambivalentnih besedil brišejo meje med jazom in drugim in tako postavljajo temelje za hibridnost, kjer vlada drugost kot proces označevanja, ki se opira na interpretacijo.

Ključne besede: identiteta, hibridnost, dekonstrukcija, drugost, ambivalenca, interpretacija

Deconstructing Identity in Postcolonial Fiction

1. The old identity discourse

In his Reflections on Identity, Stanley Aronowitz reiterates the fact that "the older theories of identity have tended to posit 'society' and the 'individual' as fixed" (in Rajchman 1995, 115). The observation that identity was traditionally thought of as something stable and fixed can be corroborated by Stuart Hall who assumes that in the past the discourse of identity rested on the idea of fixity and stability wherein authenticity was sought for as a guarantee to secure continuity and resist the mutability of a rapidly changing world.

> The logic of the discourse of identity assumes a stable subject, i.e., we've assumed that there is something which we can call our identity which, in a rapidly shifting world, has the great advantage of staying still. Identities are a kind of guarantee that the world isn't falling apart quite as rapidly as it sometimes seems to be. It's a kind of fixed point of thought and being, a ground of action, a still point in the turning world. That's the kind of ultimate guarantee that identity seems to provide us with. (Hall 1989, 10)

This traditional discourse conceives of identity as being related to a fixed point, a particular set of values, serving as a sort of hallmark for the individual in society. Stuart Hall goes further to suggest that identity is a discourse wherein the logic of stability and continuity steers towards the belief that an individual can remain the same person over time, whatever his life experiences may be. In this discourse, identity is associated with a point of reference, a kind of origin that secures or guarantees authenticity, fixity and stability.

> The logic of identity is the logic of something like a "true self." And the language of identity has often been related to the search for a kind of authenticity to one's experience, something that tells me where I come from. The logic and language of identity is the logic of depth – in here, deep inside me, is my Self which I can reflect upon. It is an element of continuity. I think most of us do recognize that our identities have changed over time, but we have the hope or nostalgia that they change at the rate of a glacier. So, while we're not the fledglings that we were when we were one year old, we are the same sort of person. (Hall 1989, 10)[1]

The old logic of identity creates, as Stanley Aronowitz puts it, "a self-enclosed universe of identity discourse" (in Rajchman 119). The old self-enclosed discourse of identity rests on the exclusion of the other, the other individual or the other identity group, whose difference is felt as constituting a potential threat or danger. The danger of such an identity discourse is that it offers a fertile terrain for all sorts of essentialist thinking such as communitarianism, extremism and radical nationalism.

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[1] There is little need to focus on the ways in which the great collective identities related to nation, class, race or gender contribute to fix the concept of identity to the notion of stability:

"The whole adventure of the modern world was, for a long time, blocked out in terms of these great collective identities. As one knew one's class, one knew one's place in the social universe. As one knew one's race, one knew one's racial position within the great races of the world in their hierarchical relationship to one another. As one knew one's gender, one was able to locate oneself in the huge social divisions between men and women. As one knew one's national identity, one certainly knew about the pecking order of the universe. These collective identities stabilized and staged our sense of ourselves. That logic of identity that seemed so confident (...) was in part held in place by these great collective social identities..." (Hall 1989, 10–11)

All too frequently in the contemporary world we find groups obsessed with asserting the "identity" or "sameness" of their members in order to affirm the contrast with what they perceive to threaten them as "different" or "other." The perceived differences may belong to any number of familiar typologies, including race, religion, ethnicity, gender, class, sexual preference, or other status taken to be "fundamental" in some supposedly alarming sense. (Grier 2007, 1)

2. The postcolonial discourse of identity

In line with postmodern thought, postcolonial theory fully subscribes to the new identity discourse by acknowledging the destabilisation and the fragmentation affecting the concept of identity. The destabilisation of the concept of identity stems from the growing awareness that identity is a question involving the relationship of the self and the other. Without the other, there would be no self, no identity. The contemporary concern with otherness highlights the proposition that alterity (difference or the existence of the other) determines the process of identification. It is the existence of the other that gives the self meaning. Besides, the self is not a finished product; it is not a stable construct; it is, rather, a process in constant flux; something that is incessantly shifting. The ceaseless change that affects the self in its relation with the other endows identity with mutable fluidity. "Identity emerges as a kind of unsettled space or an unresolved question in that space, between a number of intersecting discourses" (Hall 1989, 10).

Many thinkers agree today on the shifting nature of identity in a globalised world characterised by what Edward Said calls in *Culture and Imperialism* "the mixture of cultures and identities" (Said 1994, 407). For Edward Said, instability is a major characteristic of identity. Identity is always in progress, fluctuating between differences, shifting beyond Manichean thought, undergoing an endless process of change. "No one today is purely one thing. Labels like Indian, or woman, or Muslim, or American are not more than starting-points, which if followed into actual experience for only a moment are quickly left behind" (ibid., 407).

As it develops the self embraces different identities and becomes therefore an on-going process of differentiation. Identity is not stable because the self is constantly shifting from one identity to another, and this is mainly because of the inherent diversity within identity. Identity cannot be restricted to only one particular thing; instead of being en-closed within the boundaries of particularism, identity opens out to embrace pluralism.

Pluralistic identity is a notion that calls for Homi Bhabha's treatment of the concept of hybridity; such a concept is inescapably intertwined with the notion of ambivalence and indeterminacy. The indeterminacy and ambivalence of identity, the fluctuation between sameness and difference, spring from the inadequacy of any attempt to adopt only one particular identity. The inherent diversity of the self, places identity in an in-between interval, a third space, for Homi Bhabha who, in adopting a politics of the in-between, opens the scope for investigation into the fertile interstitial space of identity.

Seen under the light of this new discourse, identity in postcolonial theory becomes a process of questioning. Postcolonial theory perceives identity as a process in constant flux wherein the self,

in its perpetual negotiation with the other, enacts a self-interrogating mechanism, a self-centred process of interrogation, establishing a deconstructive apprehension of identity. According to Jacques Derrida, the self, "in departing from itself, lets itself be put into question by the other" (1978, 96). In its encounter with the other, the self indulges in a process of becoming other than itself (ibid., 119, 133). In its "adventuring outside oneself towards the unforeseeably-other" (ibid., 95), the self has to face "the impossibility of return to the same". The acknowledgment of this inescapable impossibility of return to the same after encountering the other plays an active role in approaching postcolonial identities.

3. Deconstructing identity in Hanif Kureishi's *The Bhudda of Suburbia*:

Hanif Kureishi's novel *The Bhudda of Suburbia* (1990) is a telling example of how identity is deconstructed in postcolonial fiction. The narrator-character of the novel is self-consciously aware of the hybrid nature of his identity, an identity to be situated in an in-between interstitial space. Karim Amir, the London Suburbian of Indian origin, speaks of himself as inhabiting an indeterminate in-between space, a third space of both belonging and unbelonging. The opening paragraph sets the autobiographical tone of the narrative wherein identity emerges as a central concern for the author who, from the outset, reveals his deconstructive approach to the important postcolonial issue of identity.

> My name is Karim Amir, and I am an Englishman born and bred, almost. I am often considered to be a funny kind of Englishman, a new breed as it were, having emerged from two old histories. But I don't care – Englishman I am (though not proud of it), from the South London suburbs and going somewhere. Perhaps it is the odd mixture of continents and blood, of here and there, of belonging and not, that makes me restless and easily bored. (3)

The sense of restlessness that the narrator expresses in the opening paragraph may be viewed as revealing the crisis of identity from which the postcolonial self suffers. Karim's restlessness could be related to the sense of displacement and dislocation he faces as an individual living in a postcolonial world where he must come to terms with a hybrid identity, an identity that ties him up to more than one culture. But the restlessness Karim feels might be connected with the dynamic workings of the postcolonial hybrid identity. This restlessness is the inner movement which reveals identity as a process in constant flux. The in-between nature of identity, the "belonging and not" of which Karim speaks is the deconstructive process, the in-and-out movement of the self, the quest for meaning that allows the self to embark on a perpetual journey towards the unattainable understanding of his own identity. Karim's restlessness is the process of self-questioning; it is identity in constant flux. Throughout the novel, identity is constantly interrogated, moving away from the fixity of Manichean thought as incarnated by Karim's uncle who stands for the failure of the old identity discourse which rigidly sticks to the ideal of stability. Karim's uncle blames his brother for losing his Indian authenticity by becoming too westernised. Karim's father, who represents the first generation of immigrants in Britain, undergoes an identity-change, leading him away from the traditional values left back home, there in India, in order to embrace the English culture adopted here in England. His choice to divorce his first wife, Karim's mother, and his love for Eva, could be interpreted as revealing his desire to change

and seek a new identity. Karim inherits his restlessness from his father, perhaps; but he seems to share with his Indian-born genitor that balance which consists in accepting the identity of origin while accommodating other identities. Like his father's, Karim's restlessness stems from his wavering between cultures and identities.

Karim's restlessness, associated with the postcolonial dynamic quest for a meaning to identity, is to be found in Anita Desai's novel *Fire On the Mountain*; it is incarnated by the little wild girl Raka who stands for revolt against the past, as personified by her great-grand-mother, the heroine of the novel. Raka, who allegorically represents the new generation of Indians struggling to overcome the sense of loss in a rapidly changing world, could be thought of as reminiscent of Owonko's inner energy which ends in tragedy at the close of Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart.* The same inner energy is to be found in Tayeb Salih's *Season of Migration to the North* where the hero's sexual dynamism betrays his restless strive to come to terms with his being trapped between cultures and identities.

Like Karim and Raka, Okwonko faces a crisis of identity, a crisis that fictional characters at times tend to resolve in violence. Karim's depression and "self hatred" make him desire "to mutilate himself with broken bottles" in Kureishi's *Bhudda of Suburbia* (249–50).

> All the same, my depression and self hatred, my desire to mutilate myself with broken bottles, and numbness and crying fits, my inability to get out of bed for days and days, the feeling of the world moving in to crush me, went on and on. But I knew I wouldn't go mad, even if that letting-go was a freedom I desired. I was waiting for myself to heal. I began to wonder why I was so strong – what it was that held me together. I thought that it was that I'd inherited from Dad a strong survival instinct. (249–50)[2]

Okwonko commits suicide at the end of Achebe's novel, and Raka, at the close of Anita Desai's narrative, mysteriously sets a fire in the forest, destroying the local landscape which is part of the heroine's roots and identity. Fire as a destructive element is closely associated with the identity crisis from which the heroine suffers in *The Wide Saragasso Sea*. This narrative reeks with violence as Antoinette struggles against insanity and alienation, allowing the Caribbean writer Jean Rhys to delve into a profound investigation into postcolonial identity. The final descent of the "mad woman in the attic" with a candle in her hand, ready to set the whole house on fire, dramatises the violent inner struggle to apprehend identity.

In Tayeb Salih's novel, *Season of Migration to the North,* Mustapha Saeed, a typical postcolonial hero, drowns himself in the Nile in a final desperate attempt to resolve his identity crisis. Salih's postcolonial narrative is permeated with violence which characterises the hero's sexual relationships with his female victims. Such a silent sort of violence culminates in his final submission "to the destructive forces of the river" (168). His drowning marks the end of his innermost identity conflict between the oriental components of his Arab identity and the acquired occidental parts of his personality; the western part of his identity is personified by the European women he seeks to conquer, driven by the desire to embrace the Other's identity.

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[2]   The same survival instinct is a central issue for Margaret Atwood as her well-known *Survival* (1972) testifies.

Violence also reigns in Rawi Hage's *De Niro's Game*, a recent novel where the civil war in Lebanon provides the canvas on which the author's brush attempts to render the crisis of personal and collective identities in a postcolonial country. Bassam and George, the heroes of the novel, embody the struggle to cope with their multiple identities in a world endangered by political, cultural and religious hatred between communities.

As the hero of Kureishi's novel suggests, it is probably "the odd mixture" of cultures and sensibilities – the multiplicity of selves – that make these postcolonial characters "restless". But the restlessness, if thought of as a characteristic feature of the multiple postcolonial self, enacts a dynamic process of self-interrogation, a process that expresses itself in violence, at times, but it imposes itself as revealing the effort made in order to adjust to a rapidly-changing world.

The restlessness, which is not unrelated to violence in the above-mentioned novels, should be interpreted as signs connected to the crisis of identity faced by the characters in postcolonial fiction; but violence could be perceived as a manifestation of madness, and madness, namely the insanity associated with a number of characters, is revolt, a process of questioning which raises disturbing questions. Madness, which is a form of violence, enacts a process of self-interrogation, putting into question the fixity of meaning that the self may seek to reach in its struggle to apprehend identity.

Madness may manifest itself in the form of schizophrenia which could function as a deconstructive mode of interrogation, an incessant process of questioning identity. Gilles Deleuze perceives schizophrenia as "a line of flight", a sort of escape from "the enclosed and stratified systems of authoritarian thought" (Edgar and Sedgwick 2002, 40). Schizophrenia in the Deleuzian sense is a sort of revolutionary attitude in its rejection of authoritarianism, and it could also be approached, not as mental illness, but rather as a creative process and a productive movement. As a productive and creative process, schizophrenia, which becomes a critical mode, opens onto an incommensurable space of numerous possibilities, variations and potentials of signification.[3] It is in this light that the postcolonial approach to the concept of identity may be considered under Deleuze's perception of schizophrenia. Schizophrenia, as a creative and dynamic process, should be compared to the interrogative movement inherent in identity as a process of self-questioning. If identity can be thought of as a "third space", an interstitial universe of border-crossings and numerous possibilities, one may be tempted to suggest that identity as a process of self-questioning is a schizophrenic movement perpetually raising an unlimited number of interrogations. The restlessness mentioned above, as characterising a number of postcolonial characters, could be viewed thus as a sign of schizophrenia in its interpretation as a dynamic process related to the deconstructive investigation into identity.

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[3] » La schizophrénie est présentée comme un mod le théorique et critique (…) Il ne faudrait voir ici aucune apologie de la folie, ni aucune recommandation de passer par l'expérimentation d'états pathologiques. Deleuze et Guattari prennent soin de distinguer la schizophrénie comme production, mouvement et processus, de la schizophrénie comme pathologie… « (Bouaniche 2007, 156). « Deleuze et Guattari abordent ainsi la schizophrénie comme la manifestation de virtualités exceptionelles », de « forces nouvelles », « ni saines, ni morbides », mais qui renouent avec un certain « élément vital » que nous ne voyons pas ordinairement, et auquel la psychanalyse reste totalement aveugle (ibid., 157). « En outre, l'expérience schizophrénique balaie la conception classique de l'expérience structurée autour d'un sujet et d'un objet, d'une conscience et d'un monde, pour nous ouvrir un univers d'intensités, de devenirs, de franchissements de seuils, de variations de potentiel, de migrations, autant d'éléments qui constituent un ordre intensif qui déborde de toutes parts l'ordre de la représentation l'intérieur duquel la psychanalyse et la philosophie restent le plus souvent enfermées (ibid., 157).

4. Deconstructing identity in Margaret Atwood's *Surfacing*

In the end of Margaret Atwood's *Surfacing*, the heroine undergoes a strange experience that could be considered as a fit of insanity. After the discovery of the body of her father who has been reported missing in the forest, the narrator-character ends her journey (which structures her narrative) by performing a bodily merging with the natural environment. She, who suffers from a deep sense of loss and estrangement, feels that she is undergoing a physical metamorphosis, turning her into something as yet unknown, something hybrid, conflating the human, the animal and the environmental. "I am not an animal or a tree, I am the thing in which the trees and animals move and grow, I am a place" (175). Her body is depicted as undergoing a process of transformation, making her dissolve gradually into the natural elements, turning her into a living creature that identifies with the prehistoric inhabitants of Canada. "I stay on the bank, resting, licking the scratches; no fur yet on my skin" (180). This metamorphosis marks the final stage of her trip back to the place of her childhood, looking for her lost father who represents her individual and collective identities: her personal identity and her Canadian identity. This mystic experience, this madness, occurs at the end as the climax of the protagonist's quest, culminating in the discovery of her own Self. The individual self is deeply rooted in the collective identity; the heroine returns to her Canadian origins which stretch back to the country's primitive history. The heroine identifies with her father who drowns while contemplating prehistoric inscriptions on a rock by the lake. In her madness, which is a complete effacement of otherness, the heroine seems to be merging with the place of her personal and collective origin, invoking the sacred space of primitive gods and old local beliefs. "I invoked it, the fur god with tail and horns, already forming. The mothers of gods…" (175).

Her mystic journey back into the personal and collective past is also a journey into the future. Her metamorphosis marks the birth of a new identity, but this new identity is pluralistic; it is a hybrid identity. Her newly-born identity is to be situated in an ambivalent interstitial space, an in-between world where otherness is effaced. Her madness is a world of freedom; it allows her to cross the borders by turning into a hybrid Self, half-male, half-female; half-human, half-animal. Such hybrid self transcends the boundaries between humans, animals and environment. The fluid imagery the author implements to render the heroine's bodily metamorphosis contributes actively to the creation of an atmosphere of transparency. Fluid imagery and transparency reflect the fluidity of the protagonist's identity.

If the father is a symbol of identity, the heroine's genitor is to be considered in this novel as a great symbol of fluidity; he transcends death and returns as a ghostly presence capable of taking any shape imaginable.

> I say Father.
> He turns towards me and it's not my father. It is what my father saw, the thing you meet when you've stayed here too long alone. (…)
> I am part of the landscape; I could be anything, a tree, a deer skeleton, a rock.
> I see now that although it isn't my father it is what my father has become. I knew he wasn't dead.

From the lake a fish jumps
An idea of a fish jumps
A fish jumps, carved wooden fish with dots painted on the sides, no, antlered fish thing drawn in red on cliffstone, protecting spirit. It hangs in the air suspended, flesh turned to the water. How many shapes can he take. (180–1)

The complete effacement of borders in the experience of madness – the space and time compression that Mark Currie uses to define schizophrenia (Currie 1998, 103)[4] – allows the protagonist to identify with her dead father. She becomes like him, an ethereal, fluid being, wavering between absence and presence, between here and there; between the visible and the intangible, between life and death, between sameness and difference. In her fit of insanity, the heroine in *Surfacing* undergoes a process of "space and time compression" through which she reveals her schizophrenic merging into something other than herself. She becomes a multiple-self being whose schizophrenia or hybridity – if we adopt hybridity as a form of schizophrenia – rehabilitates her as an "interpreter", to put it in Mark Currie's words, an interpreter who aims to destabilise meaning (ibid., 103). The world for Margaret Atwood's heroine becomes "a theatre of signs and discourses which cannot exclude each other and which constitute a babble of voices" (ibid., 103). The new pluralistic identity that the narrator has embraced in the end of the novel grants her the ability to speak through a multiplicity of voices. Speaking the unspeakable, her voice indirectly expresses concerns on behalf of all the oppressed women, all the primitive native Canadians, and, among other things, all the citizens suffering from the oppressive urban capitalist system.

5. Concluding remarks

Surfacing dramatises Atwood's way of constructing a third identity which raises an infinite number of interrogations about the boundaries between what is traditionally deemed as male and female, human and animal, self and other. Like *The Bhudda of Suburbia, Fire on the Mountain, The Wide Saragasso Sea, Season of Migration to the North,* or *De Niro's Game, Surfacing* illustrates the way postcolonial fiction offers to deconstruct the concept of identity whose ambivalence remains open to any re-imaginable interpretation. Postcolonial fiction is an ambivalent text that offers a fertile terrain for the never-ending investigation into the third space of identity. Founded on the concept of difference, identity opens onto otherness which reveals itself as a process of signification that feeds on ambivalence and interpretation, calling for perpetual destabilisation of meaning.

With the destabilisation of cultural frontiers between nations, identity emerges as a philosophical challenge. Without offering possibilities of reaching definite answers, identity, as a process of interrogation, will continue to raise questions about the self in its incessant efforts to apprehend the unattainable other. Postcolonial fiction invites us to believe that in our attempts to answer

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4   Mark Currie discusses the Lacanian definition of schizophrenia as "a kind of linguistic disorder", resulting in "a different way of construing reality and experience" (Currie 1998, 102). Seen as a split or "disunity in the personality," schizophrenia is dealt with as a "breakdown in the temporal chain of signification" (ibid., 102–3). Mark Currie accounts for this schizophrenic disunity as being connected with the "inability to sustain the linearity of things" (ibid., 103). This inability to sustain the linearity of things results in 'space and time compression'.

questions about our relations with others, and no matter what new directions may the concept of identity take in the future, what matters most is perhaps the balance that should be sought for in order to avoid all forms of fixity of meaning that characterise essentialist thinking.

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Digital Death in the Age of Narcissism

Summary

Pathological narcissism represents the dominant form of subjectivity in post-industrial society and its consumerist ideals. The fear one feels in connection with one's death, fear that is typical of pathological narcissism, frequently manifests itself as absolute denial of the idea of a mortal Self. According to Freud, primary narcissism prevents one from imagining or even thinking about one's own death. In the realm of the Unconscious, death does not exist. Death is absent from cyberspace in much the same manner and in this sense, cyberspace has become a fitting metaphor for the Unconscious. It is pathological narcissism that makes cyberspace and all actions that take place within it possible, reasonable and justifiable. It is what transforms all our cyber-actions into more than merely a waste of time. Upon entering cyberspace the subjects are given the chance to leave their mortality, their corporeity behind and embark upon a journey that offers countless possibilities and realities. Yet they have thus also entered the realm of digital death. The anthropological supposition that culture is our "natural environment" can now, when cyberspace and digital technologies function as a "natural environment" for pathological narcissism, be reconsidered and reinterpreted.

Key words: pathological narcissism, virtual reality, cyberspace, death.

Digitalna smrt v dobi narcizma

Povzetek

Patološki narcizem predstavlja dominantno formo subjektivnosti postindustrijske družbe in njenih potrošniških idealov. Strah, ki ga čutimo v povezavi z lastno smrtjo, in ki je značilen za patološki narcizem, se pogosto manifestira kot popolno zanikanje ideje o smrtnosti lastnega Jaza. Primarni narcizem po Freudu človeku onemogoča misliti lastno smrt. Smrt v Nezavednem preprosto ne obstaja. Na podoben način je smrt odsotna tudi v kiberprostru, ki je tako postal primerna metafora nezavednega. Patološki narcizem je tisti, ki omogoča, osmišljuje in opravičuje obstoj kiberprostora in naših dejanj v njem. Naša kiber-dejanja tako postanejo nekaj več kot le izguba časa. Ob vstopu v kiberprostor je subjektu ponujena možnost, da za seboj pusti svojo telesnost, svojo smrtnost, in se poda na potovanje neštetih resničnosti in možnosti. Ob tem pa neizogibno vstopi tudi na območje e-smrtnosti. Antropološko predpostavko, da je kultura naše "naravno okolje", lahko tako danes, ko se kot "naravno okolje" patološkega narcisa ponujata kiberprostor in digitalna tehnologija, razumemo in interpretiramo na nove načine.

Ključne besede: patološki narcizem, virtualna resničnost, kiberprostor, smrt.

Digital Death in the Age of Narcissism

1. The Age of Narcissism

According to the majority of modern psychoanalytical literary sources, pathological narcissism represents a dominant form of subjectivity within post-industrial society (Žižek 1987). It represents the ideals of consumerist society (Lasch 1982; see also Campbell 1987): authenticity and loyalty to one's desire, audacity and determination regardless of what happens (as represented by the "Just do it" slogan), creativity, non-inhibition (being "as free as a bird") and contempt for society, paradoxically accompanied by the desire for "fifteen minutes of fame". It is those exhibiting traits of pathological narcissism as subjects that give meaning to the existence of cyberspace, virtual reality and surfing the Internet. Without this dominant form of subjectivity of modern day society, all of the above would be primarily a waste of time. Yet when people with tendencies of pathological narcissism enter cyberspace, they become immortal – leaving their body behind they can begin a game of endless possibilities and virtual realities.

The term narcissism is most frequently associated with Sigmund Freud (1914), who distinguished between two types of libido: the ego-libido (also known as narcissistic-libido) and the object-libido. The distinction refers to two forms of libidinal cathexis, one of which is ego-directed, while the other is object-directed. Following this theory we find that a narcissistic person is in love with himself/herself and therefore with everything that he/she is, was, and would like to be.

The difference between "normal" narcissism and pathological narcissism is in the type of Super-ego structure it addresses. Due to various factors of socialization the Super-ego of the narcissist remains personalized, does not acquire a structure of a formal (ethical) law and is thus far more active, more uncompromising and more burdening for the individual. This is the source of the basic indication of all the particular symptoms of pathological narcissism: "free-floating anxiety, which is not bound to a specific object, but appears as a general, indeterminate psychical state" (Žižek 1987, 109). Pathological narcissism is the perfect representation of a cross-section between two types of psychiatric diagnoses: the borderline personality disorder[1]

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[1] The key characteristic of the Borderline personality disorder is "a pervasive pattern of instability of interpersonal relationships, self-image, and affects, and marked impulsivity that begins by early adulthood and is present in a variety of contexts" (DSM-IV-TR 2000, 706). To diagnose borderline personality disorder, at least five of the following features must be observed in an individual:
1. frantic efforts to avoid real or imagined abandonment
2. a pattern of unstable and intense interpersonal relationships characterized by alternating between extremes of idealization and devaluation
3. identity disturbance: markedly and persistently unstable self-image or sense of self
4. impulsivity in at least two areas that are potentially self-damaging (e.g., spending, sex, substance abuse, reckless driving, binge eating)
5. recurrent suicidal behavior, gestures or threats, or self-mutilating behavior
6. affective instability due to a marked reactivity of mood (e.g., intense episodic dysphoria, irritability, or anxiety usually lasting a few hours and only rarely more than a few days)
7. chronic feelings of emptiness
8. inappropriate, intense anger or difficulty controlling anger (e.g., frequent displays of temper, constant anger, recurrent physical fights)
9. transient, stress-related paranoid ideation or severe dissociative symptoms (DSM-IV-TR 2000, 710)

and the narcissistic personality disorder.[2]

Circumstances leading up to the genesis of such a subject are mainly connected to changes in structure, form and definition of family, where the gravitational centre "is no longer the loving couple, but the relationship between a mother and a child" (Kanduč 2003, 185). This leads to a whole host of new techniques and technologies of socialization, which nearly all contribute to the child's development of the grandiose self as a result of pressure from family and society.

Psychological features that can be found with pathological narcissism, such as obsession with fame, superficiality and short duration of personal relationships, as well as perceiving other people as a constant threat, all originate in the specific structure of the American family, which, in turn, originates in the new means of production. Industrial production takes the father away from home and diminishes his role in the life of the child. The mother then tries to compensate for the loss, but often lacks practical experience in raising children. She thus begins to rely more and more on "experts". Both parents try their best to protect their family from outside influences, but the standards by which they measure their success themselves mainly originate in industrial sociology, in "human resource management", in child psychology – in short, they originate in the organized instruments of social control. The struggle of the family to adapt to the idea of family solidarity and parenting, forced upon them from the outside, creates the image of solidarity for the price of spontaneous feelings, thus creating ritualized relationships with no real substance (Lasch 1982, 200–1).

The mother is bound to the cultural imperative of motherhood and the ideals of life that the child is to embody, while her loving attention smothers any chance of a "normal" development of narcissism in the child, thus practically forcing him to make object choices of the narcissistic type. The maxim of socialization that puts the child into the centre of family life and social values is expressed in the uniquely Western cultural imperative of "His Majesty the Baby" (Freud 1914, 19) and inevitably creates feelings of exceptionality, omnipotence and superiority in the child. All of the above are signs of the so-called "grandiose Self; a pathological formation which performs the integrating function in place of the 'normal' Self" (Žižek 1987, 115). This pathological formation can manifest itself in several ways:

1. Insistence on the image. This is when the highly aestheticized physical appearance of the body

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[2]   "The essential feature of Narcissistic Personality Disorder is a pervasive pattern of grandiosity, need for admiration, and lack of empathy that begins by early adulthood and is present in a variety of contexts" (DSM-IV-TR 2000, 714). To diagnose Narcissistic Personality Disorder, at least five of the following traits must be observed in an individual:

1.   has a grandiose sense of self-importance (e.g., exaggerates achievements and talents, expects to be recognized as superior without commensurate achievements)
2.   is preoccupied with fantasies of unlimited success, power, brilliance, beauty, or ideal love
3.   believes that he or she is "special" and unique and can only be understood by, or should associate with, other special or high-status people (or institutions)
4.   requires excessive admiration
5.   has a sense of entitlement, i.e., unreasonable expectations of especially favorable treatment or automatic compliance with his or her expectations
6.   is interpersonally exploitative, i.e., takes advantage of others to achieve his or her own ends
7.   lacks empathy: is unwilling to recognize or identify with the feelings and needs of others
8.   is often envious of others or believes that others are envious of him or her (DSM-IV-TR 2000, 710).

becomes prominent. Some of the key dimensions of the body image of a narcissist are the cult of youth and its antipode, the pathological fear of growing old and dying. Youth and old age are no longer perceived as biological facts, but rather as pathological goods which can be – and this is essential – bought. A body that exhibits signs of aging is not giving away age as such (as something biological), but represents instead the inability of one to purchase the features, attributes, signs… of youth (Lasch 1982, 235–47).

2. Low anxiety tolerance. One that is subjected to pathological narcissism is quick to allow his or her impulses to take over; he or she is incapable of tolerating frustration and is at the same time utterly devastated by even the smallest of narcissistic insults or merely by lack of appreciation and applause. The individual thus has no way of anchoring his or her identity, and turns to abolishing reality by means of primitive techniques of oblivion (drugs, consumerism, etc.) and trying in this way to fill the chronic feeling of void and calm the free-floating anxiety.

3. A subject consistent with pathological narcissism sees him or herself as superior, as some kind of an outcast that wears the mask of a conformist individual, but does not take the game seriously, only playing it to become successful socially. At the same time he or she positions him or herself above the laws that govern this very game (Žižek 1987, 116),

4. Such a subject is superficial and incapable of empathy in intimate relations, because he or she does not know how to "manage" his or her anxiety. Every form of emotional attachment is seen as a limitation by him or her, a frustration of his or her own narcissistic tendencies, which is why he or she is incapable of intimate attachment that could provide him or her with the feeling of safety. His or her cynical attitude toward the world implies that such attachments are, in fact, a sign of weakness. He or she is only familiar with pathos in place of sentiment where interpersonal relations are concerned and he or she strives to acquire prestigious objects with the help of his or her image and in order to further improve this same image.

5. Another characteristic of pathological narcissism are distinctive paranoid tendencies. Such paranoid ideas are often "connected to hypochondria (pathological fear of microbes, food being poisoned, etc.), but can also take on a more general form: for example, ideas of being taken advantage of, being victims of a conspiracy, mere puppets in the hands of dark forces, etc" (Žižek 1987, 110).

2. E-mortality: Pathological Narcissism and Cyberspace

And what exactly is the connection between pathological narcissism and cyberspace? Without pathological narcissism, the existence of cyberspace is not only absurd and unnecessary, but also – impossible. We could even go as far as to claim that cyberspace is the perfect "natural environment" for pathological narcissism. While in it, "cut off from the real body, we construct a substitute body: ourselves online. We treat it as if it were our actual self, our real life. Over time, it does indeed become our life" (Ullman in Boler 2007, 159). Avatars or digitalized bodies represent a "historically constructed Western individualist subject" (Green in Boler 2007, 163). What is more, "ironically, this new digital Cartesianism, initiated by a rhetorical cheerleading of the mind/body split as a desirable aim of CMC, ultimately results in the invocation of

stereotyped bodies in order to confer authenticity and signification to textual utterances" (Boler 2007, 140).

Perhaps the most important aspect of cyberspace, one that secures the interest of those subject to pathological narcissism, is the freedom of image-changing: "The greatest freedom cyberspace promises is that of recasting the self: from static beings, bound by the body and betrayed by appearances, Net surfers may reconstruct themselves in a multiplicity of dazzling roles, changing from moment to moment according to whim" (Stallabras in Boler 2007, 151). In addition to these discursive uniformities, the narcissistic subject sees cyberspace as everything else in life – as a means to an end. Cyberspace can thus quickly become one of the primitive techniques of oblivion, a convenient field for building one's self-image, because it presents to the world an elaborately planned and carefully maintained identity.[3] It can become a playground of undreamed-of possibilities, a scene of secret rebellion in the form of piracy and hacking, a grateful audience for publishing various narcissistic banalities, a personal trainer or a tool that follows one's playlists and shares our tastes in music with other users; it can even become our very own television channel. The possibilities in cyberspace are endless, from flirting and exploring alternative sexualities to playing a fictive game of life and death – knowing that the Game Over will always be followed by New Game. Whenever an aspect of this virtual existence becomes threatening or does not coincide with the image desired by the individual, it can simply be erased and a new persona created. The user is given the opportunity to start anew, with a new password, a new avatar, new taste in music or a new blog. "Reality is perceived as malleable by Americans living lives of serial substitution, with the culturally acceptable premise that consciously manipulating or altering 'reality' is a reasonable, if not desirable, option" (Barnett 1986, 416).

One of the basic features of pathological narcissism is unreasonable fear of death, which manifests itself as complete denial (or concealment) of the idea of the mortal Self. Truth be told, this is not merely a characteristic of pathological narcissism. Freud (1914) was extremely persistent in his claim that primary narcissism disables one's ability to think one's own death. He claimed that there was no death in the Unconscious. In much the same way death is also absent from cyberspace and we could say that, at least in this particular sense, cyberspace is the perfect metaphor for the Unconscious.

It is clear that death does not feel at home in cyberspace. There are many reasons for this and some of them certainly of quite pragmatic nature – generations that inhabit cyberspace are mostly not yet old enough to be dying of natural causes. That is why every death of a so-called netizen is, essentially, unexpected and tragic; following an accident, terminal illness, suicide and the like.[4] Western cultures have, so far, refused to deal with certain issues that arise from such

[3]   We refer primarily to social networking sites such as Facebook and MySpace. "The concern is that these Web sites offer a gateway for self-promotion via self-descriptions, vanity via photos, and large numbers of shallow relationships (friends are counted - sometimes reaching the thousands - and in some cases ranked), each of which is potentially linked to trait narcissism" (Buffardi in Campbell 2008, 1303).

[4]   The *www.deathspace.com* website, for example, seeks and posts links to profiles of deceased users of MySpace, a social networking site, while also enabling the user to comment on various news regarding death. The website reveals juicy details and speculations about the circumstances surrounding individual deaths of young, beautiful and seemingly immortal people, the most visible and

occurrences in everyday life, such as the problems of online legacy, user profiles and blogs of the deceased, e-mails, passwords etc. We have yet to negotiate the "correct", "proper" and "normal" actions following one's (bodily) death in cyberspace.

Blogs of the deceased and their profiles on social networking websites more often than not remain accessible online, frequently due to the fact that no one is familiar with the passwords. In such cases the websites are usually transformed into a kind of a "memorial album", while friends and acquaintances write on the "wall" of the profile or leave comments and expressions of condolences to the relations, or even directly address the departed by telling them how much they miss them, wish them a happy birthday or remember them on the anniversary of their death.

There are now several online initiatives that offer an insight into the future of solving various posthumous internet-related difficulties and it is not surprising that all of them should appeal to the mind of subjects exhibiting signs of pathological narcissism, for one of the fundamental characteristics of all of these sites is skilful concealing of the fact that they are dealing with death.

On the social networking site My Wonderful Life we can, for example, create a free account on which we then post our wishes and instructions regarding the particulars of our physical and also our virtual death. We are given the opportunity to choose up to six people (in accordance with the predominant Christian ideology they are called Angels) who are then given access to important information in the event of our death. We can plan just about everything, from a traditional last will to access to our mp3 archive and computer data, we can even write our own obituary or death notice and design our tombstone. The website tries to inspire its users by showing them examples of actual funerals of users (Featured Funerals), while also offering useful tips for the funeral (Funeral Ideas), not to mention the list of things one needs to do after a loved one had passed away (Survivor Checklist). A particularly interesting and somewhat roguish fact is that the account cannot be withdrawn or deleted – not even after death.

Facebook, currently the most popular and fastest growing social networking site, offers a similar concept of eternal life. Our user account can be withdrawn and seemingly deleted, but if we should change our mind sometime in the future we can always come back and find everything exactly as it was – not unlike a room of a tragically deceased child in a Hollywood movie. Facebook's Terms and Conditions (that we must, of course, agree to, if we are to set up a profile) include giving up all our rights in relation to pictures, videos, text, etc. that we have uploaded on their server. This transfer of rights ceases if the user decides to "delete" the account.[5]

active users of social networking sites. The numerous visitors, hungry for the most mediagenic of stories, are then presented with a series of paid advertisements that are generated by the website according to the content of posts. As with standard yellow press, the profit (which depends on the number of clicks or visits to the site) is closely connected to shocking content; this is therefore a well-known strategy of the "old" media, adapted for the virtual environment. An interesting analogy can be found in the film Untraceable, which is about a serial killer who decides to broadcast his murders live through a website called killwithme.com. He plans his murders in a way that ensures his actions are connected to the rising number of viewers, random virtual visitors. Theoretically that means that if no one were to visit the site, the victim would not have died. And just as the FBI contributes to the deaths of victims by visiting the website while chasing after the murderer, so do visitors contribute to the success and profit of MyDeathSpace – even when their supposed original motive for visiting the website is to moralize and be disgusted with its content.

[5] In February of last year, Facebook changed their Terms and Conditions. The new terms of use stated that by posting any kind of

The website www.deathswitch.com enables us to create a password-protected account within which we then make all the preparations concerning our posthumous legacy. This includes writing letters to friends and the like. Deathswitch then periodically asks us for the password and if it does not receive an answer for a while or after several inquiries, it assumes that we are most likely dead and ensures that our final wishes are carried out.

Most users of this service find it to be a practical solution to a potential problem. This same majority also appears to be distinctly aware of the difference between their "first" and "real", and their "second", online life and it would seem that there is no doubt as to which one of the two is more "real". It is therefore interesting that this does not prevent the utterly explicit implementation of the fact that no one seems to believe in: if you are not online, you are probably dead. Even worse, if you try searching your name in one of the internet browsers and no results appear, then you most likely never existed at all. I google, ergo sum. Modern Westerners who swear by hardcore science, modern medicine, scientific certainty and similar ideological constructs are suddenly led to believe that the only final and convincing death is the failure of the digital, rather than the physiological function. You are dead – when you are disconnected.

Yet this is not a case of purely "social" death or other metaphors of this kind, as it can involve perfectly "real", physical death, too. It appears that biology is no longer that final instance that we cannot overcome and that at some point switches to autopilot as the survival instinct takes over. Proof of this are numerous cases of death connected to the internet game World of Warcraft. In 2005, a Korean baby died while the parents were playing the game and simply forgot about him.[6] The maternal and all other "instincts" appear to have failed once again and the "survival instinct" does not seem to be doing much better; several deaths have been caused by people playing the aforementioned game for days on end, usually due to a combination of dehydration, lack of sleep and excretion, which led to multiple organ failure. That is also why a Chinese player of the game, called Snowly, collapsed and died – after 160 hours of playing. Her co-players from all over the world, most of whom she only knew through the Internet, arranged a funeral for her in Second Life. There is a print screen of the funeral circulating on the Internet, showing virtual bodies mourning the loss of a physical body that failed to endure the virtual strain. In much the same way the death of an actual body could cause action to begin in the matrix (i.e. a computer simulation) in the cult film of the same name. Or, as Anne Balsamo put it: "Upon analyzing the 'lived' experience of virtual reality, I discovered that this conceptual denial of the body is accomplished through the material repression of the physical body. The phenomenological experience of cyberspace depends upon and in fact requires the wilful repression of the material body . . ." (Balsamo in Boler 2007, 159).

material that we own on Facebook, we automatically transfer all the rights to the company forever. This theoretically means that Facebook could use all photographs and other material of former – perhaps also dead – users in their advertising. This sudden change of Terms and Conditions was instantly met with resistance on the web in the form of petitions, blogs, Facebook groups and the like. After a few days the new Terms and Conditions were withdrawn and replaced with the former ones. Facebook is thus allowed to store all our information in its archives with no limitations, but is not allowed to make use of them once our user account has been "deleted" (www.facebook.com/terms.php, 23. 3. 2009).

6   The GameSpot Gazette. "Couple's Online Gaming Causes Infant's Death." http://www.gamespot.com/news/2005/06/20/news_6127866.html (accessed March 16, 2009)

3. Cyberdeath and literature

Death has always been beyond the grasp of our imaginations and that is perhaps why the only way we can approach it, at least partly understand or experience it, is by displacement; through the experience of other forms of ontological difference (McHale 1992, 140). In our culture, the most readily accessible experience of such difference and perhaps the most comprehensive model of all other forms of ontological difference was, for a long time, the television. We have now moved a step forward, into cyberspace, where more interaction is required, yet that is not to say that the television was any less likely to interfere with our "reality". One consequence of our daily interaction and intimacy with the television is that we may begin to perceive the border between our personal space and the space inside the television screen not as an absolute ontological boundary but as a somewhat porous membrane. It appears that TV has become "the medium in which postmodern culture prefers to represent itself *to* itself" and is often used to introduce "a second ontological plane or level within the plane of the fictional world" (McHale 1992, 125). In Thomas Pynchon's *Vineland* (1990), the characters are shown as perceiving the TV space as though it were continuous with theirs and they fantasize about climbing into the screen or have TV figures pass through into their "reality". Pynchon's work, in fact, foresaw what was to happen with the advent of modern computers and the Internet some years later – we have now done what his characters dreamed about, we have climbed into the screen.

It was the television that began the "simulacral" trend of mass-media simulations uprooting reality, which in turn became "subject to the law of the precession of simulacra whereby the simulacrum precedes, indeed pre-empts, the reality it is supposed to simulate" (McHale 1992, 128). It is therefore not surprising that TV should serve not only as an ontological pluralizer in many postmodernist texts, but also as "*mise-en-abyme*, or reduced-scale model, of ontological plurality itself" (McHale 1992, 130), consequently also modelling death, in addition to other ontological differences. According to McHale, that is also why television as an object often appears in these texts as "something uncanny, almost other-worldly, associated (if only figuratively) with angelic visitors from some other order of being" (1992, 130), an example of which is most certainly also death. In Pynchon's *Vineland*, television is made into a tool "for cognitively mapping the place of death in a postmodern culture" (McHale 1992, 141), as its ontological plurality and its pluralizing effect are used to represent the ontological plurality of postmodern culture itself, and with it "the final, intractable ontological difference, the ultimate limit to all modelling and all representation, death" (ibid.).

Postmodernism as ontologically-oriented poetics is, of course, logically preoccupied with the ultimate ontological boundary, that between life and death. Many postmodernist writers of the second half of the previous century also associated and equated television with death, most notably Thomas Disch in *The Businessman* (1984), Don DeLillo in *White Noise* (1985) and Thomas Pynchon in *The Crying of Lot 49* (1966) and *Vineland*. According to McHale (1992, 131), "TV is associated with what in our real-world experience has always been the most salient example of "another order of being", namely death. This connection has now moved on to cyberspace and science fiction and cyberpunk writers in particular have embraced the idea of cyberdeath, of the plurality of deaths and dying on various different levels. In fact, it was not

until the emergence of the cyberpunk movement in the 1980s that a generation of science fiction writers "made the exploration of death its special province" (McHale 1992, 261). As life and death form a binary opposition, there appears to be no middle state in between. Yet it is this particular state that cyberpunk with its fusion of science fiction and postmodernist strategies for modelling death tries to imagine – "some middle state beyond or outside biological life, yet a state of non-being, not death itself" (McHale 1992, 264).

The two prevailing techniques chosen by cyberpunk writers in dealing with the aforementioned middle state are partial survival or "resurrection" by means of technology and bio-engineering. Plural deaths or "serial immortality" are not uncommon; in Pat Cadigan's *Synners* (1991), for example, a character dies two different deaths – first as he leaves the body and enters the electronic network, and then once again within the network itself. Another character of Cadigan's possesses the ability to shut down his metabolism and then restart it again through the use of special implants when he wishes to come alive again. In Michael Swanwick's *Vacuum Flowers* (1987), a character similarly dies twice, owing to the fact that her personality had been taped upon her first death. Human selves in cyberpunk frequently exist and persist outside the actual biological body in the form of configurations of information, sometimes within various communication and information networks or even inside computers. While "the dead manifest themselves to the living as uncanny posthumous voices" (McHale 1992, 265), they are actually nothing but constructs, mere computer simulations that never existed as biological organisms, but are created by artificial intelligence programmes. One's death can thus be understood on at least two different levels: the death of the organic body, as well as death into the half-life of cyberspace.

One of the first contemporary examples of posthumous existence as a configuration of information in cyberspace is present in Gibson's famous cyberpunk novels *Neuromancer* (1984) and *Mona Lisa Overdrive* (1988), the first beginning with the TV – death connection, a description of the sky, which was the "colour of television, tuned to a dead channel" (Gibson 1984, 3), while the second introduces various posthumous and out-of-body types, from computer simulations to personality constructs and dying "into" the cyberspace matrix. Cyberspace has thus become "the machine-mediated version of the World to Come" (McHale 1992, 266), a familiar topos of postmodernism, and at the same time a new context within which to explore the perennial human preoccupation with death.

In the light of the ultimate narcissistic fantasy of digital immortality, uploading the consciousness onto a super-computer (Harris 2001, 134), the physical body has become merely excess baggage, a burden, an inconvenient carrier of viruses. Realization of such fantasies of pathological narcissism may seem like mere science fiction and may be utterly utopian from the point of view of prevailing morale, if not from the point of view of technology. Regardless of that, or perhaps because of it, cyberspace remains a "consensual hallucination" (Gibson 1984), within which everything is possible.

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III.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE TEACHING

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Teaching Reference Skills: Does It Really Matter?

Summary

The article discusses the results of a study at the core of which is the question of whether teaching reference skills really matters – i.e. how useful it is to train students to work with dictionaries. To answer this query, two issues are investigated: firstly, how effective the particular methodology developed here is with regard to using thesauri; and secondly, whether it makes a difference if some specific hands-on exercises are included or excluded. By the end of the project, the students felt that thesauri, a previously unknown language tool, would be quite useful for their work in the future; on average, they were planning to use a thesaurus several times a month. The analysis of the student questionnaires and a comparison of lexical variation in the first and second drafts of the essays also showed that the experimental group, which received more practical training, generally found thesauri more useful and, accordingly, used them more than the control group did.

Key words: reference skills, dictionary use, thesaurus, L2 writing

Raba jezikovnih priročnikov: pomen pedagoškega dela

Povzetek

Članek prinaša prve rezultate raziskave, katere cilj je bil preveriti, ali je usposabljanje za delo s priročniki resnično pomembno oziroma kako koristno je za študente urjenje v delu s slovarji. Osrednji del članka obravnava dve vprašanji: kako učinkovita je v projektu uporabljena metodologija za delo s tezavrom in ali vključevanje oziroma izključevanje posameznih praktičnih vaj bistveno vpliva na rezultate. Ob zaključku raziskave so bili študenti mnenja, da jim bodo tezavri – predhodno nepoznano jezikovno orodje – v prihodnosti precej koristili. V svojih odgovorih so izrazili pričakovanje, da bodo tezaver v povprečju uporabljali nekajkrat na mesec. Analiza študentskih vprašalnikov in primerjava raznolikosti besedišča v izvirni in popravljeni različici spisov sta tudi pokazali, da je eksperimentalna skupina, ki je bila deležna več praktičnega urjenja, tezaver na splošno ocenila za koristnejši pripomoček in ga tudi več uporabljala kot kontrolna skupina.

Ključne besede: delo s priročniki, raba slovarjev, tezavri, pisanje v tujem jeziku

Teaching Reference Skills: Does It Really Matter?

1. Introduction

According to Wright (1998, 5), "[d]ictionaries are among the most readily available, widely used, and cheapest learning resources … [but] they are also among the most difficult to use." While dictionaries may not in fact be that widely used in English language teaching (cf. Fraser 1998), special materials for practising reference skills – the ability of the dictionary user to find or select the information being sought – have been developed when it comes to general (typically advanced learner's) dictionaries. The field has benefited from some scientific research, particularly in connection with reading skills and vocabulary acquisition (e.g. Knight 1994), although "in these matters rather more is written on the basis of 'common sense' and general lexicographical or pedagogical experience than from hard empirical research or within any well worked out second language acquisition or applied linguistic theoretical framework (Scholfield 1997, 279)." It is even more exceptional to find a study focusing on the use of a thesaurus, which is generally very little known, as shown for example by Vrbinc and Vrbinc (2005).

2. Methodology

The study involved 29 first year students at the Department of English and American Studies, University of Ljubljana, divided into two groups. In what is labelled as the experimental group there were 14 individuals, 13 female students and one male student, aged 18 to 23. In the control group there were 15 students, of whom approximately half were male, and half female. Their age varied from 19 to 25. All of the students are native speakers of Slovene, except for 3 students from the first group who gave Bosnian, Croatian and Macedonian as their mother tongues. For the most part, they have had approximately 10 years of English instruction.

The decision to use a thesaurus was motivated by both pedagogical and methodological concerns. First, this is a type of reference book that few advanced students of English know and use although it can at their level be a valuable language tool (cf. Gabrovšek 2006).[1] In the broader context of language teaching, focusing on using dictionaries and other reference materials is part of learner training and as such "one of the most useful things which the teacher can do (O'Dell 1997, 275)." Second, since the use of thesauri is far from widespread, the study should test precisely the effectiveness of the methodology and exercises within this project and not some previously acquired skills.

The dictionary used in this study was *Roget's International Thesaurus* (Chapman 1992) – not what is most commonly understood under the term thesaurus, i.e. a dictionary of synonyms (cf. Kilgarriff and Yallop 2000 for the range of language tools the term can denote), but a

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[1] Instruction in using thesauri can help students in some crucial areas of L2 writing, and studies have found it to be less complex, less mature and stylistically appropriate, less consistent and academic with regard to language, style, and tone; fewer synonyms are used, the words L2 writers use are shorter, vaguer, and exhibit less lexical variety and sophistication with less lexical control overall (Silva 1993, 666–8). A number of these characteristics might be related to Laufer's (1991) findings that especially advanced students of English, who can function successfully in their environment, adopt the strategy of 'playing it safe' and use a limited stock of words they are most familiar with.

lexicographical or conceptual thesaurus, a non-alphabetical workbook organised thematically (cf. Gabrovšek 1997). As the students participating in the study are quite advanced, the *Longman Language Activator* (1993), which is the only thesaurus-like monolingual EFL dictionary, was not appropriate to their level since it is intended for intermediate learners, and no bilingual dictionaries of the *Cambridge Word Routes* (1994) type exist for Slovenian; hence, a thesaurus originally aimed at native speakers was chosen for the study.

First, the students wrote an essay on a given topic: *The Influence of the Media on One's Self-Image*. This was part of their coursework (both groups were discussing health problems at the time but eating disorders etc. had not yet been mentioned) and they had no way of knowing it formed part of a larger project.

Then the students filled out a questionnaire the purpose of which was to see what kind of dictionaries they used and how often. In class the students later completed a questionnaire that asked them about thesauri – questions such as *Have you ever heard of a thesaurus? What is it? Have you ever used it?* etc. This was followed by a theoretical presentation of what a thesaurus is and how it is used.[2]

The experimental group then carried out two different hands-on exercises. The first exercise, the purpose of which was to practise the transition from the idea to the word, consisted of each student suggesting a keyword related to the topic of anorexia, looking it up in the index, finding the appropriate section in the thesaurus, and reading out the concepts listed there. The class then decided which of those could be helpful when writing a short composition.

The second exercise was introduced to practise going from the word to the idea, effectively using the thesaurus as a dictionary of synonyms. An extract from a student essay was given; each student had to choose a word he or she believed could be improved and look it up in the thesaurus.[3] The student read out all of the suggestions he or she found familiar, and the class decided whether they would be applicable in that specific context or not. These two practical exercises were not carried out in the control group.

In the session that followed, the students worked in groups of three or four and had to produce short written compositions on two different topics (eating disorders and drugs), one with and the other without the help of a thesaurus (the titles were reversed for half of the class). The various versions were then compared. Finally, the students were asked to go back to their original essays and improve them using any techniques available to them, including of course the ones presented in class. Once they had finished, they also filled out the last questionnaire, which dealt with the second draft of their essay and the revisions made.

An overview of the methodology is given in Table 1. While the procedure may seem straightforward, there are some methodological concerns that must be addressed. A major factor

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[2] Contrary to the idea of dictionary use being a simple skill, it actually consists of a number of subskills students have to master, which is especially true in the case of Slovenian students of English using thesauri as there are no L1 skills that could be transferred.

[3] It was explained to the students that this method was used merely for the purpose of practising reference skills and that consulting a thesaurus would typically be an integral part of the writing process rather than post-writing editing; some theories of L2 writing do, however, suggest dictionaries should be used only at a later drafting stage (cf. Scholfield 1997, 287; Silva 1993, 671).

that might significantly skew the results is that neither the essays nor the questionnaires were anonymous. However, while this may play a role in the overall picture, it should not be relevant to the comparison of the two groups. The study has also provided a wealth of data of which only a small portion has been analysed so far. Finally, the number of subjects involved in the study was relatively small and the results might not be readily generalised. In most cases the results do not have the necessary significance but merely exhibit certain tendencies.

Experimental group	Control group
Essay: first draft	Essay: first draft
Questionnaire 1	Questionnaire 1
Questionnaire 2	Questionnaire 2
Theoretical presentation	Theoretical presentation
Hands-on exercise 1	/
Hands-on exercise 2	/
Group writing	Group writing
Essay: second draft	Essay: second draft
Questionnaire 3	Questionnaire 3

Table 1. Methodology.

3. Part 1: Questionnaires

An important issue to address was whether the students had already had some training in the field. Questionnaire 1 asked the students to give a comprehensive list of all the dictionaries they used regularly, together with the frequencies. A thesaurus was listed once. Questionnaire 2 tested how familiar the students were with the concept of a thesaurus. Three students out of 29 had used a thesaurus before and were able to give at least a partial definition of it. However, only 12 students said the word was new to them while as many as 14 reported they had encountered the word before, mainly on the internet and during the library induction session.

Questionnaire 3 focused on the revised drafts of the students' essays. When the students were asked how useful thesauri were when they were trying to improve their essay, one student in each group said they had not used one. The results for the rest of the students show that the group that had received more training found these reference books much more useful (significant at the 10% level). On a scale of 1 to 5, with 3 being *Useful occasionally*, 4 *Quite useful* and 5 *Very useful*, the experimental group scored 4.31 and the control group scored 3.86 (cf. Table 2).

Experimental group	Control group	t-test
4.31	3.86	1.80<2.06

Table 2. Usefulness of thesauri for revision (1-Not useful; 5-Very useful; p = .05).

In order to test some more specific hypotheses, the students then had to mark to what extent they agreed with certain statements. For every issue a continuum was established with two converse statements which had a double function: on the one hand, they served as control sentences for

each other, and on the other hand, their being on the opposite sides of the continuum worked to diminish the influence of conformity (i.e. the tendency of respondents to agree with the statements given).

When asked for a holistic judgment of the quality of the second draft, the students, understandably, believed it was better than the first one, but as Table 3 shows, this conviction was stronger with the experimental group (5.32) than with the control group (5.03). The two statements were *I believe the two versions of my essay are similar in quality* (1) and *I feel that the second draft of my essay is better than the first one* (7).

Experimental group	Control group	t-test
5.32	5.03	0.65<2.06

Table 3. General comparison of drafts (1-Similar in quality; 7-Second draft better; p = .05).

Students also believed that they used more appropriate vocabulary in the new version, but again there was some discrepancy between the two groups: on average, the students in the experimental group scored 5.46 and the students in the control group 5.30 (cf. Table 4). For this question, the scale extended from *I think that I used more words inappropriately in the new version of the essay than in the first one* (1) to *I believe that fewer words and expressions are used incorrectly in the second draft* (7). While might seem counter-intuitive to suggest the possibility of using more words inappropriately in the revised essay, the scale was based on previous practical experience and in fact there were two students who agreed more with the former statement than with the latter. This can happen for two reasons: either the students disobey the instructions to use only expressions they know well (in which case their assessment is correct) or they simply feel insecure as they venture out of their comfort zone (but the results are actually good or even very good).

Experimental group	Control group	t-test
5.46	5.30	0.41<2.08

Table 4. Appropriateness of vocabulary (1-Less appropriate; 7-More appropriate; p = .05).

As expected, the discrepancy was greater (although still not statistically significant) when the students were asked to judge the lexical richness and diversity of their essays. The sentences were as follows: *Despite the changes I have made, I believe the vocabulary has stayed at approximately the same level* (1); *I think that the second draft of my essay has more varied and more interesting words* (7). Table 5 shows the results for the two groups.

Experimental group	Control group	t-test
5.14	4.63	1.11<2.08

Table 5. Lexical richness (1-The same; 7-Greater; p = .05).

The question about the future use of thesauri yielded some surprises, though, as the students from the control group claimed they would use thesauri more often than the students from the experimental group (cf. Table 6). Without exception everybody plans to use thesauri (i.e. no

student chose 0-Never): on a scale of 1 to 6, the average student scored a little above 4, which means they plan to use a thesaurus several times a month.

Experimental group	Control group	t-test
4.14	4.33	- .43<-2.08

Table 6. Frequency of future use (1-Once a year; 6-A couple of times a week; p = .05).

The picture is again clearer when it comes to the usefulness of thesauri in the future: the vast majority of students, 24 out of 29, believe thesauri will prove to be either quite or very useful. As is shown in Table 7, in the experimental group the average score was 4.29 and in the control group 4.07 (significant at the 10% level).

Experimental group	Control group	t-test
4.29	4.07	1.79<2.08

Table 7. Usefulness of thesauri in the future (1-Not useful; 5-Very useful; p = .05).

The students were also asked to evaluate the work done in class. It is worth mentioning again that the questionnaires were not anonymous and the students may have felt this was an opportunity to score some sycophantic points with the teacher; still, this applied to both groups in the same measure – while the absolute values might be suspect, the difference between the two groups should not reflect this in any way. The maximum value is 5, which means the results in both groups are very high, but as is obvious from Table 8, the two practical, hands-on exercises really made an important difference with the experimental group scoring 4.71, compared to 4.07 for the control group. This is also the only variable where the difference between the two groups is statistically significant.

Experimental group	Control group	t-test
4.71	4.07	2.43>2.08

Table 8. Usefulness of training (1-Not useful; 5-Very useful; p = .05).

4. Part 2: Essays

The judgments analysed are extremely subjective, and the students might simply be wrong, which is why it is beneficial to complement the findings with some preliminary results for the essays obtained with the help of the *WordSmith* suite of tools.

Lexical richness of texts can be described in terms of lexical variation, defined as the type/token ratio, i.e. the ratio in percent between the number of different lexemes in the text and the total number of lexemes. When the first and second drafts were compared, the type/token ratio was markedly different. As can be seen from Table 9, the ratio was initially the same for the two groups and then increased in both cases, but it went up twice as much in the experimental group, from 22 to 24, whereas it grew by 1 in the control group.

	Experimental group	Control group
First draft	22	22
Second draft	24	23

Table 9. Type/token ratio.

It is interesting to see how this change came about and have a look at the frequencies of certain word types in Tables 10 and 11. It is characteristic of both groups that the frequency of relatively short words was slightly lower in the second draft than in the first draft (the numbers listed are absolute numbers and cannot be directly compared because the number of subjects in the two groups is not the same).

	Experimental group	Control group
3-letter words, Essay 1	1230	1409
3-letter words, Essay 2	1218	1408
4-letter words, Essay 1	1148	1255
4-letter words, Essay 2	1131	1223
5-letter words, Essay 1	745	852
5-letter words, Essay 2	725	848
6-letter words, Essay 1	514	571
6-letter words, Essay 2	511	552

Table 10. Frequency of short words.

The type/token ratio increased mainly because more long words were used in the revised essays. 7, 8 and 9-letter words are transitional categories, and the frequencies of longer words are consistently higher in the second draft, with the differences being generally more pronounced in the experimental group (cf. Table 11).

	Experimental group	Control group
10-letter words, Essay 1	173	189
10-letter words, Essay 2	213	204
11-letter words, Essay 1	99	77
11-letter words, Essay 2	116	94
12-letter words, Essay 1	41	33
12-letter words, Essay 2	53	41
13+, Essay 1	31	42
13+, Essay 2	35	43

Table 11. Frequency of long words.

This is of course no coincidence and has to do with the use of "more varied and interesting words". What seems to have typically happened is that common, simple, informal, short Anglo-Saxon words were replaced with relatively less frequent, more complex, more formal and longer words, for example of Romance origin. It is important to note here that the students were instructed to only use the thesaurus to remind them of words they already knew, i.e. to activate their passive knowledge. A glance at the word frequency lists reveals some of the lexemes that were used in the second draft for the first time: *achieve, appealing, criteria, frequently, furthermore, impeccable, manner, mental, perfection, permit, stunning, unreachable, accordingly, acquainted, acquire, affect, alternatively, ameliorate, assumption, attain, beyond, bump, contentment* etc.

Two types of further research would be beneficial in providing a more detailed picture of the changes in the essays. On the one hand, more measures of lexical richness could be included, e.g. lexical density, lexical originality, lexical sophistication (cf. Laufer 1991). On the other hand, a qualitative analysis of the essays would yield more information about the appropriateness and success of learners when trying to improve their essays.

Even if the quantitative analysis of the essays seems to confirm the students' estimation and the second drafts were indeed lexically more developed, other factors apart from using thesauri may have contributed to this. To an extent, such an improvement is, of course, to be expected in the process of revision. There are, however, two arguments which support the idea that the use of thesauri was a major influence here.

First, the students did not know they would get to write a second draft; the first draft was to be marked, which is why they would presumably do their best (including revision) work already the first time. They did not at any point receive any feedback or guidance on their essay specifically, which is commonly the case in process writing.

Second, the notable difference between the two groups can arguably be attributed to the two exercises the experimental group did but the control group did not do. If the impact of these two exercises was so great, it would be logically inconsistent to assume all of the other exercises were irrelevant. While there is no straightforward way of determining the exact contribution of dictionary use, it seems likely that thesauri played an important role in the revision.

5. Discussion

The cumulative results (cf. Table 12), although rarely statistically significant at the required level (which is understandable given the nature of the study and the size of the sample), reveal a clear pattern. At the beginning of the study, 26 students had never used a thesaurus, 3 had. By the end of the study, a vast majority found it a useful tool to be consulted quite frequently – and the students who had used a thesaurus before also found more use for it later on in the study. A primary concern in the research conducted here was to test how important practical work on reference skills was and this is the area where interesting differences between the two groups can be observed.

	Experimental group	Control group
Usefulness of thesauri for revision	4.31	3.86
General comparison of drafts	5.32	5.03
Appropriateness of vocabulary	5.46	5.30
Lexical richness	5.14	4.63
Frequency of use in the future	4.14	4.30
Usefulness of thesauri in the future	4.29	4.07
Usefulness of training	4.71	4.07
Type/token ratio	22>24	22>23

Table 12. Overview of results.

Both groups were given a theoretical explanation of what a thesaurus is and how it is used, and students in both groups were handed out thesauri to use for written production in class. This means that all the students were given the opportunity to gain both theoretical and practical familiarity with this particular type of dictionary. The only difference was that the experimental group also did two hands-on exercises where each individual student had to take the thesaurus in his or her hands and use reference skills as demonstrated to provide the class with some information.

A consequence of this drill, which many university teachers would describe as an unintelligent mechanical skill best practised at home, was that the experimental group found thesauri more useful when trying to improve their essays (4.31 vs. 3.86 on a scale of 1 to 5). The students in the experimental group felt more strongly that the revised versions were generally better than the first drafts (5.32 vs. 5.03), that the vocabulary used was more appropriate (5.46 vs. 5.30), and that they used more varied and interesting words in the improved essay (5.14 vs. 4.63, all on a scale of 1 to 7).

As might be expected given these results, the students in the experimental group believed thesauri would prove to be more useful in the future than the students in the control group (4.29 vs. 4.07), but surprisingly it was the latter who felt they would use thesauri in the future more frequently (4.14 vs. 4.30, both on a scale of 1 to 5). This might be explained by the possibility that the control group felt more could be done with the thesaurus than they knew. When asked whether they felt they needed further training in using dictionaries, 5 students in the control group gave a positive answer and 4 of them were open to further practice on using thesauri while of the 6 students in the experimental group who answered in the affirmative, only 1 would welcome more training in this specific field and all of the others would appreciate work on other kinds of specialised dictionaries. This suggestion is, however, purely speculative, especially given the number of respondents is small and the difference between the two groups slim.

The disparateness of the two groups is greatest when it comes to the evaluation of the training the students received in class (4.71 vs. 4.07, on a scale of 1 to 5). It is clear from these data that the students appreciated the opportunity to practically apply the gained theoretical knowledge.

The change in the type/token ratio shows that these results do not stem from a subconscious conviction that more time and effort invested automatically equals more knowledge. As would be expected of two comparable groups, the values for the first draft were the same, but the final versions showed a greater increase in the experimental group. While it may be assumed that the change was for the better, this can by no means be verified without a qualitative analysis of the essays.

6. Conclusion

The presented study has shown that practical exercises are indeed important when developing reference skills. While a larger sample enabling more sophisticated statistical analysis and a qualitative appraisal of the essays might shed more light on the issues discussed, the basic quantitative analysis of some answers the students provided in the questionnaires and an initial assessment of lexical variation in the first and second drafts of the essays make it obvious that students not only appreciate such hands-on training but that it yields palpable results. The results of the study – while limited in their applicability by the small number of subjects involved – thus suggest that this kind of methodology is an effective way of turning students into skilful users of dictionaries and that training really does matter.

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IV.

TRANSLATION STUDIES

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Carniola *oživljena*: Changing Practice in Citing Slovenian Regions in English Texts

Summary

The past century has witnessed a striking change in the representation of Slovenia's traditional regions in English texts. After the Second World War, Slovenians progressively replaced the traditional English exonyms for these regions with endonyms in English texts. This trend was accompanied by published works and teaching practice that increasingly insisted on the exclusive use of endonyms in English texts. However, following the dissolution of Yugoslavia and Slovenian independence, there has been a return to the traditional English exonyms. This article maps this changing practice through selected English texts from the past three centuries. It also addresses a number of pitfalls connected with the use of endonyms as well as persistent questions regarding the use of endonyms. Because English is a global language, the choices made by those writing in English directly affect how Slovenia and Slovenian identity are represented at the global level. As such, the conclusions of this paper apply directly to Slovenian-English translation practice and indirectly to Slovenian literature and culture conveyed through English translation.

Key words: Slovenia, Carniola, toponym, exonym, endonym

Carniola *oživljena*: spreminjajoča se praksa pri poimenovanju slovenskih pokrajin v angleških besedilih

Povzetek

V zadnjem stoletju smo bila priča izrazitim spremembam v poimenovanju tradicionalnih slovenskih pokrajin v angleških besedilih. Po drugi svetovni vojni so Slovenci že ustaljene angleške eksonime za te pokrajine v angleških besedilih postopoma zamenjali z endonimi. Tej smeri razvoja so sledila tudi objavljena dela in pedagoška praksa, ki so vedno bolj vztrajali pri tem, da se v angleških besedilih uporabljajo izključno endonimi. Po razpadu Jugoslavije in osamosvojitvi Slovenije pa so se ustaljeni eksonimi začeli ponovno uporabljati. Članek orisuje to spreminjajočo se prakso na podlagi izbranih angleških besedil iz zadnjih treh stoletij. Poleg tega se osredotoča tudi na številne probleme, povezane z rabo endonimov, ter na nenehna vprašanja glede rabe endonimov. Ker je angleščina svetovni jezik, izbire tistih, ki pišejo v angleščini, neposredno vplivajo na to, kako sta Slovenija in slovenska narodna identiteta predstavljeni na svetovni ravni. Zaključki se nanašajo neposredno na prakso prevajanja slovenskih besedil v angleščino, posredno pa tudi na slovensko književnost in kulturo, predstavljeno v angleških prevodih.

Ključne besede: Slovenija, zemljepisno ime, eksonim, endonim

Carniola *oživljena*: Changing Practice in Citing Slovenian Regions in English Texts

1. Introduction

The past century has seen a striking change in the representation of Slovenia's traditional regions in English texts. After the Second World War, Slovenians progressively replaced the traditional English names for these regions (e.g. *Upper Carniola, Styria*, etc.), which had been used for centuries, with Slovenian names (i.e. *Gorenjska, Štajerska*, etc.) in English texts.[1] However, following the dissolution of Yugoslavia and Slovenian independence, there has been a return to the traditional English names. This paper examines this change and subsequent reversal, and the reasons underlying it.

1.1 Endonyms and exonyms

For clarity, the terms *endonym* and *exonym*, which are used extensively in this paper, are explained here. Endonyms are insiders' names – topographic names used by the people that live in or near a particular place. Exonyms are outsiders' names – topographic names used by people that do not live in or near a particular place.

In cases of multilingualism, places may have more than one endonym (e.g. *Koper* and *Capodistria*). Multiple endonyms may also reflect monolingual synonymy (e.g. *Polhograjsko hribovje* 'Polhov Gradec Hills' and *Polhograjski Dolomiti* 'Polhov Gradec Dolomites'). Places also often have multiple exonyms; for example, the name *Vienna* (e.g. Slovenian *Dunaj*, Croatian *Beč*, Czech *Vídeň*, etc.). Some exonyms are also orthographically identical but phonologically distinct (e.g. English *Paris* /ˈpærɪs/ for French *Paris* /paˈʁi/) or orthographically near-identical (e.g. English *Novo Mesto*[2] and Slovenian *Novo mesto*).

1.2 Linguistic centrality

One consistent pattern in the use of exonyms is that they reflect linguistic centrality. Table 1 presents selected regions in Europe that have either central or peripheral status in Slovenian and English.

Central			Peripheral
Endonym	Slovenian	English	Endonym = Slo = Eng
Bayern	*Bavarska*	*Bavaria*	*Baden-Württemberg*
Kärnten	*Koroška*	*Carinthia*	*Vorarlberg*
Sardegna	*Sardinija*	*Sardinia*	*Aosta*

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1   My comments and examples throughout this article generally default to *Kranjska* 'Carniola' and *Gorenjska* 'Upper Carniola'; however, they apply equally to all traditional Slovenian regions. I first became aware of this issue when I started working as a translator in Slovenia about a decade ago. Having written *Styria* in a document, I was informed by a senior translator that I should only use such names for historical references, and not for modern Slovenia. Worse yet, I was advised to use *Štajersko* rather than *Štajerska* in English (cf. § 2.4).

2   The English exonym *Novo Mesto* is not based on centrality/prestige, but on conformity to English orthographic conventions.

Cataluña	Katalonija	Catalonia	Extremadura
Bourgogne	*Burgundija*	*Burgundy*	Auvergne

Table 1. Selected central and peripheral regions in Europe (Berkopec & Čavševič 2006).

This is not to say that the peripheral regions are less worthy in any way (for example, I've been to Aosta and recommend it highly, even though I have no special English name for the region). Rather, they are simply more peripheral in the mental map of language communities that have no exonyms for them. Of course, these are historically and culturally bound concepts and differ from language to language; for example, Vietnamese simply calls Bavaria by the endonym *Bayern* (indicating that it played no important role in Vietnamese history and culture); correspondingly, Slovenian refers to nearby Friuli and Veneto with exonyms (*Furlanija*, *Benečija*), whereas English simply uses the endonyms.

The same pattern of centrality versus peripherality is seen in names of settlements, presented in Table 2.

Central			Peripheral
Endonym	Slovenian	English	Endonym = Slo = Eng
Genève	*Ženeva*	*Geneva*	*Versoix*
Wien	*Dunaj*	*Vienna*	*Schwechat*
Venezia	*Benetke*	*Venice*	*Mestre*
Warszawa	*Varšava*	*Warsaw*	Zielonka
Bucureşti	*Bukarešta*	*Bucharest*	Pipera

Table 2. Selected central and peripheral settlements in Europe.

The comments regarding regions also apply to these settlements. In both cases, exonyms may be simple respellings (e.g. *Varšava* 'Warsaw') or may be completely different lexemes (e.g. *Dunaj* 'Vienna'). Analyzing and classifying degrees of exonyms is not relevant to this paper.

The point is that regions and towns (and, for that matter, any other toponym class) that are referenced with an exonym are so referenced because of their cultural importance, whether this is due to history, culture, or simply proximity. Toponyms that do not enjoy exonym status are often culturally unimportant. These opposing associations are summarized in Table 3.

Exonym	Endonym
Central	Peripheral
Familiar	Unfamiliar
Important	Unimportant
High value	Low value

Table 3. Values associated with ex-onyms and endonyms.

2. Slovenian usage

The following examples show representative usage of exonyms and endonyms in English for traditional Slovenian regions through time. Because they are selected from material that happened

to be readily available, rather than an exhaustive survey, they are simply indications of usage; that is, this information cannot be quantified in any way. The chronologically ordered examples are grouped into older material, interwar material, the early communist era, the late communist era, and the post-communist era.

2.1 Older material

There is no dispute regarding the pedigree of English exonyms for the traditional regions of Slovenia. In a selection of pre–First World War works produced (i.e. written or translated) by native English speakers, for example, one finds the following examples:

(1)   . . . a neighbouring Ridge of Mountains that ſeems to ſeparate Carniola from Carinthia. (Osborne 1745, 385)

(2)   In ſeveral Parts of this Dutchy, particularly in *Upper Carniola*, Scorpions abound, and great Quantities are exported from hence. (Keysler 1758, 217)

(3)   In the year 1541 the *Lutherans* of *Auſtria*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia* and *Carniola* preſented a pathetic petition . . . (Büsching 1762, 152)

(4)   Indian corn and gourds in Carniola and Styria . . . (Cadell 1820, 335)

(5)   . . . the corner-stone of Carinthia, Carniola, and of Styria . . . (Gilbert & Churchill 1864, 273)

(6)   . . . several animals, belonging to the most different classes, which inhabit the caves of Carniola and Kentucky, are blind. (Darwin 1872, 110)

(7)   . . . The train crosses the *Schwarzenbach*, then the *Weissenbach*, which forms the frontier of Carniola and Carinthia . . . (Baedecker 1903, 529)

(8)   At the head of almost every village in Lower Styria and Carniola . . . (1913, 446)

When Slovenian endonyms are found in such older material, they were generally consciously used and labelled as such:

(9)   *Upper-Carniola*, commonly called *Gorenska Stran.* (Büsching 1762, 210)

2.2 Interwar material

English practice did not change during the interwar period; for example:

(10)   . . . at the western extremity of the Alps is the low pass over the limestone plateau of Carniola in the Julian Alps . . . (Hyde 1935, 176)

(11)   Out of six skulls from Carniola, three are round headed and one is mesocephalic. (Coon 1939, 184)

When discussing the interwar period, special mention should be made of the Slovenian-American writer Louis Adamic (1898–1951), who probably did more to raise consciousness of Yugoslavia and Slovenia, at least in the American popular press, than any other writer of his time. It is interesting that he consistently used the exonym *Carniola* but the endonym *Bela Krajina*; the latter probably simply indicates that he was unaware of the English name *White Carniola*:

(12)   Carniola seemed so very, very small. (Adamic 1934, 14)

(13)   . . . the little city of Lublyana,[3] the capital of Carniola . . . (Adamic 1938, 123)

(14)   . . . one of our relative's vineyards in Bela Krayina . . . (Adamic 1934, 26)

(15)   . . . from Bela Krayina people began to emigrate to America . . . (Adamic 1938, 125)

2.3 The early communist era

In the post–Second World War era, native English material continued its tradition of using exonyms. For example, one finds:

(16)   . . . from Carinthia or Styria where there were more Germans or Austrians, but some districts of Carniola lost as much as 12 per cent of their population . . . (Schermerhorn 1949, 364)

(17)   . . . with the exception of Carniola, decisive Slovenian influence was limited to local governments. (Hočevar 1965, 103)

One very early exception was de Bray's guide to the Slavic languages, which exclusively used endonyms (and in the neuter form to boot):

(18)   . . . the dialect of Dolẹnjsko . . . with a borrowing of the pure vowels of the dialect of Gorẹ́njsko (de Bray 1951, 378)

However, de Bray's use of accentuation here and elsewhere (e.g. ". . . set up by the Znânstveno drûštvo in Ljubljána" 1951, 368) probably indicates that he was citing these as foreign words despite the lack of italics.

Usage by Slovenians writing English also showed no change from earlier English practice; for example, in a trilingual travel guide:

(19)   . . . the pellucid River Sava rushes down the walley [*sic*] of Upper Carniola . . . (*Ljubljanski* 1956, 11)

(20)   . . . in [*sic*] pleasant scenery of Lower Carniola . . . (*Ljubljanski* 1956, 177)

(21)   . . . all [*sic*] Bela Krajina is studded with partisan monuments and tablets [*sic*] . . . (*Ljubljanski* 1956, 183)

It is noteworthy that this source, like the examples from Adamic discussed above, also uses the endonym *Bela Krajina* in English. Again, this is probably due to ignorance of the English exonym.

If there was any ideological shift among Slovenians from exonyms to endonyms in English texts, it was not apparent at this time. What is apparent from the examples above, however, is that an English of appalling quality was being produced, uncorrected by English native speakers, as

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3   Adamic generally respelled Slovenian names and phrases following Cyrillic transliteration practices, a practice considered dated today.

Yugoslavia turned eastward and away from the west. The notion of a "generational lag" should also be considered here; postwar translation practice would not have differed from prewar practice in such subtleties because the postwar translators had prewar training.

2.4 The late communist era

Similar to other eastern European countries, as the communist era progressed there was an increasing disconnect with native English in comparison to western European countries. The reasons for this were not only political (with restrictions on visas, etc.), but also economic. Not only did people have reduced means to travel to English-speaking countries, there were also fewer funds to purchase native-English materials for language instruction. The result (which was certainly not limited to Slovenia) was a range of second-class English instruction materials produced in-country.[4] Not only were these ideologically "safe," they were also much more affordable than publications imported from the UK or US.

As Yugoslavia's self-imposed isolation from the English world persisted, and as prewar translators gradually faded from the scene, Slovenian English also began to drift away from native models in certain aspects and increasingly rely on Slovenian solutions to translation problems – that is, the creation of "Slovenian English." By the late communist period, a preference (among Slovenians) for Slovenian endonyms in English texts appears to have developed. This was "codified" by Stanko Klinar in 1988:

> Imena za Kranjsko, Koroško in Štajersko se v zvezi z zgodovino do leta 1918 glasijo dosledno Carniola, Carinthia in Styria. . . . V nezgodovinskem kontekstu pa . . . lahko uporabljamo domača slovenska imena. . . . polatinjena keltska imena (Carinthia, Carniola) so primerna za znanstveni stil, medtem ko se je v leposlovju in vsakdanjem govoru bolje zatekati k slovenskim imenom . . . (Gorenjsko, Dolenjsko). . . . V zgodovinski zvezi nastopajo tudi za Gorenjsko, Dolenjsko . . . imena Upper Carniola, Lower Carniola . . . čeravno se zadnje čase kaže močna težnja, da jih opustimo in nadomestimo z domačimi.[5] (1–2)

This recommendation appears to have been made with no recourse to actual native English practice, and is more of a proclamation than an observation. The psychology behind it is considered in Section 3 below.

At the same time, the English use of exonyms outside Slovenia appears to have continued unabated:

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4 A classic example in Slovenia is Dana Blaganje and Ivan Konte's *Modern English Grammar*, which contains grammatical expressions such as "indefinite" verbs (1998: 217 ff.) that have not been used in English since the nineteenth century. Although it was first published in 1976, the regular reprints of this work do not provide the original publication date. The book is regularly ridiculed by students and has its own ironic Facebook fan site, *http://www.facebook.com/group.php?v=wall& gid= 46511690877.*

5 "In historical contexts up to 1918, the names for *Kranjska, Koroška*, and *Štajerska* are *consistent*ly Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria. . . . However, in a non-historical context . . . we may use the native Slovenian names. . . . the Latinized Celtic names (Carinthia, Carniola) are appropriate for scientific style, whereas in literature and everyday language it is better to fall back on the Slovenian names . . . (Gorenjsko, Dolenjsko). . . . In historical contexts the . . . the names Upper Carniola, Lower Carniola . . . also appear for . . . *Gorenjska, Dolenjska . . . although* in recent times there has been a strong tendency to abandon these and replace them with Slovenian names."

(22)   In Carniola, a region of Slovenia in Yugoslavia . . . (Crane 1983, 186)
(23)   In Lower Carniola there is clear evidence for the development of economic
        centres . . . (Champion & Megaw 1985, 75)

Klinar's work also recommended the use of atypical neuter forms (e.g. *Gorenjsko*) in English:

> Imena "Kranjsko, Koroško . . ." imajo vzporedne oblike ženskega spola
> "Kranjska, Koroška", itd., ki so v slovenščini v imenovalniku celo bolj običajne.
> V angleških besedilih lahko uporabljamo obe obliki . . . . Vseeno se zdi vredno
> priporočiti, da bi zaradi večje enotnosti zapisa v angleških besedilih uporabljali
> samo srednje oblike, kajti nekatera slovenska imena kot "Ravensko, Dolinsko,
> Goričko" ženske oblike sploh nimajo.[6] (4)

These positions are basically unchanged in the 1994 (13–5) edition of Klinar's work.

The recommendation of names like *Gorenjsko* is particularly problematic in that the use of nominative neuter forms – although they do exist (cf. Snoj 2009, 117, 144, 210, 284) – is quite rare in Slovenian. The effect is the creation of highly unnatural English names that are not English in origin, do not conform to English spelling patterns (cf. § 3.2), and also differ from the typical Slovenian names.

Here it should be stressed that the Slovenian translation community, like Slovenia itself, is very small, and, for better or worse, individual works can exert a far greater impact than would be expected in larger language communities like English, German, or French.[7] Klinar's work and recommendations were informally adopted at the translation department in Ljubljana, and have correspondingly influenced translation practice ever since.

2.5 The post-communist era

Just as prewar patterns persisted into the postwar era, the fall of communism, Slovenian independence, and integration into the western world did not herald an automatic shift from translation practice established in previous decades. Again, there has been a generational lag in practice following perspective.

In the post-communist era, both endonyms and exonyms are found in native-English works. However, there is more chaos than order in how these are used. Some texts actually differentiate between historical and contemporary use as envisioned by Klinar:

(24)   . . . the Slovenes were divided between the historic provinces of Carniola, Gorizia,
        Istria, Carinthia and Styria . . . (Gow & Carmichael 2000, 13)

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[6]   "The names Kranjsko, Koroško . . . have the parallel feminine forms *Kranjska, Koroška*, etc., which are even more usual in the nominative in Slovenian. We may use both forms in English texts . . . . In any case, it seems advisable to recommend using only the neuter form in English texts for greater uniformity in notating them because certain Slovenian names such as *Ravensko*, *Dolinsko, Goričko* simply do not have feminine forms."

[7]   Within Slovenian translation practice, it is fairly easy to pinpoint particular publications as sources of error or poor usage. A notorious example is the ubiquitous Slovenian-English dictionary by Anton Grad and Henry Leeming (1990), with examples such as *zahteven* (i.e. 'demanding') translated as "pretentious"; a translation customer asked me only a few days ago in an English e-mail message if I could prepare a "pretentious translation" for her.

(25)   South of Ljubljana are Bela Krajina and the fertile hills of Dolenjska. (Gow & Carmichael 2000, 14)

Other publications fail to observe this (artificial) systematicity. For example, one popular guidebook extends the use of Slovenian endonyms to all historical time periods:

(26)   Most of Kranjska, Koroška and western Štajerska were united under the Habsburgs by the middle of the 14th century . . . (Fallon 1998, 16)

Surveying publications in general, it is difficult to see that any particular usage pattern is being applied; for example, in two very recent publications:

(27)   . . . Gorenjska boasts some of the finest alpine scenery anywhere in the world . . . (McKelvie & McKelvie 2005, 93)
(28)   . . . three pairs of Slovakian lynx were released in Slovenia's Kocevje Forest and Inner Carniola . . . (Taylor 2005, 136)

Linguistic works generally appear to continue the use of English exonyms:

(29)   1. Lower Carniola (Dolenjsko), 2. Upper Carniola (Gorenjsko) . . . (map legend; Derbyshire 1993, 13)
(30)   . . . the dialects of Upper and Lower Carniola . . . (Herrity 2000, 10),

although the recent survey by Roland Sussex and Paul Cubberly somewhat confusingly mixes exonyms with endonyms:

(31)   . . . the Styrian (Sln *Štajersko*) dialects . . . to the east of Carniola . . . to the east of Styrian. . . . those of Notranjsko, Štajersko and Panonsko. (Sussex & Cubberly 2006, 503)

Interestingly, Slovenian-English dictionary practice never seems to have made the switch from *Carniola* and other exonyms. For example, "gorenjski – of Upper Carniola" (Kotnik 1945, 56), "gorénjski – of Upper Carniola" (Kotnik 1967, 103), "Gorénjsko – Upper Carniola" (Grad & Leeming 1990, 138). This is significant because, as a small language with a limited number of bilingual dictionaries, Slovenian-English translation is especially influenced by the solutions offered in particular dictionaries (as observed in footnote 6).

The appearance of Slovenian endonyms in native-English texts does not reflect gradual English acceptance of Slovenian notions of how to write English. Instead (especially in popular works written for general audiences, such as guidebooks), there is probably a "bleed-over" effect of less scholarly English writers being influenced by Slovenian practice on the ground, availability of and reliance on English tourism material written by Slovenians, and so on.

As an index to the current *vox populi*, it is instructive to look at practice in the English version of the online encyclopedia Wikipedia. Although the authoritative quality of Wikipedia is open to debate, its reflection of common practice – and, in turn, influence on that practice – should

not be underestimated. Despite the many authors contributing to or modifying Wikipedia's articles, they almost exclusively use the standard English exonyms to refer to Slovenia's traditional regions.

3. Slovenian psychology

Having explored the usage patterns of exonyms and endonyms for Slovenia's traditional regions, the psychology behind these patterns deserves comment. Three notions in particular should be explored: language as ownership, the notion of establishment, and reflections of politics.

3.1 Language as ownership

Slovenian identity is bound up with language, and so it is unsurprising that language would be used as a tool to assert territorial claims. In a perversion of the principle of *Cuius regio, eius religio*, Slovenians might be said to be asserting the principle of *Cuius lingua, eius regio* (cf. Coulmas 1985, 141 ff.) writing, for example, *Celovec* rather than *Klagenfurt* (Austria) and *Trst* rather than *Trieste* (Italy)[8] in English texts (!). By insisting on *Gorenjska* in English texts, Slovenians are marking their territory. In doing so, they equate place-names in various languages with ethnic identity, recapitulating the late eighteenth-century reconceptualization of languages of civilization as languages of territorially defined groups (cf. Anderson 1991, 196).

At the same time, they have been careful not to focus too sharply when insisting on use of the "real names" of these regions. Etymologists are well aware that some of these Slovenian lexemes are very shallow indeed; for example, *Dolenjska* 'Lower Carniola' and *Gorenjska* 'Upper Carniola' are acknowledged to be translations of the older German terms *Unterkrain* and *Oberkrain* (Snoj 2009, 117, 144).

3.2 Establishment

A second impulse that receives significant attention in Slovenia today is that of internationally promoting Slovenia's profile or establishing (*uveljavljanje, uveljavitev*) its identity. One of the misguided ways in which this is approached is through the idea that Slovenian words can be introduced into English, thereby imparting a bit of Slovenian language, culture, and identity into the international arena. The notion is that, if we can get people to write and say *Gorenjska*, we can put it on the map.

The main problem with this impulse is that not all words are suited for borrowing. For example, English journalism has readily adopted *duma* and *sabor* to refer to the Russian and Croatian parliaments because they have a simple phonetic and syllabic structure. The imposing clusters in Slovenian *državni zbor* means that it has no such chance of becoming established in English.

Similarly, clusters like *njsk* in the name *Gorenjska, Dolenjska*, and so on prevent them from ever becoming established in English (just as English words like *wreath* and *growth* will not readily be

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8   For example, it would be unimaginable (and probably defeatist) for the Tito-era slogan *Trst je naš* 'Trieste is ours' to be recast as *Trieste je naš.*

picked up by Slovenians). Worse yet, insisting on such names may even invite ridicule – as in the satire "Clinton Deploys Vowels to Bosnia: Cities of Sjlbvdnzv, Grzny to Be First."[9]

3.3. Reflections of politics

It would be overly simplistic to ascribe language changes to political ideology because politics operates as only one of many social factors influencing language. At the same time, politics cannot be ignored as a factor. In rough terms, the establishment of communism in Slovenia in 1945 marked a turning away from the west and an orientation toward the east. This also involved rejecting western labels – and not only historical exonyms such as *Laibach* and *Vipacco* (the German and Italian names for Ljubljana and Vipava), but also rooting out western-sounding Slovenian names, for example, changing *Guštanj* (< Germ. *Guttenstein*) to *Ravne na Koroškem*, *Marenberg* (< Germ. *Mahrenberg*) to *Radlje ob Dravi*, and *Rajhenburg* (< Germ. *Reichenburg*) to *Brestanica* (Spremembe 1996; cf. also Urbanc & Gabrovec 2007). Rejecting names such as *Carniola, Styria* and so on corresponded to this practice (although they were not German or Italian, they were western), and promoting names such as *Gorenjska*, *Štajerska*, and so on reflected an affiliation with places east, in other communist countries, that never had English endonyms, such as *Međimurje* (Croatia)*, Vojvodina* (Serbia), *Podlaskie* (Poland), *Volhynia* (Ukraine), and *Maramureş* (Romania) (cf. Fig. 1).

4. Slovenian regions

The traditional regions of Slovenia and their English equivalents are presented in Table 4.

Slovenian	English		Slovenian	English
Kranjska	*Carniola*		Primorska	the Littoral
Gorenjska	*Upper Carniola*		Koroška	Carinthia
Notranjska	*Inner Carniola*		Štajerska	Styria
Dolenjska	*Lower Carniola*		Prekmurje	Prekmurje
Bela Krajina	*White Carniola*			

Table 4. Slovenian traditional regions in Slovenian and English.

This table contains no new information; certainly no information that is not readily available in any number of sources. Nonetheless, it is worth presenting again, if only to reiterate the English equivalents of the Slovenian names. At the same time, it is worth pointing out that the former crownland of Carniola has four constituent parts (many Slovenians today are unclear on which traditional regions were crownlands and which were parts thereof).

In addition, it is noteworthy that there is no English exonym for Prekmurje. This apparent inconsistency bothers some people.[10] In fact, the situation is quite typical. As seen earlier (cf. Table 1), English also lacks full sets of exonyms for the regions of other European countries.

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[9] This widely-circulated news satire was originally published by *The Onion* (e.g. *http:// www. ling. upenn. edu/ ~beatrice/ humor/ clinton-deploys-vowels.html*).

[10] As a translator, clients occasionally press me on this detail.

The reason for Prekmurje's lack of an English exonym – and why Dalmatia and Istria have such exonyms – is evident from the map in Figure 1. Prekmurje was in the eastern (i.e. peripheral) half of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (it was not administratively joined to the rest of Slovenia until 1919), and so it had no tradition of belonging to the familiar, western (i.e. central) half of the empire – and, like almost all other Hungarian regions, no exonym as well.

Figure 1. Central and peripheral regions: east-central Europe ca. 1910 (adapted from Magocsi 1993, 119).

5. Questions

Finally, a number of practical questions arise that I would like to address here.

Q: Don't Slovenians have the right to shape how their country and its parts are discussed in English?

A: No, they do not. English is shaped by English speakers. Just as English speakers' opinions are irrelevant when Slovenians write *Mississippi* as *Misisipi* and *New Mexico* as *Nova Mehika*, Slovenians' opinions are irrelevant in shaping English usage.

Q: What about reciprocity? Slovenians write *New York*, so why don't you write *Gorenjska*?

A: Reciprocity is irrelevant in shaping English usage.

Q: What about official translations? Isn't *Gorenjska* the official name?

A: To paraphrase Hanns Johst: "When I hear of official translations, I reach for my gun."[11] First of all, anything defended as an "official translation" is probably already on shaky ground. Second, opinions of foreign governments are irrelevant in shaping English usage.

Q: Won't people confuse Carinthia and Styria with parts of Austria?

A: Perhaps. On the other hand, other geographical features span multiple countries. Most English speakers associate the Alps with Switzerland, but this does not necessitate special names for the Austrian Alps, Italian Alps, and so on. In part, Slovenians themselves are to blame for the fact that Carinthia and Styria are not associated with Slovenia. Ever since 1918, Slovenia (or Yugoslavia) has sought to administratively erase the borders of the old crownlands by designating provinces, municipalities, and statistical regions that do not correspond to them, whereas Austria has kept them reified by maintaining the traditional borders as administrative boundaries. Ironically, the old crownlands are nonetheless the most psychologically real to Slovenians' geographical identities (e.g., it would be very unusual to meet a Slovenian that says he comes from "the Municipality of Mokronog-Trebelno" rather than from Lower Carniola). As Robin and Jennifer McKelvie comment in an essay titled When is a region a region?:

> . . . there are no regions as such, however, many Slovenes regard the regions that were developed under the Austro-Habsburg Empire [*sic*] as an important part of the history of their country . . . . with which many Slovenes still identify today. If you want to be a stickler they do not exist . . . (2005, 4)

6. Conclusions

The first conclusion from this examination of exonym versus endonym usage for Slovenian regions is that my title, Carniola *oživljena*,[12] is overstated. *Carniola* and other English exonyms have not passed out of use, so there is no need for resuscitation or other emergency intervention.

Second, there is no strong evidence that (outside of English written by Slovenians) there was ever any systematic or robust shift away from these exonyms – although their use has increased in native English texts, presumably because of a bleed-over effect from Slovenian usage.

Third, such a shift would be undesirable, not only for native English speakers, but especially for Slovenians. Not only are the Slovenian names "unpronounceable" in English (potentially even inviting ridicule), the use of endonyms casts a veil of obscurity over Slovenia, creating an image that is marginalized, insignificant, and alien. Conversely, the use of traditional English exonyms accentuates the familiarity, significance, and Europeanness of Slovenian places for English speakers.

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[11] Originally "Wenn ich Kultur höre . . . entsichere ich meinen Browning!", but since then reworked many times, including Stephen Hawking's (purportedly) famous "When I hear of Schrödinger's cat, I reach for my gun" (*http:// en. wikipedia. org/ wiki/ Hanns_ Johst*).

[12] 'Carniola revived.' For those unfamiliar with the reference, it alludes to the well-known 1811 poem "Ilirija oživljena" (Illyria Revived) by Valentin Vodnik (1758–1819), commemorating the establishment of the Illyrian Provinces under Napoleon.

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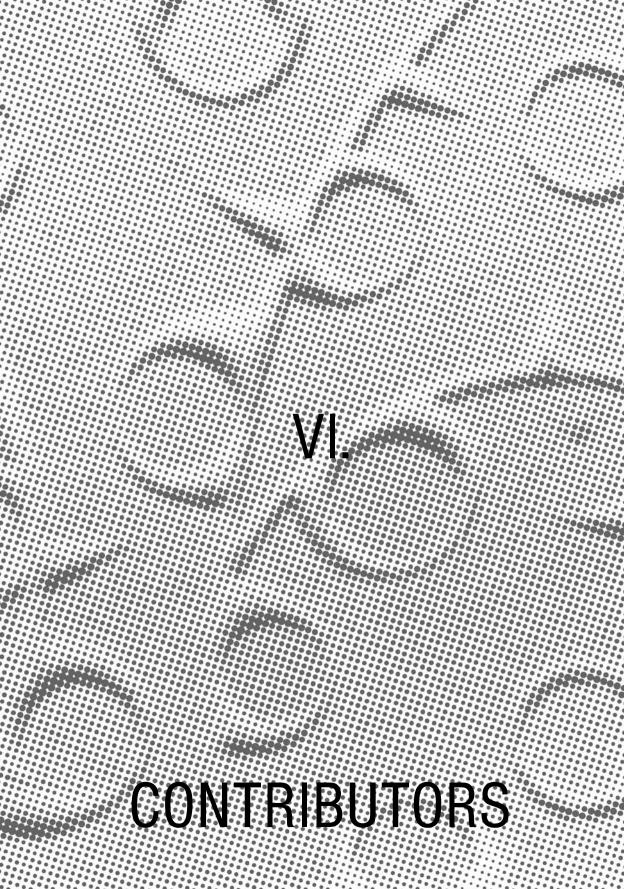Schermerhorn, R.A. 1949. *These Our People: Minorities in American Culture*. Boston: D.C. Heath.

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