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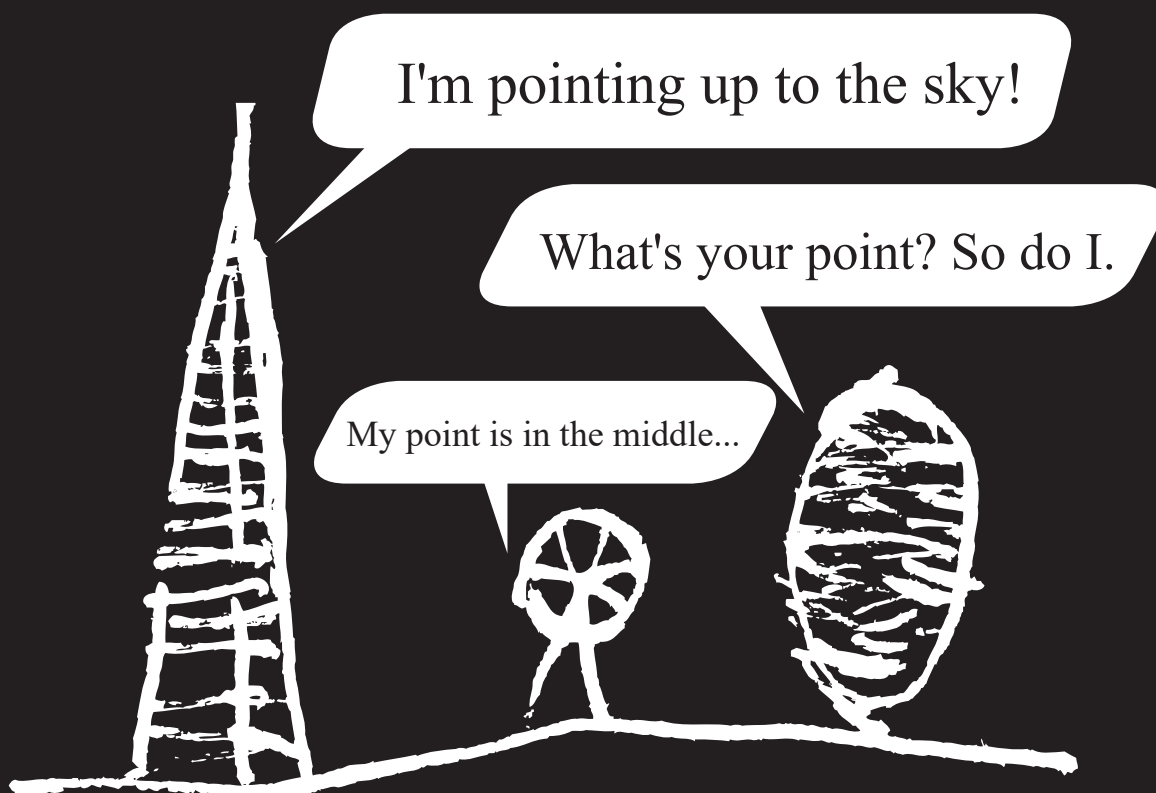
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Kateřina Štěpánová

**Variety of Perspectives and Disciplines: Introduction to *Hradec Králové Journal of Anglophone Studies***

The current edition of Hradec Králové Journal of Anglophone Studies abounds with engaging topics and issues. As in the previous years, the goal of our journal is to bring together the results of research in the broad field of Anglophone studies; however, unlike in 2018, this year we have published a special monothematic issue called "Teaching Performing, Performing Teaching". The present issue therefore offers mainly contributions delivered at the Anglophone Conference of our department in March 2019. Welcome to the sixth edition of our journal, the insightful pieces will hopefully broaden your horizons as well as provide enjoyment.

The linguistics and methodology section of the volume opens with a corpus-based study by Markéta Blažková, dealing with pragmatic markers *actually*, *in fact* and *really*. Drawing on findings of an earlier cross-linguistic study, the author complements the research by focusing on English-German equivalents of the pragmatic markers in question.

Grammaticality and ungrammaticality are the terms uniting three papers of Palacký University provenance, offering a deep insight into syntactic properties of English. Joseph Emonds analyses the "Unique Syntactic Behaviour" that distinguishes functional categories from lexical ones. Drawing attention to twelve English modals, the author identifies 66 unique behaviours, e.g. the modals' appearance/non-appearance in polite tags, or their acceptance of past time adverbs. In her richly exemplified paper, Ludmila Veselovská provides a structural analysis of Wh-questions and comments on surprising parallels between English and Czech. A corpus-based study by Dorota Jagódzka and Kristina Smejová focuses on grammaticality and ungrammaticality of word order in English superlative adjective phrase.

Various aspects of university training of EFL learners are addressed by three papers: Christoph Haase presents results of an experiment focusing on the learners' lexical use in academic writing. The aim of the experiment was to analyse which factor primarily influences the learners' word recognition. Drawing on the results, the author argues that tachistoscopic software used in the experiment can be utilised to boost the learners' lexical skills. Two papers look closely into pre-service teacher training: whereas it is the importance of accentedness that is highlighted by Klára Lancová and Kristýna Červinková Poesová in their paper evaluating the self-report data obtained from Czech pre-service EFL teachers, Irena Reimannová's attention is drawn to the teacher trainees' knowledge of English grammar. She attempts to find a correlation between content-based linguistic instruction and the students' communicative skills, namely their use of English.

Another two papers bring forth the topical phenomena of language teaching and learning: Petra Poláková draws attention to incorporating mobile applications into language teaching, which she considers as a crucial factor transforming traditional ways of teaching and learning, and Michael Diaz addresses adult EFL learning. The author points at the fact that the Czech population over the age of 40 lags substantially behind other countries of the EU in their knowledge of English, and he attempts to find a way to ameliorate the situation through Life Long Learning, giving specific examples of courses at CVUT.

The literary and cultural studies section of the volume opens with two papers proposing a re-reading of two classic novels. Jiří Flajšar deliberates over the cause of the tragic fate of the main

protagonists of Richard Yates's novel *Revolutionary Road* and argues that it is not predominantly the suburban environment that causes their downfall, but rather their "false search for identity". The traditionally accepted reading of Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey* as a conventional satire of the Gothic fiction is challenged by Ema Jelínková and Šárka Dvořáková who highlight Austen's fascination by the genre itself as well as by its potential. Humour and satire are also the topics of Judita Ondrušeková's article. Drawing on psycholinguistic aspects of humour in general, she examines the way humour and satire function in Terry Pratchett's Discworld Series.

Interdisciplinarity and intercultural bonds are what expand the horizons of our journal and what connects the studies of Radvan Markus, Nella Mlsová and Petra Johana Poncarová. Radvan Markus's text explores potential parallels between the Czech national revival and the Irish language movement at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The author examines how relevant the reflections of the Czech revival were in the Irish press of that period, finding similar relations between Czech and German cultures and those of the Irish and the English. Nella Mlsová's study presents a fresh perspective on the representation of the English in Italy, as reflected in the Czech travel literature. English tourists, who are highly stereotyped, seem to belong inseparably to the representation of Italy, a fact that is described as Byronisation of Italy. Finally, Petra Johana Poncarová points at the enormous influence James Macpherson's *Ossian* had on Danish literature, namely on the literary production of Steen Steensen Blicher.

Olga Roebuck aims at exploring Scottish sectarian conflicts through the prism of tartan noir, a distinctively Scottish crime fiction, namely Ian Rankin's *Mortal Causes*. Rankin's detective Rebus's in-betweenness is considered by the author of the article to be a typical trait of a representative of his community.

The volume closes with a quest for one's identity and revelation of "innermost aspects of one's personality", which is the focus of Daniela Šmardová. She examines the power of love in Jeanette Winterson's fiction, arguing that "no matter what difficulties the characters deal with, love is almost always depicted as the solution to their problems."

In closing, we would like to thank all our contributors, reviewers and journal associates for their enthusiastic and stimulating work and invaluable help and support. Let us wish you an inspiring read through the articles present.

## Pragmatic markers actually, in fact and really in cross-linguistic perspective

*Abstract: This essay develops Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg's 2004 model for the study of pragmatic markers actually, in fact and really ("A Model and a Methodology"). The main aim is to contribute to the study of pragmatic markers which still lacks commonly accepted terminology and classification. According to Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg, discourse markers in fact, actually and really belong to the same semantic field, namely the field of expectation. Their argumentation is based on the functionalist, corpus-based and cross-linguistic methodology of translation equivalents. While their conclusions were drawn from the corpus data in Swedish and Dutch, studying other languages is a necessity. Therefore, the pilot study was carried out in another Germanic language which is German. The English-German equivalents were contrasted and it will be shown that German data support the hypothesis that these markers belong to the same lexical field. Also, German correspondences were compared with other Germanic correspondences in Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg's study and they frequently emerge as cognates. Finally, the study analyses the medial position of pragmatic markers actually, in fact and really and illustrates that they can function in this position but often with different specialization than in other positions in a sentence.*

### 1 Introduction

The adverbs *actually*, *really* and *in fact* can replace each other in the same context, e.g. in example (1), which indicates very little difference in their meaning. However, if we look at them more closely, we would find some striking differences in their pragmatic contributions.

(1) *Eighty pound the cot was. Yeah. And they **actually/really/in fact** got one for forty-nine.*

[Adapted from Watts 253]

When *actually* is used, it guarantees that the genuine price at the time of buying the cot was forty-nine rather than eighty pounds (Watts 254). If it is exchanged for *really*, it suggests that some other price was given for the cot than forty-nine pounds (254). Watts does not explicitly mention the adverb *in fact* but Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg point out that if speakers use adversative *in fact*, they imply that there might be some "divergence of opinion" between hearer and speaker ("A Model and a Methodology" 1789). Therefore, *in fact* would mean that the price was exactly forty-nine pounds despite the fact that there might be some doubts about it.

For this reason, some researchers such as Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg treat these adverbs as pragmatic markers. It is quite difficult to define what a pragmatic marker is because the terminology and classification vary immensely. Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg describe a pragmatic marker as a broad term which consists of several subclasses where discourse markers are one of them (*Pragmatic markers* 2). While discourse markers indicate mainly coherence in the text, pragmatic markers have discourse as well as textual function and they also serve as "signals in the communication situation guiding the addressee's interpretation" (2). Both terms, on the other hand, share one similarity, that is they do not contribute to the propositional or truth-conditional content (2). At the same time, the lack of propositional meaning does not mean that pragmatic markers are meaningless.

14| To answer the question “what meaning do they have?” is far from trivial. The elusiveness of the meaning is complicated by the fact that pragmatic markers are multifunctional, which means that they trigger different types of implicatures in dependence on a context. As a solution, Aijmer et al. recommend a model based on translations which can reflect a core meaning on the semantic level and implicatures that can be derived from it on the pragmatic level. The core meaning is the underlying meaning to which all pragmatic meanings can be related. It is often revealed in translations when some of the nodes become more frequent or prototypical (105).

This approach is particularly useful in establishing lexical fields. We can look at translations which are shared by more lexical items and suppose that they are semantically closer than items that do not share translations. On this basis, Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg suggest that that *actually*, *in fact* and *really* belong to the semantic field of expectation (“A Model and a Methodology” 1793-1798).

There is no generally accepted classification of the field of expectation markers. Various authors deal with one or two markers separately or in connection with other markers. Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg start their study from Biber and Finnegan (1988) who have “actually adverbials” *in fact*, *actually* and *really* as one of their stance markers [1] and they refer to something that is actual, real or factual (1792). They add that the description of expectation markers must also take into account evidentiality which signals “different attitudes to knowledge” (Aijmer, *English Discourse Particles* 251).

What is more, the uses of evidentiality must be in a broad sense and go beyond the mere assessment of knowledge. It must also convey different attitudes towards knowledge and truth. By way of illustration, *actually*, *in fact* and *really* can signal that something is in line with expectations or indicate that something is surprising or unexpected (251). This property is marked by the semantic category “mirrativity” (DeLancey 369-370). From this we can infer that mirrativity and evidentiality are closely related. The supportive argument for this reasoning stems from their common property to express the deviation from “the ideal knowledge status” (Simon-Vandenberg and Aijmer 38).

However, the final relationships between *actually*, *in fact* and *really* are complex. In some respects, *really* seems to be more distant than the other two, in other contexts *in fact* is more divergent (“A Model and a Methodology” 1794). These connections can, of course vary, in dependence on the text type. What has been interpreted above is valid for Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg’s study that was conducted in the Debates and Fiction (“A Model and a Methodology” 1787).

Although Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg’s study is synchronic, the complexity of markers can be explained from diachronic perspective by means of the theory of grammaticalization. In this theory it is assumed that lexical words develop into grammatical words or morphemes. The parallel process is envisaged for some manner adverbs which can develop into sentence adverbs and subsequently they have a tendency to become discourse markers. The cline of change is from a verb phrase modifier to a sentence modifier [2]. These changes correlate with semantic bleaching and pragmatic subjectification as can be visible in Table 1 (Traugott 2).

Table 1 Correlated paths of directionality in semantic change (Traugott and Dasher 40)

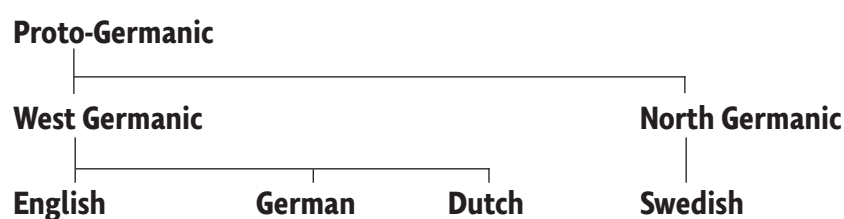
Truth-conditional	>	Non-truth conditional
Content	> Content/ Procedural	> Procedural
Scope within proposition	> Scope over proposition	> Scope over discourse
Nonsubjective	> Subjective	> Intersubjective

### 1.1 Classification of languages in this study

Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg contrasted the English pragmatic markers *actually*, *really* and *in fact* with Swedish and Dutch (“A Model and a Methodology” 1793-1798). This corpus study was conducted

for English - German contrast. As Figure 1 displays, German, Swedish and Dutch belong to the Germanic family of languages. Thus, some correspondences in German that will be cognate words with Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg's correspondences in Swedish and Dutch can be expected. Although Swedish constitutes a part of the north Germanic branch, German and Dutch are west Germanic and closer affinity between them can be anticipated. What we also need to bear in mind is that English is typologically different from the other three languages which are modal particle languages (Aijmer and Altenberg 29). Whereas modal particles share with pragmatic markers some characteristics such as the ability to reflect the speaker's attitude or the property of being propositionally empty (Weydt, *Abtönungspartikeln* 68), there is no formal equivalent to them in English (Aijmer and Altenberg 29). In addition, they typically appear in the middle field while English reserves mainly initial field for pragmatic uses.

Figure 1 The Germanic family of languages



## 1.2 Research questions

On the basis of the introduction outlined above, the following hypotheses for pragmatic markers *actually*, *in fact* and *really* have been formulated:

1. These pragmatic markers share some correspondences in German.
2. These markers belong to the lexical field of expectation.
3. These pragmatic markers are frequently cognates with other Germanic correspondences in Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg's 2004 study.
4. These pragmatic markers can appear in the middle position of a sentence.

## 2 Methodology

In order to confirm the hypotheses stipulated in the section 1.2, a corpus analysis was carried out in the parallel corpus InterCorp which is a part of the Czech National Corpus project. The genre selected for the purpose of this study were political debates. As the parallel corpora of spoken conversation is lacking, Europarl was chosen as the closest form to this genre where pragmatic markers are assumed to occur more frequently.

In spite of this, Europarl has its limitation regarding source and target language. For example, there can be translations from source into target through another language. Gast and Levshina dealt with this issue and conducted a pilot study in the Europarl comparing Wh-clefts in English and German. They claim that "the translations of the EUROPARL-corpus are of a very high quality and certainly come close to that ideal" and emphasize that there is no need to distinguish between the source and target (379). By virtue of this assumption, source and target were disregarded and the relationship between languages are treated as a correspondence.

In the research procedure the Parallel corpus InterCorp version 11 was used. In the first step, English was aligned with German and Word form/ Phrase was selected in the Query type to search for a particular expression. In each case a sample of 100 examples was generated. In the next step, the

16] most frequently occurring correspondences (*eigentlich, tatsächlich, in der Tat, wirklich*) that are shared by all three markers were calculated and extracted from the German corpus aligned with English. For the middle position, the most frequent correspondences for each marker were treated individually. It turned out to be the four most frequent mentioned above as well as *sogar* for *actually* and *in Wirklichkeit* for *in fact*. Again, 100 samples for each marker was looked up.

The data was sorted according to the position in a sentence into initial, middle, final and other. This distinction is based on Quirk et al. (491). Initial and final refer to the positions preceding and following respectively the other clausal elements. As initial is taken the sentence initial or clause initial position. The sentence initial position can be divided into two types. The first type is usually found before subject. The second type of sentence initial position occurs in direct questions either before the operator or *wh*-element. As far as the clause initial position is concerned, it is the position following conjunction. Medial position means that the adverb is adjacent to a finite verb. The category Other is a subfield of middle position with examples that occur in the middle field but were not directly preceding or following the finite verb. It mostly concerns some gerunds or infinitives as in (2):

(2) *It is very easy for the staff elected to serve us to **actually** take over the agenda.* [En-De. Europarl]

Also, pragmatic markers are usually placed parenthetically but these uses cannot be reliably calculated as they are not always set off by commas in the corpus.

## 2.1 Exclusion of forms that do not function as pragmatic markers

It is necessary to sort out the data and exclude items that do not function as pragmatic markers. In other words, we need to distinguish between forms that function on propositional level and non-propositional level. While this might be easy for some markers, e.g. *in fact*, for others it might be less obvious, e.g. *actually* and *really*, due to their fluidity and occurrence on the boundary between adverbs and pragmatic markers (Aijmer, *Evaluation* 84).

This complexity for *actually* and *really* is mostly visible in the middle position of a sentence. While initial, end or parenthetical markers strongly correlate with pragmatic function, the delimitation in the middle position needs to be tackled in more detail. For that reason, these questions will be the subject of the following section.

Let's start our demonstration with *in fact*. Schwenter and Traugott's study of *in fact* describe the three stages of grammaticalization for which the terms *in fact 1*, *in fact 2* and *in fact 3* are used. *In fact 1* is an adverb originating within a VP phrase. It can be syntactically found after "the auxiliary-V complex" or after copula constructions. Its literal meaning is *in practice*. Another characteristic is that it does not invoke a scale and can be coordinated with other NPs (e.g. *in fact and feeling*) as in (3) (11):

(3) *Humanity, comfortably engaged elsewhere in the business of living, is absent in fact but everywhere present in feeling.* [Adapted from Schwenter and Traugott 11]

As can be seen, this type fully contributes to the propositional meaning and will be excluded from the class of pragmatic markers. It can be contrasted with the remaining types of *in fact* (*in fact 2* and *in fact 3*) which invoke a scale. The following sentence (4) gives an illustration of *in fact 3* which "strengthens the scale of prior expression" *going to Russia* and signals that "what follows is a stronger argument than what precedes" (12; 20):



(4) *I come from Portugal, from the other end of Europe, and next week I shall be going to Russia. **In fact**, I am going to the Russian embassy tomorrow to get my visa.* [En-De. Europarl]

17

Whereas Schwenter and Traugott differentiate between *in fact* 2 (adversative type) and *in fact* 3 (additive type) which positionally overlap (13), Aijmer and Vandenberg group them together and explain in detail that they can “be seen as pragmatic implicatures which are conventionalized to a greater or lesser extent” (1788).

As was already explained, *actually* is more complex especially in connection with middle position. While in initial and final positions it is firmly established as a pragmatic marker resulting from the process of grammaticalization, its default middle position is inconclusive in the literature (Aijmer, *Revisiting Actually* 117). Some researchers such as Oh or Taglicht observed that *actually* has “dual functions in medial position, one with a local scope, the other with a global scope” (Oh 252). Aijmer argues that these approaches are largely syntactic and criticizes them for not taking into account a closer link between grammatical features and functions (*Revisiting Actually* 119). She highlights the fact that *actually* in the middle position has often interactional functions mostly associated with “surprisal” or “mirrativity” (a term used in studies of evidentiality) which refer to something that is new and unexpected (47). To illustrate this, *actually* in (5) is mirrative and expressive and presents the information as remarkable.

(5) M: *that movie bizzare was bizzare, real bad picked by Brian*

F: *It was **actually** me who picked it.*

M: *oh*

[Adapted from Aijmer, *Revisiting Actually* 136]

At the same time, Aijmer admits that it is not always easy to resolve whether *actually* has local scope or global scope and some examples might be ambiguous (*Revisiting Actually* 137). In her studies, she opts for an approach where different uses of *actually* in the middle position are not distinguished (Aijmer, *Understanding Pragmatic Markers* 125). The same attitude will be adopted in this study.

*Really* is similarly challenging to analyze because of various positions in a sentence it may occupy. Sternstrom (1986) demonstrates that when *really* is placed next to an adjective it serves as an intensifier that is integrated in the clause structure as in the example (6a) and (6b). The further it moves to the left, the less emphasis is put on the adjective. When *really* is placed in the initial position it is “peripheral to the clause” and “reflects the speaker’s attitude to the entire predication” (Sternstrom 149).

(6) a) *This question is **really** surprising*

b) *This is a **really** surprising question.*

c) *This is **really** a surprising question.*

d) *This **really** is a surprising question.*

e) ***Really**, this is a surprising question.* [Adapted from Sternstrom 149]

Biber et al. (1999) discuss the middle position of *really* and claim that ambiguity may arise especially in connection with gradable propositions such as (7):

(7) *It’s really wonderful.* [Adapted from Biber et al. 858]

18| Here, *really* could be interpreted either as a stance adverb with the meaning of *in reality* or an intensifier with the meaning *very*. On the other hand, when *really* occurs medially and is connected with “propositions that concern absolute characteristics” as in (8) *really* tends to be an epistemic stance adverb (858):

(8) *Was Moly ever really alive alive-oh?* [Adapted from Biber et al. 858]

Aijmer deals with intensifying *really* from a pragmatic point of view and discusses its connection with subjective function. *Really* as an intensifier does not “signal a high degree of emotion” (*Intensification* 126). Nonetheless, it can become more subjective when it is combined either with more expressive adjective (*he is really groovy*) or extreme adjectives as in (7). In such cases where adjective is no longer scalar and rather polarized or extreme, *really* can be “interpreted as emphatic or exaggerated” (128). Consequently, Biber et al. ‘s example (7) is emphasizing and “expresses the speaker’s strong commitment to the utterance” (127). This argument can be supported by “harmonious relationship between a degree modifier and its adjective” (Paradis 50).

Moreover, Simon-Vandenberg and Aijmer draw attention to the fact that the distinction between epistemic stance adverbials (Biber et al.,1999) on one hand and emphasizees and degree adverbs on the other hand can work for prototypical cases but in reality, the drawing line is fluid and “ambiguity and ambivalence is an important aspect of the meaning of certain adverbs” (63).

For the purpose of this thesis, cases where *really* is combined with scalar adjectives and functions as an intensifier were excluded, the collocations of *really* with expressive adjectives were disregarded. The distinction between adjectives was based on Paradis who classifies them into two types non-gradable (e.g. *daily*) and gradable (50). Gradable adjectives can be further sub-divided into three categories:

- a) Scalar adjectives: *long, good, nasty*
- b) Extreme adjectives: *terrible, brilliant, disastrous*
- c) Limit adjectives: *dead, true, identical* [Adapted from Paradis 50]

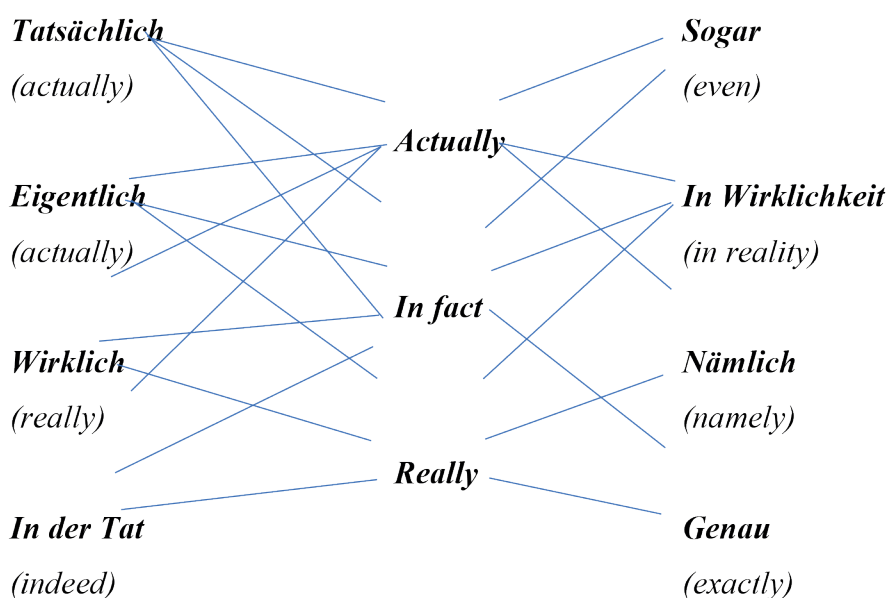
While scalar adjectives combine with modifiers *fairly* and *very*, occur in comparative and superlative, extreme adjectives combine with modifiers *absolutely, totally* and might be accepted in superlative and comparative form by some speakers. However, the main distinction is that they do not represent a point on a scale but can be imagined as an ultimate point on the scale. Finally, limit adjectives are not conceptualized in terms of scale but in terms of either-or and have no comparative and superlative form (50–51).

### 3 Data analysis

#### 3.1 Classification of correspondences

Figure 2 demonstrates the resulting correspondences that were extracted for *actually, in fact* and *really* from En-De Europarl. It provides a clear evidence for the multiplicity of these markers as they are not related to a single but to many equivalents. The most frequent correspondences that are shared by all three markers can be seen on the left side. They represent the core meaning. The right side depicts correspondences that are either less frequent or not shared by all three markers. These examples constitute the category other. The majority of items in this category are single correspondences which are likely to correspond to contextual meanings and are hard to interpret (Aijmer, “The Actuality Adverbs” 115).

Figure 2 Correspondences for *actually, in fact and really* (En-De. Europarl)



Besides the two categories mentioned above, there is also a third category of zero correspondences. They need to be approached with caution as their exact nature is elusive. One of the causes for their omission lies in the context which can be redundant and clear enough (Aijmer and Altenberg 22). Another reason is when languages are typologically different and there is a lack of correspondence between some equivalents. As we know, English uses discourse particles typically placed initially, German, in contrast, is a modal particle language where particles typically occur in the middle field (38). The third purpose for omission is an ongoing grammaticalization when “expressions that do not affect the truth conditions of the utterance and do not add anything to propositional content” are left out (33).

All three categories and their share for each marker expressed in percentages can be seen in Graph 1. The raw frequencies are then displayed in Table 2. The total number for each marker is calculated from forms that function as pragmatic markers. Forms that do not function as pragmatic markers were excluded on the basis of a description in the section 2.1. Also, some concordance lines were not aligned with proper correspondences and thus had to be subtracted from the total number. Table 8 in appendices marks these two categories as “Excluded” and “No translation” respectively.

What Graph 1 visualizes is that the core category comprises the largest number of correspondences, in each case more than 50 per cent of correspondences. It is followed by the zero category reaching nearly one third of correspondences for *actually* and *in fact*. The last category is the category other with the lowest number of correspondences.

20| Graph 1 Core, zero and other correspondences for actually, in fact and really (En-De. Europarl)

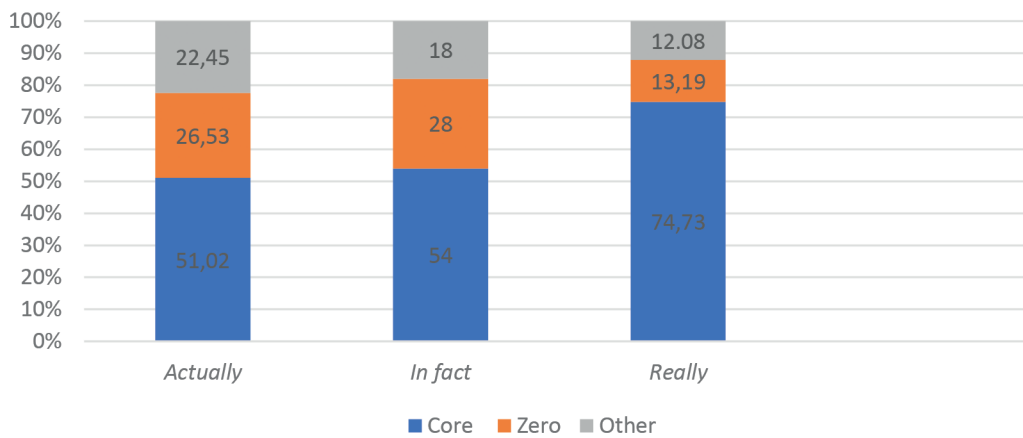


Table 2 Core, zero and other correspondences for actually, in fact and really (En-De. Europarl)

	<b>Actually</b>	<b>In fact</b>	<b>Really</b>
<b>Core</b>	50	54	68
<b>Zero</b>	26	28	12
<b>Other</b>	22	18	11
<b>Total</b>	98	100	91

### 3.2 Core meaning correspondences

The detailed analysis of the core correspondences for *actually*, *in fact* and *really* extracted from En-De Europarl can be seen in Graph 2 below with percentages for individual equivalents. The raw numbers are given in Table 3 below Graph 2. For example, out of 98 concordances for *actually*, 24 were linked with *tatsächlich* which amounts to 24.49 per cent.

Graph 2 German correspondences for actually, in fact and really (En-De Europarl)

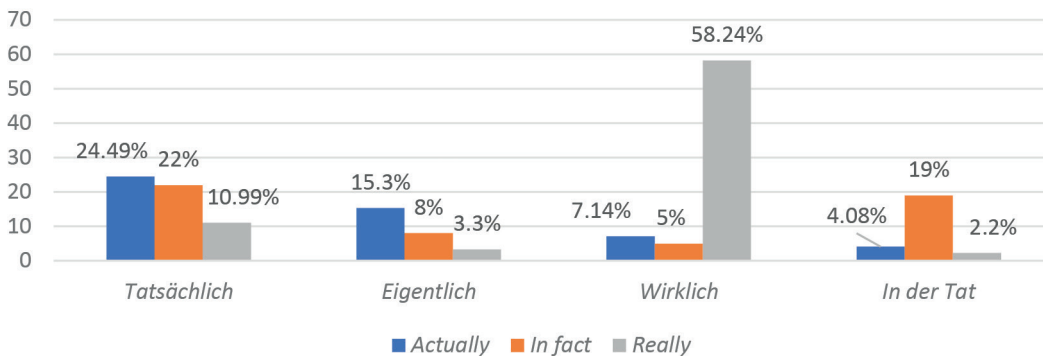


Table 3 German correspondences for actually, in fact and really extracted from En-De. Europarl

	<b>Tatsächlich</b>	<b>Eigentlich</b>	<b>Wirklich</b>	<b>In der Tat</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Actually</b>	24	15	7	4	98
<b>In fact</b>	22	8	5	19	100
<b>Really</b>	10	3	53	2	91

When two markers share the same correspondences, we have a reason to suppose that they are close in the semantic field. The hypothesis that the core category (i.e. correspondences that are shared) is statistically significant for each marker can be accepted at p-level <0.01. The p-values for *actually, in fact* and *really* are 0.000892179,  $3.13461 \times 10^{-05}$  and  $5.75226 \times 10^{-16}$  respectively. Therefore, we can confirm our claim that markers *actually, in fact* and *really* belong to the same lexical field. Despite this, the interpretation of the core meaning for these markers is not always straightforward and it will be developed in the following sub-section.

All these expressions are either adverbs or in case of *in der Tat* can work as an adverbial (Duden-Grammatik 549). *Eigentlich*, besides being an adverb, is nowadays classified as a modal particle (e.g. by Weydt et al.; Oppenrieder and Thurmair), which was thirty years ago still disputable if it was grammaticalized enough to have a MP status. [3] Also, all of them are associated with something that is actual and real and their main function is listed as “reaffirming the truth of what someone has said” (Dodd et al. 307); Duden-Grammatik). Accordingly, we can relate *actually, in fact* and *really* to the core meaning associated with the semantic field of actuality.

Aijmer stresses that if something is true it can also mean certainty. However, while certainty expressions with desemantized meaning lead to uncertainty, pragmatic functions of actuality lead to something that is new and surprising (“The Actuality Adverbs” 113). Indeed, one of the most common equivalents for all three markers is *tatsächlich* which “implies a degree of interest and possibly surprise at learning something new” as can be seen in (9) (Dodd et al. 422). This argument was originally used in Aijmer for the Swedish word *faktiskt* with a similar function (“The Actuality Adverbs” 113). Aijmer thus concluded that it “reflects the fact that adverbs are evidential in broad sense” because evidentiality is connected with something that is new and unexpected (113).

(9) *Furthermore, women are still seriously underrepresented in high-level posts in the Commission and the Council. **In fact**, there is not a single female EU special representative at the moment.* [De-En. Europarl]

*Überdies sind Frauen in Spitzenpositionen der Kommission und des Rates immer noch schwer unterrepräsentiert. Es gibt tatsächlich im Moment keinen einzigen weiblichen EU-Sonderbeauftragten.*

What also needs to be discussed is the meaning and function of remaining German equivalents. As for *eigentlich*, Aijmer develops Schwenter and Traugott’s original meaning of actuality and claims that the closest equivalent to this meaning is Swedish *egentligen* because “it contrasts with such adverbials such as *in imagination, in law* and participates in a lexical field encompassing *in practice, in reality, in actuality*” (“The Actuality Adverbs” 114). The same seems to hold for German. According to Duden dictionary, the definition of *eigentlich* as an adverb is *in reality* (“eigentlich”) and it states what exists in fact (Beaton 555). Functionally, it can be also “adversative” and imply the contrast with what seems to be the case as the example (10) illustrates (555). Finally, *eigentlich* can function as a modal particle (mainly in questions) where it fails to refer to reality and signals friendliness or a shift in conversation (Weydt et al.).

(10) *Mr President, Commissione, it is said that politics is a game, sometimes even a game of chance, but gambling is not **actually** a business or service as such.* [En-De. Europarl]  
*Herr Präsident, Herr Kommissar! Es heißt, die Politik sei ein Spiel, manchmal gar ein Glücksspiel, aber Glücksspiele sind an sich **eigentlich** keine Geschäfte oder Dienstleistungen.*

22| The next correspondence is *wirklich*. We can compare it with *tatsächlich* discussed above. Both imply “that the speaker believes what he or she has heard” but *wirklich* has a different function (Dodd et al. 308). It is defined by Duden Dictionary as primarily used for intensification and being mainly emphatic (“wirklich”).

There has not been a lot written about *in der Tat*. It is often described as very close and synonymous with *tatsächlich*. Métrich mentions similar specialization as can be observed between *tatsächlich* and *wirklich* but *tatsächlich* being used in connotation with amazement and *in der Tat* as emphasizing adverb (22). He also observes that pragmatically *in der Tat* can appear in more subjective contexts where the arguments are based on subjective opinion rather than objectively derived facts as in the example (11) (22).

(11) **In fact**, we all agree that culture and the arts form a fundamental part of education.

[De-En. Europarl]

**In der Tat**, stimmen wir alle darin überein, dass Kultur und die Künste einen grundlegenden Teil unserer Bildung darstellen.

Graph 2, however, points out to some distinctions between individual adverbs in terms of their frequency. *Actually*, and *in fact* correlate with *tatsächlich* with 24.49 per cent and 22 per cent respectively. *Really*, in contrast, highly correlates with *wirklich* (58.24 per cent) and seems to be more distant than the other two. These results are statistically significant at  $p < 0.01$  (p-value is  $2.821581 \times 10^{-20}$ ).

Similar picture is shown if we look at Graph 3 and the correlation of German expressions (*tatsächlich*, *eigentlich*, *wirklich* and *in der Tat*) extracted from De-En. Europarl. This time the total numbers are 100 because we take all forms of German expressions, e.g. *eigentlich* either as a modal particle or an adverb. The corresponding forms in English that do not function as pragmatic markers are only in the subcategory “Excluded”. The information about this subcategory can be found in Table 8 in appendices.

The raw numbers are expressed in Table 4, e.g. out of 100 items for *tatsächlich*, 27 are linked with *actually* which is 27 per cent visible in the first column of Graph 3. Again, the data lead to the conclusion that there is a closer proximity between *actually* and *in fact*. *Eigentlich* is a closer match with *actually* and *in fact* than with *really* which is on the other hand close to *wirklich* (p-value is  $2.058712 \times 10^{-26}$  for statistical significance).

Graph 3 English correspondences for *tatsächlich*, *eigentlich*, *wirklich* and *in der Tat* (De-En. Europarl)

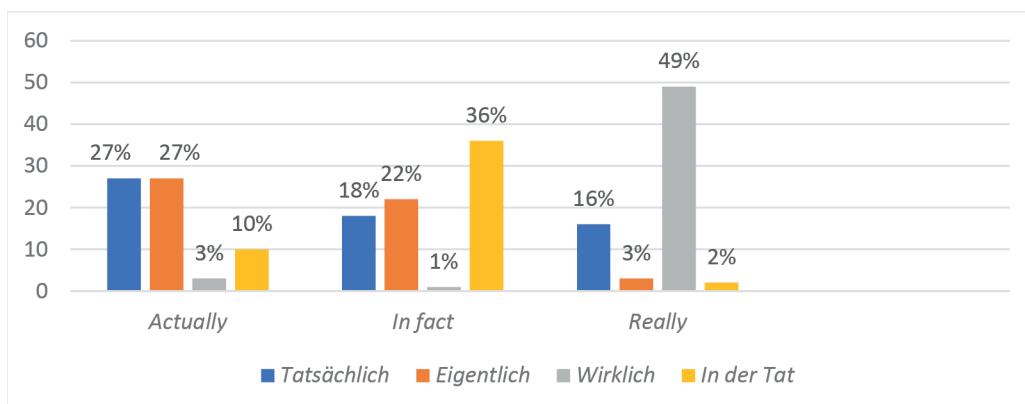


Table 4 English correspondences for *tatsächlich*, *eigentlich*, *wirklich* and *in der Tat* (De-En. Europarl)

	<b>Actually</b>	<b>In fact</b>	<b>Really</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Tatsächlich</b>	27	18	16	100
<b>Eigentlich</b>	27	22	3	100
<b>Wirklich</b>	3	1	49	100
<b>In der Tat</b>	10	36	2	100

### 3.3 Cognates

Table 5 below compares our findings for the core meaning of *actually*, *really* and *in fact* with Dutch and Swedish cognates described by Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg (‘‘A Model and a Methodology’’). The cognates in Table 5 are highlighted and their common source extracted from Wiktionary and DWDS is stated in the last column. The Dutch and Swedish words that are in the same row are listed by Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg as the closest equivalents. They claim that they are frequently cognates which ‘‘often but not necessarily always’’ are equipped with a similar function (1794).

In German, the same cognates emerge as equivalents. Instances are *wirklich* with *werkelijk/verkligen*, *eigentlich-eigentlich/egentligen* and *in der Tat* with Dutch *inderdaad*. The ratio is 2:4 in German-Swedish direction and 3:4 in German-Dutch direction. The closer affinity with Dutch is not surprising as both German and Dutch are West Germanic languages. Finally, the only German word that does not have a cognate is *tatsächlich* but it is similar to Swedish *faktiskt* in its function. They both can evoke the meaning surprise.

Table 5 Cognate words

<b>German</b>	<b>Dutch</b>	<b>Swedish</b>	<b>Source</b>
<i>Wirklich</i>	<i>Werkelijk</i>	<i>Verkligen</i>	Proto-Germanic * <i>wirkijana</i> = to work
<i>Eigentlich</i>	<i>Eigenlijk</i>	<i>Egentligen</i>	Proto-Germanic * <i>aigana</i> = to possess
<i>In der Tat</i>	<i>Inderdaad</i>	<i>I själva verket</i>	Old Saxon <i>dād</i> , Proto-Germanic * <i>dēdiz</i> = Proto-Germanic * <i>selbaz</i> =self
<i>Tatsächlich</i>	<i>In feite</i>	<i>Faktiskt</i>	Old Saxon <i>dād</i> Latin <i>Factum</i>

Source: (Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg, ‘‘A Model and a Methodology’’), Wiktionary, DWDS

### 3.4 Middle position

In order to analyse the middle position, we need to look at individual bi-directional correspondences in the middle position and compare them with bi-directional correspondences in the initial position. It is necessary to create subcorpora for each bi-directional relationship which is constituted by correspondences obtained from En-De Europarl for a given marker as well as correspondences extracted for its German equivalent from De-En Europarl. The outcomes are visible in Tables 6 and 7 below. For example, *in fact-eigentlich* subcorpus for the middle position consists of 116 *actually* in the middle position where 38 of them are used in association with *eigentlich*. *Really* does not have correspondences in the initial position and it will not be the target of our comparison.

24| Table 6 Bi-directional correspondences in the middle and initial position for *actually*

	Middle		Initial		p-value
<b>Eigentlich</b>	38/116	(32.75%)	3/7	(42.85%)	Not significant
<b>Tatsächlich</b>	21/116	(18.10%)	7/8	(87.5%)	0.00004071
<b>In der Tat</b>	14/106	(13.20%)	-		-
<b>Wirklich</b>	10/97	(10.3%)	-		-
<b>Sogar</b>	9/98	(9.1%)	-		-

Table 7 Bi-directional correspondences in the middle and initial position for *in fact*

	Middle		Initial		p-value
<b>Eigentlich</b>	15 /50	(30%)	14/59	(23.72%)	Not significant
<b>Tatsächlich</b>	12/55	(21.82%)	28/ 58	(48.27%)	0.006090738
<b>In der Tat</b>	31/70	(44.29%)	21/60	(35%)	Not significant
<b>Wirklich</b>	5/49	(10.2%)	1/47	(2.13%)	Not significant
<b>In Wirklichkeit</b>	16/55	(29%)	4/51	(7.84%)	0.01092148

The p-values in Tables 6 and 7 suggest distinct specialization for markers in different places. Initial position of *actually* and *in fact* is closely linked with *tatsächlich* and its evidential meaning surprise. Also, the subjective *in der Tat*, the emphatic *wirklich* and *sogar* do not appear initially at all. *Sogar* has not been introduced yet and deserves a comment. It is classified as a focus particle which “induces an expectability scale. Denotations in the scope of *sogar* are placed low on such a scale” (Abraham 258). It gives rise to implicature as in (12) that it is quite unexpected that it is “*the whole Africa*” for which we are witnessing a historic moment.

(12) *We are witnessing what is a historic moment for Sudan and **actually** for the whole of Africa.*  
[De-En. Europarl]

*Wir sind Zeugen eines historischen Moments für Sudan und **sogar** für ganz Afrika.*

Also, *in fact* correlates medially with *in Wirklichkeit*. The closest equivalent for *in Wirklichkeit* is *in reality* which points to a close association with the literal meaning actuality. The function of *in Wirklichkeit* is regarded by Aijmer as emphasizing reality. However, “the emphasis is not on the ‘reality’ of the thing asserted but on the illocutionary force or truthfulness of what is asserted” (*Understanding Pragmatic Markers* 82).

#### 4 Conclusion

This study has confirmed the claim that pragmatic markers *actually*, *in fact* and *really* belong to the semantic field of expectation as they share some correspondences in German language. The most frequent correspondences were *eigentlich*, *tatsächlich*, *wirklich* and *in der Tat*. These German correspondences are frequently cognates and often equipped with similar function as other Germanic correspondences in Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg’s (2004) study.

Also, they can all reaffirm the truth of utterance and therefore their core meaning is related to the semantic field of actuality. The meaning of *tatsächlich* also reflects the fact that they are evidential as it can express surprise at something that is new and unexpected. There are, however, some differences between frequencies of individual correspondences. *Actually*, and *in fact* seem to be closer in meaning as they share more equivalents than *actually* and *really* and *in fact* and *really*. *Really* seems to be more distant and highly correlates with *wirklich* which is mainly emphatic. Similar observation was made by Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg (2004).



However, their study also revealed that in some respect *really* is closer to *actually* because it is more frequently translated with Swedish and Dutch cognate of *eigentlich*. This claim was not confirmed by our study. This might be due to the fact that their analysis includes not only parliamentary debates but also fiction and the function of individual markers can vary with dependency on the text type. They also add that the frequencies in Dutch language are less telling and more data would be needed to support this claim.

As far as the middle position of these markers is concerned, we can confirm that these markers occur medially but have different specializations. While initial *actually* and *in fact* are closely linked with the meaning surprise rendered by *tatsächlich*, medial *actually* is more connected with emphatic *wirklich*, subjective *in der Tat* and focusing *sogar*. *In fact* on the other hand functions medially as a reality emphasizer.

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### Notes

- [1] By stance we mean the overt expression of an author's or speaker's attitudes, feelings, judgments, or commitment concerning the message (Biber and Finnegan 1)
- [2] Some researchers would exclude DMs from grammaticalization (Traugott 2). Traugott argues for their inclusion on the basis of several arguments, e.g. phonological reduction (14). Even though they might be stressed, they can be segmentally reduced /nfækt/.
- [3] In (Helbig and Buscha) *eigentlich* is not in the list of modal particles.

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Table 8 The list of correspondences

<b>Actually</b> <b>Tatsächlich (24)</b> <b>Eigentlich (15)</b> <b>Wirklich (7)</b> Sogar (5) <b>In der Tat (4)</b> <b>Ja (3)</b> Nämlich (2) Überhaupt (2) Übrigends (2) Doch (1) Eigentlichen (1) Im Übrigen (1) In Wirklichkeit (1) Jedoch (1) Noch (1) Tatsächliche (1) Nun (1) Zero (26) No translation (2)	Really <b>Wirklich (53)</b> <b>Tatsächlich (10)</b> <b>Eigentlich (3)</b> <b>In der Tat (2)</b> Genau (2) Auf keinen Fall (1) Doch (1) In Wirklichkeit (1) <b>Natürlich (1)</b> Recht (1) Sehr (1) Wahrhaftig (1) Wirkliches (1) Wirklichen (1) Excluded (6) Zero (12) No translation (3)	<b>In fact</b> <b>Tatsächlich (22)</b> <b>In der Tat (19)</b> <b>Eigentlich (8)</b> Wirklich (5) In Wirklichkeit (5) Vielmehr (4) Sondern (2) Sogar (2) Dennoch (1) Genau (1) In der praxis (1) Letzendlich (1) Nämlich (1) Zero (28)	<b>Eigentlich</b> <b>Actually (27)</b> <b>In fact (22)</b> <b>Really (3)</b> Actual (1) Certainly (1) Clearly (1) For that matter (1) In actual fact (1) In itself (1) Indeed (1) In reality (1) In truth (1) On the contrary (1) Though (1) Ultimately (1) Zero (36)	<b>Tatsächlich</b> <b>Actually (27)</b> <b>In fact (18)</b> Really (16) Indeed (15) In reality (3) Real (2) Truly (2) Effectively (2) Fully (1) Genuinely (1) In actual fact (1) Zero (11) Excluded (1)
<b>Total (100)</b>	<b>Total (100)</b>	<b>Total (100)</b>	<b>Total (100)</b>	<b>Total (100)</b>

<b>Wirklich</b> <b>Really (49)</b> Truly (11) Genuinely (6) Indeed (4) Real (4) Very (4) <b>Actually (3)</b> <b>In fact (1)</b> big (1) Effectively (1) So (1) To the full (1) Reality (1) Veritable (1) Zero (7) Excluded (5)	<b>In der Tat</b> Indeed (40) In fact (36) Actually (10) Really (2) Definitely (1) In effect (1) It is true (1) In actual fact (1) Particularly (1) Real (1) Zero (6)	<b>In Wirklichkeit</b> In reality (36) <b>In fact (15)</b> <b>Actually (8)</b> The reality (is) (8) In actual fact (5) Really (4) In practice (4) The truth (is) (2) De facto (1) Essentially (1) Frankly (1) Fundamental (1) In effect (1) In point of fact (1) In truth (1) The real issue is (1) The real point is (1) The real world (1) Zero (6) Excluded (2)	<b>Sogar</b> Even (74) Actually (4) Indeed (2) In fact (1) Zero (19)
<b>Total (100)</b>	<b>Total (100)</b>	<b>Total (100)</b>	<b>Total (100)</b>

28| *Table 9 The distribution of actually, in fact and really (calculated from 100 concordances for each marker: actually, really, in fact, eigentlich, tatsächlich, wirklich, in der Tat)*

	Sentence initial (SI)	Clause initial (CI)	Middle (M)	Other (O)	Final (F)
<b>Actually</b>	5 (3.03%)	8 (4.85%)	138 (83.54%)	14 (8.48%)	-
<b>In fact</b>	65 (36.52%)	18 (10.11%)	82 (46.07%)	6 (3.37%)	7 (3.93%)
<b>Really</b>	-	-	151	13 (7.93%)	-

## **English as Lingua Franca: The Danger of Adult Learners Being Left Behind – A Study of Adult EFL Learning in the Czech Republic**

*Abstract: With English increasingly being accepted as the global lingua franca, it is prescient to acknowledge the danger of a significant segment of the Czech population being linguistically left behind. The Floral Figuration model of linguistic actors within the EU shows how segments of the population interact and benefit from multilingualism, in this case, EFL knowledge, and ultimately produce a core circle of elites who are able to participate in the global economy and society. However, recent data has shown that overall EFL knowledge within the Czech population is statistically below the EU norm, primarily among those over age 40. Recent EU initiatives such as Life Long Learning have sought to ameliorate such gaps yet Czech adult participation remains low. This paper seeks to explain reasons for overall low adult EFL proficiency in the Czech Republic, highlight the implementation of LLL programs in EFL, and promote global inclusion via EFL studies.*

### **Introduction**

When considering the state of adult education in the Czech Republic, it is important to take into account the country's recent history as well as the importance of English and the heightened role it plays in the global marketplace. It is often assumed that knowledge of English among the Czech adult population trends towards the bottom of the European Union (EU) average. In fact, several studies published soon after the Czech Republic's entry into the EU highlighted this very fact. However, the last major report issued by the Czech Ministry of Education concerning adult education and language knowledge was published in 2007. Since then, a number of EU sponsored surveys and statistics have shown that the state of adult education in the Czech Republic is not as dire as it once seemed. This paper seeks to bring attention to the implementation of EU sponsored programs emphasizing adult education, linguistic inclusivity, and adult participation within the scheme of Lifelong Learning (LLL) programs. At the same time, this paper hopes to highlight the potential for struggle that adult learners can face within the context of global lingua franca, as foreign language knowledge remains an area of concern for adult learners in the Czech Republic. While it is quite globally accepted that the education of young people should expose them to major foreign languages, the plight of adult learners and/or those in the current workforce has often been overlooked. Through an analysis of both EU and Czech published materials concerning adult education and foreign language knowledge as well as relevant statistical data, this paper hopes to update the outside perception of adult learners in the Czech Republic and highlight the continuing efforts and benchmarks set forth by the EU promoting universal inclusion and linguistic adaptability within the 21<sup>st</sup> century's global community.

The first two decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century have been a time of rapid technological innovation and change, altering the way that people interact with and participate in their communities. As global prosperity has spread throughout the globe, so too has the need to communicate globally. With communication tools becoming more ubiquitous and interconnected, barriers between nations, economies, and communities have begun to crumble. This process has led to renewed interest in the idea of *Lingua Franca* or "universal" language. While practical in theory, such a linguistic concept leads to a number of questions, only some of which involve the complicated matters of national pride and

30 | cultural heritage. For the most part, the majority of speakers of a lingua franca do so not out of any emotional or nationalist reason but simply out of practicality. Governments have, for the most part, allowed and even, somewhat grudgingly, promoted the current trend towards linguistic singularity, often while arguing for multilingualism within their respective states. When considering the recent history of the Czech Republic, it is important to recognize the factors that have contributed to the state of foreign language knowledge and the possible implications this may have on the state of adult employment and participation in the global market.

### **Lingua Franca**

Concerning *Lingua Franca*, the argument has repeatedly been made that English currently acts as one. The reasons for this are multifarious, central among them the fact that there are an inordinate amount of English speakers in the world. It is calculated that, globally, there are currently over 1 billion English speakers, the majority of which are not native speakers. According to Ethnologue data, current calculations place the global number of English speakers at around 1,132,366,680 people, 379,007,140 of which are native speakers, which is slightly less than a third of the total amount. Furthermore, due to the large number of total English speakers in the world (approximately 15% of the global population), English has found itself as the language of choice among many within the academic, scientific, and political fields. It can be argued that “English is increasingly regarded in many countries as a necessary, basic skill and not as an optional foreign language” (Ferguson 2007), thus allowing for greater participation in a global community linked by a common language.

The European Union considers linguistic diversity to be a hallmark of European identity, and according to the European Commission, it is a primary goal that every EU citizen be multi-lingual by 2020. However, at the same time, many in government, academia, and society advocate for (or indirectly promote) the use of a common language amongst its citizens. According to the European Commission Special Report on Languages of 2012, 69% of people in the EU agree that its members should be able to speak a common language. Advocates such as Philippe van Parijs argue that there are economic and social reasons for encouraging English to perform such a function, writing that “Europeanisation [should not be] the exclusive preserve of the wealthy and powerful who can afford quality interpretation” and instead people should be “equip[ped] with the means of talking to one another without the need for interpreting [...]” (Van Parijs 2003). One can make the case that Van Parijs’ argument can be applied to the Czech Republic in terms of its citizen’s inclusion within a common European linguistic community.

### **Lingua Franca in the Czech Republic**

As a relatively small country with a population of 10.6 million people, the Czech Republic often finds itself outside of major European decision-making. There are 2,867,000<sup>[1]</sup> total EFL (English as a Foreign Language) speakers, or nearly 27% of the population. However, despite large gains in adult education and language knowledge, large segments of the Czech population are unable to participate in the European linguistic community. The subject of inclusion and decision making within Europe is one that is relevant to focus on. Historically, most of the benefits of EU inclusion have been inaccessible to a majority of Czechs as they are less likely to speak one of the major European languages.<sup>[2]</sup> The three procedural languages of the EU are English, French, and German. A close study of the two most recent language surveys carried out by the European Commission, *Special Eurobarometers 243 and 386: Europeans and Their Languages* (2005 and 2012, respectively) shows that only half of the Czech

population is able to speak any foreign language, which is below the EU norm and a 12% decrease from 2005. The percentages drop even lower when the number of spoken foreign languages is increased. Table 1 shows a comparison between the two Eurobarometer surveys.

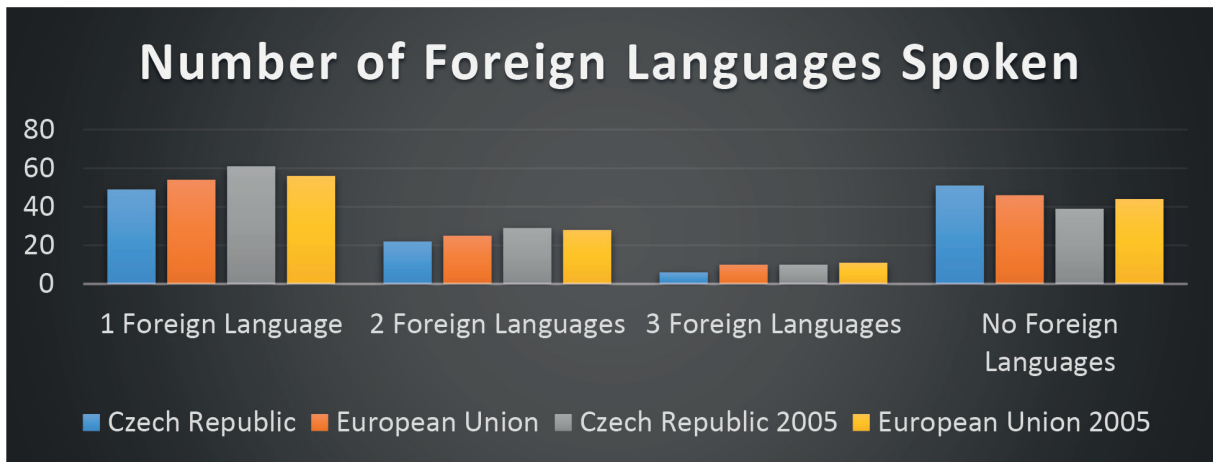


Table 1 Source: Special Eurobarometer 243 and 386, 2006 and 2012

As Table 1 shows, only 49% of Czechs report themselves as being able to speak more than one foreign language, whereas the European average is 61%. Conversely, a slight majority of Czechs report themselves as being completely unable to speak any foreign language at all (51%), higher than the EU average of 46% and a 12% increase from 2005. While percentages drop off significantly for both Czechs and the EU as a whole for second and third foreign languages spoken, the Czech percentages consistently stay below the EU norms. At the same time, while EU averages (orange and yellow bars, respectively) stay relatively even in both surveys, the Czech percentages (blue and grey bars, respectively) trend downward in terms of foreign language ability. This stands in opposition to the EU’s stated objective of multilingualism. According to the Eurobarometer report:

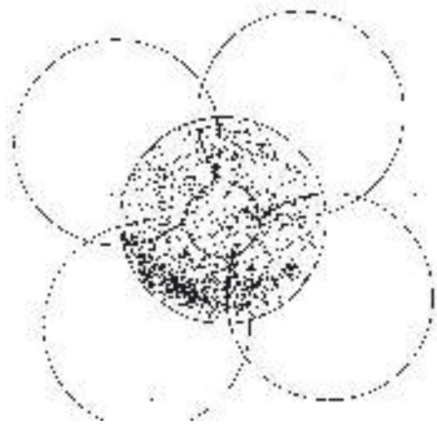
The EU encourages all citizens to be multilingual, with the long-term objective that every citizen has practical skills in at least two languages in addition to his or her mother tongue. (Eurobarometer 2012)

While such a goal is both laudable and practical, the data shows that, while this objective is still a ways off<sup>[3]</sup> for a significant portion of EU citizens, it is more pronounced for those residing in the Czech Republic.

The implications of limited multilingualism are most heavily felt when dealing with transnational networks within the EU. Decisions concerning governance, law, economics, and social policy are often debated and passed on a transnational scale within the EU. However, the public debate surrounding such policies as well as concerns over their implementation often take place in the procedural languages of the EU, thus leaving a large segment of the population at the mercy of Van Parijs’ interpreters.

The Floral Figuration Model, shown in Table 2 below and first developed by Abram de Swaan, shows how European plurilingual elites are able to navigate the transnational market while also showing the implied dangers for those linguistic “commoners” who are only able to converse in their national/regional mother tongue.

## 32| Table 2 Floral Figuration Model



According to de Swaan, the outer circles represent linguistic “commoners” conversing in their mother tongue with the possibility of an “anything goes” form of a wider European language. The shaded areas represent speakers belonging to the European plurilingual elite – those with good knowledge of a wider European language in addition to their native mother tongue. In de Swaan’s analysis, this group forms a ‘class’ and participates in transnational networks within Europe. The core circle represents the European cosmopolitan elite who use English as a communication language at the expense of all other languages.<sup>[4]</sup>

Under such a model, those in the outer circles are dependent on those in the shaded areas to serve as interpreters for all information and transactions stemming from abroad. Without those from the shaded areas, members of the outer circles would be unable to communicate with their outer circle neighbors. The implied risk is that those outer circle members are not only unable to successfully navigate the European community, but are left out of European decision making and inclusion as well. Furthermore, as foreign knowledge of European procedural languages French and German decreases (see table 3 below), those members in the core circle will gain an even greater advantage and level of importance when conducting European affairs. As such, the European Commission has recognized the importance of foreign language study and further education in general with regard to full participation within the European community. Simultaneous to efforts promoting European education benchmarks for primary and secondary students were efforts promoting further education of adults. In this regard, the Commission has adopted strategies meant to encourage member states to implement Lifelong Learning practices in their national education programs.

### **Lifelong Learning and Languages in the EU**

The concept of Lifelong Learning (LLL) aims for “the continual preparedness of an individual to learn rather than in continuous study” (Ministry of Education, 9) and can be thought of as an all-encompassing philosophy of learning that links both initial education (basic, secondary, tertiary) with continued education taking place after one enters the labor market. While its ultimate goal may be to create an environment for citizens to never stop learning throughout their life, in the modern European context, great emphasis is also placed on the practical benefits of such a learning environment, i.e., advanced employment. Indeed, the Commission “emphasizes an approach stressing a broad knowledge base and development of the abilities of individuals to participate in economic life” (Ministry of Education, 13).



One further aspect of LLL is the “promotion of fluency in the three languages of the [European] Communities, which will be important for employability in the framework of the Single European Market” (Ministry of Education, 13). While relevant in procedural terms, numerous studies have shown that knowledge of German and French (as well as numerous other languages) as a foreign language has steadily decreased, ultimately being replaced by the rapidly expanding circle of English as a foreign language. Table 3 shows a comparison between Czech primary and secondary students and their EU counterparts.

**Table 3 Foreign Languages Studied by Education Level – 2016 (in percentage of students)**

EU 28	English	French	German	Russian	Spanish	Czech Republic	English	French	German	Russian	Spanish
Primary School	80.6	2.8	3.1			Primary School	74.2	0.1	1.1		
Lower Secondary School	96.2	26.1	16.8	2.6	12.6	Lower Secondary School	97.5	3.1	47.1	14.1	2.3
Upper Secondary School	86.1	14.0	15.0	2.4	14.1	Upper Secondary School	91.8	4.7	37.5	8.1	4.8

*Table 3 Source: Eurostat, 11/01/2019*

The data shows English as the most dominant foreign language by a large margin, with 80.6 percent of all EU primary students studying it. French and German barely register with 2.8 and 3.1 percent, respectively. The trend continues with lower and upper secondary students, with nearly all lower secondary students studying English and nearly six times as many upper secondary students studying English opposed to French and German. The Czech data shows slightly higher numbers for English learning among secondary students along with respectable amounts of German learners (47.1 and 37.5, respectively). This is most likely due to shared business (and a lengthy state border) between the two countries. French, however, is barely studied in the Czech Republic, possibly having been replaced by the study of Russian, which can be due to historical reasons as well as recent increased business relationships between the two countries.

Such a shift towards English as the dominant foreign language among primary and secondary school students shows the trend in Europe (and some may argue, the world) towards English as the primary means of communication, i.e., lingua franca, across borders and within the single European market. While this trend is quite well known and oft discussed, less talked about is the plight of adults and their attempts at navigating such a linguistic landscape. In the context of de Swaan’s Floral Figuration Model, the younger generation seems to be well on the path towards expanding the ranks of the plurilingual elite and, ultimately, significantly increasing the range and size of the “cosmopolitan” English speaking core. However, under the auspices of LLL, much effort has been made to consider those remaining in de Swaan’s outer circles.

### **Lifelong Learning and Languages in the Czech Republic**

As one might presume, there are a multitude of factors at play when considering one’s place within de Swaan’s model. Age, education level, and region are often cited as major factors in determining one’s access to and acquisition of foreign language skills and, while these factors have been consistent throughout the EU, they were quite pronounced within the Czech Republic in the years following EU membership. One of

34| the first such problems to be recognized by the Ministry of Education was the educational gap that existed among the older Czech population. Those who had come of age during the Czechoslovak socialist era were often found to be lacking in both foreign language skills and completion of tertiary education when compared to their EU counterparts. In an attempt to bring attention to this gap, the Ministry of Education produced *The Strategy of Life Long Learning in the CR*, which sought to document the current state of adult education in the Czech Republic. Published in 2007, its findings showed that, statistically, such an education gap amongst the older Czech population did indeed exist. One of the primary concerns for the ministry were the socio-economic risks inherent in the existence of this gap, remarking that the system of further education was “inadequately developed” and that ultimately “the [further education] system is not adapted to the needs and potential of adults or the requirements of employers” (Ministry of Education, 20). Paramount among the problems were the lack of language skills among the adult population.

The lack of language skills is a serious problem in the population that retards not only internationalization of Czech business, research and development, and marketing success of enterprises, but also integration of the Czech population into structures and informal relations in the framework of the European Union. (Ministry of Education, 33)

While still far from perfect, much improvement has been made in overall foreign language knowledge among the Czech adult population since this report was published. According to the *Languages and Employability* report from the European Commission’s Joint Research Center Science and Policy Report of 2015, slightly less than 40% of adults in both the 35–54 and 54–64 age groups are able to speak at least one foreign language, which is slightly higher than the EU average (see Table 4).

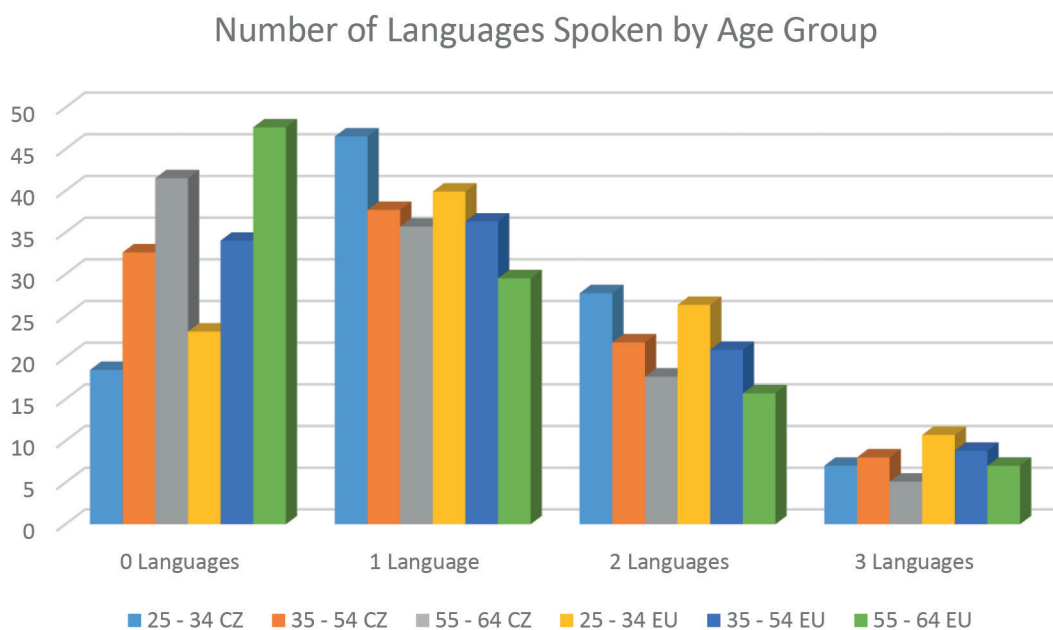


Table 4 Source: JRC Science and Policy Report: *Languages and Employability*, 2015

This table shows a more detailed, and ultimately more optimistic, state of foreign language knowledge than the previous Eurobarometer surveys (see Table 1) showed. Focusing exclusively on the population above age 25 and differentiating between different age groups, an upward trend in foreign

language knowledge among Czech adults is seen, one which puts Czech levels more in line with the EU norms. These results are most likely due to the practicalities of the modern labor market, which often requires foreign language skills for positions that previously had not. The recent *Study on Foreign Language Proficiency and Employability* highlights how businesses are currently using foreign languages “to boost sales and marketing, to manage cross border supply chains and to successfully export services and finished goods” (Beadle et al. 12). Furthermore, the study also points out how nowadays, many traditional business activities are conducted in foreign languages, such as “attending business meetings, maintaining international relations or presenting the company and its products and services” (Beadle et al. 12). The report continued by remarking on the difficulty of many employers to fill their available positions due to lack of foreign language skills.

One third of employers experience difficulties in filling positions as a result of a lack of applicants’ foreign language skills. Two thirds of these difficulties are due to insufficient foreign language levels of job applicants, one third is due to the inability of finding suitable candidates with proficiency in a particular language. (Beadle et al. 57)

As a result of such trends, many Czech adults have realized that it is highly beneficial for them to seek out foreign language courses. Oftentimes, such courses are just part of the overall further education courses adults seek to participate in.

### **Adult Participation in Further Education: Tertiary Education**

Those seeking further adult education have many options to choose from. In 1992, the Czech government made it possible for students of vocational schools to acquire bachelor’s degrees from accredited universities. Vocational training had maintained a long tradition in the Czech Republic, a tradition that continued during the immediate post-communist period of the early to mid-1990s. However, as the realities of the labor market have changed, and needed qualifications for employment have shifted towards technological and language skills, participation has slowly begun shifting from vocational schools towards Higher Educational Institutions (HEIs). Historically, there had been only state and public universities in the Czech Republic. Students had to graduate with a school leaving (maturita) exam and then pass sometimes lengthy entrance exams and interviews in order to be accepted for study. Most students then continued their studies towards a bachelor’s or master’s degree or doctorate. However, with the passing of The Act on Higher Education in the late 1990s and its subsequent amendments, the creation of private and public HEIs was allowed. Under the Education Act, HEIs provide two types of study:

1. Certified study programs where graduates obtain a university degree;
2. Programs of lifelong education provided free of charge (state-subsidized) or for a fee (with possible state subsidy) oriented towards occupational training/certification or recreation (Ministry of Education 41).

While private HEIs were not initially as popular as their public counterparts or traditional state universities, they have slowly grown in stature. In academic year 2005/2006, private HEI enrollment accounted for 8% of the total number of higher education students, while public HEI and state universities accounted for 90% (Ministry of Education 41). Since then, both enrollment and the number of institutions, both public and private, have grown. As of the 2014/2015 academic year, there were 26

36| public HEIs, 43 private HEIs, and 2 state HEIs with total enrollment of 350,000 students (Ministry of Education, 2015). Yet, despite the proliferation of HEIs and the high number of student enrollment, vocational study still remains a staple of Czech further education, with a 72.9% participation rate, opposed to 49.3% within the EU as a whole (Eurostat, 2016)<sup>[5]</sup>.

While filling a practical, modern employment-based need, the trend towards HEI enrollment in the Czech Republic can also be directly attributed to state and European funding as well as changes in legislation which promoted LLL programs to be offered and EU benchmarks to be met. Historically, Czech adult participation in tertiary and further education was among the lowest in Europe. The shift away from vocational employment risks causing an employment and/or knowledge gap that may be too much for non HEI or university graduates to overcome in order to remain competitive in today's labor market. The Czech government, aware of this risk, has emphasized the low unemployment rates of HEI graduates (as of 2006, less than 1% of the total registered unemployed) (Ministry of Education, 45). Regional differences also play a factor, with those residing and/or working in the capital city of Prague having a substantially higher rate of tertiary education. This is primarily due to the low number of vocational jobs available in Prague and the dominance of international corporations, government offices, universities, and science and research centers which are located in the city and ultimately require higher qualifications for employment. However, certain state policies (as well as the rising costs of doing business in Prague) have helped encourage foreign and domestic investors to build new centers of commerce and education in regional cities such as Brno, Plzen, and Mlada Boleslav. As centers of industry and education spread from the capital city to the regional cities, inhabitants outside of the capital will have to find the means to meet the higher qualifications needed for these jobs.

This impact can already be felt with the increased participation in tertiary education and informal learning among the Czech population. Table 5 shows the total participation level in tertiary education when compared to the EU average.

**Table 5 Students of Tertiary Education (in percentage) 2016**

	Total	Short Cycle Tertiary Education	Bachelor's Degree or Equivalent	Master's Degree or Equivalent	Doctorate or Equivalent
Czech Republic	371,948	0.3	59.5	33.8	6.5
EU	19,589,999	7.3	61.3	27.6	3.9

*Table 5 Source: Eurostat, 28/01/2019*

As Table 5 shows, the Czech Republic has made significant progress towards closing the aforementioned gap in higher education with the rest of the EU, with above average numbers of students in several degree categories. At the same time, there are hardly any students, percentage wise, who are currently pursuing degrees and/or certifications below the level of bachelor's degree. Highlighting the trend towards higher education is the fact that there is a higher rate of students studying for their master's degree and doctorate in the Czech Republic than the EU average. Yet, it is important to remember that these numbers represent only those who are in the process of studying, not those who have already attained such degrees. Table 6 shows the latest data in educational attainment level within the Czech Republic and the EU.

**Table 6 Population by Educational Attainment Level (in percentage)**

	Primary and Lower Secondary Education			Upper Secondary and non-tertiary post education			First and Second Stage of Tertiary Education		
	2005	2010	2017	2005	2010	2017	2005	2010	2017
Czech Republic	12.4	9.7	7.5	75.1	74.3	70.6	12.5	16.0	22.0
EU	38.8	30.8	25.4	40.2	45.0	45.0	21.0	24.3	29.5

Table 6 Source: Eurostat, 12/02/2019

As Table 6 shows, there has been a steady rise in educational attainment over the past decade. Whereas secondary school graduation levels have always been significantly higher than the EU norm (and remain so), tertiary education levels had previously been amongst the lowest in Europe. However, attainment levels have nearly doubled since 2005, bringing the Czech Republic much closer in line to the EU norms.

#### **Adult Participation in Further Education: Formal and Informal**

Formal and informal adult education and training, which has statistically been well represented in the Czech Republic, has steadily increased as well, a trend which has taken place throughout Europe. *Formal* education can refer to classroom based learning with trained/certified teachers or instructors as well as organized, employment-based training whereas *Informal* education can refer to learning taking place outside of the classroom, i.e., after-school programs, community organized events, etc. Tables 7 and 8 show the relevant data below.

**Table 7 Participation Rate during the Last 12 Months in Formal Education and Training by Age**

	25–34			35–44			45–54			55–64		
	2007	2011	2016	2007	2011	2016	2007	2011	2016	2007	2011	2016
Czech Republic	44.1	44.2	51.9	45.2	42.9	51.1	40.7	39.3	49.3	21.7	20.4	29.1
EU	44.6	48.5	53.7	39.0	44.0	49.1	34.0	40.9	45.2	21.1	26.6	32.9
	<b>Total Age (25–64)</b>											
	<b>2007</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2016</b>									
Czech Republic	<b>37.6</b>	<b>37.1</b>	<b>46.1</b>									
EU	<b>35.2</b>	<b>40.3</b>	<b>45.2</b>									

Table 7 Source: Eurostat, 07/03/2019

When looked at in total, the statistics in Table 7 seem to contradict the Czech Ministry's 2007 report on the dire state of adult participation in education and training. Quoting Eurostat Labour Force data from 2003–2005 (and currently unavailable online)<sup>[6]</sup>, the Ministry writes:

The Czech Republic is in last position in the group of European countries, with 1.4% of the adult population participating in formal education at schools. The older and middle age group above

38| 45 years of age practically does not participate in this type of education in the CR. (Ministry of Education, 46)

However, just two years after this data was obtained, Eurostat data on Education and Training showed Czech adult participation as being above the EU norm. The current Eurostat data shows a Europe wide trend of increasing adult participation in formal education and training which has been felt in the Czech Republic as well. Current levels show nearly half of the total adult population having had some kind of formal educational training within the past 12 month period. This is especially true for the middle age group of 45–54 years old, where 49.3 percent of people have participated. While significantly lower for the 55-65 age group, a participation level of 29.1 percent is still 8 percentage points higher than in 2007 and nearly on par with the EU average of 32.9 percent.

The data for adult participation in informal learning tells a similar story. Table 8 collects the data comparing the Czech and EU participation levels for 2007 and 2016.

**Table 8 Participation Rate during the Last 12 Months in Informal Learning by Age**

	25-34		35-44		45-54		55-64		Total (25-64)	
	2007	2016	2007	2016	2007	2016	2007	2016	2007	2016
Czech Republic	59.4	76.6	57.5	71.5	54.2	69.8	47.7	61.7	54.7	70.2
EU	48.7	64.2	46.6	62.7	42.5	59.5	35.7	55.9	43.7	60.5

Table 8 Source: Eurostat, 07/03/2019

As Table 8 shows, the overall trend in Europe is for higher levels of participation across the board. The Czech Republic is no exception, with a current participation level of 70.2 percent of adults in informal learning over the past 12 months, a more than 15 percent jump from 2007 and nearly 10 percentage points higher than the EU norm. However, the Czech Ministry of Education’s report again showed a significantly lower number than the Eurostat Education and Training statistics show. Based on data from the same 2003–2005 Labour Force Survey mentioned above, the Ministry states that “approximately 13% of the population of the CR participates in non-formal learning” (Ministry of Education, 47). As the current chart shows, the Ministry’s report, while alarming, may have been slightly off the mark when concerning levels of adult participation as it only considered the 4 week period prior to the survey, whereas when considering the previous 12 month period, the results look far more promising.

However, when one looks for more recent rates of participation, i.e., within the past 4 weeks, the numbers do start to more resemble those from the Ministry’s report. Table 9 shows the data below for participation in both formal and informal education and training over the four weeks prior to the survey.

**Table 9 Lifelong Learning – Participation in Education and Training during the Last 4 Weeks**

Age	2010				2015			
	25–54		55–74		25–54		55–74	
Gender	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Czech Republic	9.0	9.9	2.2	2.1	9.6	10.2	2.9	2.9
EU	9.7	11.7	2.9	4.3	11.2	13.3	3.9	5.6

Table 9 Source: Eurostat, 09/11/2016

As Table 9 shows, participation levels have held steady since 2010, with almost no differentiation between male and female participation. While nearer to the EU norms than in the Ministry's report, Czech participation levels, primarily among those over age 55, remain low. Many factors could contribute to this, foremost among them being the possibility that more adult learners participate in education and training that are more irregular in frequency. The possibility also exists for irregular attendance of more traditionally scheduled courses. However, a 2012 European Commission report noted how, "[f]or the majority of Europeans, Lifelong Learning (LLL) is not a reality" (European Commission 2012, 13), remarking that there was an EU-wide danger of not meeting the ET 2020 benchmark of 15 percent by 2020.

### **University of the Third Age (U3A)**

One group that is often overlooked when considering adult education is seniors. As Table 9 above shows, participation levels throughout the Czech Republic (and Europe as a whole) are relatively low for those over age 55. However, there are a significant segment of LLL courses which are geared directly towards this population. Referred to as the University of the Third Age (U3A), these courses are geared primarily towards those who are 55+. Such courses have become so popular that they are "now considered to be a traditional activity of HEIs and there is great interest on the part of seniors" to attend them (Ministry of Education, 44). While expected to follow the same educational standards as all other LLL programs along with those of the institution where they take place (HEI, Formal or Informal education centers, etc.), the Ministry remarks how "education of seniors that is more of a recreational [...] character, without any effect on further application, tends to predominate" (Ministry of Labor, 45). This is likely due to the fact that most seniors are no longer active members of the labor force and may be seeking out such courses as per their personal interests, as opposed to economic or employment purposes.

With that in mind, it is imperative to realize that the Czech Republic, along with the rest of Europe, has a rapidly aging population whose inhabitants will most likely find themselves as active members of the workforce for longer than previous generations had. Table 10 shows the demographic data as it applies to the Czech Republic and the EU.

**Table 10 Proportion of the Population by Age Groups, 2017**

	0-14	15-24	25-49	50-64	65-79	65+	80+
Czech Republic	15.6	9.6	36.8	19.3	14.8	18.8	4.0
EU	15.6	10.9	33.8	20.2	14.0	19.4	5.5

*Table 10 Source: Eurostat, 12/02/2019*

As Table 10 shows, the age demographics of the Czech population are similar to those of the EU as a whole, with a larger percentage of working age adults, primarily in the 25-64 age category, as well as 65+ than both youth age groups (0-14 and 15-24, respectively). Such demographics combined with longer life expectancies, which has generally been a global trend in recent years, will inevitably lead to a longer working period and, ultimately, delayed retirement for a large segment of the current working population.

#### 40| LLL Implementation and Relevant Data

There have been concerns that those who do not stay up to date with the latest global market requirements, primarily concerning language, flexibility and rapid adaptability, will be left behind from the global marketplace and possibly forced out of the labor force before reaching retirement age. Initiatives such as *The Strategic Framework for European Cooperation in Education and Training* (“ET 2020”) and programs encompassing LLL have gone a long way towards both educating the public of the possible dangers that exist while also seeking to create a more inclusive society where all citizens have the necessary tools to participate in and benefit from the global marketplace. However, some problems still persist concerning implementation of LLL.

In an attempt to ascertain the ubiquity and participation level of LLL in a real environment, I researched the available statistics published on the Czech Ministry’s website as well as those made available by the Czech Technical University (CVUT), a state public university, in Prague. In brief, in 2016 there were a total of 33,237 total participants, with 27,854 of them being U3A participants. Unfortunately, not much else in terms of statistics was available concerning national participation rates.<sup>[7]</sup> It is interesting to note that the vast majority of participants were U3A, especially as prior Ministry data emphasized the drastically low participation levels of the 55+ age group.

Data for CVUT had a 2017 enrollment of 4,400 total participants, 1,526 of which were U3A participants taught via 370 courses. Table 11 shows the differentiated data.

**Table 11 LLL Enrollment and Courses Offered, CVUT in Prague, 2017**

Study Program	Course Oriented Towards Employment		Courses Oriented Towards Personal Interest		University of the Third Age (U3A)		Total:	
	# of Courses Offered	# of Enrollment	# of Courses Offered	# of Enrollment	# of Courses Offered	# of Enrollment	# of Courses Offered	# of Enrollment
Natural Sciences	28	681	3	96	10	151	41	928
Technical Sciences	111	238	9	218	63	770	183	1,226
Social Sciences	55	492	43	789	16	325	114	1,606
Pedagogy and Teaching and Social Care	9	139	0	0	0	0	9	139
Psychology	4	41	0	10	2	30	6	81
Culture and Art	1	86	6	84	10	250	17	420
<b>Total:</b>	<b>208</b>	<b>1,677</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>1,197</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>1,526</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>4,400</b>

*Table 11 Source: CVUT, 2018*

As Table 11 shows, both the majority of courses offered and the majority of participants took part in employment oriented courses. Courses geared towards personal interests were the least popular, although not by a terribly small margin. Overall, U3A participation was high, following the trend of high senior participation found in the national numbers published by the Ministry. Both data sets fail to differentiate by age nor do they give any data on foreign language courses offered. Indeed, the available statistics appear lacking in relevant details concerning age demographics, language skills, or rate of successful completion. One can argue that without such details publically available, it will remain difficult to gauge the extent of success the Czech Republic is having towards the goal of further adult education within the framework of both ET 2020 and the single European market.



## Conclusion

There have been no updates since 2007 in the Czech Republic's Strategy of Lifelong Learning. Instead, the Czech Republic has shifted its goals towards the ET 2020 benchmarks. As such, some notable benchmarks the European Commission lists are:

At least 40% of people aged 30–34 should have completed some form of higher education; At least 15% of adults should participate in [education and training] learning; At least 20% of higher education graduates and 6% of 18–34 year-olds with an initial vocational qualification should have spent some time studying or training abroad; (European Union, 2009)

At the current time, such benchmarks are readily within reach for a much larger segment of the Czech population than at any other time in its history, a testament to the benefits of adopting the initial EU benchmarks and incorporating them into LLL strategies in the first place. As the 21<sup>st</sup> century progresses, the perception of the Czech population regarding foreign language knowledge and readiness for active participation inside of the European and global marketplace is rapidly changing. Updated data and Europe-wide statistics show that its population has significantly closed many of the knowledge gaps that had previously existed and which risked keeping a large segment of the population without the educational means for European inclusion. Yet, in the coming decades, the Czech Republic and its citizens find themselves well on the way towards establishing firm roots within the European community and global marketplace, with the wider goal of inclusion and adaptability for all becoming closer to reality.

## Notes

- [1] Ethnologue: <https://www.ethnologue.com/country/CZ/languages>
- [2] According to the 2012 language survey, the five most widely spoken foreign languages in the EU are English, French, German, Spanish, and Russian.
- [3] As of this writing, the 2012 Eurobarometer data is the most recent language data available from the European Commission.
- [4] All information concerning Floral Figuration taken from Laszlow, 2016. (See works cited).
- [5] <https://www.czso.cz/documents/10180/61508184/370002180707.pdf/dc37ba7b-ed90-476c-950e-b2088b8ce40f?version=1.1>
- [6] Source: LFS – Ad hoc module 2003, EUROSTAT 2005.
- [7] It is highly possible that the reason for this may be due to research error, foremost among them the fact that all recent LLL data is published only in the Czech language. However, despite the best efforts of several Czech native speakers aiding me, this was the only relevant data able to be found.

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#### **Table 1 – Number of Foreign Languages Spoken**

Special Eurobarometer 243, 2006 [http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/ebs/ebs\\_243\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/ebs/ebs_243_en.pdf). Accessed 8 May 2019.

Special Eurobarometer 386, 2012 [http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/ebs/ebs\\_386\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/ebs/ebs_386_en.pdf). Accessed 8 May 2019.

#### **Table 2 – Floral Figuration Model**

[https://www.researchgate.net/figure/The-floral-figuration-for-linguistic-actors-in-the-European-Union\\_fig1\\_319872324](https://www.researchgate.net/figure/The-floral-figuration-for-linguistic-actors-in-the-European-Union_fig1_319872324). Accessed 8 May 2019.

#### **Table 3 – Foreign Languages Studied by Education Level – 2016**

Eurostat, 11/01/2019 <https://www.czso.cz/documents/10180/61508184/370002180704.pdf/a8013d04-23e4-457b-806a-c2e49021b503?version=1.1>. Accessed 8 May 2019

#### **Table 4 – Number of Foreign Languages Spoken by Age Group**

JRC Science and Policy Report: Languages and Employability, 2015 <https://crell.jrc.ec.europa.eu/sites/default/files/files/JRC97544.pdf>. Accessed 8 May 2019.

**Table 5 – Students of Tertiary Education (in percentage) 2016**

Eurostat, 28/01/2019 <https://www.czso.cz/documents/10180/61508184/370002180708.pdf/8841a67a-1c3c-4fc6-935c-b3416ecc6bb9?version=1.1>. Accessed 8 May 2019.

**Table 6 – Population by Educational Attainment Level (in percentage)**

Eurostat, 12/02/2019 <https://www.czso.cz/documents/10180/61508184/370002180208.pdf/3a368ee9-d8e9-4a65-8993-3554a32d9a7a?version=1.1>. Accessed 8 May 2019.

**Table 7 – Participation Rate during the Last 12 Months in Formal Education and Training by Age**

Eurostat, 07/03/2019 <http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/submitViewTableAction.do>. Accessed 8 May 2019.

**Table 8 – Participation Rate during the Last 12 Months in Informal Learning by Age**

Eurostat, 07/03/2019 [http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=trng\\_aes\\_201&lang=en](http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=trng_aes_201&lang=en). Accessed 8 May 2019.

**Table 9 – Lifelong Learning – Participation in Education and Training during the Last 4 Weeks**

Eurostat, 09/11/2016 <https://www.czso.cz/documents/10180/46173143/370002170709.pdf/a84bab5d-e589-41a3-b343-7e5c023ad2e7?version=1.1>. Accessed 8 May 2019.

**Table 10 – Proportion of the Population by Age Groups, 2017**

Eurostat, 12/02/2019 <https://www.czso.cz/documents/10180/61508184/370002180205.pdf/af4671ed-3a22-48c4-b0f4-17b1d3b68201?version=1.1>. Accessed 8 May 2019.

**Table 11 – LLL Enrollment and Courses Offered, CVUT in Prague, 2017**

Výroční zpráva o činnosti ČVUT v Praze za rok 2017, Czech Technical University in Prague, 2018  
<https://www.cvut.cz/sites/default/files/content/122dcbcf-3b4a-4188-913e-5a0dd25f3d6e/cs/20180911-vyrocnizprava-o-cinnosti-cvut-2017.pdf>. Accessed 8 May 2019.

### Unique Syntactic Behaviour in the NICE position and elsewhere

Abstract: Current syntactic theory has two ways to distinguish "lexical/ open class" categories from "functional/ closed class" categories: either the former are N, V, A and P and the latter everything else or only the former carry "purely semantic features" unused in syntax. In the second view, categories like Determiner and Modal lack purely semantic features. It follows that any two members of closed class categories differ by a syntactic feature used in grammar; that is, they should not exhibit identical syntax, but rather what Emonds (2000: Ch. 4) calls "Unique Syntactic Behaviour." If USB holds, the 12 English modals should differ among themselves in 66 ways:  $11+10 \dots +2+1$ . The essay shows that they do. E.g., only *will*, *would*, *can* and *could* appear in 'polite tags' with imperatives, which already furnishes  $8 \times 4$  differences, e.g. *Come in, would/ \*should you?* Then, only *will* and *would* contract to a final consonant, and only *would* and *could* accept past time adverbs, yielding 6 more distinctions. The essay illustrates other unique behaviours, arriving at a total 66. If USB holds empirically for Determiner and Modal, this prediction argues for a feature-based division between functional and lexical categories. As a result, some N, V, A and P may be functional rather than lexical, with items like *have*, *get*, etc. lacking purely semantic features.

#### Syntactic vs. Purely Semantic Features

Every model of grammar should directly or indirectly distinguish between grammatical vs. lexical morphemes, or alternatively between lexical content vs. non-lexical "functional" words. Many discuss a process of "grammaticalization," by which certain words diachronically "lose" some of their lexical content, and become "semantically bleached" function words. So, how can we *define this distinction* in a formal and testable way?

(1) Definition. A **Syntactic Feature** [ or Category, JE] is one that appears in the syntactic rules for a language (Chomsky 1965: 88, 143, 150-151).

(2) Definition. A **Syntactic Rule** is a formal statement that contributes to characterizing the well-formed left-right orderings of morphemes in sequences of the language.

In the passages cited, Chomsky's idea is that current researchers may now yet dispose of exact formulations of these syntactic rules, but that they nonetheless roughly understand what such rules need to express. For example, here are some features that seem indisputably syntactic.

- (3) a. +Human, used in specifying the distributions of *who* vs. *what*, *he* vs. *it*, etc.  
 b. +Stative for Verbs, used to exclude progressives and imperative forms:  
*\*Don't need/ own a house; \*They were needing/ owning a new bicycle.*  
 c. +Potential, found with Modal, A, and V: *can*, *able*, French *pouvoir* 'be able'.  
 d. +Neg, needed to formulate Negative Concord, use of Negative Polarity items, and Tag Questions: *Sue didn't laugh, did(\*n't) she?*

One category for which we have a lot of evidence that it is syntactic is Tense T. The English clause is syntactically structured as NP–T–VP, anchored in the category T. In particular, overt lexical items in the T position all share the six ‘NICE Properties’. These items include Modals and certain (not all) finite verbal forms. See Denison (1993) for more on four of the NICE properties in (4): sentence negation, inversion in questions, codas, and VP ellipsis. Two others are full contraction of items to their final consonant, and being immediately followed by emphatic affirmative particles.

- (4) a. T is immediately followed by the *clausal* negation *not/n't*.  
 b. T undergoes *Inversion* in main clause Questions.  
 c. Ts are copied in Denison’s “codas”: tag questions, short answers, questions of surprise: *shouldn’t he? He should. Should he?*  
 d. Items in T appear before *VP Ellipsis* sites and before traces of fronted VPs. *John’s travelling a lot, but Mary can’t [<sub>VP</sub> Ø].*  
*Mary’s visited our son again, even though I already had [<sub>VP</sub> Ø] twice.*  
*Mary said I should visit our son, so visit him I did [<sub>VP</sub> Ø].*

- (5) Some items in T *fully contract* to a final consonant. No items in VP ever do this:  
*They’ve finished* and *We’ve got three cars.*  
 \**We’ve a lot of fun together* and \**They’ve three cars.*

- (6) Items in T appear with *emphatic affirmatives*: *Bill does/will/has so/too read novels.*

Using these terms, we can also define “purely semantic features” and “purely phonological features” of a language as those linguistic features *that are not syntactic* in the sense of (1)–(6). When linguistic rules involve only these latter types of features, then they are phonological or semantic, not rules of syntax. Here are two examples of semantic rules.

- (7) a. The object of *drink* must be liquid. *She should drink her aspirin* implies the aspirin is soluble.  
 b. Interpretations of lexical verbs. For example, a *harmed* or *damaged* object can still be used for its purpose, while a *wrecked*, *ruined*, or *destroyed* one cannot be.

It is indisputable that a feature like +Potential in (3c) is used in semantics. But it is not “purely semantic”, because it is the only *marked feature* of modals (assuming the contractable forms *will/would* lack marked features) that appears in tags after imperatives (*Come in, could you?*) and in polite questions with *please*; see (11a) below. Such co-occurrences are part of a language’s word order repertory, and thus features that determine them are syntactic.

### Unique Syntactic Behaviour in Syntactic Functional Categories

It is widely understood that among syntactic categories, there are only four (some might say five) with hundreds or thousands of members: nouns N, verbs V, and adjectives A with thousands, and prepositions P and/or adverbs ADV, with well over a hundred. Adults can coin new members of at least the first three, and a language’s ability to have big vocabularies expressing wide semantic and cultural specificity lies with these classes. They are called open class or lexical categories. At the same time, it is also understood that there are a good number of other non-lexical syntactic categories, which are called functional or closed class categories, and that the number of items in each such category is quite small.

46] The difference between syntactic and purely semantic categories provides a way to formally distinguish the two types of categories. We can suppose that there are many, many purely semantic features (not used in grammar), enough to differentiate what is now often estimated to be well over 20,000 open class lexical items, but relatively few syntactic features as defined in (1). Moreover, we can start to understand why the closed class functional categories have so few members.

(8) **Closed Class Hypothesis.** Only members of the lexical head categories N, V, A, P can (*not* must) have purely Semantic Features (Emonds 2000: Ch. 3).

It then follows from definitions (1) and (2) that any two distinct members of closed class categories differ by at least one syntactic feature *used in grammar*; because of this, no two closed class items should have identical syntax. Thus, among syntactic categories, *the four lexical categories are special* because they allow large memberships distinguished only by purely semantic features.

(9) Theorem of **Unique Syntactic Behaviour** ("USB"). By Hypothesis (8), *any two members* in functional categories such as T have *Unique Syntactic Behaviour*.

To the extent that the USB prediction is empirically borne out, it confirms the Closed Class Hypothesis (8) and the explanatory potential of the definition (1) of Syntactic Feature. We will now see whether USB is a property of the functional category T.

(10) **English Modals in T:** *will, would, can, could, may, might, shall, should, must, ought, dare, need.*

If USB holds of Modals, the 12 English modals should differ syntactically among themselves in 66 ways:  $11+10 + \dots + 2+1$ . In fact, as proved by the following points taken together, English modals all do exhibit USB.

(11) **Unique Syntax of individual English Modals:**

a. Only *will, would, can* and *could* appear in polite tags with imperatives containing *please*. e.g. *Come in, can/would/\*should/\*must you please?*<sup>x1</sup> This contrast alone furnishes 8 x 4 differences among the modals.

b. Of these, only *will* and *would* contract to a final consonant, with no schwa: *She'll go soon; she'd do that.*

c. Only *would* and *could* can accept past time adverbs. These three tests taken together show that these four modals thus have USB.

d. *May*. Of the modals, only Optative *may* (in wishes) can move over the subject to the initial C position in non-questions: *May/\*Must/\*Can your family prosper.*

A possible analysis: a syntactic feature Optative is interpretable only if spelled out in the C position.

e. *Should*. This is the only modal that can replace the conditional morpheme *if*. *Should/Had/\*Might/\*Will/\*Dare he hurt me, he might lose his job.*

A possible analysis: *should* has an optional lexical feature WH, the same feature as *if*, that moves to the clause-initial C position for interpretation.

f. *Ought*. Only *ought* among the Modals in T can be followed by *to*.

g. *Shall*. In my speech, *shall* is archaic *except* in inverted requests for assent or advice:<sup>[2]</sup>

*\*A neighbour shall come with us. \*The train shall leave soon.*

Various dialects may lack this restriction, so that two modals (perhaps *shall* and *must*) have identical syntax. Theorem (9) does not absolutely require USB of every pair of grammatical morphemes; it rather predicts that such identical behavior is rare, and likely to be replaced by some difference, such as the rule for *shall* in note [2].

h. *Dare* and *Need*. Among the Modals, only these two are Negative Polarity Items, and only these have syntactic doubles as regular Verbs.

i. Only *dare* does not accept *n't*. It also contrasts with *need* as follows:

*Jana wouldn't dare/ \*need call the police* (Veselovská 2011).

j. *Might*. Among modals, only *might* disallows a *positive tag question*. See data in (12).

(12) *\*Mary might not travel far, might she?*

*\*The weather there might not be so bad, might it?*

*He need not see a doctor, need he?*

*She must not travel far, must she?*

*None of her children may do that, may they?*

In the case of English modals, the predictions of the USB Theorem (9) are complete and exact. These predictions support *a feature-based division between functional and lexical categories*. That is, the functional categories in syntax are exactly those without purely semantic features.<sup>[3]</sup>

There is one further property of functional categories that we can investigate, namely their cardinality. Besides Modals, precisely 12 other English words are generated in this functional category position. They are the six finite copulas, *is, are, am, was, were* and *ain't*, and the irregular auxiliary verb forms, *have, has, had* and *do, does, did*. All and only these forms conform to the NICE diagnostics in (4)–(6), and so must be located under T.

(13) **Membership in the category T: total 25.** 12 Modals, 6 finite copulas, three forms each of *do* and *have*, and the null modal of “present subjunctives” (Roberts 1993), as in (14):<sup>[4]</sup>

(14) *It is important that we all [<sub>i</sub> Ø ]be on time.*

*We demand of you that he [<sub>i</sub> Ø ] not be late.*

Of these 25 items, all and only the Modals share Palmer's (2001) feature –Realis. The 12 others share +Realis: *am, are, is, was, were, ain't*, and *have* and *do* each with 2 *finite* inflections. Each form of the copula has different agreement features, and the finite auxiliaries *do, have*, and *are* each has distinct syntactic contexts specifying what forms can follow them.

### Functional Category behaviour of English Grammatical Verbs

Nothing said so far requires that every item in a lexical category must have purely Semantic Features. Given the formulation of the Closed Class Hypothesis (8), some N, V, A and P can lack such features and hence *may be functional* rather than lexical. A significant sub-class of verbs like *have, do, get*, etc. apparently lack purely semantic features. The main evidence for this conclusion is that this subset

48| exhibits Unique Syntactic Behaviour (9). These verbs I call “grammatical verbs” in contrast to lexical members of N, V, A and P.

(15) **The class of English Grammatical Verbs: total 22–26**

- a. Free morphemes with the feature +Stative: *be, have, see, hear, want, need*
- b. Free and -Stative: *do, get, go, come, bring, take, say, dare, help, let, make, watch*
- c. Possibly subject-raising verbs (Čakanyova 2018): *seem, turn out, appear, happen*
- d. Bound morphemes of the category V: *-ize, -en, -ify, -∅*

Here are syntactic behaviours that taken together make each of the verbs in (15a-b) unique.

- (16) a. The V *be* has only non- finite forms; after finite Realis forms it alternates with a null allomorph in V. *John [<sub>T</sub>may ] [<sub>V</sub>be ] outside; John [<sub>T</sub>is ] [<sub>V</sub>∅ ] outside.*
- b. *Do* is the only V in T that can precede an infinitival VP.  
Modals in T are not V. The ‘have of obligation’ is always in V, not in T, and the finite copulas in T, as in infinitives of obligation (*They are to leave now*) are not Vs.
- c. The Vs *get* and *be* are the only *intransitive* passive auxiliaries.
- d. The Vs *come/go* are the only V taking bare infinitives that can’t inflect as finite: *My friends go/ come visit the prisoners. \*He goes/ came visit the prisoners.*
- e. Only *come* and *bring* have deictic properties that interact with direct objects.
- f. As a result of these deictic properties, *go* and *take* are respectively in complementary distribution with *come* and *bring*.
- g. The objects of the V *say* and *do* cannot be lexical nouns, and these verbs cannot take double objects without P: *\*Ann said a funny story; \*David did a big crime; \*Ann said him something surprising; \*David didn’t do me anything else.<sup>[5]</sup>*
- h. The only Vs that also appear in T (as non-agreeing Modals) are *need* and *dare*.
- i. *Let* is unique in appearing with an object case pronoun as a subject.
- j. The transitive V that take *verbal passive complements* are *have, get, need, want, see, hear*; see Emonds 2013 for their definition and a full analysis.
- k. The Vs *have, let, make, see, hear, watch, go, come, dare, help* are the only lexical heads in English that take bare VP complements. The latter don’t appear with *get, say, bring, take*, or Raising verbs.

These 11 properties in (16), taken together, suffice to show that there are *no two English grammatical verbs* that behave exactly the same for all syntactic properties. This is a predicted result if we hypothesize that the English verbs in (15a-b) are exactly those that lack purely Semantic Features. Their semantics allows us to formulate another theorem.

(17) Theorem of **General Meanings of Grammatical Verbs**. Their *only meaning*, outside of idioms, should be the general concepts associated with their Syntactic Features.

**How many morphemes are there in functional category positions?**

Neither the Closed Class Hypothesis (8) nor the USB Theorem (9) determines *how many items* are in typical closed classes such as T, Determiner, or grammatical Verbs. But investigation of these classes



seems to indicate the cardinality of positionally defined functional categories hovers around 25. A good example is the class of traditionally termed “grading adverbs” which modify adjectives, adverbs formed from them using *-ly* (*slowly, cleverly, strangely*), and a few other traditionally named adverbs (*soon, well, often, early, fast, etc.*). In formal theories of syntactic categories, they are often called Specifiers of A, and their possible appearance is actually the defining characteristic of what counts as an A.<sup>[6]</sup>

**(18) English grading adverbs, i.e. SPEC(A): total 23–24**

- a. Free: *very, so, too, enough, more, most, less, least, rather, quite, somewhat, this, that, how, otherwise, real, pretty, damn, darn, awful, mighty, ?hella* (slang).
- b. Bound: *-er, -est*

At this stage of trying to determine the expected number of items in functional categories, we need not be overly concerned with exact figures. In general, it seems that predictable phonological alternations, e.g. the phonetic allomorphs *-z/-s/-əz* of the regular English plural, should not be counted separately, nor should any of their irregular variants. But if no regular phonological variants in a given syntactic position are involved, then I do count separately variants that others might analyse as allomorphs. Thus, the comparatives *most* and *-er* count as two in (18), and pronoun pairs such as *we/us* also count as two, because English has no regular accusative affix in either D or N positions. On the other hand, irregular possessive pronouns such as *our* and *my* are *not* counted as separate D, because English does have a phonetically regular possessive, seen on Nouns and the Ds *whose* and *its*.

At this point in this essay, I will not further attempt to demonstrate USB in detail. In fact, some of the SPEC(A), e.g. *very, real, pretty, damn, darn, awful* and *mighty*, may share the same syntax (L. Veselovská, pers. comm.). However, I still claim that if so, these items do not differ in purely semantic features either, i.e. they are stylistic free variants and otherwise entirely synonymous. But outside of such variants, it is evident that each grading adverb in (18) has its own syntax.

Two further widely recognized functional categories are two that modify nouns, D (DET) and Q (NUM).<sup>[7]</sup> Again, the cardinality of their memberships is close to 25. (I don't list separately the compound pronouns such as *somewhere, anyone, or nothing*, and as just explained, possessive pronouns are taken to be irregular variants of the regular possessive suffix *-s*.)

**(19) English Determiners, including pronoun case pairs: total 28**

*the, this, that, these, those, every, all, both, each, any, no(ne), some, who(m), which, what, I, me, we, us, you, he, him, she, her, they, them.*

**(20) Cardinal numerals NUM and similar Quantifiers: total 26**

- a. Free: *zero, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, dozen, hundred, thousand*.<sup>[8]</sup>
- b. The quantifiers *many, few, several, much* and *little* have the syntax of numerals and not of D (Jackendoff 1977: Ch. 5).
- c. Bound: *thir-, twen-, -teen, -ty, -score*
- d. Grammatically, *thousand, million, billion, trillion, ..., zillion* are nouns in free variation, and not members of NUM.

Based on these membership lists, we can make a conjecture on the number of items expected to be found in the functional categories Empirical investigations of English, such as those summarized

50| above, suggests that *Syntactic Features can differentiate about 25-30 members* in all the principal Grammatical Category positions.

### **Implications of USB for language-particular Grammars**

The Closed Class Hypothesis (8) and the conjecture that functional categories have memberships of about 25 suggest further testable hypothesis in this area. As with T, V, D and NUM, Syntactic Features can provide distinct specification for up to 25–30 members of the categories N, A and P that *lack purely Semantic Features* and *thus exhibit Unique Syntactic Behaviour*. In addition to V, this essay will look briefly only at the category N to see how well this prediction is borne out.

#### **(21) English Grammatical Nouns: total 26–32**

Free morphemes, about 20:

- a. *one*, as in *three big ones*
- b. *other(s)*
- c. *self/ selves* As reflexive pronouns, they have unique syntax, and *self* is also a noun.
- d. *stuff*, mass noun counterpart of the countable noun *one(s)* (Emonds 2012)
- e. *body, thing, place, time* These are incorporated into compound pronouns, *somebody, anytime*, etc.
- f. *place, time, way, reason*. Their unique behaviour is that they can be modified by relative clauses deleting introductory P: *The way Bill lives is strange..*
- g. The nouns *bunch, couple, and ton* Used as Quantifiers in Q rather than N position. To these might possible be added *dozen, hundred, and thousand*.
- h. The nouns *fact* and *people* also exhibit USB.

Bound morphemes, about 10–12 (Selkirk 1978): *-er, -ist, -ism, -ness, -ity, -(t)y -ing, -ment, -ation, -age, -th, Ø* Some of these may be allomorphs of a single morpheme that serves for making N from V.

A pattern that needs theorization emerges from the research summarized in this essay. Somewhat surprisingly, the core of a language's grammatical combinatorial system is made up of elements with *no purely Semantic Features*. These latter features are limited to only the four lexical categories N, V, A, P, and never appear in the Functional Categories.

There are some functional categories we have not studied, or not studied in detail: (i) P and its Specifiers/ Modifiers, (ii) the category A itself, (iii) detailed particularities of the functional categories D and NUM (Q) that modify Ns, and (iv) some classes of focus, conjunctive, and adverbial particles, as exemplified for example in note vi. But even at this preliminary stage, we can perhaps not inaccurately estimate the number of grammatical morphemes one may tend to find in a single language. For English we have found numbers for the categories Tense and Modals (T) in (4), the grammatical Verbs in (16), the Specifiers of Adjectives in (18), the Numerals in (20), and the grammatical Nouns (21).

All these basic, presumably universal syntactic categories appear to have c. 25 members specified in purely syntactic terms. These categories, about 12 in all, include N, A, V, P, T, D, NUM, grading adverbs, time adverbs (*already, still, yet, again, (n)ever*), focus particles (*even, only, too, also, just*), measure phrase categories, and conjunctive particles. So at least in a relatively analytic language like English, the number of grammatical morphemes would seem to be about 12x25:

**(22) The Size of Particular Grammars.** Language-particular "Grammatical Lexicons" (Ouhalla 1991) or "Syntacticons" (Emonds 2000) contain, including some morphemes with multiple allomorphs, *about 300 members in total*.

## Two ways of defining Functional Categories

The syntactic literature has proposed two ways to distinguish “lexical/ open class” categories from “functional/ closed class” categories:

(23) **Types of Categories.** The lexical open class categories are N, V, A and probably P. *The functional closed class categories include all others* (Ouhalla 1991).

(24) **Feature-based alternative:** *Only the four lexical categories can be supplemented with “purely semantic features” unused in syntax* (Emonds 2000: Ch. 3).

As with the functional categories, a few items in each lexical category also lack purely semantic features; *all the features of these items are used in syntax*. According to (24), the essence of functional categories, such as English Determiner and Modal, is their *lack of “purely semantic features.”* In contrast, the rather striking predictions of USB do *not* follow from the more conventional and widely accepted definition (23). So if Functional Categories turn out empirically to have USB, (24) is to be preferred over (23).

## Acknowledgement

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## Notes

- [1] A reviewer suggests that a tag with *shall* may be polite in this sense, but it cannot occur with *please*: *Let’s read it again, shall we (\*please)?* But even if it can in some idiolects, the argument is unaffected, because, as in (11g), *shall* differs from *can* and *will* on other grounds.
- [2] The syntactic (word order) rule uniquely involving the feature(s) of *shall* in some current American English is thus:
- (i) The only LF use of *shall* (“asks for advice”) is in the context \_\_\_DP.  
Un-inverted *shall* is ungrammatical: *\*I asked the teacher if the kids shall come dressed up.*
- [3] A anti-theoretical reaction to the patterns that motivate and confirm Unique Syntactic Behaviour might be: *“Language is so irregular—every English modal behaves differently from every other.”* But we could just as well say, *“chemistry is so irregular—every chemical element with the same valence behaves differently from every other.”* This type of reaction is ludicrous in chemistry, even though still heard in linguistics.
- [4] The homonymous *were*, *did*, *could* and *would* of “past subjunctives” are not counted as separate forms. This construction in present day English has rather to do with using only plural verbs in obligatorily Irrealis contexts: *She wishes he were here.*
- [5] A reviewer offers *say a prayer* and *do your mum a favour*. Such combinations with these objects seem idiomatic, not paradigmatic; E.g. *He expressed/ articulated /shared/ \*said a new thought.* The grammatical verbs *do* and *say* have also unique behaviour in their anaphoric uses in *do so* and *say so*: *\*get so, \*have so, \*come so, \*go so, \*hear so, etc.*
- [6] From this perspective, the category of *soon*, *well* and *often* is A, not “adverb”. The difference between these A and those traditionally termed “adjectives” is not their category, but which sentence functions they can fulfill; an A can be an adverbial, modifying a V or VP, and an attribute, modifying an N or NP. Similarly, an N can have different sentence functions (e.g. subject or object), but in any sentence function they retain the category N.

- 52| [7] A consistent way to define parts of speech, based on the four lexical categories N, V, A and P, is to group the *pre-modifiers* of each of them (in at least head-initial languages), sometimes using sub-groups like D and NUM according to syntactic criteria. Thus, the category T contains the pre-modifiers of V that have the NICE properties, while SPEC(V) contains the other pre-modifiers of V that lack them, e.g. *again, already, always, just, (n)ever, now, sometimes, still, then, yet*.
- [8] The English numerals 2 through 9 appear to have identical syntax, but they nonetheless lack purely semantic features, since the differences among them are due to arithmetic, which presumably has a separate mental status and mode of acquisition.

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## Lexical proficiency in Academic English: Ways of testing, modelling, and enhancing

*Abstract: This contribution discusses findings from two different experiments concerning the lexical proficiency of L2 learners in a series of word recognition tests. Learners with different L1 (with widely divergent phonological inventories) are examined, setting out from observations of student lexical use in academic writing. It is hypothesized that the L2 has a decisive influence on the processing of phonologically implausible non-words. In the experiment, a result is that a stronger predictor for lexical use is actually overall proficiency as evidences by data generated by test subjects at different levels of English. The contribution also argues that technical facilities like tachistoscopic software can help enhance these skills and lend support to improving the academic output of the learners.*

### 1. Introduction

This contribution addresses issues in the study of English for Academic Purposes (EAP), especially the education of practitioners of academic English as learners of a “new” variety of English. The assumption, that academic English is a sociolect, is a common one and statistical evidence is given in numerous publications starting with Biber 1988 (but for this study especially Biber 2009). Taking this stance in all its consequences, we are not far from the old adage that nobody is actually a native speaker of English and we have not to agree with Hardy and Friginal who say that what is to be considered are the “linguistic and rhetorical demands in their students’ other courses”, calling it “a belief long associated with EAP pedagogy” (100).

The off-line but especially the on-line teaching of English for Academic Purposes to students with Languages Other Than English (henceforth: LOTE) is challenged by the lexical proficiency of the prospective authors of academic texts and, unsurprisingly, high-frequency regular words and collocations are used more than low-frequency irregular words and collocations. For a learner it is therefore helpful to test their own theory formation on lexical items from academic English. In an application to learner English, this means that it can be tested by investigating the learner theories on these lexical items and perhaps which morphological and phonological constraints can be isolated. The assumption here is that high competence students would have a more accurate mental model of lexical items of L2 English and that thus testing these mental models would provide a way to profile the students’ overall lexical proficiency.

The options to test this have been exploited in the common research over the years. They include (in a non-exhaustive list)

- a) eye tracking in reading research
- b) word recognition with tachistoscope software and
- c) elicitation tests of lexical plausibility

In this contribution, the latter two possibilities were used in a number of tests on students and learners with different first languages (but not English). The results show differences in performance in the assignment of the status of an English word to the samples presented which could be explained with the different phonological inventories of the first languages of the speakers tested. In the test, words were assigned word status if they were rated to have high lexical plausibility and non-word status if

54| their lexical plausibility was low. While the study of non-words has yielded interesting results in neurolinguistic imaging, the debate on how this is dependent on the parameter of the first language is unknown.

## 2. The dual route to word recognition

While the canonical view on the mental lexicon until the advent of Taft and Forster (Taft & Forster 1975) involved a close approximation of the lexical memory with a common dictionary in which entries were stored according to principles such as semantic relationship, similarity, frequency and – somewhat vaguely defined – familiarity, the approach since the 1975 study changed to a more varied perspective. This is the background of the study presented here, arising from the question whether learners of a second language use the phonemic inventories of their own language for the assessment of words in the second language or if they are ad-hoc lexical acquirers, given that the words they are tested on are unknown.

For learners, it is difficult to assess the reality of an unknown word in a second language because even the known words in the second language pose problems. In the process of acquisition, competence and a certain – undefined – feeling for the second language develops in which words can be ruled out quickly as not belonging to the second language even if they are unknown to them. The problem is exacerbated on higher levels with the requirement to be active producers of academic texts – a text type that is especially prone to lexical complexity and in which unknown words are the norm rather than the exception. In this study, learners with advanced skills in the L2 English were presented a catalogue of non-words with differing degrees of realism to be part of the English lexicon. However, if a clear understanding of lexical recognition could be gained – either one that emphasize the main cognitive load on the recognition of morphemes (see §2.2) or if a detour via the pronunciation of the word is taken in the academic practitioner's mind (the so-called lexico-semantic model, see §2.2), a more linguistically informed teaching of academic writing, for example adapted to the phonological inventory of the first language of the practitioner, would lead to more acceptable academic texts.

### 2.1 The lexico-semantic model

In morphological processing, the lexico-semantic model (or: 'route' to separate it from the phonological route) was the canonical description with Taft and Forster (1975) identifying interference effects in lexical decision tasks, for example with non-words containing embedded morphemes like *displigate*, *cleanmip* etc. On these pairings of real words with non-words, morphological effects can be observed. As will be elaborated on later, recent ERP studies support the classical findings.

The indisputable and obvious aspects of visual word recognition, for example in reading (effortlessness, rapidity, skill-dependence), (see for example Seidenberg 875 for a summary) are supported by the original findings.

Taft and Forster's tests involved non-words containing embedded morphemes. For example, they found that test subjects identified the *re-* in *rejuvenate* and *revive*, thus making *juvenate* and *vive* as stems (Taft and Forster 640). A variety of morphological effects was reported on word/non-word morphology. Another assumption was that the frequency of certain prefixes leads to further stem frequency effects which we can summarize as sub-lexical parsing effects (cf. also Joubert/Lecours 2000).

Crepaldi et al. offer an alternative explanation (for a more detailed treatment see Haase 2014: 99): Complex words are sub-lexically decomposed if the complex word is semantically related to its stem (see Crepaldi et al. 84).

In sum, for the role of semantics it can be assumed that pre-guessing the item is inefficient but the context constrains the computation of comprehension and complex words are parsed if the complex word is semantically related to its root.

## 2.2 Experimental evidence

In the attempted study, the assumption was considered that (electrophysiologically) early morphological analysis is blind to semantic information. This is backed by ERP (for: Event-Related Potential) results on a so-called ELAN (for Early Left Anterior Negativity). In ERP studies, a spike in the electrochemical potential (measured in microvolts) can be associated with a given linguistic "event" so that for example lexical processing can be related to its correlate of neuronal activity. The pioneering correlation was discovered by Kutas & Hillyard 1980: the correlation of a linguistic stimulus and a systematic electrophysiological response.

The approach stemmed from extensive human research showing that certain components recorded from the scalp are sensitive to a person's expectations. In particular, unexpected or surprising stimuli are typically followed after some 300 to 600 msec by a positive ERP component known as the P300. We now report, however, that an occasional semantic deviation of a word in a sentence is followed by a negative brain wave (N400) that is quite distinct from the P300 and associated waves (ibid 203).

Part of the original sample set is given in (1):

- (1) a. I take my coffee with cream and sugar  
b. I take my coffee with cream and dog

The earliest possible ERP responses can be measured below the threshold of 100ms, which may be due to sensitivity to experiment itself (its environment). These exogenous components are rather due to general perceptual principles while all endogenous components reflect functions of cognitive processing. The incongruous (1b.) sentences produced a waveline behavior that became the so-called N400 component of the ERP (Coulson 405).

"In lexical processing, ERP studies have shown that the N400 amplitude is larger for pseudowords than for real words, whereas nonwords do not evoke an N400 response" (Männel 14).

The ELAN is the potential of Early Left Anterior Negativity (Friederici et al. 2004) and seems to be associated with early word categorization at around 150–200 ms, see for example the following example by Neville et al. 1991:

- (2) a. The scientist criticized Max's *of* proof the theorem  
b. The scientist criticized Max's proof *of* the theorem

Thus, the intended effect is supported by the ERP results, especially the ELAN (Friederici et al. 2009), further by priming effects for irregular inflection can be explained via further graphemic features (see Crepaldi et al. 2010) for example in word pairs like *shook* – *shake*. Thus, an effect should be seen for semantically unrelated words that share the subregularity, so the pairs of *book* – *bake* or *look* – *lake* should produce an effect. The results however show that no effect can be found for unrelated words but for example irregular past tense marking as in *slept*, *crept* even facilitate recognition of the item (Kielar et al. 2008). At the end of these considerations and with the L2 learner in mind, the questions arise, what is the exact relationship between morphological processing and phonology? Further, are words recognized by learners on visual basis or by computing a phonological representation?

56| Coltheart (Coltheart 2005) assumes that out of the general-purpose models of this type to model cognitive behavior an application to word recognition can be found. This is related to the learning of regular and irregular forms: regular forms are learned in very parallel ways to how words are recognized (if they are real words and not non-words). In experience, regular forms and real words are abundantly supplied, they are routinely recognized and the recognition is successful due to lack of negative feedback. The properties of these items (they are regular as well as phonologically and morphologically plausible) support efficient access and retrieval. On the other hand, irregular forms, just like non-words, are infrequent and have to be “learned”. The successful recognition or rejection of these forms follow very similar pathways, as Coltheart assumes (ibid.).

### 3. Data discussion

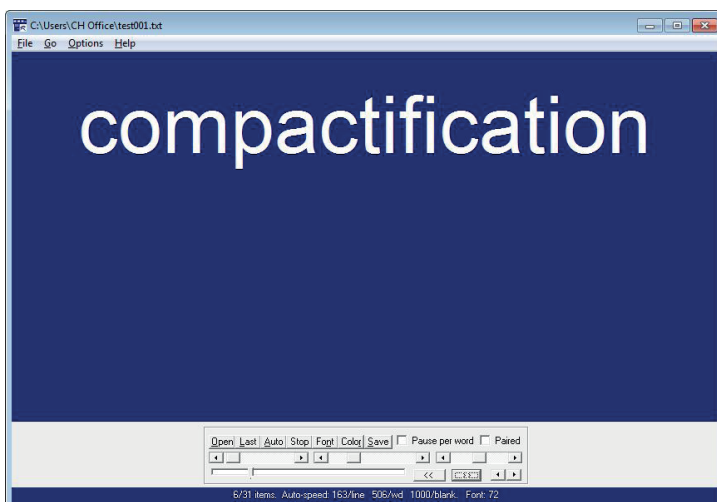
For the data discussed in this study, the activation that is produced by non-words (and evidenced by their gradient values of plausibility assigned by the test subjects) is helpful to understand which predictors – either phonological or morphological or both – support the recognition or rejection of the items. The morphological predictors would supersede the phonological ones due to graphemic similarity but the correct pronunciation (based on their phonological plausibility) would be an interesting addition to the study (White 2015, p.c.). For this study, it was assumed that both processes, the morphological one that provides graphemic similarity and phonological process, which relates the L1 of the test subjects to the phonological competence in the acquired L2, interact in the recognition and rejection of words and non-words, see §3.

The study originated from the rationale mentioned above: the students’ observed differing skills in parsing ‘academic’ words and the somewhat mixed evidence coming from studies of word recognition, including research on non-words and morphological processing.

#### 3.1 Software, stimuli, participant groups

The study has been described in greater detail in Haase 2014 and Haase 2015a, therefore this section only summarizes the essential detail. The test was designed as a reaction time and elicitation study in which a stimulus set of 32 lexical items (words and non-words) was presented to the test subjects.

The figure below demonstrates the functioning of the test: a word is presented (rather: flashed) across the screen for a very short duration. Recognition time is not taken but recall of items is recorded after each test session.



*Fig. 1 Reading Accelerator Machine used for word recognition*



The tachistoscopic software used was the Reading Accelerator Machine RAM 3.5, by Claude Pavur, St. Louis University. It used a stimulus set of a similar size as the one used in the elicitation test (31 to 32 items) with the recognition threshold set to 160 ms. The test was administered and not self-paced, i.e. the entire stimulus set was played at once and in sequence. Latency was set at 200 ms. The stimulus set was created from academic words from the SPACE corpus (see Haase 2015b), in particular from the physics component. SPACE (short for Specialized and Popular Academic Corpus of English) is a parallel corpus that compiles texts from the natural sciences in their 'raw' academic form as well as their popular (i.e. simplified) variants, as found in popular-science journals. The science sections in SPACE concern physics on the one hand and life sciences on the other hand. The tested items were chosen from physics as they all came from one paper from astrophysics. The paper was randomly chosen.

For the elicitation test, the task given was to rate the word plausibility of the lexical items as a part of the English lexicon. The non-words were invented and showed differing degrees of plausibility.

The speakers were collected in five different groups of subjects (subject numbers  $n$  are rounded):

- a) L1 German, low proficiency  $n \sim 60$
- b) L1 German, high proficiency  $n \sim 30$
- c) L1 Czech, low proficiency  $n \sim 120$
- d) L1 Czech, high proficiency  $n \sim 30$
- e) L1 LOTE, high proficiency  $n \sim 20$

Group e) was intended as a control group. This control group provided diverse phonological inventories like Turkish, Japanese, Vietnamese, Polish and Spanish.

The speakers of the main groups (German and Czech) were tested at their respective home universities. They were classified as either high or low proficiency with low proficiency signifying Bachelor level and high signifying Master level. This classification served as a rough estimate as usually the intergroup variability was lower than the in-group variability. This means that within the groups labelled 'low proficiency' could possibly be Bachelor students with higher language skills than the so-called 'high-proficiency' Master students. Overall, however, the BA level was between B2 and C1 and the Master level between C1 and C2, as evidenced by their practical language curricula. The study specialization of the students also slightly differed. The Czech students were in educational tracks with especially the Masters targeting to become English teachers. The German Masters aimed at more all-purpose degrees. The smallest difference therefore would exist between the Bachelor groups: They would be students at comparable English departments, at least concerning the first three years of study. In particular, the Czech data was obtained from English departments at Ústí nad Labem and at Plzeň. The German data was obtained from English departments at Chemnitz and Bielefeld. All LOTE data come from Bielefeld.

The non-word lexical items were generated with the ARC non-word database (<http://www.cogsci.mq.edu.au/cgi-bin/nwsrch.cgi>) with different scalable characteristics kept constant (number of graphemes, number of phonological neighbors, number of morphological neighbors). A select number of items was further modified to comply with the linguistic parameters of lexical and morphological plausibility discussed below.

For a producer of academic texts, the learner therefore can assess the probability of a word to exist, which may enhance their lexical competence.

### 3.2 Results

A major discovery of the study was that the in-group variability of the low-proficiency learners is greater with the high proficiency learners showing more similar elicitation behavior as evidenced by

58| the visually greater similarity of the signature graphs in figure 3. A result of this is that it is more illuminating to compare the data across the groups –the larger inter-group variability (in comparison to the in-group variability within one level of proficiency) leads to the recognition that Czech low and high proficiency learners are more similar to each other than to the levels in the German L1 group (see figures 2 and 3).

The graphs in figures 2 and 3 display the assessment scores for the lexical items across the entire range from 1 to 32 (on the abscissa). The ordinate axis gives the scores from 0,00 to 5,00 with the lower scores – like school grades - given for highly plausible lexical items of English and the higher scores for the implausible ones. A learner would therefore give an implausible (or perhaps only highly unusual) item a 'bad mark' and a 'good mark' for a less problematic one. The individual scores are irrelevant without context but this way of plotting the results enables us to compare the agreements and disagreements about the items in a profile line. The graphs below juxtapose the two languages for low and high proficiency learners. As can be expected, the low proficiency learners judge from a less informed vantage point, their assessment uses more extreme scores (minimum for items 4, 5, 6, 19 and 22 for example and the maximum score for items 10, 12 and 23). A lower number of items exhaust the spectrum on the low (1) as well as the high (5) end for the high-proficiency learners.

The German test subjects deviate more as apparent in the wildly divergent signature graphs in figure 2.

Through these data plots it is possible to obtain an overview of the items and to find out which items create disagreement and could therefore be considered difficult. On the other hand, a number of clearly existing words received poor ratings as they were considered non-words. It is therefore interesting to look at further parameters of the items in the stimulus set. The gradient of plausibility is a blind way to classify the items.

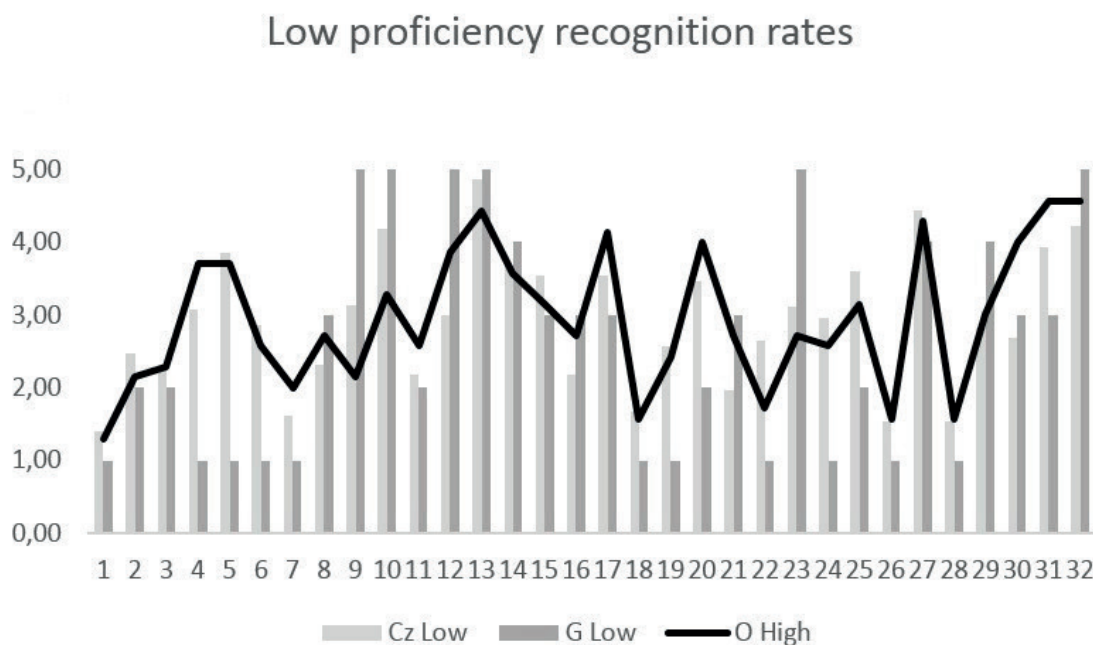
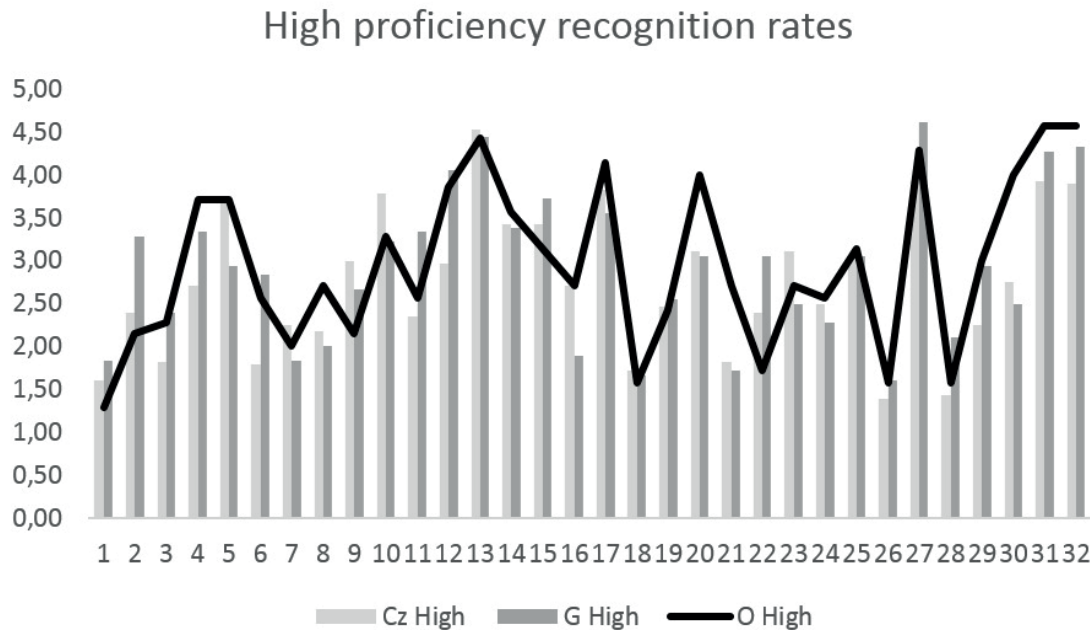


Fig. 2 Low proficiency recognition rates

Even though they could be arranged on a scale of morphological plausibility, further relationships can be established with a number of parameters inherent in the 32 item sample. The sample has four

discernible subgroups that are comprised of eight items each. The overall parameters are the phonological and morphological plausibility, appended by the parameter of actual existence in the lexicon or not. Theoretically, this allows for  $2^3=8$  groups if every parameter has two states (+ or -) but not all combinations are filled with a sample word (some combinations are impossible to create).



*Fig. 3 High proficiency recognition rates*

The results were differing signatures in the elicitation behavior of the groups (see Haase 2014: 102–103). This was to be expected, provided that no two individuals would rate the words equally but the data also offered a different view. In this view, more variables could be investigated and compared in the in separate group behavior. These variables were:

- a) Phonological plausibility
- b) Morphological plausibility
- c) Actual existence of the word
- d) Lexical strata of the morphological processes involved

In detail this means that a word from the stimulus set may differ in variables a – c, which generates 8 theoretical groups if any variable has two states (+ and -): For example, the group +++ for a phonologically and morphologically plausible word that actually exists in English was not present in the stimulus set.

#### **4. Conclusion**

In the light of the results from the tachistoscopic word recognition study as well as the elicitation study, a number of conclusions can be drawn.

The results are supported by a different interpretation of the data according to morphological strata in lexical phonology (Haase 2015). The stratum parameter was achieved by a subdivision of the stimulus set into stratum 1 and stratum 2 words. It is known that the strata differ in productivity (there are more stratum 2 words, the class is open-ended). Stratum 2 morphemes are less intrusive to the

60| phonology of the word. In the 2015 study it was expected that stratum 2 words would achieve lower scores (i.e. more plausible non-words) due to their productivity. In sum, "for the learner judgment, the differences show a very heterogeneous profile. Only the high-proficiency German learners seem to hold together as a group ... the low-proficiency German learners depart from all the other groups" (ibid: 72).

In conclusion, the morphological competence of second language learners can be measured by the test method suggested above. The learners investigated and who become practitioners of academic writing, a skill in which their lexical proficiency depends on a rapid and effortless processing of difficult and morphologically complex words, can be profiled according to their ability of developing this competence. As the data shows, the relationship and influence of the phonological inventories coming from their first languages is of secondary significance to the ability. Overall, language proficiency is a stronger predictor. This can be derived from the more congruent elicitation behavior of the high-proficiency group when compared to the behavior within the groups (that is, when German and Czech are considered separately).

The main hypothesis which proposed the L2 phonological inventory as the strongest predictor for the non-word assignment test and thus as the decisive criterion for the success of these learners as practitioners of academic writing, could not be substantiated. Instead, the overall language proficiency overrules any influence that the L2 may have. Higher-proficiency learners are more resembling to each other, a fact that may be informative for the teaching of academic writing and for the development of lexical competence authors (and publishers) of academic texts rely on. Software tools like the RAM 3.5 can to further help improve academic lexical proficiency.

### Software and data bases

Reading Accelerator Machine RAM 3.5, by Claude Pavur, St. Louis University  
ARC non-word database, <http://www.cogsci.mq.edu.au/cgi-bin/nwsrch.cgi>  
SPACE corpus (Specialized and Popular Academic Corpus of English), Haase 2015b.

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## Word Order in English Superlative Adjective Phrase

Abstract: *The Superlative Adjective usually requires the definite article preceding it. We are interested in the type of material that can be inserted between the definite article and the Superlative Adjective. Constructions like the two tallest boys and the absolutely tallest boy are frequent but strings \*the handsome tallest boy and \*the student oldest in the class are both considered ungrammatical. We searched the English Web 2015(enTenTen15) corpus in Sketch Engine for locality requirements of the article and elements preceding the Superlative Adjective Phrase, excluding the premodifier of the Adjective. We found strings similar to \*the handsome tallest boy and \*the student oldest in the class in that they had either an Adjective or a Noun in between. Our goal is to explain why some of the strings are grammatical and some of them are not.*

### Introduction

According to practical grammars of the English language such as Bieber et al. (2012), Huddleston and Pullum (2002), Penston (2005), Quirk et al. (1985), Thomson and Martinet (1980), adjectives are words that modify nouns. Recent research shows that they constitute a universal separate word class, distinct from nouns and verbs, which can be identified in all languages (Baker 2003), even in those which had been earlier analysed as lacking this major class (Wetzer 1996). Some English members of the class of adjectives are found in the following example (1) where they are marked in bold print:

- (1) a) the **beautiful** story  
 b) the **black** cat  
 c) **electric** power

Generally speaking, adjectives precede the nouns that they modify. However, there are also some adjectives that follow their nouns. Those in examples (2.a) and (2.c) are in addition linked with a particular semantic interpretation, which we are not going to discuss here. The adjective in (2.b) belongs to a group of adjectives which surface in the position after the noun in English, and such cases will be discussed in the section 5.1 of this paper.

- (2) a) the rivers **navigable**  
 b) the children **afraid** of the dark  
 c) the stars **visible** (Alexiadou 2007: 287)

When considering syntactic characteristics of adjectives in general, we can speak of two different functions that they fulfil in a sentence, namely an attributive function and a predicative function. Adjectives which are attributes of their head nouns are part of the noun phrase that they modify and can surface either in prenominal (examples in (1)) or postnominal position (examples in (2)). Adjectives in prenominal position premodify a noun appearing between a determiner and the head of a noun phrase, as shown in (3) below:

- (3) an ugly painting, an interesting book, the long bridge

Adjectives in postnominal position follow the noun or pronoun they modify, as shown in (4):

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- (4) a) *something useful, anyone intelligent, attorney general*
- b) *the best use possible, the greatest insult imaginable*

Apart from the attributive function, adjectives can serve also the so-called predicative function in a clause. This means that they are not part of the noun phrase that they modify but instead they function as subject or object complements in the sentence. Consider the examples in (5) with appropriate instances marked in bold for subject and object complements respectively:

- (5) *The painting is **ugly**. He thought the painting **ugly**.*

Other syntactic characteristics of adjectives are that they can be premodified by adverbs (e.g. *very, especially, really*), as shown in (6), and they take the comparative and superlative forms, as exemplified in (7) below:

- (6) *The children are very happy.*

- (7) a) *Jenny is sweeter than Annie.*
- b) *They are the happiest people I know.*
- c) *The third largest lake in the world is in Africa.*

What we call a Superlative Adjective Phrase, thus SAP, is any Determiner Phrase consisting of a definite article followed by a variety of phrases and by the superlative adjective. Examples of such a construction are given in (8) below where the superlative adjectives are preceded by the numeral *two* in (8.a), and by the adverb *absolutely* in (8.b):

- (8) a) *the two tallest boys*
- b) *the absolutely tallest boy*

However, not all types of phrases can appear before the superlative adjective in SAP. The general native speakers' judgments concerning the correctness of the following examples in (9) below is that they are both ungrammatical.

- (9) a) *\*the handsome tallest boy*
- b) *\*the student oldest in the class*

In (9.a), the superlative adjective is preceded by another adjective in a positive form. In (9.b), the superlative adjective is preceded by a noun which this adjective is modifying. This construction is ruled out as ungrammatical because the adjective *old* does not belong to a group of adjectives that can appear in postposition with respect to their nouns. Examples of such adjectives were given in (2) above.

### **Methodology**

We searched the English Web 2015(enTenTen15) corpus in Sketch Engine for locality requirements of the article and elements preceding the Superlative Adjective Phrase = SAP, excluding the premodifier

64| of the Adjective. Assuming the most common order of phrasal elements within the determiner phrase *Demonstrative Numeral Adjective Noun* (after Svenonius 2011, 24), we expected to find constructions like *the two tallest boys* and *the absolutely tallest boy*. We expected not to find any constructions like *\*the handsome tallest boy* and *\*the student oldest in the class*.

The search for finding elements preceding the SAP and following the definite article was set with the following formula: "the"[][tag="JJS"]. Then we chose the Frequency of KWIC settings and specified it for the Part of Speech Tag. In order to obtain statistically relevant results, each part of speech tag has been checked for 100 relevant examples. The percentages were counted with respect to the total number of examples checked in each category. The findings are presented in tables in the following section.

Whenever there was an overwhelming majority of examples that had the same word or a word that could be classified as belonging to a particular group of words in them, we listed this common group as a subcategory. This was done not to mislead by claiming that a certain category was well attested even if only a limited number of members of this category was actually found in greater numbers.

### Results

In *Table 1* below we present our findings in the category of Possessive NP. We found a 100 tokens of possessive NPs following the determiner *the* and preceding the SAP which constitute 97% of the total number of examples checked. 85 of the relevant examples (82.5%) were nouns denoting large groups of people/large areas such as *world, state, nation, country*. 15 remaining tokens (14.5%) were other possessive NPs, for example *game*. This category did not include any proper nouns.

**Table 1**

Part of speech tag				tokens	%	% out of the total number of tokens
DT NNZ JJS						
100 relevant examples	<i>the</i>		SAP			
103		<b>1. Possessive NP</b>		<b>100</b>	<b>97%</b>	<b>38</b>
		<b>a) world's (state's, nation's, country's...)</b>		85	82.5%	32.3
		<b>b) Others</b>		15	14.5%	5.7

The two examples below represent each of the two groups of nouns discussed above.

T1. 1.a *I currently help to protect one of **the world's largest communications networks**.* (line 8)

T1. 1.b *The Freedom was the WUSA's glamour franchise led by **the game's brightest star**, U.S National Team star Mia Hamm.* (line 51)

In *Table 2* below we checked for Adjective Phrases. But due to the system of tagging of the words in the corpus, 73% of the checked examples were actually ordinal numerals. We also found 13 instances of the adjective *single* following the determiner and preceding the SAP which constitute 12% of the total number of examples checked. Two other adjectives were found, namely *absolute* and *current*,



giving the total number of 7 occurrences. The two adjectives *single* and *absolute* are premodifiers of SAP rather than of the NP following so they should not be considered as premodifiers of SAPs not restricting the locality condition. However, the adjective *current* seems not to fall into this pattern. It needs to be investigated because it is a potential *\*the handsome tallest boy* pattern. Consider examples in T2. 2 and T2. 3 below the table.

**Table 2**

Part of speech tag				Tokens	%	% out of the total number of tokens
DT JJ JJS	<b>the</b>		<b>SAP</b>			
100 relevant examples out of 110		<b>1. ordinal numeral</b>		<b>80</b>	<b>73%</b>	<b>15.6</b>
		<b>2. single</b>		<b>13</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>2.6</b>
		<b>3. absolute, current</b>		<b>7</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>1.3</b>

In T2. 1 a representative example of an ordinal numeral preceding SAP is given.

T2. 1. *DIA is a major airline hub and is **the fifth busiest airport** in the United States.* (line 2)

T2. 2. *"Parcel taxes are **the single stupidest tax** ever."* (line 4)

T2. 3. *...but only if it was set at 150 km/h, 20 km/h more than **the current highest speed limit** found in Europe.* (line 16)

T2. 3' *The kids know the knee-jerker who is making more out of things than they need to, and simply out of a need to feel powerful and control something, you Mr. President have proven by this consistency of your personal emotional hypocrisy being regularly on display for the world to see to be **the absolute best emo**, so long as it meets your political ideas, Constitution, Truth, Honor, be damned, oh great emo master.* (line 15)

In *Table 3*, the examples are divided into two groups, those including *very* and those including other adverbs. Examples with *very* are further subdivided into those whose SAP includes either *best* or *worst*, and those including other superlative adjectives. The *very* group has 82 tokens which is 19% of all the examples checked. Other adverbs are not so frequent – only 8 tokens were found. As with the adjectives from *Table 2*, all adverbs in *Table 3* are premodifiers of SAPs and so they should not be considered.

66| **Table 3**

Part of speech tag				tokens	%	% out of the total number of tokens
DT RB JJS						
100 relevant examples 428	<i>the</i>		SAP			
		<b>1. very</b>		<b>82</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>2.5</b>
		<b>a) very</b>	<b>best/worst...</b>	60	14%	1.9
		<b>b) very</b>	<b>Others...</b>	32	7.5%	1
		<b>2. Others (adverbs)</b>		<b>8</b>	<b>2 %</b>	<b>0.3</b>

The following examples are representatives of each of the groups discussed in the text introducing *Table 3*.

T3. 1.a *Whether you are shooting a birthday party or maybe even that hit low-budget movie you have always dreamed of, we will give **the very best ones** available.* (line 2)

T3. 1.a' *A quick-looking girl of Susan's age was **the very worst third in the world**: totally different from Lady Bertram, all eyes and ears; and there was no introducing the main point before her.* (line 106)

T3. 1.b *As the cuts bite, more of us are asking why **the very wealthiest** are allowed to live their lives to a different set of rules to everyone else - and the finger is pointing at George Osborne.* (line 20)

T3. 2. *Greece to stay in the euro: not only because it is economically the least costly and least risky option, but also because it is **the only way** to sustain the real achievements of the European integration process: a European Union which safeguards not only the prosperity of the economically strongest, but also peace, prosperity and democracy for all its citizens.* (line 33)

In *Table 4*, we checked the cardinal numerals occurring between the determiner and SAP. Within this category, 82% of examples checked represented cardinal numerals. We decided to treat years as a separate category because it definitely does not refer to the number of items denoted by the NP. We found 6 instances of this kind. The three instances of *one* in *Table 4* are pronominal. We also found 8 instances of expressions where the cardinal numeral is a part of a phrase *numeral of the numeral* as exemplified in *T4. 4* below:

**Table 4**

Part of speech tag				Tokens	%	% out of the total number of tokens
DT CD JJS	<b>the</b>		<b>SAP</b>			
100 relevant examples out of 101		<b>1. cardinal numeral</b>		<b>83</b>	<b>82%</b>	<b>6.8</b>

		<b>2. year</b>		<b>6</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>0.5</b>
		<b>3. one nearest to</b>		<b>3</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>0.25</b>
		<b>4. numeral of the numeral</b>		<b>8</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>0.7</b>

Check the examples below for the representative examples of each of the categories in Table 4.

T4. 1. *The biggest e-Health event in the UK Hosted by the experts - **the two largest professional organizations for e-health: BCS and HIMSS*** (line 1)

T4. 2. *Professor of Management at Louisiana Tech, was among three academics to receive **the 2009 Best Paper Award** for organizational research methods.* (line 17)

T4. 3. *To see a listing of mirror sites, and locate **the one nearest to you**, visit: <http://gutenberg.org/MIRRORS.ALL>* (line 23)

T4. 4. *World put you as **one of the 50 fastest guitarists** of all time, having Born, from This Godless Endeavor, as your signature song.* (line 22)

Table 5 presents findings on possessive NPs with proper nouns. Actually, only 14% of the NPs included proper nouns. All of them are listed in the footnote 1. The largest group consisted of abbreviations. That was 56% of the total number of NPs. Further 30% were ordinary nouns tagged by the corpus as proper nouns due to capitalization of their first letter. Consider example T5. 3. below.

**Table 5**

Part of speech tag				tokens	%	% out of the total number of tokens
DT NPZ JJS						
100 relevant examples	<i>the</i>		SAP			
100						
		<b>1. Proper Noun's<sup>[2]</sup></b>		<b>14</b>	<b>14%</b>	<b>0.6</b>
		<b>2. Abbreviation's</b>		<b>56</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>2.5</b>
		<b>3. Ordinary noun's</b>		<b>30</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>1</b>

T5. 1. *Slovenské elektrárne - **the Slovakia's largest electricity producer**, acting through its Polish branch, become the member of the exchange market operated by the Polish Power Exchange.<sup>[3]</sup>* (line 22)

T5. 2. *Maureen Stowe, **the BNP's oldest councilor**, plainly appalled by the vitriol directed towards her, drifts aimlessly into the middle of the road then gradually left, as if by remote control, and up the stairs.* (line 4)

T5. 3. *Welcome to the Outcomes Research Consortium: **the World's largest Clinical Anesthesia Research Organization. newest class!*** (line 46)

68| In Table 6, the results for the category common nouns are presented. We had found that 40% of all the checked examples were actually common nouns. The most prominent group among them were the constructions with the noun *world*, 23 tokens of which were found in total. Proper nouns were only 5% of the checked data. Interestingly, this category also included some examples of numerals and adjectives.

**Table 6**

Part of speech tag						
DT NN JJS				Tokens	%	% out of the total number of tokens
100 relevant examples out of 208	<b>the</b>		<b>SAP</b>			
		<b>1.Noun</b>		<b>84</b>	<b>40%</b>	<b>1</b>
		<b>a. world</b>		21	10%	0.25
		<b>a' -world second-largest</b>		2	1%	close to 0
		<b>b. other</b>		61	29%	0.7
		<b>2.Proper Noun, abbreviations</b>		<b>10</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>0.1</b>
		<b>3. Numeral</b>		<b>2</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>close to 0</b>
		<b>4. following, next</b>		<b>4</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>close to 0</b>

Check the following examples for instances of each category.

T6. 1.a. *It have concrete reinforcement around stairways. It have **the world fastest elevators**.* (line 21).

T6. 1.a' *Ardy, Europe biggest sporting goods manufacturer, **the world second-largest sports brand**.* (line 87)

T6. 1.b. *Mbitcasino is a highly secure and compliant with **the industry best practices** and industry standards.* (line 17)

T6. 2. *With a heavily stylized production, the serial was unconventional in the extreme, and went on to win **the BAFTA best drama series award**.* (line 95)

T6. 3. *Rather than calling the CEO's of Wall Street firms, hedge funds, special interest lobbies, hat-in-hand regulators, and the executives of **the twelve largest banks** to testify before Congress on these matters.* (line 18)

T6. 4. *The variety of folks living close to the Florida seashore has jumped by about 1.1 million since 1990, to four eight million – a rise greater than four occasions larger than in Washington, the state with **the following highest enhance**.* (line 46)

Unlike Table 6, Table 7 deals with nouns in plural. The high number of irrelevant examples is caused by the wrong tagging in the corpus which placed words with missing apostrophes in the group

of plural nouns instead of possessive NPs. Out of the 100 relevant examples, the largest proportion on nouns in plural were followed by the SAP *closest to*. This is interesting because it has the same surface form as the phrase *the student oldest in class* which was judged ungrammatical by native speakers of American English. We have found 91 tokens of such a construction out of which 56 had the noun *people* preceding the phrase *closest to*. Further 15 tokens had the pronominal *ones* in the same position. The same type of construction can be seen in example T7. 2. below, where a plural noun is followed by a superlative adjective other than *closest* and a prepositional phrase.

**Table 7**

Part of speech tag				tokens	%	% out of the total number of tokens
DT NNS JJS						
100 relevant examples 711	<i>the</i>		SAP			
		<b>1. Noun (plural)</b>	<b><i>closest to</i></b>	<b>91</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>0.2</b>
		a) <i>people</i>	<i>closest to</i>	56	8%	0.1
		b) <i>ones</i>	<i>closest to</i>	15	2%	close to 0
		c) Others	<i>closest to</i>	37	5%	0.1
		<b>2. plural noun + superlative adjective + preposition</b>		<b>6</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>close to 0</b>
	∅/ <i>the</i>	<b>3. <i>one of the decade</i></b>		<b>3</b>	<b>0.5%</b>	<b>close to 0</b>

Consider the following examples:

T7. 1.a *The lesson from Connecticut is that **the people closest to the ground in education** need to be part of that change-making process if it is to work well.* (line 7)

T7. 1.b *He also gave an excellent analogy to make sense of how the universe is expanding at an increasing rate ... basically think of the universe like a lump of dough in the oven with raisins in it ... all the raisins are moving away from each other as the dough rises in all directions, but **the ones closest to you** move away slower than the ones further away even i can make sense of that!* (line 26)

T7. 1.c *Last week KVH completed a second round of monitoring in the Whangarei region – covering 16A blocks in the controlled area and **the orchards closest to the first positive orchard.*** (line 59)

T7. 2. *Generally speaking, it is, as might be expected, **the occupations longest in female hands** which return excesses for the numbers employed in later life.* (line 30)

T7. 3. *As **one of the noughties biggest selling artists**, you could forgive Moby for taking the easy option and drifting off quietly into comfortable middle age retirement with his place in the annals of pop history secured.* (line 427)

## 70| Summary of findings

Out of the two constructions we expected to find, namely *the two tallest boys* and *the absolutely tallest boy*, both were amply represented. Curiously, even the two constructions that we did not expect to find, namely *\*the handsome tallest boy* and *\*the student oldest in the class*, occurred on several occasions. We explained that in some of the constructions that seemed at first glance like this one: *\*the handsome tallest boy* the adjective was actually premodifying the SAP rather than the NP. Nevertheless, there is still at least one adjective that can form this pattern without causing ungrammaticality, namely *current*. As for the construction *\*the student oldest in the class* it needs further examination to explain why some superlative adjectives, in particular *closest* are possible in the position between the NP and a PP. In Table 8 below, the general summary of corpus search has been presented.

**Table 8**

the	[ ]	SAP	% out of 1,404,164 tokens found
	Saxon Genitive NP ( <i>world's</i> )		39.6 (32.3)
	Ordinal numeral (+ <i>of</i> numeral)		16.3 (0.7)
	Cardinal numerals		6.8
	<i>single</i>		2.6
	<i>very</i> (+ <i>best/worst</i> )		2.5 (1.9)
	Saxon Genitive Abbreviation		2.5
	<i>absolute/ current</i>		1.3 (0.2)
	Noun (+ <i>closest to</i> )		1.3 (0.2)
	Year		0.5
	Adverbs (other than <i>very</i> )		0.3

We can observe that the biggest group of phrases that can be found after the determiner *the* and before the superlative adjective in SAP constructions is the Saxon Genitive noun phrase (*world's, state's, nation's, country's...*) with 39.6 % of the total number of tokens found in the corpus. The second biggest group constitute ordinal numerals with 16.3 % of total number of tokens, and the third biggest group are the cardinal numerals with 6.8 %.

### Surprising Findings

As it was mentioned above, apart from the data in the above tables, the corpus search yielded also some data that we did not expect to find. Examples of such findings are given in (10) and (11) below with referent numbers of the exact sentences cited from the corpus in section 3 of this paper:

- (10) a) *the **current** highest speed limit* (T2.3)
- b) *the **absolute** best emo* (T2.3')
- c) *the **single** stupidest tax* (T2.2)

In (10), other adjectives precede the superlative adjective, which according to our previous ungrammatical example *\*the handsome tallest boy*, should not be acceptable. In (11) on the other hand, the superlative adjective is preceded by a pronoun *one* and a noun *orchards*.

- (11) a) *the **one** nearest to you* (T4.3)
- b) *the **orchards** closest to the first positive orchard* (T7.1c)

The data in (11) seems to be contradictory to the ungrammatical *\*the student oldest in the class*, where the superlative adjective is also preceded by a noun *student*. |71

### Analysis of corpus findings

In this section we will analyse our surprising findings and try to account for them. Let us now take a closer look at these surprising corpus findings that were introduced in the previous section in (10) which are repeated here in (12').

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| (12)  | (12')  |
| a) <i>the intelligent handsome linguist</i> | a) <i>the <b>single</b> stupidest tax</i>        |
| – <i>which handsome linguist?</i>           | – <i>which stupidest tax?</i>                    |
| – <i>the intelligent one</i>                | – <i>*the <b>single</b> one</i>                  |
| b) <i>the very handsome linguist</i>        | b) <i>the <b>absolute</b> best emo</i>           |
| – <i>which handsome linguist?</i>           | – <i>which best emo?</i>                         |
| – <i>*the very one</i>                      | – <i>*the <b>absolute</b> one</i>                |
|   | c) <i>the <b>current</b> highest speed limit</i> |
|   | – <i>which highest speed limit?</i>              |
|   | – <i>the <b>current</b> one</i>                  |

There seems to be a noticeable difference between adjectives *single* and *absolute*, and *current* as the elements which precede the superlative adjective. *Single* and *absolute* are both similar in behaviour to the adverb *very*, which fails the one replacement test in (12.b). The importance of this test for our study is that it can be used to establish the status of an element as occupying the specifier position in the structure rather than that of a nominal premodifier. In this view, both *absolute* and *single* premodify the Superlative Adjective in the way adverbs would. A remaining problem is the Adjective *current* which seems to pass the one replacement test and thus is like other adjectives. This would mean that at least one adjectival premodifier of a noun can appear in the position above the Superlative Adjective. From the above analysis, we may conclude only that *single* and *absolute* fulfil the role of adverbs in a SAP structure.

To solve the problem with *current* we may look at Fiest (2012: 62–63) who notices similar problem, except that his findings show a difference between two structures containing the same element, namely the superlative adjective *newest*, as exemplified in (13) below:

- (13) a) 'The newest major new antibiotics' (Corpus of Contemporary American English)  
b) 'The newest tiny fresh perceptions' (Corpus of Contemporary American English)  
c) 'The newest, largest, and most expensive highway interchange' (Corpus of Contemporary American English) (Fiest 2012: 62–63)

He distinguishes here between the determiner-like usage of *newest* in (13.a) and (b), and the modifier-like usage in (13.c). The superlative adjective *newest* as a determiner is there to delimit the reference and not to describe the referent; *newest* as a modifier is used to add new information. This analysis can be applied to *single*, *absolute* and *current*, as it seems that only the adjective *current* works as a true modifier, adding new piece of information to the description of the noun. At the same time it might be perceived as adding a new piece of information only about the Superlative adjective, though.

- 72| This could offer a simple solution to the problem we have, namely that the Adjective *current*, just like Fiest's *newest* has actually two different uses and this causes the one replacement test to fail due to confusion between the two. Thus, all the adjectives that we found could be reclassified as adverbs since they all modify the superlative adjectives rather than the nouns that follow these superlative adjectives.

### Postnominal Adjectives

In English, as has been already mentioned, there are certain adjectives which can appear in postnominal position (Alexiadou 2007: 295, Cinque 2010: 59-60). We distinguish two groups of them. The first group are the adjectives which are formed with aspectual prefix *a-*, such as *alive*, *asleep*, *afraid*, *ashamed*, *akin*, *akimbo*. Consider examples in (14).

- (14) a) *any child afraid*                                  \**any afraid child*  
       b) *man standing with his arms akimbo*      \**man standing with his akimbo arms*

In (14), we can observe that the adjectives can only ever follow the noun they modify. They do not need any sort of a complement, and when they precede the noun, the structure is ungrammatical. The second group of adjectives which can only appear postnominally are the adjectives that are accompanied by their own complements. They can surface prenominally only when none of their complements are present, as in (15.b). Consider the following examples:

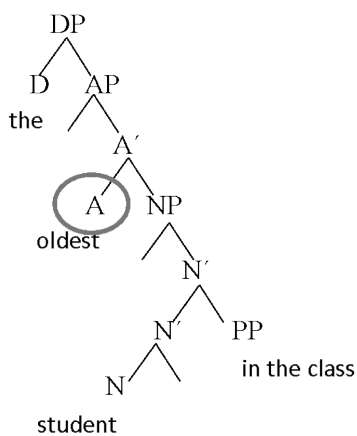
- (15) a) *a person kind to her neighbours*      c) \**a kind to her neighbours person*  
       b) *a kind person*                                  d) \**a person kind*

The example in (15.d) shows that the adjective cannot appear in postnominal position without its complement and the example in (15.c) illustrates the fact that the adjective together with its complement is banned from surfacing prenominally.

### The adjective-as-head analysis

There are two main approaches to the analysis of attributive adjectives, namely that they can be treated either as heads or as specifiers (Hofherr 11). The adjective-as-head hypothesis, first proposed by Abney (1987), assumes that adjectives are syntactic heads located under the determiner layer and above the noun. The adjective head is unable to take complements because it already takes the NP directly to its right as the complement which is shown in (16) below.

(16)





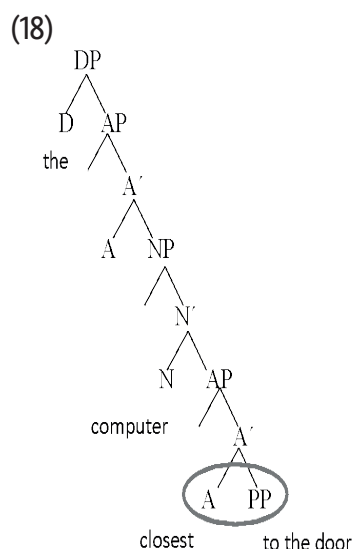
In (16), the superlative adjective *oldest*, which is marked with a circle, is directly connected to the noun phrase *student in the class* by means of a binary tree branch. There is no further possibility for the adjective to attach any additional material. Thus, the adjective-as-head hypothesis accounts for the fact that in English prenominal adjectives always lack complements, as it was already shown in data in (15). This analysis for English attributive adjectives is further supported by Veselovská's (125-128) reanalysis of the so called Left Branch Recursion Restriction for Czech and English which in the original form predicted the ban on double complementation of A in the left periphery<sup>[4]</sup> of the noun phrase.

Our corpus findings revealed a couple of examples with the postnominal adjectives in the superlative form. They were the adjectives of the type *closest to/nearest to* introduced in (11) in section 4.1, which are repeated here in different context in (17).

- (17) a) *The computer closest to the door.*  
 b) \**The computer most expensive in the store.*  
 c) \**The student oldest in the class.*  
 d) *What is the computer closest to?* - Extraction from a complement-correct  
 e) \**What/Where is the student oldest in?* - Extraction from an adjunct-wrong

Phrases in (17.a) and (17.c) contrast in grammaticality although they seem to be instances of the same type of a construction only with a different adjective. This is not actually case and each of them represents an example of a different grammatical structure as will be argued below. (17.a) is correct according to our corpus search, and (17.b) is ungrammatical according to native speakers we asked for grammaticality judgements. The possible explanation for this state of affairs is the fact that in (17.a) we are looking at the superlative adjective together with its complement phrase. This assumption seems to be supported by the extraction test according to which one can extract elements from constituents that are complements, move them to the front, and form for example a question, as in (17.d). If one tries to form a question by extracting something from the element next to the adjective *oldest*, the operation fails, as shown in (17.e). In (17.b), the phrase is ungrammatical because we tried to postpose the superlative adjective phrase *most expensive* to the right side of a head noun but this adjective does not carry any complement to be placed after it.

A tree structure in (18) illustrates the principle that adjectives with their complements can be placed in the postnominal position.



74| In (18), the prepositional phrase *to the door* has been shown to easily attach as a complement to the postnominal adjectival head. To show that the string *computer closest to the door* is indeed a constituent as figure (18) suggests, one replacement test can be used. Examples (19) and (20) show that only the whole string can be replaced by the pronoun *one* to result in a grammatical sentence, if just a subpart of it is replaced then the sentence is ungrammatical.

(19) a) *Which student do you admire most in the class?*

b) *\*The one oldest in the class.*

c) *The oldest one.*

(20) a) *\*Which computer will you use to the door?*

b) *Which computer will you use?*

c) *The one closest to the door.*

d) *\*The one most expensive in the store.*

e) *The most expensive one in the store.*

### **Adjectives and their Complements**

Based on our corpus search and on the Syntactic tests and hypotheses presented above we have come to a conclusion that there must be a reason for SAPs disallowing any further specification of the noun preceding a superlative Adjective. Our hypothesis is that if an adjective has a complement it is no longer available for gradation, because an Adjective is specified by its complement. To test this hypothesis, consider example (21) below. Although possibly not completely ungrammatical, the fragment in (21) sounds at the very least odd.

(21) *??the father proudest of his son*

The reason might be that once the Adjective is in a superlative form, its specification potential is fulfilled and no further specification possible. An exception to this rule would then be only locational adjectives such as *near* or *close to* which a further specification in terms of distance is still available.

(22) *the tree closest to the gate*

### **Conclusion**

Adjectives can appear between the definite article and the SAP, if they fulfil the role of adverbs (*single, absolute, current...*). Nouns/pronouns can precede the SAP, if the following SAP has its own complement. Most frequent are adjectives *closest* and *nearest*, because they are locational and unlike other adjectives they grade even when they have a complement.

### **Acknowledgement**

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## Notes

[1] Of course native speakers may differ in judgements on grammaticality of utterances. We are going to rely on the judgements given to us and contrast them with our corpus findings.

[2] All the proper nouns found are listed here: Tigers, Champlin, Slovakia, Chaser, Britain, Godhead, Pentagon, Bombers, Galaxy, Caribbean, Valley of the Sun, Singapore, Vatican, Jackson

[3] The sentence comes from a Polish website called [krakow.pl](http://krakow.pl) and we suspect that it might have been written by a non-native speaker.

[4] The left periphery of the noun phrase is simply the area to the left from the head noun, as opposed to the area to the right from the head noun.

## List of Abbreviations

CD – cardinal numeral

DT – determiner

JJ – adjective

JJS – superlative adjective

KWIC – key word in context

NN – common noun (singular)

NNS – common noun (plural)

NNZ – possessive noun

NPZ – possessive proper noun

RB – adverb

SAP – superlative adjective phrase

## Corpus

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**Accent of One's Own: self-report perspective on accentedness in Czech pre-service EFL teachers**

*Abstract: Drawing on Bourdieu's theoretical framework, our proposed paper strives to characterise the structure of the linguistic habitus of our 256 informants from the specific perspective of their accent-related self-perception and language attitudes. For this purpose, self-report data obtained in a questionnaire form were scrutinised. The analysed body of the data seems to indicate that the majority of our informants ascribe a clearly positive emotional value to their hitherto experience of one's own accentedness in an authentic communicative context. Furthermore, accented speech does not appear to be a cause for concern in half of the examined sample. Thus, our results may signal the growing acceptance of non-native teacher identities. Consequently, the elementary premise that we based our preliminary research on and that regards the neutral (native) accents as norm-setting and evaluatively determining might be contested.*

**Introduction**

It is a truth almost universally acknowledged, that a foreign language learner in possession of a good reason, must be in want of a proper accent. The proposed paper attempts to describe how one specific group of Czech EFL (English as a foreign language) learners views this 'universal' truth and how their perspective on this issue potentially affects their linguistic behaviour. In other words, what might be the non-native linguistic realisation (or defiance) of a belief system that mainly resides in the extralinguistic reality of the inalienable right of being a native speaker.

Prior to any discussion of Czech language attitudes in the context of foreign language acquisition, it should be mentioned that Czech as a mother tongue, once institutionally (re)introduced to its native speakers through the educational system, might represent a highly confining set of values that bear potential to strongly (and negatively) affect the learners linguistic behaviour and attitudes in the process of foreign language acquisition. As Czech native speakers live in a distinctly standard language culture (Milroy), it is practically impossible to escape the preconception of the dichotomy of high (standard) and low (substandard) language code and its practical implications in social space.

Obviously, the perception of a language standard is a highly complex network of knowledge, skills and beliefs and an oversimplification of this kind needs to be acknowledged as such. However, as a theoretical concept, this dichotomy can serve as an omnipresent and subliminal backdrop against which the language attitudes can be contrasted throughout this text.

We can only hypothesise whether the fact that Czech is a minor language of a negligible global impact might signify a proclivity to ascribe high language code prestige to oneself as a Czech foreign language learner. What we can state with much greater certainty is that most of our respondents almost uniformly expressed their belief that being identified as a non-native speaker of English based on one's Czech accent is nothing to be ashamed of. Highly frequently, our respondents' reaction could be summarised as understanding foreign accentedness of EFL speakers in English as a self-evident neutral fact. Providing it bears no negative impact on successful communicative outcomes, it is often not viewed as negative in the proposed context.

Thus, in summary, the picture we are trying to paint on the canvas of our data in broad brush strokes can be described as an answer to a query on what the potential social meanings of being Czech are when negotiating EFL speaker identities, or, more specifically, EFL teacher identities.

## 78| Theoretical Framework

To delimit the scope of research roughly, our theoretical framework spans the cognitive realms of folk linguistics on one hand, and of applied linguistics on the other, also significantly drawing from socio-pragmatic and sociolinguistic inquiry. To anchor our theoretical point of departure in a broader socio-cultural context, we apply Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*. It is represented by "a set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways" (Bourdieu 12). They "generate practices, perceptions and **attitudes** which are 'regular' without being consciously co-ordinated or governed by any 'rule'" (*ibid*, emphasis added). These dispositions are *acquired* and *structured* in the sense of consistently reflecting the social conditions and circumstances of their acquisition. From our proposed perspective, the relevant structure of our respondents' habitus is related not only to their language education and training but to all practices and experiences that have shaped their mastery of English in its totality.

Considering the specifics of being a Czech native speaker, our research premise is based on a concept of *standard language culture* (Milroy; cf Labov). Specifically, when living in a standard language culture (i.e. a culture speaking a language using an acknowledged standard variety), our language attitudes are "dominated by powerful ideological positions" that are based on the existence of such standard form and these constitute the "ideology of the standard language" (Milroy 133). Milroy adds that the speakers of these languages are typically unaware of the fact that their attitudes are "conditioned by these ideological positions" (*ibid*).

In designing our current research, we continue a line of enquiry commenced by previous research on the role of accent in ELT (English language teaching) listenings in shaping second-language identity and attitudes (Matuchová). Therein, it was observed how "the linguistic practice of using different accents in listening exercises sets a normative framework which determines the evaluative practice in the language classroom" (Matuchová 150). As contextualisation is "a key process through which social meanings take shape" (Coupland and Bishop 84), the ELT listenings study focused on social styling, i.e. activation of social meaning by using an accent. The conclusions seem to suggest that the analysed textbook series "intrinsically approach the language standard ideologically and prescriptively" (Matuchová 161), which stands in contrast with the current ELF (English as a lingua franca) tendencies.

Nevertheless, as this study offered only a preliminary outline that needed to be considerably elaborated on both in terms of the extent of the analysed corpus and of the survey of learner attitudes to accentedness, we designed a questionnaire to map authentic EFL learner attitudes, specifically from the perspective of Czech pre-service teachers.

As we attempt to expound below, our main research questions discussed herein concern the following points:

- How does the presence/absence of experience based on one's accentedness impact the polarity of self-assessment in communicative contexts?
- Is there a positive correlation between proficiency and positive polarity of personal experience based on one's own accent?
- Which aspects of the respondents' linguistic habitus might cause norm deference, and which might cause norm defiance?

### Data and Method

Our data were amassed via a questionnaire that was devised and piloted uniquely for the purposes of this research, which is part of a Charles University project aimed at innovations in teacher preparation

and training. Broadly speaking, the research explores the language attitudes of our students, pre-service teachers, and strives to search for ways of assisting them in the process of reflexive sense-making of their second-language identity. The questionnaire combines closed- and open-ended questions and consists of three parts. In the first ten questions grouped into an *Introduction*, personal information including age, gender, nationality and a brief SLA (Second language acquisition) autobiography was collected. The second part, titled *Accent and me* and comprising 22 questions, explored the respondents' attitudes to their own accents and accents in general. The last section, *Accent and teachers*, consists of twelve questions and focuses on the role that accent(s) play in ELT and on how pre-service teachers might approach the phenomenon of accent variation in their prospective careers.

Consequently, the total number of 44 questions were transferred into a Google Form survey, which functions as a freeware of the Google Company. Two colleagues and two former students participated in the piloting process and their comments were incorporated in the questionnaire. The final version was being administered online from November to December 2018. The respondents, predominantly undergraduate students of English language and literature at the Faculty of Education, Charles University, were asked orally by the authors of the paper to fill in the questionnaire. Subsequently, they received an electronic link, which was also posted on the departmental Facebook and website. Throughout the period of administration, the students were continually being reminded of our request. The response rate reached 50 per cent with the final number of 256 participants.

### Respondents

The respondents attend four different study programmes that are all offered by the Department of the English language and literature in the academic year 2018/19. The most numerous group (n=161) were the students of the three-year-long Bachelor's programme (B.A.). Nearly half of them, 45 per cent, were first-year, 28 per cent were second-year, and 20 per cent were third-year students. The remaining seven per cent represent students from the fourth and fifth year extending their study programme for various reasons. The second largest group (n=42) attends the follow-up two-year-long Master's programme (M.A.), in which the participants study English as a single major (21 per cent) or a double major (79 per cent). The third study programme is also magisterial, in the duration of five years, training future primary-education teachers who opt for English as their specialisation (n=39). The fourth programme, a two-year-long Extension study programme, aims at extending in-service teachers' ELT qualifications (n=14).

Predictably, the full research sample is dominated by females (77 per cent). Most men study in the B.A. (17 per cent) and M.A. (5 per cent) programmes. The average age is 22.9 years, with the Extension programme averaging at 38.5 years. The Czech nationality prevails (81 per cent), while the sample includes also the Russian, Slovak, Ukrainian, Uzbek, Vietnamese, Kazakh and Bulgarian nationalities. Around 10% of the respondents of Czech nationality stated that they had a Moravian or Silesian accent or the combination of both.

Concerning language proficiency (as defined by CEFR), the majority of our respondents (66 per cent) placed their English at the C1 or C2 level. The remaining 33 per cent claimed their level was B2. The self-reported proficiency levels clearly distinguish between the types of a study programme; the highest proportion of B2 speakers (72 per cent) occurs in the M.A. for primary education, as opposed to 7 per cent in the single-/double-major M.A., 29 per cent in B.A and 21 per cent in the Extension study programme. The length of study also appears to be significant with half of the B2 speakers consistently accumulated in the first year of study in all four programmes.

80| Eventually, language experience presents the last aspect characterizing our participants. In the current study, language experience is determined by the respondents' stay abroad, type of contact with native and non-native users of English and other types of exposure to English accents. The extended stay abroad was defined as lasting at least one month. The length of a stay abroad in most of our respondents (65 per cent) can be categorised as unsubstantial from this perspective, i.e. shorter than one month. Approximately one third of those who spent more than one month abroad (five to six months on average), travelled to non-English speaking countries, while the rest most frequently spent time in Britain, the USA, Canada, Ireland and New Zealand.

While determining the type of contact with English native speakers, 68 respondents (27 per cent) were categorised as having no such contact. As anticipated, a significant coincidence with the category of those who have had no experience with an extended stay abroad was confirmed.

Considering contact with other non-native speakers, the majority of our participants use English as a means of communication in particular with their teachers, classmates or friends. The most influential types of exposure to English accents are films, TV series and You Tube videos in more than 90 per cent of our sample (followed by gaming – 30 per cent and listening to music – 6 per cent).

### **Data description and analysis**

In the proposed paper, we focus on the quantitative and qualitative analysis of two open-ended questions occurring in the second section of the questionnaire *Accent and me* (Q17 and Q18, henceforth) which distinctly employ the strategy of self-assessment and self-report in authentic (Q17) and suppositious (Q18) interactional contexts, respectively. The target questions are formulated as follows:

*Q17: What experiences have you had because of your accent? Please specify whether negative, positive, neutral or none and describe.*

*Q18: How would you react to the following comment: I can hear the Czech (Slovak/Russian/Vietnamese) accent in your English? Please specify.*

Primarily, the obtained data demonstrate a factual informative value, as they reflect individual experiences with one's accent. Secondly, and more importantly, they capture emotional responses to authentic or presupposed interactional behaviour, particularly the communicative situation instigated by Q18, in which the respondents' positive self-perception is challenged.

Logically, the qualitative data of such breadth yield several distinct categories. In Q17, the categories reflecting the polarity of the answers are supplemented by a wide range of comments that were analysed in terms of ELF lexico-grammatical convergence to enhance reliability. In Q18, the proposed convergence scale of ENL norm acceptance outlines the most salient features informing the attitudes represented in the obtained responses. As neither target question can be divorced from the context of the survey, potential causations and correlations with responses to other related questions are considered when interpreting the results.

## **Results**

### **Question 17**

*What experiences have you had because of your accent? Please specify whether negative, positive, neutral or none and describe.*



The description of the linguistic data in Q17 primarily focuses on semantic polarity obtaining in the individual responses. When relating the details of relevant interactional situations that they had experienced concerning their use of accent in English, our respondents used semantic polarity indicators such as evaluative adjectives ("Some foreigners told me I have a cute accent." - respondent no. 13), adjectival predicates ("...almost all of my experiences have been positive." - respondent no. 54) or affixes ("...occasional misunderstandings on both sides." - respondent no. 74). Firstly, these indicators were identified and assessed. Subsequently, the overall context of the given response was factored in to verify the response polarity and context-dependent interpretations where relevant ("If it can be called a positive experience, then I have never been recognised as a Russian while speaking English." - respondent no. 64). Lastly, the final categorisation of the responses was established.

However, as Q17 relates to self-assessment of communicative language performance, the analysis calls for a gauge which would objectivise the individual comments and place them on a scale of relative reliability. The assumption we base this view on is that supposing one's mastery of language provides them with a greater precision in objectively assessing their abilities, the lexico-grammatical (in) accuracy in the individual comments to Q17 should reflect both the aforementioned mastery and relative reliability. For this reason, all of the authentic examples from the questionnaire cited below are rendered in their original forms without editing.

Thus, in order to obtain supplementary information on the type of our data, we intended to observe a potential positive correlation between proficiency and positive polarity of personal experience based on one's own accent. In this view, native speakers are placed at one end of the scale of reliability, while A1 users on the other (*cf* Saito et al.).

As indicated above, upon detailed scrutiny of the Q17 responses, six categories were established. The category marked as zero (0) groups respondents (n=67; 26 per cent) that explicitly stated the *absence of personal experience* related to their own use of accent. Whether this absence is caused by a lack of exposure ("none" - respondent no. 73), awareness or both ("None, accent is something I never worried about and no one has ever pointed it out" - respondent no. 72) was not established. Category one (1) is constituted by responses (n=24; 9 per cent) representing *negative personal experience*. The formulations were both explicitly ("people in Florida thought I am Russian which had kind of made me upset" - respondent no. 79) and implicitly negative ("A native speaker didn't understand a basic sentence because of my accent." - respondent no. 22), while implicit negative connotations were assessed based on sentence context. In category two (2), *neutral experiences* (n=44; 17 per cent) are grouped representing a range of communicative situations that are characterised by lack of (negative) experience ("neutral - no problems with my accent" - respondent no. 23) similarly to category zero.

The most numerous is category three (3) (n=90; 35 per cent), marked by *positive experiences* that are described with varying degrees of specificity ("Some foreigners told me I have a cute accent." - respondent no. 14; "I remember people mistaking me for an American because of my accent, they would either compliment me for it or call me a 'dumb hillbilly'. Both brought me joy." - respondent no. 44). The last two categories (n=31; 12 per cent), four (4) - *miscellaneous* and five (5) - *not valid*, are similar in posing certain difficulties in terms of categorisation. However, category four is characterised by a combined type of answers, e.g. neutral + positive, while category five defies classification due to the lack of relevant context and, thus, ambiguous semantic orientation ("I was told I am from Russia." - respondent no. 78). Table 1 below illustrates the results summarised above:

82| Table 1 Overview of polarity of experience with response categories

<b>Frequency Distribution &gt; Q17</b>		
	FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY
0 - none	67	26.17%
1 - negative	24	9.38%
2 - neutral	44	17.19%
<b>3 - positive</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>35.16%</b>
4 - miscellaneous	18	7.03%
5 - not valid	13	5.08%
TOTAL	256	100.01%

Concerning the results of the ELF lexico-grammatical convergence in Q17 responses, our data have proved unsubstantial and we comment on them briefly in the Research Implications below.

### Question 18

*How would you react to the following comment: I can hear the Czech/Slovak/Russian/Vietnamese accent in your English? Please specify.*

Unlike Q17, Q18 proved more challenging for our respondents in terms of adequate interpretation. Initially, 28 responses were disregarded as their content proved to be irrelevant, which reduced the data sample to n=228. As demonstrated in Figure 1 below, the observed attitudes that our respondents expressed were placed on a hypothetical ENL norm acceptance scale and classified into five categories that are supplemented with the most representative examples of the given attitudes (see quotes in Figure 1). The categories were determined in relation to the recurring semantic patterns expressed in the responses.

The five categories spanning the scale are *internalised convergence* (n=40; 18 per cent) referring to negative emotional charge associated with foreign accentedness as opposed to native accentedness that bears positive connotations; *desired and cooperative convergence* (n=62; 27 per cent together) reflecting the participants' desire to improve; *justified divergence* (n=126; 51 per cent) emphasising the relevance of communicative intelligibility as opposed to achieved native accent acquisition and *resentful divergence* (n=9; 4 per cent) explicitly expressing the respondents' resentment of criticism.

Several complex responses that pertained to more than one category (and as a rule were expressed in the form of a complex sentence) were assigned to one single category based on the semantic patterns manifested in its main clause, typically.

To illustrate, an easily categorised response is represented by the following quote: "I would be very angry" – respondent no. 7. Syntactically, this type of an answer is typically a simple structure, while semantically, it explicitly and unambiguously formulates its message. For the purposes of our analysis, this response was placed in category one – *internalised convergence*. In contrast to these, there were responses that both syntactically and semantically posed a greater challenge for analysis. Such complex type of a response is demonstrated e.g. by the respondent no. 251 - "Eventhough it

makes sense, especially if it came from a linguist, I still would not be very pleased to hear that.” Although this answer can be classified as category one and four simultaneously (see Figure 1 below), we opted for the former. Category one, i.e. *internalised convergence*, groups answers focusing on negative feelings of disappointment, hurt pride, even anger in reaction to the hypothetical comment in the wording of Q18. For this reason, the main clause in response no. 251 carries the key message – I still would not be very pleased to hear that.

To specify the category labels, *internalised convergence* represents attitudes of speakers who have internalised the notion of a native accent in English as norm-setting and as highly desirable. It can be expected that for these speakers native accent is central in the process of negotiating their second language identity. Thus, the indication of a deficiency in the native accent acquisition that appears in the wording of Q18 brings about negative emotional response in the addressee. Logically, this set of attitudes informs one extreme end of the ENL norm acceptance scale.

Successively, the other two categories in the convergent half of the spectrum are *desired* and *cooperative convergence* (the orange and green hues in Figure 1 below). What differentiates the first category is a sole focus on negative emotional response, i.e. an attitude that is introspective and passive. Category two and three, however, express attitudes of proactive interest in self-improvement and approach (what is understood as) criticism constructively and as a form of extrinsic motivation. Syntactically, the aforementioned contrast is usually signalled by copulative predication in the conditional mood in category one, progressive aspect of the predicate in category two and interrogative structures bearing the secondary discourse function of a request in category three (see Figure 1 for examples).

The second half of the spectrum (the blue hues in Figure 1 below) represents 55 per cent of all the valid responses to Q18. They reflect attitudes of differing degrees of explicitness relating to divergence from the ENL norm acceptance, hence both category four and five are labelled as *divergence*. The former is most significant for the recurring effort to explain and justify the hypothetical deficiency in a native accent acquisition, therefore the attribute *justified* was chosen to characterise this type of divergence. Syntactically, these responses abound in the use of adverbial clauses of reason (“Yes, that is because I come from the Czech republic.” – respondent no. 148), syndetic coordination (“I am not a native speaker, so I won’t have a native accent.” – respondent no. 142), and frequent negative structures (ibid.).

The opposite extreme end of the ENL norm acceptance scale, i.e. category five, focuses on negative emotional response similarly to category one. However, in this case the negativity is not self-oriented but clearly other-oriented, which resulted in naming this last set of attitudes *resentful divergence*. It comes as no surprise that lexically these attitudes are marked by the use of colloquial peripheral lexis as aptly demonstrated in the quoted example below (see Figure 1).



Figure 1 ENL norm acceptance scale with response examples

## 84| Research Implications

Focusing on the integration of the responses to both the analysed questions into a meaningful interpretative framework, it can be observed that both the communicative situations suggested in Q17 and Q18 differ significantly in mainly two aspects. Firstly, it is the contrast between authentic (Q17) and hypothetical (Q18) context, and secondly, it is the overall type of language use environment – loosely determined by the concept of ELF in Q17 and EFL in Q18. Implicitly, Q17 does not presuppose the presence of the authority of a native speaker, while Q18 does. This contrast is potentially reflected in terms of the most significant body of our data representing attitudes of confident and justified divergence from the native-speaker norms (see category four in Figure 1).

Logically, Q17 responses offer relatively high heterogeneity of attitudes that largely depend on circumstances and specific communicative partners. Q18 traces relatively homogenous and predictable answers, once the adherence to or contravention of the ENL norms is taken into consideration. Roughly half of the responses express convergence with the norm, while the other half of the responses display differing degrees of deviation from it. As discussed above (see Results – Q18, Figure 1), both extreme ends of the Q18 scale represent passive negative attitudes (category one and five), while the central part of the spectrum tends to focus on active positive response in terms of either proclaimed desire to improve (category two and three) or in the effort to explain why it might not be negative that an EFL learner has not acquired a native accent impeccably (category four).

Overall, the ENL pronunciation norm seems to play a profoundly positive role as reflected in our data – either it carries a significant motivational potential or it is viewed as a useful gauge in SLA that, however, does not have to be blindly followed as there are other, more important, aspects of communication in English such as mutual intelligibility or socio-pragmatic communicative skills (category two, three and four = 78 per cent of the total response sample). In category one, the attitude to the norm seems to be more complex as it is positive a priori, yet, when the speaker is met with criticism of their second language communicative skills, the norm features as negative and may hinder future progress. As for category five, norm adherence is potentially viewed as negative and may not be perceived as a positive motivating force. Nevertheless, category five is quantitatively negligible.

As stated above in relation to Q17 response heterogeneity, using English as a lingua franca is, by definition, considerably dependent on specific communicative contexts. In consequence, ELF interactions are often *hybrid* (Firth), as speakers accommodate to each other's cultural backgrounds and often use inter-language code-switching (Cogo and Dewey). In our data, we can, to a certain extent, observe what could be paraphrased as “accent-switching” and accommodation (“I found out that, when I try to be using British accent (GB), nobody understands me, so I tend to use half czech, half british accent” - respondent no. 46). Such command of speech accommodation might be related to teacher identities and communicative skills, but it is yet to be confirmed.

Consequently, we were interested to see whether the features of ELF lexicogrammar as identified by Seidlhofer and based on the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) (Cogo and Dewey; Seidlhofer “Towards making ‘Euro-English’”) were present in our Q17 data. The tendency to use lexical non-standard variation is considerably more significant than using grammatical non-standard variation; however, the statistical significance of the results is negligible and a much larger sample with a clearer ELF focus would be required. Thus, one of our research questions (*Is there a positive correlation between proficiency and positive polarity of personal experience based on one's own accent?*) cannot be answered in the affirmative.

Considering Q18, this probe can be viewed as a practical representation of the *interpersonal* language function (Halliday 31), i.e. language as an expression of one's attitudes and an influence on the attitudes of others. Herein, the interactional aspect was obviously interpreted appropriately as the responses display a marked emotional charge when compared to Q17. Our results suggest a potential interactional achievement, had the communicative situation been authentic, which indicates considerable socio-pragmatic awareness and competence. The interactional construction of identity that we witness in Q18 answers and that is accompanied by such awareness is clearly indicative of informed choices in constituting L2 identities and mutually respectful relationships (cf LoCastro). For teacher educators, the message our results relay in this respect is highly reassuring.

Furthermore, in the answers to Q18 we can often detect communicative strategies that would require to be interpreted not solely at face value but in line with second-order pragmatic principles and the theory of *politeness* and *face* (cf Leech; Brown and Levinson; Goffman). This particular analytical perspective, however, is beyond the scope of the current study and will be elaborated on in our ongoing research.

### Conclusions

Judging by our results delimited by Q17 and Q18, the predominant motivation of our respondents in terms of second language acquisition would seem to be based on *intelligibility* rather than being *integrative* (Breiteneder), which might be aligned with the current ELF approaches to foreign language acquisition and teaching (cf Firth; Jenkins "English as a lingua franca"; Seidlhofer "Research Perspectives"). However, as other significant responses in our questionnaire suggest, our respondents value the ENL pronunciation norm particularly highly (e.g. 96 per cent wish to acquire a native accent). Equally, Seidlhofer comments:

The current situation is thus characterized by an inverse relationship between perceived significance and relevance of English in the world at large and linguistic description focusing on the core native-speaker countries—one embracing pluralism, the other ignoring it. It may well be, however, that the balance of power in this unstable equilibrium is about to change. (Seidlhofer, "Research Perspectives" 213)

Interestingly, the above-mentioned inverse relationship between the globally focused perception and locally focused description of English can be paralleled by yet another inverse relationship observed in our data. Herein, temporal orientation and situational context seem to play a relevant role. Our respondents' ENL norm-dependence seems to be a dominant motivator in rather hypothetical context-free situations that are future-oriented (particularly Q15 – *I would like to acquire a native/native-like accent*, or Q28 – *What person/character/celebrity would you like to sound like?*). However, present- and past-oriented communicative situations with clearly outlined contexts that are easily relatable, as our two key analysed questions are (Q17 and 18), yield rather different results displaying an inclination towards norm-independence/-defiance.

The general tendency for discrepant language attitudes was equally observed by Dontcheva-Navratilova in her study on the specific features of Czech ELT education. Therein, she concludes that there is "some ambivalence" in attitudes and that teacher educators and pre-service teachers seem to "abide by the native-speaker language ideology when they consider their own English [...] but [...] they are fully aware of the reality outside the university classroom where ELF is the predominant form of English" (Dontcheva-Navratilova 118).

86| Thus, we can conclude with Jenkins (Jenkins *The Phonology of English*) that providing ELT learners with more readily attainable options outside the confines of the native norms might greatly benefit their communicative success. In the context of our analysis, these options would set native pronunciation models in greater proximity to the linguistic reality that learners encounter daily (see type and frequency of social contact in Respondents and Research Implications above).

Although our current findings are based on a relatively robust sample of respondents, we are fully aware that the breadth of its span is not equalled by the depth of its focus, once the specific topics that are introduced in the questionnaire are analysed. Our primary intention in designing this preliminary inquiry was to map which areas and language attitudes seem to display the highest degree of salience and elaborate on these in subsequent research.

Therefore, in line with these findings, we envision to design a follow-up research in the form of in-depth interviews to confirm whether our respondents' perception of themselves as EFL students and EFL teachers is convergent or divergent. Specifically, whether in their discourse on language attitudes they as students tend to negotiate personal/social identity (i.e. deeply internalised characteristics), while when presenting or perceiving themselves as teachers they rather construct a persona (i.e. scripting a social role at one remove from their self-presentation).

The expected outcomes should assist us in determining whether a representative sample of Czech pre-service teachers understands *teaching* as subordinate to *using* a language proficiently (cf Seidlhofer, *Understanding English* 202), or whether these two processes are perceived as equal aspects of foreign language acquisition.

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## Mobile applications in language learning

*Abstract: Mobile technology has become an essential part of our everyday life. Recently, mobile devices have been incorporated into learning processes, including language learning. Mobile applications (apps), which have been developed to enhance language skills such as listening, speaking, reading and writing, have started to play an important role when it comes to mobile learning. Allowing students to use mobile learning apps in language acquisition has transformed traditional teaching methods and learning processes into a more enjoyable journey breaking down the barrier between school and life.*

### Introduction

The world where we live creates a different generation approximately every 20 years. They are all labelled with specific names and formed by different features. Currently, there are five general trends and social patterns identified by sociologists. They are designated as Traditionals, Baby Boomers, Generation X, Generation Y, and Generation Z. Every generation differs from the other in terms of qualities and attributes (Bozavli 2016). While the Traditionals respect the rules and prefer working in the background, Baby Boomers question authority and express their opinions. The X generation considers life-work balance very important, opposingly, the Y generation are extremely achievement oriented. A Z generation, currently attending a school, grew up with modern technological tools, therefore Z generation students are reasonably tech-savvy, impatient, and interactive.

It can be said that the qualities and the features of all generations are affected by the place and period of time when they were raised and educated. Cultural origin influences classroom expectations, behaviour, and experience. In other words, where and how the learners grew up and were educated affect how they perceive formal learning. Despite sharing some characteristics, there is no one solution to accommodate the learning preferences of all generations. In the process of learning, it is necessary to use a diversity of methods and techniques in order to address a diversity of preferences (Levonius 2015).

This case study is dedicated to Z generation students, born after 2000, as they are a part of educational institutions today. It is necessary for all educators to understand a new generation of students in order to better meet their educational needs. Prensky (2001) and Schroer (2008) claim that the current generation is the most diverse ever, as they are growing up in a very different environment to previous generations. As a result, their thinking, preferences, expectations, needs, and learning style have changed completely. In order to help raise the level of learning, instructors must consider the dispositions and needs of their students, and the nature of education must be revamped. Wang (2017) is convinced this can be achieved by using technology in the class. As technologies represent a revolutionary approach to education, the aim of this study is to prove its benefit in the English learning process by using mobile phones as a cognitive tool to enhance students' learning in using constructivism approach.

Teachers are advised not to throw away all the traditional methods in favour of the new technology based teaching strategies, but to innovate, to technify, and to adapt reasonably. The traditional methods of teaching English as foreign language (EFL) are still useful, they just need to be updated and combined with the new trends in education.



### **A constructivist approach in a combination with mobile learning**

In the past, there was a teacher at the centre of the learning process, using traditional pedagogical methods based mostly on drill. Educators and books were recognised as the most frequent sources of information and they were regularly used in the class. Recently, the nature of education has changed. Learning has transformed into the student-centred process where the learners have a wide range of tools and sources, through which the information can be reached, including mobile devices. The implementation of mobile technology in the classroom seems to be essential since it makes a part of students' everyday life. The combination of mobile technology with traditional methods of learning makes the learning process updated, interesting, and productive. The combination of the two pedagogical approaches used in the classroom setting is defined as blended learning. According to Veselá (2009), blended learning is the use of different elements of education in such a way that the learning process has a positive effect on learner achievement. The philosophy of blended learning is to focus on increasing motivation, personal intuition, knowledge and skills acquirement, and co-responsiveness of the learner to the learning outcomes. Regarding this, it is important to bring the mobile technology into the class and to try to reach the optimal results in the process of language learning by using it. According to Woodcock, Middleton and Nortcliffe (2012), ownership of smartphones amongst the students has grown fast. They are available and constantly used by young adult learners, therefore, the potential for smartphones in the education process, suggesting the ubiquity, multi-functionality and connectivity of mobile devices, offers a new, powerful learning environment.

As Ally (2004) notes, smart devices are neutral to teaching and learning theories. They can be used with both traditional learning theories and new learning theories, and optimally utilized in the development of higher thinking skills and problem solving. The technology integration can effectively support constructivism, which is one of the proper theories for the activation of the role of technology in the learning process. The technology only needs to be set in the right direction to apply the principles for the constructivist learning. Constructivism, according to Vygotsky (1978), maintains that knowledge is constructed by the individual rather than being transmitted to the learner from outside source. Learning is seen as a process of knowledge construction by integrating experience into the learners' prior knowledge. It means that learner plays an active role in the knowledge building. To build knowledge, interaction with others, such as peers and teachers, is essential.

The principles mentioned above were maintained in the current study which was conducted at Secondary vocational school of gastronomy and tourism. Traditional education was not replaced by the new technology based teaching strategies, on the contrary, traditional pedagogical approaches were supported by using mobile devices, in the English course.

### **Case study methodology**

During the research, quantitative and qualitative data were collected to support the study. 19 fourth-year students participated in the study, at the Secondary vocational school of gastronomy and tourism of Nitra, Slovakia. Those participants attend an English course for three 45-minute lessons a week. The course focuses on improving students' language skills and developing their vocabulary knowledge. The curriculum is based on an intermediate students' book called *Solutions*. The book contains 10 units divided into different topics. For the case study, additional materials, including the text dealing with the topic "travelling", were chosen. Students were divided into two groups. There were 10 students in the experimental group, where the mobile application was used, and 9 students in the

90| control group, without using the application in the process of learning. All of the students were born between 2000 and 2001, and their English proficiency level is statistically similar.

The instruments for the quantitative study include two vocabulary tests and a questionnaire, while the interview is a qualitative method for analyzing the data. The vocabulary test was arranged according to the multiple testing approach. Fifteen words were selected randomly from the reading additional material. The test had three parts, including matching, gap filling, and translation.

In this case study, traditional learning methods in combination with mobile learning treatment was used. The first lesson of the current study was dedicated to the pre-test with the purpose to determine whether both of the groups were at the same proficiency level. During the second lesson, students were given an article dealing with the topic "travelling". Each of them were supposed to read the entire article. Right after, 15 words related to the article were given to participants for them to build definitions for each word using their background knowledge. In this process, the principles of constructivist learning were applied as they had to exercise their own knowledge in interaction with their peers, in order to come up with the corresponding definitions that were written into the exercise books afterwards. Later, the participants from the experimental group were divided into three groups. Two groups consisting of three students, and the other consisting of four. All three groups of students joined the game called KAHOOT, which requires a mobile device to run its website. The game can be played either as a single player or in team mode. For the purpose of study, the team mode was used to support the principles of constructivism-based learning. Every group of students used only one mobile device, therefore, the owner of the smartphone was asked to enter the game by using a generated game code. At the beginning of the game, each group of students created a nickname, later displayed on the screen. The purpose of the game was to answer 15 multiple choice questions focused on vocabulary. Students were supposed to choose one correct definition of the word provided in the quiz. The correct answer was shown immediately after each group of students had chosen one definition, so they had the opportunity to compare the answers from KAHOOT with their own ideas. This activity also served as consolidation of vocabulary. The group with the highest number of correct answers in the shortest period of time received the highest score, consequently, being the winner of the quiz. The third lesson started with a warm-up activity using KAHOOT. The students were divided back into the same groups as the previous lesson. This time, the questions consisted of word definitions in which they needed to find the matching word out of four options. By playing this game, the participants entered into a competitive setting, which helped to increase their interest and motivation. Soon after, students were asked questions related to travelling while being encouraged to use the vocabulary provided in the sentences. The fourth lesson was dedicated to the post-test, aimed at examining the effect of using the vocabulary learning mobile application. An interview was carried out to find out the effectiveness of the application by asking the participants their opinions on the activities.

Meanwhile, the students from the control group adopted the traditional learning methods. They went through the article provided in the additional materials, and they were supposed to find out and define the meaning of the words by using dictionaries. Students were also required to review the target words by finishing the exercises provided by teacher. The control group was also tested on vocabulary achievement. The data from the experimental group and the control group were collected and the results were compared.

## Results

After the 4-lesson case study on implementing combined learning, including traditional learning methods in combination with mobile assisted language learning, the results gained from the data analysis can be summarized both in terms of students' vocabulary acquisition and students' opinion on the implementation of the mobile devices into the learning process. The results from the statistics of the control group and experimental group in the pre-test and post-test, as well as the data from the questionnaire and interviews were collected and presented in the following tables.

As it is shown in Table I, the main score of the post-test of the two groups were 82% and 76%. As it can be seen, in both groups there were significant differences between the pre-test and the post-test scores. As expected, the figures of the post-test scores were higher. Both groups improved their vocabulary learning but the group which implemented the mobile assisted language learning into the process of vocabulary achievement improved more than the control group.

**Table I.** A comparison of the two test scores between the experimental group and control group

GROUP	PRE-TEST SCORE	POST-TEST SCORE
EXPERIMENTAL GROUP	55%	82%
CONTROL GROUP	56%	76%

Quantitative data analysis indicates that the effects of the implementation of the constructivist mobile-assisted language learning were as positive as expected. It is evident by the fact that the score in the vocabulary post-test of the experimental group is higher than that of the control group. The results released from the current case study seem to indicate that the students using mobile devices in the English language class are more likely to understand, learn, and remember the meaning of the words, which leads to the further application of vocabulary knowledge in context. However, the study was carried out in a small group of students and for a short period of time, therefore, general claims cannot be made. Further studies need to look at the effectiveness of mobile learning with different courses.

In order to improve the vocabulary acquisition process, 10 students of the experimental group were required to answer the questionnaire after they finished their 4-class study. Three-scale ranging from "disagree" to "agree" was used. The results are presented below in Table II.

**Table II.** Responses from student questionnaires

	ITEMS	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL	AGREE
1	I feel relaxed when I learn through KAHOOT application.	0%	0%	100%
2	I enjoyed learning through KAHOOT application more than traditional methods.	0%	20%	80%
3	Interacting with KAHOOT helped me to remember my English vocabulary better.	0%	30%	70%
4	I prefer working in group better than alone.	10%	20%	70%
5	I would like the app to be implemented in future lessons.	10%	20%	70%
6	I think I will use other educational app in the future.	30%	30%	40%

The questionnaire for the students was designed by the author, and it consisted of six items to measure the students' attitude toward the use of the mobile application in the process of language learning. The 10 case study questionnaire was collected and analysed. The participants provided supportive opinions on the implementation of the vocabulary learning application called KAHOOT. From Item 1, all of the participants agreed that they feel relaxed while learning through the KAHOOT application. From Item 2, 80% of students agreed that learning through KAHOOT is more enjoyable than with the traditional methods of learning. A similar experiment conducted by Wang and Suwanthep (2017) shows that more than 68% of the students from their experimental group preferred the usage of mobile applications in learning over traditional methods. It can be said that the data gained from the current study are comparable to those from the experiment conducted by Wang and Suwanthep. The same experiment showed that the mobile application helped 91% of students to remember target words better. As shown in the Table II above, 70% of students from our experimental group expressed that interacting with KAHOOT helped them to remember their English vocabulary better. Moreover, from Item 5, 70% of participants would like the app to be implemented in future lessons. Additionally, from Item 6, 40% of the participants think they will use other educational app in the future. To compare the current study with that conducted by Wang (2017), 38% of the participants of their experiments expressed that they will use other educational app as well.

In order to gather more informative data, 5 students from the experimental group were chosen to participate in the interview. The interviewees expressed positive opinions on the implementation of mobile learning into the process of learning. All of them enjoyed learning in groups because they felt more comfortable after discussing the ideas with their peers. They could rely on someone, therefore, they felt more confident. For example, student 1 said: *"I feel more relaxed when working in couples. It is easier to take decisions"*. Secondly, all of the interviewed students agreed that they felt more motivated when the competitive environment was created. Student 3 said: *"I love competitions. It is fun"*. Additionally, student 3 said: *"We should use the mobile learning more often. It feels like we are playing the game, not studying. It is not stressful"*. The rest of the students agreed on this claim.

To summarize, students' responses in the questionnaire and interviews provided vast information about using the mobile application to improve EFL learners' vocabulary acquisition. Most of them were satisfied with the implementation of mobile assisted language learning in the process of language education and agreed on further usage of mobile devices in the classroom setting.

## **Conclusion**

In order to accommodate the learning needs of the generation currently attending schools, it is important to update the traditional methods of teaching and make the learning environment appropriate to modern students. Teachers are advised to innovate, to change, and to update the pedagogical methods used in the past, and combine them with the technology based teaching methods, in order to meet the needs of today students. As the ownership of smartphones has rapidly grown up and mobile devices have become available, the update of educational system can be done by implementation of mobile assisted language learning in the process of learning. This paper is dedicated to the usage of vocabulary learning application and its combination with traditional learning methods in the process of vocabulary acquisition. In order to evaluate the effectiveness of the mobile learning, qualitative and quantitative data were collected and analyzed. On the basis of the results of the post-test scores, questionnaires, and interviews it can be said that the mobile learning application had a positive effects on improving language learning. Students can actively construct the definition

of the target words. Moreover, most of the students expressed positive opinion on the implementation of the mobile assisted language learning. Regarding this, it is required for EFL teachers to implement the mobile learning applications in the process of English language acquisition. |93

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## Examining grammatical knowledge of English language student teachers

*Abstract: It is widely believed that the content knowledge, or scholarship in content disciplines, plays the central role in the knowledge base of teaching (Shulman, "Those Who Understand" 6). However, investigations of its acquisition remain rare not only in the context of the Czech Republic, but worldwide (Pířová and Brebera 75). The paper focuses on exploring what role the pre-service education plays in the development of (subject matter) content knowledge of English for Education students, i.e. whether and how the (subject matter) content knowledge of the bachelor programme students of English for Education, namely their grammatical knowledge in English, is developed and internalized in formal education. Based on the analysis of tests and examination scores of English for Education students, the study hypothesizes that there is correlation between the selected aspects of communicative competence in the course of the studies, i.e. there is a (positive) change. However, drawing on correlations of exam scores in students' grammatical knowledge, namely results of morphology exam assessments and a grammatical part of the language exam, it does not seem that by addressing the processes of grammar learning and acquisition in the formal instruction, student teachers improve their conscious use of grammar.*

### Introduction

*Those who can, do. Those who understand, teach.* (Shulman, "Those Who Understand" 14)

The teacher's role in content acquisition of the learner may be considered as special because it is the teacher, who intermediates the first contact with the knowledge of the particular subject for the learner. The teacher must not only understand concepts and principles of their discipline, doubt them and link with new understanding, they also have to define what is essential and what not in their disciplines and they communicate that knowledge, their attitudes and values to it to the learners with respect to their individualities.

As many authors claim (König et al. "The Role of Opportunities", König et al. "Teachers' Professional Knowledge", Troyan et al., Kissau and Algozzine, Cogill, Janík), the contemporary construct of teacher professional knowledge is significantly influenced by Shulman's concept of knowledge base for teaching ("Those Who Understand" and "Knowledge and Teaching"). He describes that concept as "a codified or codifiable aggregation of knowledge, skill, understanding, and technology, of ethics and disposition, of collective responsibility – as well as a means for representing and communicating it" ("Knowledge and Teaching" 4). In his framework, a category of content is "a central feature of the knowledge base of teaching" ("Knowledge and Teaching" 9) because knowing what and understanding why is a prerequisite for the development of teachers' professional knowledge.

In terms of teaching English as a foreign language (TEFL), it is the language what plays a significant and distinct role in the instruction, as it represents not only the aim and content of the subject, but language is also a means of their attaining (Hendrich 81–82). Such a unity of content and medium makes TEFL distinct from teaching other subjects (König et al. "Teachers' Professional Knowledge" 3, Pířová et al., *Učitel expert* 31) and operationalising EFL teacher's content knowledge may then represent quite an uneasy task (Shariatifar et al. 500, Brown and Lee 545-547, Freeman et al. 129–139). However, to be able to provide EFL student teachers optimal learning opportunities which help them cope with

the challenges of quality instruction (Strategie vzdělávací politiky České republiky do roku 2020 25), it is essential to define the content of TEFL and identify thinking and learning processes involved in student teachers' professional knowledge development (Worden 106).

Nevertheless, "the absence of focus on subject matter" is considered to be the " 'missing paradigm' problem" (Shulman, "Those Who Understand" 6) not only in the context of the Czech Republic but also abroad (Pířová and Brebera 75). Since there is a gap in researching the development of domain-specific content knowledge of EFL student teachers (Svatoš 788, König "Teachers' Professional Knowledge" 4, 7-8, Worden 106), the aim of this article is to explore what role the pre-service education might play in the development of domain-specific (subject matter) content knowledge of EFL student teachers, namely their knowledge of English language grammar. In the first part, the article outlines EFL student teachers' content knowledge in terms of English grammar and processes of its acquisition and organization. In the second part, the opportunities to learn in the pre-service teacher programme are explored through the content analysis of the syllabi and students' EFL grammatical content knowledge development is measured with comparing their exam scores.

### **EFL student teachers' grammatical content knowledge**

The general categories of knowledge can be applied to professional development of all teachers. In TEFL, a formal and practical (Fenstermacher 1994 in Janík 23) language related knowledge is analysed, evaluated and discussed also in linguistics, a domain specific scholar discipline (Ries 23-34), namely in terms of communicative competence encompassing "both knowledge and ability for language use" (Hymes 1972, in Richards and Rodgers 159).

Communicative (language) competence, ability or, as Bachman and Palmer (63) put it, language knowledge is a complex and complicated linguistic construct, which many scholars try to depict with the help of models (see for example Horváthová 79-80, Duff 18-22), inevitably simplifying the structural complexity of the construct in order to provide a comprehensive overview of the concept. One of the models depicting the ability to communicate in a foreign language is presented in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEF), which "guides language teaching policies, planning, and assessment in countries in the European Union" (Duff 21, Delalande 177). As this is the model which is referred to in the curricular documents of the Czech Republic, hence determining aims and content of English language instruction at all levels of the Czech national school system, the language knowledge of English for Education students' is analysed from the perspective of the CEF model of communicative language competences.

According to CEF (9), communicative language competences (*sic*) "are those which empower a person to act using specifically linguistic means" and includes three main components: linguistic, pragmatic and sociolinguistic knowledge, skills, and know-how. Sociolinguistic and pragmatic competences cover sociocultural conditions of language use and the functional use of linguistic resources and provide participants of communication with abilities necessary for realizing communication appropriately in the given context (CEF 13).

To produce accurate and meaningful communication, an individual should also know and be able to use the formal resources of language described in CEF under linguistic competences. CEF suggests the following areas of the language system organizational knowledge (108-118): lexical (vocabulary), grammatical, semantic (meaning; lexical, grammatical, pragmatic semantics), phonological (sounds), orthographic and orthoepic (coding and decoding a written system of language; writing and reading) competences. The grammatical accuracy, or knowledge of morphology and syntax, is traditionally

96| perceived to be fundamental in terms of producing and recognizing accurately formed utterances or sentences in accordance with the set of principles of their assembling (CEF 112-113, Shulman "Knowledge and Teaching" 9). The qualities of that knowledge are related not only 'to the range and quality of knowledge' of an 'individual's communicative language competence' but also to how that knowledge is cognitively organized, stored and accessed (CEF 13).

### **Acquisition and organization of grammatical content knowledge**

Because the article focuses on the specific group of EFL students – student teachers of EFL - who have experienced instructed EFL learning of a different quality for a substantial amount of their lives (English lessons are suggested to be offered as compulsory from the 3<sup>rd</sup> grade of the primary school, RVP ZV 143), the study is grounded in two models of second language acquisition: Lantolf's computational model of SLA and Vygotskian sociocultural theory, especially concept development, applying complementary not contradictory perspective in the article.

The computational model of SLA "views acquisition as taking place in the mind of learners as a result of attending to and processing the input that they are exposed to" (R. Ellis 33). Acquisition may be described with the help of Vygotsky's definition of concept development as the dynamic knowledge of spontaneous and scientific concepts, the former believed to "develop through own reflections on everyday experience" (Kozulin xxxi), implicitly from usage (N.C. Ellis, "At the interface" 306), being tacit, "unconscious" (Hulstijn 131), the latter typically learned in formal instructional contexts (Kozulin xxxi), being "systematic, hierarchical, and logical" (Worden 107), processing the input intentionally and consciously (Hulstijn 131). N.C. Ellis adds that "implicit and explicit knowledge are dissociable but cooperative" (305) because all cognitive tasks "language being no exception" include conscious and unconscious processes (Gass and Selinker 247). Therefore, "the ultimate goal of concept development then is for spontaneous and scientific concepts to become united into true concepts" (Worden 107).

So, EFL student teachers' grammatical content knowledge is for the purposes of the article defined as the amalgam of spontaneous and scientific concepts of English language morphosyntax, i.e. learners' implicit knowledge or ability to use morphosyntax correctly in the discourse and verbalized explicit (or metalinguistic) knowledge (Bialystok 3) about morphosyntax.

To provide conditions for grammatical content knowledge learning and development of EFL teachers in pre-service teaching programme, scholars agree it is inevitable to create appropriate learning opportunities (Crandall and Miller 632). The concept of learning opportunities describes and analyses learning and development in educational contexts, "is central for investigating the impact of teacher preparation on teacher learning" (König et al. "The Role of Opportunities" 111), and linking opportunities to learn "to learning outcomes such as test scores of teacher knowledge supports the validity of interpreting relevant findings" (Floden, 2002; Messick, 1994 in König et al. "The Role of Opportunities" 111).

### **The study: Examining grammatical knowledge of English language student teachers related to opportunities to learn**

In the University of Pardubice, the TEFL education is realized in the structured form of academic education, i.e. divided in the bachelor (English for Education) and follow-up master (English Language Teacher Education) degrees, in the Department of English and American Studies (DEAS). The typical length of the bachelor's study programme is 3 years and some of the students then continue in the master study programme for two more years.



The general goal of the English for education bachelor study programme is to acquire fundamental domain-specific knowledge base for teaching, namely content knowledge in linguistically and literary-culturally oriented disciplines integrated with pedagogical content knowledge in educational sciences, psychology, pedagogy, and English language teaching methodology. The fundamental knowledge might be then defined as understanding and applying professional conceptual and metalinguistic (or metacognitive) knowledge in both Czech and English languages.

The uniqueness of performing teacher education under one department really enables to apply the model of integrative pre-service teacher education (Hanušová 11), where all the educators involved in professional disciplines offered in the department equally participate and are responsible for the pre-service teacher education. Because on September 1, 2016 the amendment of the act No. 111/1989 of universities, determining new ways of the study programmes system and accreditation processes, came into force, it was necessary for the DEAS educators to evaluate the quality of the existing programmes sufficiently soon enough to analyse the results and take necessary precautions to meet the newly arising requirements and standards imposed on pre-service teacher education. The article presents the results of the study, which was initially used for the evaluative purposes of the bachelor study programme in the accreditation process, and as the process ended successfully, it might be beneficial for the research community to obtain the insight of the study too.

### **Research questions**

To examine whether pre-service English for Education study programme provides opportunities to learn and to develop students' EFL grammatical content knowledge, the article focuses on four research questions:

1. What components of communicative language competences (according to CEF) are addressed in the intended curriculum of the linguistic and communicative modules?
2. What aspects of linguistic competences are covered in the intended curriculum of the linguistic and communicative modules?
3. Are the addressed aspects of linguistic competences developed during the study, i.e. is there a positive relation between student teachers' grammatical knowledge at the beginning (the entrance exam scores) and at the end (final language proficiency exam scores) of their bachelor studies?
4. Does formal explicit instruction have any impact on the practical (implicit) use of English, i.e. is there a correlation in the morphology exam results (MFA2) and the (final) English language proficiency exam scores?

### **Method**

Data were collected in 2014 for the departmental evaluative purposes in order to investigate EFL student teachers' opportunities to learn in the English for Education study programme in relation to their grammatical content knowledge. To get a deep insight in the quality of the study programme and its potential in providing opportunities to learn grammatical knowledge, the data were collected and analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively.

### **Syllabi content analysis**

For the purposes of the study, only the syllabi of linguistic and communicative modules were analysed in detail as it was assumed that the linguistic module is likely to cover explicit instruction of scientific grammatical concepts more deeply while in the communicative module a spontaneous and implicit grammatical knowledge might be addressed more frequently. Concerning the content of the linguistic

98| disciplines in the pre-service bachelor degree teacher education, it is primarily designed on the basis of the structuralistic perspective with sociolinguistic and pragmatic competences explicitly being focused on in the linguistic module in the follow-up master studies. The implicit development of sociolinguistic and pragmatic knowledge in the other modules, namely literature and culture modules, was intentionally excluded from the study. Furthermore, all the compulsory courses of the linguistic and communicative modules are taught in English, hence increasing the amount of learning opportunities with the extensive receptive input.

So, the sample of the syllabi intended for further detailed content analysis was made from the following compulsory courses (versions of the academic years 2012/13 and 2013/14):

a) linguistic module: Introduction to language studies (STJA), Phonetics and phonology (FONA), Morphology 1 (MFA1), Morphology 2 (MFA2), and Syntax 1 (SYN1);

b) communicative module: Language in use 1–4 (JAC1-4), Speaking skills 1, Presentation skills for teachers, and Writing skills 1–2.

Totally, five compulsory syllabi of the subjects in the linguistic and eight in the communicative modules were analysed. In the syllabi, the sections of aims, content and outcomes were surveyed to identify how and what components of communicative language competences are addressed in the intended curriculum of the selected courses (from the perspective of the rationale described in the article). The relevant lexical items (mainly adjectives, verbs and nouns) explicitly denoting categories of communicative language competences were categorised accordingly under the principles of open coding. If a lexical item denoting the category occurred in any of the syllabi parts, it was assumed that the whole course aims at the development of the identified concept.

Example of open coding (extract from JCA1, aim section, version 2013/14):

The aim of this course is the development of students' English language communicative competence in all its aspects - linguistic, pragmatic and strategic. Students will improve their skills to use English language effectively in its spoken and written form appropriately in the social context. The content covers the development of productive and receptive skills on the basis of the relevant subskills acquisition. (Vzdělávací cíle oboru)

From the perspective of communicative language competences, the aims of the course are distinct, explicit metalanguage is used to identify the general aim of the course (*communicative competence* representing the holistic concept of language ability), partial aims (*linguistic, pragmatic and strategic aspects* explicitly cover individual competences), ability to use language (*skills to use...effectively ...in the spoken and written form... appropriately in the social context* target also at the pragmatic competence as well as *productive and receptive skills*), and they focus explicitly on the linguistic competence (*the relevant subskills acquisition*).

However, in terms of knowledge acquisition or cognitive processes of learning there seem to be no explicit lexical clues which would identify those processes or describe opportunities in which they are likely to happen. It might be only tentatively induced from the statement that they happen in interaction (*use of the language*), but how, still remains unclear. As the study searched for the empirical evidence explicitly expressed in the curriculum, the category of knowledge types was therefore excluded from the syllabi analysis.

## Exam scores

The connection between opportunities to learn and students' grammatical knowledge is examined as an outcome measure (see also König et al. "The Role of Opportunities" 113, 2017). Hence, the scores of the (final) English language proficiency exam (JAC4), typically done in the second year of the bachelor study (compulsory communicative module courses are taught in the first two years of the bachelor degree study) are compared with:

- a) the initial proficiency tests (entrance exams) to explore if there is a positive relation between the initial and 'final' student teachers' grammatical knowledge, and
- b) the linguistic knowledge (MFA2 exam done at the end of second year) to explore the impact of explicit morphosyntactical instruction on the student teachers' implicit grammatical knowledge.

The entrance and (final) English language proficiency tests are quasi standardized. The entrance test is done in the written form only and measures the initial acquired level of proficiency in English. The test includes listening and reading comprehension, vocabulary, grammar, and cultural-literal sections. The (final) English language proficiency exam tests both spoken and written skills of learners, i.e. speaking, listening, reading and writing, and selected lexical-grammatical subskills. MFA2 exam diagnoses and evaluates student teachers' morphosyntactical metalanguage knowledge, both in the spoken form. For the purposes of correlation, only the corresponding parts of the tests were compared, i.e. only those parts where language knowledge is tested either implicitly or explicitly and reflected in the written reactions of the student teachers (reading, listening and grammar) to reduce the risk of bias.

## Sample

To compare the initial and final outcomes in terms of English proficiency and the impact of explicit instruction on the outcomes of learning, it was necessary to find a group of students who did their (final) English language proficiency exam in the same year in which they did their MFA2 exam to limit other intervening variables. Based on these criteria, only 19 students of English for Education bachelor study programme, who started their studies in the academic year of 2012/13, were considered relevant for the analysis.

## Findings and discussion

### RQ1

The results of the analysis of the lexical items used in the syllabi are summarized in Table 1 below.

Language competence	Communicative module courses		Linguistic module courses	
	12/13	13/14	12/13	13/14
linguistic	4	4	3	2
sociolinguistic	3	3	0	0
pragmatic	4	4	1	1

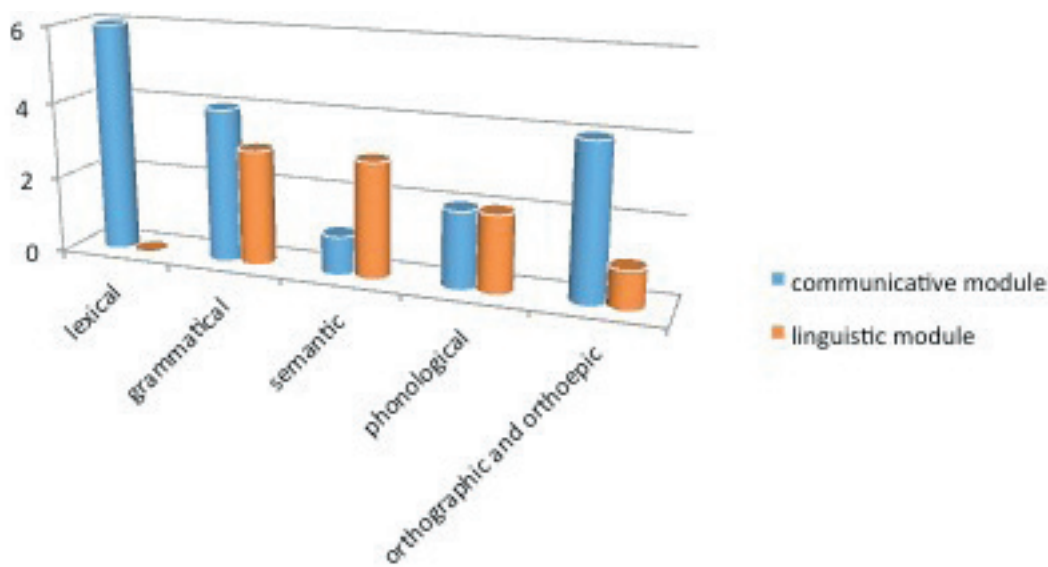
Table 1: Syllabi analysis of the selected module courses

All eight subjects of the communicative module include explicit metalanguage describing linguistic and pragmatic competences, almost the same holds true for sociolinguistic competences, which are not explicitly mentioned only in two courses out of eight. Therefore, the content analysis of the communicative module syllabi is likely to show that the planned intention of the educators is to cover all the aspects of communicative language competences in the instruction and that it is planned to facilitate the overall language knowledge development. Moreover, this happens in such courses where student teachers are required to use the language in production.

The explicit metalanguage used in the selected linguistic module syllabi, which are oriented in their nature more morphosyntactically and scientifically (in the rationale of concept development), proved that in all five linguistic module subjects the emphasis is laid on such components of the communicative language competence that cover mainly morphological and syntactical, i.e. linguistic-receptive, aspects of the language knowledge.

## RQ2

In the second analysis the communicative and linguistic module syllabi were surveyed to identify what categories of the linguistic competences (lexical, grammatical, semantic, phonological, orthographic and orthoepic) are intended to be developed in the bachelor teacher education programme. Graph 1 shows that there is only one aspect of the linguistic competences which is equally mentioned in both the communicative (two subjects) and linguistic (two subjects) modules – phonological competence. The second is grammatical knowledge, which is the most frequently mentioned competence in both modules (four communicative subjects and three linguistic subjects). The lowest occurrence and the biggest difference in terms of frequency is in the lexical competence, which is not addressed by the linguistic courses of the first two years of the bachelor study at all, but referred to in six communicative subjects. Semantic competence is believed to be developed in one communicative subject and three linguistic subjects. The last category of orthographic and orthoepic competence is planned to be focused on in four communicative and one linguistic subjects.



*Graph 1: Syllabi analysis of the courses in the selected modules from the perspective of linguistic competences (based on the frequency of metalanguage terms used in individual subjects)*

Therefore, it implies not only that the grammatical knowledge is almost equally represented in the explicit (formal) instruction but also that students have enough opportunities to use that knowledge in the language production, which stimulates their implicit learning.

If equal attention in the formal and practical disciplines of the discussed study programme is devoted to grammatical competences in the intended syllabi, it can be assumed that the interface of knowledge in that specific aspect of communicative language competences would be the strong one. Based on the findings of the syllabi analysis, the next phase of the study concentrated on measuring the impact of explicit instruction on the grammatical knowledge of students.

### RQ3

As it was assumed the student teachers would have better results in all aspects of communicative competence in the (final) English language proficiency exam than the results they had when entering the studies, it was necessary to identify if there is any correlation and, if any, whether it represents statistically significant relation. Based on this assumption, a null and alternative hypotheses are formed:

$H_0$  = Students' scores in all the selected aspects of communicative language competence in the (final) English language proficiency exam (2014) in English are the same as their scores in the entrance exam (2012).

$H_A$  = Students' scores in the (final) English language proficiency exam (2014) are better in all the selected aspects of communicative language competence than their scores in the entrance exam (2012).

Exam in English language proficiency	Entrance exam			
		Listening	Reading	Grammar
	Listening	<b>0,002309</b>	0,344418	0,282084
	Reading	0,128167	0,116641	0,480652
	Grammar	0,08409	0,201532	0,476631

Table 2: Correlation of the selected aspects of communicative language competences: p-value (1% significance level)

The results in Table 2 show that the only statistically significant correlation is identified in listening (p-value = 0,002309), where p-value is smaller than a therefore a null hypothesis (no difference in results) must be rejected for this skill and the alternative claiming that there is a difference between the initial level and the final of proficiency in English is accepted.

One of the possible explanations of these findings is that due to the character of the study programme, conducted primarily in English, listening as a receptive skill is present in almost all subjects, no matter what module is concerned and thus its development might be enhanced the most. The results are also partially in alignment with de Jong's research (in Gass and Selinker 248), who found out that practising aural comprehension might promote greater speed in comprehension.

102| However, the other correlations in the language knowledge (positive) progress, including grammatical knowledge, are statistically insignificant and thus the null hypothesis cannot be rejected for them. Accepting or rejecting the above mentioned hypotheses concerns only the existence of relation between the entrance exam and the (final) English language proficiency exam but it does not express the quality of that relation.

#### **RQ4**

It was also supposed in the study that the student teachers' scientific grammatical knowledge enhanced by explicit instruction might influence their implicit use of grammar. To explore that phenomenon, the linguistic module MFA2 assessments and the use of language scores in the (final) English language proficiency exam were correlated. The hypotheses were set up as follows:

$H_0$  = Students' metalanguage knowledge (MFA2 exam results, 2014), is not reflected in their use of language in the grammatical part of English language proficiency exam (2014).

$H_A$  = Students' metalanguage knowledge (MFA2 exam results, 2014), is reflected in their use of language in the grammatical part of English language proficiency exam (2014).

To identify whether there is any impact of the explicit metalanguage instruction on the ability of the student teachers' to use grammar correctly, the MFA2 oral assessment of 19 students expressed in marks was statistically correlated with students' scores in the grammatical part of the JAC4 (final) proficiency exam. Again, the result of that correlation is not statistically significant (p-value on 1% significance level is 0.800214, i.e. p-value is larger) and therefore the null hypothesis cannot be rejected.

Based on the findings it might be assumed that in the context of formal education of the particular study programme the explicit form-focused instruction in the morphology courses is not implicitly reflected in learners' ability to use their grammatical knowledge in language production. This may be, of course, affected by many other variables, e.g. different format of testing, instruction provided, selected aspects of communicative competences, etc.

So, the findings are likely to signify the controversy in the results obtained from the content analysis and from the correlation of exam scores. The intended curriculum of the selected subjects might suggest student teachers are provided enough opportunities to learn and acquire both the scientific and spontaneous language concepts, however, the results of the attained curriculum may indicate there is no impact of the explicit instruction, at least in the category of grammatical knowledge. Some of the researches are also rather sceptical about the impact of teacher education (Freeman, 222 and R. Ellis 22). Freeman suggests (222) a shift in research is necessary and he suggests examining learners' perceptions on actions rather than those actions should be started.

#### **Conclusion**

Some of the findings of the study may be perceived as contradictory in terms of language concept acquisition from the diachronic and synchronic views, on the other hand those discrepancies may be seen as challenging not only for future research, but also for teacher educators. In order to obtain plausible findings and deeper understanding of explicit scientific and implicit spontaneous grammatical, or language, knowledge, it is suggested to explore the topic with the use of more research methods and techniques of data collection to identify learning/teaching processes in terms of the interface of knowledge types and variables influencing the interface of language

knowledge types in the context of formal education, to describe their relations, explore causalities, patterns and dependencies. |103

Despite the limitations of the study (sample size, measuring knowledge as an outcome product, not taking into consideration the realized curriculum, etc.), there are some reasons for which it can be valued. One of the assets of the study is for those who teach and plan the relevant study programme courses since the syllabi analysis of the subjects revealed that almost in all the communicative module subjects the overall development of communicative competence is strongly supported. On the other hand, amendments of content facilitating opportunities to learn and acquire are necessary to be done in the individual subjects and disciplines to make them more compatible and interactive to cause changes in student teachers' knowledge.

The aim of the study was to explore the role and importance of pre-service teacher education and its impact on the student teachers' knowledge. Even though there does not exist agreement between authors in terms how to approach different types of knowledge in instruction, not to speak about student teacher education, if the article claims teachers should understand the content they teach and if content knowledge could be seen as a dynamic concept which can be facilitated in teacher education programmes, the topic needs to be discussed and conceptualized to provide student teachers real opportunities to learn even at the beginning of their professional path. The results of the study may then serve as a starting point in the evaluative processes of pre-service teacher education.

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## Unifying WH and Focus Movement: A Case study in English and Czech

*Abstract: In the empirical, descriptive sections of this paper I first present the standard argumentation in favour of the structural and transformational nature of the Wh-questions in English, applying also the same arguments on Czech data. The study compares extraction domains, locality and constraints defined in terms of the assumed structures. I then demonstrate that similar characteristics can be found with Focus fronting in Czech. Because the two processes are subject to the same syntactic constraints, I propose a structural analysis using the concept of a Split CP which contains projections of the functional heads Focus and interrogative Mode. The analysis allows me to conclude that Focus and WH Movements in Czech should be analysed as alike, contrary to a frequent assumption that they are in distinct grammatical components.*

### 1 Introduction

Since the beginning of the generative enterprise, Wh-questions have been taken as a prototypical example of a syntactic dislocation/ transformation. The concept of transformation underwent a substantial development as the framework progressed, but the concept of systematic and motivated re-orderings remains a crucial part of its structural analyses.

Most argumentation for a transformational analysis of Wh-structures goes back to the fundamental and terminologically inspired dissertation of Ross (1967), published as Ross (1986). A more general approach to Wh-constructions was taken by Chomsky in *On Wh-movement* (Chomsky, 1977). Here the author showed parallel characteristics in several Wh-constructions, including Wh-questions, relative clauses, exclamatives, and even comparatives. Although not all details of the above studies currently survive, these paradigms remain essential for the framework till today, representing a useful tool for structural analysis and cross-linguistic comparison.

The scheme below demonstrates the general concept of Wh-fronting as presented in the following study: Wh-fronting is a movement of an interrogative (Wh-)constituent to the clause initial position. This position is assumed to be a Specifier of the top clausal projection CP. In root (unembedded) clauses, Wh-fronting is accompanied by Subject Auxiliary Inversion; see also (32).<sup>[1]</sup>

(1) [<sub>CP</sub> **What** [<sub>C</sub> *did*] [<sub>TP</sub> *your brother* [<sub>T</sub> <t<sub>did</sub>>] [<sub>VP</sub> *read* <t<sub>what</sub>> ]]]

In the next sections, concentrating on Wh-questions, I will summarize typical arguments in favour of the above structural analysis.

### 2 A structural analysis of the Wh-constituents

This section will demonstrate that the Wh-Fronting structures are indeed a syntactic phenomenon. The description of the process requires a structural description of (i) the dislocated constituents, (ii) the initial position of the Wh-constituent, and (iii) the locality of the domain of application.

## 2.1 Pied Piping and Extraction Domains

In the (a) examples below, the Wh-constituent preposed in front of the inverted auxiliary is a Wh-pronoun or adverb (*who, what, when, where*). The (b-c) examples show that the fronted Wh-element can (and in specific cases in fact must) be more complex. The brackets label the constituents as **phrases**: a noun phrase (NP) or prepositional phrase (PP).<sup>[2]</sup>

- (2) *John bought* [<sub>NP</sub> *a new car*].
- a. [<sub>NP</sub> **What**] *did John buy?*  
 b. [<sub>NP</sub> **Which CARS**] *did John buy?*  
 c. \* [<sub>AP</sub> **Which**] *did John buy cars?*
- (3) *He keeps it* [<sub>PP</sub> *in the new house*].
- a. [<sub>PP</sub> **Where**] *does he keep it?*  
 b. [<sub>PP</sub> **IN which HOUSE**] *does he keep it?*  
 c. \* [**(In) Which**] *does he keep it (in) house?*

The examples (2b) and (3b) demonstrate that when we question a part of NP or PP - e.g. an attribute determiner (DET) or adjectival phrase (AP) - we cannot front only the Wh-element, but the whole NP/PP must be dislocated as well. In other words, using Ross's term, the whole phrase has to **pied-pipe** to the clause-initial position. The ungrammaticality of (2c) and (3c)<sup>[3]</sup> are explained in terms of domains which do not allow extraction from within them.

The domains which block extraction are defined in structural terms, as specific phrases which represent a kind of barrier to movement. Examples (2c) and (3c) show examples of where NP and PP are such barriers - or "islands" - which do not allow extractions of their internal (embedded) parts. Sometimes, however, extractions are allowed even from these islands, across the barriers. Below I demonstrate some extractions which illustrate violations of the islands in English and Czech, i.e. extractions which show the limits of the blocking potential of the PP and NP phrasal boundaries.

### 2.1.1 NP Islands

The Czech/ English complex NPs object in (4a/a') contain quantifiers, pre-modifying APs, and post-modifying PPs. The (b/b') examples show that in both Czech and English the whole NP can be fronted when it (or its part) is questioned; this is marked in the example (4b/b') with the categorial label on the trace <t<sub>NP</sub>>. The (c/c') example shows that the PP following the head N can also be fronted separately. However, examples (d/d') demonstrate that the post-modifying PP can be extracted from the **right branch** of the NP only when such an NP is indefinite and it does not contain a possessive. This fact has been labelled as **Definite NP Island** and it is described for English in Chomsky (1968: Ch. 2). The examples below show that with respect to the extraction from the right branch of the complex NP, Czech shows the same restriction as English, i.e. Czech respects the Definite NP Island as well.

- (4)
- |    |      |  |                   |                      |  |
|----|------|--|-------------------|----------------------|--|
| a. | CZ.. | Ty                                       | sis               | přečetl              | tři velmi dlouhé knihy od Nesboa.                              |
|    |      | you <sub>NOM</sub>                       | aux <sub>2S</sub> | read <sub>PAST</sub> | [ <sub>NP</sub> three very long books by Nesbo] <sub>ACC</sub> |
| a' | EN   | "You                                     | have              | read                 | <b>three long books by Nesbo."</b>                             |
| b. | CZ   | <b>Co / Kolik knih / Jaké knihy ]</b>    |                   | sis                  | přečetl <t <sub>NP</sub> >?                                    |
|    |      | <b>Jak dlouhé knihy od Nesboa ]</b>      |                   |                      |  |
| b' | EN   | <b>What /How many books/ Which books</b> |                   | did you              | read <t <sub>NP</sub> >?                                       |
|    |      | <b>How long a book by Nesbo]</b>         |                   |                      |  |
| c. | CZ   | Od koho                                  | sis přečetl       |                      | [ <sub>NP</sub> tři velmi dlouhé knihy <t <sub>PP</sub> >]?    |

c'	EN	By whom	did you read	$[_{NP} \text{ three very long books } < t_{pp} > ]?$
d.	CZ	*Od koho	sis přečetl	$[_{NP} \text{ moje velmi dlouhé knihy } < t_{pp} > ]?$
d'	EN	*By whom	did you read	$[_{NP} \text{ my very long books } < t_{pp} > ]?$

As for prenominal attributes, however, which appear on the left branch of the NP, the examples in (5) illustrate that English does not tolerate any extraction, while Czech easily violates what has been labelled as the **Left Branch Constraint** ("LBC"; see Corver 1990 and/ or Stjepanović 2010).

(5)	CZ	<b>Kolik/ Jaké / Čí/ Jak dlouhé</b>	sis přečetl	$[_{NP} < t > \text{ knih(y) of Nesboa } ]$ .
	EN	<b>*Which/ *How many/</b>	did you read	$[_{NP} < t > \text{ books by Nesbo} ]$ .
		<b>*Whose/ *How long</b>		

The same pattern can be observed in (6b): we can see that questioning an AP predicate is possible in both Czech and English with the whole AP preposed, while questioning of the embedded grading adverb alone in (6c) is ungrammatical in English but acceptable in Czech.

(6)	a.	CZ	<i>Ten strom byl</i>	$[_{AP} \text{ velmi vysoký } ]$ .	
		EN	<i>The tree was</i>	$[_{AP} \text{ very tall } ]$ .	
	b.	CZ	<b>Jak vysoký</b>	<i>byl ten strom</i>	$[_{AP} < t > ]?$
		EN	<b>How tall</b>	<i>was the tree</i>	$[_{AP} < t > ]?$
	c.	CZ	<b>Jak</b>	<i>byl ten strom</i>	$[_{AP} < t > \text{ vysoký } ]?$
		EN	<b>*How</b>	<i>was the tree</i>	$[_{AP} < t > \text{ tall } ]?$

The violation of the LBC, which differentiates English and Czech, thus concerns not only NP but also AP constituents. The phenomenon is typical of most Slavic languages and is often attributed to the fact that these languages lack overt Articles or even Determiners (see e.g. Bošković 2005). The examples in (4), however, indicate that (i) with respect to the right branch extractions from the NP domain, Czech exhibits characteristics similar to English and (ii) the LBC is not restricted to only NPs. Therefore the relation between the LBC and the lack of overt Determiners is not accepted by all linguists and the phenomenon is still a subject to research and discussion.<sup>[4]</sup>

### 2.1.2 PP Islands: Stranding Prepositions

A second extraction domain which illustrates contrasting characteristics in English and Czech is the penetrability of PPs. The following examples demonstrate that in English an NP which is a complement of a preposition can be fronted separately, while in Czech the same extraction is ungrammatical. This phenomenon, **Preposition Stranding**, is very rare across languages but in English it can be found in (7) Wh-questions, (8) relative clauses, and (9) passivized constructions. Notice that all Czech examples with prepositions separated from the NP are unacceptable.<sup>[5]</sup>

(7)	a.	CZ	$[_{PP} \text{ O kom } ]$	<i>mluvil Petr</i>	$[_{PP} < t > ]?$
	b.	EN	$[_{PP} \text{ About who(m) } ]$	<i>did Peter talk</i>	$[_{PP} < t > ]?$
	c.	CZ	$*[_{NP} \text{ Kom } ]$	<i>mluvil Petr</i>	$[_{PP} \text{ o } < t_{NP} > ]?$
	d.	EN	$[_{NP} \text{ Who(m) } ]$	<i>did Peter talk</i>	$[_{PP} \text{ about } < t_{NP} > ]?$

- |     |    |    |                                |                                |                     |   |
|-----|----|----|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|---|
| (8) | a. | CZ | <i>To je ta dívka</i>          | $[_{PP} \text{ o které}]$      | <i>mluvil Petr</i>  | $[_{PP} \langle t \rangle ]?$                     |
|     | b. | EN | <i>This is the girl</i>        | $[_{PP} \text{ about who(m)}]$ | <i>Peter talked</i> | $[_{PP} \langle t \rangle ]?$                     |
|     | c. | CZ | <i>*To je ta dívka</i>         | $[_{NP} \text{ které}]$        | <i>mluvil Petr</i>  | $[_{PP} \text{ o } \langle t_{NP} \rangle ]?$     |
|     | d. | EN | <i>This is the girl</i>        | $[_{NP} \text{ who(m)}]$       | <i>Peter talked</i> | $[_{PP} \text{ about } \langle t_{NP} \rangle ]?$ |
| (9) | a. | CZ | $[_{NP} \text{ Tahle dív-ka}]$ | <i>byla často mluvena</i>      |                     | $[_{PP} \text{ o } \langle t_{NP} \rangle ]?$     |
|     | b. | EN | $[_{NP} \text{ This girl}]$    | <i>was often talked</i>        |                     | $[_{PP} \text{ about } \langle t_{NP} \rangle ]?$ |

The frequency of various English Preposition Stranding structures in (7)-(9) is not the same, but in many cases the stranded variant represents the preferred option. At the same time, however, stranding is not allowed with all English PPs.<sup>[6]</sup>

The examples below demonstrate that the extraction is allowed only of the PPs which are **selected** (subcategorized) **complements** of the predicate Verbs (sometimes even idiomatic clusters). In (10b) stranding is the best option because the PPs are selected complements of the Verb *look*, while in (10d) it is ungrammatical, because the PP *with who* is an adjunct, so this PP has to be fronted as a unit (10e).

- |      |    |                         |                                      |  |   |
|------|----|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|---|
| (10) | a. | <i>Were you looking</i> | $[_{PP} \text{ at/for the picture}]$ | $[_{PP} \text{ with Adam}]?$                 |   |
|      | b. | <b>What</b>             | <i>were you looking</i>              | $[_{PP} \text{ at/for } \langle t \rangle ]$ | $[_{PP} \text{ with Adam}]?$                |
|      | c. | <b>? At what</b>        | <i>were you looking</i>              | $[_{PP} \langle t \rangle ]$                 | $[_{PP} \text{ with Adam}]?$                |
|      | d. | <b>* Who</b>            | <i>were you looking</i>              | $[_{PP} \text{ for the picture}]$            | $[_{PP} \text{ with } \langle t \rangle ]?$ |
|      | e. | <b>With whom</b>        | <i>were you looking</i>              | $[_{PP} \text{ for the picture}]$            | $[_{PP} \langle t \rangle ]?$               |

The complement of the Verb is the right hand sister of the head V. Therefore, if a PP immediately follows a Verb its analysis can be ambiguous between complement or adjunct. If the PP allows interpretation as a selected complement (i.e. it can be interpreted as affected, which partially depends on speaker's intention), stranding is allowed. In (11a) the *bed* is plausibly modified by the *sleeping*, and the *bridge* in (11c) perhaps became famous by being *walked under* by the great *Caesar*. The same interpretations, however, are less plausible in (11b) and (11d), and therefore these examples with stranding are less acceptable, or felt as semantically deviant.

- |      |    |   |
|------|----|---|
| (11) | a. | <i>I am sure this bed has been slept in.</i>                          |
|      | b. | <i>??? I am sure this bed has been slept next to.</i>                 |
|      | c. | <i>This bridge was walked under by Caesar on his last expedition.</i> |
|      | d. | <i>?? That railroad bridge was walked under by Lola.</i>              |

The fact that preposition stranding is unacceptable in adjunct structures indicates that under standard conditions, PP is a barrier for extraction in English, too, and its preposition stranding contexts represent a kind of exception requiring a special analysis.<sup>[7]</sup>

In this section I have demonstrated that the Wh-constituent in both English and Czech behaves syntactically according to its position in phrasal structure. The restrictions on the extraction domains are also fully comparable; in spite of the fact that the barrierhood of the NP and PP can sometimes be voided depending on language specific parameters.

## 110| 2.2 Multiple Wh-Questions

In the Wh-questions we were examining until now, there is only one Wh-constituent – the one fronted. There can also be, however, multiple Wh-questions, which ask about more than one constituent. If there are more than two Wh-constituents in one clause, the interpretation becomes more difficult to process, but two Wh-constituents do appear rather frequently. The following examples show that if two Wh-constituents co-occur in one clause in English, their distribution is sensitive to their structural analysis. The contrast between examples (12b) and (12d) shows that in English, it is only the hierarchically higher one which is fronted. The other one, hierarchically lower, remains in situ (in its canonical position). The required hierarchical order of fronted Wh-constituents in English is called the **Superiority Effect**.

- (12) a. CZ **Co**<sub>ACC</sub> *dala Emily* **komu**<sub>DAT</sub>?  
 b. EN **What** *did Emily send to* **whom**?  
 c. CZ **Komu**<sub>DAT</sub> *poslala Emily* **co**<sub>ACC</sub>?  
 d. EN \***Who(m)** *did Emily send* **what** (to)?  
 \***To who(m)** *did Emily send* **what**?

The contrasting Czech examples in (12a/c) above show that leaving a Wh-constituent in situ is always an option. Notice, however, that the choice of the fronted constituent is random in Czech, showing no sign of a Superiority Effect.

Moreover, contrary to English, it is possible in Czech to front more than one Wh-constituent, and the ordering in the cluster shows no Superiority Effect either. <sup>[8]</sup>

- (13) a. CZ **Co**<sub>ACC</sub> **komu**<sub>DAT</sub> *Emily dala*?  
 b. EN \***What whom** *did Emily give (to)*?  
 (14) a. CZ **Komu**<sub>DAT</sub> **co**<sub>ACC</sub> *Emily dala*?  
 b. EN \***Who(m) what** *did Emily give (to)*?

This difference between English and Czech multiple Wh-questions suggests a structural distinction in the initial part of a clausal structure, which is the assumed surface position of the Wh-constituent(s). We will see alternative proposals for clausal structure in section 4.

### 3 Locality of Wh-Movement

The Wh-structures illustrated above show a movement within a simple clause, as in (15a). Consider, however, the example in (15b).

- (15) a. [<sub>NP</sub> **How many pictures of himself**] *did John buy* <t<sub>NP</sub>> ?  
 b. [<sub>NP</sub> **How many pictures of himself**] *does Mary believe John bought* <t<sub>NP</sub>> ?

In (15b) a fronted NP *how many picture of himself* is interpreted as a subcategorized complement of the embedded Verb *buy*. (This accounts for why the anaphor *himself* is bound by the embedded clause subject *John*.) The Wh-constituent, however, is pronounced in front of the matrix verb *believe*, and the clause with the predicate *believe* is marked as interrogative (with an inverted auxiliary). As schematically illustrated in (16), the Wh-constituent has been dislocated *across the clausal boundary*.

(16) *How many pictures of himself<sub>i</sub> do you believe [<sub>clause</sub> that he<sub>i</sub> bought [<sub>NP</sub> <t> ]]*?

The phenomena illustrated in (15b) and (16) is called **Long Distance Wh-Movement**, and the example (17a) demonstrates that the distance between where the Wh-constituent is interpreted (marked as <t> in the domain of the predicate that selects it) and the overt realization of the Wh-constituent in front of the whole complex sentence can be in fact quite long. This kind of presumably unrestricted domain is also attested in a relative clause, as illustrated in (17b). The clausal boundaries are marked with the bracket [<sub>CP</sub> below because the assumed top projection of a clause is the projection of a complementizer C. For clarity the predicates are underlined.

- (17) a. *What did Mary tell you [<sub>CP</sub> (that) Emily thought [<sub>CP</sub> (that) he had persuaded her [<sub>CP</sub> (that) she should buy <t> ]]]?*  
 b. *This is the man whom Carl believes [<sub>CP</sub> (that) Bob knows [<sub>CP</sub> Mary likes <t> ]].*

Although the number of clausal boundaries which are between the preposed Wh-constituent and its subcategorized position seems to be syntactically unlimited, the movement is not simply “unbounded”. The extraction is possible *only from complement clauses*, i.e. CPs selected by specific matrix verbs, as illustrated in (18a). An adjunct clause in (18b) does not permit extraction either.

- (18) a. *Where did she think [<sub>CP</sub> (that) John soon went <t>]?*  
 b. *\*Where did she think so [<sub>CP</sub> because John soon went <t>]?*

Moreover, the ability to allow extraction from their clausal (CP) complements is an idiosyncratic characteristic of only a limited number of Verbs, the so called **Bridge Verbs**. The following examples show that *think* and *say* are bridge verbs while *whisper* and *answer* are not, in spite of the semantic closeness of the lexical entries.

- (19) a. *When does she think/say [<sub>CP</sub> that Mary will help you <t> ]?*  
 b. *\*When did she whisper/answer [<sub>CP</sub> that Mary would help you <t>]?*

The relevant property of English bridge verbs is discussed in detail in Erteschik-Shir (1973). She and other authors mention a high level of grammaticalization of the bridge verbs, and they argue that this characteristic cannot be captured referring only to their meaning.

### 3.1 Long Distance Movement in Czech

Looking for Czech equivalents of English Long Distance structures like those above, it is clear that the same Long Distance Wh-movement is not standard in Czech. When a matrix verb such as *vědět* ‘know’ in (20) selects a [+Wh] clausal complement, Wh-dislocation takes place only within the embedded clause.

- (20) a. *Máša ví, [<sub>CP</sub> co/\*že si Tom koupil <t>].*  
           ‘Mary knows [<sub>CP</sub> what/that Tom bought <t>].’  
 b. *\*Co Máša ví, [<sub>CP</sub> že si Tom koupil <t>].*  
           ‘What Mary knows [<sub>CP</sub> that Tom bought <t>].’

112| On the other hand, when the matrix verb like *myslet si* 'think' selects only a [-WH] clausal complement, Wh-dislocation cannot take place within the embedded clause, as demonstrated in (21a) because it would violate the subcategorization. Then there are two ways to create a Wh-question. Standard Czech requires creating a Wh-dislocation of an argument of the matrix predicate and then co-indexing this Wh-word with an overt pronoun in the embedded clause. In (21b) the co-indexed elements are *o čem* (about what) which is an argument of *myslet* (think) and *to* (it) which is a cliticized argument of *koupit* 'buy'. In this kind of structure the Wh-Fronting does not cross the clausal boundaries.

- (21) a. \**Máša si myslí*, [<sub>CP</sub> *co* *si Tom koupil* <t> ]?  
 'Mary thinks [<sub>CP</sub> *what* Tom bought <t> ]?'  
 b. *O čem* *si Máša myslí* [<sub>CP</sub> *že si to Tom koupil* ]?  
 About what<sub>i</sub> Mary thinks <t<sub>i</sub>> [<sub>CP</sub> *that*<sub>REFL</sub> *it*<sub>i</sub> Tom bought ]  
 'About what does Mary think that Tom bought it?'

In colloquial language, however, equivalents of English Long Distance Movement appear quite frequently, especially with a reflexive verb *myslet si* 'think'. Czech descriptive grammar manuals do marginally accept a fronted Adjunct (adverbial) Wh-constituent as in (22a). Speakers of Czech, however, also accept Wh-complement extractions from embedded clauses as in (22b).

- (22) a. *Kde* *si Máša myslí* [<sub>CP</sub> *že si to Tom koupil* ]?  
 Where Mary thinks [<sub>CP</sub> *that* *it*<sub>ACC</sub> Tom bought <t> ]  
 'Where does Mary think that Tom bought it?'  
 b. %*Co* *si Máša myslí* (*že Petr říkal*) [<sub>CP</sub> *že si Tom koupil* ]?  
 %What<sub>ACCi</sub> Mary thinks (that Peter said) [<sub>CP</sub> *that* Tom bought <t> ]  
 'What does Mary think (that Peter said) that Tom bought?'

To conclude: in specific contexts, Wh-dislocation in English creates structures with a syntactically unlimited distance between the overt Wh-constituent and its canonical position. In Czech the long distance Wh-dislocations are less standard but show similar characteristics; they require the embedded clause to be a selected complement of a suitable bridge verb, and there seems to be only one generally acceptable bridge verb in Czech – a reflexive *myslet si* 'think'.<sup>[9]</sup>

### 3.2 Constraining the Long Distance Dislocations (Islands)

Apart from general constraints on Wh-Fronting, there are some other language specific constraints, several of which are discussed since Ross (1967).

First, consider (23a). It shows that the presence of the English complementizer *that* is optional when we question post-verbal complementation of the predicate (complements and adjuncts).

- (23) a. *Who(m)* *did Emily say that John would meet* <t> ? - *He would meet* Mary  
 b. *Where* *did Emily say that John would meet* *Mary* <t>? - *He'd meet her* here.

However, in (24), the Wh-constituent represents the **Subject** of the embedded predicate, and the ungrammaticality of example (b) shows that an overt *that* followed by a trace <t> is unacceptable.



- (24) a. *Who did Emily say <t> would meet Mary?* - *John would.*  
 b. \**Who did Emily say that <t> would meet Mary?*

This restriction is called the **that-Trace Filter** (or *that*-trace effect) and many theoretical explanations have been proposed for why the structure is ungrammatical – in English.<sup>[10]</sup> In Czech, however, the presence of a complementizer *že* ‘that’ is obligatory, provided the matrix verb selects it. The example in (25) shows that there is no *that*-Trace Filter effect in Czech.

- (25) **Kdo** *si Máša myslí* [<sub>CP</sub> **že** / . $\emptyset$  <t> *mu to koupil* ]?  
**who** *Mary thinks* [<sub>CP</sub> **that** / . $\emptyset$  <t> *him it bought* ]  
 ‘Who does Mary think  $\emptyset$  / \*that bought it for him?’

Another constraint on the long distance movement which appears in English and not in Czech is illustrated in (26). In the example more than one constituent is questioned (*who*, *where*). We can see that in English, with one Wh-constituent moves long distance and the other stays in situ, the structures are grammatical; see (26a/c). But when one Wh-constituent moved long distance and the other moves only to the front of the embedded clause, the structures are ungrammatical; see (26b/d).

- (26) a. **Who(m)** *did Peter say* [<sub>CP</sub> (that) *John was waiting for* <t> **where** ]?  
 b. \***Who(m)** *did Peter say* [<sub>CP</sub> **where** (was) *John (was) waiting for* <t><t> ]?  
 c. **Where** *did Peter say* [<sub>CP</sub> (that) *John was waiting for* **whom** <t> ]?  
 d. \***Where** *did Peter say* [<sub>CP</sub> **who(m)** *John (was) waiting for* <t><t> ]?

illustrates the so called **Wh-Island Constraint** which refers to the ungrammaticality of extraction from an embedded clause introduced by a Wh-constituent. The standard explanation is based on constraining the locality of syntactic movement: the Long Distance Movement in (26a) requires the Wh-constituent to move “**successive cyclically**” (gradually, in steps) from one clause-initial position to another, as in (27).<sup>[11]</sup>

- (27) a. **Whom** *did Peter say* [<sub>CP</sub> <t> (that) *John was waiting for* <t> **where** ]?  
 b. \***Whom** *did Peter say* [<sub>CP</sub> <t>/**where** *John (was) waiting for* <t> <t> ]?
- 

Empty copies <t> of movement appear in their original positions and also in all intermediate positions, and all those positions have to be properly licensed (recoverable). The Wh-constituent occupying the initial position of the embedded clause blocks the space for the needed intermediate trace <t>, making the structure ungrammatical. This empty initial position is thus a prerequisite (an **escape hatch**) for long distance dislocations.

The Czech example (28) shows no sign of the Wh-Island Constraint. To the extent the long distance movement is acceptable, it is not restricted by the presence of a Wh-constituent introducing the embedded clause. The position of the Czech complementizer *že* ‘that’ is either in front of or after or in between the Wh-constituents.

- 114| (28) a. **Kdo** si Máša myslí (že) **komu (že)** koupil tu knihu ] ?  
**who<sub>i</sub>** Mary thinks [<sub>CP</sub> (that) **whom<sub>k</sub>** (that) <t<sub>i</sub>> bought the book <t<sub>k</sub>>]  
 'Who does Mary think (that) bought the book for whom?'
- b. **Co** si Máša myslí (že) **komu (že)** Tom koupil ?  
**what<sub>i</sub>** Mary thinks [<sub>CP</sub> that **whom<sub>k</sub>** that Tom bought <t<sub>i</sub>><t<sub>k</sub>>]  
 'What does Mary think (that) Tom bought for whom?'

The grammaticality of the Czech examples (28) makes the same distinction we noticed in section 2.2 with respect to Multiple Wh-Questions; the top part of a clause shows different characteristics in English and Czech. I will propose a structural analysis of the left clausal periphery in section 4. First, however, I will introduce some data which suggest the similarity/ relatedness between Wh-Fronting and the fronting of a contrastively stressed (focused) constituent in Czech.

### 3.3 WH and Focus Movement compared

In the Czech linguistic tradition, information structure is supposed to represent a special level distinct from the grammatical (= syntactic) structure.<sup>[12]</sup> In this section, however, I show that movement to the contrastively stressed initial position in Czech is subject to the same syntactic restrictions as the Wh-movement discussed in earlier sections. In other words, to the extent that a construction allows a constituent to be questioned in Czech (using Wh-movement), it can also be fronted to become contrastively stressed, i.e. Focused.<sup>[13]</sup>

In terms of the restrictions on extraction domains for Wh-constituents as illustrated in section 2 by the examples (5), the parallel examples in (29c) show that Czech Focus fronting violates the LBC in the same way.

- (29) a. CZ **Jaké/ Zelené auto** bych si nekoupil [<sub>NP</sub> <t>] ?/.
- b. EN **Which/ A green car** I would not buy [<sub>NP</sub> <t>] ?/.
- c. CZ **Jaké/ Zelené** bych si to [<sub>NP</sub> <t> **auto**] nekoupil ?/.
- d. EN **\* Which / \*Green** I would not buy [<sub>NP</sub> <t> **a car**] ?/.

The example (30) is parallel to (4) in section 2. In (30a/b) I show that focus (contrastive stress) extraction from the right branch of NP is sometimes allowed. In (30b/c) we can see that the acceptability of focus fronting is sensitive to the **Definite NP Constraint** – the presence of a definite demonstrative or a possessive renders the structure unacceptable.

- (30) a. CZ **Od Nesboa** jsem přečetl mnoho dlouhých knih.  
 b. **by Nesbo** I read [<sub>NP</sub> many long books <t>]
- c. CZ **\*Od Nesboa** jsem přečetl **tvoje** velmi dlouhé knihy.  
 d. **\*by Nesbo** I read [<sub>NP</sub> **your** very long books <t>]

Given that the structural restrictions on the extraction domain is supposed to be an argument in favour of syntactic Wh-movement, the contrasting examples in (29) and (30) argue for a structurally parallel **Focus Movement** and against some vaguely defined stylistic (non-syntactic) surface reordering.

Along the same lines, long distance extraction in Czech does not confirm to the *That-Trace* Filter. In (31) the trace of the extracted Wh-word can be preceded by a trace <t>. In (31) the same is true of the focused subject *Tomáš* 'Thomas'.

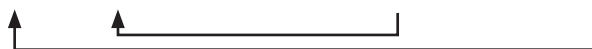
- (31) a. **Kdo<sub>i</sub>**, *si Máša myslí* [<sub>CP</sub> -- že <t>] *Petrovi knihu?* *nekoupil*  
**who<sub>i</sub>**, *Mary<sub>NOM</sub> thinks* [<sub>CP</sub> -- that <t>] *Peter<sub>DAT</sub> book<sub>ACC</sub>* not-bought  
 'Who does Mary think (\*that) bought Peter a book?'
- b. **Tomáš<sub>i</sub>**, *si Máša myslí* [<sub>CP</sub> -- že <t>] *Petrovi knihu?* *nekoupil*  
**Thomas<sub>i</sub>**, *Mary<sub>NOM</sub> thinks* [<sub>CP</sub> -- that <t>] *Peter<sub>DAT</sub> book<sub>ACC</sub>* not-bought  
 'It was Thomas that Mary thinks (that) bought Peter the book.'

To the extent that Wh-movement represents a prototypical syntactic phenomenon, it follows that at least a part of information structure, namely the contrastive stress fronting or Focus Movement, can and should also be analysed as an integral part of syntactic derivation.

#### 4 A Structure for WH Movements

Since Chomsky (1981) the top domain of the clause has been assumed to consist of two (universally projecting) functional domains. The lower one is IP (or TP) with the head I/T, hosting Modals in English, and a SPEC(IP/TP), which is the position of a clause's Subject. As suggested in the structure (1) repeated below as (32), the projection above TP is labelled as CP, the Complementizer Phrase, and it contains a head C (a complementizer or an inverted Auxiliary in English questions) and a phrasal SPEC(CP), which is the position of fronted Wh-constituents.

- (32) [<sub>CP</sub> **What** [<sub>C</sub> *did*] [<sub>TP</sub> *your brother* [<sub>T</sub> <t<sub>did</sub>>] [<sub>VP</sub> *read* <t<sub>what</sub>> ]]]



Assuming the above structure in English, the uniqueness of the SPEC(CP) position is used to explain the WH Island phenomena and the restriction on multiple Wh-questions in English analysed in section 2.2. The contrasting examples in Slavic (here illustrated with Czech), however, require some plausible formalization of the difference in the top periphery of the clausal structure. The proposals which have appeared in the literature are several:

- (33) a. multiple adjunction (i.e. unlimited recursive phrasal merge) to CP, the topmost clausal projection,<sup>[14]</sup>  
 b. multiple adjunctions to the IP projection,<sup>[15]</sup>  
 c. inserting some specific (functional) projection(s) between/ above TP and CP.

#### 4.1 Focus Phrase

The most up to date analyses are working with some kind of more complex clausal structure. The authors use several functional heads instead of (or together with) the CP projection. Such a structure is labelled as a split CP or cartographic structure. I will describe this concept in section 4.2.<sup>[16]</sup>

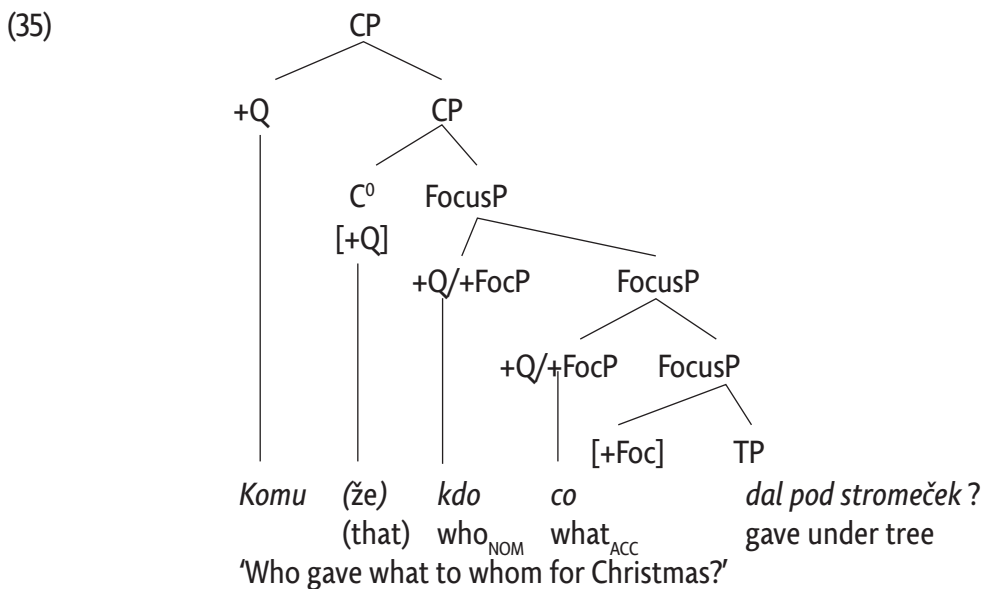
Comparing a range of Slavic languages with English, Bošković (1997; 2002; 2007) proposes to insert a functional projection of **Focus** between TP and CP. He argues that the multiple Wh-constituents in Slavic can be best explained by assuming that they represent a combination of Wh-Fronting and Focus Fronting. Some (namely the initial) Wh-constituents are dislocated to SPEC(CP) and others, which are non-initial, are located in SPEC(Focus). Bošković assumes that the SPEC(CP) is unique and subject to the Superiority effect, while the Focus projection allows recursive adjunction and does not show any Superiority restrictions.<sup>[17]</sup>

116| The Czech data presented in Bošković's study are scarce and murky. His proposal, however, remains attractive. The example in (28b) repeated below as (34) shows a violation of the Wh-Island Constraint in Czech. We can see that the second Wh-word *komu* 'whom' can either precede or follow the complementizer *že* 'that'. This data can be explained by assuming that the non-initial Wh-constituents are in the SPEC(Focus), leaving the top SPEC(CP) – the so-called escape hatch – free to host the intermediate trace <t>.

(34) **Co<sub>i</sub>** si Máša myslí [<sub>CP</sub> (**že**) **komu<sub>k</sub>** (**že**) Tom koupil ] ?  
**what<sub>i</sub>** Mary thinks [<sub>CP</sub> <t<sub>i</sub>> (that) **whom<sub>k</sub>** (that) Tom bought <t<sub>i</sub>><t<sub>k</sub>> ]  
 What does Mary think (that) Tom bought for whom?

Bošković's proposal can be accepted if we stipulate that, in contrast to English, no Czech Wh-constituent has to move to the topmost CP projection, and that the topmost projection does not attract the hierarchically highest Wh-constituent. In addition, a more precise analysis of the Czech complementizer *že* 'that' is needed with respect to its various (and even multiple) positions.<sup>[18]</sup>

In any case, enlarging the CP projection is a strategy which is able to accommodate multiple Wh-questions in Slavic. It can explain violations of the Wh-Island Constraint and *That-Trace* Filter in terms of a single structural distinction between English and Slavic. The following scheme uses the analysis proposed in Bošković – showing, however, that contrary to his claim, Czech does not show any Superiority effects.<sup>[19]</sup>



The structure proposed in Bošković (2002) is quite economical, but we have seen that it requires some provisos to accommodate the Czech data.<sup>[20]</sup> In the following section I will sketch a similar proposal which is able to cover both the English and Czech data more easily.

#### 4.2 Split-CP

In the current framework, the most generally accepted alternative to a more articulated CP domain is the one proposed in Rizzi (1997). He argues that the CP domain is divided/ split into more projections, which provide positions for co-occurring elements on the left periphery of an English clause. He

replaces C by a sequence of separate heads from which two, Force and Fin(ite) are obligatory. Two others are discourse related and optional (Focus and Topic). Rizzi (2001) proposes an even more articulated structure of this domain, which consists of a string of functional heads:

- (36) Rizzi (2001: 289)  
 [ Force... [ \* [ Interrogative [ \* [ Focus [ \* [ Fin ....

The \* in (36) is the location of optional projection(s) of **Topic**, which can host left dislocated phrases in their SPEC that are interpreted as old information in the discourse; they are plausibly multiple, given the acceptability of multiple Topics in a language.<sup>[21]</sup>

According to Rizzi, the topmost head **Force**, which determines a clausal type (clausal modality), can be occupied by (some) Complementizers or (some/ embedded) Wh-elements. The Interrogative head can also host some Wh-elements (only complement Whs in Italian). The projection labelled as **Focus** is primarily a place for new information pointed out in the discourse, and it is the position assumed for Wh, Negative and Focus elements, especially for those that trigger Subject Auxiliary Inversion in e.g. English. The bottommost head **Fin** in (36) is intended to contain the finite vs. infinitive specification of the following clause, and perhaps some complementizer.<sup>[22]</sup>

In his analysis, Rizzi mainly discusses data from Italian. Haegemann (2010), using English data from or Culicover (1991) investigates several types of fronting phenomena. She concentrates on dislocations which co-occur with Subject Auxiliary Inversion like those below, which illustrate Wh-questions, Neg-fronting and Focus preposing.<sup>[23]</sup>

- (37) a. **When/ Where** (in the world) / **How** (on earth) will Henry find that book?  
 b. **Never/Hardly ever** does Henry read such novels. / **Not one person** did she help.  
 c. **Only once** did she help me. / **And so** did her husband.

This so called cartographic analysis (developing Rizzi 1997) reflects the fact that many of the phrasal dislocations that trigger inversion are incompatible. In other words, the example in (38a/b) contrasted with (38c/d) show that we can focus one constituent and at the same time Wh-question another constituent – assuming we obey a specific order. On the other hand, negation and focusing do not co-occur, as seen in (38e).<sup>[24]</sup>

- (38) a. Last week **with whom** did he go to the conference?  
 b. ? This book **to which students** did you give (it)?  
 c. \***With whom** (did) last week (did) he go to the conference?  
 d. \***To whom** (would) this book (would) you recommend?  
 e. \* **Never again** beans will I eat.

Haegemann (2010) argues that paradigms like those above, i.e. those which require specific word orders, must be of a syntactic nature. Referring to Rizzi's Split-CP hypothesis, Haegemann sums up the distribution of fronted and inverted elements at the left periphery as in (39). I make bold the Wh-constituents: notice that they have different positions in embedded and root clauses.

- (39) Distribution of the elements within the Split-CP model  
 a. Complementizers are located in the head positions of Force and/or Fin;

- b. Topics, including constituent negation, are located in SPEC(Topic);
- c. **Wh-phrases** in embedded clause are located in SPEC(Force);
- d. **Wh-phrases** in root clauses, clausal Neg and Focus are located in SPEC(Focus);
- e. Auxiliary inverts into Fin (and can also move upwards).

Haegemann (2010) argues that more general principles can take care of the various cross-linguistic restrictions in distribution. She proposes the Wh/ Neg/ Focus Criteria, which require the Wh/ Neg/ Foc operators to be in Spec-Head configurations with the respective heads X-[Wh/ Neg/ Foc]. This adjacency requirement may be satisfied by feature compatibility if no overt lexical entry is inserted in these positions, or alternatively it may require the presence of compatible lexical entries. The latter adjacency requirement may restrict the co-occurrence of some combinations, e.g. those in (38), because in English, both fronted constituents require adjacency to the fronted Auxiliary.

In Czech, however, there is no overt Auxiliary inversion and therefore no adjacency requirement of the kind applicable in English. As a result the constituents located in the SPECS of several functional heads which can host Wh-constituents may co-occur. Their order, however, is not free, even though the ordering is not identical with those in English demonstrated above.

- (40) a. *\*Od Nesboa<sub>i</sub> kdy<sub>k</sub> přečetl pět dlouhých knih?*  
*By Nesbo<sub>i</sub> when<sub>k</sub> read<sub>3SM</sub> [NP long books < t<sub>i</sub> >] < t<sub>k</sub> >.*  
 'By Nesbo - when did he read five books?'
- b. *?Kdy<sub>i</sub> od Nesboa<sub>k</sub> přečetl pět dlouhých knih?*  
*when<sub>i</sub> by Nesbo<sub>k</sub> read<sub>3SM</sub> [NP long books < t<sub>i</sub> >] < t<sub>k</sub> >.*  
 'When - by Nesbo did he read five books?'

The attested incompatibility of some specific orderings and paradigms demonstrates that the processes of Neg, Focus and Wh-Fronting are occurring in the same clause initial field and that some even compete for the same structural position. The position of second fronted constituent is not clear in Czech. It cannot be pre-clitic, but the preverbal field seems to be able to host a range of constituents. The standard interpretation of those constituents is non-focused (the so called scrambling), but with contrastive stress focus is also available.

As for interpretation, the features of the clause initial projections are sensitive to interrogative modality, negation and information structure (e.g. Focus).

To conclude: Based on the characteristics of Wh-questions as assumed for English, I have provided a structural analysis of Wh-Fronting in Czech. I propose that both typologically distinct languages can be analysed in terms of a transformation (movement), i.e. an internal Merge which leaves a copy (trace) in the canonical position of a questioned constituent. Moreover, I have demonstrated that Wh-Frontings in Czech Wh-questions show characteristics similar to those of Focus fronting, which results in distinct interpretations involving contrastive stress. Both of the processes can therefore be described in terms of a movement. I sketched different analyses of the phenomena in the generative literature, concluding that a version of Rizzi's Split CP hypothesis is best for explaining the data in the two languages.

### Acknowledgement

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## Notes

- [1] In today's Minimalism, the label *internal Merge* is the equivalent of movement. In both models a constituent already assumed or required to appear in a structure can re-appear in another, hierarchically higher position. Although theoretically present in several places, usually only the initial position of the constituent is phonetically realized. Given that the technicalities of the transformational process are not the topic of this paper, I will use the general and transparent term *movement* here. I indicate a phonetically unrealized copy/ trace of movement as <t>.
- [2] The examples in this study are schematic, to demonstrate the principles, not to provide a list of corpora occurrences. Some also represent paradigms adopted from linguistic literature. Extensive data illustrating Wh-Fronting paradigms in English are provided in Culicover (1991), Lasnik and Saito (1984), and Zwicky (1986).
- [3] As is standard in a generative framework (but see also Huddleston and Pullum (2002)) in the following text I label the unacceptable examples as \*, those with a low level of acceptability as ? (or ??/???) and the structures which are acceptable only with some speakers as %. The framework does not correlate grammaticality with respect to frequency. It assumes an underlying universal structure which allows projection (realization) of the syntactic features of individual and language-particular lexical entries. If the structural principles are violated, the result is marked as ungrammatical, even if it can be pronounced and understood.
- [4] Alternative analyses describe the LBC violations as a kind of "remnant movement" which in fact requires the DP level to be present. See the discussion in Veselovská (2018: section 3.4) and the numerous studies cited there. No clear explanation for why such a remnant movement is impossible in English is provided there either. A suggested reason refers to the presence of overt agreement morphemes on adjectives in Slavic.
- [5] Extensive cross linguistic and diachronic discussion of stranding phenomena in formal linguistic frameworks appears in e.g. van Riemsdijk (1978), Hornstein & Weinberg (1981), Maling & Zaenen (1985), and Law (2005).
- [6] A description of preposition stranding in Modern English is provided in Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 627-631), including stylistic varieties of a wide range of more or less acceptable contexts.
- [7] For a theoretical analyses of preposition stranding in a minimalist phase-based framework see Abels (2003, 2012) and Stanton (2016). A non-generative discussion can be found in e.g. Ursini (2015).
- [8] A detailed experimental study of a variety of superiority effects has also been conducted by Mayer (2004) for Czech data. The author shows the lack of superiority in Czech Wh-Fronting structures and explains any apparent hierarchical order by V-internal scrambling.
- [9] Because of the uniqueness of the structures with the verb *myslet si* (think), some authors (e.g. Toman 1982) propose that the long distance structures in Czech may in fact be only idiomatic parenthetical structures loaned from German. See the discussion in Veselovská (1993; 2017). In that study I show that a greater number of crossed clausal boundaries lowers acceptability in Czech. On the other hand, a distinction between acceptability of long distance extractions in complements and adjuncts is not attested in Czech data, although this contradicts the discussion for English in Lasnik and Saito (1984). I will not consider here this distinction, which they explain in terms of proper government vs. antecedent government.
- [10] The term comes from Perlmutter (1968). For theoretical discussions see also Chomsky and Lasnik (1977) or more recently Abels (2012), Bošković (2016) and Douglas (2017).
- [11] The term was introduced together with those for a number of other constraints/ islands in Ross

- (1967). For a detailed discussion in the Government and Binding framework see Lasnik & Saito (1984), or more lately in the minimalist framework in Boeckx (2012).
- [12] See e.g. Poldauf's (1963) concept of the "third syntactic plan", or the concept of Functional Sentence Perspective used in the Prague Linguistic Circle in Mathesius (1915), Firbas (1992) and Svoboda (1989). The Functional Generative Framework (Topic Focus Analysis) in Sgall, Hajičová and Buráňová (1980) and Sgall, Hajičová and Panevová (1986) includes a special tecto-grammatical level to accommodate aspects of information structure.
- [13] For some semantic definitions of Focus, see Rochemont (1978), Rooth (1985), Krifka (1992; 2001), and Zubizarreta (1998).
- [14] A multiple adjunction (or a single Wh-cluster) in the CP domain is proposed (typically for Bulgarian) in Rudin (1988), Billings and Rudin, (1996), and Grewendorf (2006).
- [15] Multiple adjunction to IP (TP) has been proposed in e.g. Wachowicz (1974), Lasnik and Saito (1984) and Veselovská (1995).
- [16] A cross-linguistic comparison of multiple Wh-Fronting in the Minimalist framework can be found in Boeckx and Grohman (2003). This collection of studies covers multiple Wh-Fronting in South Slavic languages (Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian), German and also some non-Indoeuropean languages (Basque, Malagasy, Persian, Yiddish, Hungarian). The studies discuss the optionality of fronting, Superiority vs. Anti-Superiority, and interface issues concerning semantics, pragmatics, and phonology.
- [17] Bošković's studies make more general typological claims: he claims that several characteristics correlate with multiple Wh-Fronting with superiority effects: e.g. the lack of determiner (D) and the presence of scrambling. Schuurman (2016), however, shows that there is no relationship between the presence of articles, the D feature, and appearance of superiority effects in obligatory multiple Wh-fronting languages. I will not address this broad topic here; for some data and discussion see Veselovská (1994).
- [18] This unmarked Complementizer can also be used in a simple (possibly root/ matrix) interrogative clause as a signal of "reproduced" information.
- [19] Turek (2012), using a more recent version of the Split CP, proposed in Rizzi (2001) and cited in (36), argues that Polish multiple Wh-constituents are not located in Focus but instead in an Interrogative Projection. This makes Polish different from e.g. Serbo-Croatian, which has been argued to be subject to focus movement in Wh-questions (Stepanov 1998; Bošković 2002). Her careful study includes experimental tests of superiority. More research would be useful to see whether Czech ranks with Serbo-Croatian (as is often the case) or Polish (which is plausible as well). A similar discussion for Greek can be found in Alexopoulou and Baltazani (2012). I do not try to decide this issue here.
- [20] In this study I assume the same kind of movement in root and embedded clauses. The same is proposed in Bošković (2002) and Den Dikken (2003). On the other hand, in showing distinctions in Superiority effects in Italian, Callegari (2016) argues that only in embedded clauses does Wh-movement include Focusing.
- [21] Analysing clitic pronouns in a study rich in theoretical implications, Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) propose a projection of Topic above TP which hosts non-rhematic clitic pronouns. For a syntactic definition of Topic see Kučerová (2007), and for Focus (including multiple Focus) see Krifka (1991; 2001).



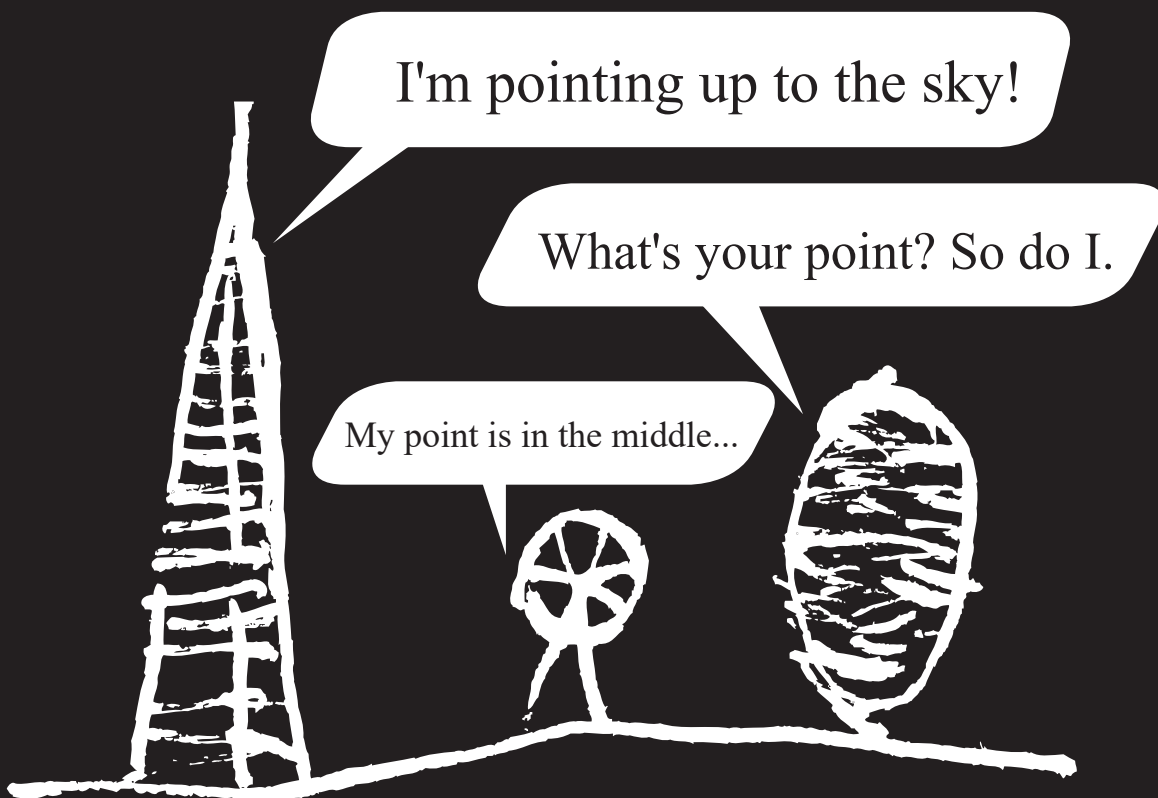
- [22] Distinct Complementizers occupy distinct positions, and their location may be subject to diachronic change. See Bresnan (1970) for these issues in English.
- [23] Haegemann uses a Split CP from Rizzi (1997) which does not include the head Interrogative.
- [24] The examples here assume standard unmarked intonation. Apart from this, many discourse motivated left dislocations are marked by a comma intonation and special stress patterns. Those can be found in both English and Czech, especially in spoken language. Some may even include co-referential resumptive pronouns, or their zero counterparts. For numerous examples in English see Haegemann (2000) and Emonds (2004). These variations are not discussed here.

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Kateřina Štěpánová

### The Crisis of Suburban Identity: Another Look at *Revolutionary Road* by Richard Yates

*Abstract: In the critical discussion about Revolutionary Road, the highly-esteemed novel by Richard Yates, hardly any attention has been paid to the way in which failed search for identity, rather than the stereotyped deadness of American suburban environment, contribute to the doomed development of the Wheelers, the couple featured in the story. The paper is going to relate the failure of Frank and April to make their suburban existence work to their inability to accept the postwar narrative of middle-class suburbia as conformist heaven. The story of their downfall is situated within the discourse of identity-seeking while the discrepancy between the idyllic surface and identity crises of individual suburbanites is being highlighted. Ultimately, the paper aims to provide a fresh reading of a classic suburban tragedy.*

My paper focuses on rereading *Revolutionary Road*, the 1961 first novel by Richard Yates (1926-1992), an early postwar realist novel about suburbia which was recently reprinted due to the production of a major Hollywood film, starring Kate Winslet and Leonardo DiCaprio, based on the novel (dir. Sam Mendes, 2008). The novel, written in the late 1950s, is a scathing portrait of a year in the life of a dysfunctional suburban family. In three sections, Yates traces the tragic development of the marriage of Frank and April Wheeler while providing, on the side, comprehensive critique of the suburban ennui and intellectual and consumerist conformity. The story of the Wheelers is portrayed against the backdrop of a typical suburban single-family house and neighborhood and Frank's white-collar office job at a corporation in the city. All of these aspects might suggest a realization of the American Dream for the Wheelers, ostensibly a perfect middle-class young American family in the 1950s—a successful husband who likes to pose as an armchair anti-suburban intellectual, his glamorous wife who has given him two children, their better-than-average house in a good neighborhood, respect of the neighbors who the Wheelers care to associate with. Since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and certainly in the atmosphere of greater affordability of new housing after WW II, ownership of a suburban house in a good location, as John Archer documents, quickly came to be understood as an essential apparatus for fashioning the self-made man, a direct route to achieving the American dream, and a primary instrument for establishing class, status, personality, character, and even aspects of race and faith. Not only was the house a form of economic capital, it also served as an apparatus for the accumulation of social, cultural, and symbolic capital (*Everyday Suburbia*, 25-6).

When Frank and April start looking for a suburban house to leave their bohemian apartment in the city behind, with two children to their credit, they are asserting their allegiance to the elite group of American achievers. As Constance Perin explains, "Americans have dreamed themselves to be on a ladder whose steps lead them through a wholly natural, temporal, and evolutionary progression: first a city-dweller, then a suburbanite" (98). Mrs. Givings, a talkative matron and real estate agent whose meditations serve as an authorial device for describing other characters, characterizes the Wheelers to her husband as a model young couple of sophisticated urbanites of whom "the girl [i.e. April] is absolutely ravishing" while "the boy [i.e. Frank] must do something very brilliant in town—he's very nice, rather reserved—and really, it is so refreshing to deal with people of that sort" (RR, 28). As the story unfolds, the beautiful facade of April and Frank's achievement crumbles and what is revealed is a lack of real personality on part of both. I intend to analyze the tragic story of the Wheelers while

126| arguing that postwar American suburbia as a setting and landscape is hardly to blame for the Wheelers' gradual undoing.

The novel starts with a sardonic portrait of the premiere of a play from the 1930s, *The Petrified Forest*, performed in the story by The Laurel Players, a newly-assembled amateur theater group of young suburbanites from the metropolitan New York area who have decided to battle the isolation of their suburban existence and join in a collective effort to improve the cultural atmosphere within their community. According to Christopher Hitchens, "the Wheelers and their friends [e.g. the Campbells] consider themselves to be in but not thereby of the suburbs. They want it both ways: the comfort to start off, and then the additional luxury of looking down on their intellectually inferior neighbors" (126). Although the theater production participants, after initial doubt, "felt their dedication growing stronger every week" (RR, 4) before the opening night, the performance ability of the cast ultimately proved something of a failure, "a static, shapeless, inhumanly heavy weight" (RR, 6). However, the quality of the stage production itself seems secondary to its role as a social bonding event that was meant to bring neighbors and strangers together, for the main contribution was "the company—the brave idea of it, the healthy, hopeful sound of it: the birth of a really good community theater right here, among themselves" (RR, 10). There was much hope that the project might improve the individualist nature of suburban life in the Wheelers' area by showing their conformist neighbors such as the Donaldsons "a way of life beyond the commuting train and the Republican Party and the barbecue pit" (RR, 55). Frank and April Wheeler both take part in the Laurel Players project, with Frank involved in the promotion area and April cast as the leading lady: "She was twenty-nine, a tall ash blonde with a patrician kind of beauty that no amount of amateur lighting could distort, and she seemed ideally cast in the role" (RR, 10). Portrayed as a star among a cast of beginners, she puts much stock in the project as it enables her momentary escape from her domestic roles of wife and mother. April's acting, however brave early through the opening performance, becomes pathetic, then ridiculous, as she is "visibly weakening with each line" (RR, 12), until her effort becomes wooden, sunk by a series of blunders by other members of the cast and by the time the play ends, the curtain fall becomes "an act of mercy" for the players as well as their audience (RR, 13).

The failure of The Laurel Players production foreshadows the manifestation of deeper problems in the marriage of Frank and April. While Frank immediately evaluates April's performance, as they are headed back home, with a disastrous aside ("I guess it wasn't exactly a triumph or anything, was it?", RR 16) that sends their subsequent relationship down the abyss, his social role of suburban male breadwinner is not weakened by his wife's painful humiliation on stage. Driving back home, he began to see the fiasco of the Laurel Players in its true perspective. It simply wasn't worth feeling bad about. Intelligent, thinking people could take things like this in their stride, just as they took the larger absurdities of deadly dull jobs in the city and deadly dull homes in the suburbs. Economic circumstance might force you to live in this environment, but the important thing was to keep from being contaminated. The important thing was to remember who you were (RR, 21).

As Jamie C. Saucier documents, Frank's negative appraisal of his home and work arrangement as well as his prompt disparagement of the play in which April stars are authorial devices through which Yates manages to present an effective "intellectual critique of [suburban] conformity" (170) while exposing the problems which Frank and April have with relating to their domestic as well as social roles. Tim Foster argues that April and Frank are used by Yates "to underscore the wrongheadedness and futility of invoking the symbolic lore of the suburbs to explain away universal human failings that are themselves exacerbated by wider socio-historical contexts" (64).

In furthering the negative characterization of postwar suburban sprawl and the conformist identity of the inhabitants, the novel seems a stereotypical literary product the 1950s, a decade of suburbia-bashing by social critics and media. Some of the most vitriolic words on the subject come from urban historian Lewis Mumford, who in *The City in History* memorably dismissed the postwar American suburbanization for having produced a multitude of uniform, unidentifiable houses, lined up inflexibly, at uniform distances, on uniform roads, in a treeless communal waste, inhabited by people of the same class, the same income, the same age group, witnessing the same television performances, eating the same tasteless pre-fabricated foods, from the same freezers, conforming in every outward and inward respect to a common mold, manufactured in the central metropolis. Thus the ultimate effect of the suburban escape in our time is, ironically, a low-grade uniform environment from which escape is impossible (486).

However, despite the presence of numerous critiques of suburbia by social scientists such as Wright C. Mills, David Riesman, and William H. Whyte, such blunt denunciation of suburban ennui and conformity is not based on facts. In a magisterial study of a model postwar suburban community, *The Levittowners*, Herbert J. Gans argued otherwise, claiming that "the suburban critique is wrong; family life [in the postwar suburbs] has changed relatively little for the majority, and the changes are mainly improvements" (224). More recently, John Archer argued that the fashionable disparagement of 1950s suburbia as cultural wasteland and conformist hell is not only untrue to facts but even paradoxical, for just as an expanding economy, easy financing, and mass production techniques made suburbia possible for a far broader range of Americans than before, just as suburban single-family houses offered the opportunity to achieve the upwardly mobile American dream, suburbia became the terrain that critics uniformly loved to hate, and the object of such common critiques [...] became formulaic" (*The Place We Love To Hate* 46).

Similarly, Benjamin Christopher Stroud explains that "it is the image of the suburb that writers (or their characters) find so threatening, not the physical suburb" (18). The suburban setting in *Revolutionary Road* is thus a symbolic construct for the author's ambition to denounce suburbia's conformist ennui which is a position based on the external critique of the environment by social scientists and media rather than on any palpable deficiencies of the environment per se. Blake Bailey confirms this interpretation since, according to him, "the suburbs (or American culture at large) are not [...] a mass of malign external forces that combine to thwart the Wheelers' dreams, rather, the Wheelers—in all their weakness and preposterous self-deceit—are themselves definitive figures of that culture, determinative childhoods and all" (231).

Yates resorts to a few dismissive flashback descriptions of the featured suburb as being "a part of western Connecticut where three swollen villages had lately been merged by a wide and clamorous highway called Route Twelve," portraying the negative dynamism of the postwar suburban development of "a landscape in which only a few very old, weathered houses seemed to belong" and which made the new postwar mass-produced suburbs "look as weightless and impermanent, as foolishly misplaced as a great many bright new toys that had been left outdoors overnight and rained on" (RR, 8). The Wheeler house is located just next to "a perfectly dreadful new development called Revolutionary Hill Estates," yet it is portrayed as different from the "great hulking split levels, all in the most nauseous pastels" of the less desirable adjacent community (28). The house which the Wheelers buy, when seen for the first time on a house-hunting trip, looked as a solid place which "did have possibilities," appearing different and socially superior to the other mass-produced tract houses in the area. Their house is "small and wooden, riding high on its naked concrete foundation, its oversized central window

128| staring like a big black mirror" (RR, 29). While Frank immediately mocks the potent symbolism of the house's picture window, likening it to a black hole that sucks their stamina ("I don't suppose one picture window is necessarily going to destroy our personalities" RR, 29), the real problem of Frank and April is that they lack identity once the glamorous facade of their appearance and the house is stripped away. The very act of moving out to the suburbs is portrayed in a flashback as happening at a time when the marriage of Frank and April is already hanging by a thread: "The gathering disorder of their lives might still be sorted out and made to fit these rooms, among these trees; and what if it did take time? Who could be frightened in as wide and bright, as clean and quiet a house as this?" (RR, 31-2). However, the house never becomes what Frank and April hoped it would—a place to save their marriage and find their true suburban identity. Despite all home-making efforts, it remains reflective of the unstable and precarious nature of their relationship with "the furniture that had never settled down and never would, the shelves on shelves of unread or half-read or read-and-forgotten books that had always been supposed to make such a difference and never had; the loathsome, gloating maw of the television set; the forlorn, grubby little heap of toys that might have been steeped in ammonia" (RR, 191-2).

The conflict between Frank and April escalates into full-blown battle over identity, especially after the disaster of *The Laurel Players* production, with their suburban house functioning as an increasingly suffocating environment from which both Frank and April seek to escape. As Catherine Jurca claims, April and Frank "are not really suburbanites," rather, "they are just people who happen to live in a suburb" and go through a marriage crisis (148). It would be too simplistic, then, to blame the suburban environment for the disintegration of the Wheelers' marriage. After a weekend fight with Laurel, Frank feels "as if he were sinking helplessly [...] like a man in quicksand" then struggles "to restrain himself from doing what suddenly seemed the only thing in the world he really and truly wanted to do: picking up a chair and throwing it through the picture window" (RR, 51). The gender difference is very prominent in the escape options that are available to Frank and April. In the case of Frank, he solves the problem by cooling off at work and, to prove his worth, he even has an affair. April, however, feels unhappy as mother and housewife and she therefore puts all her stakes on the naive plan to leave American suburbia behind and relocate to Paris. She builds her decision on the strength of Frank's big-mouth description of Europe as the place for them both to find their true self. Ironically, April also starts seeing herself and Frank in their true colors for the first time, realizing that Frank's customary rant against suburban conformity is "based on this great premise of ours that we're somehow very special and very superior [...] But we're not! Look at us! We're just like the people you're talking about! We are the people you're talking about!" (RR, 96) The plan of moving to Europe represents a reversal of the dominant gender roles of men and women in the 1950s when the typical suburban women still stuck to their roles as mothers, wives, and homemakers while the men's crucial role was that of providing for the family by means of holding well-paying white-collar jobs in the city. April suggests that she would be the one to provide for their family while in Paris and Frank, supported by April's secretarial income, would be liberated to think, relax, and find his true vocation as a stay-at-home husband. Frank at first laughs the plan off as unrealistic, yet the real reason why he opposes it is his fear of having to become an authentic person in Europe. He thus tries "to conceal from her, if not from himself, that the plan had instantly frightened him" (RR, 95). As Saucier explains, Frank is really just a conventional suburbanite, being "less the crusader against consumer-based conformity than he imagines himself to be" (178) and by rejecting April's plan at first he truly becomes somebody whose inability to have an identity of his own is "what he despises and fails to realize it" (186). David Castronovo and Steven



Goldleaf argue that the thematic grounding of the novel is centered around the “confusion, status yearning, and ineptitude” of the protagonists to make sense of what they want and what is possible (42). In the process of finding out, both Frank and April assume the roles of expert poseurs whose naive, yet seriously-meant poses “take up almost all the time that the other fictional characters use for work and lovemaking” (Castronovo and Goldleaf, 45). When Frank tries to console April after her disastrous performance, he not only humiliates her all the more by his callous remark but he subsequently takes care to present himself as acting tough and masculine: “He looked at himself in the mirror, tightening his jaw and turning his head a little to one side to give it a leaner, more commanding look [...] until with a start he found that she was watching him” (RR, 17). The effect of such posturing is the fact that both Frank and April, while being “caught up in managing impressions of themselves [...] lose their identities” (Castronovo and Goldleaf, 50). Frank is, similarly to what April tried on stage, constantly re-enacting versions of a cool self in real life. To find solace when being snubbed by April, he battles what Saucier calls his “anxious masculinity” (180), for example, by trying to build a stone path in front of his house (“at least it was man’s work”, RR 41), then by realizing an affair with Maureen Grube, a young typist from his office. For April, however, the options are much more limited. After the failure of the production which she starred in, she increasingly suffers from “the lack of avenues of self-expression or a purpose separate and distinct from her family” (Saucier, 191). April’s vague dissatisfaction with her position foreshadows the classic indictment of the lot of the 1950s suburban housewife which was defined a few years later by Betty Friedan in her classic study, *The Feminine Mystique*, as “the problem that has no name,” or, as the discrepancy between the idealized myth of the 1950s suburban superwoman presented in popular culture and media of the time as simultaneously a sexy wife, mother, and efficient household manager—these identities were often in contrast to the real overworked and unhappy American women that Friedan surveyed:

Each suburban wife [in the 1950s] struggled with it alone. As she made the beds, shopped for groceries, matched slipcover material, ate peanut butter sandwiches with her children, chauffeured Cub Scouts and Brownies, lay beside her husband at night—she was afraid to ask even of herself the silent question—“Is this all?” (11)

The problem of April is exactly this—not being a born mother, wife, and household keeper, she tries to find her identity outside her marriage and family. When her acting stint with The Laurel Players ends miserably, she develops the plan for European relocation and sticks to it for dear life as a plan that would not only help Frank but, more importantly, herself to find her true calling. However, the plan of leaving American suburbia for a hypothetical sojourn in Paris is instantly derided as naive and unrealistic, which is what a colleague of Frank’s, Jack Ordway, hints at over coffee: “assuming there is a true vocation lurking in wait for you, don’t you think you’d be just as apt to discover it here as there?” (RR, 147). Later, April even takes the initiative with organizing the European trip into her hands, only to apologize to Frank for being too assertively masculine in this effort: “It must seem as if I’m sort of taking over, doesn’t it—taking charge of everything” (RR, 117). When another pregnancy intervenes, April sees no other way but to abort it in order to maintain the European relocation dream alive. Frank, after being offered a promotion and salary rise at this time, slides into the conformist acceptance he used to abhor: “...accepting Pollock’s money [...] Didn’t it have the weight and dignity of a plan in its own right? It might lead to almost anything—new people, new places—why, it might even take them to Europe in due time” (RR, 180). In the final section of the book, Frank tries his theatrical best to

130| “demonstrate that a man confronted with the bleakest and most unnatural of conjugal problems, a wife unwilling to bear his child, could still be nice” (RR, 190). The epiphanic realization of both Frank and April happens around this time in the story. For Frank, he realizes he is, after all, a typical 1950s organization man, somebody who is proud of his white-collar achievement, whose salary bonus seems a promise to smooth out all the wrinkles in his marriage. This is not, in itself, tragic, for it means that Frank realizes, as Chris Richardson argues, that if he “were to leave his job, his friends and all the mundane acts through which he has constituted his ‘self’ over the last three decades, he would not find his essence. He would discover nothing. Searching for his core, he would literally arrive at a giant, gaping void” (13). The radical change for April, however, is much more sinister, as she realizes that she no longer loves Frank and never really did (RR, 238–9). As Hitchens explains, April’s final, and fatal, awakening is “to see that her husband is no sort of rebel or nonconformist but instead a mediocre coward” (127). April’s tragic realization of the true nature of her relationship with Frank as well as of her own immature identity is communicated through her internal monologue: “Then you discovered you were working at life the way the Laurel Players worked at *The Petrified Forest* [...] earnest and sloppy and full of pretension and all wrong...and then you were face to face, in total darkness, with the knowledge that you didn’t know who you were” (RR, 261-2). April’s self-inflicted abortion, is an ultimate manifestation of her desperate self-searching as well as a dubious attempt to “do something absolutely honest, something true [...] a thing that had to be done alone” (RR, 267). Ironically, even this final act of April’s assertive defiance is in itself misguided and useless, for, as Stewart O’Nan argues, “much of what goes bad in the Wheelers’ lives is their own doing, a result of their selfishness, their weakness and their inability to admit the truth” (*The Lost World*). Rather than admit the unrealistic nature of the Paris plan and the shallowness of her own existence within American suburbs, April goes ahead, refusing the sensible choice to return to her conformist family roles and, as a tragic heroine, she undertakes the dangerous procedure that causes her to bleed to death. As Richard Price explains, April becomes the victim of her unrealistic dreams, an attitude which finally becomes fatal to her as well as to Frank by being the “very knife that runs them through” (x). April dies after the realization that her life, beliefs, and dreams have been wrong and unrealistic all along and there is nothing left. Yates highlights April’s tragic realization of having wasted her life with juxtaposing this knowledge with the way their neighborhood appears to stand solid and mute any trace of domestic trouble of its inhabitants:

The Revolutionary Hill Estates had not been designed to accommodate a tragedy. Even at night, as if on purpose, the development held no looming shadows and no gaunt silhouettes. It was invincibly cheerful, a toyland of white and pastel houses whose bright, uncurtained windows winded blandly through a dappling of green and yellow leaves” (277).

In such an environment, the bereaved Frank, as “a man running down these streets in desperate grief was indecently out of place” (277). In the epilogue section, narrated from the viewpoint of the Campbells, Frank pays a later visit to them, having become “a walking, talking, smiling, lifeless man” whose subsequent conformist existence of a widower in stark contrast to his earlier suburban iconoclasm and vigor. Ultimately, Yates portrays the neighborhood as an idyllic haven of polished surfaces and conformity, with the Campbells and Mrs. Givings as the less exciting, yet hardy survivors of suburbia’s dramatic challenges.

*Revolutionary Road* is a tragically honest, haunting commentary on the postwar American dream of suburban idyll, with Frank Wheeler becoming a victim of his own inflated rhetoric and pose-taking,

while his wife April pursues her naive dreams of suburban escapism all the way to a tragic resolution. It is essential to recognize the importance of the suburban setting for the story, yet it is also good to realize, as Martin Naparsteck points out, that the suburbs alone are not to blame for the Wheelers' downfall. Their tragedy could as well happen in the city or anywhere else since Yates portrays them as smug, pathetic outcasts who have inflated and misguided notions of their own superiority, as people "who pretend to be someone other" than they really are (50). Yates himself admitted that he was unhappy with the way *Revolutionary Road* was labelled as anti-suburban, for although "the Wheelers may have thought the suburbs were to blame for all their problems," he "meant it to be implicit in the text that that was *their* delusion, *their* problem" and not the direct and inevitable result of their suburban experience (208).

The stereotypical association of the tragic downfall of the April and Frank's relationship with the intellectually deadening environment of American suburbia and corporate culture of the 1950s thus is misplaced. As John Archer has shown, suburbia, especially since the 1950s, has been portrayed as "a landscape in which people lead boring, anxious, isolated lives, chronically bereft of identity, community, morality, or taste" (Representing). Yet critics of American suburbia seem to misunderstand the possibility that this environment also "affords for the production of selfhood, family, neighborhood, and wider social relations" (Representing). As Jurca argues, in *Revolutionary Road*, "the suburb is treated as a living space that is in constant danger of contaminating you—of turning you into something you're not, someone who belongs there" (148). Similarly, in *SuburbiaNation*, Robert Beuka considers the effect of the Wheelers' move to the suburbs as synonymical with figurative and even literal death of their identity as urban sophisticates (69). According to Price, Yates is a ruthless practitioner of the belief that "knowledge invariably ends in suffering" yet he has characters such as Frank and April Wheeler maintain hope and dreams even if their naive pursuit leads to destruction (x). Only great works of realist fiction seem to utilize a particular setting, such as suburbia, and transcend it to present a universal, moving story of the protagonists whose suffering, yearning, and conflicts may seem private and individualistic but are, in fact, shared by many. In *Revolutionary Road*, Yates manages to transcend the formulaic tone of 1950s suburban criticism by presenting his characters as ambivalent, complex, and changeable, doomed but exciting to follow during their effort to craft an identity that would accord with their inner selves.

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### The Ambivalent Satirist in Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey*

*Abstract: Jane Austen was the equal of the finest male spirits of the eighteenth century in both reason and accomplishments. Austen, as a proper Regency lady, felt equally bound by a sense of duty and responsibility and to the continuation of established ways. On the other hand, Austen was born a satirist who could not fully embrace either the values of the society in which she lived or its literary conventions without feeling provoked to respond or retaliate. Northanger Abbey (1818) serves as a proof of this. On the surface, Austen concocted a burlesque full of popular Gothic clichés to satirise silly novels and their gullible readership, especially young women, with their incurable tendency to mix fact and fiction, who need to rely on men for guidance and judgement. However, Austen incorporates a fine ironic twist in this novel, which, quite surprisingly, turns the tables on those who perceive the book merely as a conventional satire on Gothic novels and female ignorance. This paper comments on the subversive counter-narrative and its uneasy co-existence with the text of Northanger Abbey.*

#### Jane Austen as an Ambivalent Satirist

Conventional literary criticism tends to regard Jane Austen (1775–1817) as a writer of comfortable domestic novels enlivened with conversational wit, good-humoured irony and subtle social satire, strong enough for the reader to register its presence but sufficiently subdued to avoid causing any grave offence. These characteristics may well apply to her mature novels, produced at the height of her creative powers, but particularly her early work clearly evidences that the writer exercised considerable restraint when it came to social criticism and deliberately worked to soften the sharp edges of her satire to avoid upsetting the gentle sensitivities of her audience. Both as a person and as a writer, Jane Austen appeared to be torn by an internal conflict that tugged her in two opposing directions: on one hand, she possessed a strong sense of duty, propriety and responsibility, and felt obliged to play out the conformist social role that was expected of her; on the other hand, her intelligent spirit and gift of insight also made her acutely aware of the ills of her society, against which she was constitutionally driven to lash out. As a proper Regency lady, though of modest means and a precarious social standing given her status as an unmarried woman, Austen considered it her obligation to uphold the traditional values of social order and conformity, sound morality and upright ethical principles, and collective responsibility to other members of the society before oneself. However, she found it difficult, if not impossible, to temper her overwhelming emotional response of indignation at the plain stupidity or cultivated ignorance, concealed selfishness and refined cruelty of individuals, and the society's hypocritical pretensions, perpetuated inequity and self-righteous eagerness to judge and condemn.

Austen's oeuvre does not sit comfortably among the comparatively straightforward, clear-cut, sharp satires from the pen of classic exponents of the genre in English literature, such as her predecessors Jonathan Swift (1667–1745) or Henry Fielding (1707–54) and her Victorian successors such as William Makepeace Thackeray (1811–63) or Anthony Trollope (1815–82). By definition, a true satirist is

a kind of self-appointed guardian of standards, ideals and truth; of moral as well as aesthetic values. He is a man (women satirists are very rare) who takes it upon himself to correct, censure and ridicule the follies and vices of society and thus to bring contempt and derision upon

134| aberrations from a desirable and civilized norm. Thus satire is a kind of protest, a sublimation and refinement of anger and indignation (Abrams 827–28).

Abrams's generally received standard definition of satire does not quite apply to Austen, who does not presume to observe the shortcomings of society from a detached perspective of smug superiority, and neither does she pursue an explicitly expressed didactic purpose in her ambivalent novels that oscillate between reasoned approval or at least acceptance on the one hand and helpless anger and indignation on the other. Abrams's remark that "women satirists are *very rare*" (emphasis in the original) provides another helpful clue to the conflicted position of Austen as a satirist. Claudia Thomas Kairoff points out the gendered obstacles standing in the way of women who would try their hand at satirical writing: to start with, women's limited access to education prevented them from getting acquainted with and becoming inspired by the classical satires of Horace and Juvenal; furthermore, satire has traditionally been pigeonholed as a male domain, and finally, the sharp intelligence and biting wit associated with satire were viewed as unfeminine and undesirable in a woman (Thomas Kairoff 276–77).

Austen certainly had no wish to follow in the footsteps of Aphra Behn (1640–89), who is regarded as the first professional woman writer to have supported herself solely by writing, and whose flamboyant personal presence, candidly expressed opinions and unflinchingly frank writings that catered unabashedly to the popular taste of the book market, all too ready to tickle her readership's fancy for sensation, quickly made her a subject of devastatingly ill reputation and a cautionary example to warn off any decent women from venturing into the sordid business of writing. Behn did not help her case by making ample use of scornful satire to launch a frontal attack on society's double standards, arbitrary conventions and pretentious façade of politeness concealing one's true intentions. A general uproar and irrational vilification of women who dared to overstep the strict boundaries of the limited range of approved social roles prescribed to them by the patriarchal society were a perfectly ordinary occurrence in the lifetime of Aphra Behn in the Restoration period, as well as in Jane Austen's lifetime in the Regency era (and further on until, arguably, recent history). Austen's contemporary Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–97) received similarly unfavourable treatment, to say the least, for her personal life, which was unorthodox by the standards of her time, as much as for her serious non-fiction writings promoting women's rights (or, more generally, human rights). Austen was not keen on becoming infamous as another "hyena in a petticoat", an epithet that Horace Walpole bestowed in ungentlemanly fashion on Mary Wollstonecraft, but neither was she quite content to continue in the newly established tradition of the didactic domestic novel, a toothless, complacent and subjugated genre begrudgingly allowed to women writers, represented, for instance, by Fanny Burney (1752–1840).

The striking difference in mood and tone between Austen's juvenilia, written for her own amusement and that of her family members and with no intention to circulate the results publicly, and her subsequent published novels produced for general consumption demonstrates that Austen was constantly negotiating a compromise between what she wanted to say and what she thought she was allowed to say without suffering repercussions. D. W. Harding describes Austen's self-conscious manoeuvres to achieve balance as "regulated hatred", a quality of fierce anger and spiteful indignation which springs to the surface in her juvenilia but is carefully suppressed and relegated to subtext in her mature work. Harding continues to comment on Austen's ambivalent satire, suggesting that

her object is not missionary; it is the more desperate one of merely finding some mode of existence for her critical attitudes. To her the first necessity was to keep on reasonably good terms with the

associates of her everyday life; she had a deep need for their affection and a genuine respect for the ordered, decent civilization that they upheld. And yet she was sensitive to their crudenesses and complacencies and knew that her real existence depended on resisting many of the values they implied. The novels gave her a way out of this dilemma (Harding 11–12).

Ultimately, Austen appropriates the meek domestic novel to a more ambitious purpose, so that at their best, her coming-of-age stories of the tribulations and blunders of innocent girls being introduced into society, invariably ending with their transformation into women and assumption of an appropriate social role through marriage to a suitable gentleman, may be read on the surface as romances of sorts, where the emphasis is placed on propriety and rationality but love conveniently happens to come too, while more discerning readers may simultaneously dig beneath the surface to discover the dark undercurrent of satire running throughout the entire text.

### **Ambivalent Satire in *Northanger Abbey***

The posthumously published *Northanger Abbey* (1818) occupies a somewhat exceptional position within the body of Austen's work in that, as Harding reminds, this text represents a transition between the author's juvenile pieces written for the drawer and her mature novels written for the public (Harding 128). The book, originally entitled *Susan*, has a convoluted publication and revision history: it was Austen's first novel to be accepted for publication, in 1803, but the publisher not only failed to deliver but also refused to give up the rights to the manuscript. Austen eventually retrieved the text in 1816 for the same sum of 10 pounds which she was originally paid for it and set out to revise it, renaming the protagonist Catherine and the book *Northanger Abbey*, but other than that, the extent of her revisions remains unknown. She continued considering the book for publication but her death in 1817 intervened before she made any decision, and hence it appeared along with *Persuasion*, her last completed novel, in the year following her death.

Austen's literary models for the story and plot of *Northanger Abbey* were two seemingly disparate novels, whose motifs she nevertheless managed to combine quite gracefully into a coherent whole. The two novels were Fanny Burney's then much beloved and praised *Evelina; or, The History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World* (1778) and Charlotte Lennox's imitation and parody of Cervantes, *The Female Quixote; or, The Adventures of Arabella* (1752). In her foundational example of the women's domestic novel, Burney follows the now stock storyline of a youthfully naïve but morally upright girl of uncertain social standing who undergoes a rite of passage to adulthood, making errors of judgement as a result of her inexperience as she goes through various transformational experiences, until she is delivered from her spiritual crisis by the helping hand of a wise mentor, preferably a suitably situated single male, under whose enlightened guidance the girl grows into a woman and, more importantly, a wife, thus finding her proper place in the social structure and, by extension, happiness. Lennox's tongue-in-cheek *Female Quixote* provides an interesting twist on the established theme of an innocently ignorant young lady in need of being saved by an informed male authority in that she presents a girl voraciously reading her mother's store of sensational romances, mistaking them for histories, and embarking on a series of picaresque adventures from which she emerges unscathed only as a result of the intervention of a male mentor of sound reason and rational judgement, who happens to profess his undying love for the poor confused creature and is duly granted her hand in marriage.

Like Burney's and Lennox's novels, Austen's *Northanger Abbey* turns on the premise of a "young lady's entrance into the world", which threatens to bring about the ruin of the ignorant, gullible and hence vulnerable girl, until an intellectually superior mentor and protector materialises to educate

136| her about the ways of the world and see her safely off to marital bliss. In this case, the young lady in question is Catherine Morland, the daughter of a country clergyman of modest means, whose first trip outside the boundaries of her native village leads to the fashionable resort of Bath, where she makes exciting new acquaintances. Suddenly, she finds herself courted by two suitors at once: her brother's friend John Thorpe and the slightly mysterious and therefore even more attractive clergyman Henry Tilney from Northanger Abbey. Catherine immediately becomes friendly with John's sister Isabella, with whom she shares a taste for Gothic novels, and this union of two immature and impressionable minds proves rather unfortunate because what the girls lack in common sense, they make up for in their vivid imagination, too ready to mistake fiction for reality and too eager to be shocked, horrified and scandalised. Catherine is as thrilled as she is terrified by the subsequent invitation by Henry's father, General Tilney, to visit his ancestral home of Northanger Abbey, which the young girl, under the influence of Ann Radcliffe's titillating Gothic mystery fiction, insists on perceiving in terms of the Gothic tropes of

feudal halls and medieval castles with dungeons, secret passages, winding stairways, oubliettes, sliding panels and torture chambers; monstrous apparitions and curses; a stupefying atmosphere of doom and gloom; heroes and heroines in the direst of imaginable straits, wicked tyrants, malevolent witches, demonic powers of unspeakably hideous aspect, and a proper complement of spooky effects and clanking spectres (Abrams 381–82).

Henry Tilney, who, in the traditional novel of a lady's initiation into society, would be expected to accept responsibility for the young lady and assume the role of the mentor, turns out to be of as little help as Isabella when it comes to correcting Catherine's gross misconceptions about reality following the same principles as her favourite sensational novels. Catherine sets her mind on finding evidence of General Tilney's being a malevolent monster responsible for the premature demise of his wife, if not worse, a foolish undertaking in which she is mockingly encouraged by Henry, who does not seem to realise that Catherine lacks the power of discrimination and takes his ironic hints at face value. Only when Catherine confides in him with her perfectly serious suspicions does Henry step into the role of a mentor, in which he chastises her with the following appeal to her common sense, albeit misplaced, since a lack of common sense is as characteristic of Catherine as is her utter ignorance:

Consider the dreadful nature of the suspicious you have entertained. What have you been judging from? Remember the country and the age in which we live. Remember that we are English, that we are Christians. Consult your own understanding, your own sense of the probable, your own observation of what is passing around you—Does our education prepare us for such atrocities? Do our laws connive at them? Could they be perpetrated without being known, in a country like this? (Austen 204)

Sobered, humbled and ashamed, Catherine gives up her fanciful notions, only to face a more immediate threat when General Tilney discovers that she is not an heiress to a fortune, as he mistakenly believed when he lured her to Northanger Abbey in the hope of securing a bride with a sizeable dowry for his son, and shows Catherine the door in the middle of the night. For her own good, Catherine is too ignorant to appreciate the gravity of the situation and the dangers that await an unaccompanied lady on the road.

Catherine survives her tribulations intact and thus she can finally be reunited with and wed to Henry, eventually with the General's blessings, but despite the obligatory ostensibly happy ending, the status of *Northanger Abbey* as a bildungsroman remains problematic. Not only does Catherine fail



to transition from her blissful ignorance to a mature understanding, as she abandons her suspicions of General Tilney out of fear of losing Henry's affection rather than through any process of rational thought but it also turns out that her conviction of the General's monstrosity was correct, since only a monster would throw a woman out of the door and into the night alone. This subversive detail is directly brought to the reader's attention by a narratorial intrusion to this effect: "Catherine, at any rate, heard enough to feel that in suspecting General Tilney of either murdering or shutting up his wife, she had scarcely sinned against his character, or magnified his cruelty" (Austen 230).

Austen may originally have conceived the novel as a satire of the popular Gothic fiction, which was often of dubious literary merit and intellectual quality; however, as Thomas Keymer observes, "her relationship to the extravagant themes and overwrought conventions of fashionable genre fiction involved something more complex and interesting than outright rejection" (Keymer 21). Both Austen's *Northanger Abbey* and her *Sense and Sensibility* (1811), Keymer suggests,

display an exuberant immersion in, even a wry appreciation of, the nervy routines and tawdry formulas of circulating-library fiction. In their close parodic attention to the Gothic novel and the novel of sensibility in particular, they show Austen's engagement with the market-leading genres of fiction in her day—the fiction disparaged by Scott and denounced by Wordsworth—to be a matter of creative transformation, not fastidious recoil (Keymer 21).

On one hand, Austen seemed to be genuinely concerned about the possible detrimental effect that the indiscriminate reading of sensational fiction may have on young ladies and, by extension, on the foundational structures of society as a whole. As Robert Irvine points out: "The popularity of such fiction raised the anxiety that girls from the propertied classes might learn to expect and nurture such feelings, acquiring habits of sentimental self-indulgence at odds with the emotional self-control demanded of them by their actual social role as pure daughters and virtuous wives" (Irvine 42). On the other hand, in *Northanger Abbey*, Austen appears to be both seduced by the sheer attractiveness of the genre and inspired by its creative potential, so that her narrative gradually morphs into a Gothic novel in its own right. In the final analysis, as Irvine puts it, "*Northanger Abbey* appears as much an adaptation, naturalisation and vindication of the Gothic novel as it is a critique" (Irvine 48).

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### **Ireland of the East and Bohemia of the West: Reflections of the Czech Language Revival in the Irish Press at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century<sup>[1]</sup>**

*Abstract: In the period from 1898 to 1938, numerous articles appeared in the Irish press that presented the Czech language revival as inspiration for the Irish language movement. The essay gives an account of the available sources and examines the reasons of why the Czech example was so appealing. It also discusses the validity of the parallels made by the Irish journalists, especially as regards the weakness of Czech at the beginning of the revival. Attention is devoted to features of the Czech movement that evoked special interest among the Irish, such as the effort to introduce the language into the education system. There were also issues that caused discomfort, most prominently the religious history of the Czech lands. The last part of the essay focuses on a lengthy article by Seán Ó Loingsigh, the only Irish-language text in the sample, and on the literary translations that were published within it.*

It is a seeming paradox that nationalism has been, since its very origins, a markedly international movement. Not only have nations defined themselves *vis à vis* other nations, nationalists have also sought inspiration beyond their borders for their endeavours. This essay presents a case study of this widespread phenomenon. In the period of political and cultural ferment at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century, many Irish intellectuals and politicians looked to the European continent for examples of successful national movements. For instance, the inspiration that Hungary and Poland provided for the Irish struggle for independence is well documented. In 1904, nationalist politician Arthur Griffith published the booklet *The Resurrection of Hungary* that presented the autonomy of Hungarians within the Habsburg empire as a possible model for the future constitutional position of Ireland within Great Britain. These ideas then led to the establishment of the separatist party *Sinn Féin* in the following year. In a similar vein, prominent Irish nationalist Aodh de Blácam dubbed Poland “the Ireland of the East” in 1915 (de Blácam 6; Ruczaj 13), and the national messianism of the Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz became influential in the forming of the militant strand of Irish nationalism that culminated in the 1916 rising (Ruczaj 13–14, 136).

Foreign models were sought also as regards the effort to revive the Irish language. The need for this search can be explained by the fact that many Irish people were in doubt concerning the objectives of the language movement, regarding them as overambitious and unrealistic. How was it possible, after all, for a country with an overwhelming majority of English speakers, situated between England and the United States, to revive a language that was spoken only by 14 per cent of the population in a few pockets on the western coast? Examples of successful revival movements abroad could give some arguments to the Irish revivalists. A well-documented case is Patrick Pearse’s visit of Belgium in 1905 where he studied the effort to sustain the use of Flemish through a bilingual educational system (Ó Buachalla). In the Irish-language press of the period, one can find mentions of language movements in a large number of countries, including Hungary and Poland, but also Wales, Malta, Finland, Germany and even Mexico (Uí Chollatáin 59). One of the most prominent models, however, was the Czech national revival, whose reflection in the Irish press is the subject matter of this article.

## Sources

My research is based on seventeen lengthy articles and essays from the period 1898-1938 that focus on the Czech lands, their history and the successful effort to revive the language. They appeared in a broad spectre of periodicals that include big national dailies, such as *The Freeman's Journal* and *The Irish Independent*, regional newspapers such as *The Examiner* and *The Southern Star*, and Catholic journals such as *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* or *New Ireland Review*. Already this variety is proof of the fact that the theme of the Czech revival resonated in diverse segments of Irish society. There are numerous thematic connections between the articles and some of them even directly reacted to each other, as discussed below.

The importance of the Czech example is borne out also by the texts of the revivalist, writer and poet Liam P. Ó Riain. In 1902, he published the pamphlet *Lessons from Modern Language Movements*, where he focuses on the revivals of 12 European languages including Polish, Hungarian, Greek, Finnish and Norwegian. Czech is devoted the first, by far the longest chapter consisting of seven pages. The second language in terms of assigned space is Finnish with four pages, while the total number of pages amounts to 32. The chapter on the Czech revival was reprinted in 1925 in the newspaper *The Southern Star*, with additional information on the newest development connected to the establishment of Czechoslovakia. This expanded text then formed the first chapter of the revised edition of the original pamphlet published a year later, where it covered nine pages out of 43. Moreover, it seems that not even the chapter in the 1902 pamphlet was the original source. A thorough reading of the text makes it clear that Ó Riain was drawing on an essay published in 1898 in the Irish-language magazine *Fáinne an Lae* under the penname "Maolmhuire". Peculiar mistakes were made in the process. For example, "Maolmhuire" writes about the visit that the Czech revivalist Josef Dobrovský made in Sweden and Russia, searching for ancient manuscripts, and continues with the mention of the 'discovery' of the Dvůr Králové and Zelená hora manuscripts in Bohemia (2: 5). He refrains from passing a judgment on their authenticity. Ó Riain merges the two pieces of information with a rather surrealistic result – according to him the manuscripts were discovered by Dobrovský himself in Sweden among the plunder from the Thirty Years' War. Although it had been already well established by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that the manuscripts are forgeries, Ó Riain writes with indignation that "Germanic critics fiercely assailed their authenticity – that the Czechs had ever created anything was not to be admitted for a moment" ("The Czech Struggle", 1902, 5).

Mistakes were difficult to avoid as the journalists wrote about a faraway country whose language they did not understand (with the exception of the Celticist Josef Baudiš, the only Czech author in our sample). On the other hand, it is clear that some of them made considerable research about the history of the Czech lands and the Czech language, drawing on German writings of Czech revivalists, such as Josef Dobrovský or František Martin Pelcl (e.g. "Maolmhuire" 2: 5) or on translations of Czech literature ("Maolmhuire" 2: 6; O'Beirne; Ó Loingsigh 1: 5). In other cases they even visited the country or had friends there (Kelly, "Bohemia and Ireland", 1905; Moore; Nic Siothaig). A readily available source was also the historiographical work of count Franz Lützow, a Bohemian patriot of Austrian noble background, who promoted knowledge about the Czech lands in Britain and in 1909 even visited Dublin (Samek 34).

The essays in question were written in the period of relatively rich cultural contacts between Ireland and the Czech lands and some of the journalists in question were rather active in them. The most interesting figure in this respect was Richard John Kelly, who made a trip to Bohemia with a group of British journalists in 1905. Kelly became very enthusiastic about the country and in the following years, wrote a number of lengthy articles about the Czech lands under rather repetitive titles like "Bohemia and Ireland" (1905), "Ireland and Bohemia" (1907) and "Bohemia and Ireland" (1910).

140| An important by-product of Kelly's visit was the promotion of the work of the dramatist J.M. Synge in Prague – thanks to him Czech became the first language into which Synge's works were translated (Pilný). An exhaustive account of these intercultural contacts was published by Daniel Samek.

### **Ireland of the East**

Why was so much attention devoted to the revival of Czech? One of the reasons were real or putative similarities between Ireland and the Czech lands. Richard John Kelly put it openly in 1905, with characteristic enthusiasm: "There are no two countries in Europe or outside it more exactly similar than Bohemia and Ireland" ("Bohemia and Ireland", 1905, 7). He even echoed the above-mentioned statement made by Aodh de Blácam about Poland, adding a sense of reciprocity: "Ireland is the Bohemia of the West and Bohemia the Ireland of the East" ("Ireland and Bohemia" 355). Kelly noted the existing similarities in the size and population of the two countries and stressed the historical parallels based on the fact that both are small nations that were for a long period dominated by neighbouring empires ("Bohemia and Ireland", 1905, 7). Other authors even overstepped the boundaries of fact in this search for parallels – Ó Riain, for example, states that "from the poor plains came an enormous quantity of peat" ("The Czech Struggle", 1926, 11).

Moreover, it was understood that the national movement was successful in the Czech lands and that the result was the outstanding prosperity of the country, especially in contrast with Ireland. Kelly, for example, describes the Czech countryside in the following way:

I travelled over two thousand miles through a country smiling in ripening corn or maturing crops of potato, beet, etc., with fruit trees at every side. In the fields are to be seen the natives toiling happily and contentedly, at all hours [...]. Their houses are models of cleanliness and neatness, with every accompaniment to make them attractive. ("Bohemia and Ireland", 1905, 7)

This idyllic pastoral image chimed with the ideology shared by many Irish revivalists, which placed emphasis on rural areas as unpolluted sources of national tradition. These ideals persisted a long time into the 20<sup>th</sup> century – in his famous 1943 radio address, the Taoiseach Éamon de Valera presented a similar image of Ireland:

The ideal Ireland that we would have, the Ireland that we dreamed of, would be [...] a land whose countryside would be bright with cosy homesteads, whose fields and villages would be joyous with the sounds of industry, with the romping of sturdy children, the contest of athletic youths and the laughter of happy maidens, whose firesides would be forums for the wisdom of serene old age. (00:00:00–00:00:42)

We can therefore see that Kelly was addressing principally the public at home. He praised the Czechs also for other virtues that were, in his view, lacking in Ireland. This is the only possible explanation of his remark that he had not seen a "single beggar or drunken man in Bohemia" – a statement that a Czech is rather reluctant to believe ("Bohemia and Ireland", 1905, 7). In contrast with Ireland, which had been plagued by emigration for decades, he also describes Czechs as "home-loving people who stay on their land and make it smile in plenty, as God intended it to be" (7).

Kelly's picture of Bohemia, moreover, does not limit itself to the countryside – he mentions also the dense railroad network, the coal and ore mines and above all, the flourishing local industry.

A number of other journalists did the same. For instance, Ó Riain praised the successes of Czech industry in the following words: |141

Industrially by the beginning of the century, they were far advanced. In their iron industry they had come to compete with Germany itself. Their linen manufacture was more extensive than that of all the other regions in the "empire". Their glass works had long been celebrated. ("The Czech Struggle", 1926, 11)

What is characteristic is that Ó Riain completely ignored the role of the Bohemian Germans and Jews in these industrial developments and that he clearly connected the growth of industry with the Czech national struggle. And in the minds of most of the journalists, the national movement was intrinsically linked to the effort to revive the language. At the beginning of his essay, "Maolmhuire" states the following:

Now, Bohemian history shows that during this whole contest between Czech and German the question of language has been the pivotal point, that the decay of Bohemia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries went hand in hand with the degradation of Czech speech, and that the resuscitation of the Czech nationality in our own time was preceded by the revival of the national language. (1: 5)

The emphasis on the inseparability of nation and language illustrates an important cultural difference. Political thought in Central Europe had been long shaped by thinkers such as Johann Gottfried Herder, for whose philosophy the above-mentioned connection was crucial. Ireland, on the other hand, had been more influenced by Enlightenment political philosophy that defines the nation rather on the basis of citizenship than on the basis of language or culture. Moreover, the political struggle for independence in Ireland predated any serious attempts at a language revival. This can be well illustrated on the example of Daniel O'Connell, the most important national leader of the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. While a native speaker of Irish and the nephew of a notable Irish poet, he urged his supporters to abandon the language. His motivation was entirely practical – English speakers could stand a better chance in the world of Irish politics that had been exclusively Anglophone for a long time already. For these reasons, many Irish people did not believe that in order to gain political independence it was necessary to become independent also linguistically. The authors of the articles in question tried to convince their co-patriots of the opposite and found the Czech example extremely useful in this respect. Their message was that the revival of Irish, despite its obvious difficulty, was no dreamy, romantic endeavour that would strive to bring the Irish back to some Golden Age in the past. On the contrary, it was presented as a necessary condition for the establishment of a modern state with modern economy.

### **If the roof of a certain room fell...**

When comparing the two language revivals, the essays frequently returned to one pivotal question. What exactly was the situation of Czech at the beginning of the revival? The reasons for this preoccupation were explicitly pointed out by Maurice Moore (the brother of George Moore, an important writer of the Irish Literary Revival), when he described the difficulties that accompanied the search for historical parallels to the Irish situation:

142| The rumours of language revival in other countries were too vague and careless to satisfy; certain information was lacking, and we lost many adherents because it was thought that in those cases the mass of the people had never forgotten the language of their ancestors, and that it was only the Court and the literary classes who had laid it aside. (10)

Moore was right – this was exactly the case of many countries mentioned in the Irish press at the time, including Poland, Hungary or Germany. In Moore’s view only the Czech revival provided the missing exact parallel that proved that Irish could be revived “if the people wish so” (10). Moore’s evidence was his brother’s account of his conversation with Count Lützow whom he met in Dublin in 1909. During lunch, Lützow allegedly stated that eighty years before (i.e. in 1829), only 700 000 people of the total population of five million spoke Czech in the Czech lands and that all of these were peasants in secluded regions (10). This is, of course, blatantly incorrect. It is of note, however, that 700 000 out of five million is exactly 14 per cent, which ‘miraculously’ matches the percentage of Irish speakers in Ireland according to the 1891 census (*Census of Ireland* 525). The parallel had to be made as exact as possible.

While Moore was content with the oral evidence from his brother, some other authors turned to the statements of the first generation of Czech revivalists such as Josef Dobrovský or František Martin Pelcl (“Maolmhuire” 1: 5; Finlay 70; Ó Riain, “The Czech Struggle”, 1902, 4–5). These often wrote in German, which made their opinions more available, and frequently had serious doubts about the future of Czech. For instance, “Maolmhuire” wrote in 1898:

[...] the language was regarded as dead by the world in general, and dying by some of its best friends. Pelcel [sic] compared it to the Lusatian which in the fourteenth century was heard spoken by a few peasants in the market place in Leipzig, but was rapidly disappearing, and Joseph Dobrowski [sic] looked upon its extinction as proximate. (1: 5)

Other journalists did not bother with sources at all. Kelly, for example, mentioned in 1910 that “sixty years ago there was not a printed book in that language, and it was said that, if the roof of a certain room fell, it would crush all who could then speak and write it” (“Bohemia and Ireland”, 1910, 211). Again, this was a remarkable distortion of facts, based probably on the oral transmission of the traditional simile concerning the small number of early Czech revivalists. Interesting is the postponement of the situation to 1850, when many of the objectives of the Czech revival had been attained. The reason for this distortion could be again the polishing of the parallel with Ireland because exactly in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Irish experienced, due to the Great Irish Famine, one of the gravest periods of decline. The same is true concerning the statement about the absence of printed books, which in the case of Czech does not make sense at any time during the revival, not to speak about 1850. On the other hand, Irish had disappeared from the public sphere already before the invention of the printing press, so the amount of printed material at the beginning of the revival was really negligible (O’Leary 1–2).

The most exaggerated statement about the weakness of Czech was made by Siobhán Nic Siothaig in 1929 when, on the basis of her visit of Prague, she celebrated what she called “a language miracle”. She believed that the miracle happened literally overnight, claiming that before the First World War, Czech was taboo “in the schools, colleges, university, on the mart, in factories, on the street” (6). The beginning of the revival was thus postponed more than a hundred years later to make it entirely contemporaneous with the Irish movement.

The motive behind these distortions is clear enough. If it was not the case that Czech was on the brink of extinction at the beginning of the revival, many would not see the parallel as functional. This was made explicit by Charles Munro, the author of the only article that clearly uses the situation of Czech as an argument not for, but against the Irish revival effort. In reply to an enthusiastic essay by Thomas Finlay (1902), he stated the following:

There were, no doubt, in Bohemia two rival idioms, one the language of the country, and the other the language of literary affectation; the former was Czech and the latter was German, and the former won the day. Similarly in Ireland there are two rival idioms, one the language of the country, and the other the language of literary affectation; but the former is English and the latter is Irish, and the former will win the day (Munro 161).

Munro put it in a deliberately provocative way, but he was, in fact, not far from the truth concerning the state of affairs in Bohemia at the beginning of the revival. The same view, although much more carefully worded, was expressed by the Czech Celticist Josef Baudiš, who gave a paper about the Czech language revival at the Celtic Congress on the Isle of Man in 1921. He expanded upon the successes of the movement, but made it clear that Czech was still widely spoken in the Czech lands at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and that nothing would have been achieved “had the language been half extinguished” (157).

Baudiš’s statement is correct in its essence. There are no reliable statistics for the Czech lands prior to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, but the census from 1846 shows that roughly 60 per cent of the population declared themselves as Czechs (Kořalka 140). A study based on partial data from 1802 moreover indicates that most Czech speakers at that time were monolingual (Velková and Velek 49), which means that there were obvious practical reasons for the German-speaking population in the cities to acquire the language. This is widely different from the 14 per cent of Irish speakers in Ireland in the 1890s, who were, almost without exception, also fluent in English (*Census of Ireland* 525). There was no immediate economic motivation for the English speakers to learn Irish, and the revivalists could rely solely on the people’s interest or their patriotic feelings. The task of reviving Irish was thus much more difficult than in the case of Czech.

### **Points of interest, distortions and evasions**

Apart from this central question, the journalists often drew attention to issues such as the role of translation in the revival (Kelly, “Bohemia and Ireland”, 1905, 7; Ó Loingsigh, 1: 5), the importance of creating new terminology (Finlay 71; Ó Riain, “The Czech Struggle”, 1926, 3) or the development of literature (O’Beirne; Ó Loingsigh 1: 5; Ó Riain, “The Czech Struggle”, 1926, 12; “Maolmhuire” 2: 6). Very often, examples gained from the Czech context served primarily as interventions into various debates within the Irish movement and in some cases, this became a source of further distortions. A good example is the issue of introducing Czech into the education system. It cannot be denied that this was an important part of the revival project, especially in the light of the germanizing effort of the Emperors Maria Theresa and Joseph II in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The aim of the Czech revivalists, however, differed from that of their Irish counterparts. In the Czech lands the purpose was clearly to give young Czechs the opportunity to be educated in their native language. In the Irish context, this aim was limited to the Irish-speaking areas on the western seaboard, while in the rest of the country the revivalists depended on schools in order to spread the language among the English-speaking population. This explains the emphasis that certain journalists placed on the law from 1861 that made Czech compulsory as a

144| secondary school subject also in German-speaking regions of Bohemia (“Maolmhuire” 2: 6; Ó Riain, “The Czech Struggle”, 1926, 8). Siobhán Nic Siothaig even named her article „A Language Miracle – Compulsory Czech”, suggesting that Czech was saved by simply forcing German speakers to learn it. It was, in essence, another misunderstanding as the success of the Czech revival depended much more on the development of Czech medium secondary schools than on the language skills of the Bohemian Germans (Kořalka 104-05).

Even more intriguing were features of the Czech revival that the Irish authors did not mention at all or at least, did not want to draw too much attention to. The most important of them was undoubtedly the religious question. While the majority of Czechs were Catholics during the revival, there was always a certain ‘Protestant’ element in the movement, most pronounced in the admiration for Jan Hus, the Hussites and the flourishing Protestant culture of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The Irish authors, stressing the similarities between the two countries, made numerous historical parallels. One of them was the connection of the Battle of Kinsale (1601) that led to the emigration of the native Irish elites and English domination, to the Battle of the White Mountain (1620) that resulted in similar consequences in the Czech lands (Ó Loingsigh 1: 5). The parallel is well sustained, given the fact that both events occurred in the context of European religious wars of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Also other authors regard the Battle of the White Mountain as a fateful event in Czech history (“Maolmhuire” 1: 5; Ó Riain, “The Czech Struggle”, 1926, 5; Kelly, “The Revival of the Bohemian Language” 1: 500). What was never mentioned, however, was that while the Battle of Kinsale led to the emigration and oppression of Irish *Catholics*, the Battle of the White Mountain caused the same fate to Czech *Protestants*. If non-Catholic religious movements were ever discussed, the emphasis was placed on national or linguistic aspects of the story rather than on religion. For example, Ó Riain wrote about Jan Hus in the following way:

John Huss, who led a religious movement with *which we have no concern*, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, preached in the native speech, tried to free the language from foreign words and idioms and to simplify native spelling. The Hussite religious campaign led to wars, wild upheavals, and destruction; but as regards the language propagandism, Huss is a beloved name to the Bohemians, though, as they are mostly Catholics they have no sympathy with his religious doctrines in the main (“The Czech Struggle”, 1926, 5, my emphasis).

In order to shift the focus away from the question of Protestantism, the Jesuit Thomas Finlay expanded on the role of Catholic priests in preserving Czech before the revival and in its early phase. After the description of the decline of Czech in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, he continued:

There was a sanctuary still sacred to the Czech tongue — from which no exercise of the imperial power could drive it. In the churches the clergy steadily refused to follow the University and the middle schools in adopting the German language. The catechism was taught in Czech, and the religious instruction of the people was given from the pulpit in the same tongue. And the priests who thus stood by the old language carried their zeal in its cause beyond the pulpit and the catechism classes. They wrote in Czech for the people [...] (69).

This was an ingenious move on Finlay’s part as the role of priests in the Czech revival is well attested – the shift in emphasis was therefore not made at the expense of fact. An implicit parallel was created with the situation in Ireland where many revivalists were at the same time Catholic priests. An



added reason for stressing the role of the clergy might have been to encourage the Irish Catholic church in general to be more supportive of the revival.

As in the case of the number of speakers also here voices were found that contradicted the enthusiasm of most the articles. These statements of doubt came from three essays published in the Jesuit magazine *Studies: Irish Quarterly Review*, all of them focusing specifically on the religious and national question in the newly founded Czechoslovakia (Gannon; O'Neill; Macken). There is, for instance, a big difference between Kelly, who describes Czechs as "fine Catholic people" ("Bohemia and Ireland", 1905, 5) and the following opinion:

The dominant spirit in Prague is not one of orthodox Catholicism. Whether it is more akin to that of the Socialist, or of the Jew, or of the Freemason, or of the militant Agnostic may be a matter for dispute [...] (O'Neill 619).

The image of Czechoslovakia in these articles has been already discussed by Lili Zách. Despite their entrenched conservatism they are certainly worth attention as they belong to the few texts in our sample to criticize the nationalist ideology that informed both revivals.

### **Czech literature in the service of Irish causes**

All the articles quoted so far were written in English – the reason behind it clearly being the effort to reach out to as wide a public as possible. The only exception is the long essay "An tAiséirghe Seiceach, Adhbhar Dóchais do Ghaedhealaibh" (The Czech Resurrection, Cause of Hope for the Irish) by Seán Ó Loingsigh, published in two instalments in the Irish-language supplement of *The Examiner* in 1932. The text merits a considerable degree of attention here as it constitutes one of the first contacts between Czech and Irish in modern history, embodied especially in the author's discussion of Czech literature. The essay was based on a public lecture given in Dundalk for the local branch of the Gaelic League (Ó Loingsigh, 1: 5; Samek 45), which yet again illustrates the widespread interest of Irish revivalists in other language movements. In preparation for his lecture, Ó Loingsigh contacted Pavel Růžička, the Czechoslovak Ambassador in Ireland. The Ambassador was able to give Ó Loingsigh ample reading material in English translation and also to make him aware of some of the more common misunderstandings. Ó Loingsigh thus directly addresses Kelly's statement that all the people able to speak and write Czech could once gather in a single room and explains why it is a mistake (Ó Loingsigh, 1: 5). He was even able to avoid the numerous spelling errors which abound almost in every other text in our sample – apart from the diacritics, he has the spelling entirely correct.

On the linguistic level it is notable how he assimilates the subject matter in order to fit it into the Irish context. The most prominent instance is the use of the word *Gall*, which, in the course of Irish history, has denoted foreigners from countries that have invaded Ireland, i.e. Vikings, Normans and the English. Ó Loingsigh transposes the word into Central Europe and writes, for example, about "three kinds of Gall, i.e. Prussians, Austrians and Hungarians, hard and cruel usurpers that did their best to crush the culture and language of the Slavs" (1:5).<sup>[2]</sup> Another such case is the word *seoinín*, derived from the English first name John and used to denote Irishmen that imitate English culture. In the article, Ó Loingsigh shifts the meaning of the word in order to describe Czechs that abandoned their native language and traditions. The following passage ingenuously combines *seoinín* and *Gall*:

146] The Czechs had to overcome the same difficulties as the Irish, i.e. the old tongue in the grips of death as a literary language in any case, foreign [Gallda] government supported by a clique of foreigners and shoneens [seoinín] working day and night for the sake of foreignism [Galldachas]<sup>[3]</sup> (1:5).

Similarly to a number of other journalists, also Ó Loingsigh recognized the importance of literature for the Czech language revival. Unlike others who were generous in their praise of Czech authors (e.g. Ó Riain, "The Czech Struggle", 1926, 12), however, he did not hide certain reservations:

It is not a crop entirely without weeds. There were many writers that drew their inspiration and thoughts from the works of foreigners [Gall], i.e. mainly the French and the Russians. The foreign [Gallda] influence left a bad smell and bad taste on much that was written in Czech in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century. This does not mean that there are no Czech writers with a talent for true poetry. There are aplenty. But they did not draw their inspiration from foreignism [Galldachas], but from the tradition and folklore of their own people<sup>[4]</sup> (1: 5).

It is clear yet again that Ó Loingsigh was not really writing about the situation in the Czech lands, but addressing the home audience. It is possible to read his comments as an indirect attack on Irish writers like Patrick Pearse or Pádraic Ó Conaire who recommended foreign models (specifically Russian and French) as inspiration for the development of modern Irish-language literature (Pearse 6, Ó Conaire 46-52). Instead of that, Ó Loingsigh advocates the return to native "tradition and folklore". The passage is also a good illustration of how an effort to gain cultural autonomy from England could easily turn into a narrow-minded rejection of anything foreign. The pejorative word *Gall* in the passage no longer denotes "invaders", but foreigners of any kind, including the fashionable French and Russian authors.

Despite his misgivings, Ó Loingsigh did not resist the temptation to give his readers a little taste of Czech literature in translation. As far as is known, his essay features the very first published translations from Czech to Irish. It is likely, however, that Ó Loingsigh did not translate directly, but used English as an intermediary language. The choice of the samples was clearly not based of literary merit, but rather according to nationalist sentiments expressed in them.

The first extract comes from Jan Amos Komenský's *Kšaft umírající matky Jednoty bratrské* (The Testament of the Dying Mother, the Unity of Brethren, 1650), written by the scholar in exile after he was forced to flee Bohemia as a consequence of the defeat of the Czech Estates in the Battle of the White Mountain. Ó Loingsigh's treatment of the text is yet another instance of the effort to circumvent the uncomfortable religious question. He translates the title of the book, but maintains silence about the fact that the Unity in question was a Protestant church and that Komenský was a bishop in it. The testament is a monologue of the personified church, but Ó Loingsigh states that the country of Bohemia itself speaks in the text in the form of an old woman (1:5). This is an evasive movement, of course, but at the same time a deliberate attempt to create a parallel with the specifically Irish genre of the *aisling* poem. In these compositions, especially common in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, a woman representing Ireland appears to the poet and typically delivers a political message. The genre was also used by W.B. Yeats in his famous play *Cathleen ni Houlihan* (1902), which significantly influenced subsequent nationalist politics. The *aisling* woman often predicts the return of sovereignty into the hands of the native Irish. To support the parallel, Ó Loingsigh translates the dying mother's famous prophesy from the nineteenth chapter that the rule of the country will come back to the Czech people. In keeping with the general thrust of the essay, he also includes the incentive to cultivate the native language

that follows shortly after. The rest of Komenský's book, which deals with religious matters, is given no attention.

Another extract that Ó Loingsigh chose comes from the preface to the collection of sonnets *Slávy dcera* (The Daughter of Sláva, 1824) by the Slovak revivalist poet Ján Kollár (1793–1852). The passage was undoubtedly chosen to support Ó Loingsigh's opinions about the *seoiníní*, i.e. Irishmen or Czechs imitating foreigners. In the translation of Paul Selver, which probably served as an intermediary text for Ó Loingsigh: "They in their nature are neither Slav or Teuton, but bat-like / Half of the nature of one, half of the other possess" (Kollár 46). Interestingly, *Slávy dcera* caught the attention also of other journalists in our sample: "Maolmhuire" translated a couple of other lines from the preface (2: 6) and John O'Beirne wrote a whole essay about the collection and its author. The probable reasons are Kollár's nationalist sentiments as well as the availability of the German (and later English) translation.

Finally, Ó Loingsigh translated a whole poem by Svatopluk Čech (1846–1908), called "Naše řeč" ("Our Native Tongue" in Paul Selver's English version). Again, there can be no doubt as to why this particular text was chosen. The sentiments expressed by the poet must have appealed to Ó Loingsigh and like-minded revivalists: the poem exalts the Czech language over all the other national assets and claims that it has guarded the nation as "a single shield" in all its struggles. Even though "a foreign tongue" (i.e. German) rules over "half of the world", Czech remains "queen of them all [...] in our eyes, and unto none the palm shall yield." The nation should not shirk from any sacrifice for the sake of the language: "This sacred tongue's eternal rights shall ne'er be aught except the sword / From us be wrung" (Čech 58–59). Ó Loingsigh's translation is very loose and consciously strives to adapt the poem to the Irish context. It reduces the number of stanzas to four as opposed to seven in the original, and breaks the lines into shorter rhythmical units. The most conspicuous change, however, is the translation of "foreign tongue" into "caint na nGall" – especially if we bear in mind the specific meaning of *Gall* mentioned above. Moreover, while "foreign tongue" is used only once in the original (and in the English version), the word *Gall* appears five times in the Irish translation, thus adding to the militancy of the poem. Such 'creative' approach to foreign nationalist texts was not unique in the Irish revival – one interesting parallel are English translations of Mickiewicz's *Modlitwa Pielgrzyma* and *Litania Pielgrzyska* (The Pilgrim's Prayer and The Pilgrim's Litany) written by Aodh de Blácam – instead of Polish heroes, Irish national figures like Brian Ború, Robert Emmet and Thomas Davis are referred to (Ó Fionnáin 40–42).

## Conclusion

The study of the reflections of the Czech language revival in the Irish press is an interesting way to compare the two movements – the Irish articles function as a distorted mirror that, to a discerning observer, brings into sharp relief the crucial differences between the two revivals, but also the underlying ideologies that informed both. What is the most conspicuous (and controversial) feature of most of the texts is the description of the language revival and Czech history in general as a merciless conflict between Czech and German culture. The only imaginable solution was the total victory of one side and the utter defeat of the other. According to this view, there was no place for anyone who would like to occupy the middle position – these would be immediately labelled *seoiníní* or even "bats", as we have seen. This militant note was undoubtedly present in Czech nationalism and it is no surprise that the Irish journalists took it at face value, especially as it chimed with similar views in Ireland. The subsequent history of Irish-language culture has proved that less militant approaches were more viable – if Irish is to persist, it can do so only alongside English in a bilingual environment, and also in contact with other languages. If we are indeed to learn something from the two revivals, it

148| is not how best to put forward one language at the expense of another, but how to strike a sustainable balance between protecting and developing the local culture (or cultures) and maintaining links with the wider world.

### Notes

- [1] This is an expanded version of an earlier article, published in Irish in 2016 (Markus). The work was supported by the European Regional Development Fund-Project "Creativity and Adaptability as Conditions of the Success of Europe in an Interrelated World" (No. CZ.02.1.01/0.0/0.0/16\_019/0000734).
- [2] "trí saghasanna Gall .i. Prúisigh, Ostraigh agus Maggair, forlámhaidhe dúra danartha a rinne a seacht ndíthcheall le saoidheacht agus le teanga na Slábhach do bhasgadh". My translation.
- [3] "Bhí na deacrachtaí céadna le sárú ag na Seicigh agus bhí ag na Gaodhail .i. an seanteanga i mbéalaibh báis mar teanga liteardha ar aon chuma, riaghaltas Gallda agus caol-dream de choigríochaigh agus de sheoiníní mar chúl-toraic laistiar de ag obair i dtráth agus in antráth ar son an Ghalldachais." My translation.
- [4] "Níor bharr gan fiadhaillí ar fad é. Bhí a lán scríbhneoirí a tharraing a dtinfeadh agus a smaointe ó shaothar Gall .i. Francaigh is Rúisigh go mór-mhór. D'fhág an tionchur Ghallda droch-bholadh is droch-bhlas ar chuid maith d'á bhfuil ceaptha sa tSeicis i gcaitheamh na 19adh aoise agus na 20adh aoise. Ní fhágann san ná bhfuil sgríobhnóirí sa tSeicis agus buadh na fíorfhilidheachta aca. Tá, neart díobh. Ach ní ó'n nGalldachas a tharraingeadar súd a dtinfeadh ach ó dhúthchas agus ó bhéal-oides a muintire féin." My translation.

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**Oh Venice! Venice!****English presence in the Czech travel representation of Italy**

*Abstract: The article contributes to the mapping of the important phenomenon of the British presence in Italy. Based on the selected texts of Czech travel literature of the first third of the twentieth century, the article illustrates how this fact was reflected in the representation of Italy. Therefore, the prism of the Czech visitor to Italy enriches the phenomenon with another perspective, discussing, among other things, the Czech perception of England in the relevant period and beyond.*

An integral part of the representation of Italy in modern Czech travel literature, is the presence of foreigners and their cultures in Italy. At first glance, it is evident that a dominating factor is the development of tourism, which took place during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Travel to Italy, for various purposes, has its roots deeply in the Middle Ages, from religious pilgrimages to business, diplomatic, political, military and study trips; these directly influenced the representation of Italy.

It was impossible to ignore the presence of foreign visitors, tourists, alongside Italians. The tourists, however, had a different character. When the perspective of a visitor to Italy is considered, they are foreign twice - he or she is a foreigner in a foreign country - but at the same time, they can identify themselves with other foreigners' position to a certain extent, as they are strangers to the Apennine Peninsula.

The reflection of the presence of other foreign cultures in this country has other causes, it is also related to the fact that Italy was no longer a tabula rasa in the discussed period, it was already a well-documented country. Therefore, every traveller during their visit had to cope not only with the traces of other cultures present in its territory, but they also had to overcome their preconceptions about the country. These ideas were mainly based on literary, artistic and musical, representations. In Czech travel literature featuring Italy, topics such as introductions of modesty, and topical modesty in general are present. The authors of this literature apologise according to the medieval topological scheme for their insufficiency and non-originality in praising a country as rich as Italy. To some extent, their position was merely thematic and, in a sense, rhetorical, on the other hand, it at least qualified any awareness that visitors had about the country before visiting it.

It is interesting how the phenomenon of English travellers in the Italian context was reflected in Czech travel literature. When referring to the English, this generally includes the inhabitants and culture of Great Britain, it is assumed that this casual designation was used in the analysed literature. This stereotypical labelling of the inhabitants of Great Britain as English, has persisted in our country until the present day.

The fact that England was selected is not a coincidence, it is based on the phenomenon of the Grand Tours (known as the Cavalier Journeys) which stimulated the emergence of tourism. These started in England in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century during Queen Elizabeth I's rule. She advocated the need to explore the European continent as a necessary life experience of a young nobleman, contrary to the prevailing European tendency typified by Spain and characterised by the 'conquest' of the New World. Later, the representatives of the young emerging bourgeoisie, including women, travelled to continental Europe. Italy became their favourite destination and soon an English tourist was inherently

associated with Italy. The English perception of Italy heavily influenced the way it was represented abroad. For example, the romantic myth of Venice as a dying city, fed by Decadence representatives in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, was inherently connected with the stays of English Romantics under Byron's leadership and not only in this city. Czech visitors were exposed to their literary legacy and the phenomenon of the 'Byronisation' of Italy.<sup>[1]</sup> This is exemplified by Czech author Julius Zeyer (1841–1901). As one of his monographists, J. Š. Kvapil, mentions, Zeyer deliberately set out "on a tour during which he visited places worthy of and precious to the European romanticists, finding responses to Shelley's and Byron's footsteps in northern Italy and Switzerland"<sup>[2]</sup> (Kvapil 81).

These circumstances are interesting, together with the fact that during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. at a time when Czech modern literature was constituted, the first prosaic text coincidentally is considered; Polák's *Cesta do Itálie* (Journey to Italy, published in journal in the period 1820–1823). Concurrently, a gradual interest in the Anglo-Saxon world was emerging, and vice versa. The complexity in establishing contacts was caused not only by the separation of the British Isles from continental Europe, but also by the lack of knowledge of the English language. Even in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, good knowledge of English in the Czech environment was limited to a relatively few educated individuals (Štaif 160). In addition, English literature was often translated into Czech during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Byron being the second mostly translated author (Mánek 7).

The mutual recognition took place at a time when the Czech lands underwent a national revival process and formulation of the *national* identity. England was often paralleled with the Habsburg monarchy during this process. It was presented stereotypically as an imperialist oppressive empire that hindered small nations in gaining self-determination.<sup>[3]</sup>

In our study, however, we are interested in how the presence of the English in Italy was reflected and represented in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century up until the 1930s, i.e. around the First World War, when the trends that resulted in the establishment of an independent Czechoslovak state culminated and when Czech modern literature was formed. From the body of available literature relating to individual stages of the selected period, and at the same time specific in their descriptions of Italy, various texts from several authors were chosen, all in connection with the purpose of the journey.

These are the travel prose works of Jan Havlasa, Karel Čapek, Rudolf Medek and Jaroslav Durych.

Jan Havlasa (1883–1964), real name Jan Klecanda, strongly nationally oriented, made his journey to Italy in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Aside from Slovakia, it was his first trip abroad, its aim and focus being closest to the Grand Tour, albeit in a modern style. It contributed to his later endeavours, Havlasa became famous not only as a writer but also as a publicist and photographer, and he is considered to be the founder of travel photography as well as a traveller and diplomat. In 1920 he became the first envoy of Czechoslovakia in Brazil. Havlasa made his journey right after graduation in 1902; he received a scholarship for this from the Czech Academy of Sciences, and the trip marked his transition into adulthood. Adding his own earnings and taking advantage of the background support of a leading geologist, engineer Vincenc Špirek, director of the Siel mercury mines in the Monte Amiata Mountains in Tuscany, he could afford to stay in Italy for five months. The Italian inspiration was reflected in a number of Havlasa's prose works, but in the context of the above-mentioned genre delimitation, only the travelogue *Jižní perspektiva* (Southern Perspective) is considered. It was first published in 1918, and again in 1922 in a volume of Havlasa's prose entitled *Touha do dálky (Zlomky života)* (Desire into Distance (Fragments of Life)), which he enriched with a section dedicated to Siena. Probably due to the young age of the traveller, together with an ambition to demonstrate his intellectual maturity and prove himself in Italy, Havlasa's text stands out in Czech literature by explicit intertextuality in the

152| context of the themes of Italian travel. In this context, it is interesting to consider whether Havlasa was influenced by English authors in his representation of Italy and if so, which.

Karel Čapek (1890–1938) was selected as the second author. He is still known as an Anglophile and he is also recognised abroad as a lover of English culture, art and society (Thomas 117). His artistic and character affinity with the English is connected with his fame in Western Europe (Thomas 117), which, among other things, resulted in translations of Čapek's works into English almost immediately after their publication in Czech. The Anglo-Saxon world is still significantly interested in Čapek's works.

Čapek read English without problem, he also had a close friendship with a prominent Czech philologist, literary historian, translator and publicist, Otakar Vočadlo (1895–1974). He introduced him to English writers and journalists and was his guide in London during his stay in 1924.

Karel Čapek travelled to Italy in 1923 during a difficult personal period, torn and ambivalent in love and health. The visit to Italy was motivated by both personal and professional reasons. He was sending his feuilletons, which he wrote during his trip, to *Lidové noviny* (People's Newspaper, i.e. a daily paper). He later collated, expanded and published them in a book entitled *Italské listy* (Letters from Italy, 1923). They also started his travel series, of which *Anglické listy* (Letters from England, 1924) are an unforgettable part.

The third author considered is the writer and army general Rudolf Medek (1890–1940) and his *Česká pouť do Itálie* (Czech Pilgrimage to Italy), published in 1926. In comparison with the first two travellers, whose journeys around Italy had primarily a tourist dimension, civic 'duty' prevailed in Medek's case. He started in May 1924 with the aim to explore "the footprints of the recent Czech past"<sup>[4]</sup> (Medek 167). He followed in the footsteps of Czechoslovak legionnaires who fought in Italy. As the Director of the Resistance Memorial, a propagator and disseminator of the legionary tradition from a right-wing perspective, he had battle experience on the Russian front. He identifies himself in triplicate: a soldier, a legionnaire and a poet.

The last text taken into consideration was written by Jaroslav Durych (1886–1962). It is called *Římská cesta* (Roman Journey, 1933). Durych travelled to Italy for his studies in September 1932, at a time when the idea of an extensive historical novel, *Služebníci neužiteční* (Useless Servants), was born and concretised. This novel focused on the Jesuit missions in Japan at the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, with the protagonist, Karel Spinola, growing up in Italy. Durych did not come to Italy for its own sake, but he wanted to evoke the faded atmosphere of the Baroque era and at the same time map out the places where Karel Spinola had travelled and worked. He also wanted to research the Jesuits in that country and to obtain tangible and intangible sources for the writing of his novel.

### **(English) tourist everywhere**

English motifs can be found in several parts of all these travelogues. It is primarily related to the representation of Italy as a country flooded by tourists, which was in the reviewed period mainly portrayed with negative connotations. Foreign tourists were perceived as annoying with their quantity and omnipresence. The term tourist is often associated with the English. This is evident in Havlasa's prose: he pays attention to the phenomenon of tourism in the chapter devoted to Bologna. He states that "one will meet a tourist at every step"<sup>[5]</sup> (Havlasa 170). He continues: "Perhaps by chance, I met the most English [tourists] in Bologna. Wherever I went, I heard English"<sup>[6]</sup> (Havlasa 171). The description is detailed, referencing specific places in the city: the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, a pinacoteca with individual spaces and English everywhere.

Remarks about the English can be found in Čapek's travelogue, especially in connection with tourists. Čapek, who opposed reading the Baedeker guides on Italy, inherently linked with the invasion



of tourists into the country, was outraged by the high number of tourists in Italy. He mentions them even in known tourist centres, the 'mandatory' stops when visiting Italy: Venice, Florence, Rome and Naples. Čapek did not pay attention exclusively to English tourists, but he also noticed tourists from other nations and even from his own country. He applied the national auto- and hetero-stereotypes, which are related to the narrator's emotional attitude; a simplistic characteristic typical of the stereotype is emphasised by a synecdochic expression focused on detail: "An awful amount of tourists here in Venice. The Germans usually wear rucksacks or loden clothes, the English have cameras, the Americans can be recognised by their shoulders and the Czechs look like Germans and speak noticeably loud, perhaps because the air is thinner in our country"<sup>[7]</sup> (Čapek 5).

Even Medek's traveller registers the disturbing presence of English tourists in renowned tourist centres such as Venice, Rome and Pompeii: "the whole of Italy is full of the English" because "they come here to warm their souls, close to egoism, close to cold and closer to their brains than their hearts"<sup>[8]</sup> (Medek 94). The English tourists are repeatedly mentioned together with the Americans. It is possible to consider the extent to which this connection was coincidental, to what extent it reflected the contemporary ideas on the cultural identity of Europe, perceiving America to be part of the European West.

From the quotation above, it is clear that Medek, in connection with the mission of the travelogue, in which he wants to strengthen national self-confidence during the time of creating an independent state, remains characteristic of the English as a stereotype representing Britain as an imperial country with negative connotations. The fact that Italy contrasts England (implicitly from the observation that the Italians are not selfish, but temperamental and emotional) is also related to Medek's representation of Italy as a friendly country. Furthermore, the Czech soldiers in legions fought on the Italian side during the First World War against the Austrian government. This created the construct of Italy as the first country in Europe which started to fight for an independent nation in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This emotional affinity with Italy is also related to Medek's personal role of poet, beginning his artistic career within the individualist-based journal *Moderní revue* (Modern Revue).

In connection to the above, it is necessary to mention that another picture of England appears in Medek's travelogue. Again, in concordance with the interwar tendencies, he also perceives Italy as a representative of the democratic community. Italy was introduced to him by the self-confident English-speaking gentleman who negotiates equally with everyone: "I imagined two guys, meeting somewhere in a huge vestibule of a train station or hotel, and behold, they shook hands, patted each other on their shoulders, pulled a good cigar out of their breast pockets and exchanged these fat and tasty things, starting a discussion: How do you do? / How is your health? / Thank you, I am well!"<sup>[9]</sup> (Medek 158). The English language represents an integral part of the image of a democratic society. It is not only explicitly formulated by the narrator, but also demonstrated in a simulated conversation. In addition to the conversation spoken in English, the individual sections of the discourse are visualised by graphical division into separate lines. It can be said that in the name of authenticity, perhaps also in an attempt to prove their linguistic erudition, but certainly also in connection with contemporary fashion trends, Czech authors liked to use Anglicisms.

### Face like English ladies

English tourists are often reduced to females in these texts. In this context, the negative stereotype of an English woman is widely used in Czech modern literature.<sup>[10]</sup> She is portrayed as unattractive and almost in direct proportion to the absence of physical beauty is her pseudo-intellectualism. This is mentioned by Havlasa, when the narrator in the pinacoteca is "haunted by the screaming of one

154| obnoxious, tall and bespectacled Miss"<sup>[11]</sup> (Havlasa 171). Similarly, Karel Čapek writes that Neapolitan goats "have the face of English ladies"<sup>[12]</sup> (18), and calls the English female tourists 'waterproof'. Referring to Čapek's *Anglické listy* (Letters from England), in which he judges the English raincoats as one of their indispensable identifying characteristics, it is evident that he succumbed to the stereotype representing England as a land of continuous rain. However, in *Italské listy* (Italian Letters), the indirect reference to the identification of English female tourists does not merely serve as an example of the fashion style, which in Italy with a different climate, may seem to be unusual. It appears as a part of the aforementioned dispute with the shallow Baedeker readings about Italy, which focus on given objects and pass without invention and emotion. This approach is for him represented by the waterproof English females. These are mentioned in the Roman section, describing an almost intimate experience and feelings, when the narrator, tired of visiting famous monuments and sights, sits at the forgotten church of St. Lawrence and he feels much better than in the shadow of the famous Colosseum, "where the rash *guida* explains the waterproof English women where the water used to flow, and where the historical lions were released"<sup>[13]</sup> (Čapek 32).

When observing English female tourists, Medek also found "the young, slender, light girls full of northern glamour", were "dominated by legions of matrons and spinsters, whose appearances were shocking in their size and ugliness, encumbering gondolas and bridges over canals (lagoons), 'holding' a great meeting in St. Mark's Square and really just managing to feed all the pigeons and doves that are here"<sup>[14]</sup> (Medek 85). We see that the aforementioned representation of English female tourists by Medek is one of the features of a stereotypical picture of Venice along with gondolas, lagoons, canals, St. Mark's Square and pigeons.

### **Do you know any beautiful place in Italy without a Byron's house, or at least his footprints?**

Medek labels the arriving English females metaphorically, as daughters of Albion and reports that they are rushing to Venice, "as Lord Byron and Shelley preach"<sup>[15]</sup> (85). The mention of English Romantic poets is included in the representation of English tourism. In this context, the mention of Romantic authors is once again a part of the introduced profanation of the Venetian space through the prism of decadent tourism, whose victim was this city, especially from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Nevertheless, Byron's legacy is further developed in Medek's text: "Do you know any beautiful place in Italy without a Byron's house, or at least his footprints?"<sup>[16]</sup> (94). Using these words, the narrator commented on the testimony of Byron's stay in Ravenna. These were mentioned in the context of his fascination with this city. Byron's presence in Italy is presented as part of the aforementioned English influx to Italy, and at the same time elevated: "how would it not have been the refuge of those whose spirit was endowed with creative work? That is why Byron, Keats, Shelley..."<sup>[17]</sup> (Medek 94). Except for the reference to Byron's literary work, a reminder of the contemporary social and cultural phenomenon of tourism, this statement can also hide another meaning in connection with Medek's idea of travelogues. Byron was involved in the fight of the Italians against the Austrians for their independence. He became involved in the Carbonari Movement in Ravenna in 1820. Although the movement was ideologically and socially diverse, it was united by the idea of the need to unify Italy, escaping foreign domination. Byron was involved in the movement at a time when it was radicalised and massively persecuted.<sup>[18]</sup>

### **O Venezia, Venezia, Venezia...!**

The reference to Byron and other Romantic authors is also presented differently. In Čapek's text in the Venetian section there is an exclamation 'O Venezia'. In my opinion, it can be read not only as a link to

Karel Hynek Mácha's romantic walking pilgrimage to Venice which he undertook with his friend Antonín Strobach in 1834. It resulted in *Deník na cestě do Itálie* (Diary on the Trip to Italy). The exclamation 'O Venezia, Venezia' was recorded in the notes of August 24, after the young men reached Venice and appeared in St Mark's Square in particular. Nevertheless, the exciting exclamation is not just an apostrophe of the famous city. As Růžena Grebeníčková has already pointed out, it is the de facto quote from the first verse of Byron's famous *Ode on Venice*, from the opening quatrain: "*Oh Venice! Venice! When the marble walls/ Are level with the waters, there shall be/ A cry of nations o're thy sunken halls/ A loud lament along the sweeping sea!*". It also belongs to Byron's cry of nations and at the same time expresses the connection to those "who stood on this seafront before Mácha"<sup>[19]</sup> (Grebeníčková 193). As in Mácha's case, Čapek's quotation appears at the moment the traveller reaches St. Mark's Square. However, unlike Mácha, it represents a symbolic expression of profanity of the whole situation. The traveller, as was Medek, is disappointed by "the terrible amount of tourists here in Venice"<sup>[20]</sup> (Čapek 5). If we want to paraphrase and shift the meaning of Byron's quatrain, the cry of nations annoys him, and San Marco's Basilica "is not architecture, it is an orchestrion; one is looking for a hole where to insert a coin in order to play 'O Venezia'. I have not found a hole and as a result the orchestrion did not play"<sup>[21]</sup> (Čapek 5). The discontinuity of continuity is thus symbolically expressed by the absence of resonance of this glorious exclamation.

Similarly, Jaroslav Durych deals with 'Byronisation', respectively with the English Romanticisation of Italy. In his travel book, Durych advocates an aesthetic concept polemising with art as an individual expression, perceiving his journey as a duty and a service, and resisting all impressions that might disturb him in his contemplation; on the way between Genoa and Rome, the impressive natural scenery mirrored in the sea is such a disturbing element, the tempter. In this context, the enlightened and experienced narrator reminds those who have succumbed to it. The English Romantic poets who "swayed on sailing boats, looked up to this country with satisfaction from the apparent progress of their emotional selectivity and of the multiplication of bright though elusive judgements"<sup>[22]</sup> a century ago (Durych 56).

### **Tennyson, Symons, Ruskin...**

Although the references to Byron and other famous English Romantic poets are predominant in the analysed texts, Havlasa finds in connection with the Italian experience, also reminders of other English authors. As mentioned above, Havlasa's travelogue is interesting due to the explicit intertextuality widely used in the representation of Italy. Havlasa did not only draw from Czech translations or available titles in Czech, he also obtained publications directly on the way. Amongst the English authors, Havlasa references Alfred Tennyson, Arthur Symons and John Ruskin in his texts, without referring to their specific works. They are mentioned among other authors of national provenance, who can be considered canonical across poetics and time in the thematisation of Italy (Italian journeys). These include J. W. Goethe, Stendhal or Hippolyte Taine.<sup>[23]</sup> Except for Arthur Symons, to whom Havlasa dedicated more attention in the Siena section, when he confronted Symons's interpretation of Venice as a city of silence with his experiences from Siena, other authors appear only in the list of those who wrote about Italy. For example, Tennyson is mentioned amongst those amazed by Lake Garda, in the chapter "Milánské perspektivy" (Milan Perspectives), Havlasa and Ruskin represent English authors who, in addition to German, French, Spanish, and Czech authors, travelled to Italy, wrote about Italy and became united in the interpretation of Italian characteristics. The identification of the authors according to their nationality proves the number of perspectives and perceptions related to Italy, not as an illustration of the different representations of Italy implied by the national character.

## 156| Conclusion

In the analysed Czech travel literature, the English depiction symbolises an integral part of the representation of Italy. The stereotypes of the depiction of the English including their appearance and nature appear consistently in Czech literature as early as the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The literature studied reflects the presence of English tourists in Italy. The English literary traces within it, dedicate the most attention to the Romantic tradition, i.e. to the fact that English Romantic authors not only travelled to Italy, stayed in Italy, but also often struggled with it, writing in and about it. Unfortunately, the travelogues often only remark upon these facts without exploring them in more detail. Rather, it seems, the aforementioned references demonstrate the authors' intellect or one of many arguments for fulfilling the idea of travelogues.

### Notes

- [1] For the phenomenon of the Byronisation of Italy (and also the Italianisation of Byron), see Rawes - Saglia (eds.).
- [2] "na cestu po místech drahých evropským romantikům, shledával ohlasy kroků Shelleyho i Byrona v severní Itálii a ve Švýcarsku" (Kvapil 81)
- [3] For more details about the genesis of the mentioned stereotype, see Pynsent.
- [4] "za nedávnou českou minulostí" (Medek 167)
- [5] "za každým krokem zakopnete o turistu" (Havlasa 170)
- [6] "Snad náhodou v Bologně jsem jich potkal nejvíce anglických. Ať jsem se vrtl kam vrtl, všude jsem slyšel angličtinu" (Havlasa 171)
- [7] "Strašná spousta turistů tady v Benátkách. Němci nosí většinou ruksaky nebo lodenové šaty, Angličané fotografické aparáty, Američané se poznají podle ramen a Češi podle toho, že vypadají skoro jako Němci a mluví nápadně hlasitě, snad proto, že je u nás řidší vzduch" (Čapek 5)
- [8] "celá Itálie je plná Angličanů"; "chodí ohřáti své duše, blízké egoismu, blízké chladu a bližší mozku než srdci" (Medek 94)
- [9] "Viděl jsem v duchu dva chlapíky, potkavší se kdesi v ohromném vestibulu nádraží či hotelu, a hle, podávají si ruce, plesknou si na ramena, vytáhnou z náprsní kapsy dobrý doutník a vymění si tuto tlustou a chutnou věc mezi sebou, začínající hovor: How do you do? / How is your health? / Thank you, I am well!" (Medek 158)
- [10] For the stereotype of English women in the Czech literature of the 19th and 20th centuries, see also Pynsent.
- [11] "pronásleduje křičení jedné protivné, protáhlé, okuláry zdobené miss" (Havlasa 171)
- [12] "mají obličej jako anglické ladies" (Čapek 18)
- [13] "kde splašený guida vykládá nepromokavým Angličankám, kudy tam tekla ta voda a kde tu pouštěli ty historické lvy" (Čapek 32)
- [14] "mladičké, štíhlé, světlé dívky plné severního půvabu"; "převládají legiony matron a starých panen, mezi nimiž jsou zjevy ohromující co do velikosti a ošklivosti, zatěžující gondoly, můstky přes kanály (laguny), drží veliký meeting na náměstí svatého Marka a opravdu stačí nakrmit veškerý holuby a holubice, jež se tu popelí" (Medek 85)
- [15] "jak jim káže lord Byron i Shelley" (Medek 85)
- [16] "Znáš-li kdo krásné místo v Itálii, kde by nebylo domu Byronova, či aspoň jeho stopy?" (Medek 94)
- [17] "jak by nebyla bývala útočištěm těch z nich, jichž duch byl obdařen prací stvořitelkou? Proto Byron, Keats, Shelley..." (Medek 94)

- [18] For Byron's involvement in the Italian Carbonari movement, see Procházka and Lansdown.
- [19] "kdo stanuli na tomto mořském nábřeží před Máchou" (Greibeníčková 193)
- [20] "strašnou spoustou turistů tady v Benátkách" (Čapek 5)
- [21] "to není architektura, to je orchestrion; člověk hledá skulinu, kudy by tam hodil šesták, aby celá mašina spustila ‚Ó Venezia‘. Skulinu jsem nenašel, následkem čehož orchestrion nehrál" (Čapek 5)
- [22] "dávali houpat na plachetnicích, vzhlíželi k této zemi s uspokojením z patrného pokroku své mlsnosti citové a z rozmnožování úsudků bystrých, ač tak prchavých" (Durych 56)
- [23] For the theme of the Grand Tour, see de Seta.

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### Humor and Satire in Terry Pratchett's Discworld series

*Abstract: Terry Pratchett was a best-selling author in the United Kingdom; his stories contain elements of political satire placed in a fantasy setting. And yet, despite having a vast, humorous and easy to read selection of books, Pratchett's stories remain unread by many. The aim of this article is to cover psycholinguistic aspects of humor in general and specifically in Terry Pratchett's Discworld series. The writer uses classic joke set-ups to capture interest, structures his dialogues in a way that leaves room for ambiguity and maximizes the use of cooperative humor – where the reader feels as if he were cleverer by thinking ahead of the protagonist.*

Terry Pratchett's fiction lends to a humorous style of writing. It is what separates his writing from other fantasy worlds, and it's paradoxically what inspired writers to take their world seriously – but not too seriously. The writer has to know his audience and create compelling stories. Humor is just one way of doing so. But how exactly are humorous texts structured? One can say that Pratchett oftentimes captured humor through witty dialogue, narrator's clever commentary or, if one wants to be academic, he made stylistically marked changes in text that evoked a positive response in the reader. So how do changes in the text structure affect the reader? This paper aims to analyze Terry Pratchett's *Discworld* novel *Guards! Guards!*, its humor and interwoven satirical elements and their effect on the reader.

People can instinctively understand humor, can simply laugh, smile or feel amusement. Describing why something causes these reactions is a conundrum. The problem begins even before attempting to discover the mechanics of understanding the humorous response; it begins by defining humor itself. Salvatore Attardo defines it as “an all-encompassing category, covering any event or object that elicits laughter, amuses or is felt to be funny” (Attardo 4). Belem Lòpez and Jyotsna Vaid similarly define it as “a cognitive experience that gives rise to feelings of mirth or joy” (Lòpez and Vaid 267). With this, we need to start differentiating humor from a literary standpoint from humor as it's seen by linguists. Attardo contemplates this professional bias of the person compiling the research: “where the psychologist sees indifferent manifestations of humor, the folklorist or the literary critic sees genres like the joke, the humorous anecdote, the tall tale, etc.” (Attardo 5). While it's true that literature separates writing into genres, humor is not easily categorized and classification is not the point of humor in literature.

Definitions describe what humor is, nevertheless, they do not clear what it does. According to Lòpez and Vaid humor “disrupts the rigidity of conventional ways of thinking” (Lòpez and Vaid 268). A keyword, in this case, is the word conventional. It signalizes that humor breaks rules when it comes to standard human interaction – or in case of literary works, it breaks the traditional way the text is structured. Still, the effects of humor on the reader or the text remain unknown. After all, if writing humorously equaled to breaking traditional writing conventions, James Joyce and Virginia Woolf would be known as great comics. Instead, their tone is described as melancholy. One could argue that writing about the war or the post-war society automatically means that humor has no place in the work, but then *The Good Soldier Švejk* exists.

There are several theories about the effects of humor on the human psyche. Based on one of the three metatheories, in “incongruity theory” humor comes from the sudden perception of the

dissonance between two concepts. Lòpez and Vaid theorize that the use of humor is connected to human motivation; humans can either be motivated by their need for stability and security or their need for innovation and change (Lòpez and Vaid 269). Humor would fall into the second category, prompting the writer to appropriate his writing style to match the story. They further believe that all these elements create a joint action, where “speakers and listeners coordinate and co-construct the meaning” (Lòpez and Vaid 269). Attardo agrees with this concept, calling humor “cooperative by nature” (Attardo 271). All authors (Attardo, Lòpez and Vaid) continue to search for the way humor impacts the speaker – or reader – by confronting Grice’s Cooperative Principle by attempting to explain how humor breaks the four maxims. Salvatore Attardo gives examples, where the maxim of quantity is violated by ignoring the implied question, the maxim of relation is violated by using surreal humor, the maxim of manner means using ambiguity of phrasing to deliver a punchline and finally, the maxim of quality means insinuating meaning, or creating ambiguity (Attardo 271–273). Humor means engaging on a level over the basic one, taking the interaction beyond words. Its nature is subversive, as the listener or reader has expectations that should be followed, but are deliberately ignored for humor’s sake.

In literature, a comic writer uses all the techniques the linguists described. Whether they see a violation of Grice’s maxims, an attempt to bridge an incongruity with laughter, or a nontraditional conversation between the author and the reader; the presence of humor in literature is undeniable. Professionals who use humor to do their jobs, such as humorist Mary Hirsch, would tell us: “Humour is a rubber sword—it allows you to make a point without drawing blood” (Hirsch 33). Therefore, besides being entertaining, it carries meaning; it can be used to create ideas and change the listener or reader’s perspective of looking at an issue. It can also be used to reach those whose beliefs differ from our own. If we are willing to laugh, we are also willing to listen. Writers such as Pratchett can educate people on the ineffectiveness of the police force while entertaining them with tales of a policeman who wants to be good at his job. This results in both the expressiveness and the style being strengthened.

Pratchett’s overall treatment of the genre is not the only way the author draws humor into his saga. The individual scenes which form the chapters are stylized as jokes. By providing a relaxed and familiar atmosphere the author complements the humorous style – his voice gains shades of friendliness. As Pratchett narrates the story with interest, he provides “funny” voices – imitating the speech pattern of a drunk person or providing sharply critical commentary when switching the point of view. He also provides tidbits of characterization this way – the reader can discern characters’ motivation and personality without Pratchett having to provide tedious exposition. Therefore, the author’s humorous voice is a way of showing the reader parts of the world instead of just telling him about it. Pratchett’s narrator follows the standard joke structure: creating a set-up, making a sudden turn and delivering a punchline. In *Guards! Guards!*, the City Watch gains a new recruit – an adopted “dwarf” whose parents want him to learn about his birth, human, culture. The author establishes that Carrot is naive about the way the world works and is a bit behind when it comes to understanding adult situations. Consequently, when Carrot’s father decided to send him away, other dwarfs wanted to help him survive in the alien, human world in their own way. The following exchange between Carrot and a well-meaning dwarf Varneshi can be analyzed:

It was a strange, vaguely hemispherical device surrounded by straps.  
 “Is it some sort of sling?” said Carrot, after examining it in silence.

Varneshi told him what it was.

"Codpiece like in fish?" said Carrot, mystified.

"No. It's for the fighting," mumbled Varneshi. "You should wear it all the time. It protects your vitals, like."

Carrot tried it on.

"It is a bit small, Mr. Varneshi."

"That's because you don't wear it on your head, you see." (Pratchett 35)

In this dialogue, the author sets up the joke by vaguely describing the codpiece, highlighting Carrot's naivety. The reader follows Carrot's train of thought, guessing along with him. However, the author decides to engage the reader through narration. The writer made the line "Varneshi told him what it was" and Carrot's response "Codpiece like in fish?" a setup within a setup, because the reader is aware of the double meaning, while poor Carrot is still confused. Pratchett's use of dramatic irony should enforce anticipation within the reader, immersing him in the narrative at the same time. Varneshi's explanation and request to try on the equipment is a turn in the joke. Pratchett veered into slapstick comedy, going beyond verbal comedy. The reader is certainly fully aware of the gap in Carrot's knowledge and furthermore, is expecting a punchline. The narrator enhances the reader's anticipation, giving the reader some information, but not enough to create a full image. This can be perceived as Pratchett wanting the characters to deliver the lines and completing the joke. Carrot's line "It is a bit small, Mr. Varneshi" is still a part of the turn in the joke set-up. The dwarf's response finally brings us to the punchline. The reader can now pinpoint the moment the main character realizes his mistake and is tactfully redirected to change his perception of the world around him. In this interaction, the author manages to use the exactly right number of words, avoiding the pitfall of bloating the scene with needless descriptions, making the delivery smooth.

Using humor means engaging and surprising the reader, simply making them feel entertained or educating them by introducing and considering new viewpoints and opinions. Pratchett's *Discworld* series is classified as comic fantasy. This means he uses humorous tone of writing and his intent is to amuse the reader. As mentioned, humor draws the reader into the book by creating anticipation, a state where the reader simply has to read further to satisfy the curiosity and to clear the incongruity. From a linguistic standpoint, the conversation draws from violating Grice's maxims. First, there is the question "Is it some sort of sling?", where Carrot expects a full explanation. However, had the dwarf provided one, the joke would end there, and so, Pratchett decided to violate the maxim of quantity. We know that because Carrot had to probe for additional information ("Codpiece like in fish?"), which made use of dramatic irony. To further the joke, the writer further violated the maxims, this time it was the maxim of manner ("No. It's for the fighting," mumbled Varneshi. "You should wear it all the time. It protects your vitals, like."). Here, the writer used the word "vitals", creating confusion and causing the protagonist to misunderstand the correct use of the equipment. These two violations are simple tools which allow Pratchett to use puns to enhance his narrative style and develop the characters.

As mentioned before, Pratchett uses scenes to introduce or reinforce characters' personality traits. By giving Carrot the opportunity to guess the object and showing the reader that Carrot brought up a feasible theory, the author shows the reader that the man is not unintelligent, merely inexperienced. The same thought process would be true for Carrot trying to fit the codpiece on his head, but the reader now knows more and therefore, can be amused by Carrot's lack of knowledge. By having the last two lines be in dialogue rather than reporting the actions, the scene feels more like a sketch or a



short joke, where Pratchett takes care to not embarrass the protagonist. The dwarf is patient and gently hints at the right course of action, which contributes to establishing the relationship between the adult dwarfs and the human who is by human standards an adult, but in his culture is seen as young and immature.

Pratchett's fantasy series does not rely only on comedy. The writer decided to blend another genre to his comical fantasy series; he was determined to reflect the current society by writing satire. Satire, according to the Cambridge dictionary can be defined as "a way of criticizing people or ideas in a humorous way, or a piece of writing that uses this style" (2013). Peter Simpson agrees and expands on this definition, proclaiming that "satire is a preeminent form of humor which, when successful, accomplishes simultaneously a number of humor functions" (Simpson 4). Hodgart believes that not only is satire a form of criticism, but the main goal of an angry satirist is to "make the victim lose face" (Hodgart 11). This action, therefore, takes an emotional response to a subject matter – personal or public problem – and makes use of the righteous anger and contempt by humiliating the perpetrator. Hodgart is not alone in his belief – Thomas Jemielity creates a distinction between comedy, where someone laughs with a person at a situation (calling it a "we laugh") and satire, where someone laughs at a person or a situation (a "you laugh") (Jemielity 16). While the Cambridge dictionary described satire neutrally, the rest of the authors see satire in different lights – Simpson as a culmination of different functions of humor, Hodgart as a usually justifiably enraged attack on a person or a situation and Jemielity as a simple harsh reproof. What all these definitions have in common is admittance of layers or elements in satire. All definitions attempt to categorize satirical content by commenting on its humorous function as well as critical function. This stations the satirist into a position of authority, a jester, disguised as a judge and executioner. Dustin Griffin, on the other hand, stands out when he defines satire as "a highly rhetorical and moral art" (Griffin 1). While Hodgart and Simpson both steer the discussion towards the emotional response needed to craft a proper satire, Griffin brought moral code into play. The notion of creating an emotional response is then tied into theory of morality, and so "satire can turn from a state of mind into art only when it combines aggressive denunciation with some aesthetic features which can cause pure pleasure in the spectator" (Hodgart 11). To sum up, satire uses humor as a base for its critical comments, hoping to capture the reader's attention.

Describing what satire does is not enough, however. There is another question that needs answering – if satire is an attack, what is the point of it? And consequentially, if the satirist stirs a reader's emotions for a cause, what comes next? Hodgart believes that satire is an instrument where the writer creates "a change in the world that cannot be effected by the satirist through other means" (Hodgart 2). This means that true satire critiques the world as a last line of defense against a personal or political ideology or movement. It also shows that satirical texts are context-bound – all participants who desire to partake in satirical discussion are required to possess at least elementary understanding of the situation or as Simpson phrases it, they require "frameworks of knowledge" (Simpson 1). Context determines the severity of discussion, the angle used to enlighten of inner workings of society. Sating all the facts can make someone miss the obvious – the satirist is discontent and makes sure to spread his words, sending their poison pen missives to capture attention and form the public opinion.

Swaying the public is a matter of pushing forward the right facts in an appealing way. The satirist does this by using humor and invoking an angry response in the reader. Ziv theorized that humor has several key functions (Ziv 255): the aggressive, the sexual, the social, the defensive, and finally, the intellectual function. The aggressive function means exactly what it says – the writer or speaker are attacking someone or something. This type of humor covers both personal attacks and attacks against

162| groups of people of certain professional, sexual or racial backgrounds. Sexual humor is similar in one aspect – humor acts as a softening medium for a taboo discourse. Because Ziv discussed humor in the communication between married couples, the sexual function may be too specific in its name. In fact, any sensitive subject that is discussed with humor qualifies under this function – it can help people to cope with many traumatic events not limited to death, rape or a grievous injury. The social function acts as social glue; Ziv underlines that humor strengthens interpersonal and intrapersonal relationships. The defensive function is one where the speaker or writer lash out at real or perceived attacks with humor, while also trying to deflect attention. And lastly, the intellectual function covers use of humor to form witticisms, puns, but also breaks from reality in form of surreal humor. With the exception of defensive humor, satire makes use of all functions, aggressively attacking, breaching taboos, and along the way it facilitates discourse about social problems in a witty way.

What humor and satire have in common are the possibility of opening a discussion about a serious topic. The difference lies in the way they do that. When Simpson sums up the effects, he believes that a person uses humor because aside from signaling humiliation, rage, fearlessness or fortitude, “it functions as an instrument of social influence; it rehearses and redesigns the categories and concepts of serious discourse” (Simpson 2). So what is the function of satire? Complete all those effects, some of them, or possibly distinguish itself in some other way? The answer is frustratingly simple and complex at the same time – satire can do all those things at the same time. How is that possible? Simpson uses humor functions and effects as way to connect humor and satire, while proclaiming satire a form of humor that utilizes several functions at the same time. That said, the quality of the satire varies, as writers have their own individual styles. Because of that, each satirical text can be written in an aggressive style, but only some of them can use witticisms or connect with the reader on a social level.

Stating that Terry Pratchett was writing satire is not a groundbreaking revelation. Waldnerová describes Pratchett’s books as satirical pastiche, concluding that in the *Discworld* series “elements typical for fantasy are deliberately deformed to create satirical effect” (Waldnerová, *De/konštrukcia fikčných svetov* 42). Gideon Haberkorn suggests that Pratchett puts emphasis on dialogue, as the fantasy writer manages to “comment on the symbolism of mistletoe or the questionable values of the traditional fantasy hero” (Haberkorn 147). The first of those action would result in Pratchett writing satire, the second would create travesty. The fact that a best-selling author is capable of moving the story along while showing the character development, not just telling – describing – what the characters are like is not surprising. This hopefully stirs the reader’s interest, and Pratchett is able to insert not just humor and plot progression, but also ideology into the text. What kind of satire does Pratchett write exactly? Peter Hunt puts forward an idea that “Pratchett’s contemplation of human foibles is on the whole as much a matter of amusement as of anger, it nevertheless resides in a mocking intelligence and a cordial (and not always genial) contempt for useless activities” (Hunt 87). Pratchett mocks useless activities – literary criticism or the continued existence of aristocracy. However, his works incorporate other subject matters where the label “useless” does not fit entirely. In *Guards! Guards!* he addresses the insufficient hospital care and notes that the aristocratic lady has personal supplies of medicine. According to Simpson’s model, satirists connect real life with their text through humor. In general, the distinction between a novelist and a satirist lies in their creative process. “Whereas the novelist aims at understanding the complexities of life, satire aims at simplification, at a pretense of misunderstanding and at denunciation” (Hodgart 214). In *Guards! Guards!*, the writer does exactly that – he hints at deliberate sabotage of the system by the very people who were supposed to protect it, at social inequality in both healthcare and education. He is concerned about the quality of

social care and about the Patrician, a politically consequential figure, slowly eroding the City Watch to gain more power. The observation serves to not only provide characterization, but also serves to connect the audience to Pratchett's fictional world. It is not a new concept – writers before him were concerned about the same subject matters, especially satirists, as they try to rally for a cause. Therefore, several questions arise: How is Pratchett's satire distinct from other writers' renditions of the genre? And then, what is the critical response to Pratchett's use of humor and satire in his writing?

Terry Pratchett was interested in portraying a flawed society which was modeled after a real and very much flawed nation. To discuss Pratchett's satire, we will use Ziv's humor functions and their effects to connect the intellectual and emotional impact with real-life crisis. Satirists can create deliberate contrast between the expected tone of their work and the actual writing. The difference is that in *Discworld*, Pratchett connected several minor satirical themes with a major recurring one, had the ability to subvert, deconstruct and re-imagine fantasy tropes and conventions and still tell an interesting and tone-coherent story. The minor grievances Pratchett satirizes are the aforementioned hospital care and the uselessness of aristocracy. The major recurring theme in the aforementioned novel is police incompetence and political corruption that manifests as a politician's desire to preserve this state of events – and not only that, but the very same extremely powerful politician managed to legitimize a criminal organization:

One of the Patrician's greatest contributions to the reliable operation of Ankh-Morpork had been, very early in his administration, the legalizing of the ancient Guild of Thieves. Crime was always with us, he reasoned, and therefore, if you were going to have crime, it at least should be *organized* crime. (Pratchett 50)

Pratchett does not explicitly state the flaw in politician's reasoning and expects the reader to provide the mental labor and reach the correct conclusion. The Patrician is not shy about his political maneuvers to obtain more control over Ankh-Morpork and freely admits to weakening the guards' status in the city:

The Watch? The Watch? My dear chap, the Watch are a bunch of incompetents commanded by a drunkard. It's taken me years to achieve it. The last thing we need to concern ourselves with is the Watch. (Pratchett 101)

As a result, the captain of the Watch as well as the remaining members have set very low standards themselves. They try to complete the bare minimum of requirements before visiting the nearest pub or going home. The obvious legal conflict of arresting thieves and thieves' "quotas" is solved by the City Watch shirking their duties and blanching at the thought of interfering with criminals' business:

"But we don't do things like that!" said Vimes. "You can't go around arresting the Thieves' Guild. I mean, we'd be at it all day!" (Pratchett 54)

Pratchett is not setting up classic jokes, amusing the readers with anecdotes or pushing the boundaries of the fantasy genre by discussing its conventions; he is instead writing satire. These short moments and ideas can amuse us briefly, however; some readers feel unpleasant at the reminder of real-world problems Pratchett incorporates into his fantasy works.

164| Regarding criticism, Pratchett has not received much attention from academic criticism. Still, there are several responses to his approach to humor. Literary critics who analyze Pratchett's work (Hunt, Waldnerová, Haberkorn) comment on his usage of humor. Jana Waldnerová concludes that comedy in Pratchett's *Discworld* saga lies "between the reader's expectations, created in association with the traditional imagery and the author's treatment of the subject, which is in contradiction with this tradition" (Waldnerová, *Šest kapitol o humore a texte* 77-78). In other words, Pratchett's narrative tone and style complement the absurd plot; his subversion of generic conventions and blending with another, more serious genre defy the reader's expectations. Further critical response can be found in Cabell's biography of Terry Pratchett, where he summarizes the writer's style: "The Discworld is whatever its creator wants it to be. It can be highly moral, judgemental and socially aware, or just plain fantasy, and it is this unpredictability – along with its humor – that has kept the series fresh for so long" (Cabell). The criticism is a bit vague, but it can be tied to several definitions of humor and satire – to Griffin's moral approach to satire, to Simpson's humor functions theory and even to Hodgart's true satire theory.

In conclusion, humor connects people, disrupts their preconceived notions of how things should be. It can educate them and make them consider different points of view. Because if you can laugh, you can listen. Terry Pratchett managed to create a whole universe full of three-dimensional characters where humor adds to their voice. The author uses simple jokes, puns and anecdotes to enhance his world. Aside from using words to create ambiguity, he employs slapstick humor to create absurd scenarios, in which vivid images complement established characterization. He structures his dialogues in a way that leaves room for ambiguity and maximizes the use of cooperative humor – where the reader feels as if he was cleverer by being ahead of the protagonist. Pratchett also discusses the fantasy aspects and analyzes the popular tropes and conventions of the genre, where the end result is travesty. Therefore, the whole saga is a pastiche on the high fantasy genre, but the author decided to write entire books akin to stand-up comedy sketches or singular jokes which flow from one right into another. Moreover, Pratchett deploys satire, a complex genre that combines criticism, functions of humor and morality to attack flaws in ideology or personality. The author connects the reader's knowledge of real-world problems with his presentation of contemporary issues in a fantasy setting. However, adding political intrigue and criticism of police ineffectiveness did not deter from the already present comedy. He retained his humorous style when delivering thinly veiled barbs about morally corrupt politicians or about the idle aristocracy. As satire can be defined as a preemptive form of humor, the reader can find amusement even in Pratchett's satire.

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**“As Ancient Oak that Grows on Heath Alone”: St. St. Blicher and Macpherson’s Ossian in Denmark<sup>[1]</sup>**

*Abstract: Steen Steensen Blicher (1782–1848), the celebrated poet and short story writer of the Danish golden age, was an ardent Anglophile and admirer of Shakespeare, Scott, and, above all, Macpherson’s Ossian. Blicher translated Macpherson’s Ossian into Danish (1807 and 1809) and the poems proved a major influence on his own writing – he wrote a group of poems entitled “Ossianske Elegier” (Ossianic Elegies) and the impact can be traced in his acclaimed short stories too. This paper shall examine Blicher’s involvement with Ossian and the literary and artistic reception of this vastly influential literary product of the United Kingdom in Denmark in Blicher’s time.*

*The Fragments of Ancient Poetry*, first of James Macpherson’s three Ossianic publications, appeared in 1760, and *Fingal* and *Temora* followed in 1762 and in 1763 respectively. The fame of Ossian spread quickly throughout Europe, the poems bewitched intellectuals, writers, artists, and common readers alike, and translations into other languages started to emerge: the Italian verse translation appeared in 1763 (*Poesie di Ossian, figlio di Fingal*), the first translation into German was published in 1768–69 (*Die Gedichte Ossians*), and the French rendering followed in 1777 (*Ossian, fils de Fingal*).

The Ossian phenomenon gave rise not only a heated scholarly debate as to the origin and authenticity of the poems, but also to numerous works of literature and pieces of art and music. While in France, the Ossian vogue influenced Chateaubriand, Lamartine, and George Sand and inspired an opera by Jean-François Le Sueur (*Ossian, ou Les Bardes*, 1804) and paintings by Jean-Auguste Dominique Ingres or Anne-Louis Girodet, and in Germany, Ossian’s admirers included Goethe, Schiller, and Novalis, in Denmark, the Ossianic craze was never so intense and the poems never achieved such general popularity; nonetheless, it had some important repercussions, mostly in the realm of fine arts, but also in literature.

One of the most dedicated Danish followers of Ossian was Nicolai Abilgaard (1743–1809), a renowned painter who blended Classicism and Romanticism. He painted mostly scenes from classical mythology, Danish medieval history, and literature, such as Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* and *Richard III*, but he also created a remarkable set of paintings inspired by Ossian. He likely encountered the poems while studying art in Italy and later owned a collection of translations and editions of Ossian (Harwell 369). He created numerous sketches on topics from Ossian and three major paintings, including *Ossian’s Swansong* (c. 1782), which has become one of the most iconic visual representations of the blind bard of the Scottish Highlands. Abilgaard inflicted his interest in Ossian on his own students at the Academy and Ossianic motifs can be found in the works of Asmus Jakob Carstens, Christian Kratzenstein Stub, and Christian Freder Høyer (see Christensen and Harwell 369–382). In the realm of music, the most notable work inspired by Ossian is the overture *Eferklange af Ossian* (Ossianic Echoes) by Niels Gade (1817–1890), the founder of the Romantic school in Danish music and one of the most influential Danish composers of all times.

In comparison to other countries, the influence of Ossian on Danish writers is limited, but it made a terrific impact on one person in particular and this person happened to be one of the most eminent Danish prose writers of the nineteenth century. Steen Steensen Blicher (1782–1848) lived and

worked in the so-called Danish Golden Age (Den danske guldalder), the first half of the nineteenth century period of exceptional flowering of arts, letters, and science in Denmark, and also a time of strengthening of national consciousness, and he was thus a contemporary of Adam Oehlenschläger, Nikolaj F. S. Grundtvig, Hans Christian Andersen, Soren Kierkegaard, and other Danish luminaries.

He was a prolific poet but is nowadays acclaimed especially for his novellas that exhibit both romantic and realist elements – Blicher's short fiction often features unusual and eccentric heroes, gothic locations, and adventurous plotlines, but also stark descriptions of terrible poverty and ensuing social problems and striking psychological insights, for example into marital problems, much against the cosy Biedermeier image of a happy respectable family. His most famous novellas include *Brudstykker af en Landsbydegns Dagbog* (Diary of a Parish Clerk), *Ak! hvor forandret* (Alas, How Changed), *Sildig Opvaagnen* (Tardy Awakening), *Præsten i Vejlbj* (The Pastor of Vejlbj), and *Hosekræmmeren* (The Hosier and His Daughter)<sup>[2]</sup>. As Margaret Drabble notes, the short story was still a young medium when Blicher started to publish and he developed it into a masterly form. He also employed a number of sophisticated narrative techniques, including several superbly executed unreliable narrators (ix).

Throughout his life, Blicher styled himself an ardent Anglophile and read and admired Tobias Smollett, Oliver Goldsmith, Samuel Richardson, and Laurence Sterne, and also translated from English.<sup>[3]</sup> The most privileged position in his literary pantheon was occupied by William Shakespeare, Walter Scott, and Macpherson's Ossian, and Ossian was at the very beginning of his enthusiasm for Scottish and English literature.

Blicher's biographer Knud Sørensen states that Blicher was introduced to Ossian in 1800 by Christian Olufsen, an intellectual, writer, a lecturer in agricultural and national economics, well-versed in European languages and modern literatures, whom he met when convalescing from a long illness in Falster, and Olufsen either lent or gave Blicher an edition of Macpherson's Ossian (Sørensen 36-37). Since Blicher's command of English was only rudimentary at the time, Olufsen likely translated parts of the book for him, or procured him an existing Danish translation.<sup>[4]</sup>

Notwithstanding the meditation, the impact of the book was so strong that Blicher decided to master the English language in order to be able to produce a good Danish translation. He carried out both intentions and his translation appeared in two volumes in 1807 and 1809. His translations, as Harwell notes, surpassed in popularity the previous translation by A. C. Alstrup and remain the favourite version of Macpherson's Ossian in Danish (368). It was Blicher's first serious literary enterprise. As the heated debate about the origin and authorship of Macpherson's texts started immediately in 1760, Blicher, similarly to other translators of Ossian, felt obliged to state his position on the matter in the introduction and maintained that no living poet could put himself so fully to the soul of the bygone age, for he would fall inevitably fall back into his own language and his way of thinking (Watson 28). The sheer difference of the texts from the literary production of the time was the mark of their authenticity.

There were various reasons for this immediate and lasting attraction of the tales of bygone Scottish Gaelic warriors and bards. Blicher was born and raised on the Jutland peninsula, spent most of his life there, and was a distinctly regional writer – he employed local imagery, settings, and landscapes and some of his poems and one of his most famous novellas, *E Bindstouw* (The Knitting-Room), were written in the local dialect. There are both physical and cultural similarities between Jutland and the Scottish Highlands: both regions are associated with sombre, barren, scarcely populated landscapes, their chief feature being moorland covered with heather, and both were considered unremarkable and backward by the literary circles in Copenhagen and Edinburgh. Macpherson and likewise Blicher

168| inspired by him strove to achieve recognition for their native regions and put them on the cultural map. The potential of Jutland as a literary location and as a symbolic landscape was revealed to Blicher thanks to Macpherson's *Ossian*: as H. P. Rohde points out, here "he received the powerful stimulus to celebrate in song the Danish 'Scotland', and his faith in Jutland and everything pertaining to Jutland as a poetic motif was strengthened" (quoted in Watson 28, 34).

Johannes Nørvig notes that Blicher identified himself with Jutland: "he felt neglected in comparison with poets in Copenhagen, just like Jutlanders had been treated as comical figures in literature. *Ossian* and Walter Scott made the scorned and despised Scotland famous; and Blicher wanted to do the same for Jutland, and to make himself famous at the same time" (xii).<sup>[5]</sup> Macpherson's Ossianic publications indeed created an immensely influential and appealing image of the Scottish Highlands and his conceptualisation of the Highland landscape can be traced in numerous works of literature, art, and music, and Blicher, although more gradually and on a national, rather than global, scale, fashioned the literary image of Jutland. As Drabble notes, Blicher opened the eyes of Denmark to the rugged beauties of one of its apparently less-favoured regions: he created the sensibility which would appreciate and conserve it" (xi).

On one level, Macpherson's Ossianic publications were a response to the profound crisis in Gaelic Scotland after the failed Jacobite uprisings in the first half of the eighteenth century, especially the last one in 1745 when the Young Pretender Charles Edward Stuart was defeated by Hanoverian forces, and the following repercussions that targeted Gaelic-speaking areas that were associated with support for the Stuart cause. The gloom, the deaths of heroes, the sense of an ending, and the melancholy for a lost better time that pervade Macpherson's *Ossian* are a reflection of this difficult period. Macpherson witnessed the governmental repercussions in his native area of Badenoch and his *Ossian* can be seen as an attempt to boost the confidence of Gaelic Scotland and to prove it had an ancient culture that deserved attention and respect (see for example Stafford).

While Jutland was not considered a political threat in Denmark and there was no dynastic conflict, the mood in which the two artists worked was in some ways similar. Denmark as a country had just undergone a profound crisis and was seeking to establish its identity and a new national consciousness. Copenhagen experienced huge fires in 1794 and 1795. In 1801, as a result of the country's involvement in the League of Armed Neutrality, the British fleet inflicted serious damage on the city and bombed it again in 1807. In 1813, as a result of the country's inability to support the costs of war, Denmark declared a state bankruptcy. Both writers, to use Drabble's term, "blended a sense of patriotism with an awareness of inevitable defeat" (Drabble xii). Furthermore, they were both interested and actively involved in politics: Macpherson was member of the Parliament and Blicher was involved in the national revival, the Scandinavian movement, and popular enlightenment in Jutland.

In terms of the influence of *Ossian* in Denmark, Blicher is the most important example in the realm of letters, both in terms of the impact it made on him and because of his place in the history of Danish literature. It has been noted that the translation of *Ossian* was Blicher's first serious literary feat, but the influence stayed with him throughout his life. The archaisms he adopted in his translations became a lifelong preference with him and both the register and the vocabulary he employed in his Danish version of *Ossian* can be traced in his own poetry (Watson 28; Nørvig xvii). Blicher also wrote several poems openly emulating Ossianic poetry: the quarter of poems entitled "*Ossianske Elegier*" (*Ossianic Elegies*) were published as part of his 1847 volume *Digte* (Poems) – "*Til Aftenstjernen*" (To the Evening Star), "*Til Maanen*" (To the Moon), "*Til Solen*" (To the Sun), and "*Ossians Svanesang*" (*Ossian's Swansong*). Ossianic names, references, vocabulary, and imagery appear throughout Blicher's verse



even when he is not specifically writing “in the mode”. So far, there has been no detailed analysis of the topic, perhaps also due to the position of verse in the Blicher canon where his short stories are – and rightly so – more highly appraised and more explored.

In Blicher’s short stories, the Ossianic influences are displayed in the descriptions of austere landscapes, melancholy related to the passing of time, mutability of fortunes, and death, and the solitude of the narrator. At the same time, his tales exhibit pronounced realist features. The landscape of Jutland is depicted with precision and objectivity, yet achieves timelessness and symbolic significance through the Ossianic echoes. Harry D. Watson discusses the use of Ossianic motifs in the famous short stories “Diary of a Parish Clerk”, “Alas, How Changed!”, and “The Hosier” and provides interesting insights (1981: 30-33), but the discussion is admittedly brief and does not attempt to be comprehensive or exhaustive. Likewise, there has not yet been a detailed study of Blicher’s translations or his introduction in the context of the Ossianic debates. For example, the seminal voluminous publication *The Reception of Ossian in Europe* (ed. Howard Gaskill, 2004) only mentions Blicher’s translation in the index. This essay thus presents the first step of a future research project that would provide a complex evaluation of Blicher’s involvement with Ossian.

Steen Steensen Blicher is recognised as one of Danish most important prose writers and, although he has not enjoyed as much attention as some of his contemporaries and followers, his reputation is growing steadily, and he is embraced as one of the founders of modern Danish short story a vital contributor to the development of Danish literature, and as Macpherson’s Ossian occupied a central position in his own canon, the intersection between the two surely merits further investigation.

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### Notes

- [1] “Som Oldtids Eeg, der groer paa Heden ene”. Steen Steensen Blicher, “Ossians Svanesang”. Translation mine.
- [2] A selection of Blicher’s novellas was published under the title *Pozdní probuzení* (transl. by František Fröhlich and Helena Fialová, Odeon, 1990), and there are also three English editions of his novellas: *Twelve Stories* (transl. by Hanna Astrup Larsen, intr. by Sigrid Undset, Princeton University Press, 1945); *The Diary of a Parish Clerk and Other Stories* (transl. by Paula Hostrup-Jessen, intr. by Margaret Drabble, Athlone Press, 1996) and *Tardy Awakening and Other Stories* (transl. by Paula Brugge & Faith Ingwersen, University of Wisconsin, 1996). The English titles of Blicher’s short stories in this essay are quoted according to the translation by Hostrup-Jessen.
- [3] Apart from his translations of Macpherson’s Ossian, Blicher also translated Alexander Pope and Goldsmith’s *The Vicar of Wakefield*. By this Anglophile orientation, Blicher went much against the prevailing Danish literary fashion that looked for inspiration chiefly to Germany (Fröhlich 15).
- [4] In 1790-91, the first complete Danish translation by Andreas Christian Alstrup appeared, but was not very successful with the critics or with readers (Harwell 367).
- [5] “Den indre psykologiske sammenhæng i Blichers forsvar for Jylland er, at han identificerer sig selv med Jylland. Han følte sig tilsidesat i sammenligning med digterne i København, ligesom jyderne havde været behandlet som komiske figurer i litteraturen. Ossian og Walter Scott havde gjort det

170| ringeagtede Skotland berømt; Blicher vilde gøre det samme med Jylland, samtidig at han selv blev berømt." Translation mine.

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**Authenticating a Community: Exploring Scottish Conflicts in *Mortal Causes* by Ian Rankin**

*Abstract: Crime fiction is explored here as a distinctively authentic Scottish genre, a label which contemporary writers generally refuse. The text looks at the nature of the Catholic-Protestant conflict in Scotland as it features in Ian Rankin's crime story *Mortal Causes*. Rather than making hasty conclusions derived from the history of mutual violence, Rankin presents his modern and, as he claims, authentic version of the sectarian conflict as a part of local identity. At the same time, Rankin's protagonist remains carefully "sitting on the fence" making sure that neither side of the conflict is his own. The text argues that it is Rebus's in-betweenness which makes him a typical representative of his community.*

Ian Rankin can be safely named the prime representative of contemporary Scottish crime fiction. He himself associates his works with the distinctive label of 'Tartan Noir', which is often compared or contrasted with the contemporary Scandinavian crime fiction. While in comparison with the Scottish crime novels, the Scandinavian crime writing has been enjoying more significant worldwide popularity, Rankin has no doubt about the quality of Scottish writing: "Scandinavia doesn't have better crime writers, it just has better PR" (Anderson 1). And more than that, he is also one of the genre's most fervent promoters e.g. by starting the first international crime fiction festival *Bloody Scotland*. Like many other crime writers, Rankin acknowledges contemporary crime fiction as one of the most authentically Scottish genres. Whereas many writers in Scotland have perceived the "Scottish" label as limiting and have explored its alternatives, crime writers adhere to it. Being called a "Scottish crime writer" represents a set of characteristics which are recognised internationally. One of the reasons could be found in the source of inspiration: many Scottish crime writers, including Rankin, draw rather from Scottish literary tradition (Robert Louis Stevenson, William McIlvanney) than from the crime fiction classics like Agatha Christie. In spite of the genre's international validity, this paper focuses more on the local features of Scottish crime fiction. Rankin's work, can be analysed as a truly authentic depiction of a particular community and even if the conflict, which is tearing it apart, is a matter reaching far beyond Edinburgh's skyline, it is presented in a specifically local setting and form. This text deals with the crime story *Mortal Causes* in which Rankin displays his own view of the Catholic/Protestant conflict and its Edinburgh version. The analysis focuses on how this conflict is presented as the authentic characteristic of local community, how the local community created its own version of this conflict, and how the protagonist attempts to remain uninvolved despite his own personal history or his own local identity.

Some of the local character is conveyed already by the choice of the genre. Even though Rankin did not approach his Rebus novels as crime fiction (let alone the series of), his name has become the name most often spelt out in connection with Tartan Noir. Although Rankin is the author of the label Tartan Noir, his actual representation of the genre is doubted by some critics. Len Wanner, for example, claims that Rankin simply is not "noir enough". Rankin's detective does have a flaw or two, but still believes in the existence of some order which he defends. Furthermore, Wanner claims that "if Rankin wrote Noir, his heroes would not have any flaws, because he would have no heroes, just protagonists". (136) Yet the question whether he actually does write noir or whether his work is just "quite dark fiction" about life in Edinburgh does not really affect this particular analysis. There are features that

172| John Rebus, Rankin's famous protagonist, shares with some definitions of Tartan Noir. As a variation of hard-boiled fiction, the foundation of which is most often attributed to William McIlvanney, Tartan Noir stresses the alienated detective figure as a metaphor of anti-Thatcherism and crime fiction as the ideal mode for exploring the state of Scotland (Plain 132). Rankin's Rebus fits the characteristic of the alienated detective perfectly. Being born outside Edinburgh and supposedly "remaining a Fifer at heart" (Rankin 21), but feeling strongly part of the city; being raised a Protestant, but finding it more comfortable to confide in a Catholic priest; having a dubious reputation of both admiration and disdain among his colleagues are only some examples of Rebus's floating identity of the "in-between". Furthermore, Rebus is clearly intent on keeping his detached status in spite of being pressed to make his allegiances clear. Lin Anderson adds that Tartan Noir gives voice to an erudite and educated man, an urban philosopher, who just happened to be a policeman (1). And again, we see how much Rankin's hero fits these characteristics. The author repeatedly paints the picture of Rebus's flat being mainly furnished by books (even though he admits not to have read all of them). Moreover, in *Mortal Causes* the reader is invited to enjoy the theological disputes between the detective and Father Leary, a Catholic priest who seems to have more awareness of Rebus's belief than anybody else. Rebus's involvement with the local community is that of an anthropologist. His hazy position and seeming lack of identification with the locals allow him to make comments and judgements which are as impersonal as academic texts. A good metaphor of Rebus's determination to remain an uninvolved observer is his reaction to the Orange march in *Mortal Causes*. He determinedly listens to *Jethro Tull* in his car to prevent himself from humming the marches played by brass bands, which would symbolically tie him with one of the sides of the sectarian conflicts as well as evoke unwelcome memories of Rebus's own past experience. Wickman suggests that Tartan Noir is a "template of one of the most problematic features of modern being: the relationship of the unique to the generic, the individual to the stereotypical, the 'authentic' to the 'recycled', the one to the not-one (90). Coming into play at times of disillusionment with institutions, with representative structures and moral imperatives, noir naturally invites its disaffected heroes to seek their own and unique position aside or in-between. After all, Rankin characterises Rebus as a "typical working-class Scottish male, happiest with his music, his junk food, and the drinkers at his favoured pub. But there are layers to his personality, and many of these layers stay hidden, in the grand Scots tradition" (34). No matter how frustrating the author's explanatory comments may be for the reader or critic, who perhaps want to make a different sense of the main hero, Rankin makes it clear that in spite of his ambiguity, Rebus should be interpreted as an authentically Scottish hero.

Rankin's desire to create an authentic Scottish hero is accompanied with his effort to authenticate the setting. The author presents his characteristics of Edinburgh as authentic, because he offers the insider's view. Rankin claims that "the figures of the detective and the novelist are the similar in some ways. Both seek the truth through creating a narrative from apparently chaotic or unconnected events. ... Both are voyeurs." (30). Sandrock suggests that the whole Rebus series represent Rankin's "quest for authenticity". And Rankin on one hand agrees acknowledging that Edinburgh is a city of multitudes and examining its many faces combined: "There is room both for the city of *Trainspotting's* Begbie and the city of Alexander McCall Smith's *Sunday Philosopher's Club*" (92). On the other hand, the author stresses that his Edinburgh is not Rebus's Edinburgh and that he is mainly writing to make sense of the place. This contradictory disclaimer could be easily explained as a problem of the author being his own critic, but it can also be perceived as one of the typically Scottish internal conflicts or dualities. The idea that Scotland is a place of internal conflict is nothing new and was formulated famously by

Gregory Smith in his concept of Caledonian Antisyzygy. Taking his definition of Scotland and Scottishness as a union of differences enables the analysis of Rankin's local communities and their internal divisions as the very sign of authenticity and the author's attempt to challenge the outsider's view. In *Mortal Causes* he criticizes the tourist appropriation of Edinburgh: "The Edinburgh Festival was the bane of Rebus's life. ... Edinburgh's history was full of licence a riotous behaviour. But the Festival, especially the Festival Fringe, was different. Tourism was its lifeblood..." (Rankin 2001:466). Rebus makes his feelings of the Festival quite clear several times. He even makes a point of wiping away festival leaflets from his windscreen as a metaphor of his insider view being blocked by the *tourist gaze*. The fact that the initial murder in *Mortal Causes* is committed literally under the tourists' feet, in the underground street, is a brilliant metaphor of the superficiality of the tourist gaze, which cannot go beyond the surface. Rebus's own view of the Fringe as a symbol of the tourist version of the city is intensified at the end of the novel, when the bomb threat coincides with the Festival fireworks. The reader is provided with an explanation: "He and his kind detested the Festival. It took away from them *their* Edinburgh and propped something else in its places, a façade of culture which they didn't need or couldn't understand. There was no underclass in Edinburgh, they'd all been pushed out into schemes on the city boundaries. Isolated, exiled, they had every right to resent the city centre with its tourist traps and temporary playtime." (Rankin 2001:680). Hence, in his attempt to authenticate his community, Rankin adds yet another duality to the already rich list of the Scottish doubles: the city centre and the outskirts. The exploitation of some of the Scottish dualities stands at the heart of the following analysis.

Religious definition of Scotland is not simple. The idea of Northern Ireland as "the place apart" which George Boyce (13) suggests was not witnessed anywhere else in the UK is challenged by Rankin. In the novel *Mortal Causes* Rankin chooses to use the Catholic-Protestant conflict to show the division of several Edinburgh's communities. However, he combines sectarian violence with the notorious class distinction. He shows the conflict's rash-like spread into the Scottish urban communities to disguise their long-term social problems. Sectarianism in Scotland is an unspoken and unquestioned local characteristic: "In Scotland, no one needs to ask 'Are you a Prod or a Pape?' Instead, they'll sift evidence such as your Christian name and surname, or your football allegiance, to glean all the information they need." (Rankin 36). Hence the dismay over Rebus's colleague, Siobhan Clarke, whose football allegiance is inconsistent with such assessment and earns her a lot of sneer. Like most Catholic and Protestant cities in Britain, Edinburgh has its Catholic football club – Hibernian, or the Hibs, as well as a Protestant one – The Heart of Midlothian, or the Hearts. Mixing football allegiances up is simply not done. Clarke's Irish name should link her with the Hibs and her stubborn support of the Hearts does not make her unique, it rather turns her into a misfit. Rebus's own faith remains undecided: he ranges from a kind of Christian to a 'Pessimisterian', clearly a Presbyterian pessimist (Rankin 40), but his desire to find answers to his big questions is evident. His partner in the search for answers often is Father Leary, whose view of Rebus can be perhaps best characterised by the Romantic notion of the noble savage. In his own words, Father Leary loves to find out what the Prods are thinking as it gives him food for thought over a glass of Guinness when there is nothing on telly. In *Mortal Causes*, Father Leary paves the path for the sectarian theme. It is his concern over the activities of a Catholic priest, who was meant to re-start a community centre in a poor housing scheme that leads Rankin towards the secret Protestant paramilitary group. In a seemingly philosophical dispute, Leary voices the urgency of the whole matter: "We are not here for very long, are we?" Rebus said now. Father Leary frowned. "You mean here on earth?" "That's what I mean. We're not around long enough to make any difference."

174| "Tell that to the man with a bomb. Every one of us makes a difference just by being here." (Rankin 2001:475) The sense of urgency of the problem is enhanced by the composition, so typical for the genre and for Rankin, which interrupts the course of the plot by jumping to another line of investigation. Yet, the clues here are repeated. Rebus's colleagues refer to the ritual way in which the victim was killed, which points at the IRA, to the number of guns around and the ease with which they can be obtained. Further investigation therefore leads inevitably to the most crime-ridden parts of Edinburgh, not coincidentally also the poorest ones.

Combining sectarianism with social identity, or rather social deprivation, helps Rankin to keep the sense of urgency going. Sectarianism as a religious conflict may be (no matter how mistakenly) perceived as the matter of the past. By stressing the social facets of the conflict or even its connection to the current criminal world, the conflict becomes up-to-date. Rankin does not miss any opportunity to make the reader realise the connection between sectarianism and poverty. He makes sure, the reader is on location and spares no chance to intensify: "The Gar-B. It's the roughest scheme in the city, maybe in the country." (Rankin 2001:457). The same resonates in Belfast: when Rebus comments on the red, white and blue painted curbs in the Protestant part of Belfast as a "nice piece of propaganda", his RUC colleague retorts: "it's a work of art. These are some of the poorest streets in Europe, by the way." (Rankin 2001:558) Rankin's finger pointing at sectarianism, is in fact poking further. His authentic picture of local community is that of social criticism. His picture of Gar-B, although rough, does not put the blame on its inhabitants. Rankin does portray their criminal activities and makes sure that Rebus, as a policeman, stays on the side of the law (precisely one of the reasons for which Len Wanner include Rankin in the noir genre), but his sympathies are made clear: "You had to admire their ingenuity. Give these kids money and opportunity and they'd be the saviours of the capitalist state. Instead, the state gave them dole and daytime TV." (Rankin 2001:481) One of the moments, where the reader feels social compassion most is the scene with young mothers from Gar-B, one pushing a pram with a crying baby, the other dragging a toddler resisting to walk. Rebus or Rankin comments: "Both baby and toddler were being brought back into the Gar-B. But not without a fight." (Rankin 2001:483) thus creating a metaphor of a futile resistance and dark future. Attaching sectarianism to social deprivation allows Rankin to appropriate it as a problem of his community, because sectarianism in Scotland is usually dismissed as the problem of Glasgow. Even in *Mortal Causes* Rankin uses the character of the Glaswegian policeman Killpatrick, whose patronising approach and the know-it-all attitude angers Rebus until the final disclosure of Killpatrick's agency in the *Sword and Shield* Protestant paramilitary organisation. Furthermore, portraying the paramilitaries basically as the new gangsters allows Rankin to make sectarianism an international theme. After all, the *Sword and Shield* is not bound to Scotland, its reach goes as far as the U.S. Linking sectarian violence directly to organized crime does not only allow Rankin to acknowledge the hard-boiled tradition as a source of his inspiration, but more importantly, he strips sectarianism off all its supposed noble causes and puts it bluntly as a means of making profit, gaining influence, keeping a tight grip on a community.

Authentication of the community in *Mortal Causes* is secured through a doubled insider view: Rebus is not only a local in Edinburgh, but also a former soldier deployed in Northern Ireland and thus, has a personal experience of sectarian violence. Throughout the novel, Rebus allows himself only one single glimpse back at that experience – a mess of visual and emotional flashbacks and a combination of fear, disgust and shame. On the other hand, Rebus confesses his experience of the fascinating wave of collective identity he had experienced as an Orange march participant in his youth: "It was only when you saw them in groups like this that you caught a whiff of something else. Alone, they had

nothing but a nagging complaint; together they had a voice: the sound of the *lambeg*, dense as a heartbeat; the insistent flutes, the march" (Rankin 42). Both are enough to confirm his insider status. Yet, the awareness of how catchy such experiences are, distances the older Rebus from further involvement. His sarcastic comments, which he makes in form of an internal dialogue, say it all: "Only an Orange Marching band could make the flute sound martial to the ears. Well, an Orange marching band or Ian Anderson from Jethro Tull." (Rankin 2001:497) The question of whose side Rebus is on remains unanswered. In several other novels he is pressed by other characters to climb off the fence. Clear identity is seen as a necessity. Rebus resists. Perhaps Rankin resists. But it is precisely this resistance which allows the reader to see the protagonist as an authentic member of his local community. In order to provide its credible, yet authentic picture, he has to keep his in-betweenness, his mongrel self of the "uninvolved insider". A duality, which in fact makes him more at home than the above choice would. A duality which is the best characteristic of his location: "That's the beauty of Edinburgh, you're never far from a peaceful spot. 'And never far from a hellish one either.'" (Rankin 2001:477). Rankin remains faithful to his declared literary influence of R. L. Stevenson, faithful to the "grand Scots tradition", faithful to his location and his aim to provide its authentic literary version.

The article examined the picture of a particular community provided by a piece of popular fiction, i.e. a crime novel *Mortal Causes* by Ian Rankin. It is interesting to see that while most Scottish writers have sought alternatives to the Scottish label, Scottish crime writers have accepted the label as the possibility to create an authentic picture of a local community. Tartan Noir or not, Rankin challenges the clichéd view of Edinburgh by stressing its internal conflicts – a typically Scottish feature indeed. Here, the main duality is represented by the sectarian conflict, however, the author looks beyond sectarianism into the complex social network of the location, disclosed by the main protagonist, who himself avoids direct identification with either of the conflict's sides. Thus, he serves as a great representative of an internal conflict – supposedly the most fitting Scottish characteristic.

### Acknowledgements

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### The Power of Love in Jeanette Winterson's Work

*Abstract: The aim of this paper is to discuss the role of love in Jeanette Winterson's fiction. The author describes love as a powerful and liberating force, which functions as a mirror allowing people to turn inwards and see themselves as they really are. The ability to love is depicted in Winterson's books as a prerequisite for achieving inner peace and freedom, which is one of the ultimate goals of every human being. However, since love possesses the power to give people access to the innermost aspects of their personalities and thus reveal their true selves, it usually destabilizes people's long-established assumptions and beliefs. Undertaking this revealing spiritual journey can thus become a potentially dangerous and threatening endeavor people might not be willing to make. For this reason, they usually do not fully unlock the transcendental and redemptive potential of love. Instead, in pursuit of happiness and freedom, people turn to substituting stimuli, such as religion, technology, violence or casual sex, hoping it will satisfy their longing for emotional satisfaction. The paper examines these issues and analyzes their role in Winterson's fiction.*

Love and its powerful potential represent one of the key issues discussed in Jeanette Winterson's work. It is a motive that seems to appear in all of the author's stories and no matter what difficulties the characters deal with, love is almost always depicted as the solution to their problems. Winterson portrays love as a redemptive force allowing people to turn inwards and explore their inner selves and consequently achieve freedom and inner peace. The aim of this paper is to examine this great potential of love and discuss its role in Winterson's novels.

On the one hand, Winterson follows a long tradition of writers who portray love as the key motive in their works. She depicts stories of great romance and describes love as an ultimately valuable and honorable force that is always worth fighting for. This idealized concept of love seems to be in accordance with the traditional portrayal of romance in literary works. In *The PowerBook*, Winterson explicitly refers to some of the well-known love stories to point to the connection of her fiction to earlier authors and texts. The stories of "the great and ruinous lovers" (*The PowerBook* 89) seem to be universally applicable and valid across time and space. However, Winterson's approach to love is also in many respects unique and the way she addresses the topic undermines some of the romantic clichés. For instance, her stories repeatedly challenge the institution of marriage and the portrayal of heterosexuality as the only acceptable form of sexual expression. Winterson uses her stories to destabilize gender stereotypes and present a more liberal and progressive concept of romantic relationships. She describes love as a means of a personal spiritual journey which is completely independent of any institutional or social constraints.

Love as described by Winterson is not simply equal to sexual attraction. It far transcends the physical and erotic dimension of romantic relationships – it "is the one thing stronger than desire and the only proper reason to resist temptation" (*Written on the Body* 78). Love functions as a source of a spiritual and emotional fulfillment rather than a satisfaction of a physical need. *Sexing the Cherry* offers an illustrative example of this transcendent nature of love. As Roessner points out, Fortunata as the key object of Jordan's love and desire is denied a physical body. "She stands as a figure for the spiritual quest that Jordan undertakes" (Roessner 111). That is exactly what love in Winterson's novels provides



people with – a guidance for their personal spiritual growth and a means of discovering and exploring deeper (and usually hidden) dimensions of the world and themselves.

Love functions primarily as a mirror allowing people to understand themselves better. In order to fit in the society, they live in and survive in the existing social structure, people learn certain mechanism of thinking about the world and about themselves and accept these patterns of knowledge as their own. As a consequence, they create an image about themselves that they present to the world and eventually accept as their identity. The true self of each person thus usually remains hidden. Winterson's metaphorical heart can be understood as this innermost part of oneself that is untouched by the external processes and remains true to one's real self. This heart is "the valuable, fabulous thing that everyone has and keeps a secret" (*The Passion* 98). One of the main functions of love is to allow people to again get in touch with their hearts and thus understand who they really are. Winterson's books present this self-consciousness as an ideal state that makes people powerful and practically capable of anything. As Winterson claims in her children's story *Tanglewreck*, "one true heart can change everything" (410).

Such inner awakening is nicely illustrated in *The Passion* and *Sexing the Cherry*. In the first novel, Henri describes his feelings as follows: "When I fell in love it was as though I looked into a mirror for the first time and saw myself" (*The Passion* 154). Loving another human being changes the way he perceives himself and how he makes sense of his own life. As he keeps on explaining: "It means I review my future and my past in the light of this feeling . . . Wordlessly, she explains me to myself" (*The Passion* 159). Similarly, Jordan in *Sexing the Cherry* gradually realizes, that his love for Fortunata functions as a means in his quest to find access to his own inner self. He asks: "Was I searching for a dancer whose name I did not know or was I searching for the dancing part of myself?" (*Sexing the Cherry* 39). His obsession with Fortunata represents his fierce desire to get in touch with the part of himself that he buried somewhere deep down and now cannot access.

Just as love allows people to turn inwards and discover themselves, it is also the key for understanding the nature of the external reality in general. In *The PowerBook*, Winterson explains that "all human love is a dramatic enactment of the wild, unquenchable, undrainable love that powers the universe. If death is everywhere and inescapable, then so is love, if we but knew it. We can begin to know it through each other" (*The PowerBook* 188). Winterson describes love as an all-encompassing and all-powerful force that is independent of any concepts or rules people have created – for instance, love has the power to transcend time and space. In van Baren's words, "love makes time stand still, builds bridges to cross centuries and countries" (62). Simply put, for love and the state of mind it brings about, time has no meaning.

A fitting example of this alternative timeless reality love allows us to experience can be found in Winterson's later novel *The Daylight Gate*. The two main heroines of the story feel so strongly attached to each other that despite temporal and spatial separation, they are able to realize their love. As Antosa argues, "it is through their love that they manage to dissolve corporeal, spatial and temporal boundaries to transform 'one self into the other' in a queer atemporal dimension" (164). Their shared love is so strong that the women need to move beyond the conventional understanding of time and space in order to find realization for their mutual affection in a different atemporal dimension. The portrayal of love in *The PowerBook* also defies temporal boundaries. As van Baren points out, "the narrator no longer requires the use of his/her watch, as love directs the rhythm of time, instead of the clock" (30). The experience of love allows people to forget about the clock and explore new layers of reality. As Winterson's books illustrate, "beyond time, beyond death, love is" (*The PowerBook* 129).

Another significant aspect of love depicted in Winterson's novels is its redemptive and healing potential. If experienced in its true form, love is "as transcendent and as fulfilling as the hoped for love of God" (Ellam 83) and it can provide people with answers to their questions and lead them towards freedom and inner peace. As Morrison argues, in Winterson's stories, "love is a point of light, of safety, of anchorage, guiding the traveller through the dangerous rocks" (177). The extent of the power of love is clearly traceable in the dystopian novel *The Stone Gods*. The story describes a society living on a dying planet Orbus, which is running out of resources and suffers from severe climate change and overpopulation. The planet is environmentally devastated due to people's irresponsibility and inability to learn from their mistakes. Instead of reflecting on the destructive nature of their lifestyle, the inhabitants of Orbus remain blind to their participation on the planet's destruction and intend to start anew on a different planet, yet unfortunately, they only end up repeating the same fatal mistakes again. Humankind seems to be inclined to self-destructive behavior and doomed to the ultimate devastation of their environment. Yet despite the seeming inevitability of people's recklessness Winterson is warning against, there still appears to be a "possible salvation for humanity through what she sees as the redemptive powers of . . . romantic love" (Dolezal 108). Loving relationships and human connection function as "a redeeming alternative to our destructive impulses" (Jennings 141) that might ultimately have the power to rewrite the story of humankind. As the novel indicates, were people to unlock this potential of love, they would be able to soothe their inner restlessness that drives them towards the damaging behavior and find contentment and inner peace.

However, since love functions as a mechanism allowing people to turn inwards and explore their inner selves and consequently also the world around them, it usually disrupts their acquired patterns of thinking and therefore destabilizes and threatens their long-established worldviews. Re-evaluating one's beliefs and facing the hidden and often unknown parts of oneself can be a complicated and painful process. Therefore, the experience of love might not only be a fascinating and in many ways liberating feeling that arouses excitement, but also an alarming and disturbing condition instilling fear and worries. In *The Passion*, Villanelle points to this unsettling side of love and asks herself: "With this feeling inside, with this wild love that threatens, what safe place might there be? ... How do you sleep at night?" (63).

One way of escaping this threat is to close one's heart and fortify oneself against such emotions altogether. Yet the consequent indifference and absence of feelings leave people longing for satisfaction and they start looking for it at other places. As Winterson explains, "man cannot exist without passion" (*The Passion* 74). It is a natural human need to experience emotions and some kind of spiritual fervor and if such feelings are missing, people try to find ways to compensate for this absence. One of the stimuli people might turn to hoping it would satisfy their need for passion and emotions is religion, Christianity in particular. Religious faith provides people with a safe ground where the chaos and the unpredictability of romantic relationships is replaced by order and stability of the love of God. Instead of questioning the status quo or the nature of one's identity, religion offers answers to problematic questions and confirms the current state of affairs. Therefore, it brings people reassurance and comfort. As Villanelle answers her own question: "I might turn passion into something holy and then I would sleep again" (*The Passion* 63).

In *Sexing the Cherry*, some people consider love and desire to be so powerful and frightening that they decide to avoid any sign of pleasure altogether. Such an attitude results in absurd situations such as Puritans closing down theatres in London for "fear they might smell pleasure and be infected by it" or husbands never kissing their wives at all "for fear of lust" (*Sexing the Cherry* 23). However, as the

novel shows, puritanism and strict religious practices prohibiting the “dangers of love” only cover up for hypocritical behavior and Puritans’ secret visits to brothels. As Winterson claims in *The Passion*, “religion is somewhere between fear and sex” (74) and all the hardship and strict rules that are part of religious practices have been created by people and are by no means helpful or necessary on the way of finding God and inner peace.

In *Sexing the Cherry*, Winterson points out that people often choose to look for God, because it is easier and much less challenging than to look for themselves. “God is bigger . . . easier to find, even in the dark. I could be anywhere, and since I can’t describe myself I can’t ask for help. We are alone in this quest” (*Sexing the Cherry* 116). According to Winterson, the exploration of one’s inner self is a complex and revealing process that might satisfy people’s longing for wholeness. Therefore, following such a transformative path would provide people with answers and eventually fulfill their emotional and spiritual needs, and consequently make religious organizations redundant. “If the other life, the secret life, could be found and brought home, then a person might live in peace and have no need for God” (*Sexing the Cherry* 115). This secret inner life can be reached by the experience of true love. As Smith points out, in Winterson’s books, “the potentially redemptive forces . . . revolve rather around love, passion, and an honest evaluation of one’s fantasies and desires” (43) than around religious devotion.

People searching for spiritual satisfaction in religious organizations and in the love of God seem to be doomed to failure in Winterson’s novels. As Fahy points out, in *The Passion*, religion ultimately fails to incite any emotional fervor in most of the people in France and “the functionary and passive roles of priests offer the people no alternative or more to escape their own emotional stagnation” (100). Therefore, they turn their attention towards another endeavor that might bring them personal fulfillment, namely casual sexual relationships. Such “no-strings-attached” affairs promise to be a safe and easily accessible source of satisfaction with no complications or dangers usually connected to relationships based on reciprocal love and commitment. Therefore, some of the characters in Winterson’s novels who are too afraid of the power and unpredictability of love, start “hiding their hearts while giving their bodies” (*Written on the Body* 58), hoping that sexual pleasure will provide them with a solution to their longing.

An extreme example of such promiscuous lifestyle is portrayed in *The Passion*, where soldiers simply use women to satisfy their sexual appetites. As Fahy points out, during imperial war, women are turned into prostitutes who are to be used by the soldiers and “their bodies become objects through which men hope to find spiritual as well as physical fulfillment” (97). In order to endure the horrors of war and continue in their service for Napoleon, men are forced to hide the part of themselves that is capable of true feelings and inner reflection. As a consequence, they are unable to connect with women or even perceive them as spiritual and emotional beings. As Henri remarks about men’s attitude towards women: “We never think of them here. We think of their bodies” (*The Passion* 27). Therefore, despite their constant effort, the soldier’s desire for inner peace remains unfulfilled. Fahy explains that “while serving in Napoleon’s army men fashion a virgin/whore dichotomy that prevents them from finding love and spiritual meaning in heterosexual relationships” (97). By denying the spiritual side of women and only using their physical bodies for sexual purposes, men lose access to the transcendental side of romantic relationships and become unable to reach the liberating dimension of love.

Frustration from the unfulfilled desire only strengthens people’s craving for another satisfactory source of passion. In Winterson’s novel *The Passion*, men find an attractive compensation for their lack of inner drive in militant nationalism and the service in Napoleon’s war. As Seaboyer points out, the novel portrays a society where “repressed desire is available to be channeled into the blind patriotism

180| . . . [and] the psychic drive, which has no pre-given object, is all too easily redirected from the pursuit of sexual love, children, and community onto nationalism and *patria*, Napoleon and empire" (487). Rejecting loving relationships as too unsettling and risky and disappointed by the inability of religion and sex to satisfy their need for passion and feelings, people devote themselves to Napoleon hoping the new cause will fill the void and make them feel free and whole again. Henri explains his participation in Napoleon's war as follows: "Why did I? Because I loved him. He was my passion and when we go to war we feel we are not a lukewarm people anymore" (*The Passion* 108). Moreover, the service in the army provides the soldiers with clearly defined rules and regulations to lean on. There are no unsettling questions left for them to deal with, since the army gives them all the answers and solutions. As Henri further explains: "I thought a soldier's uniform would make me free because soldiers are welcome and respected and they know what will happen from one day to the next and uncertainty need not torment them. I thought I was doing a service to the world, setting it free, setting myself free in the process" (*The Passion* 153). The war and Napoleon provide people of France with a purpose and something to believe in. As Fahy argues in his article, they "transfer a religious significance to Napoleon" (99) and imagine him as "a savior figure who revivifies France" (99). Thus, their passion and energy are directed towards a seemingly meaningful purpose and their violent actions in the war appear to be justified. "If [they] had the courage to love [they] would not so value these acts of war" (*The Passion* 154), yet unfortunately, people of France remain scared of love and thus look for alternative sources of satisfaction.

However, even though the aggressive nationalism and its realization in violence provides people with a satisfactory channel for their repressed longings and fills them with intense emotions, its positive effects cannot last for a long time. As Fahy observes, people of France eventually become exhausted of the devastating effects of the war and "their damaged bodies force them to acknowledge the physical and spiritual losses of Napoleon's attempts at empire-building" (101). The war stands in direct opposition to love and spiritual awareness, as it requires from its participants to close their hearts and minds to the pain and suffering they are causing. Otherwise, they would not be able to proceed with their destructive actions. What the empire needs is not a nation of meditative individuals who are turned inwards and reflect their individual identities, but rather a unified group of bodies – "nameless, eyeless, and . . . heartless" (Fahy 102). The forced uniformity and people's inability to understand and express their inner selves plays into the hands of Napoleon and his cause.

Another channel for people's repressed desires indicated in Winterson's novels is their attraction to technology. In the dystopian world of *The Stone Gods*, advancement in aesthetic biotechnologies and genetic engineering is used to make all people look young, beautiful and sexually attractive. As a consequence, everybody looks the same, and the constant accessibility of physically perfect bodies reduces their actual attractiveness and desirability to the minimum. As the main heroine points out: "making everyone young and beautiful also made us all bored to death with sex" (*The Stone Gods* 22). In order to satisfy their unfulfilled desire, inhabitants of the Central Power start looking for new sources of excitement, which results in a rapid expansion of perversion and paedophilia. People use technological possibilities to mutilate their bodies and surgically alter their physical appearances into something highly irregular. In this way, they hope to once again become special and attractive in a world where everybody is already perfect. Moreover, in the high-tech world Winterson portrays, robots are increasingly used for sexual pleasure. Consequently, relationships in the society are highly superficial and devoid of any deeper meaning. Just as in Napoleon's army, the artificially created uniformity of the inhabitants of the Central Power serves political purposes. Instead of starting loving

relationships that would stimulate their self-consciousness, people become alienated from one another and as a unified crowd, they can be easily manipulated and controlled by the ruling power.

A dystopian future is also indicated in *Written on the Body*, where Winterson presents her vision of a world in which virtual reality becomes an easily accessible form of entertainment. In this alternative world, "you will be able to try out a Virtual life with a Virtual lover" (*Written on the Body* 97) and your emotional and sexual needs will be fully met by advanced technological devices. Such a computer-created reality seems to be a highly attractive solution for people who are longing for emotional stimuli yet are unable to connect with real people. However, as Winterson warns, no matter how fascinating and appealing it may appear, such an artificially created reality still remains only a fake imitation of the real world. These troubled people will find themselves "in a Virtual world where the only taboo [is] real life" (*Written on the Body* 98) and as a consequence, become even more alienated from their environment and their own inner selves.

All these substituting stimuli that people seek out in Winterson's novels are mere attempts to satisfy their longing for contentment and inner freedom. Since the achievement of emotional and spiritual satisfaction represents one of the key human needs, people keep looking for potential sources that could fulfill their desire and instill some kind of passion in them. Some people hope to find spiritual fulfillment in religious organizations, others try to strengthen their inner drive in promiscuous or violent behavior. When the real-world stimuli fail to satisfy the hunger for emotional gratification, people might turn to technological advancements and look for satisfaction in virtual reality. However, as Winterson's stories make clear, all of these endeavors are ultimately doomed to failure, because the true path towards inner awakening starts with loving relationships and connection to other people. It is the experience of true love that allows people to turn inwards and explore new dimensions of their inner selves. Once they reconnect with their "hearts", they become capable of perceiving deeper layers of the world around them and gradually start seeing reality as it really is. As soon as people recognize this powerful potential of love and set out on the spiritual journey it unlocks, they will finally become able to reach happiness and the inner freedom they seek.

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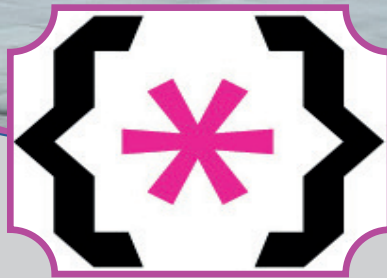




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## **MISSION STATEMENT AND GUIDELINES FOR SUBMISSIONS**

## 194| **Mission Statement**

*Hradec Králové Journal of Anglophone Studies*, as a peer-reviewed academic journal, aims to be a medium which brings together the results of current research of Czech and international scholars. It welcomes submissions of articles in the following fields:

- English Linguistics
- Anglophone Literatures and Cultural Studies
- English-teaching Methodology

The journal will publish both contributions presented at Hradec Králové Anglophone Conferences as well as other original unpublished papers. All submissions shall be the subject of double expert blind-review procedure whether they constitute beneficial contribution to the field of Anglophone studies.

### **Guidelines for Submissions**

The manuscripts should be submitted in English in the range of 3000–6000 words, with references formatted according to the MLA 8<sup>th</sup> edition, see [www.mla.org](http://www.mla.org). Please note that submissions which do not conform to the MLA style with in-text citations will not be considered for publication. Authors are solely responsible for the correct use of English language. Each submission should be preceded by a 200-word abstract outlining the article and also short bibliographical information about the author.

There are two issues published per year. For the both Vol. 7 No. 1 and Vol.7 No. 2 to be issued in November-December 2020 please send the contributions in electronic form to Jan Suk or Helena Polehlová, the volumes' editors. Emails to editors of both the forthcoming issues in 2020 are Jan.Suk@uhk.cz and Helena.Polehlova@uhk.cz. The deadline for both volumes is 1<sup>st</sup> May 2020.

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### **Hradec Králové Journal of Anglophone Studies**

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## **ETHICAL STATEMENT**

## 196| **Publication Ethics**

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John Cage

