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SALEM TRIALS (1692) IN HISTORY AND IN MILLER'S *THE CRUCIBLE*: INVESTIGATING TRUTH CLAIMS IN HISTORICAL NARRATIVES AND DRAMA

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Abstract. Arthur Miller's *The Crucible* is, in the first instance, a literary reconstruction of a historical event: the Salem trials that took place in the village of Salem in Essex County, New England (today Danvers, Massachusetts) in 1692. As Miller explains in his autobiography *Timebends* (1987), and as is clear from his introduction to the play, he not only carried out scholarly research in preparation for writing the play, he also reflected explicitly on how he had used the historical material to reconstruct a story. The central issue in this investigation is the position taken by the play with regard to writing history – historiography – and to the question: what is historical *truth*? How does the play relate to the issues of representing history and historical truth? To answer these questions, I will, in this research, give an extensive overview of the historical debates about witchcraft in order to situate Miller's position on this topic. Further, I will position Miller's work within more general debates about historiography and the historian's possibilities of rendering a historical 'truth'.

Key words: historiography, historical truth, representation, witchcraft, drama

SALEM: ASPECTS OF THE CASE

In 1692 in Salem Village, which is slightly to the west of Salem Town, several girls in the household of the minister Samuel Parris became 'afflicted' and started suffering from fits and poor vision. An initial debate among the adults was followed by an examination by the local physician, William Griggs, about the cause of the seizures, who concluded that the girls were 'possessed by the Devil' and thus that the cause of their afflictions was 'unnatural'. Both the girls and their parents became convinced that they were 'bewitched' by 'the Evil Hand' or malign witchcraft (Hiltunen, 1996: 19). They sought help from Reverend John Hale of Beverly, a renowned expert in demonology in those days. The girls accused other townspeople of tormenting them with spectral forms – i.e., that

ghosts of other townspeople made them fall into convulsions and scream without obvious cause and, at times, afflicted and pinched their bodies (*ibid.*). In this context, Hale vitiated the doubts about the superstitious elements in the outbreak upon confirming: ‘Now let me instruct you. We cannot look to superstition in this. The Devil is precise; the marks of his presence are definite as stone’ (Miller, 2010: 36). Soon more people, especially women, became afflicted, and accusations spread in Salem village. Girls were also invited to the neighbouring Andover region to reveal the witches hidden there. They accused 49 people before local legal instances stopped issuing new warrants. In June, the governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, Sir William Phips, set up a special court of ‘Oyer and Terminer’ (to ‘hear and determine’) to try the witches (Young, 1989: 240). Over 150 people were accused but the majority were spared because they confessed, repented or accused others to avoid capital punishment (Grund, 2007: 121). In the end, nineteen people were hanged for the crime of witchcraft (thirteen women and six men), two more died in jail, and Giles Corey was pressed to death for showing a recalcitrant attitude towards the prosecutions. Two dogs were also hanged on suspicion of being devils. On 29 October, in the face of increasing scepticism, governor Phips suspended the court. Upon reconvening, the court acquitted all remaining suspects due to criticism of the fairness of the trials (Reed, 2007: 212).

Scholarly interest in this historical episode has been immense. A study by James Arnt Aune distinguishes seven different types of interpretation of the historical event, each on the basis of a different methodological approach to history (Arnt Aune, 2003: 766–68). There are psychological/psychoanalytical, sociological, medical, religious, anthropological, feminist and political explanations of what happened. This variety of approaches is due to the complex nature of the phenomenon of European and American witchcraft. According to Thomas A. Fudge: ‘witchcraft historiography considers numerous topics including, but not limited to, history, anthropology, magic, popular superstitions, religion, theology, law, psychology, sexuality, gender, sociology, medicine, politics, language, popular beliefs, folklore studies, and popular culture’ (Fudge, 2006: 489). Yet, as Isaac Reed observes, the various approaches to witchcraft can be divided into two main strands (2007: 213). The first strand focuses on the systematic elements and structural factors in its explanation of the phenomenon, e.g., when witchcraft is understood in terms of large-scale economic and political developments. The second strand offers detailed descriptions of particular lives, communities and regions, and understands witchcraft in relation to the social development of various communities. Since the 1970s, as Reed points out, under the influence of social history, these two strands have been brought together, which led to the rise of what could be called the interdisciplinary field of ‘witchcraft studies’ (2007: 213). Witchcraft studies is a subfield within social history which came up during the late 1960s and which regarded witchcraft as a social and anthropological aspect of the given societies, including town study, patterns of property ownership and methods of litigation.

Religious explanations surfaced immediately after the end of the trials, in which diabolical malevolence was blamed for wreaking havoc in the communitarian Puritan

culture of religious conservatism and official piety. Chadwick Hansen argues that the witch hysteria was a historical reality in seventeenth-century Puritan social consciousness, and he discovered that there were actually practising witches in Salem (1969: 86). In his review of Hansen's work, Max Savelle explains that Hansen's main premise was that 'the Salem society believed in witchcraft and for a society that believes in witchcraft, witchcraft is terribly real' (1969: 180). However, real beliefs and fears did not necessarily mean that witches were real. In this respect, it was the disjunction between the theological and the magical conceptions of witchcraft that, according to Richard Godbeer, undermined the legal process (1992: 181). Godbeer suggested that the Salem witch hysteria was a manifestation of the community's predisposition to project the blame of their personal sufferings upon external causes (*ibid.*). The relationship between witchcraft, magic and Puritanism in Salem made it convenient for several parties to suspect outside forces had caused havoc in the northern colonies during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. The church and the patriarchal elite became very cautious as soon as they suspected a community's interest in Wicca and neo-pagan superstitious beliefs, such as displayed, according to the church, by some cunning people or 'pubescent girls'. Rossell Hope Robbins echoed this view in the twentieth century when he stated that the so-called vicious girls 'knew exactly what they were doing. Their acts during 1692 imply a state of utter delinquency, causing death without rhyme or reason, for sport' (Robbins, 1959: 435; Detweiler, 1975: 599). There is ample evidence in Miller's *The Crucible* where first Samuel Parris' Caribbean slave Tituba confesses in front of Reverend Hale in the 1st Act. She states: '(in a fury) He say Mr. Parris must be kill! Mr. Parris not goodly man, Mr. Parris mean man and no gentle man, and he bid me rise out of my bed and cut your throat' (Miller, 2010: 45). Upon further emotional coercion, Parris' niece Abigail assumes the central role and confesses:

I want to open myself (They turn to her, startled. She is enraptured, as though in a pearly light.) I want the light of God, I want the sweet love of Jesus! I danced for the devil; I saw him; I wrote in his book; I go back to Jesus; I kiss his hand. I saw Sarah Good with the Devil! I saw Goody Osburn with the Devil! I saw Briget Bishop with the Devil! (Miller, 2010: 46)

One can clearly see that the discourse of witchcraft naturally fermented in the theological structures of that Salem society. The Puritans genuinely believed in a cosmic configuration where God and Devil existed together.

Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum's ground-breaking work *Salem Possessed* offers a sociological explanation of the Salem episode, emphasizing the merchant-farmer conflict between Salem Town and Salem village amongst the Putnam and the Porter families of New England (1997: 110). Their analysis is based on local tax records for 1691, the preceding year, which reveal an important difference between the payments by the pro-Parris factions and the anti-Parris factions. On the basis of these findings, they assert that the Salem witch-hunts were caused by the advancement of early capitalism. Boyer and Nissenbaum observed that the east side of Salem village was inhabited by wealthy and affluent Porter families who

possessed various holdings and had access to Salem Town and its port. On the west side of the village, on the other hand, the Putnam family, whose main vocation for decades had been agriculture, saw a gradual dwindling away of their agricultural farmlands because of the Puritan inheritance system. The inheritance system was patriarchal, and land was divided equally among sons. Taking the tax records as evidence, Boyer and Nissenbaum observe that the Putnam and the Porter families found themselves on opposing sides at town meetings regarding petitions and other institutional and liturgical matters. They view the trials as a pathological effect of the trends in the pre-capitalist economic reconfiguration of the locality and the success or failure of the respective families (*ibid.*, 1997: 110). Miller provides a detailed account of the economic strife between the Nurse and Putnam clans in one of the narrative vignettes in the first Act of the play when he refers to the battle in the woods between these clans and also Thomas Putnam's efforts to appoint his man Bayley as a potential minister in Salem (2010: 25–26). This strife led the Nurse clan to absent themselves from Salem congregations and establish a separate and independent Topsfield entity away from Salem.

The economic competition explanation was rivalled by the theory that witch-hunting was the brainchild of the ecclesiastical and the legal elite who sought to strengthen their hold on church power. Richard Weisman's work (1984) on Salem is of particular relevance in this context. Weisman argues that relatively few cases of witchcraft convictions and executions in Salem prior to 1692 were the result of local accusations from the village. In Salem, they were firmly dealt with by the suspicious legal elite as they were perceived as movements for social justice. Hence there was resistance from a legal system opposed to radical demands and focused more on maintaining the status quo and the traditional community unity sanctioned by Puritan theodicy. Since the early days when the pilgrims landed in New England, their form of government had been established as a strict legalistic theology which was aimed at controlling the community through a contractual relationship between the individual and God via covenants (Weisman, 1984: 121; King and Mixon, 2010: 679–80). Weisman opines, then, that Salem was a case in which the judiciary went on an official offensive for the purpose of communal regeneration. This official offensive also signified the conservative power elite's attempt to contain diminishing ministerial prosperity and regain ministerial religious and social control (King and Mixon, 2010: 682). Act IV in the play provides tangible evidence in support of this argument when judge Danforth is made to revisit his stance and legal position. He states:

[...] Postponement now speaks a floundering on my part; reprieve or pardon must cast doubt upon the guilt of them that died till now. While I speak God's law, I will not crack its voice with whimpering. If retaliation is your fear, know this—I should hand ten thousand that dared to rise against the law, and an ocean of salt tears could not melt the resolution of the statutes. Now draw yourself up like men and help me, as you are bound by Heaven to do a full stop. (Miller, 2010: 117)

Also taking a view from a legal angle, David C. Brown argues that the 1692 trials in Essex County were a consequence of the clash between two legal cultures, i.e., the English common law and the indigenous laws of Massachusetts (1993: 85). Miller refers to this aspect in his narrative commentary in Act I when he states that: 'But the people of Salem in 1692 were not quite the dedicated folk that arrived on the *Mayflower*. A vast differentiation had taken place, and in their own time a revolution had unseated the royal government and substituted a junta which was at this moment in power' (2010: 7–8). The reference is to the Glorious Revolution in England in 1688. English common law partially replaced colonial criminal procedure law in Massachusetts during the early months of 1692. This was done in accordance with the 1691 charter, enacted in May 1692, which ensured that provincial laws were not in breach of English common law. According to Brown, this drove a wedge in the colony and led to a legal crisis which lasted until October 1692, when the Massachusetts General court reasserted the supremacy of the provincial laws (*ibid.*, 1993: 86). Prior to the 1692 trials, the first hints of a clash between the two legal systems were evident under the Dominion of New England between 1686 and 1689, when the Andros regime anglicised the colonial legal system in criminal and legal cases. The colonial legal system was restored to its pre-1686 set up after the overthrow of the Dominion government, and it operated as such until the province charter was introduced in May 1692. Brown observes that the judges in the Oyer and Terminer court employed English legal techniques to establish the guilt of the accused, which included spectral evidence and the search for witch marks on suspects. The court overlooked the colonial legal convention of the two-witness rule that was applied in previous cases (*ibid.*, 1993: 86). This may have been necessitated by the legitimacy deficit faced by the colonial government because shortly after 1684, and shortly before his death, King Charles II revoked its original charter of 1629 which legitimated the colonial right of self-government for more than fifty years. A new Anglican governor was installed, who was later overthrown, and a new charter was eventually enacted (Weisman, 1984: 123). As a result of the inclusion of Quakers and Anglicans, an inclusion that formed an unprecedented step towards inclusive and participatory politics, the custodians of the newly introduced secular order seriously questioned its theological legitimacy. Weisman observes that this presented the background for breaking the clerical precedence and permitting spectral evidence in the court hearings (*ibid.*, 1984: 123). It also accounts, according to Richard Latner, for the carrying over of the accusations and the trials beyond the town of Salem to Andover and for the role played by the new governor in finally bringing the trials to a halt (Weisman, 1984: 123–25; Latner, 2006: 116).

The psychological or psychoanalytical explanations of the Salem trials suggest that the afflicted girls suffered from hysteria caused by the Puritan culture of social repression. Marion L. Starkey explains the nature of the hold this hysteria had on the girls and the ministers: 'The magistrates could not be blamed for their credulity; belief in witchcraft was almost an article of faith. They were not to be blamed for their failure to understand the nature of hysteria; in their day no one did' (Starkey,

1966: 111). In a similar vein, Chadwick Hansen (1969) argued that the general population of Massachusetts had reached a state of excitement that he claimed was inaccurately called 'mass hysteria'. However, he believed that it was the popular fear of witchcraft rather than the preaching of the clergy that was at the root of this spell of collective psychic excitement. According to Hansen, the clergy were opposed to the way in which the events at Salem were being dealt with, especially the proceedings of the special court. For this same reason, Hansen says that it is impossible to understand and estimate the nature of all aspects of the Salem events without recognizing the power and hold of witchcraft on a society that genuinely believed in it (1969: x). Rebecca Nurse, who was seventy-two years old and a well-respected lady of Salem, gave her considered opinion on Betty Parris' illness in the play along with similar psychological roots of her problem: 'I think she will wake in time. Pray calm yourselves. I have eleven children, and I am twenty-six times a grandma, and I have seen them all through their silly seasons, and when it comes on them, they will run the Devil bowlegged keeping up with their mischief' (Miller, 2010: 26).

Anthropological explanations of the Salem episode are based upon cross-cultural studies of witchcraft beliefs and practices amongst people from other continents such as Asia and Africa. They tend to argue that the effects of witchcraft are caused by the belief in witchcraft itself. As Robert Detweiler shows, these anthropological theories can be divided into three general models that argue that: '(a) witchcraft serves as a way to explain life's misfortunes hence it is socially functional (b) witchcraft operates as a form of social control; and (c) witchcraft functions as a release of social tension' (Detweiler, 1975: 601). In an anthropological study of witchcraft, it is fundamental to admit that witchcraft beliefs are to be rationalized as an integral part of any 'possessed' society and that they assume the worth of a palpable reality for its people, just as much as empirically tested notions have in our contemporary world. Simply put, it becomes almost 'natural' for the afflicted people to resort to these beliefs to explain the misfortunes of life. Witchcraft may thus be a very convenient agency to blame when the conventional ways of dealing with misfortune fail, for example, when one is hit by lightning, hurricanes, epidemics, sterility, sickly livestock, miscarriages, famine, or drought. Hence, in providing partial relief and emotional solace to the sufferer by putting the blame upon the supernatural, societies maintain relative stability. The flurry of accusations at the end of Act 1 confirms that the most vulnerable individuals were the first ones to be accused of witchcraft in Salem. Samuel Parris' Caribbean slave Tituba was triply marginalized because of her black ancestry, womanhood, and slave status. She was the first to be blamed by Abigail, and then Betty and Abigail name George Jacobs, Goody Howe, Goody Sibber, Alice Barrow, Goody Hawkins, Goody Bibber and Goody Booth as companions of the Devil (Miller, 2010: 46).

The medical explanations of the trials relate the incidents to the spread of ergotism or encephalitis in the area (Caporael, 1976: 23; Woolf, 2000: 459–60). However, these explanations have largely been discredited lately in the social science analyses of the events on the grounds that a singular thrust on the clinical

nature of the problem is tantamount to a too reductive estimate of a broad problem in a community that was hostage to social, political, religious, and economic forces.

Given the extraordinary number of women being accused and prosecuted in the European witch-hunts but also in Salem, the feminist explanations remain of vital importance, elaborating why women were the prime suspects. Carol Karlsen explains that women's executions were triggered by the prevalence of traditional misogyny in the Western world. As Karlsen argues, the New England society was no exception and deemed women's trespasses as challenges to God, as attempts to subvert the order of Creation and also as challenges to prescribed gender arrangements. Based upon the normative distinctions for different social groups on the basis of their class, gender and race, women in New England were granted and prescribed certain forms of behaviour (Karlsen, 1987: 118–19). As Clarke Garrett observes, the Puritan home was a precarious territory for the exercise of feminine power and a venue for the constitution of interpersonal relations with men from outside the hierarchies of village authority. In such a social space, single, poor, marginalized, older, post-menopause and widowed women had an especially tenuous existence, and they became rather easy suspects as possessed witches (Garrett, 1977: 465–66). Elizabeth Reis observes that in Puritan New England, which was a patriarchal society, women's bodies were represented as vulnerable, unsatisfied, yearning, physically fragile and sexually tempting, and their feminine souls were believed to be a convenient target for the Devil's advances. In contrast, men, being audacious and physically strong, were likely to repel Devil's temptations (Reis, 1995: 15–16). In Salem society, a certain deferential paternalism prevailed, which immediately sanctioned any transgression by women from the community's accepted norms. The religious jargon clearly contained a sexist prejudice against women as a social group. Men were generally among those who wielded power, whereas most of the men who were accused were either husbands, family members of the suspected witches or had poor social standing. Many women were implicated by other women too, on account of their personal rivalries and jealousies arising out of day-to-day interactions in their close-knit Puritan culture. Hence there was clearly a strong gender pattern in the Salem prosecutions. Miller dramatized the gender politics of Salem along the classical binary image of women in Puritan imagination, where they could either live like the Virgin Mary as chaste, nurturing and pious women, or they could be mistrusted as archetypical witches when they trespassed prescribed gender-specific Christian moral values. That's why Abigail and other girls' pranks in the woods and during court proceedings can also be close read as pioneer voices of early feminists in an oppressive theocracy (Miller, 2010: 8).

The gender politics in Salem makes more sense, however, when analysed in combination with the broader politics of the real political interests which underpinned the Salem Trials. Mary Beth Norton famously put this explanation forward. She evaluated correspondences and journals during the late 1680s and early 1690s and found that the dominant concern of the Essex County residents during this time was the Second Indian War or the so-called King William's War

(1688–97) (Norton, 2003: 297–98). She studied the events in 1692 Salem as an attempt by the ruling elite to further control things politically at home in order to protect the colonial government and the society at large against the heathen Indians and the Catholic French at the north-eastern frontier. They would blame the devil and its deputies (that is to say, the witches) at home for working as accomplices of the French and the Indians to weaken their government (*ibid.*: 93–155). As Philip Gould also observes, when disenfranchised young girls like Elizabeth Parris, Abigail Williams, Samuel Parris's Caribbean slave Tituba and John Proctor's maid Mary Warren temporarily wielded power to accuse men, fellow women and influential families in control of the village, the political elite shuddered at their ability to shape the broader political course of the events. The trials' formal end upon the accusation against Governor Phips' wife testifies to the political nature of the whole witch-hunting episode in Salem (Gould, 1995: 66–67).

None of the above analyses can claim to give access to the truth *per se*, although they all deal with aspects of the historical truth, some of which may seem more plausible than others or may have more explanatory power. Miller, in writing his play, might have been interested in all kinds of arguments that could explain the Salem witch trials or that could shed some light on what happened, historically speaking. The question, however, is whether he was mainly interested in a historical explanation. He was certainly not interested in doing justice to all the aspects mentioned above. Perhaps what captured his attention the most was the element of political *fabrication*.

WITCHCRAFT AND FABRICATION

A recurring question in the historical studies of the Salem case is how it relates to the history of witchcraft in Europe. In Europe, the spell of witchcraft occurred in the early modern period between 1480–1750, and it spanned a period of three centuries which also witnessed such epic political events as the Reformation and the Thirty Years' War from 1618 to 1648. In Europe, much of the prosecution of witches took place in a sixty-year period between 1570 and 1630 (Hoak, 1983: 1270). The North American episodes, which obviously include the Salem trials of 1692, are historically close to this period yet slightly later. Nevertheless, David D. Hall asserts that 'belated though it was, witchcraft and witch-hunting in New England had the same structure as witchcraft in England and, taking due account of certain differences, as witchcraft on the Continent' (Hall, 1985: 253). Hall argues that despite being geographically apart, there was a cultural affinity between the witchcraft phenomenon in New England with continental European and English witch-hunts in the early modern era.

When the interpretation of an earlier generation of historians, such as Joseph Hansen, H. Trevor-Roper and Henry C. Lea, who understood the fear of witchcraft as a violent expression of an inquisitorial fanaticism of the Christian Church, was proven to be insufficient to explain the true nature of the incidents this was a turning

point in the historiography of European witchcraft. The historians just mentioned saw the witchcraft phenomenon as an anomaly and an irrational, psychopathological episode in human history (Hall, 1985: 253; Fudge, 2006: 488–92). In contrast, the so-called functionalist interpretation of witchcraft took witchcraft seriously as a historical phenomenon which, as such, had a *function*. The historians Alan Macfarlane and Keith Thomas carried out two paradigmatic studies and made an anthropological study of European witchcraft in their respective works, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England* (1970) and *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971). In their view, witchcraft was endemic and arose from the very roots of the respective societies as a form of social interaction in the close-knit communities to meet certain social needs. The vengefulness of villagers or cunning traders looking for a profit led to accusations and a manipulation of the guilt of those who had angered their counterparts in deals and bargains. Hence social strain provided an excuse for resorting to accusations of diabolism and sorcery. It made people deal with both beneficent and maleficent magic in society (Horsley, 1979: 697–98). According to Keith Thomas (1971), it was one of the means of making sense out of misfortune, for which there was no other obvious cause readily available. Thomas linked the increase in witchcraft cases to the Protestant Reformation, which, he contends, had discredited most of the counter-magic that the villagers had previously employed to protect themselves against *maleficium*, which related to the occult means of doing evil or harm (1971: 51–77). Alan Macfarlane (1970) concurs with Thomas when he mentions that the Catholic Church in England prior to the Reformation provided the religious template that, through its rituals and a dramatization of the expulsion of evil and communal propitiation, in a sense comforted people with a sort of a social solace and solution to their misfortunes. Macfarlane argues that, as a result of the Reformation, the communal misfortunes that continued to infect society had been dealt with through a religious and ritual framework which was now destroyed. This would account for the witchcraft crisis erupting from within that society (Macfarlane, 1970: 195).

More important in Thomas' reading, however, was the social strain resulting from the onset of a market economy. The traditional village economy, which had sustained an ethic of charity to one's neighbours and protection of the poor through the old manorial system of poor people's relief, was now being eroded by trends such as land hunger, commercialization, price hikes, agricultural specialization and growing towns. According to Thomas, in this era of change and rapid flux in Tudor and Stuart England, the old conflict resolution mechanisms of the manorial courts and the village guilds had disappeared, leaving society to disintegrate and confront itself, especially when it reached breaking point. The Reformation, the economic liberalization, the disappearance of old norms of charity, friendship and sharing were the triggers for the increase in litigation and trials in that period (Thomas, 1971: 563).

When compared to what we know from the continental witch prosecutions, the English witches were relatively poor, belonging to the lower social classes, and during the trials the authorities weighed convincing and unconvincing evidence to establish their conviction. Thomas and Macfarlane deduced that

the machinery of enforcement in the executive ceased to function long before accusations disappeared. The European witch-hunts were markedly different in different countries, as Nachman Ben-Yahuda observes, just as Scottish trials differed from the British and resembled more the continental European trials. He observes that the most severe European witch-hunts occurred in Germany, France and Switzerland (Ben-Yehuda, 1981: 327). In all these different cases, however, the functionalist approach would hold that witchcraft itself had a certain function that did not depend so much on whether people truly believed in witches. Instead, accusations of witchcraft were, in a sense, fabrications with a social function.

One of the critics of *Religion and the Decline of Magic* is Norman Cohn, who feels that Thomas has not really explained the historical appearance of witchcraft as an issue of societal concern (1975: 153). Cohn points out that *maleficium*, the use of magic to cause damage, antedates the witch-hunts of the early modern period. He says: 'It is clear that many of the forms of *maleficium* that figure in the witch-trials of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had been familiar for many centuries before' (ibid.). Because of the prevalence of this concept of *maleficium* in Europe since the Middle Ages, Cohn finds it an unconvincing excuse for the mass witch-hunts at that time in European history. He asserts that the concept of *maleficium* was transformed into an ideology and was deemed by the Church to be a rival heretical and pagan practice to uproot the religious foundations of society. The religious elites, therefore, genuinely believed that the witches were engaged in an organized conspiracy against the Church. Cohn explains: 'Like almost all of their contemporaries, the Fathers accepted without question that magic worked, that it really could produce miracles – but these were pernicious miracles, evil devices by which the demons tricked human beings into opposing God' (Cohn, 1975: 156). Cohn consequently claims that the peasant community had always succumbed to supernatural explanations and practices in the past without any official church sanction. Yet from the fifteenth century onwards, the church elite readily offered official sanction and patronage to accusations based on the concept of *maleficium*. This is why Cohn states: 'peasant fears could now find expression in formal accusations. As the authorities became more concerned with new concepts of witchcraft, so they became more willing to lend an ear to popular complaints about *maleficium*' (ibid.: 239). Therefore, the popular peasant beliefs were given an official importance, and in most cases the judges prosecuted the witches with the intention to rescue Christendom from an assault by Wicca and other pre-Christian pagan creeds.

We do not feel that we are in a position to decide whether Cohn's critique of Thomas and, by implication, Macfarlane, is *correct*. In relation to Miller's *The Crucible*, there is a more interesting point that can be derived from the tension between the functionalist approach and Cohn's criticism. Either people were clearly fabricating accusations of witchcraft, or they strongly believed that there was a genuine attack going on. The latter did not mean there was no fabrication involved; the former did not mean that fabrications could not produce, or affect, forms of belief that were distinctly *real*. In fact, the tension between the two options

is evidence of the pernicious nature of fabrication, which is either that one tends to forget that it is fabricated or that one may underestimate the reality of feelings that can be produced by fabrication. In both cases, criticism becomes extremely difficult. This, we think, is what Miller faced in his own time and one of the reasons why the Salem witchcraft case was such a tempting analogy.

A TRUTHFUL ACCOUNT

How then does Miller's text position itself about these various interpretations of the historical events that took place at Salem? Does his text offer a nother interpretation that could be placed next to earlier interpretations? Or does *The Crucible* aim at an altogether different type of 'truth'? These questions are implicitly or explicitly dealt with in a short 'Note on the Historical Accuracy of this Play' that precedes the play, in which Miller explicitly states that 'This play is not history in the sense in which the word is used by the academic historian' (Miller, 2010: 3). Miller continues to spell out the differences by pointing out that dramatic purposes and poetic licence granted him the opportunity to fuse historical counterparts of the dramatic personae into one or more figures and alter their age and roles in history to suit the artistic flair of the piece. Yet, he also highlights what he calls the 'accuracy' of the play. This suggests that the truth-value of this representation depends partly on historical accuracy but is not confined to the question of what really happened in Salem. The first element is made explicit when Miller says that 'The fate of each character is exactly that of his historical model'. The term 'exactly' is repeated a little later when Miller states that some of the characters played a role in history that was 'exactly the same' (ibid., 2010: 3). This raises the question of what 'exact' similarity Miller hints at. That there may be more to it than just historical accuracy is indicated elsewhere, at a much later date, in an interview in 1980 in which Miller explained: 'There are lines of force – economic, political, mythic memories, genetic imprints – many more, and where they intersect in a human situation in which man must make choice – is drama' (Rajakrishnan and Miller, 1980: 196). Here it may be clear that the drama that interests Miller is both historical and singular but also more general, as a meeting point of transhistorical 'lines of force'. His account has to answer to a set of requirements that is both historical, concerns a specific and charged situation, and does justice to these more general lines of force.

Some of its critics thought *The Crucible* too specific, though, and considered it to be a propagandist play aimed at hitting an isolated political phenomenon too hard, or too simplistically, through allegory (Samuelson, 1998–99: 619). Miller defended himself against these objections with a similar mixture of historical specificity or accuracy and generality by saying that he was writing a play based upon immutable historical facts. After seeing the role of the prosecutors in the trial records, he was convinced that 'there are people dedicated to evil in the world; that without their perverse example we should not know the good. Evil is not a mistake but a fact

in life' (Miller, 1978: 158). He further emphasizes that there are certain types of situations that are typically human, which are intermittently repeated in different societies and social arrangements. In 1980 this was defined even more concisely when Miller stated there are some types of people who seem to reproduce their own kind through millennia. Miller proceeded to argue that the continuity of certain types of character and social situations in history must retain our interest in a book, a play or a poem that is based upon a subject from an entirely different age. This would define their historical relevance (Rajakrishnan and Miller, 1980: 196).

Historical specificity and more general lines of force that transcend historical situations might seem to hint at historical continuity. Yet the play is *aimed* at its contemporary present while ostensibly dealing with a historical episode and thus alludes to anachronism as a mismatch between two times. The play deals with history, but it also unhinges a period in history to address its own times and is produced in the present with its own cultural and political ground realities. In general, the chronological distance between the production of the play and its subject matter is revealing with respect to the way in which history affects a culture in any present. According to Frans-Willem Korsten, anachronism opens up another interesting potential as that which can never be contained in one domain alone. He writes that:

Things, ideas, and texts travel through time and are taken up differently in different times. In a fundamental sense, any historical artefact that functions in some kind of present can be seen as an example of anachronism. The complexity here is not so much a matter of language or representation but is primarily an issue of how we can connect to, or experience history, or deal with history in terms of actuality. (Korsten, 2012: 26)

When brought to life, a historical artefact like *The Crucible* is therefore anachronistic *per se*, but in this case the anachronism shifts to a meta-level in the sense that its subject is a three-hundred-year-old incident that is represented in a theatrical mode by a playwright in the middle of the twentieth century to address the present. The play presents history as a matter of *actuality*. For Miller and his contemporaries, the issue was how this disconnection in history operated to forge a link within history as something that actually had occurred and was true and was now occurring again. Here this play intervened politics of Joseph McCarthy in the 1950s through the historical allegory of an incident that was culturally and temporally American.

With respect to the truth of historical accounts, historical narratives may suffer from what Ankersmit called *historism*, with emplotted texts full of facts and records, and historians presenting them as if they had actually experienced them. In this context, they at times disregard the anachronism that separates history from the present in which it is being written. What, indeed, distinguishes Miller's play from the historical works about Salem is its regard for *past, present and future*. It would have been just another play dealing with history, describing history in order to understand history if its subject were merely the past. As it is, the play is a work

of art that is anachronistic by virtue of its dealing with history in its present and future present. Perhaps paradoxically, historical accuracy is nevertheless key for this anachronistic operation.

After examining the trial records and the historical data of the Salem episode, Arthur Miller constructed the plot of his play. His aim to work on a truthful account clearly emerges from the narrative texts that Miller inserted between the sketch of the stage-setting – ‘a small upper bedroom’ – and the actual dialogues in Act 1, and then at the moment that the different characters, for instance, the Reverend John Hale, appear for the first time (Miller, 2010: 32–35). The first account sketches the historical background of the Act to come:

But the people of Salem in 1692 were not quite the dedicated folk that arrived on the *Mayflower*. A vast differentiation had taken place, and in their own time a revolution had unseated the royal government and substituted a junta, which was at this moment in power. The times, to their eyes must have been out of joint, and to the common folk must have seemed as insoluble and complicated as do ours today. It is not hard to see how many could easily have been led to believe that the time of confusion had been brought upon them by deep and darkling forces. No hint of such speculation appears on the court record, but social disorder in any age breeds such mystical suspicions, and when, as in Salem, wonders are brought forth from below the social surface, it is too much to expect people to hold back very long from laying on the victims with all the force of their frustration. (Miller, 2010: 7–8)

Clearly, the accuracy of Miller's account was concerned with not just facts and figures from the surface. Miller refers to the Glorious Revolution of 1688 in England, which marked the formal end of absolute monarchy there. As a build-up to the moments of tension in Salem society, Miller observes that the Salemites of 1692 were significantly more secure than the first Puritans who had known hard times in Massachusetts and Virginia. They were less dedicated religiously compared to the previous generation who had sailed to American shores aboard the *Mayflower* and landed in New England to preserve their Puritanical faith. They established an ‘autocracy by consent’, designed to perpetuate and preserve the ideology and safeguard community unity as a source of their power against human and demonic rival elements such as the French colonialists and the Indians in the wild north-eastern parts of the county. In the case of Salem, however, autocracy turned into theocracy, and the desire to keep the community together turned into repression by, in Miller's words, a ‘junta’ (Miller, 2010: 8).

As may be clear from this, Miller set his play against a socio-historical background. When listing the many factors which possibly and logically led to the rift in the seemingly placid Salem society, Miller opines that 1692 was the watershed year for the conflict to take place. The situation was in no way unusual, however, nor was it simple. Arthur Miller ponders on the truthfulness or historical accuracy of his account in the introduction to his *Collected Plays*.

He concludes that it was the truthfulness of his account that had also troubled the audience:

I believe that the very moral awareness of the play and its characters – which are historically correct – was repulsive to the audience. For a variety of reasons, I think that the Anglo-Saxon audience cannot believe the reality of characters who live by principles and know very much about their own characters and situations, and who say what they know. Our drama, for this among other reasons, is condemned, so to speak, to the emotions of subjectivism, which as they approach knowledge and self-awareness, become less and less actual and real to us. In retrospect I think that my course in *The Crucible* should have been toward greater self-awareness and not, as my critics have implied, toward an enlarged and more pervasive subjectivism. The realistic form and style of the play would then have had to give way. What new form might have evolved I cannot now say, but certainly the passion of knowing is as powerful as the passion of feeling alone, and the writing of the play broached the question of that new form for me. (Miller, 1978: 159)

Arthur Miller reflects on the critical response of a contemporary audience, which found a morally self-conscious society too unrealistic a subject to be framed within a dramatically attractive fold, and which would have preferred a presentation that would have facilitated identification. Miller objects to this and emphasizes once more the importance of ‘the realistic form and style of the play’ (ibid., 1978: 159). He adds: ‘But we do do *Hamlet*, we do do *Macbeth*, we do a number of more mediocre plays as well; but the ones that last are the ones that we recognize most immediately in terms of the details of real human behavior in a specific situation’ (Miller and Gelb, 1958: 193). The paramount goal of the literary artist, in Miller’s opinion, is to draw a portrait of the characters and the situations, which leads to greater self-awareness of the individual characters who, in the end, emerge as more real and true to life. Miller seems dedicated to a theatre of ‘heightened consciousness’ which encourages a passion for *knowing* instead of merely a passion for feeling, however appealing this may be to the emotive side of the viewers and the readers.

The public and social ability of drama to make people *know* led Miller to write *The Crucible* as a response to political forces that were only too willing to rewrite history. As Tom Driver puts it, the element of knowledge is key here: ‘Drama is akin to the other inventions of man in that it ought to help us to know more, and not merely to spend our feelings’ (Driver, 1960: 47). The desire to know and explore the truth of the historical episode in Salem with a passion that was as important as the passion to work out the individual characters led Miller to invest his skills in producing this new form of dramatic writing with an enigmatic historical episode as its subject, addressed at his own times – and that implied an address to the future, as we will see. As for this future, the play is distinctly not, in our reading, ‘a prescient warning against tyranny’ that can reverberate ‘with fresh power in each culture and generation’, as the back flap of the most recent edition has it. Instead, we would

argue that there is a historical specificity and accuracy involved, a truthfulness in Miller's account underpinning *The Crucible*, that makes the play difficult to translate. It is not universally applicable or mouldable. In terms of truth practice, the play kindles a desire to know what happened and seeks to give an account that is as truthful as possible. This is posited as both a precondition of the play and as its aim. Without this historiographical desire, the play could not have had such a powerful impact. Or it would have lost its historical and political relevance.

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TECHNOSCIENCE VS. *TEKNON*-SCIENCE: THE TRAGEDY OF THE FEMALE SCIENTIST IN CYNTHIA OZICK'S *PUTTERMESSER AND XANTHIPPE*

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Abstract. This paper aims to explore from a technofeminist standpoint this failure to enunciate a 'feminine' technoscientific praxis in the *Puttermesser and Xanthippe* episode of Cynthia Ozick's 1997 'serial' novel *The Puttermesser Papers*. In particular, there is a tragic failure to integrate procreative ethos and creative technoscience: when the latter is placed in the service of the former, the curse of Frankenstein rears its ugly head, and catastrophe ensues. The female scientist, a Jewish polymath like Ruth Puttermesser who creates a female golem to save New York, in releasing procreativity from the necessity of heterosexual reproduction, unwittingly unleashes a plague of 'hyperfemininity' that threatens to destroy culture. Thus, the break from the biological restraints of procreation and the establishment of a utopian *femarche* (female rule) are deconstructed, parodied, and retrospectively opposed as destructive, while the figure of the female savant / scientist emerges as a tragic one, torn between the need to nurture, and the catastrophic consequences of that need.

Key words: Cynthia Ozick, technoscience, technofeminism, *Puttermesser and Xanthippe*, childbirth metaphor, female scientist as procreator, golem

'In contrast to the phallic analogy that implicitly excludes women from creativity,' by associating the pen and paintbrush with the phallus, writes Susan Stanford Friedman (1991: 371), 'the childbirth metaphor validates women's artistic effort by unifying their mental and physical labor into (pro)-creativity'. Nevertheless, it is a metaphor fraught with cultural tensions, since 'for both material and ideological reasons, maternity and creativity have appeared to be mutually exclusive to women writers,' due to 'the familiar dualism of mind and body, a key component of Western patriarchal ideology,' encoded in the 'difference highlighted by the post-industrial designation of the public sphere as man's domain and the private sphere as woman's place' (Friedman, S. S., 1991: 373). As a result, such metaphors have not always

served as an empowering trope for women, as there are ‘birth metaphors encoding a fear of combining creation and procreation. Given that the underside of fear is often desire, such metaphors contain a matrix of forbidden wish and guilt for trespass (e.g. *Frankenstein*)’ (Friedman, S. S., 1991: 384).

In Friedman’s many examples of both negative and positive uses of the birth metaphor, however, not once does she entertain the category of the birth metaphor implicating a female agent in a non-biological context of artificial birth. Could this be because, in terms of traditional patriarchy, the relation of women to technoscience is even more problematic than to fiction? On the one hand, the phallic charge of the screwdriver in the popular imaginary out-mans that of any given stylus. As Paul Theroux has astutely observed in his well-known article *The Male Myth*, in America ‘being a writer was incompatible with being a man,’ as ‘there was a fear that writing was not a manly profession – indeed, not a profession at all’ (Theroux, 1983: 6.116). On the other hand, ‘hard’ science (note the gender connotations of the stock epithet!) has always been an intensely masculinized concept. For Brian Attebery, ‘the master narrative of science has always been told in sexual terms. It represents knowledge, innovation, and even perception as masculine, while nature, the passive object of exploration, is described as feminine’ (Attebery, 2000: 134). Following Evelyn Fox Keller’s research, Lisette Szwydky and Michell Pribbernow note that ‘the language of Enlightenment science in eighteenth and nineteenth-century literary sources depicts a masculinised scientific method’ – in several cases, even cast in terms of rape – ‘penetrating and making visible the feminine, hidden secrets of nature’ (Szwydky and Pribbernow, 2018: 306). ‘Consequently, gender-swapped narratives in which female scientists conquering the natural world with which they are discursively aligned were unlikely, unless the scientists were in some way “bad women”’ (Szwydky and Pribbernow, 2018: 306). Hence the *ad nauseam* casting of women in the roles of dangerously seductive cyborg / cloned / fembot Pandoras as foils to their technology-mastering male creators; or alternatively as sexualized virtual secretaries (see Annanova, Cortana, Siri, and Alexa); or as the freakish or geekish – read: ‘unfeminine’ – hackers, like Lisbeth Salander in Stieg Larsson’s 2005 *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo*.

In this context, it would stand to reason that nowhere would this tension be more evinced than in cases where the technoscientific endeavor concerns women scientists duplicating women’s ‘natural’ realm of procreativity, since, according to Chantal Zabus, ‘Historically, women were characterized for their pelvic “power” and men were said to possess the brain power’ (Zabus, 2010, cited by Bovri, 2011: 40). So far fiction and popular culture have depicted male-driven procreativity as unnatural, ‘deeply gendered transgression against natural order’ (Dinello, 2005, cited by Schmeink, 2015: 347–48), and thus punished (as in *Frankenstein*). However, female artificial procreativity has been seen as redundant and, thus, even more uncanny and unrealizable: as Barbara Creed observes of mad scientists in horror films, ‘it is true that female scientists rarely create monsters in an artificial environment. Why should they? Woman possesses her own womb’ (Creed, 2015: 56). Notwithstanding the complication that, in patriarchy, woman rarely ‘possesses’

her womb or body, as '[w]omen's oppression begins with the control of the body, the fruits of labor' (Friedman, S. S., 1991: 390), Creed's rhetorical question implies that when women scientists opt for artificial procreativity, they transgress doubly, both in terms of their 'natural' sex capacities and in terms of cultural professional and gender expectations, creating an extra womb that engenders social disorder.

It is precisely this double transgression into *teknon*-science, or offspring science (to pun in classical Greek), reiterating and amplifying the age-old connection between fertile femaleness qua itself and monstrosity noted in Julia Kristeva's study of abjection in *Powers of Horror* (1982: 13), that is explored at length in the episode titled *Puttermesser and Xanthippe* in Cynthia Ozick's 1997 'serial' novel *The Puttermesser Papers*. Despite its undeniable moments of mordant satire that earn it the characterization of 'pithy, nimble and imbued with a smart, ironic wit,' (Sanai, 2013), the novel is a solid example of Ozick's – a 'literary centaur, half artist and half scholar' in Jack Miles's words (1997) – trademark New York-intellectual, somberly midrashic, language-obsessed lifelong engagement with Jewishness in a goy world, that 'oozes erudition' (Sanai, 2013). Here, the angle of Ozick's engagement with unholy secularism is coupled with the Frankensteinian hubris of creating life, unleashing a plague of what can only be described as 'hyperfemininity' that annuls the original noble scientific and feminist impetus. The echoes of 'plague' as divine punishment are not, of course, random: hetero-procreativity has been a bedrock concept not only in defining and regulating the relationship between the sexes since time immemorial, thus spawning an avalanche of cultural practices, but also in setting the limit between the human and the divine:

... in his book *Frankenstein's Footsteps*, Jon Turney claims that popular culture rearranges certain fears and hopes towards the central myth of modernity: man's becoming his own creator. As Dorothy Nelkin and Susan Lindee show in their study *DNA Mystique*, today this myth is based upon a popular understanding of genetics. Genes are constructed as 'a symbol, a metaphor, a convenient way to define personhood, identity, and relationships in socially meaningful ways.'... Scientific facts are superseded by the 'cultural meaning' ascribed to them by popular discourse. Popular culture plays an important role in measuring the possible, forthcoming relations between man and technique. (Pethes, 2005: 168)

As an appropriate response then to such 'popular culture' scenario, Ozick's imagined release from the biological restraints of procreation and the establishment of a utopian *femarche* (female rule and primacy), both of which were once hailed as cornerstones of the second-wave feminist agenda, are deconstructed, parodied, and questioned. At the same time, the figure of the female savant emerges as a tragic one, torn between the impetus to (perfect) nurture, and the catastrophic consequences of that impetus. Using a blend of feminist and posthumanist theory, as well as a close reading of Ozick's text, the paper aims to lay bare not only Ozick's trademark vacillations between Judaic credo and classical scientific philosophy,

but also clandestine patriarchal technobiases that still unsettle technofeminist aspirations.

Cynthia Ozick's *The Puttermesser Papers* came out as a series of semi-independent short stories in *Salmagundi* and *The New Yorker*, to be reissued as a complete novel in 1997. It chronicles the life, death, and afterlife of Ruth Puttermesser, a New York Jewish lawyer of immense erudition, vacillating between her love of Greek letters and her obligation to her Judaic patrimony. When Puttermesser, at the age of 46, is fired from her lackluster job as a civil servant in the Office of Receipts and Disbursements because of gender bias, her sense of indignation leads her to create, while in an unconscious trance, a female golem – a soulless, mute, super-powerful creature out of Jewish lore made out of inanimate objects (clay, rags, wood) and given life in a ceremony resembling the act of God bestowing life on Adam. If, according to Simone Naomi Yehuda, the golem stands as a metaphor for muted, oppressed, domestically subjugated Jewish female creativity 'as less than fully human' (2010: 31), then Puttermesser's creation is clearly an act of technofeminist defiance against her sexist boss. She even characteristically uses the loam from her flowerpots, turning the age-old trope of woman as a flower to be deflowered on its head. It is also, however, an act possibly against God as well as, from this defiance, anomaly ensues. Puttermesser, who is single by choice but craves children, initially intends the golem to be a kind of substitute daughter-cum-domestic helper. Yet the golem, from the first moment of its creation, declares its uniqueness: not only is she the only female golem in a history of male ones (Ozick, 1997: 43), but also, contrary to the other golems' legendary docility and mindlessness, determines herself that her name be Xanthippe, like Socrates' legendary 'shrew' of a wife, because she aspires 'to be a critic, even of the highest philosophers. Xanthippe alone had the courage to gainsay Socrates' (ibid.: 49). She also takes it upon herself to fulfil what she knows is Puttermesser's heart's desire: to make Puttermesser mayor of New York and thence New York into a civic paradise-on-earth. In the words of Lawrence Friedman, 'Xanthippe springs from Puttermesser's dreaming of daughters but also of an ideal Civil Service and of New York converted into an earthly paradise Puttermesser's vision of New York reformed expands Xanthippe's role from that of surrogate daughter and personal servant to that of social redeemer' (Friedman, L., 1991: 136).

The plan succeeds, and New York under Puttermesser experiences a golden age of euphoric prosperity and civic order which smacks of the blissful womb. But as is always the case in golem stories, Xanthippe's inhuman powers get the better of her, initiating disaster: tasting sexuality for the first time with Puttermesser's own rejected fiancée, Xanthippe develops a monstrous, insatiable sexual appetite, but only for men in high civic offices. Her campaign of rape and terror, a parody of *gynarche* seen before only at the end of Aristophanes' 391 B.C. *The Ecclesiazousae* leaves the upper echelons of New York's civic service literally un-manned, and New York reverts to a state even more crime and decayridden than before. Desperate and disgraced, Puttermesser is forced to leave her office and to destroy Xanthippe by performing the traditional ritual for the dissolution of a golem.

While golems belong solidly to the realm of Jewish mysticism and folklore, Ozick takes pains from the start to categorize Xanthippe's creation as an act of Puttermessa's intensely scientific, scholarly mind: '[i]n law school they called her a grind, a competitive-compulsive, an egomaniac out for aggrandizement. But ego was no part of it; she was looking to solve something, she did not know what,' says Ozick in her initial characterization of her heroine (1997: 3). In describing Puttermessa's initial reaction to her unconscious formation of the golem, we are told that 'She was painfully anthropological,' that 'Puttermessa was no mystic, enthusiast, pneumaticist, ecstatic, kabbalist. Her mind was clean; she was a rationalist,' and that 'What transfixed her was the kind of intellect (immensely sober, pragmatic, un fanciful, rationalist like her own) to which a golem ordinarily occurred' (1997: 44). Such was the mind of the Great Rabbi Judah Loew, the famous maker of the Prague golem, and in fact Ozick re-situates all known golem-makers as 'scientific realists – and, in nearly every case at hand, serious scholars and intellectuals: the plausible forerunners, in fact, of their great-grandchildren, who are physicists, biologists, or logical positivists' (1997: 48). The science-driven origin of Xanthippe is bolstered by an additional detail: right before Puttermessa fell into the trance which led to the golem's creation, she had been reading *The New York Times* and being appalled at the litany of crime and capitalist corruption chronicled there, as well as Plato's *Theaetetus*, the dialogue on the nature and limits of knowledge and the philosopher's engagement in civic affairs. Hence the golem Xanthippe is also a brainchild of lucid Greek thinking and sober sociological contemplation. Science is placed in the service of the procreative urge, but also procreativity in the service of the Word (as both print text and scientific genius). As Elizabeth Baer points out:

In an epiphany, Puttermessa realizes that she is the author of the 'PLAN for the Resuscitation, Reformation, Reinvigoration & Redemption of the City of New York' (67) and that the golem has been her amanuensis. Again a trope common in golem stories, Xanthippe is depicted as Puttermessa's doppelgänger: 'I express you. I copy and record you,' Xanthippe tells her (67). So we see that the golem has emerged from a text (*New York Times*) and is, in turn, the recorder of Puttermessa's text. Xanthippe is the very embodiment of intertextuality. (Baer, 2012: 162)

In accordance with her creation, Xanthippe's undoing also comes as a result of both her Greek and feminist ingredients, true to the formula of fatal attraction and righteous repulsion to Hellenism adopted elsewhere as well by Ozick (see Dokou and Walden, 1996): according to Elaine Kauvar, 'It is Puttermessa's realization of a kinship with Xanthippe [an ersatz daughter, genius, alter ego] that manifests Ozick's insights into the warring forces of the human heart: its pagan erotic desires coexist alongside the Judaic call to conscience' (1993: 142). As the golem's powers grow, so does her size, so in the end she can only dress in open-toed sandals and two sheets sewn together into a makeshift toga: 'Xanthippe

the Jewish golem elides into a Greek goddess risen from earth, thereby giving a new twist to Ms. Ozick's old Hellenism-Hebraism dichotomy' (Strandberg, 1994: 104). The idea that giving women power, civic or scientific, will unleash their uncontrollable sexual urges is at least as old in Western patriarchal thinking as Aristophanes' joke in *Lysistrata* about Amazons never falling off the saddle when riding (Aristophanes, 411B.C.: l. 676–79), and it is telling that, of all the golem mishaps available from Jewish lore, it is the Greek sensuality and the old misogynistic bias tying women to uncontrollable emotions that is this *femarche's* undoing. 'Like many doubles, Xanthippe is free to act out Puttermesser's repressed, or simply unexpressed, characteristics: her sexual passion, hunger, a will to power. She is "Puttermesser's id, the irrational, sensual half, the unruly secret sharer which she can no longer control"' (Cohen, 1987, cited by Sivan, 2003: 99). As much as Hellenism is the stuff that has fed Ozick's intellect to gargantuan proportions – as all her critics admit – empowering her alter ego's scientific bent, Judaism and its inexorable law will always call her fiction back at its patriarchal dénouement. According to Kauvar, 'In creating a silent golem who at first only writes and later speaks, Ozick conflates two kabbalistic conceptions for her own symbolic purposes. According to Scholem, ... golems deprived of speech indicate that "the souls of the righteous are no longer pure"' (Scholem, 1965, cited by Kauvar, 1993: 144). Apparently, then, a woman craving the exercise of her mind for the betterment of humankind – or at least New York – is impure. Thus, while all the other golems' destruction is didactically attributed to the injunction against the – always male – rabbis playing God, this golem's fall, taking the city of New York with it, is infused with an essentialist idea of femaleness. This casts Puttermesser 'not only more like Adam, the original golem,' but also makes her 'a fool, or *golem* in Yiddish. She finally sees that she is "the golem's golem"' (136) and that "[t]oo much Paradise is greed. Eden disintegrates from too much Eden. Eden sinks from a surfeit of itself" (156)' (Ozick, 1997, cited by Sivan, 2003: 100).

The attribution of the fall to hyperfemininity brought about by a woman's usurpation of technoscientific power is not only apparent in Xanthippe's sexual voraciousness; it informs the scenes of the golem's undoing and her burial. The destructive ritual is performed with the help of Puttermesser's male would-be fiancé and Xanthippe's first lover/victim, Rappoport, who is used as sexual bait for the 'fiery' Xanthippe and immobilizes her by wrapping her up in white velvet while she lies in post-coital torpor (Ozick, 1997: 96–97). While the act of creation is given a scientific aura, the act of undoing is redolent of rape, biblical seduction (Judith, Delilah), unclean bodily fluids, and the dirty thoughts the undoers must think to reverse the life-giving moment, reducing powerful Xanthippe to a helpless female body. The science this time is concentrated in the 'old green book' of Judaic tradition, which Puttermesser follows blindly to complete the ritual, deaf to her daughter's anguish, like a lab technician vivisectioning a rabbit. It is at that moment that the golem performs her final feat of uniqueness and evolution – unthinkable to all other golems – and acquires a voice, only to plead for her life with her maker:

'My mother.'

A voice!

'Oh my mother,' Xanthippe said, still looking upward at Puttermesser, 'why are you walking around me like that?'

She spoke! Her voice ascended! – a child's voice, pitched like the pure cry of a bird.

[...]

Beginning the fifth circle, Rappoport gasping behind her, Puttermesser said, 'You created and you destroyed.'

'No,' the golem cried – the power of speech released! – 'it was you who created me, it is you who will destroy me! Life! Love! Mercy! Love! Life!' (Ozick, 1997: 98)

The ritual, however, cannot silence and kill the pleading Xanthippe, not until Rappoport takes out his penknife and scrapes the aleph from her forehead and making the word inscribed there read 'dead.' He even says the word itself, affirming the supremacy of the male logos over female procreativity, nurturing urge, and scientific genius; but also re-establishing what Adam Rosenthal recognizes as the implicit violence in the relationship between parent and child, which is that of the imposition of both life and naming of the former on the not-yet-voluble latter:

this violence of the giver of life with respect to the one who is born, or who receives this gift; of the one who always, necessarily, claims the right to name (or to conceive) in unjust and unjustifiable fashion and the one, speechless or unborn or inexistent, who has no choice but to be done this violence to, indeed, who has no choice but to be made the proper subject of violence; this ur-violence of birth always already incriminates every parent, breeder, namer, every giver of any kind, in short, in relation to the givee. (Rosenthal, 2019: 56–57)

Compared to the decisive application of his handy phallic tool, Puttermesser's own name, which means 'butter-knife' in German (as per the narrator's whimsical reference in her closing poetic eulogy of her protagonist – [Ozick, 1997: 236] – that Jack Miles picks up in his 1997 review), casts female technoscience as an instrument domestic, practically decorative, and incapable of cutting to the quick of the matter.

Accordingly, Xanthippe's burial site reflects this victory of masculine civic order over female technoscience. The golem's loam is buried underneath a flower bed, ironically reflecting her feminine origins and overturning their being turned over, like that loam, in the act of creation. The flower bed, moreover, is situated at a hidden spot before the city hall: the burial site for the golem, 'fenced off by black iron staves' in a small park with an 'upward flying fountain' in the 'shadow of City Hall' highlights the hubris of Puttermesser's act as going against God the Creator, her transgression into goy Hellenism, and her final defeat 'of the mayor's untamed self' (Kauvar, 1993: 143). Notable here are the definite Freudian phallic

connotations of the upward bars and the ejaculatory fountain marking and yet not marking Xanthippe's grave, in the same way patriarchy has marked powerful women's contributions – including scientific breakthroughs – only by their erasure. At the same time, the burial in the shadow of the edifice marking Puttermesser's original defeat in the hands of the old boys' club functions as an open admission of the failure of both female *techne* and *arche* to dismantle 'the master's house', even when female agency has had the power to do so.

In conclusion, despite Ozick's brilliant satire of New York *mores*, what impresses readers most poignantly in *Puttermesser and Xanthippe* is the failure of female *techne* to make a lasting social impact, not for any other reason but for its very femaleness. Puttermesser chooses the artificial birth of the golem over the more traditional and 'natural' procreation of flesh-and-blood daughters, and it is this choice, where male procreators had none, that damns her because with choice comes ethical responsibility: in Sivan's words, 'As Adam and Eve learned in Eden, knowledge is composed of moral choices, appetites and law. Puttermesser, who has likened herself to the Creator, must be brought to task' (2003: 100). Ironically, this actually forms the only point of collusion, not collision, between the procreative and the technical endeavor, as, in the words of Lars Schmeink, '[s]cientific experimentation comes with unpredictable challenges and unexpected consequences for the creator, and in that it resembles parenthood. In experimenting with protean, self-organizing and adaptable life, science is challenged and changed' (2015: 366). Perhaps one would expect a different projection from a woman author who might have anticipated recent arguments unfolded by technofeminist critics in the steps of Donna Haraway's *Cyborg Manifesto*. For example, Judy Wajcman, in her seminal work *TechnoFeminism*, claims that 'while men are ill-prepared for a postmodern future, women are ideally suited to the new technoculture' (2004: 64) because cybertechnological enabling 'emphasizes women's subjectivity and agency, and the pleasure immanent in digital technologies' (*ibid.*: 63). Ozick might have even seen in the relationship of Puttermesser with Xanthippe what Adrienne Rich in *Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence* described as a 'lesbian continuum,' envisioned as a concept with truly life-saving potential:

I mean the term *lesbian continuum* to include a range – through each woman's life and throughout history – of woman-identified experience, not simply the fact a woman has had or consciously desired genital sexual experience with another woman. If we expand it to embrace many more forms of primary intensity between and among women, including the sharing of a rich inner life, the bonding against male tyranny, the giving and receiving of practical and political support [...], we begin to grasp the breadth of female history and psychology which have lain out of reach as a consequence of limited, mostly clinical, definitions of lesbianism. (Rich, 1980: 647)

Nevertheless, Ozick's need to expiate to her Jewish patrimony for her Grecian attraction leads the script to an ineluctable ending. Or perhaps this may work as

a parable for the larger failure brought on by the very nature of the subject of *teknon*-science as catalytic for metahumanity and the future of our species: as Nicolas Pethes notes, ‘The possibility – if not the ability – to “make” human beings changes the structure of human life and its reproduction. It influences the notions of illness and healing, and of individual characteristics, once it is possible to plan, if not “order,” them’ (2005: 163). Current technoscientific advances, having reached the point of breaching the god/human divide by creating life, must take their cue from speculative fiction and grapple with the ethical responsibility of affecting the future they purport to serve in completely unpredictable ways. Ozick’s tragic protagonist and her wayward daughter sound a call for establishing ethical directives or conclusions on a developing matter with changing variables, thus acknowledging the very real – though very pessimistic – possibility of the Petri dish becoming the new Pandora’s box.

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ON THE GRADIENCE OF ENGLISH SIZE NOUNS: FREQUENCY, PRODUCTIVITY, AND EXPANSION

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Abstract. The synchronic degrees of grammaticalization of size nouns are traditionally measured based on proportionate frequencies of their quantificational attestations in corpus samples. However, grammaticalization, in general, is associated not only with an increased frequency of grammaticalized uses but also with a rise in productivity and distributional expansion. Thus, drawing on corpus data encompassing selected English size nouns which originally individuate concrete inanimate nominals, this paper investigates the relationship between the three aforementioned parameters. Productivity is operationalized as the arithmetic mean of two measures, namely type-token ratio (TTR) and hapax-token ratio (HTR), i.e. the number of, respectively, types of quantified collocates and hapax legomena N2s divided by the number of all quantifier tokens of each expression, while host-class expansion is construed as the proportion of animate and abstract collocates among the respective items' quantifier uses. Contrary to expectations, the results reveal only a weak positive correlation between the elements' frequency values and their levels of productivity, and the same holds for the relation between frequency and distributional extension. Also surprising is the moderate negative correlation observed between productivity and expansion, which can nevertheless be elucidated in terms of a high type frequency of semantically general animate and abstract N2-collocates of the most distributionally extended expressions.

Key words: size nouns, vague quantifiers, grammaticalization, synchrony, type-token ratio, hapax-token ratio, corpus-based study

INTRODUCTION

Apart from standard vague quantifiers such as *a little* and *much/many*, English possesses an open class of so-called size nouns (cf. Brems, 2003, 2007, 2011), which may be employed to indicate non-specific, subjectively assessed small (cf. (1)–(2)) or large (cf. (3)–(4)) quantities of what the concomitant nominal refers to, as

illustrated below with examples taken from the 1.9 billion-token Corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbE).

- (1) Small pumpkins are easy to cook in a slow cooker with *a bit of water* or cut and roast them in an oven. (GloWbE)
- (2) People who go around accusing others of dishonesty without *a shred of evidence* disgust me. (GloWbE)
- (3) His acceptance speech was even surprisingly devoid of real forward momentum, despite *a lot of platitudes*. (GloWbE)
- (4) I've got a new job that is puuuuurty exciting for me and will be *heaps of work* so I've had to make some adjustments to my life. (GloWbE)

It has nonetheless been found that size nouns, most of which originally function partitively, i.e. serve to bound or unitize the concomitant nominals' reference (cf. Verveckken, 2015: 48), as exemplified by *scrap* in *some scraps of bread* or *heap* in *three heaps of stones*, exhibit synchronic gradience, i.e. differ internally in the extent to which they have grammaticalized in the quantifier function. In general, the synchronic degrees of grammaticalization of size nouns have been measured by determining the proportionate frequencies of their quantifier attestations, vis-à-vis basic partitive ones, in corpus samples (cf., among others, Brems, 2003, 2007, 2011; Delbecque and Verveckken, 2014; Verveckken, 2015).

However, grammaticalization, especially in functionalist approaches, tends to be associated not only with increased frequency, but also with distributional expansion and a rise in the grammaticalizing expression's productivity (cf. Himmelmann, 2004), operating on tokens and types of collocates. Thus, based on random samples of attestations of nine English size nouns, namely *bit(s)*, *scrap(s)*, *shred(s)*, *heap*, *heaps*, *load*, *loads*, *lot*, and *lots* (N = 2250), extracted from the GloWbE corpus, this paper examines the relationship between the three aforementioned parameters. Productivity will be represented by the arithmetic mean of two measures traditionally employed in morphological research, namely type-token ratio (TTR) and hapax-token ratio (HTR), i.e. the number of, respectively, types of quantified collocates and hapax legomena N2s divided by the number of all quantifier tokens of each expression, while host-class expansion is understood as the percentage of animate and abstract N2-collocates among the quantifier attestations of a particular size noun. The elements for analysis have been selected based on the existing literature, including an etymological dictionary (cf. Klein, 1966) and a preliminary corpus investigation. More specifically, the items, while having been partially dealt with in previous studies, originally function partitively in relation to concrete inanimate nouns and have all developed a purely quantificational meaning. As can be noted, there are three items suggesting small quantities and another three elements indicating large quantities. Furthermore, in the latter case, the plural forms are treated as separate items in view of the observation that pluralization may lead to substantial differences in the degree of grammaticalization of the singular forms and plural variants of 'large size' nouns (cf. Brems, 2003).

In accordance with the above, the present study aims to provide answers to three primary research questions, all of which revolve around the relationship between frequency, extension, and productivity. First, what is the correlation between the proportionate frequency of the quantifier uses of the scrutinized items and the extent of their distributional extension? Second, what is the correlation between the frequency of the expressions' quantifier attestations and their level of productivity? And third, what is the correlation between the elements' productivity and expansion values? Since all of the relevant phenomena may be expected to intensify with the progress of grammaticalization, a strong positive correlation coefficient is expected in each case.

The remainder of the paper is organized in the following way. Section 2 provides an account of the grammaticalization of size nouns into quantifiers. Section 3 describes the empirical material and the adopted methodology. Section 4 offers an analysis of naturally-occurring English data. Finally, Section 5 summarizes the main observations arrived at in the study as well as outlines prospects for further research on the topic.

THE GRAMMATICALIZATION OF SIZE NOUNS

As stated before, most size nouns originally function as partitives, i.e. the leftmost nominal elements in binominal (N1 *of* N2) syntagms whose function consists in 'bounding or unitizing the entities expressed by the second constituent' (Verveckken, 2015: 48). Particularly noteworthy as regards the semantics of partitive nouns is the fact that they exhibit more or less specific lexical requirements pertaining to the types of nouns with which they may co-occur (cf. Doetjes, 1997: 183–184; Brems, 2011: 133). For instance, all of the items under analysis here originally combine with concrete inanimate nominals.

Easily inviting scalar inferences (cf. Langacker, 1991: 88), partitives tend to evolve into vague quantifiers, which, in contrast to numerals, are 'imprecise in their specification of number or amount' (Jackson, 2013: 119). Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 365–366) further differentiate between multal and paucal vague quantifiers, which indicate, respectively, a non-specific high or low quantity. The very transition of nouns into quantifiers exemplifies grammaticalization (cf., among others, Brems, 2011; Verveckken, 2015; Giacalone Ramat, 2019), i.e. a process whereby lexical, more contentive expressions, in specific syntagmatic environments, develop more abstract, grammatical meanings (Hopper and Traugott, 2003: 1), whose initial phase manifests itself in semantic generalization (cf. Lehmann, 1985), or, more specifically, in 'the semanticization of quantifier meaning through repeated pragmatic inferencing of size or scalar implications that are part of the lexical semantics of the [size noun]' (Brems, 2011: 108). At the same time, this instance of grammaticalization involves subjectification since the newly emerged quantifiers convey 'meaning that indexes speaker-relatedness, in that quantifier meaning involves a speaker assessing size relative to a scale' (Brems, 2011: 231).

As can be expected, the semantic generalization of partitive nouns bears on their distributional patterns in a number of ways. First of all, partitives affected by grammaticalization lose compatibility with other quantifiers, including numerals (cf. Keizer, 2007: 136), the only exception here being paucal quantifiers functioning as negative polarity items, capable of co-occurring with the numeral *one*, which, in this case, performs an emphatic function (cf. Brems, 2007), as in (5).

(5) You have not provided *one shred of evidence* that any of those groups of people I have mentioned who rose up against a foreign occupying power, a foreign occupying power that consistently behaved with genocidal savagery against the people of the lands they had invaded became “new bosses just as bad as the old” you haven’t done it because you can’t. (GloWbE)

Moreover, grammaticalizing partitives undergo host-class expansion to novel N2-classes (cf. Himmelmann, 2004: 31–34), as vague quantifiers, in contrast to partitive nouns, typically do not exhibit any specific restrictions pertaining to the kinds of nouns they combine with. And finally, such nominal quantifiers differ from partitives in that the former can only be pre-modified by intensifying elements, such as *whole* (Brems, 2011: 201), e.g. *a whole heap of time* vs. *a neatly arranged heap of books*. Again, paucal quantifiers which exhibit negative polarity patterns are special in that it is not infrequent for them to combine with the superlative forms of adjectives invoking small size, as in (6), as well as with the adjective *single*, as in (7), both of which, just like the numeral *one* used in this context, serve to further reinforce the lack of what the N2 refers to (cf. Brems, 2007).

(6) I’d be disgusted if any journalist labelled Alex Salmond a serial child abuser on Twitter without *the slightest shred of evidence*. (GloWbE)

(7) And before you claim they were: Show me *a single scrap of evidence* that anyone depicted in the pictures above was ever arrested or questioned by the Secret Service. (GloWbE)

Rather than occurring all at once, the above-described changes are obviously extended in time, as is the case with all instances of grammatical evolution. Nevertheless, given the synchronic availability of ‘alternate strategies which enjoy different levels of grammatical autonomy’ (Lehmann, 1985: 309), grammaticalization, including the development of partitives into vague quantifiers, even though diachronic in nature, can in fact also be examined synchronically. As Haspelmath (2001: 16539) explains, ‘[s]ince grammaticalization is generally regarded as a gradual diachronic process, it is expected that the resulting function words form a gradient from full content words to clear function words’ (cf. also Hopper, 1991). Another fundamental observation here is that the grammaticalization process normally leads to an increased frequency of the grammaticalizing expression (cf. Hopper and Traugott, 2003), which means that it generally appears increasingly more often in language use (absolute frequency) and, more importantly, that the percentage of its

grammaticalized uses in samples of naturally-occurring data keeps increasing over time (proportionate frequency). Thus, the synchronic extent to which a partitive noun has grammaticalized is typically measured by determining the proportion of its grammaticalized attestations in corpus material (cf. Brems, 2011; Verwekken, 2015). For instance, it has been noted that in English, the plural forms of nominal quantifiers tend to display higher frequencies of grammaticalized uses than is the case with the singular ones (cf. Brems, 2003, 2011), which can be attributed to the intensifying effect of pluralization.

However, grammaticalization, especially in functionalist frameworks, is taken to manifest itself not only in increased (both absolute and proportionate) frequency, but also in distributional expansion and a rise in the grammaticalizing expression's productivity (cf. Himmelmann, 2004), conceived of as an enhanced collocational openness attendant upon semantic schematization. In particular, distributional extension and strengthened productivity are the main factors distinguishing between grammaticalization and lexicalization, the latter phenomenon instead involving freezing, i.e. a decrease in the pertinent expression's collocational freedom (cf. Brinton and Traugott, 2005). It is, therefore, worth investigating the relationship between the three grammaticalization-related phenomena, i.e. frequency, expansion, and productivity.

METHOD

As already mentioned in the introduction, the overarching aim of the present paper is to investigate the relationship between the grammaticalization parameters of nine English size nouns, namely *bit(s)*, *scrap(s)*, *shred(s)*, *heap*, *heaps*, *load*, *loads*, *lot*, and *lots*. The empirical material for the study was derived from the 1.9 billion-token Corpus of Global Web-based English (GloWbE), which, apart from representing different varieties of English, incorporates a significant amount of data reflective of informal registers, where language change is most likely to take place.

The first stage of the analysis consisted of the extraction of random samples of 250 adnominal attestations of each of the analyzed items (N = 2250) by means of the corpus search engine. As stressed before, the singular forms of multal quantifiers were treated separately from the plural ones. As far as small size nouns are concerned, the proportion of occurrences of the plural variants in the sample was left to chance, the assumption being that each attestation of this kind belongs to the partitive category. Thus, while the corpus queries in the former case were *heap of*, *heaps of*, etc., the commands used in the latter situation were *BIT of*, *SCRAP of*, and *SHRED of*, capitalization indicating that the pertinent item may be either in the singular or in the plural form. The tokens were then classified into (i) partitive, (ii) quantifier, and (iii) indeterminate uses. Partitive attestations were distinguished from quantifier ones on the basis of their distributional and semantic properties: in the former case, the N1s can be substituted with standard partitive nouns such as *piece(s)*, *fragment(s)*, *trace(s)*, etc., while in the latter, the pertinent items can be

replaced with canonical quantifiers such as *a little, some, many/much*, or, in the case of paucal quantifiers occurring in negative polarity settings, *any*. Indeterminate uses, in turn, include instances which, due to a shortage of co-textual clues, allow the partitive as well as the quantifier reading. Notably, attestations labelled by Brems (2003) as ‘valuing quantifier uses,’ e.g. *a vacuous and meaningless load of pap*, were treated here as partitive rather than quantifier ones on account of their distributional similarity to the basic uses of partitive nouns, i.e. practically unrestricted pre-modification patterns coupled with selectional requirements pertaining to N2-elements. More precisely, size nouns in their evaluative uses only take negatively charged animate or, more frequently, abstract N2s.

To further examine the distribution of the scrutinized elements, the N2-collocates in each subclass underwent additional labelling into (a) concrete inanimate (or simply concrete), (b) concrete animate (or simply animate), and (c) abstract. Notably, the percentage of animate and abstract collocates among the quantifier attestations of a given expression will be taken to reflect its level of host-class expansion. Next, two productivity measures were calculated, namely TTR (type-token ratio) and HTR (hapax-token ratio), i.e. the number of, respectively, types of quantified collocates and hapax legomena N2s divided by the number of all quantifier tokens of a particular form, and the arithmetic mean of the two values was established for each item. When determining the number of N2-types, only the head elements, without pre- and/or post-modifiers, were taken into account, which means that phrases such as *a shred of credible evidence* and *a shred of evidence that Iran has been weaponizing* were both analyzed as instantiating the N2-type *evidence*. Also, the abbreviated and the full form of a particular word, e.g., *info* and *information*, were both analyzed as exemplifying the same N2-type. Likewise, when the N2-slot was occupied by a series consisting of at least two nouns, only the linearly first, i.e. leftmost, one was taken into consideration. The only exception to the above-specified criteria were instances involving lexicalized phrases, such as *effing and blinding* (cf. *a bit of effing and blinding*) or *weak spot* (cf. *a bit of a weak spot*), which were obviously treated as inherent units. Finally, in the case of each expression, correlation coefficients were established for the relation between frequency and productivity, frequency and expansion, as well as productivity and expansion.

RESULTS

Table 1 presents the numerical results pertaining to the frequency (F), productivity (P), and extension (E) of the quantifier uses of the analyzed English size nouns. The values have been rounded up to two decimal places.

Further quantitative analysis of the results points to there being only a weak positive correlation between the frequency and the productivity of the scrutinized items’ quantifier uses ($r = .1171$), and the same holds for the relation between frequency and extension, although in the latter case, the correlation coefficient is slightly higher ($r = .3466$). This finding indicates that high-frequency values

need not, and often do not, go hand in hand with an advanced level of the other grammaticalization-related phenomena, which can be best illustrated with *bit* on the one hand and *shred* on the other: while the former exhibits comparably high degrees of frequency, productivity, and extension, the latter displays a moderate frequency of quantifier uses, a very low productivity in the quantifier function, and a very high distributional extension. Curiously, there is even a moderate negative correlation between productivity and extension ($r = -.4311$), which, as will be shown in the following parts of the text, can nonetheless be elucidated in terms of a high type frequency of some animate and abstract N2-collocates of the most distributionally extended items.

Table 1 Frequency, productivity, and extension values

Size noun	F	TTR	HTR	P	E
Bit(s)	0.81	0.85	0.77	0.81	0.92
Scrap(s)	0.10	0.65	0.46	0.56	0.65
Shred(s)	0.64	0.31	0.23	0.27	1
Heap	0.54	0.77	0.66	0.72	0.72
Heaps	0.87	0.67	0.54	0.61	0.71
Load	0.46	0.80	0.69	0.75	0.72
Loads	0.95	0.72	0.61	0.67	0.73
Lot	1	0.65	0.53	0.59	0.87
Lots	1	0.71	0.61	0.66	0.75

The following subsections offer a more detailed account of the empirical distribution of each of the analyzed expressions, and some qualitative comments are made as regards the items' distributional characteristics, with a focus on the most frequent N2-collocates in their quantifier attestations. What will serve as a point of departure for the qualitative discussion, which will be illustrated with examples derived from the investigated data, are the results shown in Table 2, revealing the collocability of the scrutinized elements with concrete inanimate (CI), concrete animate (CA), and abstract (A) N2s in each type of use.

Table 2 Empirical distribution of the analyzed items

Size noun	N2-type	Type of use		
		Partitive (#)	Quantifier (#)	Indefinite (#)
<i>Bit(s)</i>	CI	18	17	1
	CA	1	17	0
	A	25	168	3

Size noun	N2-type	Type of use		
		Partitive (#)	Quantifier (#)	Indefinite (#)
<i>Scrap(s)</i>	CI	153	9	5
	CA	2	0	0
	A	64	17	0
<i>Shred(s)</i>	CI	17	0	4
	CA	1	1	0
	A	68	159	0
<i>Heap</i>	CI	84	38	0
	CA	3	11	0
	A	24	87	3
<i>Heaps</i>	CI	28	63	2
	CA	0	25	0
	A	2	130	0
<i>Load</i>	CI	26	32	8
	CA	6	25	2
	A	91	59	1
<i>Loads</i>	CI	9	64	1
	CA	3	46	0
	A	0	127	0
<i>Lot</i>	CI	0	33	0
	CA	0	56	0
	A	0	161	0
<i>Lots</i>	CI	1	63	0
	CA	0	42	0
	A	0	144	0

1 BIT(S) OF N2

In its basic partitive uses, the item *bit* combines with concrete nouns denoting substances of solid consistency, such as *bread* (cf. Klein, 1966: 176; Traugott, 2008b). As shown in Table 1, *bit* is currently one of the partitives most frequently used in the quantifier function. In addition, the expression has undergone a considerable extent of distributional expansion to animate and abstract nominals (cf. Table 2).

With count animate and abstract collocates, *bit* typically takes a bounded complement, i.e. a singular noun form preceded by the indefinite article, carrying information about the relatively low degree of some gradable property implied by the relevant nominal, as in (10) and (11).

- (10) It's tough luck I'd say if people think you are *a bit of a religious nut* if you are one. (GloWbE)
- (11) The yellow tile scheme feels right to me, bringing *a bit of a big city terminal feel* without being annoying about it. (GloWbE)

Displaying a remarkably high level of productivity (cf. Table 1), the quantifier *bit* does not occur in many strong collocations. Nevertheless, its most frequent N2-collocates in the scrutinized data include the positively colored mass abstract nouns *fun* (6 occurrences), as in (12), and *luck* (also 6 occurrences), as in (13).

- (12) Well let's have *a bit of fun* shall we to examine this. (GloWbE)
- (13) Come back, creep down to the landing and, with *a bit of luck*, you should be able to pick off two of the monsters. (GloWbE)

Interestingly, *bit(s)* has likewise developed partitive uses involving abstract N2s, in which case *bit* is functionally equivalent to, and thus substitutable with, the general partitive noun *piece* (cf. (14)).

- (14) And he'd be taping *different bits of music* all the time. (GloWbE)

The above fact sometimes leads to interpretational ambiguities, as exemplified by (15), where the segment *a bit of* may be felicitously replaced with the partitive expression *a piece of* or the quantifier *some*:

- (15) But, I digress: there is *a bit of positive news* in the Apple slaps Samsung injunction. (GloWbE)

2 SCRAP(S) OF N2

Like *bit*, the item *scrap* in its basic partitive uses co-occurs with concrete nouns standing for solid substances, such as *meat* (cf. Klein, 1966: 1402; Brems, 2007). Yet, in contrast to *bit(s)*, *scrap(s)* generally prefers concrete over abstract nominals. In its scarce purely quantificational uses, however, *scrap* collocates with abstract nouns more frequently than it does with concrete ones (cf. Table 2).

Despite its low frequency of quantifier uses, *scrap* exhibits a moderate level of collocational openness in the quantifier function. Its recurrent collocates in the dataset include the abstract mass nouns *difference* (3 occurrences), as in (16), *evidence* (6 occurrences), as in (17), and *honor* (2 occurrences), as in (18), as well as the concrete mass noun *make-up* (2 occurrences), as in (19).

- (16) It's never good finding out someone has died, the medium of transferring that knowledge however makes not *a scrap of difference*. (GloWbE)
- (17) But there isn't *a scrap of evidence* for this, not even from the disingenuous spin he puts on the 12 year-old comments of a newspaper

columnist (nor, farcically, from the observation that the British team received their medals to the British national anthem). (GloWbE)

(18) Then I'd like to see the Lockerbie families return the millions that was shamefully extorted from Libya, as they surely must do if they have *a scrap of honour*. (GloWbE)

(19) I know for a fact that all the models that day looked fab without *a scrap of make-up* and how unfair is that! (GloWbE)

As can be seen above, when employed quantificationally, *scrap* typically functions as a negative polarity item, analogous to *any* rather than *a little* or *some*. In other words, when occurring in non-assertive contexts, the discussed expression emphasizes the non-attestation of what the N2 refers to (cf. Brems, 2007).

As can be seen in Table 2, *scrap(s)* is typically used partitively in relation to concrete inanimate mass nouns, as in (20). Like *bit(s)*, the scrutinized element has additionally developed quite frequent partitive uses involving mass abstract nominals, in which case it is functionally akin to expressions such as *piece(s)*, *trace(s)*, or *remnant(s)* (cf. (21)).

(20) Clutching a scrap of paper scrawled with the call number, I searched the shelves. (GloWbE)

(21) Those who only see scraps of misinformation should educate themselves first, before shooting their mouths off ... (GloWbE)

Marginally, *scrap* may be also used partitively in relation to count-to-mass coerced animate nouns, as in (22):

(22) Any pressure on a premmey's skin is painful, but I was assured that **the scrap of boy** before me would be comforted if you held a hand near, but not touching, his face. (GloWbE)

3 SHRED(S) OF N2

Like both *bit(s)* and *scrap(s)*, the partitive *shred(s)* originally combines with concrete collocates referring to solid substances (cf. Klein, 1966: 1439; Traugott, 2008b). Yet, similarly to *bit(s)*, and in contrast to *scrap(s)*, *shred(s)* reveals a general predilection for abstract NPs, and the same applies to its quantifier attestations (cf. Table 2).

What is quite striking about *shred*, however, is that despite being relatively often used as a quantifier, it displays a conspicuously low productivity level (cf. Table 1), as almost half of its N2-collocates instantiate one N2-type, namely *evidence* (72 occurrences), as illustrated by (2), (5), and (6). Among the other habitual N2-collocates of the quantifier *shred of N2* are the mass abstract nouns *decency* (7 occurrences), as in (23), *proof* (also 7 occurrences), as in (24), *sense* (5 occurrences), as in (25), and *truth* (6 occurrences), as in (26).

- (23) Disgusting... any professional musician with a *shred of decency* would
1) not ask musicians to play for free, and 2) NOT do this show. (GloWbE)
- (24) And Vice President Dick Cheney continues to say without
a *shred of proof* that there is “overwhelming evidence” justifying
the administration’s pre-war charges. (GloWbE)
- (25) Doesn’t make a *shred of sense*, might as well be a lifetime ban...
(GloWbE)
- (26) Is there a *shred of truth* there? (GloWbE)

As can be seen above, analogously to *scrap*, and as opposed to *bit*, the quantifier *shred* normally functions as a negative polarity item (cf. *any*). Another commonality between the two expressions manifests itself in the fact that both typically quantify over abstract nouns encoding epistemic notions, even though the tendency is much more pronounced in the case of *shred*. In the investigated data, the item under discussion has additionally been found to combine with one proper name with an animate human referent, in which case the negative segment *not a shred of* can be paraphrased as *nothing of* (cf. (27)).

- (27) Charles Johnson on Andrew Sullivan, 5 Apr 2008: “Not a *shred of the post-9/11 Sullivan* remains; all that’s left is a rhetoric-spewing empty shill for “progressive” causes.” (GloWbE)

Moreover, like both *bit(s)* and *scrap(s)*, *shred(s)* has developed partitive uses involving abstract nominals, where it bears semantic resemblance to the general partitive noun *piece* (cf. (28)).

- (28) Not to condone for one second what Brown has done in the past (and to reiterate: *every shred of evidence* points to the fact that he’s a wang of near-galactic proportions), but nobody apart from Louis Walsh wants to be entertained by a bunch of fucking Blue Peter presenters, do they? (GloWbE)

4 HEAP OF N2

The item *heap* originally combines with nominals denoting stackable entities or masses (cf. Klein, 1966: 710–711; Brems, 2012). Indeed, in the analyzed data, *heap* most frequently combines with concrete inanimate nominals, although in its quantifier uses, it displays a preference for abstract NPs (Table 2).

The most frequent N2-collocates of *heap* in its quantifier attestations include the emotively loaded mass abstract nouns *fun* (5 occurrences), as in (29), and *trouble* (6 occurrences), as in (30), as well as the non-count concrete noun *money* (5 occurrences), as in (31).

- (29) The first full day in Kyoto I spent cruising around on my unladen bike, which was a *whole heap of fun*! (GloWbE)

(30) Kevin Wu (aka Youtuber, KevJumba) and Dante Basco seem to be getting into *a whole heap of trouble* in the trailer for their latest flick, *Hang Loose*. (GloWbE)

(31) The NBN will make *a whole heap of money* and that profit will be used to pay back the debt. (GloWbE)

Additionally, *heap* occasionally occurs in metaphorical partitive uses involving abstract NPs, such as (33). Attestations of this kind crucially rely on the expression's basic meaning coupled with its tendency to indicate portions of waste substances in its standard partitive occurrences, as exemplified by (32).

(32) He could find something fascinating anywhere, from a stunning high alpine lake to a neighborhood garden to *a heap of junk* along the side of the road, and would always take time to check it out. (GloWbE)

(33) It remains to be seen, however, whether the public-health community will give this landmark work due credit or continue to rubber stamp an outdated policy that, like bloodletting and trepanation, properly belongs on *the scrap heap of sham medical interventions*. (GloWbE)

5 HEAPS OF N2

Heaps generally reveals a slight preference for abstract over concrete (inanimate and animate) nominals. Likewise, the expression displays a propensity to quantify over abstract NPs (Table 2).

Interestingly, while the extension parameter is almost equal in the case of both *heap* and *heaps*, the productivity level of the latter is slightly lower than that of the former (cf. Table 1), which indicates that the quantifier *heaps* participates in stronger collocations. The most frequent N2-collocates of the expression at issue are the mass abstract noun *fun* (16 occurrences), as in (34), *room* (5 occurrences), as in (35), *stuff* (5 occurrences), as in (36), the count animate noun *people* (6 occurrences), as in (37), and the mass concrete nouns *food* (6 occurrences), as in (38), and *money* (11 occurrences), as in (39).

(34) The workshop was *heaps of fun*, with everyone making mini comics and hanging out. (GloWbE)

(35) I love it. *Heaps of room*, nice to drive. (GloWbE)

(36) You can count on us for tickets to the sweetest gigs and *heaps of FREE stuff*. (GloWbE)

(37) "It doesn't get any better than this, I get to do what I love and meet *heaps of new people* along the way." (GloWbE)

(38) On top of the sporting events -- there was a big cheerleading competition, a marching band and *heaps of free food*. (GloWbE)

(39) They're contracted by the government to do these things and it costs *heap of money* for contractors to go out to communities. (GloWbE)

6 LOAD OF N2

In its basic partitive uses, *load* refers to a collection of goods or a portion of a substance carried at a time (cf. Klein, 1966: 899). In the dataset under scrutiny, however, *load* reveals an overall preference for abstract N2-complements, even though its purely quantificational attestations are almost equally distributed between concrete (inanimate and animate) and abstract nominals (cf. Table 2).

With its relatively high level of productivity, the quantifier *load* does not occur in many strong collocations. The most frequent N2-elements quantified by *load* include the nouns *money* (5 occurrences), as in (40), *stuff* (5 occurrences), as in (41), and *things* (4 occurrences), as in (42):

(40) If you have Microsoft shares, sell them now, or you will lose a *bucket load of money*. (GloWbE)

(41) Now it is worth mentioning that there is a *whole load of stuff* I want to say about my experience with this particular dealership but none of it is relevant to online communications. (GloWbE)

(42) "He was fantastic to discuss about batting one to one. But on a *load of things* I would not follow him," he said, to peels of laughter from the gathering. (GloWbE)

As already suggested by (40), *load* displays a high degree of conceptual persistence, reflected in its pre-modification patterns. In other words, the size noun *load* tends to be modified by elements which, while intensifying its inherent scalar implications, reinvoke its lexical meaning, implying what can be generally labelled as containers, where literal loads can be kept or carried. Among such items observed in the data, apart from *bucket*, are *barrel*, as in (43), and *shed*, as in (44).

(43) And it's a *barrel load of fun*. (GloWbE)

(44) A great driver who never quite lived up to his potential? Or the greatest of the modern era who won a *shed load of championships*? Perhaps the greatest ever? (GloWbE)

Another important finding as regards *load* is that the expression very frequently occurs in evaluative uses involving abstract nominals, such as (45), which, in this paper, are analyzed as a special kind of partitive attestations on account of their limited distribution:

(45) The realisation that some people have two jobs is not an astounding new find published by esteemed sociologists -- but a *vacuous and meaningless load of pap* that's made the front page because this keen editor is proud at having coined a new term. (GloWbE)

7 LOADS OF N2

Loads of N2 displays a slight general preference for abstract over concrete (inanimate and animate) N2-collocates, and the same tendency applies to its quantifier attestations (cf. Table 2). That *loads* exhibits an overall lower percentage of uses with abstract N2-complements, and at the same time a markedly higher proportion of purely quantificational occurrences, than is the case with *load* stems from the latter's frequent appearance in evaluative attestations involving nouns such as *nonsense*, and an apparent lack thereof as far as the former is concerned.

Nevertheless, the quantifier *loads* shares two of the most common N2-collocates with *load*, namely the nouns *money* (10 occurrences), as in (46), and *things* (8 occurrences), as in (47). In addition, *loads* habitually quantifies over the animate noun *people* (16 occurrences), as in (48).

(46) They don't want to invest their own money and they want to make *shed loads of money* by selling our best players -- its fact pure and simple. (GloWbE)

(47) *Loads of other things*, it's actually an interesting question once you consider all the factors... (GloWbE)

(48) Although many folks try and eat a healthy diet nowadays you are going to discover that *loads of people* still don't get the nutrition they require. (GloWbE)

8 LOT OF N2

In its basic partitive uses, the item *lot* refers to a parcel of land (cf. Klein, 1966: 907). However, in the material under analysis, *lot*, like *load*, generally exhibits a clear preference for abstract N2-collocates over concrete (inanimate and animate) ones (cf. Table 2), yet in contrast to the latter, the former has not developed evaluative uses.

The collocability of the quantifier *lot* nonetheless resembles that of both *load* and *loads*, as in the data under analysis, *lot* most frequently quantifies over the nouns *money* (10 occurrences), as in (49), *people* (22 occurrences), as in (50), *things* (9 occurrences), as in (51), and *time* (5 occurrences), as in (52).

(49) Hello rich people, we normally hijack *a lot of your money* but now we'll hijack a little less of your money. (GloWbE)

(50) There are *a lot of much smarter people* doing a lot more successful ventures than me, but for a hobby, I really do love it, and it completely reinvigorated my interests in programming. (GloWbE)

(51) Older people are always impressed when they meet a young man or girl that works and create cool things and they are also willing to teach you *a lot of things* as well as to help you. (GloWbE)

(52) In my opinion teachers are the second mothers for the students because students spend *a lot of time* with their teachers.

What may be surprising is the fact that *lot*, despite its remarkable frequency of quantifier attestations, has been shown to display a lower degree of productivity than *loads*, which is nevertheless counterbalanced by the former's greater extent of host-class expansion. This finding can be accounted for in view of the observation that a higher expansion value implies a higher type frequency of semantically general animate and abstract N2-collocates such as *people* and *things*, respectively, which, in turn, translates into a lower productivity level.

9 LOTS OF N2

Like all *heaps*, *load*, *loads*, and *lot*, *lots* more frequently combines with abstract complements than it does with concrete (inanimate and animate) ones (cf. Table 2). Interestingly, as in the case of both *loads* and *lot*, the most frequent N2-collocates of *lots* include the nouns *money* (5 occurrences), as in (55), *people* (23 occurrences), as in (56), and *things* (10 occurrences), as in (57).

(53) People assume that there's *lots of money* in the game because it's a professional sport but every cent somehow finds a home quickly enough. (GloWbE)

(54) Through that online community I have "met" *lots of people* who I keep in touch with via facebook mainly. (GloWbE)

(55) I'd say after that things fragmented and now there are *lots of interesting little things* going on but seem slightly underdeveloped, less ambitious or meaningful than those giants of '05 either that or I turned thirty (GloWbE)

Notably, *lots* displays a higher productivity level than does *lot*, which is nonetheless coupled with the former's lower value of host-class expansion. This finding further substantiates the claim that at least in the case of plural nominal quantifiers, wide collocability with animate and abstract nouns tends to entail a high type frequency of items with general meanings.

CONCLUSION

Drawing on empirical data derived from the Corpus of Global Web-based English (GloWbE), this paper examined the grammaticalization patterns of nine size nouns, namely *bit(s)*, *scrap(s)*, *shred(s)*, *heap*, *heaps*, *load*, *loads*, *lot*, and *lots*. The research objectives included determining the relationship between the expressions' frequencies of quantifier attestations, degrees of productivity, as well as extents of host class-expansion.

Contrary to the assumption that the three grammaticalization parameters should be strongly positively correlated, the obtained results reveal only a weak positive correlation between the frequency and the productivity of the items'

quantifier uses ($r = .1171$), and the same holds for the relation between frequency and extension ($r = .3466$), which indicates that, at least as far as size nouns are concerned, high-frequency values typically do not go hand in hand with an advanced level of the other grammaticalization-related phenomena. Perhaps even more surprising at first glance is the moderate negative correlation observed between productivity and extension ($r = -.4311$), a finding which can nonetheless be explained in terms of a high type frequency of semantically general animate and abstract N2-collocates of the most distributionally extended constructions. Particularly noteworthy in this context is the paucal quantifier *shred*, which, despite exhibiting the highest extension value of all the expressions under scrutiny, displays the lowest productivity in the quantifier function, as almost half of its N2-collocates in the quantifier uses instantiate one N2-type, namely *evidence*.

Since the scrutinized quantifiers, especially the multal ones, share a number of their most frequent N2-collocates, such as *money*, *people*, *fun*, and *things*, a next step in the research on their grammaticalization should involve a fine-grained diachronic study aimed at elucidating the extent to which the expressions' collocability has been shaped by the forces of paradigmatic analogy (cf. Fischer 2011). The same applies to the paucal quantifiers *scrap* and *shred*, which, in addition to typically appearing in negative polarity contexts, tend to collocate with epistemic nominals. Future studies on the topic should likewise include an investigation into the adverbialization of the analyzed size nouns, a development which has been observed to constitute the subsequent phase of their grammatical evolution (cf. Traugott, 2008a,b), and which has not yet been systematically examined based on extensive corpus data (cf. De Clerck and Brems, 2016).

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LATVIAN-ENGLISH-LATVIAN ELECTRONIC LEXICOGRAPHIC RESOURCES OF LEGAL TERMINOLOGY

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Abstract. The technological advances of the 20th and 21st centuries have played a significant part in facilitating information exchange and processing the worldwide community outreach. A significant achievement has been the development of electronic dictionaries and terminological databases that allow access to information from various sources and in different languages. Much has been done to develop Latvian electronic dictionaries in line with the requirements of modern lexicography; however, the available electronic terminological databases are not so helpful in dealing with domain-specific terminology as is the case of Legal Latvian and its equivalents in other languages. The aim of the present research study has been to examine Latvian-English-Latvian electronic lexicographic resources, their adaptability to user needs and reliability, focusing in particular on their treatment of legal terminology where utmost precision is required. The research reveals the need for a free-access legal terminology electronic database where Latvian terms have equivalents from different foreign languages with appropriate support information. Undoubtedly, such a database can be developed only in close cooperation between language specialists and legal professionals that would consolidate the stability and reliability of Latvian legal terminology and the respective equivalents in other languages.

Key words: electronic dictionary, electronic terminological database, legal terminology, equivalents, reliability

INTRODUCTION

Sophisticated software, applications, platforms, and cloud hosting have entered our life to stay, expanding their presence in education, medicine, and manufacturing – in actual fact, all areas of human activity. People read e-books, physicians write out e-prescriptions, pupils and students have e-studies that have proved invaluable in the current conditions of the pandemic, notwithstanding the psychological side-effects of isolation, restraint of personal freedom of movement and activity. The Internet has given everybody the opportunity and advantage of accessing

sources of knowledge and information that until recently remained an unattainable dream. One such source is electronic terminological databases and dictionaries, now more easily accessible for users and an excellent support for individuals of all ages in foreign language studies and for translators and interpreters in their profession.

The purpose of the present study has been to examine the evolution of electronic terminological databases and dictionaries, and their link to users' needs, particularly focusing on electronic databases and dictionaries of Latvian legal terminology and its English equivalents as well as English terms and their Latvian equivalents. In view of the fifty-year-long soviet period and the strenuous EU pre-accession efforts, much has been done in developing Latvian legal terminology and compiling respective dictionaries – first in printed form and subsequently summarizing the efforts in electronic databases and dictionaries. It must be recognised that work on electronic lexicographic sources in the Latvian language started much later than in other European languages, and it has certainly, in some ways, affected the quality of the outcome. Several Latvian-English-Latvian electronic lexicographic resources are examined in the study, paying particular attention to their reliability as precision is crucial in the use of legal terminology that could otherwise give rise to misinterpretations and misunderstandings. The study also reveals certain failings that should be eliminated to improve the quality of the said lexicographic sources.

ELECTRONIC TERMINOLOGICAL DATABASES AND DICTIONARIES

Large terminological databases date back to the 1960s when the electronic medium was selected as suitable for the storage of large collections of terminology. There are several reasons behind the choice of this medium; for example, due to constant changes and development in various fields of knowledge the terminology used in these fields and its lexicographic description has to be constantly updated, and it can be done more efficiently in the electronic medium; the availability and constant development of the necessary technological support have also contributed to the selection of this medium (L'Homme, 2013: 1480). Having investigated the extraction of terminological data from various types of text corpora, Cabré and Vivaldi Palatresi (2013: 1487) contend that the 'relation between computer science and terminology is not limited to databases, but has evolved and today encompasses the terminological processes as a whole'.

Mayer (2013: 1461) observes that in the past decades, the structure of terminological entries has undergone considerable changes and become more complex. Having noted that 'a concept is conceived as a unit of thought, which represents the shared knowledge' (*ibid.*), the scholar points out two major approaches to concept presentation in dictionaries and databases – the onomasiological or concept-oriented approach (which is commonly applied in terminography) and semasiological or word/term-oriented approach (which is generally viewed as not

suitable for multi-lingual terminological entries). It is stressed that the concept is the main focus of the provided description. The term, its definition, synonymy and equivalence relations are viewed as the most relevant information types of this description (ibid.: 1461–1462). Since terminology is directly linked with concepts, the majority of terms presented in terminological databases are nouns (adjectives, adverbs and verbs are encountered less frequently). From a structural point of view, terms can be single or multi-word items (collocations, longer phrases); normally, proper names are also included in terminological databases (L'Homme, 2013: 1483).

A distinction can be made between two types of terminology presentation – ad hoc and systematic terminology. In the case of ad hoc terminology, separate concepts are described and presented in the terminological database, while in the case of systematic presentation of terminology ‘typically whole sub-areas of a given subject area, which mostly consist of several hundred concepts, are processed together, such that the relevant terminology of this area is described systematically and in one consistent (sub-)system’ (Mayer, 2013: 1464). Having reviewed terminological entry structures of various types and structural complexity, Mayer (ibid.: 1465–1474) contends that there is no set standard for a minimal entry structure for the description of terms, while such microstructural elements as the indication of subject field of the term, its equivalent(s) in multi-language databases and definitions with indicated sources (which are viewed as optional), are presented as the possible microstructural elements of a minimal terminological entry.

The translation-oriented terminography multi-lingual model entry structure proposed by Cotsoes (Conference of Translation Services of European States) reflects the needs and requirements of translation and interpreting services of various European countries (Cotsoes 2002, discussed in Mayer, 2013: 1466–1467). The following microstructural elements are pointed out as necessary for this type of terminological entry: ‘subject area, term, synonyms, abbreviated forms, spelling variants, transliteration, geographical restrictions, status of the term, sources, definition, remarks, degree of equivalence and synonymy, context, phraseology and illustrations’ (ibid.: 1466). L'Homme (2013: 1483–1484) proposes a generalized list of typical microstructural elements encountered in large terminological databases, noting that the entry structures of these databases tend to be fairly similar. The list comprises the following microstructural elements: field label, language identifier, headword, some other linguistic forms linked to the concept (e.g., acronyms, synonymous terms), grammar label, geographical label, definition, illustrative example, references, some additional information. *IATE* (Interactive Terminology for Europe) (Online 1) can be viewed as a typical example of a large multilingual terminological database. The microstructure of this terminological database includes the following major information categories that ensure a detailed description of the term: the internal ID of the term, a field label (identifying the subject field(s) of the term, occasionally also more specific subfields), labels identifying the selected languages, the term and its source, various other linguistic

items linked to the concept (synonyms, abbreviations), language-specific definition and its source, context or illustrative example presenting the headword in context and its source, additional information (creation and modification date and by whom it has been performed). It should be noted that the above-described lists of microstructural elements of terminological databases differ in detail but also bear notable similarities.

Moreover, L'Homme (2013: 1481) observes that in various multilingual databases, for instance, *IATE* and *UnTerm* (The United Nations Multilingual Terminology Database), the treatment of terms from various languages may vary. Namely, more information can be provided for terms from certain languages; for instance, English terms can receive a more detailed description than terms from other languages included in the database. A closer inspection of individual entries of the terms presented in the *IATE* database reveals that the complexity of entry structure of individual terms and their equivalents in the selected target languages may vary. Not all the terms included in the database are described using all the information categories available in the general microstructure of the database. For example, such microstructural elements as the *term reference*, the structural category *additional information*, are normally provided for all terms, while such elements as *definition*, *term in context*, *term note* and *language level note*, are not always given, thus revealing a certain lack of consistency.

Since terminology can also be presented in electronic dictionaries, some aspects of these lexicographic resources will be reviewed here. Electronic dictionaries, in comparison with terminological databases (dating back to the 1960s), is a more recent development; besides, many electronic dictionaries initially were (and some of them still are) based on their print predecessors. Though the first electronic dictionary, available on magnetic tape, was also published in the 1960s, and in the 1980s and 1990s, dictionaries started to appear on floppy discs and CDs; it was only after the year 2000 that the first dictionary (*Macmillan Dictionary for Advanced Learners*) was released in both print and electronic format (Béjoint, 2010: 373–376), thus marking a notable turning point in the development of electronic lexicography. Nesi (2015: 580) mentions the increased speed and reliability of the internet at the beginning of the 2000s as relevant preconditions that boosted the number of dictionaries appearing online, though it is also stressed that these still were 'digital versions of print dictionaries' (*ibid.*).

Though the characteristic features and types of electronic dictionaries have been discussed by numerous scholars (e.g., De Schryver, 2003: 143–160; Svensén, 2009: 438–439; Tarp, 2011; Granger, 2012: 1–5; Schmitz, 2013; Fuertes-Olivera, 2015; Singh and Tripathi, 2018: 590–591; Dziemianko, 2018: 667), the typology suggested by Tarp (2011) is not only insightful but also employs eye-catching and memorable metaphoric terms. It comprises four types of electronic dictionaries (Copycats, Faster Horses, Model T Fords and Rolls-Royces) that vary in their adjustment to the electronic medium and attempts to meet the needs of the users (Tarp, 2011; Tarp, 2012: 116–117). Copycats are print dictionaries (often in the form of PDF files) that are available in electronic format; Faster Horses are

lexicographic resources where only some advantages offered by the electronic medium have been employed but, essentially, they still resemble their print predecessors; Model T Fords are online dictionaries demonstrating more extensive use of technologies, though limited adaptability of microstructure to user's needs; the online dictionaries falling in the category of Rolls-Royces are characterized by advanced application of technologies, adaptability of contents to individual user's needs and ability to provide data from various online sources (Tarp, 2011; Tarp, 2012: 116–117). Evidently, compiling of such technologically advanced dictionaries that are designed to meet the needs of the users is also very demanding on their compilers. Having investigated the contemporary user-centred lexicographic scene, Tarp and Gouws (2020: 495) note that the compiling of contemporary electronic dictionaries 'places more responsibility on the shoulders of lexicographers in terms of needs detection as well as data preparation and presentation' (*ibid.*).

Nowadays, electronic dictionaries can often be clustered in dictionary portals. Engelberg and Müller-Spitzer (2013: 1023) describe dictionary portals as 'collections of electronic dictionaries, sometimes cross-referenced and provided with new access structures', adding that it is a data structure consisting of one or several interconnected webpages and giving access to several dictionaries, that can also function as independent reference works. A distinction can be made between dictionary and encyclopaedic portals, though it is not uncommon that both types of portals can be combined (*ibid.*: 1024). Engelberg and Müller-Spitzer (*ibid.*: 1025–1033) propose a typology comprising three basic types of dictionary portals: dictionary collections (websites that merely provide links to various online dictionaries), search engines (in these portals the dictionaries are normally owned by third parties, they can be indexed but the level of integration may vary) and dictionary nets (here the holder of the portal can own the included dictionaries, cross-references can be provided among the included dictionaries, though, the degree of integration of dictionary content may vary).

ELECTRONIC LEXICOGRAPHIC RESOURCES OF LEGAL TERMINOLOGY AND THEIR CORRESPONDENCE TO USERS' NEEDS

An important aspect to be considered when describing a lexicographic resource and evaluating its quality is its correspondence to users' needs. Considering the focus of the study conducted in the present paper, this section will concentrate on some user-needs-related aspects of dictionaries and terminology databases comprising legal terms. Chroma (2014: 117) notes that 'Legal translation implies both a comparative study of different legal systems and an awareness of the problems created by the absence of equivalent concepts, legal institutions, terms and other linguistic units', and adds that the translators of legal texts constantly have to overcome various obstacles caused by significantly differing legal systems or

cultures (*ibid.*: 118). Commenting on the quality of dictionaries of legal terms, that largely depends on the experience of dictionary compilers, Chroma (*ibid.*: 137) also mentions the existence of a gap between what is expected by legal translators and what is offered by dictionaries of legal terms. Furthermore, Nielsen (2014: 153–154) observes that if legal lexicographers do not focus on the needs of dictionary users in particular types of situations, their dictionaries can provide large quantities of unnecessary information. Clear determination of dictionary functions and user needs, and matching of these two aspects, are described as mandatory steps to be taken to follow the principles of contemporary lexicography.

While focusing on users' needs, various scholars (e.g. L'Homme, 2013: 1482–1483; Cabré and Vivaldi Palatresi, 2013: 1486–1487; Drinóczi and Novák, 2015: 120) have underscored the importance of terminological databases for providers of translation and interpreting services, as well as the role of terminology databases in standardization of terminology on a national or international level, that can help the users in the process of selecting the most appropriate term. L'Homme (2013: 1483), for instance, notes that by highlighting 'a preferred term' in the entry, the compilers of the database may provide valuable information to the users, thus, helping them to select the most appropriate term. Moreover, a thorough analysis of various multilingual databases presenting legal terminology allows Drinóczi and Novák to conclude that the overall quality of large terminological databases

depends on how accurately, how reliably and in what way information provided to precisely defined target groups is conveyed, and how quickly the respective user can find and understand it. For exact wording and additional information provided by the database means consistent and safe utilization for the user, which significantly facilitates the proper application of the terminology. (Drinóczi and Novák, 2015: 129)

This observation is directly linked to the analysis carried out in the present study, that focuses on the evaluation of the quality of presentation of legal terms and their equivalents in several electronic lexicographic resources (bilingual dictionaries and multilingual terminological databases) for the English-Latvian language pair.

METHODOLOGY

The analysis undertaken in the course of the study includes a comparative analysis of entries of Latvian legal terms and their English equivalents listed in four electronic lexicographic resources of Latvian-English-Latvian legal terminology, as well as the reverse search for Latvian equivalents listed for English legal terms. The results have been presented in tables and accompanied by comments.

The sample of terms for analysis has been collated on the basis of observations and discussions of terminology issues over a period of five years during practical workshops in the translation of economic and legal texts for students of the Modern

Languages and Business Studies Programme within the Bachelor studies programme as well as the Professional Master Studies Programme in Written Translation provided by the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Latvia. An in-depth analysis has been made of 12 Latvian and English legal terms.

These terms have been selected from a cluster of 60 key legal terms in Latvian legal terminology (frequently without respective equivalents in English) that emerged as problem cases during practical workshops with students of BA and MA study programmes.

In the present study, attention has been focused on four sources of Latvian-English-Latvian legal terminology: the electronic English-Latvian and Latvian-English dictionaries of the dictionary portal *Letonika.lv* (Online 2); the *EuroTermBank* (ETB) (Online 3), linked to *Letonika.lv*; the *Latvian National Terminology Portal* (LNTP) (Online 4) and the *IATE* database (Online 1). The given sources have been chosen as they are freely accessible to the general public.

The English-Latvian electronic dictionary (available at *Letonika.lv*) analysed in the present study is based on a print dictionary published by the publishing house *Jāņa sēta* in 1995, which has been enriched by terms from terminological dictionaries, as well as nearly 150 000 monolingual entries from the lexical database *WordNet 2.1*. Recently it has also been updated with entries generated from the reversal of the Latvian-English electronic dictionary compiled by Andrejs Veisbergs (also available at *Letonika.lv*) (Karpinska, 2020: 88–89). Reduced versions of these dictionaries can be accessed free of charge, while the full content is available to subscribers and in public libraries. Employing the classification of electronic dictionaries suggested by Tarp (2011), the dictionaries available at *Letonika.lv*, being electronic dictionaries originally based on print dictionaries, fall in the category of Faster Horses, though they definitely have a potential of being upgraded to another category if more advanced technological solutions are applied (Karpinska, 2020: 96). *Letonika.lv* can also be viewed as a combination of dictionary and encyclopaedic portal, including both monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, encyclopaedias as well as providing links to the terminological database *EuroTermBank*. According to Engelberg and Müller-Spitzer's (2013: 1025–1033) classification of dictionary portals, it may be categorized as dictionary net, though, with a fairly limited integration of the lexicographic resources and cross-referencing system.

The *EuroTermBank* is a multilingual terminology database that includes terminology from various domains for the languages of the European Union and Icelandic, though, being linked to other terminology databases, it comprises more than 14 million terms presented in nearly 3.4 million entries from 44 languages (Online 3). It is worth noting that the multilingual terminology database *EuroTermBank* has been well-recorded in a list of publications (e.g., Vasiljevs and Rirdance, 2008; Vasiljevs et al., 2011; Gornostay et al., 2012), highlighting various aspects of the project as well as the challenges tackled in the course of this project development.

The *Latvian National Terminology Portal* provides access to 95 public term collections comprising 435 000 Latvian terms and 250 000 English terms alongside

with collections of terms in several other languages (Russian, French, German, Latin and Spanish). The collections include terms from 22 domains that have been arranged according to the guidelines established by the State Language Centre (Skadiņš et al., 2020: 186). The *Latvian National Terminology Portal* is based on the former national terminology portal *AkadTerm*. In 2018 it was considerably restructured and updated by the leading language technology company in Latvia, *Tilde*, in collaboration with the State Language Centre, the Latvian Language Agency and the Latvian Academy of Sciences, thus, developing it into a multifunctional terminology portal.

The *IATE* is a multilingual database of EU-related terminology. Established in 1999 with the aim to consolidate the EU terminology resources, it was also reconstructed and technologically updated in 2018. The *IATE* covers the official languages of the EU and comprises more than 8 million terms from a wide scope of domains encountered in the texts translated by EU translators (Online 1). In this, as well as the above discussed terminological databases, the concept-oriented or onomasiological approach has been applied when structuring the entries. This approach is considered to be more appropriate for terminological entries, but it may lead to a fairly fragmented macrostructure since every concept is presented in a separate entry.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Analysis of the entry structure of the selected electronic lexicographic resources reveals certain structural peculiarities as well as some common microstructural features shared by the terminological databases. The inspection of the entry structure of legal terms provided in the Latvian-English (E-L) and English-Latvian (L-E) dictionaries of *Letonika.lv* reveals sets of microstructural elements characteristic of bilingual dictionaries in this lexicographic tradition (with the addition of hyperlinks to navigate from the L-E to E-L dictionary as well as the indication of the sources of the entry). The L-E dictionary entry comprises the following microstructural elements: headword, field labels, sense indicators, equivalents, translated collocations, and sources of the entry. The E-L dictionary: headword, pronunciation, part of speech labels, field labels, sense indicators, equivalents, translated collocations, sources of the entry. Several multilingual entries from various terminological dictionaries are usually attached to the L-E and E-L entries of the terms presented in *Letonika.lv*. The microstructure of these terminological dictionaries usually comprises the following elements: headword, labels identifying the presented languages, one or several synonyms, field labels, equivalents in several languages, and the source of the entry.

The basic set of microstructural elements of the *EuroTermBank* and *Latvian National Terminology Portal* is similar: headword, labels identifying the selected languages, one or several synonyms, equivalents in several languages, source

of the entry; however, there are some elements that appear only in one of these terminological databases, often the access to this information may vary. For instance, a click on the button 'Show detailed' in the *EuroTermBank* reveals such additional microstructural elements as domain, entry ID, illustrative example and definition (however, the latter two are not provided consistently). The entry of the *Latvian National Terminology Portal*, on the other hand, comprises information on the date of confirmation of the term, occasionally also illustrative examples; it is also possible to expand the entry and acquire more information on the source of the entry, its group identification (collection) and domain.

The *IATE* database has the most complex microstructure comprising the following elements: the internal encoded ID of the selected term (headword), field (also sub-field) labels, labels identifying the selected languages, the term source (reference), definitions and their sources, language level notes and term notes, illustrative examples presenting the headword in context and their sources, additional information (creation and modification date and who has done it), then the same information is provided for the suggested equivalents, synonyms, and collocations. Though it has to be noted that not all the above microstructural elements were provided for the legal terms selected for analysis in this study, as well as their synonyms, collocations and equivalents, since such microstructural elements as definition, language level note and term note, and illustrative examples, were often missing, especially for the Latvian terms. The interface of this database also allows modification of the search options – the user can select the option 'Search by collection' or 'Open expanded search', as well as change the view from standard to interpreters'.

This review has also revealed that since the above databases comprise collections of terms from various sources, the application of the concept-oriented approach often leads to unnecessary repetition of information that can annoy the user and prolong the look-up process.

It is also one of the main grievances repeatedly voiced by students of BA and MA study programmes during practical translation workshops.

The feedback provided by students has allowed us to identify 60 key legal terms in Latvian legal terminology, of which 12 Latvian and English legal terms were chosen for an in-depth analysis as an illustration of difficulties encountered by users.

The cluster of terms presented in the article has been chosen in view of distinct peculiarities in interpreting and designating specific legal phenomena in different legal systems, for example, the age threshold when the person becomes criminally liable as in the Latvian term *nepilngadīgais* and *mazgadīgais*, the distinction between *rīcībspēja* and *tiesībspēja* in Latvian law that should be duly reflected in any translation of the respective legal acts involving the usage of appropriate equivalents, the term *atsavināšana* and its English equivalents and designations of two existing legal systems – the civil law system and the common law system.

Table 1 below presents a summary of English equivalents for the Latvian legal term *atsavināšana* provided in the selected lexicographic sources.

Table 1 English equivalents for the Latvian term *atsavināšana*

<i>LETONIKA</i>	<i>ETB</i>	<i>LNTP</i>	<i>IATE</i>
expropriation <i>jur.</i> alienation, forfeit, forfeiture, divestiture, disposal	alienation appropriation confiscation disposal expropriation forfeiture transfer	alienation confiscation disposal divestiture expropriation forfeit forfeiture transfer	disposal divestment divestiture expropriation foreclosure

The term *atsavināšana* is a cover term for several types of enforced removal of assets. Subscribers of *Letonika.lv* can also use the listing of meanings for the term *atsavināšana* in Latvian:

- I. *lietv.* 1. *nelikumīga aizturēšana*; 2. *ekspropriācija*; 3. *atsavinājums*;
4. *konfiskācija*; *zaudējums*;
- II. *konfiscēta lieta*; *konfiscēta manta*; *konfiskācija* (Online 2)

The listing given in *Letonika.lv* does not include the term *confiscation*, although this term is most frequently used to denote the enforced removal of assets, goods or property. However, it should be noted that the said term is listed as an equivalent in two domains – *museology* and *economics*. The comparison of the equivalents in Tables 2 and 3 provided below reveals that the Latvian term *atsavināšana* is listed as an equivalent to the English term *confiscation*.

Table 2 English equivalents for the Latvian term *konfiskācija*

<i>LETONIKA</i>	<i>ETB</i>	<i>LNTP</i>	<i>IATE</i>
confiscation seizing seizure forfeiture	confiscation forfeit	confiscation forfeiture withdrawal	confiscation seizure forfeiture

Table 3 Latvian equivalents for the English term *confiscation*

<i>LETONIKA</i>	<i>ETB</i>	<i>LNTP</i>	<i>IATE</i>
konfiskācija konfiscēšana atsavināšana atņemšana noņemšana	konfiskācija	konfiskācija konfiscēšana atsavināšana noņemšana	konfiskācija konfiscēšana

The *EuroTermBank* gives the following equivalents indicating the sector where they are used: *expropriation*, *transfer*, *disposal*, *forfeiture* (economics and finance);

alienation, appropriation, forfeiture (politics, law and public administration); *confiscation, expropriation* (entrepreneurship, competition, economics, documentation); *alienation* (tariff policy, taxes). However, the equivalents have been listed without more detailed explanations supported by examples that would delineate semantic differences as the given equivalents cannot be used interchangeably.

The *Latvian National Terminology Portal* lists equivalents as well as 28 collocations where the term appears and provides the source where the term has been used and, in some cases, examples – excerpts of texts.

The *IATE* database lists the following equivalents and references to the EU texts where the terms have been used: *divestment/divestiture* in finance and investment, business organisation; *disposal of shares* in taxation, *disposal of assets* in taxation and accounting; *foreclosure* in management accounting; *expropriation, compulsory purchase/acquisition* in ownership law; *disposal of fixed assets* in preparation for market.

It can be observed that there are differences in the listing of equivalents in the said sources. The choice of the correct equivalent largely rests with the user of these lexicographic sources. Moreover, it is quite clear that equivalents cannot be used interchangeably as all of them have a specific legal meaning. The absence of more detailed explanations revealing differences among equivalents presupposes that the lexicographic sources are used by users with substantial background knowledge of legal matters and that less sophisticated users may commit serious errors in choosing the inappropriate equivalent. Alignment of equivalents listed in various sources would be highly welcome and advisable to avoid ambiguity in the usage of legal terms.

The same can be said about equivalents for the Latvian term *nepilngadīgais*. The Latvian term includes two concepts distinguished in Latvian law. According to Section 11 in the Criminal Law of the Republic of Latvia: ‘A natural person who, on the day of the commission of a criminal offence, has attained fourteen years of age may be held criminally liable. An underaged person, that is, a person who has not attained fourteen years of age, may not be held criminally liable’ (Online 5). In the Latvian text of the law, *the underaged person* is called *mazgadīgais*. Thus, there is an age threshold that determines exemption from criminal liability. If the term *nepilngadīgais* denotes a person under the age of 18 (the age of majority in Latvia), the term *mazgadīgais* denotes a person under the age of 14. Such a distinction is not found in the respective English terminology, and it can be seen in Table 4, provided below, listing equivalents found in the selected lexicographic sources.

Table 4 English equivalents for the Latvian term *nepilngadīgais*

<i>LETONIKA</i>	<i>ETB</i>	<i>LNTP</i>	<i>IATE</i>
minor juvenile	minor	minor	child minor

Letonika.lv lists the equivalents *minor* and *juvenile* providing also related terms: *nepilngadīgā noziegums* – *juvenile delinquency*, *juvenile offence*. The *EuroTermBank* lists only the term *minor* with 5 related terms. The same is listed in *Latvian National Terminology Portal* with an additional indication of 47 related terms. The *IATE* lists equivalents *child* and *minor* on the basis of EU texts. The search can also be reversed to find Latvian equivalents for the English legal terms *minor* and *juvenile* in the meaning of a person who has not yet attained majority.

It might be assumed that the reversed search would provide almost an identical response; however, it is not always the case in practice, as evidenced by Tables 5 and 6 below.

Table 5 Latvian equivalents for the English legal term *minor* in the meaning of a person who has not yet attained majority

LETONIKA	ETB	LNTF	IATE
nepilngadīgais	nepilngadīgais	nepilngadīgais	bērns nepilngadīgais

Table 6 Latvian equivalents for the English legal term *juvenile* in the meaning of a person who has not yet attained majority

LETONIKA	ETB	LNTF	IATE
jauneklis pusaudzis	mazgadīgais	mazgadīgais	nepilngadīgais

According to the *Online Etymology Dictionary* (Online 6), the word *juvenile* appeared in the English language in the 1620s as an adjective meaning *young*, *youthful*, from Latin *iuvenilis* with the meaning “of or belonging to youth, youthful” from *iuvenis* “young man, one in the flower of his age” (in Roman use, the period just beyond adolescence, from age 21 or 25 to 40)’ (ibid.).

Letonika.lv contains older entries for *juvenile* dating back to 2009, and they have not yet been aligned. The equivalents listed there are *jauneklis*, *pusaudzis*, while the equivalent for a *juvenile delinquent* is *mazgadīgs noziedznieks*. The *EuroTermBank* also lists *mazgadīgais* as an equivalent for *juvenile*. The *Latvian National Terminology Portal* lists *mazgadīgais*, and the *IATE* gives *nepilngadīgais*.

The definition found on the US Department of Justice website is quite explicit: ‘A *juvenile* is a person who has not attained his eighteenth birthday, and *juvenile delinquency* is the violation of a law of the United States committed by a person prior to his eighteenth birthday which would have been a crime if committed by an adult’ (Online 7). A similar definition of *juvenile* is provided by the *Black’s Law Dictionary*: ‘A child, a young person who is below the age of adulthood or the majority’ (Online 8).

Another problem that emerges in legal terminology is the need to develop equivalents for specific concepts that do not have distinct counterparts in the respective legal systems – the civil law system and the common law system.

A closer look at the English equivalents for two key basic legal terms in Latvian *tiesībspēja* and *ričībspēja* shows that one and the same English equivalent is used in both cases even though each of the Latvian terms has a very distinct meaning: *tiesībspēja* starts at the moment a person is born and expires upon the person's death while *ričībspēja* denotes the person's ability to perform legally relevant actions and to assume responsibility for their consequences (Balodis, 2007: 75–77). English equivalents for the Latvian terms *tiesībspēja* and *ričībspēja* are presented in Tables 7 and 8.

Table 7 English equivalents for the Latvian term *tiesībspēja*

LETONIKA	ETB	LNTP	IATE
legal capacity	legal capacity	legal capacity	legal capacity legal status

Table 8 English equivalents for the Latvian term *ričībspēja*

LETONIKA	ETB	LNTP	IATE
legal capacity	legal capacity	capacity to exercise rights legal capacity legal capability capacity to act	legal capacity

The analysis has revealed that there have been efforts to find appropriate equivalents in the respective languages; however, any decision on the alignment of terminology should be taken in close cooperation with legal professionals and with their approval, although it seems that no involved party is ready to assume ultimate responsibility that is clearly demonstrated in the case of the English legal term denoting the legal principle of *double jeopardy* meaning that no person can be tried more than once for the same offence, no Latvian equivalent is given, resorting to the Latin equivalent *ne bis in idem* (Lat. *not twice about the same*). Table 9 provides information on Latvian equivalents for the said term found in the selected sources.

Table 9 Latvian equivalents for the English term *double jeopardy*

LETONIKA	ETB	LNTP	IATE
<i>an explanation is provided</i>	divkārša sodīšana dubultā sodīšana	divkārša sodīšana dubultā sodīšana	ne bis in idem

Certain inconsistencies could be understandable in respect of relatively new Latvian equivalents as terminology is developed, upgraded and refined in an ongoing dynamic process. However, there should be absolute clarity and precision in respect of fundamental concepts. One of such concepts is *common law*, usually mentioned in

the context of civil law in many ways as its opposite. The research study undertaken by Dace Liepiņa in 2019 on equivalents for the term *common law* revealed that more than seven equivalents were in active use in Latvia (2019: 58–59). In 2019 no Latvian equivalents were provided for the term *common law* in such authoritative sources as *Letonika.lv* and *EuroTermBank*; the equivalent *paražu tiesības* was given in *A Dictionary of Legal Synonyms: Latvian-English-Latvian* edited by Condrell and Condrell and published in 1993.

In 2021 the situation has slightly changed. Tables 10, 11 and 12 show that although there are explanations provided for the term *common law* – *anglosakšu tiesības*, *paražu tiesības* in *Letonika.lv*, other sources included in the current study give *anglosakšu tiesības* for *common law* (see Table 10), *common law* for *anglusakšu tiesības* (see Table 11) and *customary law* for *paražu tiesības* (see Table 11). An interesting twist of development can be found in *IATE* that does not give any equivalent for *anglosakšu tiesības*, although EU law is viewed as common law based.

Table 10 Latvian equivalents for the English term *common law*

LETONIKA	ETB	LNTP	IATE
<i>an explanation is provided</i>	anglosakšu tiesības	anglosakšu tiesības	anglosakšu tiesības

Table 11 English equivalents for the term *anglosakšu tiesības*

LETONIKA	ETB	LNTP	IATE
<i>an explanation is provided</i>	common law English law	common law English law	–

Table 12 English equivalents for the term *paražu tiesības*

LETONIKA	ETB	LNTP	IATE
<i>an explanation is provided</i>	Customary law	Customary law	Customary law

The above brief review confirms once again that Latvian legal terminology is in an ongoing process of development and refinement. However, it may also give the impression of the volatility and instability of Latvian legal terminology and its equivalents, as well as the Latvian equivalents for English legal terms. There has always been a hidden fight against loanwords in Latvian terminology in favour of Latvian equivalents; there is a profound distrust of metaphorical terms in Latvian legal terminology, suffice to mention the English term *money laundering* and its Latvian equivalent *nelikumīgi iegūto līdzekļu legalizācija*. These are the prevailing trends in the development of Latvian terminology; however, whatever trends there might be, alignment and harmonisation of equivalents for legal terms – be it from Latvian into English or from English into Latvian – would be very advisable.

CONCLUSIONS

The evolution of legal terminology is a gradual process ensuing from the development of society and the respective legal practice. Sometimes it is to develop under serious pressure of time constraints and urgency of decision-making like it has been in the case of Latvian legal terminology and Latvian equivalents for legal terms in foreign languages. It requires considerable investments of time and effort, constant and ongoing coordination and alignment.

Undoubtedly, the future belongs to electronic databases and dictionaries, not printed dictionaries, as they offer information that flows through the electronic media and reach the addressee in a split second. There is also no need to economize on space as there are almost no format constraints and the electronic media offer limitless opportunities for lexicographers to present and provide information. Some of the electronic lexicographic sources are more generous in providing explanatory information, examples, and comparisons, while others restrict themselves to listing equivalents for a word.

The analysis has allowed the delineation of certain trends in the development of lexicographic resources as well highlighted some failings that should be eliminated to improve the quality of these resources. The ultimate question is the reliability of lexicographic resources as precision is required in the usage of legal terminology to avoid misinterpretations and ambiguities; however, the electronic terminological databases often list several equivalents that cannot be used interchangeably and in all contexts. Without sufficient support information, the way is wide open for errors and misunderstandings. The electronic lexicographic sources for Latvian legal terminology and respective equivalents in foreign languages require considerable background knowledge of legal phenomena as well as linguistic acumen – a certain alertness of the mind and memory – to be able to choose the required equivalent from those offered for choice. Another issue that most often is not even mentioned or perhaps is not considered to be sufficiently relevant is the time factor – how much time is needed to surf through all the databases and online dictionaries, to find the required term, to compare equivalents listed, to check its usage in a context and then make an informed decision.

Fully aware of the amount of work that is required as well as the time that will be dedicated to the venture if it is ever undertaken, Latvian legal terminology deserves the full attention of linguists, terminology developers and the legal community who in future could establish a free-access portal of Latvian legal terminology with equivalents in foreign languages.

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FUNCTIONAL TRANSPOSITION OF *AFTER* FROM A DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract. The paper aims at tracing the origin of the preposition, adverb, and conjunction *after*, starting with the first examples registered before 850; distinguishing the primary and transposed categories; and reconstructing the process of functional transposition in general. The analysis is undertaken on the basis of the examples, which have been manually selected from the HCET and the CLMET and have undergone the following PoS tagging, and the statistical data retrieved from the COHA and the BNC. It is proved that *after* emerges as the preposition and transposes into the adverb and conjunction. The preposition, which predominates throughout Old English, loses its position in favor of the adverb in the second half of the Middle English period. Later, it stabilizes the correlation, which remains more or less consistent up to now. The adverb reaches its peak in Early Modern English, then it starts rapid declension, and now its quantity is close to null. The conjunction, being neglected up to the middle of the Early Modern English period, starts its increase and is at the peak in Present-Day English. It testifies that functional transposition, which is undeservingly disregarded in linguistics, is still remaining in progress for fundamental and newly-coined lexical units.

Keywords: preposition, conjunction, adverb, functional transposition, diachronic analysis

INTRODUCTION

The parts of speech (hereinafter – PoS) theory is nowadays referred to in terms of synchrony, with much attention paid to numerous newly-coined words, whereas lexical units which have been functioning in the language since the Old English period and are considered extensively studied are often left aside. PoS overlapping, especially that of prepositions, adverbs, and conjunctions, is taken for granted and is widely discussed from a synchronic perspective (Heaton, 1965; O’Dowd, 1998; Old, 2003; Tyler and Evans, 2003; Fontaine, 2017), but it has not been comprehensively researched in diachrony, being predominantly described in terms of studying other phenomena (Akimoto, 1999; Cappelle, 2004; Elenbaas, 2007). The focus

on neologisms and words that are currently shifting from one PoS to another and the lack of up-to-date diachronic research on the functional transposition of fundamental lexical units indisputably prove the topicality of the research. It is supported by the natural feasibility to apply the findings of the research to the analysis of other similar units which are still undergoing the processes of functional transposition and institutionalization. The lexical unit *per*, for example, can easily substantiate this assumption, being in the very process of functional transposition. Only *The Merriam Webster Dictionary* and *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* define *per* as an adverb, whereas the rest deny this idea. However, all dictionaries refer to it as a preposition. Regarding the actual use of *per*, *The British National Corpus* does not treat it as an adverb, but *The Corpus of Contemporary American English* registers *per* as an adverb in more than 7 per cent of cases. It testifies that the preposition *per* is now transposing into the category of the adverb, being under the process of institutionalization by the dictionaries.

Nevertheless, at the modern stage of English language development, the phenomenon of functional transposition is not at the forefront of core research. Firstly, it is explained by the fact that the PoS system is well-established and generally acknowledged (Kovbasko, 2020), and there exist numerous approaches that 'provide productive patterns for creating new lexical units' (Lipka, 1992: 120). Secondly, the phenomenon of functional transposition lies in the scope of diachronic research and is quite challenging, as it must be described considering that 'any transition to another PoS is accompanied by a decrease or increase of original part of speech's features and, in turn, by taking on the features of the other parts of speech' (Komarek, 1999: 198). It means that the development of any lexical unit should be traced back to its origin and must receive as close attention as possible at every stage of its evolution. Thirdly, due to a number of various approaches and designations toward PoS shifts, the problem seems to be dramatically complicated. Moreover, these approaches are predominantly focused on open word classes and leave closed word classes in peaceful oblivion. Fourthly, overlapping between open-closed or closed-closed word classes, which is the core of functional transposition, 'constitutes a major problem for lexicographers, grammarians, theoretical linguists, and foreign language learners' (Adamska-Sałaciak, 2008: 339). Such overlapping is based on (a) absence of morphological or/and syntactic markers, i.e. identical morphological form; (b) extremely similar semantics, especially if one examines the primary semantic category of locality and/or temporality; (c) similar linguistic functions. So, the triad *form-meaning-function* does not settle a problem of PoS overlapping, which is an inherent part of functional transposition, so it is suggested to apply the diachronic approach to study functional transposition. I hypothesize that the diachronic approach is a cornerstone in the functional transposition theory, making it possible to identify the initial/source PoS, trace its institutionalization into the target PoS, and describe the scenario of its evolution. The aim of the paper is to perform the most significant step in the algorithm of functional transposition analysis, i.e. diachronic analysis (Kovbasko, 2022), representing it in the frames of the exploratory and critical instance case study of *after*, which belong

to the categories of the preposition, adverb, and conjunction. ‘A case study,’ as offered by Yin (2014: 16), ‘is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the case) in-depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident’. Following this, the findings support the theory of functional transposition in the case of other lexical units which currently overlap within the categories of adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions, as well as lay the groundwork for further analysis of the extralinguistic factors which determine the transposition of *after* or any other ambiguous lexical unit from one category into another.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

One could hardly conceive of a more studied and elaborated problem in linguistics than that of parts of speech, word classes or word categories. Nevertheless, in the 21st century, there is no clearly defined and unanimously confirmed approach to the principle of their classification (Kovbasko, 2020), and this has spawned a number of viewpoints on PoS shifts, viz. *transposition* (Bally, 1932; Vinay and Darbelnet, 1958; ten Hacken, 2015); *transfer* (Tesniere, 1959); *zero-derivation* (Kurilowicz, 1962; Marchand, 1969; Lipka, 1992); *conversion* (Sweet, 1900; Kruisinga, 1932; Bauer, 1983; Quirk et al., 1985; Langacker, 1999; Valera, 2017); *transition* (Komarek, 1999); *categorical flexibility* (Robert, 2004); *transcategorization* (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999; Ježek and Ramat, 2009; Simone and Masini, 2014; Ramat, 2019). Being grounded on the same phenomenon and sharing the idea of PoS shifts, each approach involves the nuances that must be perceived.

The prime notion of *transposition* was introduced and formulated by Bally (1932: 116) as a process when ‘a linguistic sign can change its grammatical value and yet retain its semantic value by adopting the function of a lexical category (noun, verb, adjective, adverb) to which it did not previously belong’. The hallmark of Bally’s theory is the ability of lexical units to exploit morphological markers in the process of transposition. Developing the concept within the frame of structural syntax, Tesniere (1959: 369) interpreted the process as *transfer*, emphasizing the significance of syntactical markers while transferring lexical units, but adding that the transferred word conserves the morphological characteristics of the category that it has before undergoing transfer. As the change of functions can be generally observed at the syntactic level, the subsequent interpretations and approaches have been unanimous in recognizing the possibility to apply both morphological and/or syntactical markers in the process of transposition (Lipka, 1971; Block-Trojnar, 2013; ten Hacken, 2015). It causes another problem because the notion of transposition comes too close to *conversion*, which is traditionally interpreted as ‘a matter of the same form and different word-class’ (Valera, 2004: 20). Conversion, however, admits the possibility of a minor change in form, especially in the case of acquiring certain morphological markers in a new paradigm. This interpretation brings functional transposition closer to *zero-derivation* (Jespersen,

1954; Marchand, 1969; Adams, 1973), as both processes are characterized by the absolute formal identity of units and should be historically institutionalized in the language. Marchand (1967: 16) describes transposition as the use of a word in another than its normal function by contrast with derivation, which entails a change of word-class or lexical class. Thus, to be treated as zero-derivation, functional transposition must conform to the overt analog criterion, when 'one word can be derived from another word of the same form in a language (only) if there is a precise analog in the language where the same derivational function is marked in the derived word by an overt (nonzero) form (Sanders, 1988: 165) and serve as a word-formation means. This shows the necessity to differentiate between zero-derivation and functional transposition, as the latter fails to follow the overt analog criterion, though it accounts for the existence of two/three morphologically and semantically parallel forms in the language. Moreover, functional transposition is not a word-formation process or means but a functional use of a lexical item as a representative of the transposed word class. To some extent, this understanding is aligned with the idea of *transcategorization* as 'a diachronic process consisting in a categorical shift of a lexical item without any superficial marking' (Ježek and Ramat, 2009: 395). Nevertheless, a new problem arises as to what should be treated as a 'superficial marking' because, according to Halliday and Matthiessen (1999: 242), the phenomenon of transcategorization implies the possibility of 'some etymons to be transferred to another class by some means, syntactic and/or morphological'.

To break this cycle, I offer to define functional transposition as a diachronic-synchronic functional process and its outcome, which presupposes the ability of lexical units, by means of grammaticalization and lexicalization and without application of any morphological and/or syntactical markers, to acquire and realize functions inherent to other word classes, and, in this way, remain within its original semantic and word category. Such comprehension of this specific kind of categorical shift allows to split it off the notions of traditional transposition, transfer, conversion, and zero-derivation, which are word-formation processes, as well as of transcategorization, which may apply some morphological and/or syntactic markers. Of course, the presence of morphologically and semantically parallel forms accentuates 'the chicken-and-egg problem', which in the case of individual lexical units may be explained in terms of 'bidirectionality' (Leech, 1981: 224), but which must be strictly and completely settled by means of diachronic analysis in case of the identical functional forms of one and the same lexical unit. Therefore, to illustrate the most significant aspects of functional transposition, the lexical unit *after*, whose morphological form and semantic components are identical for the preposition, adverb, and conjunction, has been chosen.

METHODOLOGY

In order to give full coverage of the functional transposition process in the English language, specify the initial PoS category *after* belongs to, and trace the development

of *after* as the preposition, conjunction, and adverb, it has been decided to apply the empirical diachronic analysis. The monumental periodization of the English language into Old, Middle, and Modern English (Hogg, 1992; Baugh and Cable, 2002) seems not sufficient enough to study the evolution of functional transposition, as any grammatical process requires a thorough and nuanced analysis which can provide an extensive review of each change and shift. To achieve this, 16 historical scopes are distinguished in the paper, see Table 1.

Table 1 Key historical scopes of the English language in studying functional transposition

No	Time span						
1	–850	5	1150–1250	9	1500–1570	13	1780–1850
2	850–950	6	1250–1350	10	1570–1640	14	1850–1920
3	950–1050	7	1350–1420	11	1640–1710	15	1920–1990
4	1050–1150	8	1420–1500	12	1710–1780	16	1990–2020

This periodization represents the traditional division into Old English (hereinafter – OE), Middle English (hereinafter – ME), and Modern English (hereinafter – ModE). A detailed subdivision into 16 scopes is justified by the necessity to divide each classical period into the equal and balanced subperiods, which is achieved due to the number of texts and words under research. Another reason is to provide a progressive analysis of the *after* development, which would cover as many steps as possible. The span of 100 years, which is used for manuscripts written before 1350, is explained by the necessity to collect a reasonable number of manuscripts and lexical units under study. The span of 70 years is applied to balance the previous periods and is the most preferable size for the analysis because this time span is enough for the change to be institutionalized in the language. Therefore, classical periods are not divided into shorter time spans because they would fail to represent a balanced picture.

The first 4 historical scopes (–850–1150) cover the generally acknowledged Old English period; the next 4 scopes (1150–1500) represent Middle English; the remaining 8 scopes (1500–2020) constitute Modern English, which is subdivided into Early Modern English (1500–1710), Late Modern English (1710–1920), and Present-Day English (1920–2020).

Diachronic analysis has been performed on the examples which are selected from *The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts: Diachronic and Dialectal* (HCET) and *The Corpus of Late Modern English Texts* (CLMET) and are analyzed by applying PoS tagging, and the statistical data, retrieved from *The Corpus of Historical American English* (COHA) and *The British National Corpus* (BNC).

The HCET is a compilation of Old, Middle and Early Modern English texts (c. 1.5 million words) and covers the period –850–1710.

The CLMET represents formal, written British English (over 15 million words), varying in genres and styles for the period 1710–1920.

The COHA is the largest diachronic corpus of English, which contains over 475 million words and makes it possible to examine all the changes in the PoS categories during the period 1920–1990.

The BNC is a 100-million-word collection of British English from the late 20th and early 21st centuries (1990–2020).

Hence, the design and procedure of the research is as follows: 999 examples from the OE texts, 1097 examples from the ME texts, and 1223 examples from the Early Modern English texts are manually extracted, analyzed and tagged as corresponding to PoS; 39 582 examples from the Late Modern English texts have been automatically tagged by means of the corpus toolbox *Lancsbox*; the compiled statistics on 582 305 examples are retrieved from the COHA and BNC. The obtained data is represented in percentage correlations in accordance with 16 historical scopes and 3 PoS, which are specified in relevant tables, and the interrelation between prepositions, adverbs, and conjunctions at each stage of their development and transposition is discussed. On the basis of the overall data, the corresponding figure, which represents the process of functional transposition of *after* in the English language, is constructed.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1 OLD ENGLISH PERIOD

The first stage of the OE period (–850) is characterized by the limited number of manuscripts available for research, which makes each example extremely valuable. Another problem is that the illustrative material was a translation from Latin; moreover, it was made into different language varieties, for instance, the Northumbrian dialect, the West Saxon dialect etc. In case dialectal differences do not make it possible to affiliate the lexical unit under study, it is appropriate and reasonable to analyze the source manuscript. The examples are followed by word-for-word reconstructions, as being translated literarily they do not represent the interdependence between PoS, which is the focus of the research.

The analysis of the manuscripts registered before 850 testifies that *after* was unexceptionally used as a preposition, e.g.:

[1] ... *hwæt his gastae godaes aeththa yflaes aefter deothdaege doemid uueorthae*. [... what his spirit good or evil after deathday judgment takes place.] (HCET: Anonymous: Bede's Death Song: line 6)

[2] *Ic Abba geroefa cyðe & writan hate hu min willa is þæt mon ymb min ærfe gedoe æfter minum dæge*. [I, Abba, publicly declare and write bidding how my will is that man concerning my property after my days.] (HCET: Anonymous: Documents 1 (HARMER 2: line 3)

Sometimes, it is impossible to trace the affiliation of the lexical unit to the PoS categories, i.e. the preposition, conjunction or adverb. The case is of ultimate

significance because the example can either prove or refute the hypothesis concerning the initial affiliation of *after* to the PoS category and its further development. The sample of such analysis is showcased in Table 2, where a fragment from *Caedmon's Hymn* is represented in Latin (source language), translations into the Northumbrian and West Saxon dialects renditions ('eorðan' and 'ylda' recensions), and Modern English literal translation.

Table 2 Latin, Modern English, Northumbrian, and West Saxon versions of the poem *Caedmon's Hymn*

Latin		Modern English	
qui primo filiis hominum caelum pro culmine tecti dehinc terram custos humani generis omnipotens <i>creavit</i>		who first for the sons of men heaven for a roof above next , the earth, the keeper of the human- race the all-powerful <i>created</i> .	
Northumbrian rendition	West Saxon rendition (-eorðan- recension)	West Saxon rendition (-ylda-) recension	
He aerist <i>scop</i> aelda barnum <u>heben til hrofe,</u> <u>haleg scepen</u> Tha <u>middungeard</u> moncynnæs uard, eci dryctin, æfter <i>tiadae</i> firum <u>foldu</u> , frea <u>allmectig</u> .	He ærest <i>sceop</i> eorðan <u>bearnum heofon to hrofe,</u> <u>halig scyppend;</u> þa middangeard <u>moncynnæs weard,</u> ece <u>drihten, æfter teode firum</u> foldan, frea ælmihtig.	He ærest <i>gescop</i> ylda <u>bearnum heofon to hrofe,</u> <u>halig scyppend;</u> <u>middangearde moncynnæs</u> <u>weard,</u> <u>ece drihten, æfter tida firum</u> <u>on foldum, frea ælmihtig.</u>	

The fragments under study are distinctive due to several factors. Firstly, in the source Latin text, just one verb *to create* (*creavit*) is used, whereas in the Northumbrian and West Saxon ('eorðan' recension), two verbs *to create* appear, viz. *scop/sceop* and *tiadae/teode*, respectively. This is proved by ModE translations of the poem 'Caedmon's Hymn', where the expression *æfter tiadae/teode* is translated as *made afterwards*. This translation describes the modern use of *æfter* as an adverb, which is equivalent to the Latin original word *dehinc*. By contrast, in the West Saxon rendition (the 'ylda' recension), only one verb *to create* (*gescop*) is found; and the units *tiadae/teode* are represented as *tida* (*time*). In this case, *æfter tida* means *after time*, where *after* is the preposition; however, the phrase itself implies the adverbial meaning of *afterwards*, which also corresponds to the Latin word *dehinc* found in the source text.

Referring to the fact that all OE renditions of *Caedmon's Hymn* bear an extreme resemblance to the original, it seems that there are no reasonable grounds for an additional verb to appear in them and transform the preposition into the adverb. Thus, it strongly suggests that while translating the Latin adverb *dehinc*, it is more reasonable to use a prepositional phrase *after time* because, at that time, the English language lacked a corresponding adverb (*afterwards*, for instance, appeared later), and the unit *æfter*, being the preposition, requires a noun phrase (hereinafter – NP) complement. This is proved by other examples registered before 850, which

showcase the use of the preposition *æfter*. Summarizing the discussion above, it is concluded that the primary PoS category for *æfter* is the preposition, and it forms the basis for further functional transposition of this lexical unit.

The next stage (850–950) is crucial for functional transposition analysis because the examples of *æfter* as an adverb, see [3], and a conjunction, see [4], are registered:

[3] ... *ete swa manige snæda swa he mæge, gedrince þæs drences scenc fulne æfter and eal þæt fæc ete sceapen flæsc & nan oþer.* [... eat as many morsels as he can, drink those drinks cups full after and all that time he ate sheep flesh and none other.] (HCET: Anonymous: Laeceboc: line 1374)

[4] *Ac he onfunde ðeah Godes ierre on ðam hearne ðe his bearne æfter his dagum becom.* [As he found out though God's anger on the pain his offspring after his days experienced.] (HCET: Alfred: Alfred's Cura Pastoralis: line 275)

Functional transposition of the preposition *æfter* in [3] is possible due to a *discursive* dependent, represented by a simple sentence as a part of the compound one. Analyzing the fragments with the conjunction *æfter*, the functional transposition of the preposition into the category of the conjunction starts by omitting the NP complement *þam*, see [4], which makes it possible to combine two sentences. This pattern of functional transposition is not common at that time (850–950); however, it is much more promising because the number of *æfter þam* constructions is almost 60 per cent of all prepositions *æfter*.

This hypothesis is proved true by the analysis of the examples in 950–1050. It shows that the number of *æfter þam/ðan* constructions declines and equals just 20 per cent, whereas the number of *æfter* functioning as a conjunction increases. Similar growth is observed in the case of a total number of *æfter*.

[5] *God cwæð ða to Abrame, æfter ðan þe Loth wæs totwæmed him fram.* [God said then to Abraham, after that when Lot parted him from.] (HCET: Aelfric: The Old Testament: line 531)

[6] *We gehyraþ æfter ðisse æscan drihten andswariendne and þone weg his eardunge þus tæcendne:* [We hear after this demanded Lord answered and then way his dwelling thus showed:] (HCET: Aethelwold: The Benedictine Rule: line 187)

[7] ..., *hopað to þam ecum þe þær æfter cumað,* [..., hope to the eternity that there after comes,] (HCET: Alfred: The Meters of Boethius: line 72)

Sentence [5] showcases the OE preposition *æfter* as a part of the construction *æfter þam/ðan*; in [6], *æfter* functions as the conjunction, introducing the subordinate clause. The adverb *æfter*, see [7], represents the earliest non-grammaticalized example of a modern construction *thereafter*. *Thereafter* is formed due to grammaticalization of *æfter*, which loses its NP complement and transposes from the category of the preposition into the adverb.

Grammaticalization of the already transposed unit *after* gets widespread during the last stage (1050–1150) of the OE period. The process is marked by the upsurge of various constructions with *after*, which form new adverbs in the language, e.g.:

[8] ... *he efterþon segde þa swetestan stefne singendra & blissendra of heofonum to eorðan niðer astigan.* [... he afterwards said the sweetest sound and joy from heaven to earth descended.] (HCET: Anonymous: Chad: line 128)

[9] *& sona þæræfter sende se cyng him & se arcebiscop Cantwarbyrig to Rome ...* [& soon thereafter send the king him & the archbishop of Kent to Rome ...] (HCET: Anonymous: Chronicle MS E (Late): line 874)

This method of adverb formation is the result of functional transposition because this process launched the usage of *after* as an adverb. It is worth mentioning that the emergence of new lexical units with *after* leads to the reduction of the general number of constructions with *after* and its frequency as the adverb. Apart from the traditional usage of *after* as a preposition in [10], it is registered as an adverb in [11] and a conjunction in [12].

[10] *Ac Adam gestrinde æfter Abeles slege oðerne sunu,* [*But Adam engendered after Abel's murder another son,*] (HCET: Aelfric: Aelfric's Letter to Sigeward ('On the Old and New Testament'): line 151)

[11] ..., *né næfre wind on ne bleów náne tid dægés ne ær ne æfter.* [..., not never wind on not blew no time of day not before not after.] (HCET: Anonymous: Adrian and Ritheus: line 17)

[12] *Gyme eac swyn, þæt he æfter sticunge his slyhtswyn ...* [*Keep each swine, that he after stabbing his swines for killing ...*] (HCET: Anonymous: Laws (Late): 84)

This testifies that the functional transposition of *after* from the category of the preposition into the adverb and/or conjunction starts in the first half of the OE period; however, this period is an intermediary stage for the functional transposition of *after* because neither adverbs nor conjunctions are fully institutionalized in the language. The authors, in their turn, are inclined to use *after* in combination with an NP complement, i.e. as prepositions. The statistical data on the functional transposition of *after* in OE is presented in Table 3.

The statistics, represented in Table 3, showcase that initially (before 850) *after* functions as a preposition. Over time, it undergoes functional transposition and starts being used as an adverb and a conjunction. At the next stage, the frequency of the conjunction and adverb *after* slightly grows. It is substantiated by the grammaticalization of the already transposed lexical unit *after*, which transforms into an inseparable part of new word forms. In 1050–1150, the adverb *after* tended to function as a part of other adverbs, and this lowers its frequency as an independent unit. A gradual change of word order and the emergence of

new adverbs exert pressure on the frequency of the conjunction *after*, which also decreases.

Table 3 Correlation of *after* as the preposition, adverb, and conjunction in Old English

PoS	-850	850–950	950–1050	1050–1150
<i>Preposition</i>	100%	85.7%	86.1%	93%
<i>Adverb</i>	–	9.8%	8.8%	4.5%
<i>Conjunction</i>	–	4.5%	5.1%	2.5%

2 MIDDLE ENGLISH PERIOD

The beginning of the ME period (1150–1250) is predominantly characterized by several changes in the usage of different morphological forms of *after*, for instance, a significant frequency reduction of *æfter*, which dominates throughout OE, and a corresponding frequency growth of *after*, which is registered in more than 70 per cent of all examples. According to the study, all the forms are both instrumental in new adverb formation and function independently as prepositions, conjunctions, and adverbs, e.g.:

[13] *Denne æfter þam þe þa manfulle beoð isceofene wepende on þ ece fyr,*
[Then after that the wicked people are pushed weeping on the eternal fire,] (HCET: Anonymous: Bodley Homilies (12): line 56)

[14] *Modred þeone wende; to-ward Winchastre. And heo hine underuengen; mid alle his monnen. And Arður after wende; mid alle his mahte.*
[Modred then went toward Winchester; and they him received; with all his men. And Arthur after went; with all his might.] (HCET: Layamon: Layamon's Brut: line 1075)

[15] *ant æfter godd hare anes zong, hwider-se he eauer turned.* [and after God hears only song, whither so he ever turns.] (HCET: Anonymous: Hali Meidhad: line 350)

Sentence [13] showcases the use of *æfter* in combination with *þam/ðan*, i.e. as a preposition. In [14], *after* functions as an adverb without a complement and can be reconstructed from the previous utterance. In [15], *æfter* is a conjunction which links two simple sentences.

The diachronic analysis testifies a reduction in the use of the constructions like *æ/e/after+þam/ðan*, which, over the previous stages, comprise a significant percentage of the total number of prepositions *after* and this, to some extent, cuts down the frequency of prepositions in the language. Moreover, this tendency enhances the role of functional transposition of the preposition *after* into the category of adverbs and partially conjunctions. It shows that speakers started

to comprehend and actualize their own cognitive potential and functional capacity of language units. First of all, it allows using *after* as an adverb without an NP complement in case there is a corresponding antecedent.

At the next stage (1250–1350), the OE morphological form *æfter* completely disappears and the letter ‘a’ is fixed at the beginning of a word, e.g.:

[16] *Horn makede Arnoldin þare King, after king Aylmare,* [Horn made Arnold there King after King Aylmare,] (HCET: Anonymous: King Horn: line 1494)

[17] *Pre daies after he ne et no bred.* [Three days after he not ate no bred.] (HCET: Anonymous: The Romance of Sir Beues of Hamtoun: line 586)

[18] *And after Godrich haues wrouht, þat haues in sorwe himself brouth,* [And after Godrich has acted, that have in sorrow himself brought,] (HCET: Anonymous: Havelok: line 1615)

The tendency to language economy is preserved and even enhanced, causing the growth in adverbs frequency compared to prepositions and conjunctions. This is explained by non-grammaticalized forms of the constructions *after+word / word+after*, which still exist in ME. In ModE, a number of these constructions have been grammaticalized and now are represented by one word, e.g.:

[19] *þe nexte ȝer þer after.* [The next year thereafter.] (HCET: Gloucester, Robert: The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester: line 263)

Thus, a significant growth of adverbs *after* takes place due to the development of functional transposition and unsettled spelling rules observed in the first half of the ME period. The last factor is observed in the second half of the ME period (1350–1500) as well, when the lexical unit *after* was represented by at least 5 different spelling variants, e.g.:

[20] *falsnes & disceyt shold passe vnponysshid, ham awardid, aftir þe Custume of þe Citee,* [falseness and deceit should pass unpunished, them awarded, after the Custom of the City,] (HCET: Anonymous: Judgements, London: line 65)

[21] *Suld he neuer aftur ber cron,* [Should he never after bear crown,] (HCET: Anonymous: Cursor Mundi: line 795)

[22] ... *as we ben tawte in seyn Petre þat was pope next aftyr Crist.* [... as we been taught in saint Peter that was pope next after Christ.] (HCET: Anonymous: English Wycliffite Sermons (I/S16): line 75)

On the other hand, this period is characterized by some unification of the words with *after*, which previously were written separately, but now start functioning as hyphenated compounds in [23] or as closed compounds in [24]:

[23] *and þer-after we mowe cleerlier knowe what worde wil best acorde to ...* [and thereafter we be able clearly know what word will best accord to ...] (HCET: Anonymous: The Cloud of Unknowing: line 503)

[24] *For alle bodely þing is sogette vnto goostly þing and is reulid þerafter,* [For each earthly thing is subjugated to ghostly thing and is ruled thereafter,] (HCET: Anonymous: The Cloud of Unknowing: line 847)

The examples showcase that spelling varies even within the same text. This process of standardization and the growth in the number of the adverb *after* (about 20% of the total number) testify that functional transposition and further institutionalization of the adverb *after* have been successful.

Analyzing the conjunction *after*, it is worth noting that the process of its functional transposition from the category of the preposition has succeeded due to the cognitive potential of speakers and resulted in omitting the complement *þam/ðan/that* which follows *after*. This tendency is rooted in the previous stages of OE; however, since the second half of ME, it has come en masse. Despite the presence of the formal complement *that*, the lexical unit *after* starts being used as the conjunction, e.g.:

[25] *Moises and Aaron fledden to the tabernacle of the boond of pees; and aftir that thei entriden in to it, a cloude hilide the tabernacle,* [Moses and Aaron ran away to the tent of meeting; and after that they entered into it, a cloud covered the tent,] (HCET: Anonymous: The Old Testament (Wycliffe): line 1278)

In [25], *after* is used with a complement *that*, but, in fact, it functions as the conjunction, linking the sentences *thei entriden in to it* and *a cloude hilide the tabernacle*.

Moreover, there are numerous cases when constructions with double *þat* are used by analogy to double negation, like ‘two negatives in English destroy one another, or are equivalent to an affirmative’ (Horn, 2010: 111), e.g.:

[26] *And after þat þat water haue rested, be it þrowe away and put yn anoþer,* [And after that that water have rested, throw it away and put in another,] (HCET: Anonymous: The Cyrurgie of Guy de Chauliac: line 447)

If two *þat* are omitted while reconstructing [26], it results in the sentence where *after* functions as the conjunction.

In the second half of ME, these processes determine functional transposition and institutionalization of *after* from the category of the preposition into that of the conjunction. The frequency ratio between prepositions, adverbs, and conjunctions is represented in Table 4.

Table 4 Correlation of *after* as the preposition, adverb, and conjunction in Middle English

PoS	1150–1250	1250–1350	1350–1420	1420–1500
<i>Preposition</i>	84.6%	81.5%	69.9%	74.2%
<i>Adverb</i>	9.2%	12%	21.6%	19.8%
<i>Conjunction</i>	6.2%	6.5%	8.5%	6%

Therefore, the second half of the ME period is characterized by a considerable growth of transposed adverbs *after*. It is substantiated by the actualization of speakers' cognitive potential, which results in the lexicalization of *after* and their ability to refer to the antecedent. Functional transposition of *after* into the category of the conjunction is not so significant, which is proved by figures in Table 4. Despite the presence of a complement *that*, which defines *after* as the preposition, the number of *after that* constructions, where *after* functions as the conjunction, grows.

3 MODERN ENGLISH PERIOD

The abovementioned tendencies are preserved and enhanced in the first stage (1500–1570) of the Early Modern English period. The only exception is the morphological form of the lexical unit under study, which has finally acquired its modern spelling *after*. Another considerable peculiarity of the period is the functioning of the adverb *after* in the meaning of *then*, used for enumeration or representation of the sequence of activities, e.g.:

[27] *and after master Horne mad a sermon, and after the clarkes song Te Dewn laudamus in Englys, and after bered with a songe, and a-for songe the Englys pressessyon, and after to the place to dener;* (HCET: Machyn, Henry: The Diary of Henry Machyn: line 614)

Actualization of this function has considerably expanded the usage of the adverb *after* in the language. The frequency of the conjunction *after* remains at the same level as in the previous period; however, the number of *after that* constructions, in which *after* is formally the preposition, but functions as the conjunction, has increased, e.g.:

[28] *... one of them sodenly lost his spech and died within an houre after that he sickened,* (HCET: Turner, William: Book of Wines: line 132)

[29] *For after that the children of God had gone in vnto the doughters of men and had begotten them childern,* (HCET: Tyndale, William: The Old Testament (Tyndale): line 258)

In both cases, the transformation of the sentences and omission of a complement *that* let us interpret *after* as the conjunction. High frequency of these

structures in discourse testifies that speakers comprehend the feasibility of functional transposition from the category of the preposition into that of the conjunction. Nevertheless, following the classical grammatical traditions, which highlight an obligatory presence of a complement after the preposition, speakers use a desemantized *that* which bears neither meaning nor reference to the antecedent but is just a formal marker of the preposition. Such a marker is essential for grammatically correct usage of the preposition *after* which functions as the conjunction. It must be mentioned that these constructions have formed the basis for the main stage of functional transposition of the preposition *after* into the category of the conjunction since the late ME, whereas the earlier use of *after that* constructions, where *after* is the conjunction, is sporadic and *that* usually points to the antecedent.

A landmark feature of the second stage (1570–1640) of the Early Modern English period is the use of *after* in the meaning of *later* for the subsequent events in [30], as well as enumeration/sequence of activities in [31]:

[30] ... *and made choise of Edward Churchman one of our men, to fetch the same, whom we neuer saw after*, (HCET: Covert, Robert: A Trve and Almost Incredible Report of an Englishman: line 142)

[31] ... *and praied with Mr Rhodes, and priuatly in my Closett: after medetation, I went to supper: after, I had reed of the bible, after to lector, and then to bed* (HCET: Hoby, Margaret: Diary of Margaret Hoby: line 64)

As the diachronic analysis showcases, these two functions of the adverb *after* have the most significant impact on the growth of its frequency.

In this period, the process of functional transposition of the preposition *after* into the conjunction within the frames of an *after that* construction is near to its completion. It is testified by a considerable growth of conjunction frequency in general and a reduction in the frequency of constructions with the formal marker *that*, e.g.:

[32] *I meane all such words or things, as either are hard to them in the learning of them, or which are of some speciall excellency, or use, worthy the noting: or which after that they have beene a certaine time in construction*, (HCET: Brinsley, John: Ludus Literarius: line 460)

[33] *And Simon beate them bothe, and made them both give of; and after that, Simon would not shrinke for a bluddi nose with any boye*, (HCET: Forman, Simon: Autobiography and Personal Diary of Dr. Simon Forman: line 233)

In [32], there is a formal marker *that* which represents the use of *after* as the conjunction. In [33], the marker *that* points at a temporal antecedent and functions as a fully-featured complement. Due to the abovementioned factors, the frequency correlation between prepositions, adverbs, and conjunctions *after* has significantly changed in favor of the latter.

The end of the Early Modern English period is characterized by a considerable growth of the adverb *afterwards* and standardization of spelling, for example, *afternoon*, etc. As a result, new forms have established a foothold in the language. It is beyond controversy that the tendency projects direct influence on the general number of adverbs *after*, partially displacing them from the discourse, e.g.:

[34] *Did you see their Horses afterwards?* (HCET: Anonymous: The Trial of Lady Alice Lisle: line 233)

Analyzing [34], there is every reason to suppose that in OE the author would have used the adverb *after* instead of *afterwards* in ME. It ought to be noted that the process of functional transposition from the preposition to the conjunction has actually ended. An *after that* construction in which *that* is a formal marker of the preposition category disappears from the language. Further on, this construction functions only in those cases when *that* is a genuine marker of an antecedent, e.g.:

[35] ... *he seem'd to be troubled, and said, Has my friend left me, then I shall die shortly. After that he spake but once or twice till he died:* (HCET: Burnet, Gilbert: Biography of the Earl of Rochester: line 1118)

In [35], *that* is a genuine marker of an antecedent which points to the moment when the speaker is pronouncing a key phrase. Therefore, at the end of the Early Modern English period, functional transposition of the preposition *after* into the category of the conjunction was completely institutionalized in the language.

Apart from the linguistic factors which determine the process of functional transposition of *after*, its institutionalization is facilitated by various extralinguistic factors, like the 'shift from the Renaissance literature traditions, genres, styles, and forms to Neo-Classical literature and its influence on the rise of the novel' (Golban, 2011: 36). The research shows that the literary style change, shift from monologic to dialogic speech, from poetry to prose etc., directly influence the frequency of different PoS. The number of adverbs *after* which are previously registered in monologic speech, both in poetry and epistolary style, starts diminishing. On the other hand, the percentage of conjunctions *after* which become an inevitable part of dialogic speech and serve for representing grammatically complex structures grows; however, they are not frequently used over the previous periods. Summarizing the discussion, the overall correlation of the PoS under study is represented in Table 5.

Table 5 Correlation of *after* as the preposition, adverb, and conjunction in Modern English

PoS	1500– 1570	1570– 1640	1640– 1710	1710– 1780	1780– 1850	1850– 1920	1920– 1990	1990– 2020
Preposition	64.7%	49.7%	56.4%	69.7%	71.6%	72.4%	64.7%	68.5%
Adverb	27.2%	32.4%	16.3%	6.1%	5.6%	3.9%	0.7%	0.5%
Conjunction	8.1%	17.9%	27.3%	24.2%	22.8%	23.7%	34.6%	31%

The findings of the diachronic research over 1500–2020 showcase several predominant tendencies. Firstly, during the late 16th and early 17th centuries, the final institutionalization of functional transposition of the preposition *after* into the category of the conjunction is observed. In terms of numbers, the transposed category of the conjunction is not less than 20 per cent of the total number of units. Secondly, there is a dramatic decrease in the frequency of the adverb *after*, which does not exceed 1 per cent over the last two stages. Against the background of these changes, the frequency of the preposition *after* has not undergone any considerable shifts.

The comprehensive quantitative diachronic research on the functional transposition of *after* and its stage-by-stage development in the English language is represented in Figure 1, where the y-axis represents the percentage of each PoS in comparison with other PoS under study during each of 16 historical periods which are indicated on the x-axis.

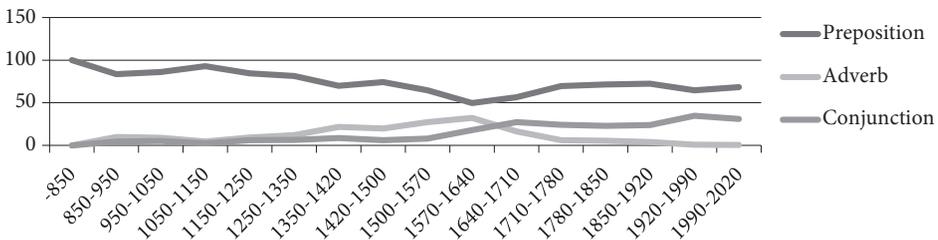


Figure 1 Functional transposition of *after* in English

The study proves that functional transposition is not a synchronic phenomenon, taking into account the statistical divergences between PoS under study at the time of their emergence and today. On the other hand, it is not purely diachronic, as it requires the analysis of linguistic and extralinguistic factors at different synchronic stages to explicate the driving forces which make people neglect using a lexical unit from one PoS in favor of another. It testifies that synchrony and diachrony are intertwined in the very nature of functional transposition; however, they represent it from different perspectives.

CONCLUSIONS

The research proves that the category of the preposition is the initial PoS and serves as the basis for further functional transposition. The preposition *after*, as opposed to the adverb and conjunction, functions in the language before 850. The process of functional transposition starts at the beginning of the OE period when the preposition loses its position in favor of both the adverb and conjunction, though the level of its representativeness remains extremely high throughout

OE and up to the second half of the ME period. Since the period of 1350–1420, the preposition *after* has, to a certain extent, stabilized its place and become firmly established in the language. It means that the main functions of *after*, especially those based on the primitive notions of temporality and locality, will not decay; nevertheless, some fluctuations are possible.

Functional transposition of *after* into the category of the adverb starts in 850–950. The figures show a direct correlation between the adverb and preposition categories, due to which growth of the former leads to the decline of the latter and vice versa. Final institutionalization of the adverb takes place in the first half of the ME period, and it reaches its peak at the beginning of Early Modern English (1570–1640). Further on, the use of the adverb *after* starts declining, being triggered by two main factors: firstly, the revival of the preposition category, which is used to diversify discourse and introduce new or explicative information into it; secondly, a constant growth of the conjunction, which could not compete in frequency with the preposition, but was extensively used. At the present stage, there are no preconditions for an absolute decay of the adverb, taking into account the process of language standardization and tendencies toward language economy.

Referring to the functional transposition of *after* into the conjunction, it is worth mentioning that the process is more extensive in comparison with transposition into the adverb. The conjunction is transposed in the first half of the OE period, along with the adverb. However, the scale of transposition has been significantly limited up to the second half of the ME period. Institutionalization of the transposed category is observed in the middle of the Early Modern English period, and it partially coincides with the decrease of the adverb *after*. The findings testify that the frequency of the conjunction is at its peak at the current stage of the language development. The crucial factors for the subsequent development of the conjunction *after* are extralinguistic factors which can influence the structure of discourse and sentences and, as a result, the frequency of *after* in discourse.

Therefore, further research in the field must be focused on linguistic and extralinguistic factors which specify the use of *after* as the preposition, conjunction, and adverb in discourse. Special attention must be paid to the extralinguistic factors which dominate at the most important stages of the lexical unit development in Old, Middle, and Early Modern English, respectively. Another point of critical importance is the analysis of other lexical units that have undergone functional transposition and currently represent the categories of the preposition, adverb, and conjunction.

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COMMUNICATIVE FAILURES PRESENTED IN AMERICAN COMEDY SERIES ANALYSED FROM A PSYCHOLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract. The paper reveals and describes the causes of communicative failures from a perspective of the intersubjective approach to communication incorporating basic assumptions of psycholinguistics. It introduces a unit of communication analysis called an intersubjective act. It is defined as an interaction, where verbal/non-verbal communicative actions of addressers are viewed as perceptual stimuli that, coming into the focus of addressees' attention, trigger parallel conscious/non-conscious inference processes involving cognition, volition, and affect to issue a command of a communicative and/or (immediate or postponed) social action. Inferential analysis applied in the research provides tools for the recreation of communicants' inferential processes and allows consideration of perceptual, cognitive, affective, and volitional aspects of interaction. Inferential analysis handles American cinema discourse represented by the genre of a situation comedy that models live communication, supplying instances of communicative failures to subject to analysis. A communicative failure is viewed as an inability on the part of an addressee to make an inference or make a faulty inference in an intersubjective act. Communicative failures are identified and classified in accordance with the element of the physical or mental experience of the participants of an intersubjective act, which plays a privileged role in causing them. We distinguish between perceptual, lingua-cognitive, cognitive and affective-volitional communicative failures.

Key words: affect, cinema, cognition, communicative failure, inference, intersubjectivity, volition

INTRODUCTION

Communicative failures have been studied from different linguistic perspectives. Representatives of formal approaches tackle them as deviations from language norms. In this vein, Kukushkina (1998), who focuses solely on verbal communication,

maintains that from the perspective of norms adopted within a certain speech community, such deviations are perceived as failures and can indicate an unusual or unclear, bad understanding of a typical way of comprehending any entity.

Proponents of functional approaches adopt a broader view of communicative failures as communication disruptions caused by the inability of certain speech patterns to fulfill their functions (e.g. Gorodetskiy, 1985: 67). Functionalists do not reduce the problem of communicative failures to the utterance conformity/non-conformity to language norms. In particular, Enkvist (1992: 24) points out that communication can be successful in terms of pragmatics and semantics even if syntactic and phonological structures were not properly formed. A number of researchers emphasize the role of a non-verbal aspect of communication in approaching communicative failures as communicants' misunderstanding or inadequate understanding of speech-behavioral acts of their communication partners (e.g. Gudkov, 2003; Loseva, 2007).

Within pragmatics, the problem of communicative failures is solved in the framework of the speech act theory. Most representatives of the pragmatic approach view communicative failures as the addresser's failure to achieve perlocutionary goals (Austin, 1986; Ermakova and Zemskaia, 1993; Teplyakova, 1998). Austin (1986), having developed a classification of infelicities, outlined a number of requirements for successful performative utterances within a conventional procedure. The problem with these conventions is that although they might work in rule-ridden institutional communicative situations, like ceremonial events, they cannot help avoid communicative failures in everyday interaction. Considering both pragmatic and socio-cultural factors, Thomas (1983: 91) has given the term 'pragmatic failure' to the inability to understand 'what is meant by what is said'. The scholar has concluded that a pragmatic failure occurs 'on any occasion on which hearer perceives the force of speaker's utterance as other than speaker intended she/he should perceive it' (ibid.: 94). An attempt to take into consideration the psychological and emotional characteristics of the speakers is exemplified by Polyakova (2009), who interprets a communicative failure as a result of the divergence between a predicted and actual effect of the utterance.

All the above-mentioned pragmatic studies of communicative failures rest (either explicitly or implicitly) on Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson, 1986/1995; Wilson, 2016), which develops Grice's pragmatic approach to meaning in communication. Grice (1957, 1975) assumes that (a) a speaker's meaning is an overtly expressed intention that is fulfilled by being recognized; (b) it has to be inferred from the speaker's behavior and contextual information; (c) in inferring the hearer is guided by a cooperative principle and conversational maxims. Taking these assumptions as its starting point, Relevance Theory treats utterance comprehension as 'an inferential process which takes as input the production of an utterance by a speaker, together with contextual information, and yields as output an interpretation of the speaker's meaning' (Wilson, 2016: 3). Other things being equal, 'the greater the cognitive effect achieved, and the smaller

the mental effort required, the more relevant this input will be to you at the time' (Sperber and Wilson, 1986/1995: 260–266).

Relevance Theory presupposes that while processing utterances, a person is trying to select the most probable way for their interpretation, hoping that the assumption being processed is relevant (Sperber and Wilson, 1986/1995: 142). 'Achieving maximal relevance involves selecting the best possible context in which to process an assumption' (ibid.: 144). The notion of relevance depends on two principles: cognitive ('Human cognition tends to be geared to the maximization of relevance' (ibid.: 260)) and communicative (Every utterance 'communicates a presumption of its own optimal relevance' (ibid.: 260)).

As it might be obvious from the above statements, Relevance Theory relies on the mind-as-computer model of cognition. Consequently, the inference is viewed as a purely rational, logical cognitive procedure.

In cognitive studies, a communicative failure is interpreted as an addressee's inability to interpret an utterance, i.e., to correlate an addresser's utterance with his/her own cognitive model in the way expected by an addresser (Ringle, 1982); the speaker's inability to generate the desired mental state in the mind of his/her communication partner (Bara, 2010).

Cognitive linguistic theories relying on the embodied model of cognition view semantic content associated with a linguistic unit used by the speaker in an act of communication as a dynamic conceptual structure rooted in our bodily experience (Johnson, 1987; Turner, 1991; Lakoff, 1994; Fauconnier, 1997; Langacker, 2001; Cienki, 2016). Understanding is explained in terms of conceptualization, i.e., an array of cognitive operations recruiting conceptual structures for meaning construal (Langacker, 2001: 144–145). The notion of inference is also widely employed by cognitive linguists, who refer to it as purely rational cognitive structure, a logical conclusion a subject makes on the ground of the body of knowledge recruited by a linguistic unit used in a particular context.

We claim that existing theories leave us with a distorted picture of making meaning in communication and, consequently, of communicative failures, from the standpoint of an emerging interdisciplinary field of cognitive science, including philosophy, neuroscience, psychology, sociology, anthropology, ethology, aesthetics, linguistics that give rise to the intersubjective model of cognition and communication. Within this model, intersubjectivity is explained as a human capacity of 'sharing experiential content (e.g., feelings, perceptions, thoughts, linguistic meanings) among a plurality of subjects' (Zlatev, 2008: 1), 'not only, and not primarily, on a cognitive level, but also (and more basically) on the level of affect, perceptual processes and conative (action-oriented) engagements' (ibid.: 3). Against this background, the generation of meaning in communication is addressed as a range of conscious/subconscious parallel psychological processes of intersubjective nature, which take place during the subjects' dynamic interaction with the world (Varela, Thompson and Rosch, 1991) involving other subjects who are themselves sources of meaning (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/1962; Hardy, 1998; Trevarthen, 1998, 2012; Gallagher, 2012; Di Paolo and Thompson, 2014). These

processes are governed by our needs and desires (motivation) and go beyond rational thinking to rely on perception in movement/action (Noë, 2004; Ellis and Newton, 2012; Sheets-Johnstone, 2012), affect/emotion (Panksepp, 1998; 2000; Damasio, 1999; 2003), intuition and insight in combination with the execution of free will in taking a voluntary action (Hardy, 1998).

The intersubjective understanding of creating meaning in communication opens a new perspective for investigating communicative failures.

The goal of this paper is to address communicative failures from a perspective of the intersubjectivity paradigm, which makes it possible to account for the perceptual, lingua-cognitive, cognitive, emotional, and volitional psychological factors that motivate our verbal and non-verbal communication actions.

This goal is achieved through the following objectives:

- to introduce a unit of analysis of communicative failures that captures perceptual, cognitive, emotional, and volitional aspects of the generation of meaning in communication;
- to give a definition of a communicative failure from the intersubjective perspective;
- to discover perceptual, lingua-cognitive, cognitive, emotional, and volitional causes of communicative failures;
- to develop an intersubjective classification of communicative failures.

METHODS

To achieve the goal and objectives, we employ a unit of analysis that is called *an intersubjective act of communication*, i.e., an inter-action, structurally including at least two verbal or/and non-verbal utterances (one initial and the other responsive), embedded in the dynamic psychophysical experiential context shared by the communicants focusing attention on the same verbal/non-verbal utterance. This utterance as a perceptual stimulus triggers parallel conscious/non-conscious inference processes involving cognition, volition, and affect to issue a command of a meaningful goal-oriented communicative and/or (immediate or postponed) social action (Martynyuk, 2017: 65).

Our sample consists of 1000 instances of communicative failures taking place in intersubjective acts, extracted from American situation comedy series ('Frasier', 'Friends', 'Home Improvement', 'Joey', 'New Girl', 'The Big Bang Theory', 'Will and Grace').

The choice of the material for the research has been stipulated by our attempt to approach live communication as close as possible. Having no access to real-life communication, we address sitcom series as its model, a physical 'representation of a real phenomenon that is difficult to observe directly' (Online 1). Scientific modelling has proved to be an established research practice used to predict and explain the behaviour of inaccessible real objects. Situation comedy series situate verbal interaction into a rich social, cultural and pragmatic context. Besides, this

context is multimodal since it includes gestures, facial expressions, intonation, which allows for getting better insight into communicants' intentions, feelings, attitudes and relationships, and thus identifying the causes of communicative failures in each speech act.

Within the framework of the intersubjectivity paradigm, *a communicative failure* is viewed as an inability of a subject to make any inference or making a faulty inference. The notion of an inference is interpreted in accordance with the findings and assumptions of the intersubjectivity paradigm (Martynyuk, 2017: 67). This paradigm advocates a definition of *an inference* as contextually motivated semantic structure, emerging in the minds of the subjects, engaged in an intersubjective act, as a result of complex parallel conscious and non-conscious multi-level associative processes recruiting perceptual, cognitive, volitional and affective elements of their psychophysical experience.

Here, we side with psycholinguists who address a communicative failure as a communication disruption resulting from communicants' complex psychological processes carried out through cognitive, motivational and emotional channels (e.g., Lavrinenko, 2015, who bases his interpretation of communicative failures on the works of Zalevskaya (2014), Zasiiekina (2007)). This view represents a long-standing psycholinguistic tradition started by Vygotskiy (1934) and rooted in the ideas of Potebnya (1892).

To reveal the nature and causes of communicative failures, we apply *inferential analysis*. It should be noted that inferences occurring in live communication are not to be confused with inferences made by a researcher, which are products of conscious rational thinking. Carrying out inferential analysis, a researcher becomes a participant of an intersubjective act assuming the role of an observer interpreting the communicative actions of other participants. While watching TV series, the researcher comes to share the mental (becomes aware of the events, the participants' relationships, etc.) and physical (has access to all the perceptual stimuli – the wording of the utterances, intonation patterns, body language, facial expressions, etc.) context of the intersubjective act. The task of the researcher-interpreter is to make inferences about the addresser's intended meanings and the addressee's inferences, embodied in their verbal and non-verbal communicative actions, and, eventually, identify the causes of communicative failures, taking into account perceptual, cognitive, affective, and volitional aspects of interaction underpinning the motivation of these communicative actions.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results of the inferential analysis reveal four types of communicative failures, which are identified in accordance with the element of the physical or mental experience of the participants of the intersubjective act, which plays a privileged role in causing a communicative failure: perceptual, lingua-cognitive, cognitive and affective-volitional.

In the physical experience of the participants of an intersubjective act, we differentiate between lingual (verbal utterances) and extra-lingual (non-verbal behavior of the participants and the setting of the intersubjective act) perceptual stimuli.

Perceptual communicative failures stem from some physical obstacles in the setting that cause a distorted perception of the utterance:

Chandler was talking to his mother and Joey was listening at the door when Ross walked up.

JOEY: *He said 'When are you gonna grow up and start being a mom?'*

ROSS: *Wow!*

JOEY: *Then she came back with 'The question is, when are you gonna grow up and realize I have a bomb?'*

ROSS: *Okay, wait a minute, are you sure she didn't say 'When are you gonna grow up and realize I am your mom?'*

JOEY: *That makes more sense* (Online 3: season 1, episode 11).

Eavesdropping at the closed door, Joey confuses the words *bomb* and *mom* since he cannot hear the speakers well enough. The closed door creates a physical barrier that distorts his comprehension. Besides, he does not have eye contact with the speaker, which can also interfere with his listening.

Lingua-cognitive communicative failures stem from the inadequacy of a lingual perceptual stimulus (unknown language or use of nonce words invented for a single occasion). Being unfamiliar to the addressee, linguistic units causing this type of communicative failure do not activate any conceptual content. In other words, they do not perform their semiotic function generating no semiosis:

Chandler was very excited as he met 'the perfect woman'.

CHANDLER: *Hey, stick a fork in me, I am done.*

PHOEBE: *Stick a fork what?*

CHANDLER: *Like, when you're cooking a steak.*

PHOEBE: *Oh, OK, I don't eat meat.*

CHANDLER: *Well then, how do you know when vegetables are done?*

PHOEBE: *Well you know, you just, you eat them and you can tell.*

CHANDLER: *OK, then, eat me, I'm done* (Online 3: season 2, episode 12).

Chandler's utterance *Hey, stick a fork in me, I am done* represents an individual occasional metaphor A MAN IN LOVE IS A WELL-DONE STEAK. The addressee cannot interpret it since it is non-conventional and therefore does not perform its semiotic function: the verbal utterance fails to evoke any concept in the addressee's mind. There is no semiosis; the utterance does not make sense as if the addresser were speaking some unknown language, though taken separately, all the words making this utterance are familiar.

Speaking about the mental experience activated in an intersubjective act, we take into consideration not only the body of knowledge that is evoked by verbal utterances but also, and primarily, the motivation of the participants, since 'our knowledge involved in the generation of meaning is being affected by our interests, wishes, needs, and feelings shaping our motives and goals' (Martynyuk, 2017: 65). Thus, besides cognitive factors influencing the interpretation of communicative actions, we consider affective (feelings, emotional states and attitudes) and volitional (interests, needs and desires) ones.

Cognitive communicative failures result from the specificity of the communicants' cognitive experience influencing the content and structure of encyclopedic knowledge evoked by the verbal/non-verbal communicative action in an intersubjective act. This specificity is explained in terms of centrality (Langacker, 1987: 159), i.e., specific conceptual content becomes the most salient (central) in the process of interpretation of a linguistic unit. Centrality depends on how well a particular conceptual content is established ('entrenched') in the memory and also on a particular context in which a linguistic unit is embedded. The centrality 'tends to correlate with the extent to which a specification is conventional, generic, intrinsic, and characteristic' (ibid.: 159). Knowledge shared by the majority of speech community members is considered conventional. Generic knowledge is understood as information about properties inherent to the majority of representatives of a certain group of entities/situations. 'A property is intrinsic to the extent that its characterization makes no essential reference to external entities' (ibid.: 159). And 'the final factor contributing to centrality is the extent to which a specification is characteristic in the sense of being unique to the class of entities designated by an expression and consequently sufficient to identify a class member' (ibid.: 161).

The place a semantic structure takes in the continuum of 'conventionality – non-conventionality/specificity' in the experience of a person is defined by the nature and number of socio-cultural communities of practice (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1995: 469–470) he/she participates in. Socio-cultural communities of practice are formed on different principles: ethnicity, gender, education, social status, income, family, profession, territory, religion, friendly ties, interests and hobbies like sports, fishing, diving, etc. The number and variety of socio-cultural communities of practice 'an individual can become involved in during his/her social life is only limited by his/her motives/purposes, biological faculties and the opportunities given by the family at birth, on the one hand, and also the opportunities offered by the socio-culture, on the other hand' (Martynyuk, 2017: 63). Participating or not participating in the social practices of different social-cultural communities shapes peoples' experience in a specific way and defines the place this or that conceptual structure occupies in the continuum of 'conventionality – non-conventionality/specificity' in their minds. Accordingly, encyclopedic knowledge is divided into universal, linguistic-cultural, social-cultural (group) and individual in most existing classifications.

Encyclopaedic knowledge includes both *declarative knowledge*, i.e., conscious precise memories and recognition of objects and events as expressed through language (Anderson, 1976) and *procedural knowledge*, i.e., implicit memory of

psychomotor processes as procedures that have become automatic and non-conscious (ibid.). Declarative (what?) knowledge is organized by static models like image-schemas (Johnson, 1987), frames (Fillmore, 1982)/domains (Langacker, 1987) and mental spaces (Fauconnier, 1985/1994), structuring concepts of entities and events, while procedural (how?) knowledge is organized by scripts, i.e., dynamic models structuring a canonic sequence of events in some socio-cultural context (Schank and Abelson, 1977: 151).

The example given below represents a communicative failure that stems from the imbalance between the addresser's and the addressee's socio-cultural (group) declarative knowledge:

The hallway. Sheldon scuttles out of the apartment door and crosses to Penny's. Knocks on it urgently.

PENNY: [opening door] *Oh, hey Sheldon, what's going on?*

SHELDON: *I need your opinion on a matter of semiotics.*

PENNY: *I'm sorry?*

SHELDON: *Semiotics. The study of signs and symbols, it's a branch of philosophy related to linguistics.*

PENNY: *Okay, sweetie, I know you think you're explaining yourself, but you're really not* (Online 4: season 1, episode 5).

Sheldon uses the linguistic term *semiotics* in a conversation with a person who has no philological educational background. Trying to explain the meaning of the term, he uses other terms, which, like the previous one, do not trigger any conceptual content in the addressee's mind. For Sheldon, who is an intellectual, the concept of SEMIOTICS is part of conventional knowledge, while for Penny, who is a waitress, this concept is unknown, not established in the memory.

Cognitive communicative failures can come from the specificity of the addressee's lingua-cultural declarative knowledge:

Chandler and Joey are sitting on the couch reading.

JOEY: *Can I see the comics?*

CHANDLER: *This is the New York Times.*

JOEY: *Okay, may I see the comics?* (Online 3: season 3, episode 17).

This example illustrates a communicative failure resulting from the addressee's ignorance about such a reality of American life as the *New York Times* newspaper. When Joey asks Chandler to give him the newspaper so he could see the comics, Chandler answers that it is the *New York Times* implying an inference that the *New York Times* does not feature comics as it is a broadsheet newspaper. Joey's repeated request to give him the newspaper suggests that the name does not evoke the concept of A SERIOUS NEWSPAPER in his mind centralizing the concept of AN ENTERTAINMENT NEWSPAPER. For the majority of representatives of

the American speech community, this knowledge is generic and hence conventional, whereas, for Joey, it is specific. This misbalance causes the communicative failure.

The following dialogue exemplifies a situation in which the addressee belonging to a youth community and looking for a partner demonstrates a lack of both declarative and procedural communicative experience of ‘dating language’:

Phoebe was telling everyone how she had parted with her boyfriend.

PHOEBE: *Um, not so good. He walked me to the subway and said ‘We should do this again!’*

ALL: *Ohh. Ouch.*

RACHEL: *What? He said ‘we should do it again’, that’s good, right?*

MONICA: *Uh, no. Loosely translated ‘We should do this again’ means ‘You will never see me naked’.*

RACHEL: *Since when?*

JOEY: *Since always. It’s like dating language. You know, like ‘It’s not you’ means ‘It is you’.*

CHANDLER: *Or ‘You’re such a nice guy’ means ‘I’m gonna be dating leather-wearing alcoholics and complaining about them to you’.*

PHOEBE: *Or, or, you know, um, ‘I think we should see other people’ means ‘Ha, ha, I already am’ (Online 3: season 1, episode 3).*

Rachel interprets the utterance of Phoebe’s boyfriend in line with CONTINUING RELATIONSHIP script, that is, literally, as she doesn’t know that in ‘dating language’, the phrase *We should do this again* means ENDING RELATIONSHIP.

Affective-volitional communicative failures arise from feelings, emotional states and attitudes that are inseparable from the interests, needs and desires of the communicants in the motivation of inferencing processes, which cannot be explained within the framework of pragmatic and cognitive linguistic theories. Let us consider the following example:

Jack came to Karen to massage her.

JACK: *All right. I guess we’re ready. Ahem [reading from an index card] ‘Hello. Welcome. My name is Jack McFarland, and I will be your massage therapist’. [to Karen] Now, I want you to take off your robe, and I don’t want you to feel uncomfortable. The sheet will drape you, so –*

KAREN: *Yeah, I’ve done this before, honey. [throwing off robe] Skin to the wind [lies on the table].*

JACK: *Wow, Karen! You could bounce a quarter off that thing. Ok... [reading from card] ‘Are there any specific areas that are troubling you?’*

KAREN: *Yeah. My marriage.*

JACK: *I mean your body, Karen (Online 5: season 1, episode 8).*

This example illustrates a communicative failure occurring in a conversation between a massage therapist (actually, a person who is trying to play this professional role) and a patient. Asking *Are there any specific areas that are troubling you?* the alleged therapist expects the patient to interpret his question within VISITING A MASSAGE THERAPIST script where the words *any specific areas* would refer to a literal conceptual content BODY PROBLEM AREAS TROUBLING A PATIENT. Within the framework of Relevance Theory, this is the most relevant inference in this communicative context. However, the addressee interprets the words metaphorically as MARRIAGE PROBLEMS within VISITING A PSYCHOANALYST script, making an inference irrelevant in the given communicative context. This misinterpretation does not stem from the lack of knowledge. It is motivated by the addressee's emotional state (at the moment, Karen's psychological problems concerning her marriage trouble her much more than her physical shape), which brings about the need to talk about them. Thus, in this case, we can speak about an emotional inference resulting from the addressee's psychological state and a volitional inference prompted by the addressee's interests and needs, both motivating this unexpected interpretation of the utterance.

Let us look at another example:

Frasier has spent the night with his ex-wife, who wants to renew their relations. The waiter has just brought their breakfast. She starts to inspect the breakfast.

FRASIER: *And – I mean, it's not that we were overly impulsive or anything, or that what we did was wrong, I just...*

LILITH: *This is a mistake.*

FRASIER: *Oh, thank God you said that! Oh, it's not that last night wasn't very enjoyable, but who are we kidding? You've gotten on with your life, I've gotten on with mine! I've got a new career, I've re-established relationships with my family, I've got a whole new set of friends – for the first time in years, I'm happy! I mean, for us to even consider getting back together – it's just the stupidest thing two people could do!*

LILITH: [staring at him with horror] *I meant the eggs. I ordered poached, not fried.*

FRASIER: [trying to cover] *Well, you didn't let me finish, you see... after I played Devil's advocate, I –*

LILITH: *Oh, Frasier, don't insult me! That's how you really feel, isn't it?* (Online 2: season 1, episode 16).

Interpreting Lilith's utterance *It was a mistake* Frasier makes a faulty inference that Lilith doubts the appropriateness of resuming their relationship. Frasier thinks that his ex-wife means they are making a mistake in their personal life (MISTAKE IN A PERSONAL LIFE script), while she actually wants to focus his attention on the mistake of the people from the hotel service who brought her fried eggs though she had ordered poached ones (MISTAKE IN A HOTEL SERVICE script).

There is no way to explain this communicative failure in terms of the centrality of knowledge, as the concept of MISTAKE seems to be well entrenched in the memory of both the speakers, presenting no problem in itself. Neither is it possible to explain it in terms of 'optimal relevance' since, in this case, making relevant inferences is not so much the matter of 'maximum effect for less effort' as the matter of motivation, driven by the communicants' interests and emotions. The addressee is quite happy with his new life and does not want to renew the relationship with his ex-wife; he seeks to find a way out of this awkward situation, so he makes the inference which best suits his interests. He wants to believe that Lilith shares his feelings because this is a solution to his problem. Thus, we can speak about an emotional inference resulting from the addressee's psychological state, his feelings and emotions and also about a volitional inference driven by his needs.

In the next example, a communicative failure occurs in the process of interpretation of a non-verbal communicative action:

Eric broke up with Daphne. Daphne is sitting on the couch, staring at the fire. Niles brings in some firewood.

NILES: *We'd better make this last, this is all that's left of the wood.*

DAPHNE: [begins to cry].

NILES: *Oh no, don't worry, if this runs out there's an antique sideboard in the drawing room that I think is reproduction.* [She looks at him] *Oh. It's Eric, isn't it?* [She nods, then stands and walks closer to the fire] (Online 2: season 1, episode 17).

Keeping the fire burning, Niles mentions that he is running out of wood. Daphne starts crying, and Niles interprets her non-verbal action as a reaction to losing the energy source in fear of freezing. However, Daphne's facial expression suggests that her tears are a reaction to the loss of her beloved.

The addressee's faulty inference does not fall under centrality misbalance cases. It is explained by his psychological state. Niles has feelings for Daphne and wants to act as her protector. Though he undoubtedly realizes that she might cry for Eric, the person she loves, as he eventually offers this inference without any verbal prompts from her, he does not want to open this possibility for interpretation of her tears until it becomes obvious. Thus, as in the two above cases, this communicative failure is of affective-volitional nature.

CONCLUSION

Understanding communication as an intersubjective phenomenon being fully compliant with the main provisions of psycholinguistics provides new opportunities for the study of communicative failures. Application of the inferential analysis, having in its foreground the intersubjective view of inference, makes it possible to account not only for cognitive experience serving as a basis for the generation of

meaning in communication but also for volition and affect adjusting this experience to the communicants' needs, desires and feelings.

Within the intersubjective framework, a communicative failure is seen as an inability of a subject to make any inference or making a faulty inference. An inference is addressed as a mental structure that emerges in an intersubjective act as a result of conscious and non-conscious psychological processes at work employing rational thinking, affect, and volition, and being triggered by a communicative action (verbal or non-verbal).

The results of the inferential analysis yield four types of communicative failures: perceptual, lingua-cognitive, cognitive and affective-volitional. The name of the failure centralizes the parameter of the physical or mental context of the intersubjective act, which plays a privileged role in causing the failure. However, it is inseparable from all the other parameters as part of gestalt.

Perceptual communicative failures result from obstacles in the physical context of the intersubjective act that causes a distorted perception of the utterance.

Lingua-cognitive communicative failures grow out of the inadequacy of lingual perceptual stimuli as part of the physical context of the intersubjective act (the addresser uses a language unknown to the addressee or creates a nonce word/phrase for a single occasion).

Cognitive communicative failures derive from a misbalance in the conceptual system of the addresser and the addressee as part of the mental context of the intersubjective act, as a result of which the addresser's verbal/non-verbal utterance evokes no concept in the addressee's mind or activates a concept different from the one intended by the addressee.

Affective-volitional communicative failures stem from the feelings, emotional states and attitudes as much as the interests, needs and desires of the addressee.

The study opens perspectives for further inquiry into the specificity of communicative failures in different types of discourse and their further classification and description on the basis of the intersubjectivity model of communication.

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REINTERPRETATION OF SPIRITUAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY GENRE IN RICHARD RODRIGUEZ'S *DARLING*

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Abstract. The article is focused on the reinterpretation of the genre of spiritual autobiography in Richard Rodriguez's novel *Darling*. Rodriguez's autobiographical prose depicts his extremely embittered attitude to heritage and the pitfalls lurking at the crossroads of cultural practices. For a long time, this author had been placed outside the canon of Chicano literature and was considered an 'outsider' because of his statement that he was not a representative of a minority but a supporter of the assimilation of immigrants into the broader mainstream American society. Rodriguez emphasized the privilege of the individual over the collective identity. The study focuses on the formation of ethnic identity by autobiographical narrator Rodriguez and the evolution of his views on the nature of the concept of 'self-identification'. In addition, as Mexican-Americans are gradually becoming the largest ethno-cultural group in the United States of America, the issues of identity, assimilation, heterogeneity and cultural hybridity raised by the author stay relevant and important.

Key words: Richard Rodriguez, autobiographical novel, ethnic identity, identity formation, memory, race, religion, ethno-cultural group

INTRODUCTION

The interest of contemporary US artists in the genre of autobiography can be explained mainly by their desire to change the general and impersonal ideals of multiculturalism and 'diversity politics' into personal and specific. According to recent observations, the wide variety of autobiographical genre types reflects the need to return to the individual and to integrate a 'split' identity. For example,

Guajardo describes this category in ‘their own’ and ‘other people’s’ cultural contexts – as a result, creating a certain set of images of their ‘self’ (2002: 20–30).

The complexity and inconsistency of the nature of the autobiography genre is manifested in its stability and tenacity, but also variability and flexibility. Modern research deals with the possibility of the disappearance of the autobiographical canon (Chermenska, 2008). Thus Honcharova proposes a number of terms for the designation of autobiographical writing – autofictionality, autobiographics, ego document, heterobiography, etc. (2016). On the cusp of the 18th and 19th centuries, the genre of biography began to be considered as separate, while the issues of its problems and poetics are outlined (ibid.).

The second half of the 20th century finally saw in-depth and active American autobiographical writing studies. A landmark for the time was the collection *Autobiography: essays theoretical and critical*, edited by James Olney (1980). In the introduction, Olney outlines a range of issues, among which, in our opinion, important. The scholar defines the ‘autobiography’ as ‘both the simplest of literary enterprises and the commonest’ (Olney, 1980: 2). The claim ‘what is autobiography to one observer is history or philosophy, psychology or lyric poetry, sociology or metaphysics to another’ provides the reasons for the delay in theoretical understanding of this genre, the fluidity of genre embodiments of autobiography as well as its hybridity. (Olney, 1980: 5). American theorists of the genre have not tried to create their own approach to its study, instead just opposing or agreeing with European achievements in this literary field. Modern American research shows an increasing interest in ‘borderline’ variants of the autobiographical genre: female confessional literature, ethnic autobiographies, autobiographies of sexual minority members, etc. (Olney, 1980).

Modern literary studies on autobiography are mainly focused on the issue of ‘self’ and its language, as well as on attempts to find out how three elements – autobiography, ‘self’ and language – are configured and related. Among the discussions on this topic is the opinion of a group of scholars about the fundamental impossibility of autobiography to grasp the individual's self (de Man, 1979; Gusdorf, 1980; Taylor, 1989). Other researchers insist on the idea that identity is created exactly in the process of autobiographical action – and in this sense, writing an autobiography is the second acquisition of language, the second birth of the ‘self’ (Couser, 1989). Paul Eakin believes that the ability of language to form the ‘self’ is absolutely necessary both for living a life and for the implementation of an autobiographical act (1985: 181–278).

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

1 THE GENRE OF SPIRITUAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY

The origins of the genre of spiritual autobiography can be found in early Christian tradition and, in particular, in the bibliography by Augustine ‘the Blessed’ Aurelius

(354–430) (Morariu, 2018: 145). According to the rules of spiritual autobiography, the narrator's description of his spiritual quest takes the format of a dialogue with his confessor. During Reformation, these personal stories of spiritual insight were associated with Providence. In the 17th century, this genre found active development among Protestants, especially in England and then in the United States. A model of the spiritual autobiography of that time was John Bunyan's *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners* (1666) (ibid.).

For American Protestant communities, it was important not only to individually testify to spiritual insight documented in prose but also to verify it with visual examples, actions, or activities. Proven spiritual rebirth was a prerequisite for joining the church community.

Authors who worked in the genre of spiritual autobiography insisted that spiritual values always prevail over material ones, and as soon as a person undergoes spiritual rebirth and finds God, worldly troubles, worries and problems lose all significance in his life. Authors of spiritual autobiographies, from St. Paul to Albert Schweitzer, emphasized that worldly worries, troubles and problems pale after knowing God and spiritual conversion (ibid.).

The formulaic plot of the spiritual autobiography genre includes the sinful youth of the narrator and, subsequently, their gradual awakening, awareness of their own spiritual decline, conversion to God and salvation of their soul. The narrators of spiritual autobiographies were travelers, pilgrims, missionaries, seers, prophets, philosophers and scholastics. The main goal of their stories is to describe the path that led to spiritual insight and reunification with God. Travelers and truth seekers (for example, Thomas Merton), mainly after long journeys to foreign lands and unexplored parts of the world, eventually come to the conclusion that their search should be focused on their own soul, and the external world is too sinful to find inner peace in it (Mikhed, 2007: 40–54).

Spiritual biographies written by pilgrims and missionaries (e.g., St. Paul, Jonathan Edwards) focus on depicting the implementation of God's ideas and instructions in life, as well as the difficulties that the narrators face in doing so. Spiritual autobiographies written by visionaries and mystics (e.g., Teresa of Ávila, Thérèse of Lisieux) do not enjoy much popularity, as they deal mainly with supernatural experiences. Finally, the stories of scientists and philosophers (e.g., Marcus Aurelius, Benjamin Franklin, Denise Levertov) center around a long intellectual search for truth and the path to spiritual purification (Morariu, 2018).

At the same time, modernists and especially postmodernists are wary of the possibility of deep spiritual restructuring of the individual. The very process of rewriting one's own identity loses the non-ambiguity, which was mandatory for traditional spiritual autobiographies. This uncertainty and ambiguity about the possibility of self-knowledge was the dominant feature of modernist literature and was even more amplified in postmodernism.

Contemporary spiritual autobiographies have a secular reference point and are occasionally based on purely conventional religious experience. The spiritual journeys of postmodern literature will rather focus on the constant search for

self and occasionally conclude with the achievement of the integrity of self. They are realized in the form of meditations, infinite uncertainties, and a mixture of temporal and spatial layers.

There is no doubt that transformations in the genre of autobiography and, more specifically, spiritual autobiography are associated with a postmodern understanding of the self and subjectivity, which are closely intertwined and connected with the discourses of ideology, culture and economics. As Butler points out, identity is not an autonomous construct but rather a signifying practice that is constantly changing and varying, along with shifts in both experience and language (1990: 522). These two things define the self as such. Hence, autonomy is conventional, if not accidental. The subject is derived from a discourse or some dominant regime. In this summary of J. Butler's reflections, a critical feature of postmodern autobiography may be emphasized, which is an attempt to revive the subject and its control over discourse. As Joseph Fichtelberg pinpoints, modern autobiographical writing has a two-vector process: separation and reinterpretation (cited in Padilla, 1994).

The complexity of an autobiographical act in the postmodern paradigm lies in constructing the integrity of an artistic image from fragmentary experience, which is achieved by re-remembering, enabling localization of subjectivity in various discourses and giving it uniqueness. Further on, this uniqueness provokes opposition (or at least distancing from) to the powers of specific ideologies. Such uniqueness as the opposition is an affirmation of the importance of a particular experience and a personal version of the truth.

2 THE PHENOMENON OF RICHARD RODRIGUEZ

Richard Rodriguez was born to a family of Mexican immigrants in San Francisco, California, USA, on July 31, 1944. He spoke Spanish until he was 6 and then went to a Catholic school. Later, he graduated from the Sacramento Christian Brothers High School. In his youth, he used to deliver newspapers and work as a gardener (London, 2009).

Rodriguez received a Bachelor of Arts degree (Stanford University), a Master's degree (Columbia University), a PhD in English Renaissance literature (California University, Berkeley), and studied at the Warburg Institute in London on a Fulbright scholarship. Now a well-known author, Rodriguez had worked as a teacher, international journalist and educational consultant, and also often appeared with his visual essays on *The News Hour with Jim Lehrer* (ibid). Rodriguez's bibliography includes *Hunger of Memory: the education of Richard Rodriguez* (1982), *Mexico's Children* (1990), *Days of Obligation: An argument with my Mexican father* (1992), *Brown: the last discovery of America* (2002) and *Darling: A spiritual autobiography* (2013) (in Shannon, 2015).

Despite the opportunity for an academic career, Rodriguez became a freelance writer, occasionally pursuing other jobs, including as an editor for newspapers and magazines, the *Los Angeles Times* and *Harper's Magazine* among them. In 1982,

he published his first book, *Hunger of Memory: the education of Richard Rodriguez* (ibid.). The book describes his long and difficult transformation from a Hispanic boy from a Mexican family into an American person – not just in culture but also in language, from somewhat secluded Spanish to worldwide spoken English. The author describes this journey as full of pain and suffering, having to emancipate from his Hispanic culture and family. He believed that such a concept as family values was much more represented in Mexican culture than among Americans because for Mexicans, the problem of separating from their roots is much more acute.

Despite its success with critics and a sizable number of awards, *Hunger of Memory: the education of Richard Rodriguez* turned out to be a controversial book due to the author's stance on cultural assimilation. Rodriguez believed that assimilation should exclude raising children to be bilingual as well as undertaking any cultural inclusion actions on the government's part. Due to these views, the author saw an objective amount of outcry from his former Hispanic compatriots, with a hefty dose of slurs and epithets, such as 'pocho' (a derisive term for Americanized Mexicans) and 'coconut' (due to being brown of skin but white in spirit) (London, 2009).

Unlike his first book, Rodriguez's latest novel, *Darling: A spiritual autobiography*, focuses on desert symbolism in the three main religions: Christianity, Judaism and Islam. The author's interest in the desert theme lies in the fact that all three of these world religions have grown in the desert biome. One of this book's chapters, *Jerusalem and the Desert*, compares the desert to a vast and endless temple in the emptiness of which God resides invisibly (Rodriguez, 2013: 44–47).

Rodriguez's works are especially controversial due to their autobiographical nature. The borders of the autobiography genre have not been clearly defined to date, nor have the criteria of its subgenres been listed (reminiscences, diaries, memoirs, notebooks, notes). Study-wise, it is impossible as well as unnecessary to draw borders on the autobiography genre due to the risk of limiting the study field. The most widespread definition of the genre has been suggested by Philippe Lejeune, a leading autobiography theorist: an autobiography is a retrospective narrative about oneself, where the main role is allocated to personal life events as well as the history of the narrator's personality development (Lejeune, 1989: 5). Among other keystones of autobiographical text, Lejeune mentions the oneness of the author, narrator and protagonist, prosaic form and mostly chronological sequence of events (ibid.).

PROCEDURE OF THE STUDY

1 MATERIAL AND DATA COMPILATION

Darling: A spiritual autobiography by Rodriguez was published in 2013. Rodriguez is considered as 'one of the most eloquent and probing public intellectuals in America' by *The Washington Post* (Arana, 2002). *Darling* may appear to be mistitled at first glance; strictly speaking, it is neither a spiritual book nor an autobiography in

any common sense – rather a collection of essays, some of which were originally published in American magazines touching on the questions of faith and character through a broad array of filters, from the 9/11 terrorist attacks to the legacy of Cesar Chavez, the collapse of newspapers to the digitalization age, from gay rights to feminism.

2 METHODS AND PROCEDURE

Comparative and historical as well as cultural methods lay the foundation for a comprehensive analysis of the fiction by Rodriguez. The textual analysis contains elements of ‘close reading’, namely contextual and stylistic analysis. The hermeneutical method is used to justify multiple interpretations of works of art and comprehend hidden meanings. The biographical method was used when referring to the author’s interviews and discussions on reception by readers in social networks, making it possible to clarify the author's intentions. In the study of the aesthetic value of the author’s works, it seems to be appropriate to use elements of comparative, typological, receptive, aesthetic, and poetological analysis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The inconsistency of modern existence is the artistic dominant of Rodriguez’s spiritual autobiography *Darling*. The author chose an angle of view that is both grounded in a particular location and in the world as a whole. The narrator gradually and carefully explores all sorts of overly sensitive and quite often painful modern topics, in particular, the intersections, interweaving and points of contact between ancient religions and the post-religious world in which we live.

The topic of religion, which in the 21st century begins to gradually replace the topic of race, is used to activate a new confrontation between people and communities. Thus, Rodriguez’s work serves to demonstrate that the main modern religions (Christianity, Islam and Judaism) actually come from the same locus and are ‘fraternal religions’:

I long have assumed, as a Christian, a Roman Catholic (by the favor of colonial Mexico), that I am a younger brother to the Jew, because the Jew and I worship the same God, and the Hebrew Bible is mine also, though less mine – cf. Jesus Christ: Salvation is from the Jews. For most of my life, though, I have scarcely regarded the Muslim – despite centuries of Muslim rule of Spain, a country to which (by the favor of colonial Mexico) I am related. (Rodriguez, 2013: 3)

In the first chapter of his autobiography, titled *Ojalá*, the narrator problematizes his own identity, actualizing the eternal problem of the self, which becomes layered in the postmodern way. He recalls a long-standing incident in London when a woman of Arab descent asked him if he was an Arab:

One summer evening in London, many years ago, I was walking through green twilight in Hyde Park when I attracted the gaze of a large woman who was wearing several coats; she was tending to two children, a girl and a boy – her grandchildren, I surmised. As I passed, the woman posted a radiant, recognizing smile. ‘Arabie?’ she asked. (ibid.: 1)

At the time, the narrator answered in the negative, but later this question came back to him again and again. He recalled that his mother often used the Arabic word *Ojalá*:

My mother appended *ojalà* to every private leave-taking; my father never did. I heard the Spanish expression pristinely – I had heard it all my life. *Ojalá* meant *ojalà*. [...] In fact, the name of Allah was enshrined in the second and third syllables of my mother’s *ojalà*. I doubt my mother knew that, though maybe she did. I didn’t. The expression is a Spanish borrowing from the Arabic commonplace prayer *Insha’Allah* – God willing. (ibid.: 11)

In the modern world, we cannot clearly define ourselves because we are all mixed, or, in the words of Rodriguez, ‘brown’. (Rodriguez, 2002: 135).

In addition to the ethnic self, the narrator also has significant experiences with his self-identification as gay. The autobiography is imbued with reflections on religion and same-sex marriage. In the end, the narrator localizes the understanding of this topic in the format of defining one’s self through others, which echoes Taylor’s idea that

it is impossible to be a self if you are alone. The ‘self’ is this only in relation to certain interlocutors: in one way in relation to the partners in the dialogue who were essential to my self-determination; in another way in relation to those who now play an important role in maintaining my understanding of self-determination languages – and, of course, these two classes may overlap. The self exists only in what can be called ‘dialogic networks’. (Taylor, 1992: 55)

A dialogue with a woman with a female identity emphasizes the gender identity of the narrator:

I cannot imagine my freedom as a homosexual man without women in veils. Women in red Chanel. Women in flannel nightgowns. Women in their mirrors. Women saying, Honey-bunny. Women saying, We’ll see. Women saying, If you lay one hand on that child, I swear to God I will kill you. Women in curlers. Women in high heels. Young sisters, older sisters; women and girls. Without women. Without you. (Rodriguez, 2013: 132)

Therefore, to realize our identity, we always need an interlocutor, an accomplice in the negotiation process, and we need to relate ourselves to them; it does

not matter whether we agree with their position or deny it. In each case, some influence, some experience, some feeling is absorbed by us, and becomes part of our own self.

Rodriguez begins his spiritual autobiography with a definition of faith. After the 9/11 terrorist attack, the narrator suddenly realized that ‘The God I worship is a desert God. It was the same desert God the terrorists prayed’ (ibid.: 3). The narrator addresses the reinterpretation of Islam, which in the Western world was interpreted as something hostile to Christianity. Today, as the narrator argues, religious warfare is called ‘war against terrorism’. However, political games and ideological confrontations do not prevent him from seeing the essence, and it consists in the fact that all religions have more similarities than differences. What Fichtelberg calls ‘separation in autobiographical writing’ (cited in Padilla, 1994: 15) allows the narrator to go beyond stereotypes and ideologemes and, ultimately, to proclaim:

At the dawn of a worldwide religious war that Americans prefer to name a war against terror, I feel myself drawn to Islam, drawn to read the Koran, even to kiss the Koran – melodramatically, but sincerely – as I did one evening recently in front of a university audience. I meant to honor Islam. I meant to convey that, as a Christian, I consider myself a loving brother to the Muslim, as I am to the Jew, by the favor of Father Abraham. (Rodriguez, 2013: 4)

Abrahamic religions, according to the author, are an ecumenical concept based on common spiritual heritage in Christianity, Judaism and Islam. The narrator calls these three religions ‘siblings’ in the family of Abraham's forefather (ibid.: 6). In the narrative of the novel *Darling*, monotheistic religions act as a weapon with which people answer challenges posed by various forms of racism and terrorism.

In contrast to such acute problems of our time as islamophobia and anti-Mexican racism against immigrants, as well as the war on terror, the author puts forward the concept of monotheistic religions as a space of interreligious conversation, the ultimate goal of which will be unification in the not-so-far future (at least according to the author).

The journey to the Holy Land connects Rodriguez's spiritual autobiography with a tradition of this genre at the level of the plot. The very purpose of the trip is remarkable: ‘I have come to the Holy Land because the God of the Jews, the God of the Christians, the God of the Muslims – a common God – revealed Himself in this desert’ (ibid.: 25). Further, the loci of Jerusalem and the desert are described in close connection with Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The narrator calls them desert religions, that is, religions having originated from the desert.

And it is the desert that attracts the narrator more than Jerusalem itself. The city does not provoke any sensations, only emptiness:

My first impression of the city is my own loneliness – oil stains on the road, rubble from broken traffic barriers, exhaust from buses,

the drift of cellophane bags. [...] Already it is hot. Late spring. It is early morning. There is a stench of uncollected garbage. [...] I turn into the courtyard of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the site of Christ's burial and resurrection [...] I will return many times to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher during my stay [...] Though my first impression remains my last: emptiness. (ibid.: 27)

Holy places do not inspire the narrator but provoke him to think about the common origin of monotheistic religions. The narrator is not looking for God but for common ground in religions, something that can unite humanity, which today is involved in a deep confrontation. Therefore, Jerusalem is contrasted with the desert.

The desert locus represents permanency, immutability and constancy. Time, human worries, troubles, buildings, luxury and glory – all this pales in front of the eternal peace of the desert. Rodriguez reflects on the importance of 'desert ecology' in a religious context. When he started thinking about desert religions, he was struck by how rooted they are in their locus. He does not refer to the deterministic interpretation of religion, but he still cannot write about Abrahamic religions without mentioning the desert (ibid.: 39). That is why all the great prophets – Moses, Jesus and Mohammed – fled the cities to understand God. 'The desert hid them, emptied them, came to represent a period of trial before they emerged as vessels of revelation' (ibid.: 39–40). In addition, according to the narrator, the desert is a place where community and tribe are formed. However, despite the emptiness, the desert remains unexplored for the narrator, just like God:

To travel to the desert 'in order to see it', in order to experience it, is paradoxical. The desert remains an absence ... So I come away each night convinced I have been to the holy desert (and have been humiliated by it) and that I have not been to the desert at all. (ibid.: 49–50)

The enigma of the desert resembles the mystery of God, whom the narrator is trying to get closer to, but then immediately realizes that God is far too immense for Man to know.

The narrator's thoughts are intertwined with biblical stories. He persistently resorts to the moments that show points of contact between the three monotheistic religions. The narrator recalls the biblical account of Ishmael and Hagar, and that God promised Hagar that Ishmael would also become the founder of a people. 'From Ishmael's line will come the Arab tribes, and from the Arab tribes, the Prophet Muhammad' (ibid.: 39).

Irreconcilable inconsistency and antinomy largely determine the mood of Rodriguez's spiritual autobiography. America – the American dream – is a deep belief that your past does not matter. 'Opportunity comes to those who put away the disadvantages of family or circumstance and entrust themselves to the future' (ibid.: 14).

At the same time, your past as Other always reminds you of itself – for example, when passing through passport control at the airport. The author recalls these events as follows:

In the months after September 11, at various international airports, I found myself facing security officers in glass booths who fastidiously turned the pages of my passport, as though they were reading. But they were not reading. Their eyes did not leave my face. Don't look evasive, don't look steely, don't look sly. The linked tongue of the stamp machine was held suspended over my passport all the while, but then it was put aside. I was directed to accompany another officer to a no-man's-room for a second scrutiny. (ibid.: 4–5)

Part five of Rodriguez's spiritual autobiography focuses on the apparent and unreal nature of modern life. Words have long lost their true meaning – they have become formulaic and clichéd. In particular, the narrator refers to the extremely popular vocative 'darling', which often does not correspond to the speech situation. The narrator recalls how his niece's teacher invited him to speak at her school. When he entered the classroom and said hello, he asked his niece: 'How are you, darling?' (ibid.: 100). The girl's mother later called him and told him that the girl was extremely embarrassed when her gay uncle called her 'darling'.

The theme of the narrator's identity as a gay person is constantly repeated and varies in his books. In more than one way, it correlates with his religious and cultural crisis. Interestingly, same-sex relationships, according to the author, do not threaten modern society. The central person in Judaism, Christianity, or Islam is the male God. And this encourages the narrator to think about the incredible number of families in which children are raised only by their mothers:

The prospect of a generation of American children being raised by women in homes without fathers is challenging for religious institutions whose central conception of deity is father, whose central conception of church is family, whose only conception of family is heterosexual. A woman who can do without a husband can do without any patriarchal authority. (ibid.: 113)

Hence, the narrator claims that a single mother poses a greater threat to religion than a homosexual marriage. However, the church believes that it is same-sex relationships that are dangerous for a construct called the 'law of nature'.

CONCLUSIONS

On the whole, Rodriguez's novel *Darling* follows the model of spiritual autobiography, developing the devotional quest in the format of a dialogue with intangible values dominating material ones. Reinterpreting the formulaic plot of

the spiritual autobiography genre with the obligatory soul salvation, Rodriguez introduces uncertainty and ambiguity about the possibility of self-knowledge, thus deeply restructuring the traditional narrator's quest. Focus on the never-ending search for the narrator's ethnic self with the remote promise of the integrity of self constitutes the significance of the personal experience of the genre.

Darling represents its author as a visionary whose prior background in the humanities enables him to detect the ethnic issues of the Chicano identity. Apart from the issue of ethnic identity, the challenges of the narrator as a representative of a sexual minority add to the reinterpretation of the spiritual autobiography. Rodriguez studies the image of the male God in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam in the context of families with single mothers and same-sex relationships.

The author works out a rich metaphor of the desert as an infinite temple of divinity producing main world religions. The topos of allegedly empty and unknown desert forms community and tribe, suggesting the spiritual exploration.

Rodriguez's spiritual autobiography manifests the inconsistency of modern existence, too. The beginning of the novel exposes the impossibility of a clear definition of the self in our world with the only chance of understanding one's own self through others (interlocutors or/and accomplices).

The climax of Rodriguez's text undermines the apparent and delicate nature of modern life on a verbal plane: common words lose their initial semantics acquiring politically in/correct connotations that are directly linked with the novel's title.

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‘RETURN TO THE INTERNATIONAL FAMILY OF DEMOCRACIES’: KEYNESS FACTOR IN THE INTERNATIONAL SPEECHES OF THE BALTIC PRESIDENTS

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Abstract. Presidential speeches as a type of political discourse are aimed not only at the negotiation and construction of the national identity of a nation-state at a local level but also at the representation and shaping of the national identity internationally. The presidents of the Baltic States have represented their individual, collective and regional identities in the international gatherings of world leaders since the restoration of independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania from the Soviet Union. The current study displays an analysis of how the keyness factor of particular lexical items used in 142 speeches given by the presidents of the Baltic States internationally from 1991 until 2021 helps to identify the tendencies of identity construction and representation, which can then be investigated in detail via a critical analysis of the discursive strategies and linguistic means applied in the speeches. Moreover, the analysis of keyword tendencies across speeches marked by different criteria shows how the process of identity construction as marked by lexical change varies across time and states. The keyness factor points to multiple identities being constructed in the international speeches, where the national identities are constructed most frequently, followed by the common European identity, Baltic regional identity, and global identity. It is also concluded that a common political past is one of the main elements of national and Baltic identities, while shared values such as democracy and cooperation are the main elements of supra-national identities.

Key words: presidential speeches, Baltic States, corpus linguistics, critical discourse analysis, identity, keyness

INTRODUCTION

In a multi-layered and complex system of social realities, drawing and understating boundaries is seen as a way to cope with the ‘chaotic and unstructured’ everyday stimuli that ‘threaten to overwhelm’ the human cognitive system, thus ‘ascribing identities’ to self and others is seen as ‘a natural function of the brain’ (Mole, 2007: 3).

However, social realities can be constructed in and via everyday social practices. One of the notable social practices that is both able and willing to construct and transform social reality is political discourse. Due to the ability of political leaders to address masses of people in order to unite, divide, persuade or direct them to a certain way of thinking or action, political discourse as one of the types of the discourses of power has been the main object of critical research in the last decades.

Moreover, one of the functions of the presidents of the Baltic States as parliamentary republics is to address the local and international audiences to represent and construct an overarching image of the nation-state. While the construction of national identity in the local speeches of the presidents of the Baltic States has been found to aim at the integration and unification of the people of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, as well as at the emphasis on history as an important element of national identities of the states (Romāne-Kalniņa, 2020), presidential rhetoric at the international level has not been discussed in detail.

Thus, the current study provides an overview of the results of a corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis of the speeches by the presidents of the Baltic States (in English) given in international assemblies, conferences, and meetings of the leaders of the European Union, NATO, and United Nations from 1991 to 2021. The study focuses on how keywords and multiword constructions in the speeches point to the construction and representation of group identities – national, regional, and supra-national within various thematic areas being introduced across time and space.

CORPUS-ASSISTED CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Corpus Linguistics (CL) is defined as ‘a method of analysis which involves collecting large amounts of [authentic] language data in computerised format’ and ‘using computer programmes which can sort, count, and perform statistical tests’ on the collected data in a relatively short period of time and ‘accurately identify patterns that would be difficult for the human eye to spot alone’ (Baker in Hart and Cap, 2014: 211). Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), however, is seen as a multidisciplinary methodological movement; a research paradigm that allows for the combination of various approaches to the critical analysis of the discourses of power, including institutionalised discourses, political discourse, and media discourse. The paradigm is thus defined as ‘a movement which seeks to raise critical consciousness about the discursive dimensions of social problems involving discrimination, disadvantage, and dominance with the aim of contributing to broader emancipatory projects’ (Flowerdew and Richardson, 2017: 372). Although, as the title and the definition suggest, the paradigm is primarily aimed at providing a critical perspective on dominating discourses, all of its types are likewise ‘explicitly or implicitly conducted against a vision of ideal human relations with other humans’ (ibid.: 503). The object of CDS is thus discourse as social practice – a representation of social reality in written, spoken, or multimodal form that ‘assumes a dialectical relationship between particular discursive acts and the situations, institutions

and social structures in which they are embedded' (Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl and Liebhart, 2009: 9). Discourses are shaped by social realities, and discursive practices allow for shaping these realities in turn – a reciprocal process that demands a detailed multidisciplinary analysis.

The useful synergy of methods of CL and CDS has been established by numerous scholars across recent decades, and 'since mid-2000s, [...] the hybrid form of analysis allows qualitative investigation of quantitative results and give the analysts a much firmer grip on their data' (Baker in Hart and Cap, 2014: 211). This methodological solution has hence been entitled Corpus Assisted Discourse Analysis (CADS) (*ibid.*). The combination is particularly notable in the academic writings of recent years (Mulderriq, 2008; Baker in Hart and Cap, 2014; Haider, 2016; Haider, 2017; Române-Kalniņa, 2020; Kitishat, Kayed and Al-Ajalein, 2020; Kelly, 2020; Shah, 2021; Maglie and Centonze, 2021; Matthews, 2021).

The necessity for this combination of methodologies has arisen on the one hand from the severe critique (Stubbs, 1997; Hammersley, 1997; Widdowson, 1998; Slembrouck, 2001; Billig, 2002; Žagar, 2010; Breeze, 2011) received by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), later specified as CDS and its approaches, and on the other hand from the opportunities provided by the development of artificial intelligence tools that allow for computer-based, automated text analysis. Thus, the major criticisms received by the methods of CDS, including subjectivity and researcher bias, lack of reliability of the qualitative analysis, focus on negativity, aim to necessarily find power abuse and mind manipulation in every piece of discourse (Barlett, 2012: 5), may be reduced by providing objective data retrieved from online tools and analysed by the newest solution of digital technology that provide for the 'self-awareness and agency' of linguistic research (Baker, 2006: 11).

It may be noted that while word frequencies allow identification of the prominence and dispersion of a particular word in a given discourse sample, 'collocations statistically identify adjacent words and concordances allow [...] to view the keywords in context in series of concordance lines' (Matthews, 2021: 208). When looking at the significance of specific lexical items – words, phrases and expressions in textual analysis and discourse analysis, it seems reasonable to agree that keywords are 'markers of the aboutness and the style of the text' (Bondi and Scott, 2010: 1). Keywords may be seen as both 'searching tools in text mining and classification' and as 'analytic tools in text interpretation and discourse analysis' (*ibid.*). Keyness, however, refers to the comparatively 'high frequency of words or cluster of words in one corpus when compared with a reference corpus' (Haider, 2016: 64). It is suggested that three types of keywords may be found in a particular corpus of texts, namely, keywords that indicate the aboutness of the text (key words that carry the main themes of the discourse), 'high frequency words which may be the indicators of style' and proper nouns (*ibid.*).

Furthermore, the critical analysis of the text proceeds from the principles of the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA), analysing the thematic areas in the speeches as indicated by the identified keywords, followed by a more detailed analysis of the discursive strategies used to construct these thematic areas and finally

the linguistic means of realisation of the particular strategies (Wodak et al., 2009). It is argued that five main content-related thematic areas (construction of common political past, construction of common political present and future, construction of *Homo Nationalis* (national spirit, patriotism), construction of common culture and construction of common national body) are found in the political discourse aimed at the construction of national identities (ibid.: 30). Within the thematic areas, the speaker typically exercises ‘a more or less automated’ plans of discursive action (strategies) that may be subdivided into macro and micro levels (ibid.). At the macro level, the strategies function to construct, preserve, transform or de-construct (dismantle) identities, while at the micro level, such functions as ‘singularisation, preservation, autonomisation, assimilation, dissimilation, inclusion and exclusion’ are applied (ibid.: 34). Following the top-down strategy, the final step is to identify and analyse which particular linguistic means are applied in the realisation of these discursive action plans and why, bearing in mind the reciprocal relation between the text and context. Moreover, the DHA allows for the detailed investigation not only of the immediate contextual relations but also for a more detailed analysis of historical context, which is particularly significant in national identity research.

Thus, the current study uses two online corpus tools (Sketch Engine and Voyant Tools) and a corpus analysis software (AntConc) to store, analyse and visualise word and keywords frequencies in a corpus of 142 international speeches by the presidents of the Baltic States from 1991 until 2021 and well as to analyse and visualise the distribution of identified lexical units across various speeches. The corpus has been compiled by downloading the available presidential speeches from the web pages of the presidents of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and online archives of the United Nations web page (Online 1–4), marking the files with the criteria for speech classification (state, president, year, occasion, gender), converting the downloaded files into Microsoft Word and Microsoft OneNote documents and uploading them into corpus analysis online tools and AntConc software where the sub-corpora classifying the corpus according to the marked criteria have been created accordingly. The analysis of the identified keywords and phrases is followed by a detailed qualitative analysis of the use of discursive strategies and linguistic means of realisation of these strategies as potentially influenced by extralinguistic factors that constitute the context of the speeches (discussed in Wodak et al., 2009, and Wodak and Mayer, 2016) in order to provide a proper understanding of the circular process of social reality construction (how the discourse is shaped by the discourse agents and situational context and how it aims to shape the social situation in turn).

REPRESENTATIVE FUNCTION IN PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHES OF THE BALTIC NATIONS

It has been noted that the common Baltic identity as a concrete or abstract unity of common values does not exist, but rather that ‘situated on the Baltic Eastern

Seaboard, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania share the same geopolitical fate' (Duvold, Berglund and Ekman, 2020: 1). While the Baltic States have been ruled by various powers throughout history, the common fate narrative is most often built on the common political experiences in the 20th century, namely, the German and Soviet occupations and subsequent repressions and deportations of the ethnic population of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania (Mole, 2012). Having regained independence from the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, the Baltic States joined the EU and NATO in 2004 to a large extent because the political leaders of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania 'committed themselves to the EU membership at the time when the Soviet and Russian legacy was felt to be redundant and unwanted' (Duvold et al., 2020: 145). This achievement, however, seems to be based on the shared will of the political leaders and citizens of these states alike after regaining the political status of independent nation-states to 'sever the ties with Russia and to seek close ties with the West where the majority of the Baltic citizens feel they rightly belong' (ibid.). Thus, the simultaneous task of the presidents of the Baltic States across the thirty years of restored independence has been to construct both national and supra-national identities to represent national identity abroad and the supra-national identities at home.

Lucas emphasizes the role of the presidents of the Baltic States who originally represented diaspora naming Valdas Adamkus, Toomas Hendrik Ilves and Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga 'a serendipitous assortment of unlikely leaders' that was one of the reasons for the success of the Baltic States after the collapse of the Soviet Union (2009: 77). Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to state the main responsibility of persuading the international audience to accept the Baltic States in their community was held by the first presidents of the newly democratic Baltic Republics, namely, Lennart Meri, Guntis Ulmanis and Algirdas Brazauskas (see Tables 6–8 in Appendix 2). The responsibility of these presidents has been, as mentioned above, to represent the common supranational values as shared by the Baltic people in the international speeches at the same time protecting the national values, one of which, arguably the most important – was the state language (Tabuns, 1999; Subrenat, 2004). Moreover, it has been observed in public surveys even in the second decade of the 21st century, namely, that 'the countries have different foreign phobias [...] – anti-Semitism in Latvia and Lithuania and Russia and Russification in Estonia and Latvia' (ibid.: 78). Lucas further observes the differences between the Baltic identities and notes that 'Estonia's Nordic-style thrift, openness and careful planning' have led the state to be seen as the wealthiest of the Baltic states, while the identity of Latvia is defined as 'diffuse' (Lucas, 2009: 77).

As to the common Baltic identity, it has already been noted that it is very difficult to define such a common collective identity, but the joining elements are the Baltic Sea, common political history (the role of the victim) and the common membership in the EU and NATO. Hackman even notes that 'there have been different levels of collective identity in the Baltic Sea region [...] – political, social, historical, religious, linguistic and territorial identities, which can be interfering' (Hackman, 1996: 14). Nevertheless, when taking the perspective of international

speeches, the common Baltic identity seems to be a useful construction in order to both share responsibility and the role of victimhood (the common fate).

KEYNESS ANALYSIS IN INTERNATIONAL SPEECHES

As noted above, the corpus consists of 142 international speeches (197,204 words). The first step of the keyword analysis was to extract the general list of keywords and multiword constructions. The selected available reference corpus in the Sketch Engine online corpus tool was the OPUS2 corpus of the English language. The list of keywords with the statistics includes raw frequency (actual frequency of the word in the focus corpus), relative frequency (frequency per million words), highest keyness score (occurrence of a keyword when compared to the reference corpus) and the list of most frequently co-occurring collocations (occurrence +/-3 words, minimum frequency 1) is displayed in Table 1 below:

Table 1 Keywords with the highest keyness Score in the corpus

Keyword	Raw frequency	Relative frequency	Keyness Score	Collocations
Baltic	317	1448.71	307.4	Sea, States, region, Way, three, states, shores, strategy, the, countries
Latvia	912	4167.89	221.2	has, is, supports, in, will, independence, ready, its, people, Estonia
cyber	77	351.89	171	hygiene, attacks, defence, threats, space, warfare, cyber, hybrid, Efforts, domain
Latvian	104	475.29	147.4	language, companies, government, poet, delegation, Rainis, universities, Indian, IT, company
Latvians	30	137.1	128	non-ethnic, deported, involuntary, oppressed, professions, apt, emigration
Estonia	522	2385.57	126.6	has, is, supports, Latvia, in, been, Republic, firmly, believes
Estonians	27	123.39	112	Finns, Slovenian-speaking, younger, 2.24, euro-enthusiasm, russification, Spanish-speaking, Swedes, perished, electronically
Lithuania	483	2207.33	104	has, supports, is, will, Latvia, Poland, in, European, strongly, relations, Russia, Estonia

Keyword	Raw frequency	Relative frequency	Keyness Score	Collocations
thanks	21	95.97	94.6	to, sincere, expressing, full-format, nineteenth, Lalumière, domestic, free-market, visits
Crimea	25	114.25	85.8	annexation, Sevastopol, illegal, annexing, affecting, illegally, annexed, occupation
Estonian	78	356.46	84.8	language, defence, presidency, flag, Riigikogu, guard, border, parliament, people
Lithuanian	59	269.63	80.5	prosecutors, judges, business, ambassadors, Polish, Estonian, while, people
Vilnius	32	146.24	73	Riga, Conference, Chernomyrdin's, symbolized, ease, Senate, rang
transatlantic	42	191.94	70.5	link, partnership, structures, strengthening, perspective, integration,
EFP	15	68.55	69	Battle Groups, numerical, tripwire, equip, contained
peace-keeping	21	95.97	67.9	peacemaking, missions, preventive, operations, guise, diplomacy, strictly, battalion
Covid-19	14	63.98	65	pandemic, Response, amplified, swept, Multilateral
Tallinn	24	109.68	64.8	gather, reveal, Riga, chain, September, small, visited
Soviet	139	635.24	61.1	occupation, Union, former, regime, Nazi, collapse, empire, under, fifty, then, totalitarian
Lithuanians	15	68.55	60.9	Poles, sheltered, centuries-long, coexistence, love, regret, ages

As the table above suggests, the most frequently used keywords not only indicate the theme and the author of the speech, be it common political history, present or future of the Baltic States within international organisations, but also together with the list of collocations point to the type of group identity being constructed with relatively high frequency. Thus, it seems that Latvia is being referenced comparatively more frequently (raw and relative frequencies) than Estonia and Lithuania. The list of collocations to the words 'Latvia, Latvian and Latvians' show the construction of a common political past (deported, oppressed, emigrated, non-ethnic Latvians), common culture (Latvian language, Latvian poet, Rainis), as

well as common political present and future and economic situation (IT, company, delegation). Moreover, the list of collocations that are found most frequently with the word Latvia (has, is, will, supports, ready) points to a frequent use of metonymy, where the state name stands not for the geographical location of the state and not for the total population of the state, but rather for the political leadership of Latvia, for instance, 'Latvia is seriously concerned about the potential use of stockpiles of Syria's chemical weapons' (Andris Bērziņš, 2012). Discursively, metonymic reference is seen as the strategy of reference and nomination aimed at the construction of ingroups and out-groups (Wodak and Koller, 2008: 302).

Similar use of the strategy is found in the speeches by the presidents of Estonia and Lithuania. However, the notable difference is the frequent attribution of additional elements to the referencing of the state name (usually expressed by the use of nouns, adjectives, adverbs or pronouns), rather than only showing the topic of the speech also point to a continuous and repetitive tendency to emphasize particular elements of the representative values of the national or supra-national identities of the Baltic States. It is notable that in the case of Latvia, these elements would be *people*, *language*, and *independence*, as well as the historical link with Estonia (*The last Russian military units departed Latvia and Estonia at the end of August. Thus, the Second World War has ended for the Baltic States* (Guntis Ulmanis, 1994)). In the case of Estonia, similarly to Latvia, the common link that is referenced is the prolonged presence of the Soviet military troops in the countries after the restoration of independence, thus these word combinations are more frequent in the speeches by the first presidents of the states after restored independence.

Moreover, the Estonian identity and its elements seem to be emphasized more frequently than those of the other Baltic States as the collocations attributed to *Estonia*, *Estonian* and *Estonians* characterise the national identity as Scandinavian related (a reference to Finns and Swedes), inclusive part of the common supra-national the EU identity (multilingual and euro-enthusiastic), based on the common political past and the role of victimhood (russification, perished) and emphasis on such elements of national identity as elite (or banal) identity as language, flag, government (Riigikogu), parliament, but also pointing to security as one of the main elements (border, defence, guard), for instance,

On our side of the border there is a positive development, on the Russian side we find a deepening economic and social chaos. The pressure on the Estonian border will thus be increased by economic refugees, organized crime, smuggling of drugs and weapons. (Lennart Meri, 1992)

The aforementioned example illustrates the construction of a common political present and future (Wodak et al., 2009: 31) via the use of topos of threat and topos of comparison and the strategy of positive self and negative other presentation and the strategy of 'portrayal in black and white' (ibid.: 39) that is emphasized with such linguistic means as the use of pronouns (*our* – Estonian, *we* – Estonians, the international community, except Russia), semantic elements and referential

assimilation and dissimilation emphasizing our good things (positive development) and their bad things (deepening economic and social chaos, economic refugees, organized crime, smuggling of drugs and weapons). The aforementioned topoi, specifically the topos of threat, are typically used to encourage united action against the named threat. Moreover, it has been noted in the scholarly literature that the frequent use of historical references (construction of common political past, topos of history) by the Baltic leaders in international speeches is aimed at the 'western sympathy' because 'the willingness of the EC to open up the possibility of economic and political convergence was driven by collective guilt and responsibility for the consequences of the Munich pact, the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, and the Yalta agreement' (Lasas, 2008a: 367). Thus, since the 'guilt factor on part of the Western states for the consequences of the Second World War in the Baltic States' was both recognised and used by the Baltic political leaders to 'leverage their unique historical and geopolitical position in order to accelerate their integration westward' (ibid.: 366), the use of the aforementioned linguistic techniques and argumentation strategies (topoi) may be considered as linguistic manipulation.

It is likewise observed that while the presidents of Estonia and Latvia emphasize Russia's threatening presence in the first years of restoration of their independence, the presidents of Lithuania seem to euphemize the common political history and the victim role, constructing an inclusive bilateral cooperation, for instance, '*A fresh page is being turned in the relations between our two countries*' (Algirdas Brazauskas, 1993). The example illustrates how the application of one of the most frequently occurring word combinations, namely, an inclusive pronominal reference (*our countries*) in the corpora together with a metaphorical expression FORGETTING AND FORGIVING THE PAST IS TURNING A FRESH PAGE that is part of a conceptual metaphor HISTORY IS BOOK is used in the construction of inclusive bilateral relationship via an emphasis on positive national continuation and cooperation. It seems interesting to note that while the bilateral relationship with Russia seems to be portrayed in a positive light both linguistically and discursively, the use of the same word combination, however, in singular form (*our country*) is used to portray negative associations with Russia in the speeches by the presidents of Latvia, especially in the first years of the restored independence, for instance,

In the light of the *continued presence of these forces*, foreign investment in *Latvia*, which is necessary for the *development of our small country*, has been discouraged. In addition, the *military forces of the Russian Federation* have done *substantial damage to Latvia's environment*. (Guntis Ulmanis, 1993)

Thus, the example displays the use of the word combination *our country* referring exclusively to the country of Latvians, together with another frequently used word, *small*, referring both to the geographical size of the country and the population (frequently referenced in the speeches by the presidents of Estonia and Lithuania as well) to illustrate the aforementioned victim role of Latvia as a small versus Russian

Federation as a large country whose threatening presence in Latvia damages its development in numerous areas. The statement invites international action on the one hand and displays the use of the strategy of justification on the other, as the references to the Russian military forces in the country are used to justify the underdeveloped state of Latvian businesses and environmental issues.

It is noted that the presidents of Estonia use the reference (our country/ies) comparatively less frequently (6 occurrences, 84,11 per million words) than the presidents of Latvia (32 occurrences, 392,79 per million words) and Lithuania (27 occurrences, 452,93 per million words); however, it does occur when the presidents seem to be emphasizing particular points of interest in the speeches (that have also been marked in lists of keywords), for instance, security:

Estonia's history has been turbulent, marked by hopes raised and hopes shattered. Now that our independence has been restored, our principal ambition is to obtain for *our country, for our people, for our identity, the security* of which we were deprived in the past. Security has many facets, all equally important. (Lennart Meri, 1997)

The example illustrates the use of exclusive we that refers to the citizens of Estonia, as it is combined with such key words (words carrying the meaning of the particular speech) and keywords (frequently occurring words when compared to a general English language corpus) as *people, country, independence, security* and the use of the passive voice to indirectly refer to the existing threatening other that has 'shattered hopes', 'deprived Estonians of security' as well as the people who have helped to restore Estonia's independence.

While the passive voice seems to be a frequently used form in political speeches in general, to avoid naming the agent of the action, it is likewise notable that in the speeches by the presidents of the Baltic States, the passive voice is often used when referring to the common political past. The active voice, on the other hand, is used to characterise the present and future as well as (within topos of comparison) to compare particular attributes or elements of national uniqueness, for instance, 'If we look at *where we were* in 2004 and *where we are* today, then the *numbers speak for themselves*: Estonians are 2,24 times richer than when *we joined*' (Kaljulaid, 2017). The example illustrates not only the use of exclusive we (a reference to Estonians and Estonia metonymically) and inclusive we (*if we all* in this meeting room *look*) as well as the personification metaphor *numbers speak for themselves*, but also elements of comparison: the difference between past and present (*where we were, where we are*), numerical reference (topos of numbers) and comparative adjective (*richer*) to achieve the effect of emphasis on positive national uniqueness and continuation (discursive strategy of perpetuation).

Furthermore, another corpus tool useful in the investigation of referential tendencies in the speeches is the list of N-grams (the most frequently occurring word combinations), as it more explicitly illustrates the thematic areas (even references to identities) constructed in the speeches. Table 2 below displays the list of N-grams in the corpus of the current research:

Table 2 N-grams in the corpus

N-gram	Raw frequency	Relative Frequency	Keyness
Ladies and Gentlemen	137	626.1	391.106
the Baltic Sea	61	278.77	202.52
the Baltic States	48	219.36	164.129
Human Rights Council	39	178.23	143.502
of the UN	108	493.57	123.268
Baltic Sea region	28	127.96	121.862
the European Union's	22	100.54	101.541
Millennium Development Goals	30	137.1	98.29
the UN Charter	24	109.68	97.854
European Union and NATO	22	100.54	93.8
people of Latvia	20	91.4	91.45
Sustainable Development Goals	19	86.83	87.831
the Council of Europe	80	365.6	77.678
of Latvia and	17	77.69	76.982
Thank you for your attention	19	86.83	76.249
the Border Agreement	16	73.12	74.121
the Baltic Way	16	73.12	74.121
the Soviet Union	41	187.37	71.742
of the world's	15	68.55	69.551
Latvia is ready	15	68.55	69.551
the three Baltic	15	68.55	66.906
future of Europe	23	105.11	66.265

The list of word combinations occurring with relatively high frequency in the corpus displays first of all the following factors: the type of texts is public speeches (the use of address form *ladies and gentlemen*, ending of the speech *thank you for your attention*), the speakers are representatives of the Baltic States (references to the Baltic Sea region, Baltic States, Baltic Way), the speeches are given to international audience (references to international organisations and international laws) and finally that the presidents of Latvia seem to reference Latvia's national identity more frequently and explicitly in these speeches, and that the common political past (the Soviet occupation of the Baltic States) is one of the most important elements in constructing not only the common political past and the victimhood of the Baltic States, but also common political present (security issues, justification of issues that are portrayed as caused by the historical

deprivation of independence) and common political future within the international family of democracies united under the rule of law, for instance,

One might ask *what Latvia expects from Europe?* Within the fold of the European Union, *Latvians see the opportunity to irreversibly reinforce their sovereignty, and to maintain their identity, culture and language. The European Union is a large family of European, democratic nations, where the interests of each and every nation are respected, and where solidarity is the cornerstone of co-operation. The people of Latvia see security and stability as the pillars of their development.* (Vaira Viķe-Freiberga, 2003)

The example displays the use of the discursive strategy of argumentation (discussed in Wodak and Keller, 2008; Wodak, De Cillia, Reisigl, and Liebhart, 2009 and Wodak and Mayer, 2016), specifically the use of the topos of definition (defining Europe and Latvia's place within Europe) incorporating such linguistic means as a rhetorical question, metaphors (THE EUROPEAN UNION IS FAMILY OF DEMOCRATIC NATIONS, building metaphor) that intensify the intended effect of the argument.

As stated above, when analysing the speeches in detail, it is concluded that the identified keywords and expressions are present in all the speeches, specifically in the arguments that aim to discursively construct, perpetuate or justify national identities at the same time constructing common European identity as an overarching supra-national identity uniting the family of democratic nation-states, where established and redefined values (democracy, the rule of law, security, inclusiveness) rather than geographical, economic or historical elements are seen as the uniting elements. Another example illustrating the aforementioned conclusion is found in the speech by the second president of Lithuania after the restoration of independence:

I would like to wish you all the best of luck *building our common European family* that will *unite Europe's East and West, Europe's rich history and democratic values into one creative soul*. Ladies and Gentlemen, Last, but not least, today we celebrate one small anniversary – two years ago *Lithuania returned to the European family of democracies*. (Valdas Adamkus, 2006)

The example illustrates not only the emphasis on European values but also the application of the expression 'return to the family of democracies' (the use of the family metaphor) that has become a part of the common narrative of the Baltic States, not only in the international speeches but also in the national speeches (Romāne-Kalniņa, 2020), where the factor of continuation is emphasized via the verb and noun form 'return'. While the president of Lithuania uses the argument of building a common democratic European family, the inclusive/exclusive function of the argument seems to shift slightly as Vaira Viķe-Freiberga's construction of the family of democracies references the European Union (thus implicitly

excluding the East). At the same time, Valdas Adamkus explicitly emphasizes the inclusion of both East (Russia implied) and West (the European Union implied). Moreover, the use of the personal pronoun 'I' points to the use of the strategy of perspectivization, thus expressing the personal interest and involvement in positioning the point of view of the president.

Furthermore, the aforementioned example is interesting with the use of conceptual metaphor that personifies the notion of the family of democracies into a single abstract notion of the human soul that is characterised by the shared values listed above. The family metaphor is also used to refer to broader supra-national bodies, such as the United Nations Organisation, in an attempt to construct a global identity:

Dear Members of the *UN family, Brothers and sisters, French author Albert Camus has written: "There have been as many plagues in the world as there have been wars, yet plagues and wars always find people equally unprepared."* (Kersti Kaljulaid, 2020)

The construction of this shared identity is exercised via the use of the family metaphor, further extended via the reference to the members of the UN as brothers and sisters and the use of intertextuality in reference to a well-known author (expressing shared knowledge in order to create unity). The example illustrates the use of argumentation strategy via topos of authority that introduces an argument aiming to persuade the members of the now constructed shared global (political) identity to act on particular global issues that prevent the world from dealing with crises caused by war or the Covid-19 pandemic.

In addition, when looking at the list of most frequent keywords distributed across the sub-corpora based on separate criteria (state, time period, male-female speakers), it is noted that several keywords are repetitive (state name, reference to the capital of the state, reference to the Baltic Sea region), while some keywords seem to be criteria-specific (see Table 4 illustrating the keywords in the sub-corpora in Appendix 1). The keywords seem to emphasize that of all the three Baltic States, the politicians of Latvia (specifically the male presidents) emphasize the Baltic identity more frequently. Additionally, while the presidents of Estonia and Latvia seem to refer to the Soviet Union more frequently (specifically the male presidents in the period from 1991–2004), the presidents of Lithuania (again the male presidents from 1991–2004) refer to Russia more frequently. It is also noted that the keywords in the speeches from 2005–2021 and in the speeches by the female presidents differ slightly from those in the other speeches as they seem to focus additionally on global issues and construction of global identity as well as emphasize time-specific topical matters such as cybercrimes, technology, and political conflicts.

As to the list of most frequently used words (based on the relative frequency rather than on the keyness factor), the definite and indefinite articles *the, a* have been found to be used more frequently, followed by prepositions such as *of, to, in*, linking word *and*, pronouns *we, our, it*, verbs *be, is, are, have, will, has*, and nouns

shared values such as democracy, human rights and law as well as common duties and responsibilities in tackling the problems in the world.

Another figure that displays the dispersion of the most frequently occurring words across corpus (across presidents) that simultaneously displays the topicality and importance of particular identities and themes across time is drawn from the Voyant Tools online (see Figure 2 and Table 3 in Appendix 1). The data display that lemma *Latvia* (including all words with this root) is referenced most frequently, specifically in the speeches by Guntis Ulmanis. Lemmas *Estonia* (most frequent reference in the speeches by Lennart Meri and Arnold Rüütel) and *Lithuania* are referenced less frequently (frequent reference in the speeches by Algirdas Brazauskas and Rolandas Paksas). The second most frequent reference is to *Europe* and the European Union, which is most dispersed in the speeches by Rolandas Paksas and Arturas Paulauskas, Lennart Meri, Valdas Adamkus and Valdis Zatlers (see the list of presidents Appendix 2). Interestingly, the presidents of Latvia seem to emphasize national, Baltic and global identity more frequently than the European supra-national identity, while the presidents of Lithuania seem to do the exact opposite. It is also notable that *security* as a keyword that has occurred with various frequencies across the whole period seems to be most emphasized in the speeches by Andris Bērziņš, Raimonds Vējonis and Valdis Zatlers, Dalia Grybauskaitė and Toomas Hendrik Ilves, whose presidential terms were in the period from 2007 until 2016 when several military conflicts involving Russia have taken place. *Russia*, however, is not referenced directly as frequently as indirect references to its potential aggression. Nevertheless, it is notable that frequent references to Russia as well as to the Soviet Union have been used in the speeches by the first presidents of the Baltic States after the restoration of independence (period from 1991–2004).

CONCLUSIONS

It has been concluded that the keywords and wordlist of most frequently occurring lexical items point to the main thematic areas and the lexical change that marks the various themes in the speeches across time, across states and presidents, namely, *common political past, national culture, common political present and future, military security, cooperation, digital development, cyber security Covid-19 pandemic*. It is noted that the frequency of reference to several thematic areas, such as Russia's threatening presence and reference to the historical victim role, shifted slightly after the Baltic States joined the EU. This thematic area is replaced in frequency by other global issues such as climate change, cybercrimes, global pandemics, fake-news, military conflicts, and terrorism; however, the implication of potential victimhood of the states reappears in the use of keywords and discursive strategies from 2015 (after military conflicts between Russia and Georgia, Ukraine, and Belarus).

It is also concluded that the presidential speeches display the discursive construction and representation of multiple identities (national, regional, supra-

national and global) via various discursive strategies (assimilation, nomination, dissimilation, inclusion, and exclusion) and linguistic means such as metaphor, metonymy, pronominal references, and rhetorical questions. While the construction of national and European identities seems to be more frequent, a difference is notable in both quantitative and qualitative data displaying the discursive construct of these identities, namely, Estonia is constructed as sharing Scandinavian regional identity, Latvia is emphasized as sharing Baltic regional identity, while Lithuania's national identity seems to be embedded in and based on its membership in the European Union.

Consequently, it is concluded that the use of discursive strategies and key lexical items also point to membership categorisation, thus creating in-groups (those who belong, for instance, to the EU, to the global family of democratic nations, or to the Baltic Sea region, and those who do not belong, typically Eastern countries and specifically Russia). Nevertheless, the results also indicate that the first presidents of Lithuania after the restoration of independence seem to use more inclusive references to Russia and the East compared to the presidents of Latvia and Estonia expressing implicit hope for cooperation. Nevertheless, after 2015 the common fear and potential victim role seems to be equally displayed in the speeches by the presidents of all three Baltic States. Thus, the keyness factor points to the simultaneous construction of multiple identities and group categorisation via frequent repetition and emphasis on various key lexical items and via the appliance of distinct discursive strategies and linguistic means.

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APPENDIX 1

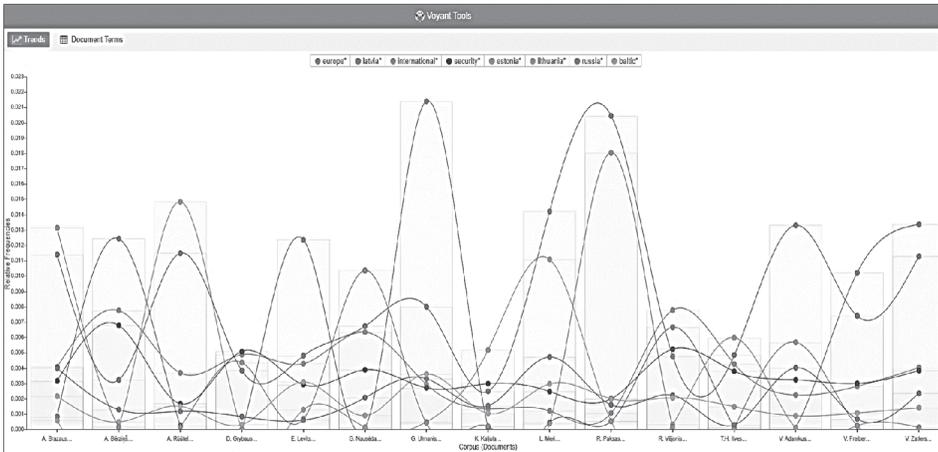


Figure 2 Word distribution across speeches in the corpus from Voyant Tools

Table 3 Relative frequency of key words (thematic areas) in the speeches as displayed in Figure 2

Order in Figure 2	President/word relative frequency	Estonia*	Latvia*	Lithuania*	Baltic*	Europe*	Russia*	International*	security*
1	Andris Bērziņš	161	12433	161	484	3229	1292	7751	6782
2	Algirdas Brazauskas	582	831	13137	2162	11391	3991	4074	3160
3	Arnold Rüütel	14832	251	168	1508	11480	1173	3687	1676
4	Dalia Grybauskaitė	0	0	4353	311	3835	829	4871	5078
5	Egils Levits	1286	12345	686	3086	4801	500	4286	2915
6	Gitanas Nausėda	130	130	10360	0	6734	2072	6346	3885
7	Guntis Ulmanis	481	21387	421	3604	7990	3304	2944	2703
8	Kersti Kaljulaid	5168	149	199	1044	2485	1541	1342	2982
9	Lennart Meri	11081	439	384	2962	14207	4717	1207	2468
10	Rolandas Paksas	534	534	18031	2003	20435	1603	1069	2003
	Arturas Paulauskas								
11	Raimonds Vējonis	317	6660	159	2062	4757	2220	7770	5233
12	Toomas Hendrik Ilves	5972	118	118	1478	4849	296	4258	3785
13	Valdas Adamkus	104	104	5685	887	13299	4016	2243	3234
14	Vaira Vīķe Freiberga	242	10213	242	1065	7406	678	2807	3001
15	Valdis Zatlers	134	13363	67	1410	11281	2350	4029	3828

Table 4 Dispersion of keywords in the sub-corpora

Sub-corpus (year) 1991–2004	Sub-corpus (year) 2005–2021	Sub-corpus (state) Estonia	Sub-corpus (state) Latvia	Sub-corpus (state) Lithuania	Sub-corpus (gender) Male	Sub-corpus (gender) Female
Baltic	cyber	cyber	Latvia	Lithuania	Baltic	cyber
Latvia	Baltic	Estonia	Latvian	Lithuanian	Latvia	EFP
Latvians	Latvia	Estonian	Baltic	Vilnius	Latvians	Zapad
Estonian	Crimea	Baltic	Latvians	Lithuanians	Latvian	Latvia
Latvians	Covid-19	Estonians	thanks	Baltic	Estonia	Baltic
Estonia	EFP	EFP	Riga	transatlan- tic	Estonians	deterrence
Lithuania	Latvian	Tallin	statehood	Kaliningrad	Lithuania	cyber- attack
Lithuanian	cyberspace	deterrence	Saeima	peace- keeping	cyber	Latvian
transatlan- tic	disinfor- mation	e-gover- nance	post-2015	Crimea	Lithuanian	Estonia
Europe	Estonia	Zapad	Soviet	EU-Russia	Estonian	digital
Estonians	Zapad	digital	Covid-19	Seimas	transatlan- tic	globally
Soviet	digital	Soviet	totalitarian	Russia	Soviet	UN's
Russia	pandemic	cyber- attack	disinfor- mation	geopolitical	Russia	Crimea

Table 5 Wordlist by parts of speech in the corpus

Nouns	Verbs	Adjectives	Pronouns	Adverbs	Conjunctions	Prepositions
country	be	interna- tional	we	not	and	of
Latvia	have	new	our	also	but	in
Europe	do	European	it	as	or	to
security	make	other	I	only	both	for
world	need	global	its	more	nor	that
state	take	human	their	well	yet	on
year	become	economic	us	even	either	with
develop- ment	continue	political	you	so	neither	as
union	achieve	important	they	together	et	by
UN	support	good	my	therefore	plus	at
Estonia	work	common	your	most	versus	from
united	believe	many	me	already		between

Nouns	Verbs	Adjectives	Pronouns	Adverbs	Conjunctions	Prepositions
Lithuania	like	demo- cratic	them	still		if
member	remain	first	his	now		into
nations	create	great	itself	ago		than
people	see	such	ourselves	all		about
council	provide	more	her	however		through
European	develop	Baltic	he	here		during
right	use	strong	them- selves	very		against
EU	come	small	one	just		among

APPENDIX 2

Table 6 Presidents of Estonia, speeches in the corpus

President	Years of service	Political affiliation	Number of speeches in the corpus	Words	Average words
Lennart Meri	1992–2001	National Coalition	11	18012	1637,45
Arnold Rüütel	2001–2006	People's Union – conservative	11	11763	1069,36
Toomas Hendrik Ilves	2006–2016	Social Democrats	10	16710	1671
Kersti Kaljulaid	2016–present	Independent	11	19850	1804,55

Table 7 Presidents of Latvia, speeches in the corpus

President	Years of service	Political affiliation	Number of speeches in the corpus	Words	Average words
Guntis Ulmanis	1993–1999	Farmer's Union	9	16429	1825,44
Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga	1999–2007	Independent	12	20386	1698,83
Valdis Zatlers	2007–2011	Independent	8	14751	1843,87
Andris Bērziņš	2011–2015	Union of Greens and Farmers	5	6092	1218,4
Raimonds Vējonis	2015–2019	Union of Greens and Farmers	5	6215	1243
Egils Levits	2019–present	Independent	11	11461	1041,90

Table 8 Presidents of Lithuania, speeches in the corpus

President	Years of service	Political affiliation	Number of speeches in the corpus	Words	Average
Algirdas Brazauskas	1993–1998	Social Democrats	6	11890	1981,67
Valdas Adamkus	1998–2001; 2004–2009	Independent	14	19035	1359,64
Rolandas Paksas	2003–2004	Order and Justice national party	5	5486	1097,2
Arturas Paulauskas	2004	Labour Party	1	1921	1921
Dalia Grybauskaitė	2009–2019	Independent	17	9575	563,24
Gitanas Nausėda	2019–present	Independent	6	7632	1272

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APPROACHES TO EASY-TO-READ DISCOURSES: A CASE STUDY

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Abstract. In 2017, the organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development estimated that around 25 per cent of the population experiences difficulties in reading comprehension. The World Health Organisation (2021) has indicated that around 15 per cent of the world population faces functional impairment-related problems, which limit sufficient access to information unless the resources are adapted for meeting the needs of this layer of society. Considering the increasing numbers of the population who suffer from impairments at the language perception level, the present study has attempted to examine selected approaches that might serve for developing easy-to-read (EtR) discourses. Limited research has been conducted in the above-mentioned field, and the contributions that exist so far have focused on the linguistic and design features considered when producing EtR discourses; however, other central components that govern the adaptation of authentic texts for EtR needs seem to be neglected. Therefore, the present study aims to examine selected discourse-pragmatic approaches that can be applied for adapting texts to an EtR language. The present research is a qualitative case study targeted at EtR text developers and seeks to answer the research question: *which discourse-pragmatic approaches should be considered to produce easy-to-read discourses?* In conclusion, the paper offers the implications of the findings and reflects on the value of using discourse-pragmatic approaches to EtR discourse and cognitive load reduction.

Key words: discourse-pragmatic approaches, Easy language, easy-to-read discourse, adaptation, cognitive load reduction

INTRODUCTION

The paper offers some insights into selected approaches that were considered for adapting authentic texts into easy-to-read (EtR) language. The approaches under analysis require specialists' professional and academic competence, and/or experience in applying selected text discursive and text pragmatic principles for adaptation of EtR language, in addition to expertise gained in producing easy-to-read and easy-to-understand discourses.

In the context of this study, the term *Easy language* (EL) is applied as an umbrella notion that incorporates such parallel terms as *easy-to-read* (written texts in Easy language), *easy-to-read-and-understand*, and *easy-to-understand language*. When specific reference to written Easy language texts is made, the term *EtR* is used. The application of the EL can be considered as a general-purpose linguistic tool for securing social inclusion for persons facing communication impairments.

As regards the term *communication impairments*, four sub-types are known in theoretical writings such as language impairments, speech-sound impairments, speech fluency impairments, and pragmatic (social) impairments.

Lindholm and Vanhatalo (2021: 12), when referring to the EL as ‘a form of accommodated speech or text: people being able (and willing) to adapt their speech to the reception capacity of the recipient’ admit that as of 2021, there is no ‘commonly agreed, official definition of Easy Language’. Nowadays, the EL has become an umbrella notion if referred to social work practices, and it is used to facilitate communication with people having special needs. Maaß, one of the leading scholars in the EL, defines Easy German as ‘a variety of a language that is particularly easy to understand and perceive compared to standard German’ (2020: 41–57). Considering the Latvian context, Anča, the Chair of the Latvian umbrella body for disability organisations (Sustento), who has launched the EL practice in Latvia, characterises Easy Latvian as a language variety of a standard language with reduced cognitive load to ease its comprehension through several grammatical changes introduced into the source text, as well as through revised conceptual structure and visual presentation of the text (Anča, 2001).

With the growing body of legislation on information accessibility, public authorities and businesses are required to provide information in the EL to ensure equal rights to all people who experience a need in this type of language. Thus, the significance of information accessibility is entrenched in legal acts at the global, EU, and national levels.

At the global level, ‘The UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UN CRPD)’ was the first document that addressed the rights of people with disabilities. Article 9 (1) of the Convention establishes that

to enable persons with disabilities to live independently and participate fully in all aspects of life, States Parties shall take appropriate measures to ensure to persons with disabilities access, on an equal basis with others, to the physical environment, to transportation, to information and communications [...]. (United Nations, 2006)

Article 21 (1) on the freedom of expression and opinion, and access to information specified that

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that persons with disabilities can exercise the right to freedom of expression and opinion, including the freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas on an equal basis with others [...]. (United Nations, 2006)

At the EU level, there are various documents and legal acts targeting information accessibility. For instance, 'Directive (EU) 2016/2102 of the European Parliament and of the Council' on the accessibility of websites and mobile applications of public sector bodies of 26 October 2016 focuses on accessibility in terms of principles and methods to be followed when designing, building, maintaining, and updating websites and mobile applications in order to make them more accessible to users, in particular, persons with disabilities. 'Directive (EU) 2017/1564 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 13 September 2017' permits the uses of certain works 'protected by copyright and related rights for the benefit of persons who are blind, visually impaired, or otherwise print-disabled'. 'Directive 2001/29/EC on the harmonisation of certain aspects of copyright and related rights in the information society' is essential when adapting materials that are protected by copyright law but which are used for the benefit of persons facing intellectual and/or cognitive impairments.

At the national level, the requirements for information accessibility are stipulated in 'Regulation of the Cabinet of Ministers of 14 July 2020 No. 445' – the document that determines procedures for posting information on the Internet.

In compliance with the above-mentioned documents and to bridge the gap between the expectations of the community who experience the impact of cognitive and/or intellectual impairments in their adulthood, to advance social inclusion of these layers of society, and to satisfy the current societal needs and requirements, ERASMUS+ project No 2020-1-LV01-KA204-077527 'Promoting Easy-to-Read Language for Social Inclusion (PERLSI)' was launched. It was carried out by the University of Latvia in October 2020, and it brought together an international body of stakeholders from Latvia, Lithuania, and Slovenia. Five out of six intellectual outputs of the project were aimed at developing EtR materials, with one intellectual output specifically aimed at EtR text producers.

The present study conceptualises the approaches for the development of EtR discourses at three levels, where the micro-level analysis is represented by selected intralingual strategies that are used to reduce cognitive load at lexical, syntactic and textual levels in line with Koller's concept of pragmatic equivalence (2011: 251), the macro-level analysis concerns public discourse on information accessibility, and the meta-level analysis offers selected approaches used in pragmatics and clinical pragmatics for evaluation of the EL users' language perception.

In addition, several aspects of pragmatic and discourse impairments in adulthood and some features of pragmatic language impairments were studied from the perspective of clinical pragmatics.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

1 THE TEXTUAL PRAGMATICS

Within the context of the present article and to analyse language use in communication, special attention is drawn to enabling individuals' use of textual

function (Halliday, 1973, 2001, 2003). This can be carried out by employing a range of activities to ensure language use for text construction and text processing purposes in a written mode. Leech (1983: 57) argues that ‘texts have the function of transmitting the language’. Besides, he states that effective language use means meeting the communicative needs of language users, and, thus, the term *rhetoric* should be understood as ‘a goal-oriented speech situation, in which a speaker uses the language to produce a particular effect in the mind of a hearer’ (ibid.: 15).

Considering the above stated, Leech’s *textual rhetoric* principle is significant for the purposes of this study; it attributes the notion ‘principle’ to the meaning of ‘a rule that explains how something happens or works’ (*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, 2014). Thus, the study examines how the rule specified can be applied for adapting texts intended for individuals having pragmatic and discourse impairments. According to Leech, the *textual rhetoric* principle is based on such maxims (also known as subprinciples) as: ‘the processibility principle, clarity principle, economy principle, expressivity principle’ (1983: 17). These principles underlie the rhetorical force of a text or utterance and, thus, reveal the processes that demonstrate how a textual transaction in a discourse is created. Leech suggests that any ‘discourse is the whole transaction, regarded as an attempt to convey a particular illocutionary force to the hearer’ (ibid.: 59).

Further, the principle of *textual rhetoric* is based on speaker-hearer / writer-reader cooperation, which, in its turn, is related to the phonological, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic features that govern the text. The principle can be applied by making use of the *clarity principle*, which involves linguistic (i.e., grammatical, lexical) accuracy to avoid misinterpretation of the message, the *economy principle*, which involves the use of a selected and/or a specified amount of information applied for communicative purposes, and the *expressivity principle*, which involves the textual function to communicate linguistic messages.

For the purposes of this study, the *processibility principle* is considered in particular; it enables EtR language developers to convert texts to the EL intended for those individuals who have developed language impairments; this principle recommends that the text should be created in a manner that is easy to be perceived and processed within the time-framework that has been allocated for the task. In addition, this principle applies to the phonological, syntactic, and semantic aspects of the given text.

Pursuant to the processibility principle, the *clarity principle* should be taken into account as well. It seems to be efficient if used in a text construction process for the EL purposes, as the principle contributes to the transparency of the syntactic structures to avoid ambiguity (e.g., *If the baby won’t drink milk, it should be boiled* [adapted from Leech, 1983: 66]). It is evident that the danger of ambiguity lies in a confused interpretation of a statement or parts of the text.

The *economy principle* can be regarded as a valuable approach to condense the textual information or to keep the message ‘unimpaired’ (ibid.: 67). This

reduces the time- and effort-consumption for perceiving and producing the text, simplifies the text structure, and thus, enhances text production.

The *expressivity principle* can be considered efficient if used as an approach for the EL text construction purposes because it: (1) adds certain rhetorical value and enhances the use of language functions, (2) carries the effect of pragmatic implicature and, thus, ensures the development of the selected features of the textual pragmatics.

Thus, the above analysis indicates that the rules known as textual rhetoric principles can be adapted for constructing textual material in the EL for individuals having language impairments because the principles that govern the textual pragmatics, i.e., *the processibility principle, the clarity principle, the economy principle, and the expressivity principle*, can be used to reduce linguistic complexity and, consequently, the cognitive load of the written text.

2 INTERFACE OF DISCOURSE, PRAGMATICS AND COGNITION

Pragmatics as a field of applied linguistics has experienced notable changes since the beginning of the new millennium and has developed as an independent discipline. A remarkable number of scientific contributions have demonstrated the interdisciplinary nature of pragmatics, which can serve as a source for investigating the interactional and transactional communicative needs of language users. It should be marked that a discipline of clinical pragmatics has developed to meet the clinical needs of people who suffer from language impairments developed either in childhood, in the early period of adolescence, or in advanced adulthood.

To be introduced into clinical pragmatics, selected aspects of pragmatic and cognition interface should be considered. It seems important to state that people who have developed communication impairments experience problems with language use in certain contexts. Communication impairments cause both speech and language difficulties and can have a variety of manifestations, such as reduced vocabulary, limited sentence structure, and poor word articulation. In addition, people with communication impairments can face challenges in both inferencing the speaker's meaning from what has been stated (also known as pragmatic meaning) and in constructing the semantic meaning of a sentence.

At this point, it should be noted that limitations or inabilities of the language perceivers are in understanding the ideas expressed by the language users when the meaning should be inferred, or when the meaning is beyond what the individual sentences express. This is one of the conditions that develop the basis for discourse-pragmatic impairments, being manifested in cases when language users face difficulties with interpreting the literal (semantic) and/or non-literal (pragmatic) meanings (Cummings, 2015: 1).

In the situations referred to above, individuals, for example, may experience problems with understanding time concepts, temporal relations between concepts, use of speech acts to express language functions (greeting, thanking, apologizing,

expressing promise, threats or alike). Thus, discourse-pragmatic impairments often result in miscommunication; those language users who have developed these types of language impairments fail to perceive the implied meaning of a statement, they may be hardly able to share information with other interlocutors, or they may fail to perceive the illocutionary force of an utterance: e.g. A: *How was your trip to Riga?* B: *Everyone was sick in Riga.*

It is generally known that *discourse competence* in communication incorporates a variety of language skills and abilities. Individuals are expected to construct a cohesive text and coherent information flow in a discourse to meet the communicative needs of a narrative. On the other hand, *pragmatic competence* in communication may be demonstrated via an appropriately constructed text in a relevant context, where, according to Willcox-Ficzere (2018: 148), pragmatic competence implies the ‘ability to select/use linguistic devices [...] to achieve communicative goal, [and] ability to respond to interlocutor appropriately taking contextual factors (e.g., power) into consideration’.

As concerns clinical pragmatics, it is a relatively recent science (Cummings, 2014: 22–24) Even if the first writings on language impairments can be found in the late 70s’, clinical pragmatics has seen fast development due to many scholars’ contributions (e.g., Penn and Cleary, 1988; Cummings, 2014) whose research interest lies in examining such clinical conditions as specific phonological language impairments, autism spectrum disorders experienced in the early developmental period of a child, or in examining pragmatic and discourse impairments developed in the early period of adolescence, or in advanced adulthood, e.g., left-, right-hemisphere damage that influences language processing and production processes across the life-span.

Consequently, to understand how the above-mentioned impairments affect the pragmatic-cognition interface, it seems vital to view selected cognitive aspects that might be related to the development of pragmatic impairments. As regards the existing relationship between pragmatics and cognition, it should be admitted that language production and comprehension are not only related to the neuroanatomical structures of the brain that are responsible for language procession and ensure the language user’s production abilities but also to the linguistic disciplines that analyse how language knowledge is acquired and how the communicative needs of a person are satisfied (Cummings, 2015).

So far, this paper has marked that the knowledge of linguistic structures enables an individual to construct a word or sentence meaning considering the semantic features of the language, such as phonology, morphology, and syntax. To understand what has been meant by what has been said or how a text is constructed, and what cohesive links in a narrative are, one should be able to employ both discourse construction competences and the pragmatic appropriacy of language use. However, a person suffering from, e.g., clinical speech pathologies, pragmatic and/or discourse impairments, or cognitive deficits can hardly cope with making sense of a statement: persons having developed phonological impairments or adults with special language impairments can hardly identify meanings established

through a text or the use of semantic mappings (e.g., semantic fields). Coping with paradigmatic meaning relationship (e.g., use of idiomatic or metaphoric language) is a difficult task as well because such language use, as a rule, requires cognitive skill involvement.

A range of verbal and non-verbal behaviours, known as communicative appropriateness (Penn and Cleary, 1988: 3–17), enables an individual to assess the language skills demonstrated by another language user. It means that not only the use of formal language features but also the pragmatic strategies followed ensure a communicative event as a developed linguistic behaviour through (1) response to an interlocutor, e.g., expressed through the language functions of clarification, request to repeat, and alike, (2) control of a semantic context, e.g., expressed through the language function of topic initiation, (3) text cohesion, expressed through discursive elements, e.g., reference, (4) fluency of interaction, expressed through repetition, periphrasis, (5) sociolinguistic sensitivity expressed through politeness forms of language, e.g., addressing, parting, greeting, (6) features of non-verbal communication, e.g., facial expression (Cummings, 2015).

The above discussion has attempted to state that communication incorporates a variety of linguistic and para-linguistic abilities and their exposures. Consequently, it might be assumed that functional communication can be seen as an important feature to shape the treatment plan of individuals who suffer from discourse-pragmatic impairments to determine, e.g., the level of speech pathologies. Besides, the linguistic interventions can be examined not only through pragmatic language use but also through social language use. For purposes of ensuring individuals' pragmatic-social communication and depending on language impairments being established either in the early period of adolescence or in advanced adulthood, special emphasis should be laid on developing and expanding text/message comprehension and production abilities, on the production of a cohesive and coherent text, e.g., through implementing storytelling activities or alike. Similarly, individuals' communicative abilities can be reinforced through advancing simplistic linguistic strategies applied for, e.g., (1) setting questions, (2) responding to the questions set, (3) making one's needs and wants formulated, (4) leaving, addressing, or greeting someone.

DISCUSSION AND FINDINGS: DISCOURSE-PRAGMATIC APPROACHES TO EASY-TO-READ TEXT ADAPTATION

1 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND POPULATION

The research methodology was developed considering three theoretical contributions: (1) Bredel and Maaß's (2016) approach (cited in Hansen-Schirra et al.), (2) Darwish's (1999) process-oriented iterative adaptation model, and (3) Leech's (1983) textual rhetoric principle.

Bredel and Maaß's approach was applied for the analysis of the EL at three levels. It was used to show how the EL production can be enabled at three levels, namely, at: '*intralingual* with a diastatic orientation', *intersemiotic*, where visual processing is involved and *intracultural*, 'because source and primary target readers belong to the same para-culture, albeit often to different diacultural groups' (Bredel and Maaß, 2016 cited in Hansen-Schirra, Bisang, Nagels, Gutermuth, Fuchs, Borghardt, Deilen, Gros, Schiffel and Sommer, 2020: 201). The case studies below in the next part of the article illustrate how the approach can be adapted by EtR text developers for the consideration of intralingual, intersemiotic, and intracultural levels of EtR production.

Darwish's *process-oriented iterative adaptation model* was selected to reveal how the discourses envisaged for adaptation can be broken into three logical parts, (1) pre-adaptation stage, (2) adaptation stage, and (3) completion stage for reducing language users' cognitive load. By applying this model, the key stages were supported by ancillary activities; for instance, the pre-adaptation stage included such activities as planning and analysing the text type or language function, analysing the environment, and examining the required intralingual, i.e., diastatic orientation. The adaptation stage was implemented by applying the selected adaptation strategy and by introducing the necessary self-revisions to the first draft, by performing editing and proofreading, which, if possible, should be done by another person trained in EtR and by validating the first draft with end-users.

Leech's (1983) *textual rhetoric principle* demonstrated how linguistic and extralinguistic features across all stages of the EtR material adaptation process could enhance individuals' language perception and language production.

The empirical analysis was performed considering authentic texts on Latvia's State Forests website intended for adaptations into EtR. (Online 1). The corpus of source texts amounted to 10 000 words.

The research population consisted of two groups: permanent users and temporary users. The end-user group, which is rather heterogeneous, comprises two types of users such as permanent users, for whom the EL is a daily aid, and temporary users, for whom the EL is a stepping-stone towards reaching a higher level of language proficiency. The empirical material was validated with the permanent end-user group represented by people with intellectual and cognitive impairments. Validation, as Knapp (2021) suggests, is 'a process of assessing whether the content is, in fact, in Easy language or Easy-to-read [and where] end-users of Easy language information are actively included. [It] is often considered to be a crucial part in the process of publishing Easy-to-understand information'.

2 APPLICATION OF DISCOURSE-PRAGMATIC APPROACHES TO EASY-TO-READ MATERIALS

Maaß and Rink (2020) identify *linguistic*, *conceptual*, and *medial* strategies that can be applied for the production and adaptation of EtR texts. The scholars list such linguistic strategies as the choice of everyday lexis and short words, preference for simple sentences and reduced morphological load, when

explicitation of implicatures and presuppositions, explanation and exemplification of technical terms or less common lexical items, a simple argument structure of the text, addressing the audience directly and providing clear indications on follow-up action. (Maaß and Rink, 2020: 48)

The strategies identified by Maaß and Rink (*ibid.*) can reduce cognitive load at the lexical and syntactic level and ease text comprehension. However, Maaß and Rink maintain that the linguistic strategies alone will hardly reduce semantic complexity or exclude conceptual ambiguity. ‘To enlarge the common ground between authors and users of the text’ and to expand knowledge, such conceptual strategies as ‘knowledge development about the text or its sections, management of the cognitive complexity of the arguments and internal text or section structure, strategic orientation toward the prerequisites and demands of the target groups’ (Maaß and Rink, 2020: 48) should be used. The scholars draw attention to the significance of medial strategies in EL adaptations. They advise using such medial strategies as

typographic structure (indentations, medio points, highlighting), use of sign resources from different semiotic systems (visualisations, images, colour coding), connectivity between the sign resources from different semiotic systems. (*ibid.*)

The strategies mentioned can be associated with the implementation of the *processability*, *clarity*, *economy*, and *expressivity* principles discussed above at word, sentence, and text levels.

Thus, the *processability* principle, which entails three types of decisions (Leech, 1983: 67) to ease the comprehensibility and readability of the text, namely, the segmentation of messages into their units, the subordination or foregrounding of message segments, and the ordering of the message, is supported by the strategies recommended for the EL adaptation.

As stated by Ceplitis et al. (cited in Liepa et al., 2022: 86), special attention should be paid to grammatical categories of texts, such as predication, cohesion, integration, retrospection, and prospection, continuum, modality, auto-semantics, and lexical density. EtR texts are to be guided by *one main idea – one sentence principle* as well as are to avoid excessive detail and refrain from the usage of figurative language unless the text type requires it. Parenthetical insertions increase cognitive load and thus, if observed in the source text, are integrated into the text without the disruptive use of parenthesis. The information is to be organized sequentially. Long texts are to be divided into sections, and long lists are to be bulleted.

Referring to the above discussion (Ceplitis *ibid.*), it can be suggested that the EL principles can be compatible with the maxims of Leech’s *processability* principle. The *economy* principle entails reductions at all levels (Leech, 1983: 67) on the condition that they do not create ambiguity and meet the requirements for the EL adaptation. The EL rules advise reductions at various linguistic

and/or comprehension levels; for instance, it is recommended to reduce lexical complexity, morphological complexity, phrasal complexity, syntactical complexity, and textual level complexity in line with the conventions as pertains to the language used. The *clarity* principle associated with the transparency and ambiguity maxims (Leech, 1983: 66–67) is compatible with the EL linguistic strategies that enable the text developer to avoid ambiguity at the syntactical and semantic levels. The *expressivity* principle is backed up by an additional strategy in the cases when it is required to explicate the message in the EL adaptation.

Taking into consideration the above-stated, the analysis below demonstrates how Bredel and Maaß's approach, Darwish's process-oriented iterative adaptation model, and Leech's textual rhetoric principle can be applied for adapting authentic texts in the EL.

As referred to above, the analysis is performed on authentic texts available on Latvia's State Forests website and their adaptations into EtR (Online 1). The source texts are available in Latvian and English. The translation of the EtR Latvian segments into English is performed by the authors of the article subsequent to the adaptation into EtR performed by the project team. The end-user group represented by people with intellectual and cognitive impairments constitutes the research population.

For the purposes of this study, the paper adopts the translational term *source text* to refer to the authentic text intended for adaptation; the term *target text* is used with the reference to the text adapted for the EtR needs.

CASE 1

Case 1 illustrates how Leech's textual rhetoric principle can be applied in the given sentences.

Table 1 Case 1

ST:	TT:
(1) <u>Latvia's State Forests Nature Park in Tērvete is one of the most popular and family-friendly places for tourists in Latvia.</u>	(1.1) <u>Latvian tourists love Tērvete Nature Park.</u>
(2) <u>It covers a total area of about 1200 ha, a third of which is occupied by the Fairytale World</u>	(1.2) <u>The owners of the park are the company "Latvia's State Forests".</u>
	(2.1) <u>The park covers an area of about 1200 hectares.</u>
	(1.3) <u>The park is particularly suitable for family holidays.</u>

The adaptation is performed for the purposes of one of the deliverables within the project PERLSI. The first example is provided to illustrate how the *processibility*,

economy and *clarity* principles are used. The passage is marked to ease the recognition of adaptation mechanisms. Three propositions of Sentence 1 of the source text (ST) are marked by wavy, double, and dotted underlines, and the corresponding sentences in the target text column (TT) are marked respectively to demonstrate how these propositions are explicated in the target text. The marking of Sentence 2 demonstrates linguistic transformation, where each strategy is marked by a dashed and dash-dotted underline, respectively.

The ST segment holds two sentences. Sentence 1 contains three different propositions concerning Têrvete park. The first proposition introduces the owner of the nature park; the second proposition concerns the popularity of the park among tourists, and the third proposition refers to the park being a family-friendly area. Hence, following the *one idea – one sentence principle*, and in line with the *processibility* principle, the ST sentence is split into three TT sentences. Thus, the *economy* principle is implemented by reducing cognitive load at the syntactic level.

Textual complexity is resolved when relocating the sentence on being family-friendly to a further segment of the text to ensure its closer proximity to the mentions of infrastructure objects that would illustrate the ‘family-friendly’ area concept. This approach is used to reduce short-term memory load and promote readability among end-users.

As can be seen in Table 1, TT sentence 1.1. adheres to the *clarity* principle and restructures the possessive case introduced by the apostrophe + s (’s) structure in the ST. The TT explicates this condensed grammatical form by clearly identifying who the owners of the park are. Sentence 2 has undergone various changes to enhance its readability, too. The EL principles advise avoiding cross-referencing through pronouns because such cross-referencing might result in ambiguity. Thus, to reduce cognitive load and adhere to the *clarity* principle, the pronoun ‘it’ is substituted by the noun phrase ‘the park’ in Sentence 2.1, which is used repetitively throughout the text and ensures adherence to the *expressivity* principle because ‘the emphasis of repetition has some rhetorical value such as surprising, impressing, or rousing the interest of the addressee’ (Leech, 1983: 69). The dashed-dotted segment of Sentence 2 is cut out not to overload end-users’ short-term memory because the relevant information concerning ‘Fairytale World’ is introduced much later in the text. This approach allows the text producers to ensure the perceptibility and clarity principles.

CASE 2

Case 2 illustrates the approach taken to deal with the use of numbers in the EL discourse. The case demonstrates how Bredel and Maaß’s approach can be applied to the EL production at two levels, namely, at intralingual and intersemiotic levels, where linguistic and visual processing is involved. The selected example follows the same principle of coding as in Case 1. Three propositions of Sentence 3 are

marked by wavy, double, and dotted underlines, and the corresponding sentences in the target text (TT) are marked respectively to demonstrate information-processing mechanisms in the target text. Sentence 4 is marked by a dashed and dash-dotted underline for the same purposes.

Table 2 Case 2

ST:	TT:
(3) Nature Park of <u>Latvia's State Forests</u> in Tērvete dates back to <u>1958, when the first walking trails were created</u> in what is now Sun Park.	(3.1.) <u>About 60 years ago, the first walking trails were created in Tērvete.</u>
(4) Today, Nature Park covers <u>an area of more than 1200 ha, a third of which is occupied by the Fairy-tale World.</u>	(4.1.) <u>The park now covers more than 1200 hectares.</u> (4.2.) <u>A large part of the park is Fairytale World.</u>

Case 2 contains two original sentences marked 3 and 4 in Table 2. The analysis demonstrates that Sentence 3 communicates three propositions when the general idea of the park is introduced. One proposition refers to the park ownership, which has already been reconstructed in Sentence 1 (Case 1) and should not be repeated in the given statement. The second proposition concerning the ‘the first walking trails’ involves the time reference ‘1958’, and the third proposition concerns ‘Sun Park’, which is the geographical realia associated with the trails.

The three propositions being identified in Sentence 3 are reduced to one in Sentence 3.1., where the year 1958 is substituted with the phrase ‘about 60 years ago’ to reduce cognitive load at the semantic level and to assist end-users in establishing chronological links. Sentence 4 holds information on the total area of the park and reintroduces its thematic section ‘Fairy-tale World’. Thus, it is divided into two sentences to communicate the relevant propositions. The full-form word is used in the TT instead of the abbreviation ‘ha’ provided in Sentence 4 to adhere to the *clarity* principle. A percentage share being expressed as ‘a third of’ is generalised into ‘a large park’ to reduce the cognitive load required for processing the whole-part correlation.

CASE 3

Case 3 illustrates the application of Darwish’s process-oriented iterative adaptation model. It demonstrates how the discourses envisaged for adaptation can be broken into logical parts: (1) the pre-adaptation stage is represented as a source text (ST), (2) the adaptation stage is represented as a target text (TT1), and (3) the completion stage for reducing the cognitive load of language users is represented as a target text (TT2). The parallel threads for Sentence 5 in Table 3 apply the *expressivity* principle pursuant to Leech’s textual rhetoric principle. The adapted target text

(TT1) has added the phone number where the source text (ST) just mentioned the opportunity to call up and book some services or facilities.

Table 3 Case 3

<p>ST:</p> <p>(5) A picnic area with a barbecue, benches, and tables [...] can be booked in advance <u>by calling the Information Center of the Nature Park in Tērvete.</u></p> <p>(6) The net park is set in a pine forest and is unique in that it includes a wide variety of activities such as tree houses, trampolines, <u>basketball and ball courts</u>, two-level decks and net tunnels, all at an average height of 6 metres above the ground.</p>	<p>TT1:</p> <p>(5.1) There is also a picnic area. Please contact the Information Centre (<u>phone 28309394</u>) to book a picnic area in advance.</p> <p>(6.1) Tērvete Net Park is designed for active recreation.</p> <p>(6.2) It is located in the Land of Kurbads, next to a large car park.</p> <p>(6.3) The net park is created at a height of about 6 metres above the ground.</p> <p>(6.4.) It has tree houses, trampolines, <u>ball courts</u> and net tunnels.</p>	<p>TT2:</p> <p>(6.1.1.) Tērvete Net Park is designed for active recreation.</p> <p>(6.2.1.) It is located in the Land of Kurbads, next to a large parking lot.</p> <p>(6.3.1.) The net park is created at a height of about 6 metres above the ground.</p> <p>(6.4.1.) It has wooden houses, trampolines and net tunnels.</p> <p>(6.4.2.) <u>There are also areas for ball rolling.</u></p> <p>(6.4.3.) <u>These areas are bordered by nets.</u></p> <p>(6.4.4.) <u>Therefore, the balls cannot roll away.</u></p>
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In addition, the above example shows the approach of how the validation has allowed the EtR text producer to resolve the ambiguity of ‘ball courts’. To reduce ambiguity, the noun phrase ‘ball courts’ is substituted by the explanatory statements seen in Column 3 of the table above.

The above-provided case studies demonstrate the adherence of the EtR segments to Easy Language guidelines set for the Latvian language at lexical, syntactic, and textual levels, as characterized by Liepa et al. (2022: 103–132). The source texts are restructured into simple sentences without clauses; the sentence length is preferred not to exceed seven units of language. The EtR sentences start with the grammatical centre, where the subject and the predicate of the sentence are in close proximity. Long multi-syllable words are avoided, and eloquent units of language are not used.

CONCLUSIONS

The above-offered review of the theories and the analysis of the case studies enable the authors of the article to draw the following conclusions:

1. Easy language, being a variety of a standard language, can be seen as a language that reduces the cognitive load to ease its comprehension; it uses several grammatical changes introduced in the target text, a revised conceptual structure and visual design of the text.
2. The use of selected linguistic strategies can be observed in the adapted easy-to-read discourses:
 - 2.1 at the micro-level, i.e., at lexical, syntactic, and textual levels, to reduce the cognitive load of discourse,
 - 2.2 at the macro-level, to ensure discourse organization, information flow and its accessibility, and
 - 2.3 at the meta-level, to enhance the EL users' language perception and production.
3. To adapt authentic texts for easy-to-read discourses, the following discourse-pragmatic approaches can be suggested:
 - 3.1. Leech's *textual rhetoric* principle: being based on the processibility, clarity, economy, and expressivity principles, it determines the rhetorical force of a text or utterance and, thus, demonstrates the processes of textual transaction in a discourse created.
 - 3.2. Darwish's *process-oriented iterative adaptation model* explains how the discourses intended for adaptation can be broken into three logical parts: pre-adaptation stage, adaptation stage, and completion stage for reducing the cognitive load of language users.
 - 3.3 Bredel and Maaß's approach enables the analysis of the Easy language at three levels:
 - 3.3.1 intralingual analysis offers insights into the language used,
 - 3.3.2 intersemiotic analysis is concerned with examining visual processing of information,
 - 3.3.3 intracultural analysis has research interest in source and primary target readers who belong to the same para-culture or to different diacultural groups.

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ANALYSED TEXTS

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WHO CARES ABOUT TRANSLATION THEORY? (LATVIAN EXPERIENCE)

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Abstract. The article is a study of relations between translation theory or, to be more precise – theoretical and applied translation studies and translation practice (i.e., regular work of translation professionals) with a glimpse into the views of some prominent translation theorists and afterwards provides a general picture of opinions of novice translators, experienced professional translators and translation studies experts in Latvia. The feeling is that in ‘real life’ there is a wide gap between the assessment of translation theory and practice in the eyes of several groups of persons relevant to the phenomenon of translation. A deeper survey and analysis of its results shows that the range of opinions is very wide among both translation theorists and practitioners. The pivotal question of this study is to find out who are of those who care (or do not care) *about* translation theory and who are those who care *for* translation theory. Is translatology as a research discipline a necessary complement to translation practice, or is it a testing site for ever more sophisticated translological schools?

Key words: theoretical and applied translation studies, translation/interpreting practice, self-taught translators/interpreters, translation scholars/theorists, professional translator/interpreter training programmes

INTRODUCTION

Nine years ago (21 September 2012), the author was a witness to a dialogue between the world-famous translation scholar José Lambert and a young lady – a civil servant representing the EU Directorate-General for Translation. The dialogue occurred during the discussion part of the 2012 September 11–13 Riga Technical University conference *Meaning in Translation: Illusion of Precision*. The EU Directorate-General for Translation representative, performing her duty in good faith, made a routine advertising presentation of her institution. When she finished, José Lambert asked a question related to her speech. The young lady looked at him and then inquired ‘Would you kindly give your name so we could give you a written answer?’. The shocked renowned translologist, who evidently thought that his personality and appearance were known to absolutely everyone

dealing with translation and interpreting on any level – theoretical, practical and administrative – remained silent for quite a while and then muttered, ‘Oh, it does not matter ...’. This situation is a vivid illustration of how wide the gap between translation studies and institutionalised translation practice is.

Viable theories begin with questions identifying problems in practical (professional) activities. In translation studies/translatology (TS), the beginning was a spontaneous evaluation of the quality of a translated text – a literary text in the case of potentially widest readership; at present such evaluation is also embracing the non-literary general language and special language (LSP) texts. Emotional reactions in the cases of literary translation could range from ‘What a crap!’ to ‘An excellent job!’. With this outburst of emotions, usually ‘the case was closed’.

However, there have always been nagging people among the readership who tried to understand (at least for themselves or a limited circle of persons sharing the same views) the reasons why a concrete translation was good or bad. Gradually the question ‘why?’ was asked to explain the emotional ‘yes’ or ‘no’. As seen from the development of the global translational thought in the course of millennia, the chain of evaluation criteria could have started with amateurishly stating what is ‘good’ and ‘bad’ in the case of a translated text. One of the conclusions was ‘good is precise’ and ‘bad is imprecise and superficial’. After some time, the realisation came that the notions ‘precise’ and ‘imprecise’ are as subjective as ‘good’ and ‘bad’. This actually was the shift from the field of subjective speculations to the need for practicing translators/interpreters to establish working models of precision in order to avoid a loss of professional face, which in reality meant the loss of clients and money.

From that moment on, ‘precise’ underwent changes in opposite pairs of notions, at first ‘invented’ by translators themselves: *word-for-word vs. free translation – translation equivalence – adequate translation* (as a response to the failure of defining the notion of *equivalence*). The search for equivalence turned from the central problem into a blind alley, and refuge was (seemingly?) found in discarding equivalence as such and the start of a new approach (Manipulation school of Theo Hermans).

Already in 1985, Komissarov admitted that

[...] the considerable achievements of translation theory are seldom fully appreciated by the people who earn their living by practicing the noble art of translation. It seems that many translators have little use for theoretical principles, even though they may occasionally pay tribute to translation theory either out of politeness or in order to win additional prestige for their profession [...] it should be noted that theoretical findings are not always directly applicable. (Komissarov, 1985: 208)

Komissarov also concludes that ‘translation theory is not supposed to provide the translator with ready-made solutions of his problems. Theory is no substitute for proper thinking or decision-making’ (ibid.).

Justifying the teaching of translation theory, Pym is convinced that ‘translators are theorizing whenever they translate’ and that ‘theorization is an important part of translation practice’ (2003: 492).

In his publication *Redefining Translation Competence in an Electronic Age*, Pym analyses the role of theory in translation practice and explains ‘translating as a process of producing and selecting between hypotheses, and this is in itself a mode of constant theorization. If thought through, the model is actually claiming that translators are theorizing whenever they translate; theorization is an important part of translation practice (Pym, 2003: 492). Pym’s ‘selecting between hypotheses’ can be characterised as a practical decision-making process that is axiomatic in any process of translation and interpreting. Therefore, one should not interpret the translation process as constant theorisation, the choice between several translation theories, but as an operative choice between two or several ways of translation.

Arrojo (2013) also supports the view that translators cannot ignore translation theory: in the aftermath of World War II has been the institutionalization of translation studies as the new academic field formally devoted to translation scholarship and translator training that began opening up spaces in universities worldwide in the 1970s.

Due to the increasing awareness of the productive role of translators, translation theory has become pivotal for the humanities in general, producing trailblazing scholarship in interfaces with areas such as cultural studies, postcolonial and subaltern studies, gender studies, philosophy, sociology, comparative literature, and history [...] translators are not usually required to have any formal academic training in order to become professionals and, thus, often tend to see theory as irrelevant. In this scenario it is fundamental that we rethink the opposition and find ways to bridge the usual gap that separates practice from what is generally called theory. (Arrojo, 2013: 12)

There are other opinions declaring that translation theory *per se* is worth of interest, but it is not particularly relevant for practicing translators. According to Chesterman, theoretical input should be perceived as something providing conceptual tools that help the translator’s decision-making efforts (Chesterman and Wagner, 2002: 7). Wagner pragmatically suggests interpreting translation theory as a toolkit of theoretical concepts, and in her opinion, this toolkit simply names processes that good translators follow instinctively. Chesterman and Wagner characterize it as a professional *lingua franca* in which translators can talk about translation (ibid.: 11).

Translatologists have also expressed their opinions about the role of translation theory in the process of translator training.

Offering a synopsis of researcher Klaudy’s (2006) views, a conclusion can be made that she is not so much interested in the role of translation theory in the professional activities of ‘self-made’ translators but focuses on the translator

training process and recommends a selective approach to the numerous theoretical schools choosing only such theoretical material that corresponds to the specific needs of the training process. Klaudy also believes that translation theories historically originated from translator training needs. It seems that this is a rather rash conclusion: if we take into consideration the opinions of, for example, Cicero or St. Jerome – their point of view, first and foremost, could be perceived as personal reflections of what would be the best way how to approach translation. Klaudy's approach could be applied to the time span of the last hundred years. As for the present-day situation, one could still agree with her that professional translators are not motivated to generalise (Klaudy, 2006: 1–3).

Shuttleworth (2001: 499) maintains that there should be a distinction between a formal theory that should be an instrument for translational research and a certain amount of logically bound theory-related viewpoints, which could serve as a foundation that could help a beginner translator to start his/her decision-making 'chain' in the process of translation:

While recognizing the need to provide students with a solid theoretical grounding, translation instructors should place strategic importance on equipping their students with the skills that will help them to enter and, subsequently, survive on the translation market. That is not to say that teaching translation theory is to be abandoned altogether. Rather, translator training curricula should be modified to accommodate both practical and theoretical aspects of a translator's work [...]. (Szczyrbak, 2011: 80)

Szczyrbak (*ibid.*) characterises another Polish translation scholar, Pieńkos, as being convinced that knowledge of being familiar with translation basics alone is not enough for a beginning translator to reach the level of a skilled professional; it still provides rules that serve as guidelines of a novice translator's performance (Pieńkos, 2003: 72).

Lederer points out that 'translation is a complex operation and theory helps in generalizing and systematizing problems', but basically, her conviction is that she does not believe in separate general theories for explaining the process of written translation and oral interpreting (Lederer, 2007: 15–35).

THE ROAD TO ESTABLISHING TRANSLATION STUDIES IN LATVIA

Somewhere in the process of finding the way to formulate a definition of translation studies that could satisfy everyone, the problem became of a lesser interest to translators who continued to rely upon their personal intuition and experience. The search was continued by those who were translators-practitioners with curiosity to find some more general explanation that could help them solve practical problems in the translation process (here, some examples of such cases in Latvia should be mentioned). Little by little Latvian translators who predominantly were

previous graduates of the University of Latvia (in the Soviet period, it was named Pēteris Stučka Latvia State University Awarded with Red Banner Order of Labour) Foreign languages faculty programmes of English, German, French and Russian linguistics and literature, started pedagogical and research activities, abandoned practical translation for the sake of linguistic and literary research.

Classification of scientific disciplines adopted by the Academy of Sciences of Latvia states that the discipline of linguistics has 12 subdisciplines, including applied linguistics as well as comparative and contrastive linguistics (*Latvijas Vēstnesis*, 2018).

Research in translation studies was found appropriate to be included in the comparative and contrastive linguistics subdiscipline; unlike the situation in a number of other countries, translatology is not considered to be an independent, interdisciplinary science.

Before obtaining concrete answers from 7 groups of persons in some ways connected with the phenomenon of translation, the author formulated a hypothesis: 'pure' practical translators (not to be confused with James Holmes' 'pure translation studies') of both literary and non-literary texts have adopted a pragmatic (matter-of-fact) approach, and there is a feeling they do not find translation theory/theories helpful in their professional job; however those translators who simultaneously work in the academic field, feel the obligation to choose translation studies as their research themes.

One can say that there are no 'pure' translation theorists in Latvia without ties with the academic world – here, they simply could not make a living.

Here is more about each respondent group answering the question 'Has translation theory any importance for practising professional translators?'

CHARACTERISATION OF THE RESPONDENT GROUPS

1 SELF-TAUGHT TRANSLATORS

All translators in Latvia before 1995 (when the first translator training programme was implemented at the University of Latvia) learned how to translate simply by doing it. One could speak about sporadic episodes of translators' contact with theoretical issues: these were improvised seminars of the Writers Union's translators' section where more experienced translators analysed the translations done by beginners. At the end of the seventies of the 20th century, the University decided that a two-semester lecture course in translation theory and practice was needed for students of the Faculty of Philology and the Faculty of Foreign Languages. Lectures were read in Latvian for the students of Latvian language and literature speciality and in English for the students of English language and literature (Silis and Zālīte, 1984); it is not very clear whether such a course was read for the students of German language and literature, but there is a teaching aid that was published for students of this specialisation (Veinerte, 1991). Concerning the students of the French language and literature, no course of this kind was

offered; some theoretical aspects were mentioned in practical translation classes. All the members of the academic staff engaged in reading translational lecture courses were linguists or literary scientists who, at the same time, were experienced translation professionals able to provide useful tips for the beginners.

2 TRANSLATORS WHO HAVE RECEIVED PROFESSIONAL TRAINING ON A BACHELOR AND/OR MASTER LEVEL

Translators and interpreters in Latvia are trained in professional, professional Bachelor and professional Master programmes study programmes at public universities and universities of applied sciences founded by the government, as well as several private higher education establishments (Silis, 2009: 263–281).

3 ACADEMICS TEACHING TRANSLATION-RELATED SUBJECTS IN PRACTICAL CLASSES

These are Professors, Associate and Assistant Professors, as well as Lecturers teaching theoretical and applied lecture courses in the discipline of translation studies and conducting practical translation and interpreting classes at the aforementioned higher education establishments.

4 TRANSLATION SCHOLARS WHO SIMULTANEOUSLY ARE PRACTICING TRANSLATORS

In Latvia, this is a typical combination. The first teacher trainers were the older generation of experienced 'self-taught' translators and interpreters; they taught the students of translator training Bachelor and Master programmes who, in many cases, after receiving the Master degree became colleagues of their teachers and are in the process of doing their doctoral research in translation studies, comparative and contrastive or applied linguistics.

5 'PURE' TRANSLATION SCHOLARS (WHO ARE) TEACHING TRANSLATION STUDIES AS A THEORETICAL DISCIPLINE

Usually, these are academics who are Associate Professors or Professors. These teaching staff members in Latvia are not supposed to conduct practical classes in translation/interpreting – this is done mostly by Lecturers and Assistant Professors.

6 'PURE' TRANSLATION SCHOLARS ENGAGED SOLELY IN RESEARCH

In reality, there is no such group, at least not in Latvia. Here, one could probably speak about translationalists who are not actively translating and interpreting anymore or doing it rarely, as the author of this text.

7 RESEARCHERS IN DIFFERENT FIELDS OF SCIENTIFIC INQUIRY DEALING WITH TRANSLATION AS A PHENOMENON

At present, these are mainly IT experts, especially those dealing with developing Computer-aided translation (CAT) tools and Machine translation items. However, representatives of such research disciplines as linguistics (especially contrastive and applied studies), cultural studies, sociology, cognitive psychology, neuroscience, etc., should be mentioned here as well.

In order to have a better understanding of the translation-related context of the following survey of opinions about the necessity to have a certain amount of understanding of translation theory and applied issues, here is a brief survey of the development of translation studies as a research discipline in Latvia. A much more detailed description can be found in the last monograph of the author (Sīlis, 2019) and in the National Encyclopaedia electronic version entry *Translation Studies in Latvia* (Sīlis, 2021).

LATVIAN TRANSLATION STUDIES IN 1945–1991

First attempts to move closer to some theoretical issues could be observed in polemic articles displaying translation criticism – these were publications by the authors, which, in many cases, were writers and poets who had translated a number of texts, as well as experienced translators critically analysing the work of younger translators. Articles of this type could be found in periodicals meant for the general public; this was the period from approximately 1945 to 1965. Professional evaluation of translations was done in the Translation Section of the Latvian Writers' Union, which was founded in the second half of the 1940ies. Here seminars and meetings for (predominantly) beginning translators were organized to discuss the quality of translations.

Rudimentary translation 'criticism' in the daily press and the literary journal *Karogs* (*The Banner*) discussed the negative practice of word-for-word translation, mistakes in idiom translation, the importance of preserving the author's individual approach and style; problems of terminology used in translations, poetry translation, translation aids quality. The authors of these articles were professional translators, literary critics, and ideological 'supervisors' of the Communist Party organizations (Paklons, 1980; Blumberga, 2008).

Surprisingly, considerably more meticulous and philologically professional translational research was conducted by contrastive linguists of the academic world. However, this research was known only to a narrow circle of specialists, for translation studies at that time were thought to be irrelevant to translation practice. The first doctoral dissertation, or Candidate of Philology dissertation in Soviet research nomenclature, on translations of the Ancient Rome period, was defended at Leningrad State University by Assistant Professor Lija Čerfase of the Latvian State

University (Cherfas, 1950), another doctoral thesis on translation of Shakespeare's plays into Latvian was defended by Valda Beitāne under the title *Translation of Shakespeare's Tragedies into Latvian* (Beitāne, 1959). The author of the mentioned dissertation was a university lecturer and also a practicing translator who took part in the translation of the collected works of William Shakespeare. Assistant Professor of the Latvian State University Tamāra Zālīte's dissertation analysed some problems of translation of literary texts (Zalīte, 1967); Assistant Professor Imanta Celmrauga's Doctoral research was on linguistic parallels in a literary translation from German into Latvian, dissertation defended in the Latvian State University (Celmrauga, 1970). Zaiga Ikere wrote her Doctoral thesis on the principles of Latvian translation of philosophical terms and defended her work at Vilnius State University (Ikere, 1983). At the very end of the Soviet period in 1991, Ieva Zauberga defended her dissertation on the reflection of language dynamics in translations at the Academy of Sciences of Latvian SSR (Zauberga, 1991).

LATVIAN TRANSLATION STUDIES IN 1992–2020/2021

In the second half of the nineteen-eighties and the decades up to 1992/1993, Latvian translation studies were influenced by the Soviet translation schools and, to a less significant extent, by the views of some Czech and Bulgarian translation theorists. This influence shaped research directions and topics of Latvian researchers in translation theory and applied studies. A textbook, *Basic Problems of Translation Theory* for University students, was published in Riga (Silis and Zālīte, 1984). The publication touched upon several issues such as, for example, translation in the modern world, place and role of translation in world culture, translation genres (fiction, technical and science texts, journalism, advertisements, speeches and stage plays), the concept of equivalence, the problem of translatability, translation of vocabulary, phraseology and grammar, national peculiarities, author's system of metaphors, etc.

However, fundamental political changes caused a paradigm shift – reorientation of translation studies in Latvia towards a positive evaluation of the Western translational schools and establishing first contacts with Western translation scholars. The 1987–1993 shift from the Soviet translational paradigm to Western views, combining interlinguistic and intercultural interpretations of translation, culminated in a peak of changes in 1992/1993.

Since 1991, activities in translation studies have developed in more than a dozen directions, quantitatively the most productive being intercultural or cross-cultural issues, issues of 'pure' translation studies (both theoretical and descriptive), target language translation norms and standards, as well as translation of terminology.

Intercultural issues were the most widely researched domain at the beginning of the 1990s. There are productive authors who have analysed the interaction of the national and international, conducted research on problems of transference of

cultural background in translations, as well as pinpointed the culture imperatives of Latvian translation. A number of publications have displayed interest in the nature of translations as hybrid texts, viewing them as a natural consequence of crossing cultural barriers. The necessity for translation of ‘marginalised’ literature of small nations into major languages was explained by the fact that through translations into the major languages of the world assume the role of ‘gateways’ for minor literature.

Cross-cultural problems found in translations of advertising and promotion materials have been analysed, discussing the reciprocal influence of translation and culture, as well as language economy and semantic compression as characteristic of advertisement language. The impact of ‘Europeanisation’ of Latvian in translation and lexicography processes has been shown, and translation of realia in Latvian folk songs has been repeatedly examined.

The considerable interest of Latvian scholars in problems of translation studies is reflected in articles and textbooks on specific translation theory problems. Special attention was focused on rethinking the translator’s reliability, and it has been pointed out that translation is no longer regarded as a mere copy of the original; it is oriented towards the target audience, and because of this the translator/interpreter is no longer a mere reproducer. False friends problem since the beginning of the 1990s, has been at the centre of attention of linguists and translation scholars (Silis, 2013: 193–207).

In the period of 2015–2021, research in the main areas of study of the previous period is continued, but several new directions have been started. Here, a number of articles and books on the Latvian translation history written by Veisbergs (2016) should be mentioned; Silis (2019) has started to examine the history of translation studies in Latvia; linguistic and translational aspects of poetry translations is the field of research of Veckrācis (2020) and Dreijers (2014).

The bulk of world-scale publications where the necessity of translation theory knowledge for practicing translators is discussed deals with the translation studies’ component in translator and/or interpreter training BA and MA programmes.

TRAINING OF TRANSLATORS/ INTERPRETERS IN LATVIA

In the second half of the 1980ies and the beginning of the 1990ies, there were around 15–20 good self-taught interpreters in Latvia, as well as a somewhat larger number of good translators of non-literary texts. These individuals, who were philologists and linguists by education, were suddenly confronted in their translation and interpretation activities with completely new and unknown problems and terminology in domains totally unfamiliar to them – like economics and finance, business administration and law, environment problems and health care system details, politics and military terminology, etc.

The growth of Latvia's foreign contacts in the 1990ies demanded an explosive increase of translators and interpreters in government structures, in the big public monopolies, in local governments, in newly-created joint ventures, in companies now directly dealing with import and export. All these structures were in desperate need of an increasing scope of translation and interpreting services, but the majority of them were not sure where to look for professionals. Even if they knew, the number of professionals available would not have been sufficient. Therefore, many random people without any professional training, with insufficient source language and target language proficiency, became interpreters at companies and public institutions.

In 1995, the University of Latvia Faculty of Foreign Languages was the first higher educational structure in Latvia to respond to the changes in the market realities. This was not an easy task to accomplish because, in the previous decades, stress was laid mainly on the translation of fiction.

In 2009 translators and interpreters in Latvia were trained in 16 study programmes at 10 higher education establishments (3 universities and 3 university colleges founded by the government, as well as 4 private higher education establishments) – in 7 professional, 5 professional Bachelor and 4 professional Master programmes (Silis, 2009: 263–281). A number of programmes of predominantly private Higher Educational Establishments (HEIs) were closed after 2011; now (in 2021), Latvia has fewer translator and interpreter training programmes, but the quality has significantly improved.

It is interesting to assess the analysis of 67 European Master of Translation professional study programmes taught in 61 universities in 21 countries (Torres-Simón and Pym, 2017). Very scrupulous research has been done, but the author of this publication points out that it is almost impossible to make objective conclusions without proper background knowledge possessed by insiders. For example, authors of the before-mentioned analysis of the European Master of Translation (EMT) programmes have found out that 5 out of 67 programmes do not have translation theory courses in their curricula. Among them is the EMT of Ventspils University of Applied Sciences, where the author was up to now reading a lecture and seminar course on research methods in translation studies. The course would be ineffective without students having had an introduction to linguistics, contrastive linguistics, and translation theory in the curriculum of their BA level translator and interpreter training programme; although there are Master students from other places in Latvia who, indeed, would have problems without the lack of theoretical knowledge, the overwhelming majority are graduates from the BA translator/interpreting programme. All the previous amount of theoretical knowledge helps the Master students to write their Master papers. The situation is different at the University of Latvia (3% of translation theory) and Riga Technical University (4% of translation theory), where many of the EMT students are BA graduates of some other scientific disciplines and therefore have not had translation studies in their curriculums. Probably this is the reason why the amount of theory is much more substantial (25%) in several other European EMT programmes, e.g., in Durham, Manchester, Mons, and Vrije Universities (*ibid.*).

EXAMPLES ILLUSTRATING OPINIONS OF THE RESPONDENTS TO THE QUESTIONS

1 OPINIONS OF TRANSLATORS OUTSIDE LATVIA

Ten years ago, a British Master programme student was collecting data with the aim of getting answers to the question: *Is translation theory useful to the practicing translator?* To make the respondents' answers more to the point, she added three more questions: 'Do you apply translation theory to your translation practice? If yes, which theories do you find useful and why? If no, why not?' (Griffiths, 2011).

Here are some of the positive and negative responses, illustrated by examples, simultaneously preserving the anonymity of respondents of all the seven groups. This part of the study should not be perceived as a quantitative linguo-statistical analysis; these are the author's reflections on the aggregate of respondents' answers. (The original written expression peculiarities and language mistakes have been preserved.)

Some examples of answers to the question *Is translation theory useful to the practicing translator?*:

Yes – 50%

'Practice without theory (framework of reference) is HOLLOW.'

'One of the main practical reasons for studying translation theory is to be able to discuss specific texts with other people in a common language.'

'[...] theory helped me to realise how much more i needed to learn and also to improve my translation process by paying more attention to areas that before were done intuitively.'

'I studied much translation theory for my MA in Translation Studies, and while I can't point to any direct effect, I do find sometimes that it makes me aware of things.'

No – 49%

'Not really, at least not directly.'

'Translation theory is an academic discipline [...] far removed from translation practice, which is a professional activity requiring professional training. [...] I have done two Master's degrees – one in Translation Studies [...] and in technical translation.'

'[...] I only recently started reading translation theory as part of my PhD studies, I do not believe that I would have been a better translator had I read all that 15 years ago.'

Other comments – 1%

'Translation theory might be helpful if you have never studied communication and/or psychology.'

'Theory vs. methodology – the field of "methodology" is relevant to both academics and practitioners.'

The certified translator of the American Translators Association, Riccardo Schiaffino, has asked a question *Can translators ignore theory?* in the internet site named *About Translation*, inviting his colleagues to comment on this question. In the introduction to the responses, he pointed out that one surely can translate having no knowledge of translation theory, but even if these translators find theory useless are still ‘following a translation theory of sorts’ (Schiaffino, 2011).

Here are some comments, illustrated by examples:

Yes – 5%

‘Theories add to the level of professionalism in this trade, not because we have snooty theories to wave about, but because we show that we are thinking about our work on a meta-level.’

No – 95%.

Other opinions:

The respondent writes that Fraser, in her webinar on translation theory for practitioners (Fraser, 2011), makes the point that ‘practitioners sometimes reject theory because they misunderstand what it is – it’s not a set a rules you have to follow [...], rather an explanation of certain aspects of what we do. [...]’ (ibid.).

2 OPINIONS OF TRANSLATORS – LATVIAN DATA

The author of this study has collected opinions of the 6 (7) groups mentioned above in ‘Characterisation of the Respondent Groups’; here again, one can get acquainted with the author’s reflections on the aggregate of respondents’ answers; the question remains the same: *Is translation theory useful to the practicing translator?* However, here and below, the author’s intention was not to ask for motivation of the opinions. (The original written expression peculiarities have been preserved in the answers.)

‘Self-taught’ translators:

Yes – 27.2 %

‘Translation theory is a good way to enrich the scope of translator’s methods. [...] Translation theory for me is more relevant to translation strategies [...]’

‘Translation theory is very important for my work. [...] there is difference e. g. between translation of literary texts and legal texts, and there are other problems that can be solved by the help of theory.’

‘For me as a historian and archaeologist differences between text types and terminology rendering methods are of great importance.’

Yes, but... – 36.3 %

‘One never learns by going through the motions on dry land. [...] The best way is some sort of association between theory and practice,

until the learner manages to mentally accept that theory and practice back each other up and combine to produce relative efficiency. Should translation theory be taught? Probably less than it is in university courses, and probably far less theoretically than it is in many cases.'

'Yes, theory cannot be ignored, but for me only such theoretical fields as text types and specific terminology are important.'

No definite opinion – 9%

'I have not used translation theory while translating.'

No – 27.2 %

'My creative spirit and my intuition help me instead of the knowledge of translation theory.' (This comment was written in very faulty Latvian, although the author, in addition to claiming himself to be a translator from his native language, added that he was also a prose writer, poet, and playwright).

'I taught translation theory for 25 years but as a practising translator myself, I'm still not convinced it is really useful.'

'From the practical point of view poetics and knowledge of Latvian history and culture are far more important for my translator's work than translation theory.'

An outstanding translator of literary texts from several languages into Latvian explained that in the translation process she used intuition, experience and knowledge of languages and cultures, but she always experienced deep satisfaction when her opinions and translatorial decisions corresponded to the theoretical conclusions found in translational publications.

Translators who have received professional training on a Bachelor and/or Master Level:

Respondents of this group were students of university-level professional Bachelor and Master programmes.

Here are the results of the survey of BA students when answering the question 'Can translators ignore theory translation theory and applied translation studies?':

Yes – 59 %

'I agree. I think that without knowing any theory it is still possible to translate, the only thing that is needed in order to translate is language skills and an understanding of a source text.'

'I completely agree with this statement because the ability to translate is tightly connected to the general knowledge of source and target languages, and we should also take into consideration linguistic intuition one might have.'

'I agree, I do not believe that the translated work will be great just because you know the theory of translation, maybe it will just help to deal with translation problems.'

Yes, but... – 27 %

‘Well, I think that one can still translate without knowing the translation theory, but then the translation probably won’t be as high quality.’

‘Without knowing of translation theory it is possible to translate, but translation will not be as good as with knowing theory of it. Because with knowing theory we can make our translations correct and logical.’

‘I think yes, but if there might be a case where the translation theory could come in handy, then knowing it would be better than not knowing. Also, knowing the translation theory one can become more aware of the things we should be aware of, such as, some culture specific aspects or something along the lines.’

Partly yes – 13 %

‘I partly agree. Without knowledge of the theory, a person can translate. But the translation will be at the amateur level.’

‘Partly agree, for it is definitely possible to do all sorts of things without knowing the theory (like repairing cars, cooking, exercising, sketching, etc.). Knowing the ins and outs of the respective subject’s theory sure helps to elevate the quality of the work. One can translate to some extent by only having good sense of language, however, theory enables deeper understanding and the decision-making in the process becomes conscious.’

No – 1%

‘To a claim that without knowing or being aware of translation theory one can still translate, I cannot agree. Everything and anything in life has legal relationships. It is possible, of course, but it will literally change the quality of the translation which is something the translator does not want to happen.’

Answers of MA students to the same question:

Yes – 14 %

‘Agreed, at a basic level translation does not require any special education or knowledge of theory, just knowledge of two languages.’

Yes, but... (the quality is lower) – 58%

‘Yes, everybody can try to translate and even someone thinks that he is good enough in translating/interpreting without any diplomas or regard to Translation Studies, but will that translation be good enough?’

‘Anyone can translate without knowing translation theory, however, they cannot produce a high-quality translation without having some understanding of translation theory.’

Partly yes – 14%

‘One can still translate without knowing the basics of translation theory, although a professional translator most likely has studied translation and translation theory before.’

No – 14%

‘I disagree, because different translation theories include various techniques, such as: literal translation, adaptation etc., thus each of them must be adapted to the process independently.’

Academics Teaching Translation-related Subjects in Practical Classes:

‘I am a graduate of both professional BA and MA programmes of translator/interpreter training. After that I started writing my Doctoral thesis in translation studies (terminology), but did not finish the process. Simultaneously for 19 years I was translating and interpreting, as well as teaching practical classes on the BA programme level as a translator/interpreter trainer. I think that when doing the job of a professional translator or interpreter, one could easily do without seeking immediate “down-to-earth” solutions in sophisticated theoretical schools of translatology. Much more effective would be to use the information of applied science character, like publications of coping tactics in simultaneous interpreting, or what translators in their professional slang call “salami principle”, when the source language sentence is extra-long and the only way to cope with it is to “slice” it into smaller parts, translate these shorter parts and then put the sentence together in the target language etc.’

Translation Scholars who Simultaneously are Practicing Translators:

Respondent 1:

‘Economy of time and effort. One can of course pick up the numerous points, approaches etc. by translating and consulting editors, angry clients, etc. But then one could approach in this way any sphere – one can become a doctor by practicing surgery on patients and seeing who survives better thus covering the whole experience and history of medicine. Or learn flying by trial and error.’

Respondent 2:

‘Translation theory is important for practising translators as it helps to make choices among strategies, finding the best one for a particular translation problem. It also gives confidence and provides metalanguage in speaking about one's choices and, if needs be, it is a good source for arguments for defending one's choices.’

Respondent 3:

‘I started to translate and interpret when there were no professional translation and interpreting training programmes in Latvia, so from this point of view I am a “self-taught” translator and interpreter. As such one I started with translation of different text types; doing that I did not feel that I could not cope with the tasks without any theory. Gradually a need arose to systematise the accumulated experience

and this resulted of becoming aware of problem fields discussed in translation theory. If such theoretical fundamentals have been found then these could be used as “crutches” – arguments to explain why I have translated this way and not that way. Sometimes theory provides quick solutions, but sometimes it acts like a brake – one must do some additional investigation, but that translation work is halted. Also, I would like to separate translation theory from translation criticism – this is my field of activity in addition to translating and being a university academic.’

Respondent 4:

‘Translation theory helps to develop meta-skills that are useful in pre-/while-/post-translating. By meta-skills, I refer to reflective and analytical skills that help translators explain their choices at different levels – for commissioners, for researchers, for other translators. (It would be like a comparison with doctors’ interaction either with patients, colleagues, medical researchers, media, etc.), because there are different approaches to translating a text (in light of, for example linguistic, feminist theories), various theories, assumptions guide translators’ decision-making. Because decision-making per se is an interdisciplinary phenomenon (cognitive, behavioural, cultural, psychological, linguistic), it is evident that various explanations (theories) underlie translation and translating. Possibly, we can ask several questions – what does theory do and how does it help translators in their practical everyday work? Does it improve or change the potential translation at its different stages of becoming a final end-product? Can different theories lead to different target texts? What is the difference between a professional translator (with less practice) and an amateur translator (without academic training in translation, but longer practice)? Do such amateurs translate worse than professionals (with academic education)? These are the questions that I happen to know an approximate answer to when reading reviews of translated literary texts. Variables (like time factors, linguistic change, cultural phenomena) seem to influence outcomes. I also think there are theoretical ideas that underpin real problems such as algorithmic solutions in improving CAT and machine translation; indispensably, one needs to integrate syntax, parsing, corpus methods, etc. for more effective operations. In sight interpreting, there are various foci on eye-tracking movements, also decision-making. In line with digitalization trends, there are realistic models stemming from abstract theories emerging. It is clear that practicing translators do not think constantly about, for instance, feminist translation theory, nevertheless, it might be an option to consider some literary and cultural texts and their translation in the context of the aforementioned theory. So, the theory might be a starting point to see translation as a system that is not rigid,

but quite open to change and criticism promoting discussion about the importance of translation, translators' role in society. My personal experience can be defined in quite simple terms, when I translate I do not apply theoretical concepts to translating, however, I do think about level shifts, terminological issues, grammatical problems - they are from theories but they do not dominate in abstract reasoning over my practice of translating. *Skopos*, pragmatic goals – I assume they are related to theories, and I am not ignoring them. Although the more you translate (let's say texts of the same genre, type), you start noticing algorithmic patterns, they can be a basis for testing existing theories. Theories do allow to discuss translation, and I assume they can influence translating. It is like saying – do professional musicians (when performing) think about the history of music, do surgeons (when operating) think about models of medical ethics. Theories may guide, you may choose a different path because you know that something is theoretically abstract which needs either refutation or confirmation. Disclaimer: by practicing professional translators I do not refer to undergraduate students who learn to translate, but those who really translate.'

Respondent 5:

'Theory, undoubtedly, plays a significant role in translator/interpreter training and professional development, because intuitive self-instruction without theoretical basis and methodological foundation is a burden in achieving appropriate results. Success of interpreters and translators lies in constant practice and regular interest in theoretical novelties – something that forms the methodological basis of the translation process, reveals essential principles, conditions and interconnections of translation process. Theoretical knowledge helps to shape translators' strategies and methods, skills of planning and optimizing translation tasks. Translator/interpreter has to have professional knowledge and skills to analyse next steps of work, to identify difficulties and mistakes, to find the best solution in the concrete situation. Theoretical knowledge makes the translation process more profound and complete.'

Respondent 6:

'Basically, when it comes to the question whether translation theory may really be of any use in translation practice the discussion reminds a similar issue – whether it is possible to teach creative writing, whether it is possible to actually become a writer. I'd say that the word in italics is a key aspect of consideration. I myself have made the whole way of becoming a translator both through academic studies and daily translation practice. I may easily assume that practice is what has led [to] the process but the contribution of academic reflection on translation is much more complicated to grasp, analyse and define. Nevertheless, I do believe that reflection, analytical thoughts on

the essence of translation, including different ways in which the process/procedures and product of translation are structured and classified, contribute towards more thorough insights and understanding and thus, both directly and indirectly, towards more prepared translation professionals, towards enhanced translation quality. Meanwhile, my observations regarding recent trends in Translation Studies raise certain concerns that academic reflection in this field leads into some type of pseudo-science. Issues and topics tend to become so distinctively specific, so intensely theoretical that they lose any relationship with what translation really is. I'm pretty much convinced that Translation Studies should remain a practice-focused and probably even practice-driven academic discipline.'

Respondent 7:

'I have not studied translation theory in any study programme and I have learned it in a self-instruction process beginning with year 2000 when I started to translate from Czech into Latvian and from Latvian into Czech. I believe that theory is undoubtedly important, because I had to learn from my mistakes, getting bumps in cases where I would stay unharmed if I had learned translology. Theoretical knowledge helps to become aware of translation methods, equivalence, character of various specific text-types, to be able to analyse cultural peculiarities of the source and target languages etc.'

'Pure' Translation Scholars Engaged Solely in Research:

As was stated at the beginning of the present article, in Latvia all academics are also engaged in pedagogical activities, i.e., in teaching translation theory or conducting practical classes. However, in the future, eventually they may retire from their academic posts and will continue only as researchers in the field of translation scholars.

Researchers in Different Fields of Scientific Inquiry dealing with Translation as a Phenomenon: Here is the opinion of a PhD in Computer Science, chairman and owner of one of the leading language technologies companies developing software for MT (machine translation) programmes and CAT (computer-aided translation) tools:

'Without any doubt, translation theory definitely helps translators in their work, it is like a foundation on which to build skills and specific forms of knowledge. People who have not studied translation theory often lack basic understanding how to tackle texts, that it is not as simple as "I take a text, read it and then just write it up in another language in the way how I understand it". One should understand that a text must be analysed, one should immerse oneself in it, should understand the message of this text, should understand terminology and context within the text has been developed etc. – all these things that can, hopefully, be taught in the process [translation] studies and being in academic milieu.'

CONCLUSIONS

From the panorama of opinions about the usefulness of translation theory (the term here is used as a 'synonym' for both the theoretical and applied translation studies), one gets an impression that this is a stunning multicoloured tapestry, a display of joyful, optimistic colours and patches of darker, pessimistic shades.

Thus, for example, almost two thirds (59%) of translator and interpreter training programme second-year students (predominantly around 19–20 years old), who are just in the process of getting to know what translation theory and applied translation studies are, are quite sure that they can translate without any theoretical knowledge, and only 2 per cent have an opposite opinion.

'Self-taught' translators and professional MA translator training programme students are much less categorical. They admit that theoretical knowledge enriches the palette of translation methods, enhances awareness of how to translate different text types, and how to fine-tune the corresponding target text terminology, etc.

The survey of MA students' answers to the question shows that at least one-fifth of them are absolutely convinced about the necessity to have knowledge of the basic translation studies' items; more than a half of them concede that professional translators could do without theory. However, their answers can be labelled as 'yes, but ...' – namely, translators 'cannot produce a high-quality translation without having some understanding of translation theory'.

As far as the opinions of the academic staff are concerned, they point out the positive influence of being knowledgeable in the basic aspects of theoretical and applied translation studies because this kind of knowledge saves time and effort, helps to develop meta-skills, helps to make choices among strategies.

In 1972, the author of the article, being a 4th year English language and literature specialisation university student, started to translate literary texts from English into. After his graduate and post-graduate studies, he initially conducted research in contrastive sociolinguistics. Later on, simultaneously with his academic activities at several European universities in Latvia, Moscow, and London (post-doctoral research in UCL *Survey of English Usage*) for the next 40 years, he combined non-literary (political, legal, business) translation and interpreting, and for the last 24 years reading lectures in translation studies, conducting simultaneous and consecutive BA and MA interpreting classes, as well as being a supervisor of several translational Doctoral dissertations.

Taking into consideration this experience, he has often thought about the need to connect theoretical and applied translation studies with translation and interpreting practice, sometimes having the feeling of sitting in an ivory tower playing something like Hesse's *Glassperlenspiel* (*The Glass Bead Game*) – being indulged in theorising for the sake of theorising. In the seventies, eighties, and the beginning of the nineties of the 20th century, when doing practical translating and interpreting before the start of his translational research, he did not care *about* theory. Gradually, he became one of those who do care *for* the discipline of translation studies.

The conclusions, the author has come to, are as follows: for professional translators, there is no particular need to ‘theorise’ while translating, i.e., there is no need to decide whether she/he is translating along the lines of Skopos theory, Polysystem theory or Manipulation school, but a better solution would be to use the practically applicable aspects of formal theories to gain optimal results. However, previous knowledge of translation theory (either during the informal process of self-education or in Bachelor or Master studies) would help to create shortcuts for more effective solutions of specific translation/interpreting problems.

From the survey of publications of translatoologists, it can be concluded that, so far, the central problem has been concerned with determining the place and the role that translation theory should have in professional translator and interpreter programmes. In future research, more attention should be focused on the opinions of formally untrained ‘self-taught’ translators and interpreters of literary texts.

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