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JESS J

THEORY, HISTORY AND LITERARY CRITICISM

JESS

La dichotomie de l'espace dans *L'Amour, la fantasia* d'Assia Djébar

Monica Garoiu*

Dichotomy of Space in Assia Djébar's *Fantasia: An Algerian Cavalcade*

Abstract:

Assia Djébar's literary work is based on a dichotomy of space that reflects the gender segregation in Muslim society where women are confined to the domestic space while men occupy the public space. By analyzing Djébar's autobiographical novel *Fantasia: An Algerian Cavalcade* (1985), we aim to consider the male-female binary opposition and its migration to a hybrid space centered on the French language – the language of the former colonizer. This generates what the author calls her androgynous state representing, in a Platonic sense, the union of masculine and feminine. Djébar argues that the French language allows her to cross the line that separates the sexes in Muslim society. Thus, this type of writing that refuses bipolarity generates a linguistic wandering characterized by plurality and movement.

Keywords: Assia Djébar, masculin-féminin, Algerian Francophone literature, French language, Muslim society

Préambule

Assia Djébar (1936-2015), romancière, cinéaste et historienne d'origine algérienne, est l'une des figures les plus représentatives de la littérature francophone du Maghreb. Son œuvre dénonce la division genrée de la société musulmane et les différentes formes de « domination masculine » (Bourdieu, 2002 : 3) à l'égard des femmes. Ainsi, se fait-elle porteuse des voix féminines étouffées autant par les traditions androcentriques et misogynes de la société islamique que par la domination coloniale.

Son roman autobiographique, *L'Amour, la fantasia* (1985), objet de notre analyse, se moule dans cette dichotomie du masculin et du féminin afin de créer, à travers le personnage principal de la narratrice/auteure, un continuum entre l'espace intérieur réservé aux femmes et l'espace

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extérieur, public, réservé aux hommes, par l'intermédiaire de la langue française, langue de l'ancien colonisateur:

Écrire en langue étrangère, hors de l'oralité des deux langues de ma région natale – le berbère des montagnes du Dahra et l'arabe de ma ville –, écrire m'a ramenée aux cris des femmes sourdement révoltées de mon enfance, à ma seule origine.

Écrire ne tue pas la voix, mais la réveille, surtout pour ressusciter tant de sœurs disparues. (Djebar, 2008 : 285)

À l'entrecroisement des deux cultures, musulmane et française, Djebar se rend compte des différences majeures entre leurs « structures de la division sexuelle et [l]es principes de vision correspondants » (Bourdieu, 2002 : 8). À ce propos, dans son ouvrage *Beyond the Veil*, Fatima Mernisi explique que l'Occident infériorise la femme pour la dominer, tandis que la société musulmane la domine pour estomper son pouvoir sur les hommes. Si l'inégalité des sexes dans la société occidentale se fonde sur l'idée de l'infériorité biologique de la femme par rapport à l'homme, dans l'Islam, tout au contraire, elle s'appuie sur la croyance que la femme est un être puissant, voire dangereux. En l'occurrence, la ségrégation des femmes, selon Mernisi, protège les hommes afin de prévenir le chaos provoqué par le corps féminin, objet du désir de l'homme. C'est cette croyance masculine dans le pouvoir dangereux de séduction féminine qui est à la base des règles sociales imposant à la femme de demeurer invisible : « un besoin d'effacement s'exerce sur le corps des femmes qu'il faut emmitoufler, enserrer, langer, comme un nourrisson ou comme un cadavre. Exposé, il blesserait chaque regard, agresserait le plus pâle désir, soulignerait toute séparation » (Djebar, 2008 : 255). Nous reviendrons plus tard sur l'évolution de la narratrice djébarienne par rapport à son invisibilité qui passe de la nécessité imposée par la société islamique au besoin d'invisibilité devant le regard possessif du colonisateur.

Accordant à l'homme le monopole du pouvoir, la société arabo-musulmane exclue la femme de l'espace public, masculin, et lui confisque non seulement le corps, mais aussi la voix et le regard. Ainsi, tout comme le précise Pierre Bourdieu, tandis que l'homme jouit de « prendre la parole publiquement » et de « regarder au visage, dans les yeux », la femme, condamnée à l'espace domestique, « doit ... renoncer à faire un usage public de son regard (elle marche en public les yeux baissés vers ses pieds) et de sa parole (le seul mot qui lui convient est 'je ne sais pas', antithèse de la parole virile qui est affirmation décisive, tranchée, ... réfléchie et mesurée) » (Bourdieu, 2002 : 39). De plus, par son travail d'une valeur considérée toujours inférieure au travail

masculin, elle doit rester invisible, « comme la mouche dans le petit-lait, sans que rien apparaisse au-dehors » (Bourdieu, 2002 : 87). La femme musulmane est donc censée être invisible, aveugle et muette, « une femme-fantôme » dans les mots de Djébar.

Notre analyse de *L'Amour, la fantasia* nous permettra de mettre en évidence la manière dont l'auteure, à travers l'espace fictionnel de l'écriture en langue française, réussit à dénouer ces traumatismes, à comprendre l'hostilité entre les sexes dans son pays et à revendiquer un espace verbal où le corps et la voix féminins peuvent évoluer tout en remémorant et l'histoire de son pays et son histoire personnelle. Dans notre étude de la dichotomie genrée djébarienne et de l'entrelacs des problématiques qui y sont liées, nous traiterons des aspects suivants : l'espace féminin du harem et la loi du père, l'écriture en langue française et les voix ensevelies des aïeules de la tribu.

L'espace féminin et la loi du père

Premier volet du Quatuor algérien¹, *L'Amour, la fantasia* se construit comme une alternation de récits historiques et autobiographiques dans un espace pluridimensionnel dont le pivot central est la relation complexe de la narratrice/auteure à la langue française. Dans un entretien, Assia Djébar affirme :

Avec ce livre, je me suis dit qu'il fallait que je rétablisse l'histoire de la langue française dans mon pays et dans ma conscience pour pouvoir ensuite parler de moi, parce que parler de soi dans la langue autre constitue une mise à distance forcée. ... *L'Amour, la fantasia* constitue donc une entreprise de préparation à l'Autobiographie. On y retrouve l'histoire de l'Algérie sur deux siècles, le XIX^e et le XX^e. (Redouane, 2008 : 34)²

Utilisant l'histoire comme une quête d'identité de son pays et des femmes, Djébar y établit des rapports avec l'histoire écrite de la colonisation par des officiers français et le récit oral des femmes algériennes traditionnelles. Toutefois, au centre du roman se trouve une autre quête, véhiculée par l'écriture de soi, celle « de reconnaissance et de valorisation identitaire » (Redouane, 2008 : 37) de l'être féminin.

Dans l'espace linguistique pluriel où s'imbriquent les langues et les cultures qui forment l'identité de la romancière, la langue française, « langue des hommes occupants qui ont amené la mort » (Redouane,

¹ Le Quatuor algérien de Djébar comprend: *L'amour, la fantasia* (1985), *L'Ombre sultane* (1987), *Vaste est la prison* (1995) et *Nulle part dans la maison de mon père* (2006).

² Entretien réalisée par Ghila Benesty-Sroka, « La langue et l'exil », dans *La Parole métèque*, no. 21, 1992, p. 23.

2008 : 37)³ et qui porte encore en elle les traces du sang de ses aïeux, acquiert un statut problématique. Toutefois, dans les mots de Djébar, « cette mort et ce sang, cette dépossession se transforment en un legs d'une langue, par l'intermédiaire du père ; d'où, à ce moment-là, les souvenirs d'enfance par rapport au père » (Redouane, 2008 : 37).

Dès la scène liminaire du père autobiographique emmenant sa fille à l'école « main dans la main » (Djébar, 2008 : 11), s'installe l'opposition binaire du masculin et du féminin sur laquelle repose l'ouvrage tout entier. En outre, la description du père arabe enseignant à l'école française, juxtapose l'espace de la société occidentale et celui de la société islamique :

Fillette arabe allant pour la première fois à l'école, un matin d'automne, main dans la main du père. Celui-ci, un fez sur la tête, la silhouette haute et droite dans son costume européen, porte un cartable, il est instituteur à l'école française. Fillette arabe dans un village du Sahel algérien. (Djébar, 2008 : 11)

Bien que le père ne représente pas le type de patriarche traditionnel, il demeure le détenteur de la loi. Toutefois, afin de libérer sa fille de la subordination requise par la culture arabo-musulmane, il franchit un interdit et lui fait don de la langue française qui deviendra plus tard la langue de sa « libération corporelle » :

Dans ce livre ... je disais que le français est la langue d'autrui et celle dans laquelle je pense, mais que je souffre et aime en arabe. Petit à petit, quand j'avais déjà fait cette analyse ... j'ai senti combien le français – mon père en avait été l'intercesseur –, cette langue qui était la langue du dehors, devenait la langue de ma libération corporelle, je pourrais dire. Si je n'ai pas été cloîtrée à dix ou onze ans, c'est grâce à l'école française et cette langue m'a donné ma libération de femme. (Redouane, 2008 : 38-39)⁴

La langue étrangère opère une rupture avec la tradition arabo-musulmane et libère la narratrice autobiographique de l'espace féminin du harem, voire de l'enfermement.

Évoquant ses vacances passées « à la campagne », la narratrice s'inclut dans le groupe des trois sœurs cloîtrées en substituant le « je » par le « nous » :

Nous, les fillettes, nous fuyons sous les néfliers. Oublier le soliloque de l'aïeule, les chuchotements de ferveur des autres. Nous allons compter les pigeons du grenier, humer dans le hangar l'odeur des caroubes et le foin écrasé par la jument

³ Assia Djébar à Cologne, « Assia Djébar présente à Barbara Amhold *L'Amour, la fantasia et Ombre sultane* » dans *Cahier d'études maghrébines*, juin 1988, p. 36.

⁴ « Entretien avec Assia Djébar » dans *Algérie Littérature/Action*, no. 1, mai 1996, p. 186.

partie aux champs. Nous faisons des concours d'envol sur la balançoire. Ivresse de se sentir, par éclairs et sur un rythme alterné, suspendues au-dessus de la maison, du village. (Djebar, 2008 : 19)

Même si les fillettes cloîtrées ont une assez grande liberté de mouvement par rapport aux femmes du harem, les limites spatiales sont déjà très claires : en dehors de la demeure spacieuse, la haie sépare le verger et la basse-cour des « ruelles poussiéreuses du village » (Djebar, 2008 : 19), un espace qu'elles ne peuvent franchir que par le biais d'un regard interdit. En outre, leurs découvertes – les romans et l'album de photographies exotiques de la bibliothèque interdite du frère, la correspondance secrète des sœurs avec des hommes inconnus – sont vécues comme des pêchés car elles représentent des transgressions de genre.

Quant aux femmes de cette communauté fermée, elles sont reléguées aux travaux domestiques ponctués par des prières tout en demeurant invisibles, impersonnelles et sans nom. Mais la sortie de l'enfermement est bien possible, nous suggère Djebar, par l'intermédiaire de la langue de l'étranger (qui ne doit pas se soumettre aux lois de la tradition). Langue du dehors, donc de l'espace public, « elle peut entraîner une libération à travers l'évolution des mentalités provoquée par son emploi » (Labra Cenitagoya, 2005 : 216). Ainsi, dans le chapitre « Mon père écrit à ma mère », la mère de la narratrice ose se soustraire du purisme traditionnel et nommer son mari, à l'opposé des autres femmes qui « ne daignaient jamais les nommer, eux, les mâles, les maîtres qui passaient toute leur journée dehors » (Djebar, 2008 : 55-56) :

Ma mère, comme toutes les femmes de sa ville, ne désignait jamais mon père autrement que par le pronom personnel arabe correspondant à « lui ». ...

Je ne sais exactement quand ma mère se mit à dire : « mon mari est venu, est parti... Je demanderai à mon mari », etc. Je retrouve aisément le ton, la contrainte de la voix maternelle ... bien qu'apprenant ainsi sur le tard le français, ma mère fit des progrès rapides. Je sens, pourtant, combien il a dû coûter à sa pudeur de désigner, ainsi directement, mon père. (Djebar, 2008 : 54-55)

Ainsi, la langue de l'autre transforme-t-elle la mère en modifiant sa relation avec son mari. À son tour, ce dernier transgresse également un interdit en nommant sa femme dans une lettre qu'il lui envoie au cours d'un voyage :

La révolution était manifeste : mon père, de sa propre écriture et sur une carte qui allait voyager de ville en ville, qui allait passer sous tant et tant de regards masculins, y compris pour finir celui du facteur de notre village, un facteur musulman de surcroît, mon père donc avait osé écrire le nom de la femme qu'il avait désignée à la manière occidentale : « Madame untel... » ; or, tout autochtone,

pauvre ou riche n'évoquait femme et enfants que par le biais de cette vague périphrase : « la maison ». (Djebar, 2008 : 57)

La femme ainsi nommée devient tout d'un coup visible grâce au pouvoir de l'écriture en langue française. Elle acquiert un statut supérieur à celui des autres femmes et peut sortir de ce harem symbolique où elle était prisonnière des traditions patriarcales. Pour la narratrice qui remarque ses métamorphoses, « se nomm[er] réciproquement » veut dire « s'aim[er] ouvertement » (Djebar, 2008 : 58) dans une relation authentique qui défie la règle de séparation des sexes de la société musulmane. Il est intéressant de signaler également le regard ironique que jette Djebar sur les femmes qui assurent et perpétuent l'autorité des hommes :

- Il t'a écrit à toi ?
- Il a mis le nom de sa femme et le facteur a dû ainsi le lire ? Honte !...
- Il aurait pu adresser tout de même la carte à ton fils, pour le principe, même si ton fils n'a que sept ou huit ans ! (Djebar, 2008 : 57)

On ne saurait pas oublier que le français, en tant que langue du colonisateur, est chargé à la fois d'une lourde connotation négative. Pour le père de la narratrice, instituteur indigène enseignant le français, la langue étrangère est un couteau à double tranchant : elle libère, mais également blesse et tue. Comme le souligne le critique Anna Rocca, la transmission de la langue française du père à sa fille est accompagnée par celle de « la responsabilité et la fierté nationaliste d'un Algérien dont le pays est en guerre contre la France. Pour lui, le français ne peut pas être une langue d'amour. Au contraire, il doit devenir un instrument de pouvoir contre l'envahisseur » (Rocca, 2005 : 49). Ainsi, « le diktat paternel » (Djebar, 2008 : 91) se déclenche-t-il avec la première lettre d'amour :

À dix-sept ans, j'entre dans l'histoire d'amour à cause d'une lettre. Un inconnu m'a écrit ... Le père, secoué d'une rage sans éclats, a déchiré devant moi la missive. Il ne me la donne pas à lire ; il la jette au panier.

L'adolescente ... à l'heure de la sieste, a reconstitué la lettre qui a suscité la colère paternelle. ...

Les mois, les années suivantes, je me suis engloutie dans l'histoire d'amour, ou plutôt dans l'interdiction d'amour ; l'intrigue s'est épanouie du fait même de la censure paternelle. (Djebar, 2008 : 12)

L'autorité du père libérateur de la tradition, mais protecteur de la vertu féminine, pèsera depuis sur toute relation amoureuse de la narratrice/auteure déclenchant son « aphasie amoureuse », voire l'impossibilité d'exprimer ses sentiments amoureux en français : « la



langue française pouvait tout m'offrir de ses trésors inépuisables, mais pas un, pas le moindre de ses mots d'amour ne me serait réservé... » (Djebar, 2008 : 43-44). Anna Rocca note que l'aphasie amoureuse oppose parallèlement la narratrice au colonisateur et à « la loi patriarcale de la société algérienne » représentée par la « loi du père » (Rocca, 2005 : 49). Il s'agit donc d'un désir subconscient de se tenir « le corps caché par rapport à l'occupant » et d'éviter le déclenchement de l'autorité paternelle : « Chaque mot d'amour, qui me serait destiné, ne pourrait que rencontrer le diktat paternel. Chaque lettre, même la plus innocente, supposerait l'œil constant du père, avant de me parvenir » (Djebar, 2008 : 91).

À force de ne pouvoir exprimer l'univers intérieur de la narratrice, la « langue du père », se parle et s'écrit « au-dehors » : « J'écris et je parle français au dehors : mes mots ne se chargent pas de réalité charnelle. J'apprends des noms d'oiseaux que je n'ai jamais vus, des noms d'arbres que je mettrai dix ans à identifier ensuite ... En ce sens, tout vocabulaire me devient absence, exotisme sans mystère ... » (Djebar, 2008 : 261). Exilée dans la langue de l'autre, la narratrice se rend compte d'avoir perdu le contact avec sa langue maternelle, d'avoir été coupée de son origine. Afin de surmonter cet exil, elle se tournera vers l'oralité des témoignages féminins et l'écriture.

L'écriture en langue française

Nous avons déjà évoqué plus haut le rôle antithétique de la langue française chez Assia Djebar : d'une part, elle est porteuse de la violence de l'occupant ; d'autre part, elle est agent de libération de la femme algérienne des contraintes de la société islamique. C'est une « tunique de Nessus⁵ » qui protège et empoisonne à la fois : « La langue coagulée des Autres m'a enveloppée, dès l'enfance, en tunique de Nessus, don d'amour de mon père qui, chaque matin me tenait par la main sur le chemin de l'école. Fillette arabe, dans un village du Sahel algérien... » (Djebar, 2008 : 302).

Ce n'est pas par hasard que l'image de la « [f]illette arabe allant pour la première fois à l'école ... main dans la main du père » (Djebar, 2008 : 11), de l'incipit, fait écho à l'image d'une autre main, coupée, celle d'une Algérienne anonyme ramassée par le peintre Fromentin, à la fin de

⁵ C'est une référence à la tunique empoisonnée que Déjanire (ou Djénaire), l'épouse d'Hercule, reçoit en cadeau de Nessus, le centaure. Selon ce dernier, si Hercule commettait une infidélité, la tunique aurait le pouvoir de le ramener vers sa femme. Crédule et convaincue de l'infidélité de son mari, Déjanire lui donne la tunique qui lui brûle la peau et la chair. Pour mettre fin à ses souffrances, il demande à être immolé par le feu, tandis que sa femme se suicide.

l'ouvrage. Accompagnant la narratrice/écrivain « en seconde silhouette paternelle » (Djebar, 2008 : 313), le peintre la lui tend :

Eugène Fromentin me tend une main inattendue, celle d'une inconnue qu'il n'a jamais pu dessiner.

En juin 1853, lorsqu'il quitte le Sahel pour une descente aux portes du désert, il visite Laghouat occupée après un terrible siège. Il évoque alors un détail sinistre : au sortir de l'oasis que le massacre, six mois après, empuantit, Fromentin ramasse, dans la poussière, une main coupée d'Algérienne anonyme. Il la jette ensuite sur son chemin.

Plus tard, je me saisis de cette main vivante, main de la mutilation et du souvenir et je tente de lui faire porter le « qalam⁶ ». (Djebar, 2008 : 313)

Ainsi, Djebar se charge-t-elle de porter la plume afin de rejoindre ses sœurs mutilées et les immortaliser par l'écriture. Néanmoins, l'on saurait dire qu'à la lumière de cette scène finale, l'incipit acquiert une toute nouvelle signification : la fillette nous paraît dorénavant mutilée, le français l'ayant coupée de ses origines, de sa tribu. Ceci renforce « l'aphasie amoureuse », voire « [c]ette impossibilité en amour » (Djebar, 2008 : 183) que la narratrice expérimentait depuis son adolescence. Si d'une part, cette langue « aride » (298) et impuissante dans le besoin de l'expression amoureuse pousse la narratrice/auteure à se sentir « exilée » (224), déracinée, d'autre part, elle la protège de l'agression masculine tout en lui procurant une ouverture extraordinaire sur le monde : « la langue étrangère me servait ... d'embrasure pour le spectacle du monde et de ses richesses » (Djebar, 2008 : 180).

L'écriture dans la langue du conquérant lui donne également la possibilité de « [se] parcourir » (Djebar, 2008 : 302), de dire « je » dans une société où les femmes ne peuvent jamais écrire à la première personne. Elle transgresse ainsi deux interdits de la culture musulmane : celui d'écrire en tant que femme – « Qu'est-ce que c'est dans une culture arabe, qu'une femme qui écrit ? C'est un scandale. »⁷ – et celui de pratiquer l'autobiographie – « Parler de soi-même hors de la langue des aïeules, c'est se dévoiler, certes, mais pas seulement pour sortir de l'enfance, pour s'en exiler définitivement » (Djebar, 2008 : 224). De ce fait, l'écriture en langue adverse, tout en libérant la femme écrivain algérienne des contraintes de la tradition musulmane, agit comme un voile protecteur afin d'éviter « le coup de sabot à la face [qui] renversera toute femme dressée libre, toute vie surgissant au soleil pour danser » (Djebar, 2008 : 314). C'est grâce à celle-ci que la femme dévoilée, peut s'aventurer en liberté dans l'espace masculin :

⁶ Plume, instrument d'écriture (en arabe).

⁷ Djebar se pose cette question dans une interview. Voir Zimra.

Comme si soudain la langue française avait des yeux et qu'elle me les ait donnés pour voir dans la liberté, comme si la langue française aveuglait les mâles voyeurs de mon clan et qu'à ce prix, je puisse circuler, dégringoler toutes les rues, annexer le dehors pour mes compagnes cloîtrées, pour mes aïeules mortes bien avant le tombeau. (Djebar, 2008 : 256)

Toutefois, l'auteure est bien consciente de sa double trahison culturelle. Ayant pris la décision de s'écrire dans la langue de l'Autre, elle ne peut plus vivre qu'en exil, car la langue ennemie, comme nous l'avons déjà évoqué, libère tout en blessant : « Cette langue était autrefois sarcophage des miens ; je la porte aujourd'hui comme un messenger transporterait le pli fermé ordonnant sa condamnation au silence ou au cachot » (Djebar, 2008 : 300). L'autobiographie djébarienne se voit alors vouée à l'échec, elle n'étant possible que sous le masque de la fiction qui voile l'intime et la subjectivité :

L'autobiographie pratiquée dans la langue adverse se tisse comme fiction, du moins tant que l'oubli des morts charriés par l'écriture n'opère pas son anesthésie. Croyant « me parcourir », je ne fais que choisir un autre voile. Voulant, à chaque pas, parvenir à la transparence, je m'engloutis davantage dans l'anonymat des aïeules ! (Djebar, 2008 : 302)

Puisque l'écriture en langue française porte en elle la trahison de la langue maternelle, symbole de la plénitude et du bonheur, la narratrice se sent dévastée par la mélancolie de ce paradis perdu : « En fait, je cherche, comme un lait dont on m'aurait autrefois écartée, la pléthore amoureuse de la langue de ma mère » (Djebar, 2008 : 92). Sa gorge ne pouvant pas reproduire le hululement de joie maternel, ce cri commun à toutes les femmes algériennes, elle se met dorénavant à l'écoute des voix de femmes de sa tribu afin de rompre le silence auquel est condamnée la femme dans la culture musulmane.

Les voix des aïeules

Toute la troisième partie de *L'Amour, la fantasia*, divisée en mouvements comme une symphonie, est consacrée aux voix ensevelies des aïeules de la tribu de la narratrice. Leurs récits témoignent des souffrances du peuple algérien pendant la guerre d'indépendance d'Algérie tout en évoquant une dimension oubliée de l'Histoire. Si la première guerre d'Algérie, à laquelle Djebar consacre les chapitres historiques des deux premières parties, est écrite par des hommes – des militaires français, pour la plupart, tels que Matterer, Merle, Barchou, Bosquet, ou Pélissier –, la deuxième guerre d'Algérie devient, sous la plume de la narratrice/auteure, une réécriture féminine de l'Histoire.

Ainsi, ses témoignages oraux de femmes algériennes forment-ils un contrepoint aux témoignages écrits des conquérants français.

La narratrice prête le « je » de la première personne à des femmes témoins dont elle « perçoit les râles, les gémissements ... » (Djebar, 2008 : 302), à des héroïnes silencieuses dont elle déterre les voix : la bergère Chérifa Amroun; Zohra Sahraoui, cousine de la grand-mère de la narratrice ; et deux veuves anonymes. Jamila Ben Mustapha met en évidence les ressemblances entre les récits de vie de ces femmes qui ont partagé les mêmes rôles et ont toutes subi le joug de la domination masculine :

[L]eur rôle essentiel était de soigner les blessés et d'assurer le ravitaillement, l'habillement, le logement des maquisards et la communication d'informations. Toutes ces activités entraînaient régulièrement des représailles des militaires, brûlant, à plusieurs reprises leurs maisons ... les violant, les abandonnant parfois nues en pleine nature ou les torturant longuement à l'électricité, avant de les emprisonner. (Ben Mustapha, 2012 : 9)

Elle recueille leurs témoignages afin de se faire leur porte-parole. Médiatrice et transmettrice, Djebar établit une nouvelle forme d'archive en contraste avec le discours officiel afin d'assurer la survie de cette « contre-mémoire » féminine d'une génération à l'autre. La solidarité avec cette communauté de femmes et la parole plurielle qui l'habite lui donnent une nouvelle raison d'écrire :

On me dit exilée. La différence est plus lourde : je suis expulsée de là-bas pour entendre et ramener à mes parentes les traces de la liberté... Je crois faire le lien, je ne fais que patouiller, dans un marécage qui s'éclaire à peine.

Ma nuit remue de mots français, malgré les morts réveillés... Ces mots, j'ai cru pouvoir les saisir en colombes malgré les corbeaux des charniers, malgré la hargne des chacals qui déchiquettent. Mots tourterelles, rouges-gorges comme ceux qui attendent dans les cages des fumeurs d'opium... Un thrène diffus s'amorce à travers les claies de l'oubli, amour d'aurore. Et les aurores se rallument parce que j'écris. (Djebar, 2008 : 303)

Conclusions

Par sa transcription de la version féminine de l'Histoire de l'Algérie pendant les deux siècles de domination coloniale, Djebar crée un espace hybride, de l'entre-deux, où elle tente de détruire toute polarité. Son discours, écrit dans la langue de l'occupant, arrive à créer non seulement un transfert de langues – son français étant une langue personnelle qui porte en elle les inflexions et les échos du berbère et de l'arabe avec sa diglossie – mais aussi à dissoudre la relation binaire du dominant/dominé. Ainsi, par sa stratégie d'écriture, elle réussit à

subvertir et à renverser la domination masculine, coloniale ou linguistique.

Récit de rencontres et de croisements, *L'Amour, la fantasia* donne naissance à un espace androgyne où, grâce à la langue adverse, l'auteure franchit la ligne qui sépare les sexes dans la culture musulmane. De plus, elle arrive à reconquérir dans son espace l'univers maternel, à pénétrer les cris étouffés des aïeules de la tribu et à s'enfoncer dans les ténèbres de l'histoire afin de « renverse[r] la domination en don, l'obligation en offrande, la victime en bénéficiaire » (Calle-Gruber, 2005 : 28).

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A Foucauldian Study of Power, Subjectivity, and Control in the Beats' Literature and Life

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Abstract:

In the 1950s and '60s, American society operated a rampant panopticism, techniques of coercion, control, and surveillance, to make certain that every individual conformed to society and therefore was not a menace to the establishment. According to Foucault's ideas, power produces discourses and the clash of discourses leads to the change of subjectivities or consciousnesses and also to the internalization of a particular discourse. In other words, it is via creation of subjectivities that power dominates human beings. The Beats knew that the subjectivity that people assign to themselves is imaginary and illusory; it has been given to them by their culture or society and accordingly, they define themselves and only imagine that they are that sort of persons independently and take it as 'truth'. This paper strives to show that the Beats were completely cognizant of this process and through resisting the power, subjectivity, and control that society had imposed upon them tried to create new and different subjectivities, as Foucault had recommended. This imposition was so dangerous that it threatened to destroy individuality and by the same token, the Beats were dead set against it.

Keywords: Beats, control, Foucault, power, resistance, subjectivity

Introduction

Foucault enunciates that power and subjectivity are very closely related. Power is exercised in order to create subjectivities that guarantee the continuation of the status quo or the existing social order and above all, resistance occurs through subjectivity, too. The clash of discourses in a society leads to the change of subjectivities and internalizing a particular discourse, the individual revolts against the other. In other words, power dominates human beings via creation of subjectivities that mutually perpetuate the distribution of power. Power creates discourses

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and discourses in turn operate in a manner that make power relations and operations invisible and moreover, persuade people, subject to those relations, that the status quo or existing organization is natural and will be of great benefit to them. Fromm, too, believes that power, as an essential part of modern life, has become “*anonymous, invisible, alienated authority*” and poses the questions “Who can attack the invisible? Who can rebel against Nobody?” (2002: 148). Foucault indicates that although we cannot escape power, resistance to it is not impossible. Discourses restrict people’s freedom and do not give them a range of different things from which to choose. As an example, Marcuse stresses a major problem of modern life. He complains that the educated classes have isolated themselves from practical affairs and therefore have rendered themselves impotent in their dealings with reshaping of society and have fulfilled themselves in a realm of religion, philosophy, art, and science. This realm has become for them the ‘true reality’ and they do not think of “the wretchedness of existing social conditions.” Additionally, Marcuse continues, this realm has replaced truth, beauty, happiness, goodness, and most important, the critical temper that of course, cannot be turned into social channels. As a result, culture has become something necessarily idealistic and deals with the idea of things rather than with the things themselves; freedom of thought has become more important than freedom of action, morality than practical justice, and inner life than the social life of man (1955: 15). For Marcuse the Beats were no exception; they were tangled in this discourse and consequently, were not practical enough to change the existing situation and therefore, contributed to the established institution. Of course, this paper strives to show that the Beats resisted or, at least in their works, protested against the power, subjectivity, and control that society tried to impose; but whether this resistance was really successful is another matter and there are positive and negative views about it. Technical progress that Marcuse mentions could be another example. This discourse has dominated and coordinated the whole system in the West and creates forms of life and of power which in the name of the historical prospects of freedom from domination and toil seems to reconcile the forces that oppose the system. According to Marcuse, the most singular achievement of advanced industrial society is this containment of social change (2007: xlii). Marcuse believes that an advanced industrial society, in fact, is a system of countervailing powers that tends to contain qualitative change, combat historical alternatives, and extend the established position (2007: 54). Like Marcuse, the Beats had recognized this strong discourse and were dead set against it and testified that it was technology that had led to the invention and use of

nuclear weapons that in turn, had caused a lot of anxiety amongst people and came to the conclusion that advanced industrial society was not rational at all.

Resisting the established discourses automatically brings about new and different discourses. Reading *On the Road*, as an example, one realizes that its dealings with the marginalized groups like Mexicans or African Americans are completely different and aim to attack the established institution and the book actually tries to create a different subjectivity in readers. Ginsberg's *Howl*, too, offers a discursive strategy for dealing with capitalism. In other words, the Beats tended to produce countervailing discourses in order to negate the present discourses of their time. As opposed to Marxism, Foucauldian power is not special to the established institution or the powerful ruling class or is not a top-down model and is not always repressive; hence, "Foucault's interest in locating the production of power less in macro-institutions like the state and more in micro-interactions like the priest-penitent relationship" or bottom-up model (Ortner, 2006: 8). A lot of discursive sites throughout society produce different discourses that are productive and have the capability of challenging, opposing, or even changing the privileged or dominant ones. In an interview Foucault enunciates that if power were never anything but repressive, if it did anything but to say no, nobody would obey it. If it is held good and accepted, that is simply because it produces discourse, induces pleasure, and forms knowledge (1984: 61). In addition, opposing Marxism, Foucault does not consider human beings as passive slaves of the dominant power; they can actively challenge or resist the dominant discourse's prescriptions. In other words, "individuals are the vehicles of power, not its points of application (McHoul, 2002: 89); individuals are the place where power is enacted and also where it is resisted (Mills, 2005:35). The Beats repeatedly spoke of Big Brother, secret police, and lack of freedom in America, and especially when sent to psychiatric hospitals, they spoke of the doctors who "are in control and have the means to persuade even the most recalcitrant" (qtd. in Raskin, 2004: 93). At last, they came to the conclusion that America was as much of a military dictatorship as Russia; especially Ginsberg: "No hope Communism no hope Capitalism Yeah/... The bloody iron curtain of American Military Power/Is a mirror image of Russia's red Babel-Tower" (Schumacher, 2015: 109). Ginsberg boggled at "computerized police state control of America" (Schumacher, 2015: 146) and he most of the time addressed the question of "How [to] escape centralized control of reality of the masses by the few who want and can take power" (Schumacher, 2015: 123).

Power and Subjectivity

Foucault is especially amenable to the Beats because he was basically interested in and sympathized with people excluded by mainstream or dominant standards. It is reputed that his attention was attracted by Roussel, a literary figure who was not successful in his career and was classified as mentally ill at his own time. So, he was committed to oppose “the normative exclusions that define our society” (Gutting, 2005: 6). Foucault models his modern disciplinary power on ‘panoptic prison’ designed by Jeremy Bentham. With a minimal staff, such a prison guarantees maximum control of the inmates. Each inmate is in his own separate cell and quite invisible to other prisoners. The prison is built in the form of a semi-circle at the center of which there is a tower with large windows from which all the cells could be seen by the observer whereas the inmates cannot see the observer. So, as Foucault describes “They are like so many cages, so many small theatres, in which each actor is alone, perfectly individualized and constantly visible” (1991: 200). Even if the observer is not present the architectural apparatus works like a miracle and operates very effectively. The inmates cannot see and be certain whether the observer is present and keeping them under surveillance; so, they imagine that the observer is always present and looking at them and as a result, they have to behave precisely in accordance with the rules of the prison. That is to say, they are under constant close surveillance day and night, in order, as Foucault says, to “induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power” (1991: 201). The prison’s surveillance mission is of course, conducive to its primary purpose, which is docility. As Foucault says, “They did not receive directly the image of the sovereign power; they only felt its effects-in replica, as it were on their bodies, which had become precisely legible and docile” (Rabinow, 1984: 199). Because power, according to Foucault, does not have a single center and could be found everywhere “indeed what Bentham proposed to the doctors, penologists, industrialists and educators was just what they had been looking for. He invented a technology of power designed to solve the problems of surveillance” (Gordon, 1980: 148). As a matter of fact, for Foucault power is not “Power – with a capital P – dominating and imposing its rationality upon the totality of the social body. In fact, there are power relations. They are multiple; they have different forms, they can be in play in family relations, or within an institution, or an administration” (qtd. in Jones, 2001: 96). He eventually poses this interesting question “Is it surprising that prisons resemble factories, schools, barracks, hospitals, which all resemble prisons?” (1991: 228).

In this way, the inmates are in fact, disciplined. For Foucault, discipline is a “set of strategies, procedures and ways of behaving which are associated with certain institutional contexts and which then permeate ways of thinking and behaving in general” (Mills, 2005: 44) and as Hook explains, in disciplinary power is internalized (2007: 29). As a result, this internalization makes the inmate become:

subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection. By this very fact, the external power may throw off its physical weight; it tends to the non-corporal; and, the more it approaches this limit, the more constant, profound and permanent are its effects: it is a perpetual victory that avoids any physical confrontation and which is always decided in advance (Foucault, 1991: 202–203).

The inmate then takes the observer’s responsibility and always tries to behave in accordance with his standards. As Foucault reiterates, the techniques of Bentham’s prison which led to the internalization of discipline permeated all levels of society and were used to produce docile individuals: “We have seen that, in penal justice, the prison transformed the punitive procedure into a penitentiary technique; the carceral archipelago transported this technique from the penal institution to the entire social body (1991: 298). In Sartre’s *Being and Nothingness* an agent becomes cognizant of being watched and accordingly starts seeing himself through the other’s eyes and so, he identifies with the observer and accepts his standards (Auestad, 2015: 75). Burroughs who, Irwin indicates, was a critic of power all his life (Elkholy, 2012: 271), in *Naked Lunch* shows a prison-society in which everybody has taken on the police’s responsibility and behaves accordingly; therefore, it does not matter even if the police are not in evidence in such a society: “Remember the Bismarck Archipelago ... A *functioning* police state needs no police” (23). In *On the Road* Dean wishes to have his own way of life and does not want to live according to other people’s standards because he is aware of Foucault’s warning that “The gaze is alert everywhere” (Foucault, 1991: 195). He desires to become an old bum because in this case “You spend a whole life of noninterference with the wishes of others, including politicians and the rich, and nobody bothers you and you cut along and make it your own way” (Kerouac, 1959: 146).

Discourse is a set of rules that distribute or circulate particular statements and utterances and keep other statements outmoded and therefore out of circulation. Disciplines that are produced by discourses have two aspects: theoretical and practical. Foucault calls the theoretical aspect ‘discursive formations’ that “have particular rules about how they

‘form groups of objects, enunciations, concepts or theoretical choices’ and include or exclude material” (qtd. in O’Farrell, 2005: 12). He calls the practical aspect ‘discursive practices’, “a complex set of practices which try to keep them [statements] in circulation and other practices which try to fence them off from others and keep those other statements out of circulation” (Mills, 2005: 54). As mentioned above, some people believe that the Beats, fulfilling only the theoretical aspect, did not resist but escaped from the scene and avoided the reality of their time; Kerouac went ‘on the road’ and Burroughs went to and lived in other countries like Mexico. Simultaneously, some others like Holmes reiterate that the same ‘movement’ was a search for new meanings of life (Elkholy, 2012: 5) or Adamo enunciates that personal liberty that the Beats pursued could be found only by belonging to no place, it could be reached by being in constant movement (Elkholy 40); so, they fulfilled the practical aspect, too. Because discourse should be “conceived as an autonomous determinant of cognitive and social practices” and it “organizes ... all social practices and historical epochs” (Prado, 2000: 22), here, we quote Tytell who tries to stipulate that in the late 1940s and ‘60s, at the time of the Beats, a counter-discourse was being produced to devalue the old consciousness or subjectivity and bring about a new one:

because of the Depression and the anticipation of the war... a great fissure had occurred in the American psyche, an uprooting of family relationships, of the sense of place and community that was compounded by a fear of imminent devastation. It was a shared premonition that the entire society was going to be changed in a major way, and that young men were to be particularly sacrificed ... the emergence of the new postwar values that accepted man as the victim of circumstances, and no longer granted him the agency of his own destiny: the illusion of the free will, the buoyantly igniting spark in the American character, had been suddenly extinguished (1976: 9).

Socio-psychologically speaking, the ‘fear of imminent devastation’ by nuclear war and the changes taking place caused the Beats and many others to get into groups and organize a counterculture in order to propagate their consciousnesses. At that time, American interior and exterior policies were brutal and hypocritical. The Vietnamese, as an example, were resisting imperialism and African Americans inside the country were resisting racism. In general, Americans were fighting for peace and justice. The atmosphere was revolutionary and American democracy had failed and the situation was leading to rising social unrest. Many national values and norms were seriously criticized and thrown into question; sexism, racism, imperialism, and commercialism were in direct contradiction to the principles of democracy. According to the FBI and the CIA many people, including Ginsberg, were suspects

and therefore, under surveillance; these two institutions collaborated to ruthlessly smother all opposition. Churchill speaks of “the FBI’s program of defaming opposition leaders” (1990: 57) and reports that in 1947, following President Harry Truman’s Executive Order according to which disloyal persons had to be detected within the United States government, the FBI placed hundreds of groups—including the Committee for Negro Arts, the Committee for the Protection of the Bill of Rights, the League of American Writers, the Washington Bookshop Association—on the proscription list (32). This was in fact a cold war mentality which led to McCarthyism, too. The individual had become powerless and insecure. Adjustment and coordination instead of individuality, were the buzzwords of the time. The nuclear explosion in Japan had proved that this kind of technology could totally annihilate man and his environment. Yet, unlike the Beats, people respected technology more and more. Americanism had replaced individuality; homogeneity which was against the grain of the country’s character was replacing heterogeneity and difference and above all, Americans were losing the mentality that had always questioned authority.

Like Foucault, Burroughs, too, was interested in power relations. In his *Junkie* for example, he describes the relationship between the pusher and the addict in terms of power. In the following excerpt from *Naked Lunch* Burroughs shows that there is a master-slave relationship between the pusher and the addict:

The pyramid of junk, one level eating the level below (it is no accident that junk higher-ups are always fat and the addict in the street is always thin) right up to the top or tops since there are many junk pyramids feeding on peoples of the world and all built on basic principles of monopoly:

1 Never give anything for nothing.

2 Never give more than you have to give (always catch the buyer hungry and always make him wait).

3 Always take everything back if you possibly can.

The pusher always get it back. The addict needs more and more junk to maintain a human form ... Junk yields a basic formula of evil virus: *The Algebra of Need*. The face of evil is always the face of total need (3-4).

In an interview Burroughs points out to the relationship between police and addicts: “Many policemen and narcotics agents are precisely addicted to power, to exercising a certain nasty kind of power over people who are helpless. The nasty sort of power...” (Skerl, 1991: 77). Foucauldian power is not absolute; that is, it is not entrusted to a single person totally. In other words, everyone is caught in power structure; those who are subjected to it and those who exercise it as there are many pushers, many policemen, and many addicts. So, power is everlasting

and could not be effaced as Foucault himself has pointed out: “Power relations are rooted deep in the social nexus, not reconstituted “above” society as a supplementary structure whose radical effacement one could perhaps dream of” (During, 2005: 129).

It was mentioned that Foucauldian power changes subjectivity or gives new subjectivity to subjects. In actuality, it is power that defines and shapes subjects and subjectivity and therefore, ‘constitution of subjectivity’ and ‘forms of subjects’ are important issues in Foucault’s works. We saw how in a panopticon the observer creates a new subjectivity in the inmate and brings about docility in him and turns him into a servant of the institution. Studying subjectivity we should scrutinize “that tension between choice and illusion, between imposed definitions and individual interrogations of them, and between old formulae and new responsibilities” (Hall, 2004: 2). People usually define themselves but that definition is an illusion and not a matter of choice because it has been given to them and they only imagine that they are that sort of persons independently. Rabinow quotes Foucault: “I would say that if I am now interested in how the subject constitutes himself in an active fashion, by the practices of self, these practices are nevertheless not something invented by the individual himself. They are models that he finds in his culture and are proposed, suggested, imposed upon him by his culture, his society, and his cultural group” (1997: 291). It is not accidental then that Foucault stipulates that this kind of subjectivity must be refused:

Maybe the target nowadays is not to discover what we are, but to refuse what we are. We have to imagine and to build up what we could be to get rid of [a] political 'double bind,' which is the simultaneous individualization and totalization of modern power structures. The conclusion would be that the political, ethical, social, philosophical problem of our days is not to try to liberate the individual from the state, and from the state's institutions, but to liberate us both from the state and from the type of individualization which is linked to the state. We have to promote new forms of subjectivity through refusal of this kind of individuality which has been imposed on us for several centuries (Rabinow, 1984: 22).

The Beats of course, all their lives strived to get themselves rid of the State and its individualization. Or as Foucault would say, they promoted new forms of subjectivity through the denial of those individualities and subjectivities that society had imposed upon them (Schneiderman, 2004: 75). Burroughs interestingly repeats the same: “New concepts can only arise when one achieves a measure of disengagement from enemy conditions” (Schneiderman 82).

In *Cosmopolitan Greetings* Ginsberg recommends that we should “Stand up against governments” (Schumacher, 2015: 88) and perhaps

the subjectivities that they distribute. He also indicates that “I have no notion of future state or government possible for man” (123). It is very interesting that when Sal Paradise is employed as a cop in *On the Road*, one day he symbolically puts “the American flag upside down on a government pole” (Kerouac, 1959: 41). In *Naked Lunch* Burroughs shows how a person has to accept the government’s definition of himself. Carl Peterson, a journalist, is requested to meet Doctor Benway in the Ministry of Mental Hygiene. The Doctor who has been keeping Carl under surveillance wants him to take a medical examination to determine whether he is sexually deviant. Carl reiterates that he has always been interested in girls and now he has a steady girl whom he plans to marry. The Doctor answers that this is not a proper reason because many homosexuals marry. At last, the examination is taken and the result is negative. The Doctor asks him whether during his military service – because he was deprived of the facilities of the fair sex – he had a pin up girl. Carl’s answer is yes. Doctor Benway assures him that some of these girls are really boys in drag and asks him how many times and under what circumstances had he been indulged in homosexual acts? Carl confesses that when doing his military service some queers propositioned him and sometimes he had sexual relations with them. In this way, Doctor Benway makes Carl realize that he has not always been a well-adjusted person and inculcates a sense of guilt in him. So, according to Foucault Doctor Benway, as the representative of a power structure, has possessed two things simultaneously; the means of “surveillance, of course, but also knowledge of each inmate, of his behavior, his deeper states of mind, his gradual improvement” (Rabonow, 1984: 216). Accordingly, Skerl truly believes that even homosexuality, as described by Burroughs, is a metaphor of power relationship (1991: 50). Johnson reports that in *Desolation Angels* Kerouac “recounts the coercive power of media recognition which functions as a regulating agent analogous to the police” (Myrsiades, 2002: 47). Johnson continues that the novel shows how coercive surveillance, this time through the mass media of course, produces a docile individual who internalizes his own surveillance, monitors himself, and modifies his behaviour as society wants; the way Duluoz as a dissident writer transforms himself into a conformist individual. He quotes the following excerpt from the novel that depicts “the media and police conspiracy” to transform the protagonist:

The cops stopped me in the Arizona desert that night when I was hiking under a full moon at 2 A. M. to go spread my sleepingbag in the sand outside Tuscon – when they found I had enough money for a hotel they wanted to know why I sleep in the desert... I was a hardy son of a sun in those days, only 165 pounds and would walk

miles... Nowadays, after all the horror of my literary notoriety, the bathtubs of booze that have passed through my gullet, the years of hiding at home from hundreds of petitioners for my time (pebbles in my window at midnight, "Come on out get drunk Jack ...") ... I got to look like a Bourgeois, pot belly and all, that expression on my face of mistrust and affluence ... it was now the cops were stopping me ... They surrounded me with two squad cars. They put spot lights on me standing there in the road in jeans and workclothes ... and asked: "Where are you going?" which is precisely what they asked me a year later under Television floodlights in New York, "Where are you going?" – just as you can't explain to the police, you can't explain to society "Looking for peace." (qtd. in Myrsiades, 2002: 47–8).

So, the gaze is everywhere and the protagonist has no alternative but to conform. As Johnson truly comments, the protagonist, when he is not famous, is assailed because he has ignored trespass and vagrancy laws and when he has become famous, he is assailed because celebrity and literary notoriety are, in fact, considered as punishment for nonconformity (Myrsiades: 48). In every situation the protagonist is doomed to be kept under surveillance.

Control

Speaking of control societies, we should be reminded of Orwell's Winston Smith in *1984* or especially more compatible with our discussion, Kesey's *McMurphy* in *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*. The Big Nurse is the agent of control in this novel: "then her hand reaches out to the control panel in the steel door, clacks on the speaker in the day room: "Good evening, boys. Behave yourselves.'" (1962: 78) and "She uses all the power of control that's in her" (99–100). She even controls the TV; the patients should watch whatever she wants or allows:

she gets up and goes to the steel door where the controls are, and she flips a switch and the TV picture swirls back into the gray. Nothing is left on the screen... "You're committed, you realize. You are... under the *jurisdiction* of me... the staff." She's holding up a fist, all those red-orange fingernails burning into her palm. "Under jurisdiction and *control* –" (143–44).

The Beats believed that the control system was destroying America and were really anxious about it and strived to avoid complicity with the system and socio- psychologically speaking, the terrible situation that they experienced led to a kind of madness that destroyed the best minds of their generation as Ginsberg points out in *Howl*. Among them Burroughs is very interested in the issue of control and in most of his novels paint a picture of a struggle between control and freedom. After killing his wife, Burroughs held the belief that he had been possessed and controlled by an 'Ugly Spirit' and the murder was its result and accordingly, decided to allocate his art of writing to a fierce struggle

against all types of possession and control. The same thing is referred to in *Queer*: “I live with the constant threat of possession, and a constant need to escape from possession, from Control” (Burroughs, 1985: 6). In *Queer*, Lee really believes that control is destroying America: “Automatic obedience, synthetic schizophrenia, mass-produced to order. That is the Russian dream, and America is not far behind. The bureaucrats of both countries want the same thing: Control. The superego, the controlling agency, gone cancerous and berserk” (Burroughs, 1985: 91). So, control imposed itself not only on individuals but also on society. As Miles mentions, Burroughs’ interest in control systems basically appeared very early. His first published work, *Personal Magnetism*, published in 1929, was about ‘how to control others at a glance’ (1976: 33). Again in *Queer* Burroughs strives to have control over Allerton: “Think of it: thought control. Take anyone apart and rebuild them to your taste. Anything about somebody bugs you, you say, ‘Yage! I want that routine took clear out of his mind.’ I could think of a few changes I might make in you, doll” (89). As for Foucault, sexuality is another system of control, just like the Carl Peterson excerpt in *Naked Lunch* shows that sexuality plays the same role in Burroughs too.

In Burroughsian mythology, the representatives of this struggle, as Stephenson explains, are often introduced as the Nova Mob and the Nova Police. The former represents single vision, authority, and limit while the latter aims at the restoration of heterogeneity and the liberation of consciousnesses. Mr. Bradley Mr. Martin who is the head of the Nova Mob has occupied earth for thousands of years. Stephenson adds: his agents “on earth are all the authorities and all the establishments and all the systems—the military, the police, business and advertising, religion, and such individuals as customs inspectors, con artists, politicians, pushers, all those who coerce and con, anyone in a position to impose and enforce a reality on another” (2009: 62). The Nova Mob, Stephenson continues, controls through image and language; that is, manipulating word and image, the Nova Mob creates and maintains an illusory reality. Burroughs refers to this reality as the Reality Film (62). In fact, the Nova Mob, as viruses coming from outer space, require human hosts and they can usually gain entry through addiction or sex; hence, addiction and sex as systems of control in *Naked Lunch*. Doctor Benway is of course, another representative of control in *Naked Lunch*: “a manipulator and coordinator of symbol systems, an expert on all phases of interrogation, brainwashing and control” (Burroughs, 1959: 17). In *Naked Lunch* Burroughs presents a caricature of the situation in America:

Every citizen of Annexia was required to apply for and carry on his person at all times a whole portfolio of documents. Citizens were subject to be stopped in the street at any time; and the Examiner, who might be in plain clothes, in various uniforms, often in a bathing suit or pajamas, sometimes stark naked except for a badge pinned to his left nipple, after checking each paper, would stamp it. On subsequent inspection the citizen was required to show the properly entered stamps of the last inspection. The Examiner, when he stopped a large group, would only examine and stamp the cards of a few. The others were then subject to arrest because their cards were not properly stamped. Arrest meant “provisional detention”; that is, the prisoner would be released if and when his Affidavit of Explanation, properly signed and stamped, was approved by the Assistant Arbiter of Explanations. Since this official hardly ever came to his office, and the Affidavit of Explanation had to be presented in person, the explainers spent weeks and months waiting around in unheated offices with no chairs and no toilet facilities (17).

Burroughs continues: “No one was permitted to bolt his door, and the police had pass keys to every room in the city” (17). This of course had already become a reality in America – akin to what had happened to Kerouac in Arizona – and reveals why Burroughs abhorred the police in *Naked Lunch*: “south of Texas, nigger-killing sheriffs look us over and check the car papers” (14). In fact, in real life of America, it is the police who is the representative of control. And this is Burroughs’ clear idea of control: “*You see control can never be a means to any practical end... It can never be a means to anything but more control*” (1959: 81). Wonderfully, he has detected Americans’ personality disorder: “Americans have a special horror of giving up control, of letting things happen in their own way without interference” (1959: 107).

Ginsberg, too, did not trust especially the secret police: “... the invisible police-cop-secrecy masters Controlling Central Intelligence – do they know I took Methedrine, heroin, magic mushrooms, &lambchops& guess toward a Prophecy tonight?” (2006: 313). Kerouac had also some bad experiences in dealing with the cops. Once in *On the Road* Dean, Sal, Dunkel, and Marylou who were in a car were stopped by a police officer and taken to the police station. After a lot of investigations one of the cops:

fined Dean twenty-five dollars. We told them we only had forty to go all the way to the Coast; they said that made no difference to them. When Dean protested, the mean cop threatened to take him back to Pennsylvania and slap a special charge on him.

“What charge?”

“Never mind what charge. Don't worry about *that*, wiseguy.” ...

It was just like an invitation to steal to take our trip-money away from us. They knew we were broke and had no relatives on the road or to wire to for money. The American police are involved in psychological warfare against those Americans who don't frighten them with imposing papers and threats. It's a Victorian police force; it

peers out of musty windows and wants to inquire about everything, and can make crimes if the crimes don't exist to its satisfaction (81).

Dean complains about the cops: “Oh, they’re always interfering” (97). As mentioned above, Burroughs hated the police and Kerouac in *On the Road* refers to it: “His chief hate was Washington bureaucracy; second to that, liberals; then cops” (85). In addition to what was mentioned earlier, Baker quotes Burroughs to show his abhorrence of the police: “you couldn’t stop the police barging into your house and taking your letters away; it was too much” (2010: 56) or “the recurrent cop of my dreams . . . who would rush in when I was about to take a shot or go to bed with a boy” (56). It is not accidental that William Lee revels in his imaginary killing of two police officers, Hauser and O’Brien in *Naked Lunch*.

Neal Cassady, Dean Moriarty in *On the Road*, in a letter to Kerouac paints a picture of his first-hand experience of dealing with the repressive, fascistic authority of the police:

I recall as I passed the State Police barracks two stern troopers left its well-lit interior and crunched their swank boots on the gravel driveway for brief seconds before they piled me into their radio-dispatched car with automatic motions of tough efficiency. This flashing glimpse of their hand gestures and unslack jaws, clamped so tightly against the grim upper lip, and their faces immobile as steel emphasizing the sheen of their merciless eyes glittering with zeal to perform their duty made me shudder (qtd. in Tytell, 1976: 164).

Of course, this brutality is only one side of the story. Although Foucault believes that “a police apparatus” is one of the means by which disciplinary mechanisms are diffused throughout the social body (Smart, 2003: 83), he reiterates that the function of this apparatus changes over time. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Rabinow explains, there was the idea that a police apparatus could manage to regulate, penetrate, stimulate, and eventually render all the mechanisms of society almost automatic; but as soon as the manipulation of society, modelled on panopticism, started, one could not “consider it completely penetrable by police” (1984: 242) and above all, as Rabinow quotes Foucault “if one governed too much, one did not govern at all” (1984: 242). As a result, the American citizen internalized the police officer and this change according to some people like Burroughs is a calamity; so, it is not accidental that he growls in *Naked Lunch* that “A *functioning* police state needs no police” (23). Therefore, the mechanism of social control was no longer external, but internal and this new kind of power which was in fact, hidden from sight created a new subjectivity in the individual according to which the behavior that served the existing order

was normal, natural, and to the benefit of both society and its members and this was, of course, considered as ‘truth’. As a matter of fact, the new kind of power instead of repressing or crushing subjectivity, produced or promoted it. Workhouses, mad houses, and prisons were instituted to change the subjectivity of those who did not contribute to society and replace it with new ones. As Gutting explains Foucault, facing the power that imposes its truths on individuals and attaches its identity to them, we should in addition to refusing what we are, invent and not discover who we are by nurturing, cultivating, and promoting new forms of subjectivity (2006: 155). And this is perhaps what the Beats did in their lifetime.

Burroughs was interested and dabbled in cinema. In his view, film becomes “a metaphor for total control, a ‘reality studio’ which must be challenged and subverted” (qtd. in Sterritt, 2004: 80). As we know, there is no *real* reality; as a matter of fact, false realities in which we believe, according to Burroughs, are made and permeated by power centers just like films which are made in studios to control the world. To subvert and challenge false realities, illusions, or discourses that dominate life, Burroughs suggests: “Storm The Reality Studio. And retake the universe” (qtd in Skerl, 1991: 106). Addiction, as mentioned above, is another system of control used by the Nova Mob to gain entry to human hosts; but paradoxically, in *Naked Lunch* it becomes a means of escaping control, too, because although “A dope fiend is a man in total need of dope” (Burroughs, 4) when it goes “Beyond a certain frequency need knows absolutely no limit or control” (4). In other words, when an addict comes within such a scope, no control system can affect him: “You would lie, cheat, inform on your fiends, steal, do *anything* to satisfy total need. Because you would be in a state of total sickness, total possession, and not in a position to act in any other way. Dope fiends are sick people who cannot act other than they do (4). It is without junk that an addict “would be immobilized” (Burroughs, 1959: 107) not when it is available. Martinez comments that “human nature... cedes control to something other than itself... Heroin thus acts as a defense against the need to cede control to either the communal or the bureaucratic *virus*” (2003: 56) and as a result, guarantees individuality. In general, “Heroin addiction provides Burroughs with the metabolic model of control” whose trace could be seen in other models of control that he uses (Ayers, 1993: 225). Foucault transcends all this and believes that even social work is a system of control (Wormer, 2007: 37). Saari illuminates that in general, Foucault’s discipline enforces social control through three processes: hierarchical surveillance, normalizing judgment, and the examination (2002: 93–4). Hierarchical surveillance is when, as we

discussed it in panopticism, those who possess more power have oversight of others. This oversight is of course, continual and inescapable. In normalizing judgment the behaviour of the subject is evaluated and classified. The examination combines the two former processes and eventually decides whether the subject should be sent to a hospital or a penal institution. According to Foucault, these three processes exist in both penal institutions and social work including psychotherapy as we can see in Kesey's novel.

As Rabinow quotes Foucault, since the nineteenth century, control has been used in the name of "the population's welfare" (1984: 21–22). Control, then, is not repressive and harsh; it has become gentler and psychological because modern society, as Foucault contends, wants "not to punish less, but to punish better; to punish with an attenuated severity perhaps, but in order to punish with more universality and necessity; to insert the power to punish more deeply into the social body" (1991: 82). Doctor Benway in *Naked Lunch* has the same idea:

"I deplore brutality", he said. "It's not efficient. On the other hand, prolonged mistreatment, short of physical violence, gives rise, when skillfully applied, to anxiety and a feeling of special guilt. A few rules or rather guiding principles are to be borne in mind. The subject must not realize that the mistreatment is a deliberate attack of an anti-human enemy on his personal identity. He must be made to feel that he deserves any treatment he receives because there is something (never specified) horribly wrong with him. The naked need of control addicts must be decently covered by an arbitrary and intricate bureaucracy so that the subject cannot contact his enemy direct (Burroughs, 1959: 17).

Premodern punishment was external and led to inner transformation of the subject. But modern punishment is internal and the subject's soul is pervasively and intrusively controlled which is, in turn, as Foucault argues, conducive to control of the body:

it is not that a real man, the object of knowledge... has been substituted for the soul, the illusion of the theologians. The man... we are invited to free is already in himself the effect of a subjection much more profound than himself. A 'soul' inhabits him and brings him to existence, which is itself a factor in the mastery that power exercises over the body... the soul is the prison of the body (1991: 30).

Foucault even counts confessional and autobiographical writing, including the Beats' literature, as a system of control because just like you go to the Christian Church to confess, you must speak about your past actions to an authorized person if you want them to be atoned for (Mills, 2005: 86).

The Beats resisted the American system of control. Expounding on their resistance, Bolton argues that because they were alienated, the

Beats failed not only to connect with their surrounding but also with themselves adequately. He claims that self-division and detachment, resulted from alienation, could be advantageous because they contributed to the resistance to control structures. The Beats' estrangement from society resulted in an estrangement from their sense of self via increasing feelings of disintegration and fragmentation. This condition, Bolton continues, did not lead to the dissolution of the self or to psychosis but to resisting the systems of control and oppression that seriously menaced to destroy the possibility of autonomous subjects. For Burroughs especially, as Bolton says, the possibility of freedom was brought about by disintegration rather than unity. Society's power structure subjugated those subjects who were definable, and oppressed fixed and stable identities. Consequently, Burroughsian characters never succumb to stable, distinct identities. Conventional autonomy, Bolton contends, needs the continuity of an integrated identity and coherence of perceptions. Burroughs does not provide such a continuity and therefore does not allow his characters to adopt any fixed identity or perspective. For Burroughs, Bolton believes, autonomy of a character is established not by continuity but by multiplicity of identity and this flux of identity is, of course, vital to the characters' freedom (Elkholy, 2012: 67). Lee in *Naked Lunch* and in his trilogy Mr. Bradley Mr. Martin whose name makes it clear that he does not possess a fixed identity are such characters.

Counting sexuality, addiction, and film as systems of control and power illuminates that Burroughs' ideas have close affinity with Foucault's. Like Foucault, he does not place power in the State only. Both believed that resisting control, we should avoid reproducing and enforcing other forms of control. We should, instead, bring about new consciousnesses and subjectivities as it was the Beats' purpose, too. It is reputed that the Beats even consumed different kinds of drugs to alter their old consciousness and gain new ones and ardently encouraged others to do the same. For Burroughs it is axiomatic that "New concepts can only arise when one achieves a measure of disengagement from enemy conditions. On the other hand disengagement is difficult in a concentration camp is it not?" (qtd. in Schneiderman, 2004: 82). He also enunciates that all systems of control strive to make control one hundred percent but they do not succeed because if they do there will be nothing left to control and this is very akin to Foucault who submits that everywhere there is power, there is resistance, too, and a society of control creates "its own perforations and undermine its own aspirations to totality" (Schneiderman, 84). Burroughs believes that government control leads to a full-blown dictatorship: "Increased government control

leads to a totalitarian state. Bureaucracy is the worst possible way of doing anything because it is the most inflexible and therefore the deadest of all political instruments... The present day union is simply a branch of government bureaucracy..." (qtd. in Tytell, 1976: 43-4). In the talking asshole excerpt from *Naked Lunch* the asshole represents a union or bureau that gradually increases its control, occupies the whole body which is in fact, its host and eventually chokes it and takes complete control of it. So, he concludes: "control can never be a means to any practical end.... It can never be a means to anything but more control" (81).

Conclusion

The Beats really resisted the mechanical consciousness and social conformity that the capitalist establishment was going to impose on every individual. They knew that the subjectivity created by the power structure in American society turned people into organization men devoid of individuality and deprived them of their unique consciousness, visions, illusions, and in general inner freedom. Subjectivity is important in Foucauldian theory because on the one hand, it guarantees the continuation of the status quo or the existing organization and on the other, it brings about resistance, too. The Beats, negating the imposed subjectivity and knowing that it was not the only truth, had actually cultivated a different subjectivity that did not render them passive slaves of the dominant power and instead, enabled them to challenge or resist it. Believing that control destroys societies, the Beats teach us lessons: we should liberate ourselves from the state and the kind of false subjectivity or individualization that it imposes upon us; we should cultivate in ourselves new forms of subjectivity via refusal of the one imposed upon us by the state or other powers; we should repeatedly refuse what we are. Only in this way, according to Foucault and the Beats, we can guarantee our humanity, keep our individuality, and assure ourselves that we are human beings not robots.

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Implicit Meanings in Fictional Conflict Discourses: Insights from two Nigerian Novels

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Abstract:

Research on Chimamanda Adichie's literary works has been devoted to the investigation of the thematic, stylistic, lexico-semantic, discursal and pragmatic features of her texts. While the pragmatic studies of the texts have examined implicit and explicit meanings, including explicit thematisation of conflicts, in them, very little attention has been paid to the contextual examination of implicit contents of conflict discourse in her texts. This study is therefore a pragmatic exploration of implicit meanings in conflict discourses in Adichie's novels. It identifies the types of conflict that emerge in the texts and determines how they implicitly facilitate access to conflict-related thematic orientation of Adichie. All the conflict-motivated discourses in the two novels of Adichie, *Purple Hibiscus (PH)* and *Half of a Yellow Sun (HYS)*, *constituted the data for the study. These were analysed using insights from Gricean theory of implicature, which served as the theoretical framework for the study. The results indicate that pragmatic inference contributes to the realisation of implicit meanings in three broad types of conflict in the data, namely, domestic conflict, religious conflict and ethnic conflict, especially with the engagement of figurative expressions with additional meaning and non-figurative expressions with additional meaning. Figurative expressions (non-literal language usage in the data) manifest as figure of speech, especially metaphor, and proverbial expression, flouting the maxim of manner to give off implicitly thematised conflicts, namely, resistance against domestic violence, conflict of religious faith/belief, and sentiment of tribal differences. Non-figurative expressions (literal uses of language) however go with additional meanings, flouting the maxim of quantity to implicitly thematise such conflicts as clash in domestic lifestyle, conflict of religious belief, resistance against religious imposition and tribal clash-motivated inhumanity. The link between conflict types and implicit meanings in Adichie's novels obviously aids a pragmatic understanding of conflict-related issues in the texts. It therefore demonstrates the capability of

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Gricean pragmatics in the realisation of implicit meanings in conflict discourses in novels.

Keywords: Adichie, conflict discourses, implicit meanings, thematised conflict, conflict types, novels

1. Introduction

In linguistic research, conflict discourse has only recently experienced an upsurge of interest, recognising conflict situation as an unavoidable occurrence in human co-existence. Studies on conflict in linguistic scholarship within and outside Nigeria have shuttled between “natural conflict (conflict relating to the physical world) and preternatural conflict (conflict relating to the spiritual world)” (Osunbade, 2012: 139–140). These studies have concentrated on the structural elements of conflict, the communicative strategies of conducting/thematising conflict, and western and indigenous means of conflict resolution/mediation, from the discursal, stylistic and pragmatic perspectives.

However, while the pragmatic efforts have been devoted to the exploration of orientation to face negotiation in disagreement and of the explicit contents of conflict discourses, little attention has been paid to the contextual examination of implicit contents of conflict discourses. This study therefore fills this gap, being a pragmatic exploration of implicit meaning in conflict discourses in Adichie’s novels, *Purple Hibiscus (PH)* and *Half of a Yellow Sun (HYS)*. It identifies the types of conflict that emerge in the texts and determines how they implicitly facilitate access to conflict-related thematic orientation of Adichie. The two novels were selected having won the prestigious Commonwealth and Orange Broad-band Awards. Their choice was also informed by the little attention paid to them in pragmatic scholarship and the consideration for their relevance to the conflict-espousing socio-cultural milieu in which they were set.

All the characters’ conflict-motivated discourses in the novels constituted the data for the study. These were sampled given that conversations which the characters have with one another are significant for understanding the thematic foci of Adichie in her novels, being ultimately a part of the message from the author to the reader. The conversations are those between family members (e.g. father/mother and children, husband and wife, cousins, etc.), friends, colleagues, boss and subordinate and neighbours. The study therefore promises to demonstrate the pragmatic input of the link between conflict types and conflict-related issues among these characters in the texts.

2. Literature Review: Linguistic Studies on Conflict

Conflict has been construed as any adversarial social action involving two or more actors, with the expression of differences often accompanied by intense hostilities (Jeong, 2010: 3). Most significantly, conflict arises from the failure to manage antagonistic relationships, especially spurred by cultural diversity and opposing political interests, which often result in intra/inter-communal rivalries. In some situations, religious, language and racial differences have pitched various rival groups in a struggle for power and territorial gains in many parts of the world. Linguistic conflict, however, refers to “any type of verbal or non-verbal opposition, ranging from disagreement to disputes, mostly in social interaction” (Kakava, 2001: 650). Studies on conflict in linguistic scholarship have explored the linguistic and structural properties of conflict (cf. Pomerantz, 1984; Baym, 1996; Ononye and Osunbade, 2015), communicative strategies of conducting/thematising conflicts (cf. Schiffrrin, 1985; Johnstone, 1989; Muntigl and Turnbull, 1998; Osunbade, 2012), and language use in conflict negotiation and resolution (cf. Edner, 1990; Maley, 1990).

Pomerantz (1984) studies some features of dispreferred turn shapes with respect to agreeing and disagreeing with assessments. Conceptualising a dispreferred action as one that is not “oriented to” the talk as it was meant, she observes that when conversants feel that they are expected to agree with an assessment, yet disagree with it, they usually express their disagreement with such forms of delay as initial silence in response to forthcoming talk and repair initiators. Pomerantz finds out that dispreferred actions are structurally marked and they display certain ‘dispreference features’ such as “delays, requests for clarification, partial repeats, and other repair initiators and turn prefaces” (1984: 70). Demonstrating disagreement with assessments is therefore revealed as an essential feature of dispreferred turn in social interactions.

In a discursual study of dialogue, Schiffrrin (1985) examines the organisation of everyday argument. She identifies two types of arguments, namely, rhetorical and oppositional arguments, which serve to reveal the speaker’s constant “negotiation of referential, social, and expressive meanings” (1985: 45) within the context of the disreputable position. In her own study, Johnstone (1989) focuses on linguistic strategies and cultural styles for persuasive discourse. She posits that certain cultural styles correlate with certain persuasive strategies employed by the speakers in a given context of conflict, identifying three types of strategies: quasilogic, presentational, and analogical; and mapping them into different cultural styles based on conceptual correlates. The study concludes that the choice of a particular strategy

may rest on cultural disposition, and that cross-cultural misunderstandings are rooted in people's failure to adapt to and understand different persuasive strategies.

Muntigl and Turnbull's (1998) study is a pragmatic exploration of the conversational structure of disagreement sequences with consideration for orientation to face negotiation. They argue that facework is a major determinant of the type of turn sequences a speaker usually engages in disagreement discourse. Four types of disagreement are identified in the study; these are: irrelevant claims, challenges, contradictions, counter claims. The study concludes that the more a second turn threatens the face of the speaker who makes a claim as a first turn, the more likely it is that the third turn will contain further support of that first speaker's claim.

In another pragmatic endeavour, Osunbade (2012) is devoted to the investigation of how language is used to explicitly thematise conflict across the discourse types in conversations in fictional texts. Adopting Sperber and Wilson's relevance theory (RT), the study reveals three conflict-related thematic foci: domestic conflict, religious conflict and ethnic conflict as parts of the explicatures of characters' utterances in the texts, recoverable fairly differently through gap-filling, reference assignment and bridging. The study concludes that this cognitive investigation of explicatures in fictional discourses is significant for aiding a context-driven understanding of conflict-motivated domestic, religious and socio-political experiences of the characters in the texts.

Ononye and Osunbade (2015), however, investigates the lexical choices in the newspaper reports on Niger Delta conflicts (NDCs) to establish their link to specific stylistic strategies used by the reporters in naming the entities in the discourse and aid a full understanding of how news texts are used to influence the readers' perspectives of the conflicts. Forty reports on NDCs published between 2003 and 2007 were sampled from four Niger Delta-based newspapers (*The Tide*, *New Waves*, *The Pointer* and *Pioneer*) and subjected to stylistic analysis, with insights from Jeffries' critical stylistics model and Osundare's concepts of style and aspects of stylistics discourse. The findings account for the naming of two entities, namely, the news actors and their activities, in the discourse through the naming strategies of labelling and nominalising. Labelling is characterised by two lexical choices: emotive metaphors and qualifying adjectives used in evaluating the entities named while nominalising is marked by two lexical patterns: plain and converted nominal forms employed to reduce the impact of the news actors' activities. The study concludes that naming strategies in ND-based reports on NDCs are motivated by reporters' covert goal to influence the

readers' views of the conflicts, toward attenuating their effects on the people.

It is thus clear from the foregoing that there is a dearth of pragmatic study on how conflict, which is usually spurred by differences in cultural orientation and religious disposition as well as opposing political interests, is implicitly accounted for as having implications for human peaceful co-existence and social change in the authors' fictional universe. This study, therefore, fills this lacuna, using Adichie's novels as data base.

3. Summary of Texts

Adichie's novels project the socio-political malaise of the modern world (especially, Africa's at large and Nigeria's in particular). They are mainly pre-occupied with the exposition and condemnation of all forms of social, political, economic and religious ills in the society with a view to improving human conditions.

In *PH* for example, the oddities in Nigeria are fictionalised. Eugene archetypically represents (both within the family and society at large) the tyrannical, anarchical-cum- draconian leaders that rule Nigeria. Being a wealthy man who subscribes to conservative Catholic orientation, Eugene tends to uphold moral standards. He uses his newspaper, *the standard*, to challenge the socio-political problems and abuse of power associated with the governance in the post-independent Nigeria. However, his domestic life is dictatorial and abusive just as the leaders whom he condemns with his paper. His wicked nature is attested to by his trait of constantly maltreating his wife and children, causing them both physical and psychological imbalances. After spending holiday with Eugene's sister, Ifeoma, these victims of Eugene's brutalities eventually liberate themselves from his authoritative grip. Kambili slowly rediscovers her voice and desires freedom from her father's control; Jaja starts to display defiance; and their mother also starts being disobedient to her husband. Consequently, Eugene was poisoned so as to ensure their "freedom" from his inhumane acts towards them; the freedom being what 'Purple Hibiscus' metaphorically connotes.

HYS x-rays Nigeria in the 1960s as a turbulent, tension-soaked, country resulting from the conflict between the Hausa and the Igbo who attempt secession from Nigeria after the widespread massacres of their people in the North, leading to the civil war civil tagged "Biafran war". Nigeria blows up when the Igbo attempt a coup against the Gowon-led Hausa in government, and the Hausa retaliate with a sweeping massacre that starts in the North. The conflict later on turns into a full-fledged war. Consequently, the lives of many Igbo are lost, but their determination

and optimism propel them to retreat to Eastern Nigeria where they hope, abortively, to form the Independent Republic of Biafra.

4. Gricean Theory of Implicature

The theoretical notion of implicature was developed by H. P. Grice. Conceived in Grice's second approach, Grice (1975) identifies two types of implicature, namely conventional implicature and conversational implicature. Conversational implicature is focussed in our discussion here, being the implicature type adopted in this study given its more important status in Grice's proposal. In Grice's proposal, it is established that, typically in conversation but not confined to conversation, communicative utterances are in accordance with a general principle of cooperation called the Co-operative Principle (CP). This principle ultimately presupposes that communicators should be helpful (that is, co-operate with each other) in their conversational contributions. According to Grice (1975:45), the CP states thus:

Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.

Grice supports this principle with four maxims. These are:

1. Quantity Maxim: Be just informative as required

Within the conversation, the participant should be as brief as possible.

2. Quality Maxim: Say only that which is true or for which evidence is available.

With this maxim, within the conversational context, the speaker should not claim to know more than he does so as to be helpful to the co-participants by not mis-leading them.

3. Relation Maxim: Ensure that you are relevant

The participants are expected to concentrate on the subject being handled at a particular stage and not introduce extraneous items into the conversation.

4. Manner Maxim: Be perspicuous.

This maxim relates to "the how" and not "the what" of what is said. The speaker is expected to be perspicuous, avoid obscurantism, ambiguity and prolixity; and be orderly (see Odebunmi 2003: 64).

Commenting on the weakness of the maxims, Levinson (1983) observes that trying to meet the Gricean standard is like living in a philosopher's paradise, though the maxims clearly spelt out the way conversations can be carried out most efficiently, rationally and cooperatively. He maintains that Grice himself did not idealize that

such maxims should be fully realized, but rather that they can be sometimes deviated from. As Grice himself observed, it is deviations of this nature that necessitate inferences, which he dubbed an implicature or a conversational implicature. Gricean pragmatics therefore involves a theory of inference that hearers draw to arrive at a full understanding of what a speaker meant by an utterance, especially in those cases where what is meant goes well beyond the literal meaning of what is uttered (Kearns, 2000: 254).

In the development of the implicatural theory, scholars have noted that failure to observe a maxim to generate an implicature can occur, while still obeying the cooperative principle (see Thomas, 1995; Kearns, 2000). Thomas (1995) discusses five ways in which the maxims may not be observed, as identified by Grice, namely, flouting a maxim, violating a maxim, infringing a maxim, opting out of a maxim and suspending a maxim. A maxim is flouted when a speaker “blatantly fails to observe a maxim at the level of what is said with the deliberate intention of generating an implicature” (Thomas, 1995: 65). Flouts can exploit all the maxims, i.e. quantity, quality, relation and manner. Flouts exploiting the maxim of quality occur when an untruth is said or when the utterance cannot be adequately proved. Flouts that exploit the maxim of relation occur when conspicuously irrelevant responses are given to questions or queries. Flouting the maxim of quantity involves a speaker giving more or less than the required information in particular situations (Thomas, 1995: 65–71).

Infringing a maxim involves “a non-observance [which] stems from imperfect linguistic performance rather than from any desire... to generate a conversational implicature” (Thomas, 1995: 74). A maxim can be infringed as a result of incompetence in a language, psycho-social impairment, cognitive impairment or incapability to speak clearly. Opting out of a maxim means that “the speaker is unwilling to cooperate in the way the maxim requires” (*Ibidem*). A maxim is suspended when the non-fulfillment of maxim is by participants, and therefore does not generate any implicature (Thomas, 1995: 76).

However, according to Thomas (1995: 65):

the situations which chiefly interested Grice were those in which a speaker **blatantly** fails to observe a maxim, not with any intention of deceiving or misleading, but because the speaker wishes to prompt the hearer to look for a meaning which is different from, or in addition to, the expressed meaning.

Thomas’ submission thus indicates that the most important category of non-observance of the maxim in Gricean account is flouting a maxim,

especially to generate additional meaning called *conversational implicature*. The present study therefore touts the line of Thomas, while drawing theoretical insights from this Gricean implicatural approach, given its capability to account for how implicit meanings can be recovered in discourses.

5. Analysis and Findings

The analysis reveals that three broad types of conflict feature in the data, namely, domestic conflict, religious conflict and ethnic conflict; and the findings show that pragmatic inference contributes to what is implied in these conflict types with the engagement of figurative expressions with additional meaning and non-figurative expressions with additional meaning. Figurative expressions are non-literal language usages in the data which manifest as figure of speech, especially metaphor, and proverbial expression, flouting the maxim of manner to give off implicitly thematised conflicts, namely, resistance against domestic violence, conflict of religious faith/belief, and sentiment of tribal differences. Non-figurative expressions, which dominate the data, are literal uses of language that go with additional meanings, flouting the maxim of quantity to implicitly thematise such conflicts as clash in domestic lifestyle, conflict of religious belief, resistance against religious imposition and tribal clash-motivated inhumanity. These features are taken in turn.

5.1. *Implicit Meanings in Domestic Conflict*

Domestic conflict (henceforth DC), in the present context, refers to disagreements/ differences that concern family lives and domestic experiences of the characters in the novels. It is a significant conflict type that emerges in the data, indicating that humans constantly have conflicting ideas over a number of domestic issues. Two sub-types of domestic conflict are thus thematised in the data: resistance against domestic violence and clash in domestic lifestyle.

Resistance against domestic violence is a DC-related theme sometimes communicated implicitly, in *PH*, using figurative expressions, with the maxim of manner being breached. The example below can be considered:

- Example 1 : (Background: Kambili is hospitalised after being brutalised by her father and Auntie Ifeoma visits her in the company of Father Amadi)
- Mama (T₁) : (addressing Auntie Ifeoma and Father Amadi) At first, they could not find a vein and I was so scared.
- Father Amadi (T₁): Kambili, Kambili. Are you awake?
- Auntie Ifeoma (T₁): *Nne*, Kambili, nne.
- Mama (T₂): The medication knocks her out.
- Auntie Ifeoma (T₂): (Clutching Kambili's hand): *Nne*, your cousins send greetings.

- They would have come, but they are in school. Father Amadi is here with me.
- Kambili: (attempts to open her eyes but too weak to)
- Aunt Ifeoma (T₃): (Facing Beatrice) This cannot go on, *nwunyen*. *When a house is on fire you run out before the roof collapses on your head.*
- Mama (T₃): It has never happened like this before. He has never punished her like this before. (*PH*, p. 208–209)

In order to safeguard future occurrence of domestic conflict in Beatrice's house, Ifeoma, (her sister-in law) addresses the proverbial saying in the second segment of the utterance in her T₂ to Beatrice at Kambili's bedside at the hospital:

When a house is on fire you run out before the roof collapses on your head.

In the proverbial usage above, a metaphoric mapping is employed to focus on the gravity of the conflicts between Beatrice and Eugene. The marital life of Eugene and Beatrice which suffers unending hardships orchestrated by Eugene is, thus, metaphorically presented as a house which is on fire. Obviously, the intended meaning of this proverb is obscure, suggesting a flout of the manner maxim. Reliance on shared cultural knowledge for the understanding of the implied meaning is, therefore, necessary.

The fact that Ifeoma produces the proverbial utterance indicates that she expects Beatrice to draw the inference that “a serious, conflict-induced, problem is in need of an urgent solution”, given her belief that she (Beatrice) already has this assumption among her existing assumptions. The proverb is, in effect, an exhortation to act fast before a conflicting situation becomes irrevocable. Hence, the implicature is that *Beatrice is urged to protect her children and herself from Eugene's perpetual act of violence before the situation becomes more serious.* With the proverbial expression, “when a house... collapses on your head”, which employs metaphor to give off this implicature, Ifeoma proclaims her Igbo identity, and plays a significant role in indirectly motivating Beatrice to resist her husband's act of violence. The thematised conflict of resistance against domestic violence is thus implicitly drawn on by the proverb.

In another transaction between Kambili and her cousin, Amaka, Kambili implicitly communicates a thought that reveals her family's domestic lifestyle and their adherence to it to underpin the thematisation of class in domestic lifestyle between herself and her cousin, using non-figurative expression which flouts the quantity maxim:

- Example 2: (Background: Amaka strikes a conversation with her cousin, Kambili, on the topic of watching TV).
- Amaka (T₁): You have satellite here, don't you?
 Kambili (T₁): Yes.
 Amaka (T₂): Can we watch CNN?
 Kambili (T₂): *We don't watch a lot of TV. (PH, p. 79)*

In this exchange, Amaka asks if they can watch CNN but instead of simply saying “no”, Kambili engages, in her second turn (i.e.T₂), an indirect answer to Amaka’s utterance: “We don’t watch a lot of TV”. This utterance flouts the quantity maxim in its being less informative in the context of use. Kambili informs Amaka that they (i.e. Jaja and herself) do not watch alot of TV, demanding her to implicitly access the information that:

They cannot watch CNN.

This information, expected to be accessed with the advantage of Amaka’s shared knowledge of Kambili’s regimented lifestyle, is then needed for the understanding of clash in domestic lifestyle as the thematised conflict in the conversational context.

With this implicitly conveyed information, Kambili’s pragmatic intention is to make it manifest that they (her brother and himself) operate a domestic lifestyle consistent with their father’s scheduled routine dictates. Her implicit refusal to consent to Amaka’s idea of watching TV exposes her unquestionable internalization of her family’s set standard of living and her dogmatic adherence to them. A clash in domestic lifestyle is thus inherently depicted; hence, Adichie’s focus on it as a thematised domestic conflict in *PH* is implicitly demonstrated in the implicature derived.

5.2. Implicit Meanings in Religious Conflict

Religious conflict (henceforth RC) is operationally conceived as verbal or non-verbal disagreements/differences within characters’ religious experiences in the novels. It manifests in the data given the multi-cultural/ multi-religious lifestyles of the people fictionally represented in the novels sampled. Two manifestations of the conflict are implicitly thematised in the data, namely, conflict in religious faith/belief and resistance against religious imposition.

Conflict in religious faith/belief mainly manifests in the relationship between the adherents of Christianity such as Eugene, Catholic priests, Ifeoma, etc. and those of traditionalism represented by Papa-Nnukwu (Eugene’s father) and Anikwenwa. Example 3 below depicts Eugene’s excessive adherence to his Catholic faith with both non-figurative and figurative expressions being engaged to implicitly reveal his behaviour as well as serve as thematic hint. While the implicit meaning

communicated using non-figurative usage flouts the maxim of quantity, that which is communicated via figurative expression flouts the maxim of manner:

- Example 3: (Background: Anikwenwa, an old man of Eugene's father age-grade who also holds to the traditional Igbo religion of Odinani enters Eugene's compound in Aba, and Eugene sends him away).
- Eugene (T₁): *What is Anikwenwa doing in my house? What is a worshipper of idols doing in my house?*
- Anikwenwa (T₁): Do you know that I am in your father's age group, *gbo*? Do you know that I sucked my mother's breast when your father sucked his mother's?
- Eugene (T₂): Leave my house!
- Anikwenwa (T₂): *Ifukwagi! You are like a fly blindly following a corpse into the grave!*
- Eugene (T₃): Just leave my house! (*PH*, p. 69–70)

Eugene chases Anikwenwa away from his compound as a result of the differences in their religious beliefs, engaging non-figurative expressions in his T₁ to condemn his religious belief in idol worshipping. Here, the quantity maxim is not observed, as Eugene gives less information than the situation demands, and an implicature is generated. To reach this implicit meaning, Anikwenwa is expected to infer that *he (Anikwenwa) is a worshipper of idol* and derive the implicature that *he (Anikwenwa) should leave Eugene's house, given their religious differences*. Anikwenwa understands this communicated implicit meaning and draws on the proverbial expression in his T₂ to (figuratively) condemn Eugene's rudeness to him being his father's age mate. The introductory Igbo expression "Ifukwagi" meaning "look at you" is contextually engaged to create a background emphasis for the reproach implicitly conveyed in the proverb engaged. Flouting the maxim of manner in its non-explicit nature, which requires socio-cultural knowledge to interpret, the proverb makes an effective recourse to the image of a fly blindly following a corpse into the grave to underscore the degree of Eugene's fanatic portrayal of the conflict in religious faith between himself and Anikwenwa. This is, of course, targeted at giving the hearer access to inferential computations that will act as premises in reaching Anikwenwa's intention.

The fact is that no overt communication of Anikwenwa's intention is made, but riding on contextual assumptions provided by both cultural and situational knowledge viz: "one who stubbornly refuses to take other people's advice leads himself to destruction", the relevance of the proverb reinforces Eugene's understanding. The implicatural content of the proverb thus constitutes no hurdle to Eugene. He understands, by inference, that the implicit meaning that: "his (Eugene's) conflicting

adherence to the foreign religion’s fanatical norms will mark his undoing” is being conveyed by Anikwenwa. The thematic significance the implicitly communicated meaning achieves is, evidently, to reinforce the theme of conflict in religious faith/belief.

Resistance against religious imposition is sometimes the thematised religious conflict in *PH*, and non-figurative expressions are prioritised in communicating it as an implicit meaning necessitated by a flout of the quantity maxim. Example 4 can be considered.

- Example 4: (Background: Amaka was asked to choose an English name for her confirmation in the church, but she declined)
- Father Amadi: Amaka, have you chosen an English name for your confirmation?
- Amaka: *Why do I have to, Father? When the missionaries first came, they didn't think Igbo names were good enough. They insisted that people take English names to be baptised. Shouldn't we be moving ahead?*
- Father Amadi: Don't make this what it is not. You don't have to use the name. Look at me, I've always used my Igbo name, but I was baptised Michael and confirmed Victor. (*PH*, p. 255)

This transaction reveals that Amaka is expected to choose an English name for her confirmation, but she declines. Instead of saying “no” which would be as informative as required for the current purpose of the conversation, Amaka says:

Why do I have to, Father? When the missionaries first came, they didn't think Igbo names were good enough. They insisted that people take English names to be baptised. Shouldn't we be moving ahead?

With this utterance, Amaka supplies information not as informative as the situation demands, thereby triggering off the search for the right implicit meaning. Amaka’s response to Father Amadi’s question starts with a rhetorical question, challenging the need for choosing an English name for the confirmation. It also ends with another rhetorical question, which further challenges the continued imposition of English names on Africans under the cover of validating their baptism. The interrogatives serve to give off implicit meanings by aiding access to the inferences provided by the propositional contents of other sentences (i.e. sentences 2 and 3) of the utterance thus:

- (i) Earlier missionaries condemned Igbo names to favour English names.
- (ii) English names were forced on the people during baptism.

Drawing these inferences make it easy for Father Amadi to recover the implicatures below as the ones rightly intended to be communicated by Amaka’s rhetorical utterances:

- (i) Amaka has not chosen, and is not choosing an English name for her confirmation.
- (ii) It's time Africans stopped adopting English names for confirmation.

These demonstrate that Amaka totally objects to any alteration of her African identity, especially by resisting to be renamed. As such, the thematic implication derived from the implied meaning above is that Amaka is in conflict with the Catholic's practice of imposing baptismal names on Africans as a neo-colonisation strategy, which it seems to depict.

5.3. *Implicit Meanings in Ethnic Conflict*

Ethnic conflict (henceforth EC), in the present study, refers to disagreement/clash between two groups of people with different racial and linguistic heritage in Adichie's fictional society. Its emergence in the data, especially in *HYS*, portrays the tyrannical trauma of inhumanity associated with turbulent, tension-soaked, Nigeria as a result of the tribalism-motivated conflict between the Hausa and the Igbo who seek to secede from Nigeria after the widespread massacres of their people in the North, leading to the war of succession tagged "Biafran War". Sentiment of tribal differences and inhumanity spurred by tribal conflict are therefore the EC-based conflicts that manifest in the data.

Sentiment of tribal differences is an ethnic conflict which manifests in a significant way in the data. To communicate this thematised conflict, figurative expression is employed, flouting the maxim of manner to give off implicit meaning. Let us consider example 5:

- Example 5: (Background: Olanna was in Mohammed's house in Kano when ethnic riot started)
- Mohammed (T₁): They're rioting.
 Olanna (T₁): It's the students, isn't it?
 Mohammed (T₂): I think it's religious or ethnic. You must leave right away.
 Olanna (T₂): Mohammed, calm down.
 Mohammed (T₃): Sule said they are blocking the roads and *searching for infidels*. Come, come (He went into the room and came out with a long scarf) wear this, so you can blend in.
 Olanna (T₃): (Jokingly) I look like a proper Hausa muslim woman now.
(*HYS*, p. 149–150)

Weeks after the second coup in the country which leads to the death of many Igbo soldiers, the Northern Nigeria become highly volatile. Riots leaving a number of Igbo dead are staged, causing serious unrest. The interaction above between Olanna and Mohammed, her ex-Hausa boyfriend, is an indictment on the condemnable tribal sentiment that orchestrates the ethnic riot that eventually blows into a full-fledge war in

the country. This idea is communicated, using metaphor in Mohammed's T₃:

... *searching for infidels.*

The figurative expression engaged here flouts the maxim of manner, as it is not immediately clear what the metaphor means, necessitating a generation of implicature. With the advantage of the situational knowledge, Olanna eventually understands that by “infidels” the Igbo are implied in the present context to underpin tribal differences. She therefore agrees to disguise as a Hausa Muslim in order to escape. By metaphorically condemning the Igbo as infidels, tribal differences therefore becomes covertly portrayed as a barrier to ethnic unity in the country fictionally portrayed in the text.

Also, implicitly communicated using non-figurative expression is the theme of inhumanity spurred by tribal conflict, with the quantity maxim being flouted. This is shown in the example below:

Example 6: (Background: As the Biafran war become more serious, two American journalists came to Biafra, visited a refugee camp and one of them, Charles, the redhead, interviewed a refugee)

Charles (T₁): Are you hungry?

The refugee (T₁): Of course, we are all hungry.

Charles (T₂): Do you understand the cause of the war?

The refugee (T₂): *Yes. The Hausa vandals wanted to kill all of us, but God was not asleep. (HYS, p. 380)*

Example 6 reveals that rather than relying on the propaganda from the media, some American journalists did visit Biafra so as to gather first-hand information about the Biafran war. This endeavour takes Charles, the redhead, one of the journalists, to a refugee camp to interview the refugees. In an interview with a woman with one arm (suggesting that she is a real casualty of the war), he elicits information about the cause of the war and the woman answers enthusiastically, flouting the maxim of quantity:

Yes. The Hausa vandals wanted to kill all of us, but God was not asleep.

Obviously, the woman's contribution here is too informative than required in the context of communication. Having said “yes” which is sufficiently relevant to the question asked, she goes ahead to accuse the Hausa of holocaust, which is believed to have catalyzed the war. Assisted by inference, Charles would be expected to reach the additional meaning communicated here that: “the Hausa are inhumane”. Hence, tribal conflict-motivated inhumanity is favoured in the implicature derivable.

6. Conclusion

This study investigates the pragmatics of implicit meaning recovery in conflict discourses in Adichie's novels, *PH* and *HYS*. The study adopts Gricean pragmatics, which accounts for context-driven meaning, and posits that what a speaker means in addition to what they say is the extra-information inferentially assessed in conversations. The analysis reveals the manifestation of three broad types of conflict in the data, namely, domestic conflict, religious conflict and ethnic conflict; and the findings show the contribution of pragmatic inference to the assessment of implicit meanings in these conflict types with the engagement of figurative expressions with additional meaning and non-figurative expressions with additional meaning. Figurative expressions, being non-literal language usages in the data, manifest as figure of speech, especially metaphor, and proverbial expression, flouting the maxim of manner to give off implicitly thematised conflicts, namely, resistance against domestic violence, conflict in religious faith/belief, and sentiment of tribal differences. However, the dominant non-figurative expressions in the data, being literal uses of language that go with additional meanings, generally flout the maxim of quantity to implicitly thematise such conflicts as clash in domestic lifestyle, conflict of religious belief, resistance against religious imposition and tribal clash-motivated inhumanity.

This study on the exploration of the link between conflict types and implicit meaning in Adichie's novels aids a pragmatic understanding of conflict-related issues in the texts. It therefore demonstrates the capability of Gricean pragmatics in the realisation of implicit meanings in conflict discourse in novels.

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Humanity Cast as the Other in the Tragedy of Life: An Ecocritical Reading of Margaret Atwood's *Surfacing*, *The Handmaid's Tale* and *MaddAddam* Trilogy

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Abstract:

This article aims to analyze Margaret Atwood's *Surfacing*, *The Handmaid's Tale*, and *MaddAddam* Trilogy from an ecocritical perspective. Establishing the recognizable pattern of error and guilt as the point of departure, we contend that the root of the tragic understanding of human existence is environmental. Drawing on an unorthodox take on the concept of Othering in ecocritical discourse, we posit that humans perceived themselves as the marginalized Other in the tragedy of life. In this way, nature became the ultimate opponent to be feared, fought, and conquered. The exiled humanity's perception on planet earth as adversarial catapulted them to an ultimately self-destructive path most notable in Atwood's apocalyptic literature. Finally, we argue against an absolute sense of tragedy. Atwood's stance is ultimately one of paradox: she is as much as a pessimist that she is an optimist as hope inevitably is the everlasting concomitant of tragedy.

Keywords: ecophobia, Othering, ontological fall, tragedy, evolution, *phusis*, apocalypse

Of Man's First Disobedience: Humanity's Ontological Fall from Grace

Surfacer, building on the notion of German collective guilt, confesses that the "trouble some people have being German ... I have being human" (Atwood, 1998: 131). Margaret Atwood, in an interview with Graeme Gibson, asserted that her narrator in *Surfacing* "wishes to be not human, because being human inevitably involves being guilty." But, what is the source of this sense of guilt and culpability which seems to be an integral part of human condition? "It all comes back to original sin... It depends on whether you define yourself as intrinsically

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innocent, and if you do, then you have a lot of problems, because in fact you aren't", Atwood clarifies (2006: 11). Her claim is one that has wide credence among human beings: we were born, therefore we are guilty. We believe wholeheartedly that we have lost our innocence somewhere along the way, that we are guilty of a crime/mistake for which we were never forgiven, that we are tainted through *mea culpa*, and that we are being punished, disproportionately I might add, for our unpardoned sin.

The pain of existence is articulated in the story of fall and the lost paradise. The biblical version has Adam and Eve live in perfect harmony with nature in the Garden of Eden where there is no labor or adversity, up until they commit the sin of disobedience. As punishment, they are thrown into a hostile world where they have to labor and struggle to survive (Genesis 4.17–9). The Gardeners believe that they could have been happy and led an "Animal life in all simplicity", yet they "craved the knowledge of good and evil". That's why they are cursed now (Atwood, 2010: 52). In the totalitarian theocracy of Gilead, it seems "shameful" to see women give birth free of pain as Eve's sin has condemned them to a state of sorrow (Atwood, 1985: 146). At the end of the day, all that Adam One can hope for is that the Waterless Flood has created a new Eden, another *locus amoenus*, for the survivors (Atwood, 2010: 345).

Tragically, it seems that we have a tendency to take refuge in the nostalgic reminiscence of this fantasized past that is now lost to us. The exiled humanity has attached a strong sense of nostalgia to the prelapsarian existence, and the lost harmonious relationship they enjoyed with their environment. Our longing for this lost golden past and our *locus amoenus*, does not manifest itself only in the Judeo-Christian "lost paradise". The Golden Age of ancient Greece, the Achaemenid era of Persia, the *Satya Yuga* of Hinduism, and so forth are all now long gone periods associated with harmony, stability, peace and prosperity. However, the historical evidences suggest that such a perfect past, relatively near or quite ancient, probably never existed. Stephen Hawking avers that people in modern times dream of "a purer and simpler age". However, he explains that "the past was not that wonderful. It was not so bad for a privileged minority, though even they had to do without modern medicine, and childbirth was highly risky for women. But for the vast majority of population, life was nasty and short" (1994: 27). Offred nostalgically remembers their land as the pure realm of "air sprays, pine and floral" (Atwood, 1985: 214). It is indeed fascinating "how quickly the past becomes idyllic" (Atwood, 2014: 30). Jerome Seymour Bruner observes that memories "serve many masters aside from Truth" (2002: 23). It might be true that the plasticity of

memory can help us cope with certain situations; however, this flawed nostalgic urge would divert our attention from the pressing problem of the contemporary world in the most unproductive manner. Obsession over the idyllic yet fabricated images of the past does not solve any of our “here and now” problems, and definitely would not teach us how to dwell more equitably and sustainably on this planet.

The original sin is the Judeo-Christian term for the human belief in their own culpability in bringing about their tragic existence. However, the concept of man’s ontological fall from grace and the subsequent sense of onus and contrition are not exclusive to the Judeo-Christian tradition. In Greek mythology, men lived a life of perfect bliss throughout the Golden age until Prometheus aroused the ire of the god of gods. Zeus took his revenge by creating Pandora, the first woman, and the infamous box through which all evils and misfortunes entered the world (Hamilton, 1942: 87–88). Steiner sees a similar pattern of fall from innocence in Marx who postulates “a stage in human relations in which the primal exchange of trust for trust, of love for love, became fatally one of property and of money, dooming our species to the treadmill of labor and class conflict”. Similarly, the culpability of human psyche is once again put on display in Freudian concept of Oedipal complex, “one of original parricide”. Due to such recognizable pattern of error and guilt, Steiner defines human condition as ontologically tragic (2004: 4–5). I am inclined to agree with Steiner in that, from humanity’s standpoint, life is a tragedy, and human beings the tragic heroes. However, I believe, to a considerable extent, we owe such perspective on life to our environment.

The root of our tragic understanding of human existence is environmental. We were overwhelmed when we found ourselves all alone on this planet as unwelcomed guests. Nature with all its might stood as a formidable enemy against us; an anxiety that is still with us even after all our technological advances. To Jimmy, universe seems like a “big shark’s mouth,... Row after row of razor-sharp teeth” (Atwood, 2003: 260). Just imagine an insignificant frail human being against the rugged unconquerable mountains, the untamable tempestuous seas, the dark mysterious forests replete with dangerous animals, the vast waterless deserts, the deep darkness of the night, the merciless coldness of winters, the cruel hotness of summers, the capricious weather that either ends in flood or draught, the execrably tyrannical hurricanes, the terrorizing tornadoes, the horrifyingly destructive earthquakes, the life-threatening avalanches, the detrimentally devastating volcanic eruptions, the apathetic and perplexing viruses, diseases, germs, bacteria and so forth.

Surfacer acknowledges the frailty of humanity against the unpredictable and antagonistic natural environment: “it’s not unusual for a man to disappear in the bush... All it takes is a small mistake, going too far from the house in winter, blizzards are sudden, or twisting your leg so you can’t walk out, in spring the blackflies would finish you” (Atwood, 1998: 43). She compares living in the city and living in nature. At first, she clings to the more fashionable response to the dilemma by rejecting the urban environment and all its problems. However, she quickly adjust her comment by acknowledging her fear of the adversarial nature: “it is a lie: sometimes I was terrified, I would shine the flashlight ahead of me on the path, I would hear a rustling in the forest and know it was hunting me, a bear, a wolf or some indefinite thing with no name, that was worse” (Atwood, 1998: 70). Similarly, Toby sees the natural world as a hostile, unpredictable force: “She’d like to avoid going in there [forest], among the trees. Nature may be dumb as a sack of hammers, Zeb used to say, but it’s smarter than you” (Atwood, 2010: 366). This perceived binary of human/nature is easily detectable in the narrative of the advertisements created to undermine the “ecofreaks”: they “featured stuff like a cute little blond girl next to some particularly repellent threatened species... with a slogan saying: *This?* or *This?* Implying that all cute little blond girls were in danger of having their throats slit so the Surinam toads might prosper” (Atwood, 2014: 182).

It is exactly in this context that we might be able to uncover the motivation behind our seemingly “motiveless malignity” toward the natural environment. What “fiends,” indeed, plague the ancient Mariner, with whom Snowman identifies himself (Atwood, 2003: 10), to pick up his crossbow and shoot the Albatross (Coleridge, 2005: 79–82)? What sort of profane impulse drives the Mariner to kill the sacred bird which has proven to be nothing but the omen of good fortune for the sailors (Coleridge, 2005: 71–74)? Coleridge does not give us a single reason for the Mariner’s temporary bout of insanity; however, can the motivation behind his odd behavior be traced back to humanity’s ecophobic tendencies? Similar questions can be posed for Herman Melville’s *Moby Dick*. Why doesn’t Ahab have no other choice than to kill the white whale? Why does he so obsessively seek revenge on an animal? Why indeed is he willing to sacrifice everything for this violent, pointless pursuit? We might be able to find the answer to our inquiries if we scrutinize Ishmael’s explanation of the source of their fear and hatred. Ishmael insists that what invested the whale with “natural terror” was that “unexampled, intelligent malignity which, according to specific accounts, he had over and over again evinced in his assaults” (1892: 174).

In her search for her father, Surfacer finds a dead heron strung up like a “lynch victim”. She wonders why the killer had to string the bird up in that manner instead of just throwing it away. She comes to the conclusion that they have done it not because of any utilitarian reason, but because they wanted to assert their agency and power over their formidable enemy (Atwood, 1998: 117–118). The narrator confines in us that the death of the bird is more disturbing to her than human “wars and riots and the massacres”. The reason behind her rather unusual disposition, she believes, is the fact that “for the wars and riots there was always an explanation, people wrote books about them saying why they happened” whereas no one has ever tried to explain why the heron had to be lynched (Atwood, 1998: 131). Surfacer, quite like the Mariner and his crew, is at a loss to see the “fiends” that plague humankind. Probably, that’s why Estok so adamantly pleads for theorization of our ecophobic tendencies. Even now, with all our technological and scientific advancements, we often find ourselves at the mercy of a harsh adversarial nature, and we resent it for that exact reason. We imagine “agency and intent in nature” and then we squash that “imagined agency and intent” (Estok, 2009: 210).

In ecocritical discourse, it is highly common to vilify human beings, justifiably I might add, for the crucial part they have played in bringing about the environmental crisis; a sentiment shared by the “artists” of the Martha Graham Academy (Atwood, 2003: 243). After all, every good story needs a good villain. However, not every malicious villain started as one. For a brief moment, let’s turn the table on nature to see how these monstrous human beings were created in the first place. Nevertheless, within every victim is a potential victimizer not unlike the Painballers of Atwood’s story (Atwood, 2014: 9). In the story of humanity vs. nature, human beings were the initial victims, or at least that’s how we perceived the situation. I intend to use the concept of Othering not to show how nature is the marginalized Other but to explain the root of our ecophobia, the fear and contempt we feel toward the natural world.

I Rather Tell Thee What Is to Be Feared: Othering the Human

On this planet, we felt like the Other. We were being oppressed by a malevolent enemy called the natural world. The violence and cruelty that we inflicted upon nature was a response to the hostility and loneliness we experienced on this planet. In this way, nature became the ultimate opponent to be feared, fought, and conquered. David offers Surfacer to restock the woodpile. When Joe and David return from the forest, their body language and the way they have cut the tree down are suggestive of

triumphant soldiers and warfare: “They were proud, they’d caught something. The log was notched in many places as though they’d attacked it” (Atwood, 1998: 80). David is so proud of his triumph over nature that he wants to immortalize the moment by taking “some footage of both of them carrying the log” (Atwood, 1998: 80–81).

In order to survive, we had to fight back to satisfy our immediate needs. Estok explains that our ecophobia “must be seen as an adaptive strategy” (2015: 31) to ensure our survival in a decidedly antagonistic world. Therefore, our exploitative attitude toward nature is not exactly a modern disposition: “it had been game over once agriculture was invented, six or seven thousand years ago. After that, the human experiment was doomed, first to gigantism due to a maxed-out food supply, and then to extinction, once all the available nutrients had been hoovered up” (Atwood, 2003: 242–243). It started from there and continued with a relatively slow pace up until the Industrial Revolution in the nineteenth century. Even Offred experiences a deep sense of uneasiness when she is exposed to movies in which people are struggling against a hostile natural world to provide themselves with necessary means of survival without any technology to aid them in the process: “I liked watching these people when they were happy, not when they were miserable, starving, emaciated, straining themselves to death over some simple thing, the digging of a well, the irrigation of land, problems the civilized nations had long ago solved. I thought someone should just give them the technology and let them get on with it” (Atwood, 1985: 152).

The Industrial Revolution consolidated control over nature: it redefined nature “from participative subject and organism in an organic community to the status of pure object, a machine that ideally could be intimately and infinitely controlled and forced to spit out products in the service of an increasingly utilitarian capitalist economy” (Estok, 2009: 211). Therefore, we understand nature in terms of our mastery over it and our possession of it. Emerson, writing in first half of nineteenth century when the Industrial Revolution was still in its early stages, optimistically argues that “Nature” is so massive and magnificent that the insignificant human operations cannot change it (1849: 3). However, a twenty-first century outlook on the matter would suggest that we have proved him decidedly wrong. In one unique moment, amidst all horror and destruction, the beauty and joyfulness of nature catches the eye of Snowman; he sees a beautiful caterpillar coming down a thread, “Watching it, he feels a sudden, inexplicable surge of tenderness and joy” (Atwood, 2003: 41). Ancient Mariner undergoes a similar experience when he sees the beauty of sea creatures in their celebration of life. When he blesses them “unaware”, his journey toward the

expiation of sin and eventual salvation begins (Coleridge, 2005: 272–291). However, Snowman is granted no such absolution no matter how severe his penance or how pure his expression of love are at that moment. The cause for “these flashes of happiness” is explained away as “a vitamin deficiency” (Atwood, 2003: 41). It seems that the imagination of a twenty-first century writer, unlike that of a nineteenth-century poet, cannot allow for such an easy way out as our crimes against nature are far more daunting than ever.

It is true that our ecophobic propensities began to take strong hold of us as a strategy for survival. However, as Estok suggests, our ecophobic tendencies are “now perhaps as useful for our survival as other long obsolete adaptations: the appendix, the tailbone, wisdom teeth, and so on” (2015: 31). Estok’s argument can be taken one step further: ecophobia is not only obsolete in terms of survival strategy, but also has evolved into a threat of monumental proportions in itself. We have moved way passed our immediate problems that threatened our survival, and have ironically put ourselves in genuine danger of extinction by ruining our habitat. As Adam One explains, now we have reached a point where “We can feel the symptoms of coming disaster as a doctor feels a sick man’s pulse” (Atwood, 2010: 91). Gradually, our more sinned against than sinning mentality got us in deep trouble: “modern industry and technology have at first detached us from our close and immediate dependence on the natural world, though without eliminating our sense of emotional connection to it, but they have then also created new dangers” (Carroll, 2004: 91).

To Be or Not to Be, That Is the Question: Obsession with Immortality

What is the fundamental driving force behind human behavior? I believe the answer to this most significant and complex of humanity’s query could be essentially environmental. Many have tried to answer this question: Freud calls it libido, Nietzsche calls it the will to power, Darwin calls it survival. The terms may be different but it seems that most of them share certain commonalities. In search of a better terminology and hopefully a more comprehensive outlook, I propose that the guiding principle underlying human behavior is “obsession with immortality”, a desire our environment denies us. The perennial quest for eternal life, the relentless desire to defeat death, degeneration and passage of time, the unyielding need to “be” defines much of our endeavors in life. We might try to deny it, rationalize it, or disparage it; but, we can never escape it. After all, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, the oldest tale ever written (that we know of), is primarily about a hero who fails in his quest of eternal life.

Offred, on her walk with Ofglen, passes by an old church which was built hundreds of years ago. Her description of the churchyard serves as a reminder that there is no escaping the overbearing presence of death, mortality and passage of time: “The old gravestones are still there, weathered, eroding, with their skulls and crossed bones, *memento mori*, their dough-faced angels, their winged hourglasses to remind us of the passing of mortal time” (Atwood, 1985: 40). When Crake takes Jimmy to the RejoovenEsense Compound for a preliminary tour, the latter is astonished by how spectacular everything is. Jimmy wonders how they can afford such an establishment: “‘Grief in the face of inevitable death,’ said Crake. ‘The wish to stop time. The human condition’” (Atwood, 2003: 291–292). Toby, stuck in hostile post-apocalyptic world, reflects upon the unwelcomed and quite feared concept of death: “Any death is stupid from the viewpoint of whoever is undergoing it... because no matter how much you’ve been warned, Death always comes without knocking. Why now? is the cry. Why so soon? It’s the cry of a child being called home at dusk, it’s the universal protest against Time” (Atwood, 2010: 326).

This obsession finds its apotheosis in alchemy, the alluring quality of the promise of an afterlife in religions, modern Life extension science and so forth. The apocalypse of Atwood’s trilogy is a child begotten of this obsession: “Glenn was vague about what they were working on. *Immortality* was a word he used – Rejoov had been interested in it for decades, something about changing your cells so they’d never die; people would pay a lot for immortality, he said” (Atwood, 2010: 305). Cryonics is yet another offspring of this preoccupation. CryoJeenyus, not unlike the real Alcor Life Extension Foundation, profits from people’s fear of “not being”: “What a scam that place was. You paid to get your head frozen when you died in case someone in the future invented a way to regrow a body onto your neck” (Atwood, 2010: 293). Crake believes what makes human beings different from animals is the fact that they “hope they can stick their souls into someone else, some new version of themselves, and live on forever” (Atwood, 2003: 120). If God is not prepared to give us the means to live forever in this world “naturally,” we have no problem playing Him: “There’d been a lot of fooling around in those days: create-an-animal was so much fun, said the guys doing it; it made you feel like God” (Atwood, 2003: 51).

It is not only the survival of the individual that is of paramount significance to us; but, on a quite larger scale, we are preoccupied with the survival of humanity as a species. The unparalleled value of the Handmaids rely on the sacred nature of the service they provide by their rare viable ovaries. The Republic of Gilead prides itself on having taken

the necessary measures so that women now “can fulfill their biological destinies in peace” free from all the worries that haunted women and mothers of the past (Atwood, 1985: 248). The Marthas and the Handmaids live in a merciless Darwinian world where senility or any sign of weakness or disease that would hinder their productivity can prove to be lethal: “You don’t see that many old women around anymore” (Atwood, 1985: 198). Sterile women such as Serena Joy are considered “defeated women” because they cannot procreate (Atwood, 1985: 62). Atwood herself defines the value of her craft, i.e. storytelling, from an evolutionary perspective. Storytelling is important because it warrants our survival as a species by the evolutionary advantage it provides us. In a 2014 article, entitled “Why Readers and Writers Are So Fixated with Dystopian Visions”, for the *Financial Times*, Atwood asserts that by telling stories, we are in fact passing on crucial information that can be used to increase our odds of survival. Atwood explains, “if you can tell the kids a story about how Fred got eaten by a crocodile, they don’t have to discover the child-eating propensities of crocodiles first-hand, and may live to pass on their DNA”. The stories give us the chance to “to choose between complex alternatives, and to act together to achieve a common goal”. In this sense, her cautionary tales of future should be taken as a guide that can help us to choose a better path if we are to continue living on planet earth. The destruction of the natural environment is synonymous with self-eradication. Though essentially anthropocentric, I believe such perspective can potentially de-center humanity of its presumed dominant position. In other words, it is not the earth that needs saving but us. We are not doing anybody any kindness but ourselves if we treat our environment better.

Analogously, the few who have weathered the Waterless Flood consider seriously how they can continue the human race now that a large population of *Homo sapiens* has been eradicated. When Ren is pleading with the crew to find a way to rescue Amanda, the best excuse that she can come up with is that Amanda can really help “rebuild the human race” (Atwood, 2010: 389). Later on, Ren, faced with the challenges of the post-apocalyptic world, begins to wonder if bringing a baby into this brave new world of theirs is such a good idea. Swift Fox interestingly observes that they may not have much of a choice in the matter. It is how we are programmed to behave: “‘Not sure you’ll have that option,’ says Swift Fox. ‘In the long run. Anyway, we owe it to the human race. Don’t you think?’” (Atwood, 2014: 157). The Surfacers, dealing with the guilt of having an abortion, holds herself accountable for her failed marriage as she construes that what her husband wanted (i.e. procreation) was just what any “normal” man would want (Atwood,

1998: 44). After all, the arguably cruelest curse of literature, i.e. that of infertility, is cast upon an individual culpable of the most horrendous crime, i.e. leaving a loved one unprotected in the natural world. King Lear is thrown from the civilized world and the safety of his palaces into the untamed world of nature by his daughters. In response, he demands the utmost punishment for the deadliest sin. He wants his daughter to be robbed of her fertility (Shakespeare, 2005: 1.4.273–279).

We desperately seek constancy, permanency and longevity: we seek to be immortal. It is due to this preoccupation with death, aging and mortality that we are resentful of natural processes of change. However, the natural world operates in the exact opposite direction of what we yearn for. *Phusis*, the Greek word from which the word physical is derived, contains in itself the idea of change. Trevor Norris, considering Heidegger’s argument of pre-Socratic understanding of the natural world, explains that *phusis* “is a dynamic conception of the natural world that stands in distinction to the conventional attitude toward nature which imagines it as the material substrate of being, as mere matter awaiting the purpose and utility of man” (2011: 116). In this sense, being is dual: “Beings change. Beings emerge into being. Beings cease to be. ...being as *phusis* contains as its essential nature both *coming to presence* or *absencing*, or ceasing to be” (2011: 123). Therefore, *phusis* stands against Heidegger’s metaphysics of presence which privileges constant presence to endless plays of absence and presence. We even try to preserve our dead bodies from the natural processes of decay or rather changing: “The reason they invented coffins, to lock the dead in, preserve them, they put makeup on them; they didn’t want them spreading or changing into anything else” (Atwood, 1998: 151).

The laws of nature not only subdue human bodies but also human creations. Snowman, after an afternoon storm, upon seeing a sign of Men at Work, laments the human civilization that is being taken over by the destructive, malicious natural world. It seems that nothing we build, no matter how sturdy, can stand forever: “Strange to think of the endless labour, the digging, the hammering, the carving, the lifting, the drilling, day by day, year by year, century by century; and now the endless crumbling that must be going on everywhere. Sandcastles in the wind” (Atwood, 2003: 45). Surfacer is puzzled to see that her father would use a fast-decaying wood to build a house. Her bafflement stems from a human necessity; we and whatever we create are here to remain: “Cedar isn’t the best wood, it decays quickly. Once my father said ‘I didn’t build it to last forever’ and I thought then, Why not? Why didn’t you’ (Atwood, 1998: 30)? Toby remembers Adam One preaching about this

exact phenomenon: “Once the tree roots get in ... once they really take hold, no human-built structure stands a chance” (Atwood, 2014: 31–32).

Shakespeare, in his sonnet 55, expresses a similar sentiment pertaining to the statues and the monuments we build just to disclose the fact that he has conceived of a better plan. He proudly believes that his poetry is his salvation: “Not marble, nor the gilded monuments / Of princes, shall outlive this powerful rhyme” (2005: 1–2). In his sonnet 18, Shakespeare admits the impermanency of this world; yet, he offers his beloved the gift of immortality through his poetry as placation: “So long as men can breathe, or eyes can see, / So long lives this, and this gives life to thee” (2005: 13–14). But his plan is decidedly flawed. His poetry might survive longer than marble and gilded monuments; yet, this does not mean in any way that his rhyme will go on living forever. He might have an upper hand over kings and princes; however, if human civilization is to be thoroughly annihilated along with all records of it, then there would be no Shakespeare’s rhyme to read. After the long-feared Waterless Flood occurs, Snowman has only fleeting memories of bits and pieces of different books. It seems that it may take a long time; but, eventually, everything, even our ideas, books and Shakespeare’s rhymes, will perish from the surface of the earth: “For all works of Man will be as words written on water”, as Adam One predicts (Atwood, 2010: 312). To add insult to injury, Atwood has set her stories in near future to reinforce the sense of immediacy. Such end is not only quite possible but also far closer than we might like to believe.

One last issue to be considered regarding to human obsession with immortality is behaviors that work against such preoccupation. Undesirability of immortality depicted in many works of literature, I believe, is a response to the unattainability of such state. We imagine that our wild fantasy of living forever has come true; then we look for ways to sabotage it as we know that fulfillment of such desire is beyond the bounds of possibility (at least until near future). We cheerily conclude that eternal life is synonymous with eternal torment labeling it a curse rather than a blessing. The plight of *struldbrugs*, an immortal race among Luggnaggians in Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels*, is a brilliant case in point. Gulliver is in raptures at the prospect of the *struldbrugs* who are “born exempt from that universal calamity of human nature” (1819: 184). He believes that as an immortal, he would become “a living treasury of knowledge and wisdom ... the oracle of the nation” (1819: 185–186). However, nothing is ever that easy when it comes to human drama. Although *struldbrugs* do not die, they continue aging. Eternal life without eternal youth renders them miserable, absent-minded and reviled creatures who have to suffer the infirmities of old age for all eternity.

Gulliver stands corrected: “I grew heartily ashamed of the pleasing visions I had formed; and thought no tyrant could invent a death into which I would not run with pleasure, from such a life”. He believes that if he could send a few of these *struldrugs* to his country, he would arm his people “against the fear of death” (1819: 191). In this way, Gulliver turns death, the foulest of notions, into something much sought after. The king of terrors, the most terrible of all terribles as Aristotle puts it (2009: 49), becomes a blessing in disguise.

Examples of this type of disparagements abound in literary works. We live in a world where even our so-called “invincible” heroes are not so invincible after all: Achilles and his heel, Esfandiyār and his eyes, Superman and kryptonite. Imagining a perfect, happy world where we do not have to die is just too unrealistic. In Anne Rice’s *The Vampire Chronicles*, unlike *struldrugs*, the vampires are ageless; however, they feel cursed because they find it strenuous to cope with the fast changes taken place in the world. Samuel Johnson, in *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, cautions that “life protracted is protracted woe” (2015: 258). He claims that even if you enjoy a moderately peaceful life free from the plagues of maladies and misfortunes, you will eventually be left to bear witness to the death and sorrow of the people you most love (2015: 301–302). In “El Inmortal,” Jorge Luis Borges tackles yet another downside of immortality; that is the state of inertia and feeling of apathy when faced with a never-ending existence: “They knew that in an infinite period of time, all things happen to all men” (1964: 114). The hero of the story unequivocally laments his decision to become “immortal”, and jumps at the chance to drink from a river that offers the sweet taste of death. To put it shortly, we never come short of imaginative ways to come up with a worthy reason why we should steer clear of immortality. It seems that we are just trying too hard to prove to ourselves that we do not desperately crave immortality. However, the more we try, the more we betray our hidden desire of self-preservation. Such portrayals are reminiscent of Aesop’s fable of the sour grapes in which the unfulfilled fox, with an “air of dignity and unconcern”, remarks, “I thought those grapes were ripe, but I see now they are quite sour” (1994: 23). Or rather these imagined situations create a safe place where we can exercise choice rather than succumbing to death as destiny.

However, our plan to defeat death is much more extensive than the relentless concoction of excuses of its desirability. If immortality cannot be achieved in its literal sense, we seek to realize it figuratively. We are indeed immortal if we are remembered by people after we die. Fame is a good way out for us, and curiously, it seems that it is of no grave import for exactly what we are remembered: there is no such thing as bad

publicity, as they say. H.H. Holmes, Aileen Wuornos, Jeffrey Dahmer, John Wayne Gacy, Richard Ramirez, Ed Gein and so forth are all too familiar names that seem to have mesmerized us regardless of their notoriety. The weight and gruesomeness of the atrocities they have committed serve as a perfect mnemonic aid to ensure their retention in the memories of the generations to come. Therefore, it should not come as a surprise if we are faced with individuals trying to follow in their well-known footsteps. Indeed, there is virtually nothing from which we would shy away if our survival, may it be literal or figurative, depends on it. When the Surfer and her search squad are on a canoe trying to catch a fish, she is relieved to know that their lives do not depend on their success: “Starvation, bite your arm and suck the blood, that’s what they do on lifeboats; or the Indian way, if there’s no bait try a chunk of your flesh” (Atwood, 1998: 60). Self-cannibalism is a revealing testament to the lengths we are willing to go to ensure our survival.

A similar case can be made regarding mass shootings. James Holmes, who opened fire on hundreds of moviegoers at a *Batman* premiere in 2012, did indeed manage to etch his emotionless face adorned by a bright orange-dyed hair in our memories. Intriguingly, researchers have come to believe that we can diminish the frequency of rampage shooting events by curtailing the amount of exposure the shooters enjoy in the media as apparently these events, like viruses, are contagious. The mass killers crave the infamy; therefore, it’s best we keep their faces and identities concealed. By depriving them a legacy, we take away at least one of their strongest of motivations. Schulman, writing on the subject of rampage shooting in the November 8, 2013 issue of the *Wall Street Journal*, reports that “Dr. Mullen spoke to a perpetrator who ‘gleefully admitted that he was going for the record’. Investigators found that the Newtown shooter kept a ‘score sheet’ of previous mass shootings. He may have deliberately calculated how to maximize the grotesqueness of his act.” This is exactly the point Atwood makes regarding the people who hanker after a grand finale to their obscure, miserable lives. Jimmy and Crake visit nitee-nite.com which is an assisted-suicide site. This site is a telling example of human beings’ desperate attempt to make a mark of their own on this world. As the narrator reports, there is a positive correlation between the amount of attention people are paying to this site and the number of people willing to participate (Atwood, 2003: 83–84). It seems the only event worth remembering when it comes to these people’s miserable lives is their final act of self-eradication which Crake sadistically enjoys probably due to its exposure of the depth of humanity’s desperation.

One might ask, what about the rest of people? What about the ordinary people who are not willing to commit atrocities or make a fool out of ourselves on Instagram? How may they make their own mark in this world? How do they manage to immortalize themselves? The ordinary people whose words and deeds will never “fork lightning” find their little piece of immortality in reproduction. We, or rather our genes if not our names, survive through our children. While struggling to come into terms with her abortion, Surfacer acknowledges that losing a child is like losing a part of yourself, or rather literally a part of your own flesh: “A section of my own life, sliced off from me like a Siamese twin, my own flesh cancelled. Lapse, relapse, I have to forget” (Atwood, 1998: 45). Even the almighty green-eyed Crake makes the eyes of all his “children” the same color as if he wants to pass on a part of himself in the next generation. Moreover, the Crakers are named after prominent historical figures such as Abraham Lincoln, Simone de Beauvoir, Marie Antoinette, Picasso, Napoleon, Sojourner Truth and so forth as if Crake wanted to retain bits and pieces of human civilization if not the whole of it. It is true that Crake takes drastic measures to ensure that all human flaws are corrected in his own version of humanity; yet he is not free from the potentially destructive impulse of self-preservation.

Richard Dawkins, in *The Selfish Gene*, dauntlessly asserts that “We are survival machines – robot vehicles blindly programmed to preserve the selfish molecules known as genes” (1989: xxi). The gene seeks immortality by any means necessary and the individual follows in its footsteps. On a similar note, Richard D. Alexander maintains “ethics, morality, human conduct, and the human psyche are to be understood only if societies are seen as collections of individuals seeking their own self-interest” (1987: 3). While struggling to survive in a post-apocalyptic environment, Toby remembers one of the most important rules of Zeb’s Urban Bloodshed Limitation classes: “the first bloodshed to be limited should be your own” (Atwood, 2010: 22). However, Dawkins adds that “there are special circumstances in which a gene can achieve its own selfish goals best by fostering a limited form of altruism at the level of individual animals” (1989: 2) probably building upon Hobbes’ notion of enlightened self-interest as philosopher Mary Midgley suggests. In this sense, human beings at least possess “the mental equipment to foster our long-term selfish interests rather than merely our short-term selfish interests” (1989: 200). Nonetheless, “pure, disinterested altruism” does not have a place in nature (1989: 201). Even Lucerne questions the sincerity of the Gardeners who are doing their best to lower their impact on the environment as much as possible. She sees their efforts as a result

of their masochistic tendencies rather than their biophilic impulses (Atwood, 2010: 114).

“The problem with art from Crake’s perspective”, Bergthaller, with an eye on humanity’s tendency towards unbridled violence, argues, “is that it fails to effectively countervail the destructive aspects of human nature, which stem *not* merely from a failure of the imagination, but have their roots in human biology” (2010: 735–736). Dawkins’s proposed solution to this predicament is rebellion against our nature and creators: “Let us try to teach generosity and altruism, because we are born selfish. Let us understand what our own selfish genes are up to, because we may then at least have the chance to upset their designs, something that no other species has ever aspired to” (1989: 3). Dawkins’ proposition seems scandalous; going against our “natural” inclinations does not seem to be the proper response at first glance. However, natural/artificial hierarchy is another constructed binary opposition to which there is no inherent truth. Stanley Milgram’s experiment revealed to us that we are indeed inclined to obey authority figures at expense of our own personal conscience, and go as far as condemning millions of innocent people to death. Solomon Asch’s experiment demonstrated that we tend to conform to the majority view even when there is clear proof that they are decidedly mistaken in their assessments. Whatever comes “naturally” to us should not necessarily dictate our actions. It is human nature to seek immortality heedless of consequences; however, we should ask ourselves to what point it is to our (and others’) long-term interest to continue? If we are fully conscious of the operations of our natural inclinations, especially our worse tendencies that can potentially lead to our extinction and destruction of the world, then we are much better equipped to manipulate them for the greater good.

We Hope, Therefore We Are: Hope as an Evolutionary Concept

In Jean Anouilh’s *Antigone*, the chorus sings: “*Et puis, surtout, c’est reposant, la tragédie, parce qu’on sait qu’il n’y a plus d’espoir, le sale espoir*” (And then above all, tragedy is restful as we know there is no longer any hope, that rotten thing) [*my translation*] (1960: 63). Is “*le sale espoir*” a fitting apposition? Is hope really a nasty, foul thing that contaminates us to aggravate our misery? Is April indeed “the cruellest month” (Eliot, 2010: 1) that just sets us up for more and more disappointments? Or is hope a necessity in any human drama, tragic or otherwise? I have to disagree with Steiner who claims that an authentic tragedy evades any sense of hope (2004: 4) if the yardstick of authenticity is a truthful representation of human condition. Hope is the very thing that is begotten of humanity’s tragic existence. In Pandora’s

Box, the only good thing amidst the innumerable plagues, sorrows and mischiefs is dear old “Hope” itself (Hamilton, 1942: 88). Even the uniquely woeful and gloomy world of Norse mythology does not entirely relinquish a sense of hope. The prophecy of a time of happiness, however infinitely remote, makes the oppressive anticipation of *Ragnarök* bearable (Hamilton, 1942: 462). No matter how bleak the situation is, humans always find a way to see the light, however flimsy, at the end of the tunnel as that very quality of being “strong in will / To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield” (Tennyson, 1994: 69–70) is essential to our survival.

The characters of Atwoodian fictional world are not prepared to forgo hope either. In fact, they see hope as the eternal tool for survival: As Adam One would have it, “Let us remember: It is better to hope than to mope” (Atwood, 2010: 89)! Offred explains that the very act of hoping for a better future is an art in itself that they have mastered: “We yearned for the future. How did we learn it, that talent for insatiability? It was in the air; and it was still in the air, an after-thought, as we tried to sleep” (Atwood, 1985: 4). She also avers that the Aunts manipulate the Handmaids by playing the hope card. The promise of a better future is the carrot they dangle in front of the fertile women to keep them in check (Atwood, 1985: 209). Through *The Handmaid’s Tale’s* ‘Historical Notes,’ Atwood opens a window into future. Utilizing dystopian prophesy, Atwood points poignantly to near future dangers. However, the fact that humankind have weathered the environmental devastation to hold such a symposium for the study of past generations is an evidence of her ultimately optimistic vision. Atwood’s stance is one of paradox: she is as much as a pessimist that she is an optimist as hope inevitably is the everlasting concomitant of tragedy. Environmental activists themselves are no stranger to such a paradoxical standpoint. They ardently magnify how we are laying waste to everything around us only because they believe we can reverse our impending doom. Therefore, Atwood’s apocalyptic vision is to be construed as more of an attempt to avert the environmental decline by persuasive means rather than a dire prediction of the end of the world: “If we cultivate our Mother’s garden”, as Sharon Rose Wilson suggests, “the book implies the possibility of rebirth” (1993: 294).

“If fungus, one of the ‘lowliest’ of forms on a humanistic scale of values, were to go extinct tomorrow”, Christopher Manes argues, “the effect on the rest of the biosphere would be catastrophic,... In contrast, if *Homo sapiens* disappeared, the event would go virtually unnoticed by the vast majority of Earth’s life forms” (1996: 24). This is exactly the point Atwood makes in her trilogy. Planet earth will survive; however,

this survival may not include *Homo sapiens*. Toby notices that after the “Waterless Flood” almost all human life has been destroyed. However, annihilation of humanity is not synonymous with termination of all life on earth. She even wonders if planet earth with all its other creatures is better off now that humanity for all intents and purposes is out of the picture (Atwood, 2010: 3). Although the relevance of humanity’s survival is debatable with regard to the overall order of things, Atwood is not willing to forgo her innate desire of survival, at least in her earlier fiction. However, in *Maddaddam* Trilogy, we are faced with a strong possibility that the flawed *Homo sapiens* will be replaced by the genetically modified Crakers. Humanity’s likely extinction helps us better understand that “there are genetic dead ends in evolution,” Harland explains, “and that humans like us are likely candidates for extinction, given our lack of stewardship of the planet” not unlike the replaced Neanderthals (2016: 1). Therefore, it is safe to assume that Atwood is taking a more pessimistic approach in her recent fiction; however, I argue against a total abandonment of hope. If we are not to continue as *Homo sapiens*, at least some version of us will survive in Crakers. Besides the inter-species procreation, it is evident that the Crakers are increasingly becoming more “human” toward the end as they begin to learn to read and tell stories.

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Cooperation and Negotiating Meaning in Communication

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Abstract:

In communication, meaning is not inherent to words alone, but is affected by a multitude of factors pertaining to the linguistic and situational context. Furthermore, as J.L. Austin suggests in his Theory of Speech Acts, or as Paul Grice argues with his Cooperative Principle and his Theory of Conversational Implicature, in the act of communication there is often a gap between what the speaker (S) says and what the speaker means. Austin demonstrates that the speaker's meaning is not carried by their words, but by their communicative intention. In his turn, Grice focuses on the way the hearer (H) manages to interpret S's message correctly despite all the indirectness that characterizes ordinary communicative exchanges. And yet, there are numerous cases when H does not manage to decode S's intended meaning successfully. The paper analyzes such instances, focusing on the causes that generate misunderstanding and on ways to solve them by negotiation.

Keywords: missing links, illocutionary force (SA), cooperation, implying/implicature, explicature, making inferences

1. Speech Acts and Illocutionary Force

The gap between *what the speaker says* and *what the speaker means*¹ has preoccupied many linguists. Foremost among them is **J. L. Austin**, who explains the gap between the conceptual load of S's words and their intended meaning by focusing on the *action* S performs with the help of their utterance.

In other words, Austin argues that S uses the language not only to *say* things but also to *do* things, i.e. to perform Speech Acts or language functions. Thus, the gap between S's utterance (or locution) and their intended meaning is covered by the Speech Act (or *illocutionary force*) S gives to their utterance (what S does with the language).

According to the Speech Acts theory, the same utterance may acquire various illocutionary forces and perform various speech acts, for example:

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¹ Basing their analysis on oral communication, linguists referred to the speaker (S) and the hearer (H), but the phenomena analyzed are also valid for written communication, in which case the interlocutors are the sender (S) and the receiver (R).

What the speaker says (locution)	What the speaker means (intended meaning)	What the speaker does (Speech Act)
The door is open	Close the door, please	A request
	You may go, if you wish	A permission
	Someone may overhear us	A warning

Conversely, S can perform the same Speech Act by way of various utterances, as in:

In conclusion, what S *says* is not really important; what matters is S's *communicative intention*, which is carried, more or less indirectly, by the illocutionary force they endow their utterance with.

What the speaker says	What the speaker does (Speech Act)	Language/ Speech function	Indirectness
Close the window	Asks the receiver to close the window.	An order	Straightforward
Can/Could/Will/Would you (please) close the window?		A polite requests	More and more indirect
It's quite cold in here, don't you think?		An indirect request	Altogether indirect
I think you want me to turn into an icicle.		An indirect request, by way of irony	S <i>says</i> the very opposite of what they <i>mean</i>

a. Levels of meaning

The theoretical presentation above suggests that we must analyze S's meaning along 3 levels:

- a. lexical meaning, i.e. what S says (their locution)
- b. contextual meaning, i.e. what S's utterance means in that specific context of utterance
- c. the force S gives to their utterance, i.e. the action S performs with the help of their utterance and the intended meaning

Consider the following example:

- a. locution: *I have no knife*
- b. context, e.g. to police, at night, dark alley
- contextual meaning: *I'm not armed*
- c. illocutionary force: a request; asking police not to shoot.

b. Misunderstandings and negotiating meaning

The gap between what S says and what they mean often triggers misunderstandings, as in the following examples:

Model analysis 1. Classroom interaction (oral)

Teacher (to student being late): Nice to see you.
Student: You, too, teacher.
Teacher: I was being sarcastic.
Student: Oh!!!

S (the teacher) says: <i>Nice to see you.</i>	GAP	S means: <i>You are late again.</i>
S's illocutionary force (SA): criticizing, scolding		H (the student) interprets S's locution at face value (thinks it is a greeting) - does not get S's <i>illocutionary force</i>
S must reformulate, be specific, explain S says: <i>I was being sarcastic</i>	NO GAP	S means: <i>I was being sarcastic</i> H finally understands S's real meaning

Cause of misunderstanding: H does not interpret S's illocutionary force correctly

Model analysis 2. An SMS exchange

ME: Send 37 pgs.
SON: Sent. 27.
ME: Typical exaggeration.
SON: Mum. I said 27 + annexes. 30. Put down the sword.
ME: For God's sake, man. I was talking about me. That I exaggerate.
Son: Sorry.

Analysis:

Interlocutors: mother and son (both touchy)

Type of text: SMS exchange – “little text” (Halliday, 1994)

- no full sentences, still text (coherence & cohesion)
- no paralanguage

Linguistic context: previous discussions/exchanges

- Son talked about something that he wrote and wanted to show *me*

Non-linguistic context:

- touchy interlocutors
- previous conflicts, hurts

Linguistic analysis:

- 1: elliptical: Material Process, Goal elided (indirect object *me*),
- missing links: [the] 37 pgs [that you were telling me about]

2. elliptical, missing links: [I have already] sent [them. They are only] 27 [pgs, not 37]

3. *Typical exaggeration.*

- ambiguous: elliptical: the referent is not mentioned (Who is exaggerating?)

- illocutionary force: Mom is making fun of herself; but Son misunderstands referent

4. *Mum. I said 27 + annexes. 30.*

- full sentences: they show *irritation*

a. illocutionary force: explains/justifies himself (*I said ...*)

b. illocutionary force: asks Mom to stop attacking him (*Put down ...* - metaphor)

5. invocation of God, informal term of address, Tone

- long, full sentences, compound Tone 4 — 3: high emotional charge;

- illocution: clarifying and apologizing

6. *Sorry*: SA: accepting and apologizing; unmarked Tone 1

Cause of misunderstanding: S's ambiguity: *Typical exaggeration.*

o H misinterprets the referent of S's utterance

o H misinterprets the target of the criticism (thinks that his mother is criticizing him, not herself)

2. Language in Interaction: Cooperation and Conversational Implicature

Another great linguist who investigated the gap between what S *says* and what S *means* was Paul Grice, who approached the subject from the perspective of hearer/receiver (H/R). Trying to answer the question of how, with so much indirectness, communication is still successful (i.e. in most cases, H interprets S's intended meaning correctly), Grice formulated his *Cooperative Principle* and his theory of *Conversational Implicature*. Interlocutors are rational individuals, Grice argues, who "cooperate" in the act of communication. S often *implies/implicates* more meaning than what their words say (they leave out much of the information, i.e. missing links), or a different meaning than what their words say. In their turn, H *makes inferences* (i.e. educated guesses) regarding S's intended meaning and fills in the missing links according to their own personality, on the basis of shared background knowledge, of the situational context, etc., and thus interprets S's additional/different meaning.

Grice detailed his Cooperative Principle in four conversational Maxims, which describe the way S should behave for their message to get through unambiguously. They are:

- ✓ The maxim of **Quality**: S says things that they consider to be true
- ✓ The maxim of **Quantity**: S says no less and no more than is required
- ✓ The maxim of **Relevance**: S says something relevant (i.e. related) to the exchange going on
- ✓ The maxim of **Manner**: S says things clearly and in the order they occurred

In communication, however, S does not always *observe* the Maxims, but often *flouts* them intentionally. And yet, H still assumes that S is contributing rationally to the conversation.

Maxims	Observing the Maxim (implying more meaning)	Flouting the maxim (implying a different meaning)
Quality	A: <i>Dad, can you give me \$10?</i> B: <i>Sorry, son, I can't at the moment!</i> Implicature : I'll give you the money some other time	A: <i>Dad, can you give me \$10?</i> B: <i>Sure, I'm Bill Gates.</i> - B is obviously telling a lie (he is not Bill Gates); - he says the exact opposite of what he means i.e. S is flouting the Maxim of Quality by irony Implicature : he is not going to give the money
Quantity	A: <i>How do you like your daughter's boyfriend?</i> B: <i>A lot.</i> Implicature (missing link): [I like him]	A: <i>How do you like your daughter's boyfriend?</i> B: <i>Well, he's quite good-looking.</i> - B's utterance is more informative than necessary Implicature : B does not like him.
Relevance	A: <i>Do you know where John is?</i> B: <i>Over there.</i> Implicature (missing link): [I know where he is. He's] ...	A: <i>Do you know where Lucy is?</i> B: <i>Can you see that big hat over there?</i> Apparently, B's answer has no connection to A's question (not relevant); and yet: Implicature : Lucy is under that hat (wearing it)
Manner	<i>She got pregnant and got married.</i> Although by coordination (<i>and</i>) the 2 sentences are grammatically equal, change of order implies the order of the events. Implicature : She got married <i>because</i> she got pregnant	<i>This is quite interesting/unexpected ...</i> S is intentionally vague: they do not want to say whether they like or dislike the situation/idea ...

a. Implying more meaning: missing links

Ordinary communication (especially face-to-face conversation) is highly elliptical; this is because the interlocutors, especially those who are socially close, share a lot of background knowledge, so that they can fill in the missing information easily.

Ellipsis and missing links² also reduce social distance (the text sounds friendlier), and are therefore intensely exploited by advertising: some “little texts” are so sketchy and vague that one may wonder about their very textness. And yet, they are obviously coherent, their cohesion being semantic and logical, rather than structural. Consider the following text:

Model analysis 3. Implying more meaning

Marlboro Classics. Authentic American Style. Traditional Quality Label. Maximum comfort is great to wear. For strength & endurance.

Level 1: knowledge of the dictionary

The ad has practically no grammatical structure

- it consists of five orthographic sentences (separated by periods),
- but only one (the 4th) has a predicate
- the other four are mere noun phrases,
- each graphical sentence functions as an independent unit
- there are absolutely no explicit connective devices (e.g. no referential ties)

And yet: the receiver views them as *connected* because

- they have unity of meaning;
- the textness of this ad relies on semantic factors, e.g. on the lexical chain *Marlboro – authentic – style – etc.*

Level 2: knowledge of the world

- the graphical sentences are placed on the same sheet of paper
- they come sequentially (adjacent utterances);
- such “texts” are typical for the discourse of advertising, etc.
- in decoding such texts, we rely on:
 - our previous knowledge of *Marlboro* products (cigarettes, but also denim clothes);
 - other *Marlboro* ads we have seen (a lonely cowboy; connotations: of independence, of tradition, of rebellious casual wear; etc.)

Level 3: illocutionary force (SA)

Advertising = an urge for customers to buy those products;

² *Ellipsis* is mainly grammatical, i.e. a missing subject or auxiliary verb; conversely, *missing links* refer to pieces of information that are not spelled out.

Level 4. conversational implicature

- S leaves out much of the information, i.e. they implicate more meaning
- R fills out the missing links, i.e. they make inferences regarding the factual gaps,
 - by making educated guesses regarding what S wanted to say;
 - + according to their own personality, e.g. in interpreting connotations;
- R may get the following text:

Marlboro Classics [are] authentic[ally] American [in] style. [They are marked by a] traditional quality label. [They provide] maximum comfort [which] is great to wear. [They are made] for strength & endurance.

Obviously, the full version sounds artificial in the context of advertising, thoroughly lacking the immediacy and spontaneity the original text conveys. The language of advertising is specific, quite different from the Standard English of written texts. It is much closer to the texts produced in ordinary colloquial speech, where sentences are shorter and often elliptical.

b. Implying a different meaning. Flouting the Maxims

Model analysis 4. Implying and inferencing

Female keywords & their meanings

A: Fine.

B: This is the word women use at the end of any argument when they feel they are right but can't stand to hear you argue any longer. It means that you should shut up.

From *LaughNet*, Aug. 2004

Analysis

Situational context:

A = speaker, female

B = hearer, educated/knowledgeable in interpreting female attitudes;

- then speaker, interpreter of A's utterance

A: says (locution): *Fine!*

Paralanguage: negative (angry voice/facial expression)

SA (illocutionary force): - a refusal to continue to argue

- a request/order that her interlocutor stop

Cooperation: flouting the maxim of quality (saying the opposite of what she means: it is *not* fine)

- flouting the maxim of quantity (she is saying less than what she means)

- flouting the maxim of manner (she is being ambiguous)

Implicature: the situation is definitely not good, but ...

B: as H, makes inferences & interprets A's implicatures

- as S, makes further implicatures:

e.g. - that women are unreasonable;

- that men need to learn how to interpret their attitudes and words;

- that men should beware their bad temper

c. Implicature vs. explicature. Levels of meaning

Sperber & Wilson (2005) argue that *relevance* is by far the most important Maxim to govern communication. They argue, however, that pragmatic inference contributes not only to the *implicit* content of S's utterance, but also to truth-conditional aspects of *explicit* content. Consequently, they propose the term *explicature* (in opposition with Grice's *implicature*), i.e. information asserted *explicitly* by S, part of the *conceptual* meaning of the items.

e.g. A: *We're having a party tonight.*

B: *I'll bring a bottle.*

Implicature: A: [You are invited]

Implicature: B: * I'll come+.

Explicature: B: ... a bottle [of alcohol].

This also suggests that, for a correct interpretation of S's utterance, H must consider four levels of meaning. Consider the following example:

Model analysis 5. Four levels of meaning

A: *We are going to Scotland next month.*

B: *I know some excellent B&Bs there and I have an album.*

Analysis

A's contribution

Level 1: knowledge of the dictionary

Speaker B must establish the entire range of possible meanings of A's words:

- *we* = plural, self-including reference
- *go, Scotland, next month* – unambiguous

Level 2: knowledge of the world

Speaker B establishes the **referents** of the terms:

- *we* – deictic, includes A's family or friends, according to situation; B must rely on their shared background knowledge to identify the referents
- *go* – may mean: for touristic reasons, for educational purposes, etc. (shared background)
- *next month* – deictic, so relative, e.g. June, if the exchange takes place in May

Level 3: B's inferences regarding A's implicatures

- Speaker B fills in A's missing links based on their shared background

e.g. [My wife and I] *are going to Scotland next month* [for a holiday].

Level 4: decoding the *illocutionary force* (SA) of S's utterance,

- speaker A knows that speaker B has already been to Scotland (shared background),
- therefore, A is asking for information, help, ...

B's contribution

Level 1: knowledge of the dictionary

Speaker A must establish the entire range of possible meanings of A's words

- *know, some, excellent, there ...* – unambiguous
- *B&B* – ambiguous (several meanings)
- *album* – ambiguous (what kind?)

Level 2: knowledge of the world

Speaker A

- establishes the **referent** of *I* – person deictic, B's self-reference
- disambiguates *B&B*: Bread & Breakfast, i.e. very comfortable and quite inexpensive, mostly family-owned hotels/motels (A must use their pragmatic knowledge)
- *there* – place deictic, distal; anaphoric co-reference (i.e. to Scotland, mentioned by A)

Level 3: B's implicatures/explicatures – A's inferences

- Speaker A must fill in Speaker B's missing links
- e.g. *I know some excellent Bed & Breakfast* [hotels] (explicature) *there* [I can give you their addresses] (implicature)

and I have a [tourist] album (explicature) [of Scotland] (implicature)

Level 4: decoding the *illocutionary force* of B's utterance,

- Speaker B is informing A about some excellent opportunities in Scotland


- Speaker B is offering to help A with information

d. Misunderstandings and negotiating meaning

Thus, given the great number of missing links and the huge amount of indirectness that characterizes human exchanges, interlocutors must often negotiate meaning. This means that whenever H does not know what inferences to make, or does not make the correct inferences, S must reformulate their utterance and clarify the meaning.

The reasons for the misunderstandings are varied, and the following examples illustrate some such reasons:

Model analysis 6. Accent & relevance (*Snatch*, 2000, directing and script by Guy Ritchie)

<p>Mickey: Ya Tommy? Come about the caravan? Tommy: Mr. O'Neill. Mickey: Fuck, man. Call me Mickey. Tommy: How are you? Mickey: Eh, the weather's been kind to us, but the horses, you know... (referring to Tommy's companion): Fuck me! Would you look at the size of him? How big are you? Hey kids, how big is he? Kid: Big man, that's for sure. Mickey: Hey, Mam, come and look at the size of this fella. Bet you box a little, can't you, sir? Eh, you look like a boxer. Mickey's mother: Get out of the way, Mickey...see if the fellas would like a drink. Tommy: Oh, I could murder one. Mickey's mother: Be no murdering done around here, I don't mind telling ya. Mickey: ... Cup of tea for the big fella? Come on! Mickey's mother: Don't be silly, Mickey. Offer the man a proper drink, right? (asking Tommy) Is the big fella not coming with us? Tommy: Nah, he's minding the car. Mickey's mother: What does he think we are, thieves? Tommy: Oh, no, nothing like that, Miss O'Neill. He just...likes looking after cars. Mickey: Good dags. Do you like dags? Tommy: Dags? Mickey: What? Mickey's mother: Yeah, dags. Mickey: Dags. You like dags? Tommy: Oh, dogs. Sure, I like dags. I like caravans more. (Mickey nods him in) Mickey's mother: You're very welcome.</p>	
<p>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ni4tEtuTccc&hd=1</p>	

Analysis

Situational context: Gangster Tommy and boxer Gorgeous George visit the camp of Irish Travelers (gypsies, referred to as “pikeys”) to buy a caravan from them. The sellers are Mickey O’Neill (Brad Pitt) and his mother.

Conflict 1: Between Mickey and Tommy

Tommy is concerned for their own and their car’s safety and wants to get out as soon as possible. But Mickey and his mother are making a business deal (negotiating for the price of the caravan), so they want to throw their interlocutor off the track; therefore, under the pretense of being polite, they intentionally digress from the subject, e.g.

- talking about the “size” of Tommy’s companion;
- even including the children around in the discussion;
- talking about dogs;
- offering him a drink; Mickey feigns British politeness and offers him tea, etc.

Cause of misunderstanding:

Tommy does not understand what Mickey and his mother are saying because

- of their strange accent, e.g. they say *dags* instead of “dogs”
- Mickey is flouting the Maxim of Relevance, i.e. the reference to dogs is totally unrelated to the subject (although it may be interpreted as metaphor for Gorgeous George watching the car).

Mickey: Good dags. Do you like dags?

Tommy: Dags?

Mickey: What?

Mickey’s mother: Yeah, dags.

Mickey: Dags. You like dags?

Conflict 2. Between Mickey’s mother and Tommy

- Mickey’s mother tells her son to offer their guests a drink
- Tommy accepts (SA) with the slangy idiom *I could murder one*.
- Tommy’s mother makes the inference that he is alluding to the violence typical among gypsy communities (cultural stereotype)
 - she takes offence and becomes defensive: *Be no murdering done around here, I don’t mind telling you*.

Cause of conflict: H interprets implicature where none was intended.

Model analysis 7. Interpreting metaphor (*My Fair Lady*, 1964, directed by George Cukor, book and lyrics by Alan Jay Lerner)

Eliza: ... I know what lessons cost as well as you do and I'm ready to pay.
Higgins: How much?
Eliza: Now you're talkin'. I thought you'd come off it for a chance to get back a bit of what you chucked at me last night. You'd had a drop in, 'i't you?

Higgins: How much do you propose to pay me for these lessons?
Eliza: Oh, I know what's right. My lady friend gets French lessons for 15 pence an hour from a real French gentleman. You wouldn't have the face to ask me the same for teachin' me my own language as you would for French. I won't give more than a shillin'. Take it or leave it.

Higgins: Do you know, Pickering, if you think of a shilling not as a simple shilling, but as a percentage of this girl's income, it works out as fully equivalent of...er...60 or 70 pounds from a millionaire. By George, it's enormous. It's the biggest offer I ever had.

Eliza: Sixty pounds? What are you talkin' about? Where would I get pounds? I never offered you pounds!
Higgins: Hold your tongue!
Eliza: But I ain't got 60 pounds!

My Fair Lady (1964)

http://www.script-o-rama.com/movie_scripts/m/my-fair-lady-script-transcript.html



Analysis

Situation: Eliza has come to ask Higgins to teach her good English so that she can become *a lady in a flow'r shop 'stead of sellin' at the corner of Tottenham Court Road*. She is ready to pay for the lessons and is distressed because *he treats [her] as if [she] was dirt*.

Conflict:

- different values, due to widely different social statuses of the interlocutors;
 - Eliza evaluates Higgins' financial situation by her own standards:
 - she thinks he needs to work to make money
 - she thinks he would be pleased *to get back a bit of what you chucked at [her]* the night before
 - Eliza assesses people by the standards of her own class:
 - she thinks Higgins had been drunk the night before
 - she thinks he had been *irresponsibly generous* because he had been drunk
- Eliza's inability to differentiate between literal and metaphoric speech
 - Higgins evaluates Eliza's offer correctly, in terms of

percentage of a person's income

... if you think of a shilling not as a simple shilling, but as a percentage of this girl's income, it works out as fully equivalent of or 60 or 70 pounds from a millionaire.

○ He is impressed by the sacrifice the girl is willing to make to improve her status

By George, it's enormous. It's the biggest offer I ever had.

○ Eliza interprets his words literally: she thinks Higgins is actually asking for 60 pounds

Causes of misunderstanding:

- Eliza's insufficient knowledge of the world (pragmatic knowledge)
- her inability to think by the standards of Higgins' social class (socio-linguistic competence)

Conclusion

Starting from the gap between *what S says* and *what S means*, the analyses above, based on various types of texts, survey the successive levels along which the sender (S) conveys meaning and the way the receiver (H/S) bridges this gap to interpret the speaker's meaning correctly. Illocutionary force, as explained by Austin's *Speech Act theory*, cooperation, as explained by Grice's *Cooperative Principle*, and conversational implicature warrant successful communication in most cases. And yet, given the great amount of indirectness of ordinary conversations, there are numerous instances of misunderstanding, therefore interlocutors must negotiate meaning on a case-to-case basis.

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Cuvinte de substrat? Da. Cuvinte dacice? Nu

Dan Ungureanu*

Stratum Words? Yes
Dacian Terms? No

Abstract:

The substrate words in Romanian are assumed to be Dacian, Thracian or Balkanic. At closer inspection, many of them have cognates in Italy, which rules out a Balkanic origin; or Northern Italy and France, which indicates a Celtic origin.

Keywords: Substrate lexic, Historical Linguistics, Romanian language, Celtic

Internetul a schimbat destul de mult natura studiilor lexicologice. Datele disponibile pe Internet sunt, cel mai adesea, compilate din mai multe surse, fiabile sau nu. În această situație, rezultatul e anonim și nu mai știm care lingvist cauționează, prin cercetările lui, originea unui cuvânt sau a altuia.

Trebuie să lămurim o confuzie: cuvânt de substrat nu înseamnă neapărat „cuvânt dacic”. Despre limba dacilor nu știm, științific, nimic. Avem un număr mic de nume de persoane, care pot însemna orice, un număr de toponime, care pot însemna orice. A spune că un cuvânt „e dacic” înseamnă, științific vorbind, că există în română și în albaneză, DAR nu există în nici o altă limbă cu care româna e înrudită. Pe măsură ce avansează cercetarea însă, diverse cuvinte se regăsesc în dialectele din Italia și Franța. Cuvintele noastre dacice, patriotic-neoșe, se împuținează.

Faptul că un cuvânt există în română și în albaneză, dar nu și în alte limbi, nu înseamnă mare lucru. Etimologia lexicului albanez are încă multe lacune. De exemplu: *brâu*, *brâne* există în albaneză și română. E oare cuvânt de substrat? Nu. Cuvântul există în limbile germanice, de unde a fost împrumutat în proto-slavă. E probabil un împrumut slav vechi.

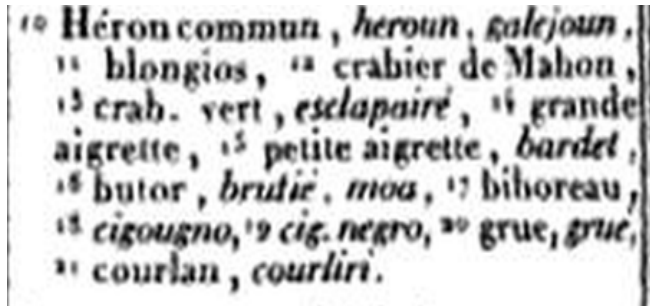
Barză? În Oltenia și Banatul de munte a existat masculinul *bardoș* id. Adjectivul *barz*, *breaz* „cu dungă albă pe bot” a fost chiar mai

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răspândit. A fost legat de alb. *bardhë* „alb”. În provensală există *bardet* „petite aigrette, héron garzette”, Ardea garzetta, egreta mică, pasăre asemănătoare berzei.

Tot în Franța, în regiunea Morez, există adj. *bayard* „cu pată albă pe bot” (din **bard*, contaminat cu fr. *bayard* „murg”).

Vedem că ambele cuvinte sunt, într-adevăr, de substrat, și probabil înrudite între ele.



(în Ricard Christophe de Villeneuve, *Statistique du département des Bouches du Rhône avec atlas*, Marseille, 1821, p. 886)

Vom discuta pe jos cercetările lui I. I. Russu și ale lui Grigore Brâncuș, oarecum consacrate.

Ion I. Russu, *Etnogeneza românilor*, 1981, cuprinde 168 de cuvinte care ar fi, după părerea autorului, de substrat. Ion I. Russu a fost de meserie istoric și arheolog, nu lingvist. Cartea sa e alcătuită din conspecte oțioase cu etimologii oferite de alți autori, citate in extenso, și acceptate sau respinse temperamental.

Lista lui Russu

Cuprindem mai jos 155 din cele 168 de cuvinte propuse de Ion I. Russu ca dacice, în cartea sa *Etnogeneza românilor*:

abur, acăța, a adia, a ameți, amurg, a anina, aprig, argea, a arunca, baci, baier, baligă, baltă, barză, bască, balaur, a băga, băiat, beregată, boare, bordei, brad, brândușă, brânză, brusture, a se bucura, bunget, burlan, burtă, butuc, butură, buză, caier, cață, căciulă, căpușă, căpută, cătun, cârlan, cârlig, copac, copil, creț, a cruța, a curma, curpăn, cursă, a dărâma, darari, daș, a dărâma, a deretica, a descurca, a desghina, a dezbăra, dop, droaie, fărâmă, gard, gata, gălbează, genune, gheară, ghes, ghimpe, ghionoaie, grapă, gresie, groapă, grui, grumaz, grunz, a se gudura, gușă, a încurca, a înghina, a înhurzi, a înseila, a întrema, leagăn, a lepăda, lespede, a leșina, mal, mazăre, măceș, a mādări, măgură, mărcat, mătură, melc, mieri, mire, mistreț, a mișca, a mușca, mânz,

morman, moș, mugure, murg, mușat, năpârcă, nițel, noian, păstaie, a păstra, pânză, pârâu, prunc, pururea, a răbda, reazem, a ridica, rânză, sarbăd, a scăpăra, scrum, a se scula, a scurma, sâmbure, spânz, sterp, străghiată, strepede, strugure, strungă, a sugruma, a sugușa, șale, șiră, șopârlă, șoric, șut, tare, țap, țarc, țăruș, a se uita, undrea, a urca, urcior, urdă, a urdina, urdoare, vatră, a vătăma, vătui, viezure, viscol, zară, zăr, a zburda, zestre, zgardă, a zgârâia.

Cuvinte de origine latină

a arunca, baier, fărâmbă, gușă, lespede, a leșina, a mișca, a mușca, pânză, a ridica, a zgârâia sunt romanice și deci nu pot fi nici dacice, nici de substrat.

a arunca – provensal *arrancar*, franco-provensal Entremont *arroutschi* „jeter”, *poate și* Calabr. Mesoraca *arringare* „lanciare, gettare”.

baier, baieră – din lat. *baiula*, romanș sursilvan *baila* I f, 1. Seil n, Strick m, Leitseil n. – „funie, leșă” și *bera* II f, (vereinz.) kurzer Hanfstrick; ~ da rentar, Bindestrick m. – „funie” (Alexi Decurtins).

fărâmbă < *a sfărâma* < **ex-fragmentare* x **ex-formare*, atestat în Italia de S.

gușă – ladină *goš* „gușă, goâtre, Kropf”: Fassano, Val Gardena *gosc*, Selvano *gos*, tosc. *gozzo*, Rovigno *gușo*, fr. *gosier*.

lespede, din *lapidem xlausa*, cuvânt-valiză.

Există și în italiană asemenea cuvinte hibride – *pietra + lastra = pyastra* (Prunetta, Toscana).

a leșina, romanș *lišná* „a aluneca”, sard *lascinare* „a aluneca” *Sprach-und Sachatlas Italiens*, harta 847, „sdruciolare”.

a mișca, meșa „a se mișca” Liguria, *Sprach-und Sachatlas Italiens*, harta 1647, „non ti muovere”.

a mușca are echivalentul *muccicare* bine păstrat în toată Italia la sud de Roma: marchigiano Ancona *moška*, Perugia *moska*, Sicilia Calabria etc. Sardinia *mossiya*.

Sprach-und Sachatlas Italiens, harta 1109, „morde?”.

Pânză, Lombardia Trentino Veneto, *panižel*, „feșe de copil” – termen secundar care a înlocuit lent mai vechiul *teară* < *tela*.

a zgârâia < lat. *excoriare*.

baligă, baltă, beregată, boare, bordei, brad, buză, gheară, mal, măgură, mânz, sterp, țap sunt de substrat, dar răspândite și în alte limbi și zone geografice; *baligă, baltă, sterp, țap* în Italia, *beregată, mânz* în limbile celtice, *bordei*, germanic, *buză, mal*, în toată Europa.



gheară, celtic (cf. port. și sp. *garra*, labă cu gheare, ca cea de urs sau de vultur). Nimic specific.

balegă, în sudul Franței, în zona occitană. **Languedoc:**

Claude François Achard, *Dictionnaire de la Provence et du Comté-Venaissin: Vocabulaire provençal 1785*, *velego*: vilainie, saloperie, ordures.

J. T. Avril, *Dictionnaire provençal-français, suivi d'un vocabulaire français-provençal*, Edouard Cartier, Imprimeur, Apt, 1839: *veleguo*: crotte.

Étienne Garcin, *Nouveau dictionnaire provençal-français*, Fabre, Draguignan, 1841: *veleguo*: crotte que l'on prend dans les rues, saloperie, ordures.

Absent în dicționarul lui Léger Gary (occitană din Tarn) din 1845.

Jacques Azaïs, *Dieu, l'homme et la parole, ou la langue primitive*, Imprimerie de Mlle Paul, Béziers 1853: fiente des bêtes à laine: *bélégo* languedocien (p. 267).

Gabriel Azaïs, *Dictionnaire des idiomes languedociens étymologique, comparatif et technologique*, Delpech Imprimeur, Béziers, 1864: *belego*: excrément des bêtes à laine en forme de boulettes, crotte /.../ crottes attachées à la toison des animaux.

Frédéric Mistral, *Lou trésor dóu Felibrige*, 1878: vol. 2, p. 1094: *velego*, *belego*: flocon de laine grasse, mèche de cheveux gras, gringuenaude, (ordure attachée à l'anus) crotte attachée à la laine ou au poil.

Louis Rouquier, *Contes a la troubilho*, 1925, fără editură, Levallois-Perret, conte *Lou Roumiu*, glosat *fumier de mouton*. Dialectul din Puisserguier, Hérault.

Jean-Louis Garrot, *Lexique des mots patois employés à Barre (Tarn)*:

bélégo glosat *fumier sec des brebis*. Și La Salvetat, Olargues, Hérault.

Périgord St. Pierre de Chignac *laboulego* „noroi” și în toată Italia de Nord.

bilaka, Ceppomorelli, Lombardia, *Sprach-und Sachatlas Italiens*, harta 1174, „stercio di cavallo”.

bilaka, *bulaka*, Lombardia *Sprach-und Sachatlas Italiens*, harta 1173, „la bovina”.

bagule, Lombardia *Sprach-und Sachatlas Italiens*, harta 1083, „cacherelli”.

belegot, Ligornetto *Sprach-und Sachatlas Italiens*, harta 1077, „lana”.

baltă - *palta*, *pauta* tot nordul Italiei.

boare, cf. ital. *boria* din **buria* > *boare* ca *muria* > *moare*. Meyer-Lübke REW 1219. *boria* atestat în Italia: Piemont, și coloniile galo-italice din Molise și Sicilia; Franța *esbaura* Annonay „vânt care usucă”; Sicilia, Bronte (colonie galo-italică) *boria*; Sardinia Cagliari *boria* etc.

bordei <germanicul *bordel* „căsuță” probabil împrumut vechi germanic din sec. III-V.

brad – După Ahmad Al-Jallad, Universitatea din Leida (comunicare personală) se poate reconstrui numele ienupărului în proto-semită ca *burāth*, (← Accad. *burash*, hebr. *berosh*, aramaic *brātā*).

Dioscoride *Peri hyles iatrikes, De materia medica*, cartea I, 102, *kyparissos*, lat. *cupressus*; 103, *arkeuthos*, ienupăr ; 104 *βράθν*, *sabina*; 105 *cedru* – ceea ce arată clar că e vorba de un conifer, fiind enumerat printre alte conifere.

„ (...) pasaj interpolat) există două feluri de *brathy*. Unul are acele ca de chiparos, dar mai spinos, cu miros greu, înțepător, de ars. E un arbore pitic, care se întinde mai mult pe orizontală. Unii îi folosesc frunzele în loc de tămâie. Celălalt are frunzele ca cele de tamarisc (*Tamarix* sp.). Acele ambelor specii domolesc ulcerările pielii și flegmoanele și cu miere curăță buboaiile...”

Plinius (*Naturalis Historia*, lib. XII, XXXIX):

petunt igitur în Elymaeos arborem bratum, cupresso fusae similem, exalbidis ramis, iucundi odoris accensam – „merg să caute în munții Zagros, în Elam, un arbore *bratus*, ca și *jneapănul* cu ramuri albe, și miros plăcut dacă se aprind”.

Descrierea lui Pliniu se poate referi la *Juniper* sp. Dacă da, atunci un împrumut iranian nu e verosimil.

Și *herba Sabinae* = *σαβίναβράθν* în Glos. Servii.

Hesychius, Glosar *βράθν*: *πόατιςθεοῖςθνομένη* – *brathy* e o iarbă (poa) folosită ca tămâie zeilor.

buză – nespecific, în toate limbile Europei:

limbi romanice: *um boz / dua boza* ALI s.v. *Labbra*, p. 46 Prigelato.

Corticiasca Ticino *bazleta* „buze mari” *Sprach-und Sachatlas Italiens*, harta 106; romanș *biutscha* „bot, a face bot”; Lombard Valtellina *bésc'iulaid*.

lat. *basiare*, din celtă. Probabil termen celtic.

mal proto-Germanic **melha* “banc de nisip”: cf. Old Norse *melr* „dună de nisip”; isl. *melur* „banc de pietriș”. Termenul germanic a fost împrumutat în Saami *miel'li* „mal abrupt nisipos”; velș *moel* „deal”; fr. Jèrriais (insula Jersey) *mielle* „dună de nisip”; rus. *мель* „banc de nisip”; *садиться на мель* „a ajunge la mal”.

mal nu poate fi dacic, pentru motivul că există în mai toate limbile Europei, și nu are nimic specific. Iar, semantic, e foarte distant de alb. *mal* „munte”.

cătun nu are atestări vechi în daco-română (un toponim *Katun* în anul 1210, spune *Dicționarul Etimologic al Academiei*, fără să citeze sursa, (cartea lui N. Drăganu, *Românii în veacurile IX - XIV pe baza toponimiei și a onomasticeii*) și fără să menționeze că e atestat în Slovacia, nu în România, înainte de venirea românilor în Slovacia, izolat, îndoielnic). Nu e atestat în Transilvania, (e absent și în cuprinzătorul *Lexicon de la Buda* din 1825); rar în Moldova, *cotună*, cu vocalism slav. Frecvent în sudul Munteniei; are toate semnalmentele unui împrumut tardiv dintr-o limbă balcanică. Contra ipotezei lui Drăganu, v. și obiecțiile lui István Kniesza, *Pseudorumänen in Pannonien und in den NordKarpethien*, în *Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis - Tome I*. 1935, (pag. 97-220), pag. 166.

gata, gard, groapă sunt slave. *burlan* e turcesc, un împrumut târziu, din tc. *borulama* „țevărie” din tc. *boru* „țevă”.

25 de cuvinte dintr-o listă de 155, pe lângă multe alte etimologii controversate, 15 % au cu siguranță alte origini decât cele oferite de autor. Russu e un lingvist slab. Uneori refuză etimologii evidente pentru dificultăți fonetice sau semantice; alteori trece peste ele cu neglijență.

Grigore Brâncuș

Grigore Brâncuș, în mai multe studii printre care *Istoria limbii române*, 2005, p. 48–49, oferă următoarea listă, nu mult diferită:

abure, argea, baci, balaur, bală, balegă, baltă, bardz (alb), bască (lână tunsă), bâlc, brad, brânză, brâu, brusture, buc, bucur, bunget, buză, călbează, căpușă, cătun, ceafă, cioară, cioc, ciucă „vârf de deal, pisc”, ciuf „moț de păr”, ciump, a ciupi, ciut (și șut), coacăză, copac, copil, curpen, cursă, fărâmă, fluier, gard, gata, ghimpe, ghionoaie, ghiuj, grapă, gresie, groapă, grumaz, grunz „bulgăraș, cocoloș”, gușă, a hămesi, jumătate, îndelete, leurdă „usturoi sălbatic”, mal, mare *adj.*, mazăre, măgar, măgură, mărar, mânz, moș, mugur, murg, mușcoi, năpârcă, noian, pârâu, pupăză, rață, rânză, sarbăd, a scăpăra, scrum, sâmbure, spânz, strepede, strugure, strungă, șopârlă, știră, țap, țarc, țeapă, urdă, vatră, viezure (și vizuină), zară, zgardă.

Nesigure: băiat, băl, brâncă (boala cu acest nume) bulz, burduf, burtă, codru, Crăciun, creț, a cruța, a curma, daltă, a dărâma, fluture, lai „negru”, mătură, mire, negură, păstaie, scorbură, spuză, stăpân, sterp, stână, traistă.

Cuvinte din substratul italian

Printre multe altele: *brâu/brâne*, *ciuf*, *cioară*, *grapă*, *rață*, *stearpă*, *țap* sunt de substrat, dar vin din substratul italian, fiindcă le găsim în Italia.

brâu, ital. *brena*, în Veneto, *Sprach-und Sachatlas Italiens*, harta 1234, „briglia”.

proto-sl. **brъnja* ”hamuri, suit of armour” slava veche *brъnje* ‘harness, suit of armour’; rus *brónjá*, *bron* f. ‘zale, hamuri’; sârb *brъnjica* ‘botniță’ ceha veche *brně* ”armură” din proto-germanic. **brunjō*- ‘hamuri, breastplate’ Goth. *brunjo* f.; OHG *brunna*, *brunia*; MHG *brünne*, *brünje* ‘harness, coat of mail’; germ. *Brünne* „diverse armuri, cămașă de zale etc.”; OE *byrne* f.; OS *brunnia* f.; ON *brynja* f. (Saskia Pronk-Tiethoff, s. v.).

Termenul italian și cel românesc sunt mult mai apropiate, fiindcă au sensul de *hamuri*. Și în germ. și în slavă sensul de *zale*, *armură* e cel mai frecvent, cel de *hamuri* aproape inexistent.

ciuf, ital. *ciuffo*.

cioară, Ital. *čola*, *čaola*, *čoris* în *Sprach-und Sachatlas Italiens*, harta 502, ”cornacchia” Veneto, Ladinia, Friuli, dar și Piemont; Provence *tsaurio* Névache, *chàoulia* Barcelonnette.

grapă – a fost neglijată înrudirea cu friul. *grapa* (SSI, harta 1430 „erpice”) considerat de lingviști grăbiți ca fiind un slavism din friulană. Dar provens. *crebi* Puy-de-Dôme „grapă” ne arată că termenul există la un nivel romanic foarte vechi.

rață, în Friuli și Emilia Romagna, Bologna *rizzòn* „rățoi” / Franța, occitan *ritou* masc. St. Pierre de Chignac, Périgord; *rit*, *rital*, *ritard*, *ritàs*, *riton* masc. (Aveyron, Lot, Tarn, Lot-et-Garonne, Tarn-et-Garonne); *rita* fem. ibid. + Cantal, Gironde, Lozère. (Thésoc) // Jean Bodon, *La montanha negra*: Sul ser, tres *ritas* venguèron nadar: la *rita* negra primièira, puèi la grisa, puèi la blanca. / Malvezin, p. 254. / *rite*, masc. *riton* Périgord. *rit* Montpellier.

stearpă, în toată Italia.

țap, în jurul Romei, *tsappu* *Sprach-und Sachatlas Italiens*, harta 1080, „becco”.

Cuvinte latine

fluier, *jumătate*, *indelete*, *negură*, *spuză* sunt latine.

flabeolum, *dimidietas*, *dilecte*, *nebula*, *spodia* – cu evoluție fonetică normală.

nebula dă în nordul Italiei *nivura* (Liguria) și *nigula* (Lombardia, Veneto) și chiar *negula* (Latsch Zuoz, românș, Elveția) *nugra* (Olivoto,

Canton Ticino) și, *nuru* (Chironico, Canton Ticino) și *un nür, negür* (Corticiasca, Ticino).

SSI, harta 364, (*il cielo e*) *nuvoloso*.

fluier are echivalenți decenti în franceza veche, occitană și catalană: fr. Iohannes de Garlandia *De mensurabili musica*, append. 15, 25: Et iste modus sumitur *flaiolis*. // Guillaume de Machaut, *Dit dou Lion*: Au *flaiol* et au taburel; occit. *fiular*, a fluiera, Saint-Bonnet-le-Château *fyura*, ALF harta 1231 „siffler”.

măgar e un balcanism de origine semitică (proto-semitic **ḥimār-*, accadian *imēru*, ugaritic *hmr*, aramaic *ḥāmārā*, hebr. חמור *ḥamor* „măgar” > greacă *gomár* > alban. *gomár* > bulg. *marapemagare* > rom.); *mărar* din gr. *Μάραθρον*.

măgură are, desigur, echivalent în albaneză, ceea ce nu înseamnă nimic. Mai există și *Mogorro* în Sardinia, și cuvântul a existat și în Spania: *Cartulari de Sant Cugat de Valles*, act de vânzare, anul 908: usque ad collum inter duos signos et inde vadit usque ad collum que dicunt Collo Formici et pergit per summa *mucera* de monte Cavallare...

Italia, Istria, Pirano *Monte Mogoron*.

Spania Sierra de Cuenca *Mogorrita*, *Mogorra de la Hoya*, *Mogorrón*.

Spania Avila *Mogorra de Robledillo*, *Mogorra de(l) Helechar*.

Spania Toledo *Mogorro*; Spania Extremadura Caceres *Mogorro del Vilano*.

Sardinia Oristano *Mogoredda* (transcr. ital. hipercorect. *Mogorella*) și *Mogoro*.

Sardinia Nuoro *Monte Maguri*. etc. etc. etc.

E vorba de un cuvânt mediteranean vechi, care n-are nimic specific dacic: *ghionoaie* e, desigur, derivat din *găunos* < *caună*, despre care au existat discuții lungi, și care e latin.

mare adj. e celtic.

Lingviștii români au afirmat că nu pot exista cuvinte celtice în română. Cu toate acestea, Gallia Cisalpină acoperea tot nordul Italiei (Aosta, Piemont, Liguria, Trento, Tirol, Lombardia, Veneto, Friuli, Emilia) 100 000 de kmp, aproape o treime din teritoriul peninsulei Italice. Galia Cisalpină era la 300 de km de Roma. Celții care atacă Roma vin din Sena Gallia, de la 300 de km de Roma. Romanii cuceresc și romanizează Galia Cisalpină, dar populația acesteia e una celtică. În zonele înalte ale Alpilor, romanii ajung tardiv, în jurul erei noastre. Între Milano și Como sunt 60 de km. Pe verticală. Romanii așteaptă două secole după cucerirea Mediolanului ca să urce pieptiș și să cucerească vârful Alpilor. Putem deci, presupune că latina din Gallia

Cisalpină era o latină învățată de celți. *O treime din Italia e locuită de celți romanizați târziu.*

Evoluții fonetice inexplicabile: *quattuor* > *patru*; *equa* > *iapă* se pot explica prin limba galilor (*patru*, *epo-*, veș *pedwar*).

Pe lista cuvintelor nesigure, *băl*, *bălai*, *daltă* sunt slave.

A afirma că *daltă* e dacic, în condițiile în care celelalte nume de unelte sunt slave (clește, nicovală, lopată, greblă) e neștiințific.

mătură e slav; deși dificultățile fonetice sunt mari, a-l explica prin substrat e o înlocuire de tip *obscurum per obscurius*, a explica ceva nedeslușit prin ceva încă și mai neclar.

scorbură e probabil latin, fiindcă are echivalenți dialectali în Italia (SSI harta 534 (*un albero*) *incavato*, arbore scorburos:

Rovegno, Liguria *zgarbu*, și Corneliano d'Alba *žgarbela* (scorbură) Mombaruzzo *žgarbulon*.

stăpân posibil iranian, *sterp* din substratul italian.

stăpân e de origine iraniană. Triburile iraniene au locuit în Moldova și Dobrogea în Antichitate, apoi s-au retras, și o parte din ei au revenit cu maghiarii în sec. IX. Are acelaș sufix ca și *cioban*: persanul *ciupan* چوپان <iran. veche **fšupāna* <* fšu- „oaie, vită” și * pān- „a păzi” venit din persană în turcă sau cumană, *çoban*. Turcmenă *çopan*, azeră *çoban*, uzbekă *cho'pon*, kazahă *иопан* șopan; uigură *çopan*. Termenul e analizabil în vechea persană (oaie+păzitor), deci e persan.

traistă din gr. *τάγιστρον*, *ταγιστήριον* „sac pentru mâncare” atestat tardiv, la Nicetas Choniates, sec. XII, din gr. bizantină *ταγίζω* „a hrăni”, atestat și el târziu, abia în Teofan Cronograful, sec. IX. Termen militar. Primele contexte se referă la hrana cailor.

Decent etimologizat în DEX (nu s-o fi uitat în DEX academicianul Brâncuș?).

88 de cuvinte „sigure”, și un total de 113 cuvinte. Dintre acestea:

balegă, bălai, baltă, brad, brâu, buză, cătun,

cioară, ciuf, fărâcă, fluier, gard,

gata, ghionoaie, grapă, groapă, gușă,

jumătate, îndelete, mal, mare, măgar,

măgură, mărar, rață, țap, daltă,

mătură, negură, scorbură, spuză, stăpân,

sterp, traistă.

34 de cuvinte cu etimologie cunoscută și care sigur NU fac parte din substratul dacic al limbii române. E vorba de aproape o treime.

Lista e foarte șubredă, chiar pentru un academician.

Faptul că un cuvânt există în română și albaneză nu înseamnă, automat, că e cuvânt de substrat sau dacic. Româna și albaneza au în comun cel puțin cinci straturi distincte de vocabular:

- cuvinte de substrat în română, autohtone în albaneză,
- împrumuturi celtice vechi în cele două limbi,
- latine moștenite în română, împrumutate din lat. în albaneză, slave, grecești, turcești.

Concluzii

Putem vorbi despre un vocabular de substrat în limba română. Substrat, însă, nu înseamnă neapărat „dacic”. E posibil să existe cuvinte dacice în substratul limbii române, dar, cum cunoaștem foarte puține cuvinte dacice, unul e cert, *roborasta / brusture*, din Dioscoride, și al doilea e probabil (druete „lemn”).

Un cuvânt care există în română și albaneză (dar nu e latin nici slav) nu trebuie imediat identificat ca fiind dacic, tracic sau ilir, ci trebuie verificat dacă nu există și în alte limbi romanice.

Cuvinte care există deja în Italia și Franța, dar nu în latină, pot fi puse pe seama substratului italic prelatin, a substratului celtic din Italia și Franța, și poate și a substratului pre-celtic. Alte cuvinte (*brad, măgură, mal*) au o răspândire mare în Europa și nu au nici un specific local.

Substratul limbii române **NU** e un tot unitar, ci o categorie negativă – cuvinte vechi, dar care nu sunt nici latine, nici slave.

De aceea, tentative ca cea a lui Sorin Paliga, *Etymological Lexicon of the Indigenous (Thracian) Elements in Romanian*, 200 de pagini de cuvinte și toponimie presupus traco-dacice, fără nici un cuvânt dacic – sunt supuse eșecului de la bun început. Cartea, finanțată de compania de transportat gunoaie a lui Silviu Prigoană, Rosal Grup, cu care Sorin Paliga a făcut afaceri în perioada în care era primar al sectorului III București, este și ea reciclabilă.

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JESS

A Sociolinguistic Study of Conversations in Chinua Achebe's *A Man of the People*

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Abstract:

This paper examines sociolinguistic features of conversational interactions among characters in Achebe's *A Man of the People*. The aim is to differ from the largely stylistic examination of the text, and therefore, to study conversations in the mediated arena of literature to see how societal structures and beliefs are projected through the voices of fictive characters. For data, all the conversations in the text were sampled and analysed, using ethnographic theories with particular reference to Hymes' SPEAKING.

Our findings reveal that social and contextual variables such as cultural norms, topics, gender, situational impositions, etc. influence the interactions between and/ or among the characters in the text. These, as our findings reveal, constrain the linguistic choices made by the characters. These social-contextual variables also facilitate readers' understanding of both the text and the world views advanced by the writer through the voices of the characters.

This paper concludes that analyzing literary texts most especially prose works using Hymes' SPEAKING aids a better understanding of the texts and the world views projected in the texts.

Keywords: Sociolinguistics, Ethnography of Communication, A Man of the People, texts, and conversational interactions

Introduction

Since its publication prior to the first military intervention into Nigerian politics in 1966, Achebe's novel, *A Man of the People* has continued to attract the attention of both the literary scholars and linguists of different orientations. Within the purview of linguistics, for example, the text has been explored by scholars (of Okunoye and Odebunmi (2003); Osisanwo (2004); Faniran (2005); Brown (2005); Adjei (2015); Bamigboye (2015); Ifechelobi and Ifechelobi (2016); etc.). Generally speaking, these works have largely concentrated on the pragmatic, stylistic, sociolinguistic and paralinguistic features of the novel. Besides, using the literary analytic perspectives, the text has

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equally been analysed by variants of scholars (e.g. see Jappe, 2001; Dwivedi, 2008; etc.).

While Ifechelobi and Ifechelobi (2016) is an analysis of the use of Pidgin in *A Man of the People*, the present study, unlike earlier works on the text, is preoccupied with a sociolinguistic analysis of conversational interactions among characters in the text using Hyme's theory of ethnography of communication (Hyme's SPEAKING). The study is inspired by the need to differ from the existing trend in the literature, and therefore, to study conversations in the mediated arena of literature with a view to examining how societal structures and beliefs are projected via the voices of fictive characters. The text was extensively examined and only conversations between characters were sampled and analyzed against ethnographic theories. An analysis of these social contextual variables in the text would facilitate readers' understanding of both the text and world views advanced by the writer through the voices of the characters.

Language, Society and Literature

Language is a unifying factor that connects members of a particular society together in their interactions and interrelationship. It is a veritable instrument of social integration and cohesion. Besides, it is an indispensable tool of information dissemination. Without language, human interactions would be a herculean task. Little wonder that Adeyanju (2002: 527) argues that: "Man cannot... part with language and remain himself in terms of creative ingenuity intellectual capacity and social upliftment above all other creatures".

Sociolinguistics is a branch of linguistics which studies the *relationship between language and society* (cf. Hudson, 1996; Holmes, 2001). It studies language as it is used by human beings in social situations. This social situation commonly known as *context* exerts tremendous influence on the form of language to be used as well as the meaning to be read to utterances (cf. Stockwell, 2002: 1). Language and society are closely related to the extent that without language, members of any society or community cannot relate meaningfully with one another. A society's language is a repository and transmitter of the culture, values, social norms and habits as well as the world-vision of that society (Dare, 2000: 2). For Abdullahi-Idiagbon (2007: 202), a society's culture is better understood and promoted through its language because language serves as a mirror to a society and its cultural practices. Dare (*op. cit.*) points out further that the sum total of a particular society is evident in literature which is a profound manifestation of language. This position is a corroboration of Spencer's

et al. (1964: 59) earlier submission that “literature can be regarded as part of the total patterning of a culture, as a relatively self-contained institution of that culture”. African literature, especially the novel, has, at one time or the other, embarked on the social mission of cultural nationalism. The novel of cultural nationalism, as noted by Kehinde (2005: 88), was a literature of self-assertion. In *Things Fall Apart* and *Arrow of God*, for example, Achebe has vividly portrayed, embellished and celebrated Igbo cultural tradition of his people.

Besides, through ‘social realism’ (reflection or refraction of societal realities) (Kehinde, 2005: 89), African novelists in general and Nigerian writers in particular have given (and are still giving) their readers the true picture of the prevailing social realities in their respective home countries. This is achieved effectively via the instrumentality of language. The foregoing implies a kind of symbiotic relationship among language, society and literature. Given the above explication, it could be conveniently argued that African literature, especially the novel, is a profound portrayal of social events. In *A Man of the People*, our focused text in this study, Achebe, among other things, focuses on the themes of corruptions, political turbulence, anti-intellectualism etc. and their attendant social effects in Nigeria. While commenting on the social function of literature, Bach and Harnish (1979) have noted that: “literature is social discourse in which the writer operates on the linguistic and communicative presuppositions in the social context.”

In the same vein, Kehinde (2005: 87) points out that “art is never created in a vacuum” but that it is “a mirror of the social milieu in which it is created”. He argues further that “for any literary work to merit meaningful consideration, it is necessary that it bears relevance, explicitly or implicitly, to the social milieu in which it is set” (p. 87–88).

African writers cannot, to large extent, divorce themselves from the society in which they operate. Within every society are embedded raw materials for the production and articulation of literary work. According to Hassan (1988: 69), “no author lives alone with the language”. She notes further that “she (the author) is surrounded by the taken-for-granted realities of her community. The assumptions that insidiously flow into the writing speak of the culture”. Despite the existence of some forms of formalism and structuralism which try to prove the autonomy of literature independent of historical and social realities (cf. Kehinde *ibidem*: 89), the consensus among literary critics is that every work of art must have been influenced by the historical-social realities in which the author finds himself. Little wonder that readers of

contemporary literary works simply find their daily experiences freshly enacted and interpreted for them in literature (Babatunde, 2003: 183).

The foregoing has extensively examined the indivisible relationship between language, society and literature. By and large, literature has been described as a mirror of the socio-cultural milieu or context in which it is produced. It is, however, the contention of this paper that no matter how perfect a mirror may be, it cannot be a complete reflection of reality. In literature, writers often embellish their stories by blending fiction with fact, thus projecting their characters and events in mediated contexts.

Sociolinguistics

Milroy and Milroy (1990: 485) have defined sociolinguistics as “the study of language as it is used by real speakers in social and situational context of use”. The social context in which language is used by human beings determines, to a large extent, the interpretation of the speech or utterance used. Besides, to effectively study human speech behaviour, knowledge of the social structure of the speaker(s) and hearer(s) involved cannot be dispensed with. This view is corroborated by Hudson’s (1996: 1) argument that “to study speech without reference to the society which uses it is to exclude the possibility of finding social explanations for the structures that are used”. Apart from studying the language structures used by the speaker(s), sociolinguistics also examines “the speakers themselves, their relationship with each other, why they have used language in certain ways, the topic of discourse, the place and manner in which the discourse takes place” (Adeyanju, 1998: 25; Abdullahi-Idiagbon, 2007: 202).

In a bid to examine the use of language by real speakers in social and situational contexts of use, renown sociolinguists have propounded a number of theories namely; the deficit hypothesis, the variability concept, the speech act theory and the ethnography of communication. We shall limit ourselves to only ethnography of communication because it is central to the present study.

The Ethnography of Communication

The Ethnography of Communication otherwise known as Hymes’s SPEAKING (Hymes, 1992) was introduced into sociolinguistic studies when the need for the analysis of language in its social context became imperative among linguists. The indispensable role of social context in meaningful and effective interpretation of speech events has been much emphasized in the literature (see Hymes, 1972; Saville-Troike, 1982; Williams, 1992; Coupland and Jaworski, 2002 etc.). The introduction of

the theory into sociolinguistic studies marked a radical departure from Chomsky's (1966) emphasis on linguistic competence and performance, a theory that deals with ideal situations which do not really exist (Mbisike, 2005: 187). For Chomsky (1966) cited in Williams (1992: 172), "linguistic competence was a matter of the mastery of grammatical rules". The proponents of the ethnography of communication have, however, forcibly maintained that there is much more than this to linguistic competence. For Hymes (1972), "the competency of users of language entails abilities and judgments relative to, and interdependent with socio-cultural features". Therefore, scholars in sociolinguistics have variously argued for the expansion of the object of linguistic enquiry from linguistic competence to communicative competence (e.g. see Hymes, 1972; Gumperz, 1984; Gumperz and Hymes, 1986; Williams, 1992 etc.).

With communicative competence, as proposed by Hymes (1972), a child acquires knowledge of sentences, not only as grammatical, but also as appropriate. He notes further that "the child acquires competence as to when to speak, when not, and as to what to talk about with whom, when, where, in what manner. In short, a child becomes able to accomplish a repertoire of speech acts, to take part in speech events, and to evaluate their accomplishment by others".

Therefore, communicative competence entails the mastery of grammatical rules as well as the ability to infer (generally) what the interaction is about, what is expected of us and general knowledge of the social norms of the society or social context in which the communicative encounter takes place (cf. Gumperz, 1984: 1; Williams, 1992: 172; Goodenough, 1957: 167; Adegbite, 2000: 65; Mbisike, 2005: 188). For Adegbite, 2000: 65, "communicative competence implies the ability of participants in an interaction to relate linguistic forms with the social norms and situational features in order to interpret utterance correctly". In his own view, Adeyanju (1998: 53) points out that "speaking goes beyond adherence to certain grammatical rules. It is a culturally patterned activity...".

For effective communication to take place between interlocutors in a speech event, both have to have not only the knowledge of all of the grammatical sentences of the language of communication. They must also share certain cultural norms stipulated by the culture of the society in which they find themselves. Every society's culture specifies the conventional or socio-cultural rules of behaviour which participants must share before they can communicate successfully or meaningfully with each other (Adegbite, 2000: 65; 2005: 54). Some of these conventional rules, as noted by Adegbite (2000: 65), may be universal in

application while some are culture-specific. He notes further that sometimes, different societies may also have different orientations towards certain universally-formulated conventional rules. Conventional rules, according to Adebite (*op. cit.*) guides the use of linguistic utterances, paralinguistic devices (e.g. gestures and nodding) and non-lexical vocal devices (e.g. laughter, clicks and hisses) in different societies. Some societies are said to have more elaborate greeting systems than others. Adebite (*op. cit.*) point out, for instance, that a nodding may mean 'Yes' in a society whereas it means 'no' in another. Participants' knowledge of conventional rules are essential for meaningful communicative interaction. This position corroborates Hymes' (1966) cited in Williams (1992: 179) earlier contention that "the cultural and social knowledge of any society is an essential feature of successful communication".

Besides, every language event takes place at a particular place with some people in attendance. This, according to Malinowski (1923), is called "context of situation". The context of situation is based on the idea that the meaning of an utterance, word or an expression is provided only in the context in which it is uttered. Therefore, the analysis of language within the social context in which it is used was first described by Hymes (1964) as "ethnography of speaking" and later called ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1972). This theory underscores the role of social context in the interpretation of utterances or speech events. In fact, for effective and meaningful interpretation of an utterance or speech event to be realized, language user's knowledge of the social context of such a speech event is important. Our utterances or speech events are more meaningful and effective when they are uttered in the appropriate social contexts (cf. Adeyanju, 1998: 52). Trudgill (1985: 101) has equally argued that language varies not only according to the social characteristics of the speaker (such as his social class, ethnic group, age, sex, literacy level, profession etc.), but also in terms of the social context in which he (speaker) finds himself.

Other factors that also determine language variation include the subject matter(s) or topic(s) being discussed; medium of communication (written/ spoken), the physical setting and occasion of the language activity, the 'context' of the person spoken to and in particular, the role relationships and relative statuses of the participants in a discourse or speech event. All these have been recognized as features of social context (see Trudgill, 1985: 100–102). While commenting on the participants' role relationship and relative statuses, Trudgill (*ibidem*: 102) notes that "speech between individuals of unequal rank is likely to be less relaxed and more formal than that between equals."

Hymes (1972: 1992) has identified a number of features considered to be components or features of social context. For mnemonic convenience, Hymes (*op. cit.*) has therefore, suggested the acronym, SPEAKING to encapsulate all the features. Hymes' components of SPEAKING, as reviewed by Adegbite (2005: 53–71), are presented as follow:

Situation: This is composed of both the setting and scene. These refer to the general physical circumstances in which the communicative event takes place, including the time, period, place, weather conditions and cultural view of the setting.

Participants: This describes the status, roles and relationship between sender/ addresser, on the one hand, and hearer/ receiver/ addressee, on the other hand. The speaker–hearer denotes participants in a speech event; sender–receiver denotes participants in both speech and non-fictional writing (i.e. real author and real reader); addresser–addressee denotes the implied author and implied reader of fictional texts.

Ends: This refers to outcomes of speech act, which can be classified into (i) results – intended and/ or unintended, and (ii) goals – individual and/ or general.

Act Sequence: This refers to the form and content of the message of text: how and what is said; ‘words’ and the ‘topic’.

Key: This describes the manner in which a textual message is conveyed, e.g. the lecture might be delivered in a precise way or perhaps in a light-hearted way.

Instrumentalities: These are the channels employed in communication and the forms of speech, e.g. telephone, telegram, face-to-face, E-mail, etc.

Norms: This refers to conventions or rules of social and speech behaviour: linguistic, paralinguistic and non-linguistic. Conventions may be universal or may be specific to cultures of participants.

Genres: Genres are categories which can be fairly identified through the linguistic forms they typically employ, e.g. poem, letter, story, etc. The presentation above integrates components of both context of culture and context of situation. Adegbite (*ibidem*: 60) notes further that contextual meaning generates the concept of ‘stylistic’ meaning, which describes relations between linguistic forms and features of situational contexts; while it also includes ‘co-textual’ meaning which relates particularly linguistic features to one another in the linguistic environment.

Summary of Text

A Man of the People is set in post-independence Nigeria (and Africa by extension). It is Achebe's fourth novel. It mirrors the terrible political deterioration that characterizes post-independence Nigeria. In discussing the political situation in the country during the aforementioned period, Achebe focuses attention on certain social vices such as tribalism, corruption, greed, favouritism and nepotism, unhealthy political rivalry, anti-intellectualism and expertise, etc, which have collaboratively hampered the growth and development of the country.

In his effort to bring credibility to the story, Achebe chooses Odili, a university graduate as the narrator – the first person narrator. The activities of the politicians including their weaknesses are revealed to readers through the first person narrative voice of Odili. The political upheavals that characterize the first republic Nigerian politics (1960–1966) are still part and parcel of the contemporary Nigerian politics.

The novel also portrays another character, Chief M.A. Nanga as a brutally corrupt politician of the period. Most political issues discussed in the novel are revealed via his utterances and actions. Achebe portrays Chief M.A. Nanga as the experienced politician and indeed, “a man of the people”. Chief Nanga reveals his character traits through his own utterances. Through his utterances, actions and interactions with other characters in the novel, readers are able to see that Chief Nanga is a typical example of Nigerian politicians. He displays his political wickedness, inordinate ambition, deceit, intolerance, aggression, arrogance, and hot temperament to the fullest in the novel. In some cases in the novel, Chief Nanga portrays his inordinate political ambition by curtailing the freedom of the press in order to maximize his political gain.

The story concludes by predicting the overthrow of the politicians. However, Achebe's disenchantment is portrayed in the fact that even Max and Odili are not presented as better than those they tended to react to (cf. Okunoye and Odebunmi 2003: 291).

Findings and Discussion

Our findings in this study are analysed against the components of Hymes' SPEAKING. These are discussed as follows.

Situation

Our idea of situation in *A Man of the People* henceforth *A Man* shall be discussed in relation to the social context in which the story and the conversational interactions in the text are set. Conversational interactions in *A Man* are observed to have been set in two different

places in the novel. These are the grassroot village of Anata and other neighbouring villages, and the fictitious city of Bori. Most of the events projected in the interactions are set in the two settings. For example, Chief Nanga's electioneering campaign for second term election into the parliament is held in Anata village while Maxwell and his friends' launching of the Common People's Convention (C.P.C) take place in the city of Bori. Odili later contests against Chief Nanga under the platform of the Common People's Convention (C.P.C), an incidence perceived as a do or die affair. This later culminates into unhealthy political rivalry and turbulence which eventually lead to military incursion into the politics of the land.

In the two settings, two forms of characters' interactions namely; formal and informal are observed. Given the mediated context of the novel, formal interactions take place between and/or among characters who are either close acquaintances or not but discuss non-personal issues. Our findings also reveal that while some of the characters interact in formal setting, formal language is employed for communication. The interaction below can be considered.

Example 1:

Background: (Mr. Nwege, the principal of Anata Grammar school is introducing teachers of the school to Chief Nanga (the minister) prior to the electioneering campaign.)

Mr. Nwege: I have the honour, sir, to introduce...
 Minister: That's right, you are Odili.
 Odili: Yes sir. You have a wonderful memory. It's at least fifteen years...
 Minister: I taught him in...
 Odili: Standard three.
 Minister: That's right
 Mr. Nwege: He is one of the pillars of this school. (p. 8)

Given the context in which the characters find themselves and the existing status differential among the minister and his interlocutors, formal language is employed to interact. The minister occupies a higher hierarchy on the social ladder in relation to his (Chief Nanga) co-interactants. This status hardly gives room for the use of common place linguistic structures. No wonder that formal language is used. On status differential, Trudgill (1985: 105) notes that "speech between individuals of unequal rank or status is likely to be less relaxed and more formal than that between equals".

Conversely, informal interactions in the data take place largely in non-formal settings where characters relate informally and discuss

personal issues. In these settings, the choice of language is informal and it portrays, to a large extent, intimate relationship amongst the characters involved. Besides, in this context, characters interactions are not constrained by any special rule or convention. Given the mediated context of *A Man*, it is also observed that interactions in informal setting, in some cases, involve characters with or without equal status who meet in informal situations. The interaction between Odili and Andrew during the latter's visit can be considered here.

Example 2:

(A Knock at the door)

Odili: Come in if you are good-looking

Andrew: Is Odili in?

Odili: Come in, fool (Joking) How de go de go?

Andrew: Bo, son of man done tire.

Odili: Did you find out about that girl?

Andrew: Why na soso girl, girl, girl been full your mouth. Wetin? so person not fit talk any serious talk with you. I never see.

Odili: O.'k; Mr. Gentleman, any person way first mention about girl again for this room, make him tongue cut... (p. 20–21)

Odili and Andrew are workmates and friends and this informs their mode of interaction and the form of language (Pidgin English) employed in the interaction is occasioned by the relaxed or non-formal communicative situation they find themselves. It is, however, observed that characters with status differential also interact and relate informally most especially to create an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality. Examples of this kind of conversational interaction can be found on pages 15, 59, 61, etc. of the text. By projecting these characters of sundry statuses interacting in different ways within the mediated context of *A Man*, Achebe has employed language together with his artistic skills to portray a picture of our daily life experiences via the medium of literature.

Given the time of the speech event, the story in the novel is set in the first republic Nigeria (1960–1966) – the period immediately after the country's attainment of political independence and prior to the first military intervention into Nigerian politics. Achebe uses the novel to mirror the socio-political events of the country's first republic and predicts what our contemporary politics and politicians would be most especially in Nigeria and some parts of Africa. The author's disenchantment with the political situation of our time is expressed through the interactions of the major characters such as Chief Nanga, a typical example of our contemporary corrupt politicians, Odili, Maxwell, Mr. Nwege, Chief Simon Koko, etc.

Participants

Our data reveal multiple participants (characters) of different social classes who interact in different mediated communicative situations within the context of the text. It is observed that participants' interactions, in the sampled conversations take place in different micro-contexts of the macro-context of the text and are influenced by certain socio-contextual variables in the text such as the relationship between/ among them, their contextual beliefs, their social roles in relation to each other or one another, their socio-cultural background and perception of the world around them. These shall be discussed in turn. Two major kinds of relationship, namely formal and informal are observed to exist among the participants in the conversations. As noted in the previous section, formal relationship is observed in formal context (setting) while informal relationship takes place in non-formal context. Below is an instance of conversational interaction involving participants that have formal relationship which in turn constrains their interaction.

Example 3:

John: ...So you see, Mr. ... I'm sorry. I didn't catch your first name?

Odili: Odili.

John: Odili – a beautiful sound – May I call you by that?

Odili: Sure.

John: Mine is John. (p. 45)

As the background information to the above interaction reveals, John and Odili are strangers to each other and they are meeting for the first time. Besides, John is an American ambassador while Odili is a native within the context of the novel. As their interaction reveals, formal relationship between the duo accounts largely for the formal interaction observed, polite request made by John, respectful response given by Odili and, finally, cautious interactional exchange between them. Other instances of this abound in the text. As pointed out earlier on, informal relationship prevails among participants who are either friends, equals or close acquaintances in some ways. Examples of this can be found on pages 59, 74, etc.

Participants' contextual beliefs that are found to characterize the conversational interactions in the text are independent contextual beliefs of individual characters and mutual (shared) contextual beliefs between/ among the characters but the former is found to be predominant in the text. Some of these independent beliefs expressed by some characters are: (i) belief that politics is not meant for the elites (intellectuals) in the society but for illiterates like Chief Nanga, a character in the novels; (ii) belief that participation in partisan politics is an avenue for getting one's

share of ‘national cake’ and by extension, a means of amassing wealth at the expense of the populace as portrayed in the characters of Chief Nanga and his political associates; (iii) belief that appointments or elections into various political offices should be rotational and a host of others. The interactional exchanges below can be used to exemplify (i) and (ii) above.

Example 4:

Background: (Both Odili and his friend, Maxwell are discussing about Chief Nanga and his lust for women).

Maxwell: If you put juju on a woman, it will catch that old rotter.

Odili: I know someone who did but the old rotter wasn’t caught.

Maxwell: That’s all they care for. Women, cars, landed property. *But what else can you expect when intelligent people leave politics to illiterates like Chief Nanga?* (Our Emphasis) (p. 76)

Example 5:

Background: (This interaction takes place between Chief Nanga and Odili. The former is trying to encourage Odili to leave teaching for a more lucrative job.)

Odili: ...I am applying for a post-graduate scholarship to bring myself up to Mr. Nwege’s expectation.

Chief Nanga: ... By the way, Odili, I think you are wasting your talent here. I want you to come to the capital and take up a strategic post in the civil service. We should not leave everything to the highland tribes. My secretary is from there. *Our people must press for their fair share of the national cake.* (Our Emphasis) (p. 12)

In (4) above, our societal belief that politics is not meant for intellectuals but for riff-raff illiterates like Chief Nanga, a fictive character representing our contemporary politicians, is expressed through the voice of Maxwell who is one of the major characters in the text. In order to reverse the ugly trend, a group of intellectuals from different callings decides to come together and launch the Common Peoples Convention (C.P.C), a political party that is used to contest against Chief Nanga with a view to bringing an end to the regime of mediocres in politics as well as reversing the trend of using political office as a means of amassing wealth at the expense of the populace.

In example (5), the belief in a cross section of our contemporary social structure that people should press for their share of ‘national cake’ is expressed by Achebe through the voice of Chief Nanga. Besides, this belief expressed by Chief Nanga portrays him as a corrupt politician coupled with the fact that the phrase, “national cake” within the social

setting of the novel implies corruption. By projecting these characters and the beliefs, Achebe uses the novel to mirror the prevailing social realities in our contemporary society. Considering the events in the novel, *A Man* can be described as “a reflection or refraction” (Kehinde, 2005: 89) of societal realities per excellence.

An instance of the Mutual (shared) Contextual Beliefs (MCBS) observed in the data is the characters’ shared belief in the efficacy of our orthodox medicine in providing cure against poison. Chief Nanga and Odili visit Chief Simon Koko, minister for Overseas Trading over Odili’s intention to go for a postgraduate programme abroad. They are served coffee and as they are drinking, Chief Koko suddenly has a strange feeling in his stomach. He entertains the fear that he may have been poisoned by his political opponents through the assistance of his domestic staff. As he is lamenting his misfortune, Odili and Chief Nanga express their shared belief as we have in the interaction below:

Example 6:

Odili: Let’s go and call a doctor

Chief Nanga: That’s right. (p. 33–34)

Through his utterance, Odili expresses his belief that a medical doctor is required to save the situation. This belief is shared by Chief Nanga who gives his acquiescence to Odili’s suggestion. The mutual (shared) contextual belief of both Odili and Chief Nanga in the above interaction is enhanced by their shared situational knowledge (SSK) (Odebunmi 2006: 159) that a medical doctor should be able to handle the situation. This therefore, enhances effective communication between them as the appropriate response is given by Chief Nanga to Odili’s proposal. Chief Koko who does not share the same situational knowledge responds, however: *What is the use of a doctor? Do they know about African poison?*

Besides, participants’ (characters) social role relations observed in the sampled conversations are addresser/ addressee, master/ servant, parental/ children, friendship, close acquaintances etc. These role relations are social roles that participants (characters) in the novel perform in relation to each other or one another within the context of the novel (cf. Fishman 1972). As noted by Lyons (1977: 575), these role relations have the obvious effect of determining terms of address. For example, role relationship of close acquaintances is performed in the interactional exchange below.

Example 7:

Background: (After the humiliation suffered by Odili in the hand of Chief Nanga who snatched his (Odili) girl friend, Odili visits Mrs. Nanga in the village with a vengeance mission. After the exchange of pleasantries, the interaction below ensues.)

Odili: When are you preparing to return to Bori? The house is quite cold without you and the children.

Mrs. Nanga: Don't tell me about Bori, *My brother*. I want to rest a bit here... Eddy's father says I should come back at the end of next month before he goes to America but I don't know... (Our Emphasis) (p. 87)

Odili and Mrs. Nanga are not, strictly speaking, members of the same family let alone brother and sister. Yet, Mrs. Nanga addresses Odili as 'my brother'; a kin term that not only reflects their close relationship but equally reflects African cultural norm of address. In African cultural tradition, most especially in Nigeria, the expression, 'my brother' has an expansive usage and meaning that encompasses blood relation and our close acquaintances or whoever we intend to respect. Other instances of role relations abound in the data.

Participants' socio-cultural backgrounds and their perceptions of the world around them also exert considerable influence on their interactions and choice of language. Osisanwo (2003: 78) has noted that people from different cultural backgrounds are most likely to have different beliefs, habits, value systems, cultural heritage and religion. For example, the socio-cultural background of Mr. John manifests in his utterance and interaction with Odili in example 3 cited above. Information in the text reveals that Mr. John is an American and American cultures of politeness, address system and social relation reflect in his utterances. Other cultural nuances that are observed in the data are African culture of hospitality; respect for in-laws and elders and the use of proverbs to reinforce our messages etc. Interactions below reflects cultural tradition of hospitality and visitor's reception that some tribes in Nigeria are known for.

Examples 8:

Background: (Odili has gone to visit Edna with a view to discourage her from getting married to Chief Nanga. He met her father and after the exchange of pleasantries, the interaction followed).

Edna's father: *I must carry the debt of a kolanut*. It got finished only this morning.

Odili: Don't worry about kolanut. You do not know me, I'm sure. I am one of the teachers at the Grammar school. (Our Emphasis) (p. 89)

In the above exchange, Edna's father expresses his displeasure with his inability to offer his visitor kolanut. Odili who shares the same cultural knowledge with his host says: 'Don't worry about kolanut'. Within the ethnocultural context in which the novel is set, kolanut has a cultural significance as it is believed that offering kolanut to a visitor is the highest level of hospitality that can be extended to our visitors. This culture of hospitality, as noted by Adegbite (2005: 63), might not be universal because it might not be the same in some other cultural traditions. Hymes' (1966) cited in Williams (1992: 179) contends that "the cultural and social knowledge of any society is an essential feature of successful communication".

As our data reveal, participants' (characters) perception of the world around them manifests in the different world views advanced by the author through the voices of the fictive characters. World views that are found to characterize the data are: (i) excessive materialism and love of women; (ii) inordinate ambition for power and hegemonic tendency of political office holders, (iii) white man supremacy over the natives, (iv) It is government that sponsors political parties. In a bid to mirror the prevailing social situation, Achebe presents characters that have excessive and inordinate desire for material things. People's excessive desire for material things accounts for the high rate of corruption and embezzlement of public funds which have become the order of the day among our contemporary political office holders. Besides, excessive materialism has impacted negatively on the social psyche of the nation to the extent that people now see politics as a do or die affair. This in turn accounts for people's unwillingness to relinquish power a scenario that culminates in unhealthy political rivalry and turbulence that are evident in the characters' interactions in the novel. Conversational interaction below exemplifies this point.

Example 9:

Background: (After his interaction with Chief Nanga turns sour, Odili visits his old school mate, Maxwell Kulamo who gives him a warm reception.)

Maxwell: Good gracious! (he shouted) Diligent! Na your eyes be this?.

Odili: Cool Max!. The writer of these lines!

Maxwell: I have been on the waiting list for a telephone for two months. You see, *I have not given anyone a bribe, and I don't know any big gun...* so you have been staying with that corrupt, empty-headed, illiterate capitalist. Sorry-O.

Odili: Na matter of can't help. He na my old teacher, you know. (Emphasis mine)

Through the voice of Maxwell, Achebe portrays, among other things, that our society is (i) a corrupt one, (ii) one needs social influence to get things done in the public sphere of our national life and (iii), Chief Nanga, though a fictive character, is an epitome of our contemporary corrupt politicians. To corroborate the large scale corruption and misappropriation of public funds by our political office holders, Achebe himself notes, through the voice of the omniscient narrator, Odili that: “Chief Nanga was a minister bloated by the flatulence of ill-gotten wealth, living in a big mansion built with public money...” (p. 75).

Ends

Here, we shall examine the purposes of the communicative events in the text. As already noted earlier on, the data reveal multiple participants that interact within the mediated arena of literature. Therefore, their purposes of participating in the speech event are largely determined by the purposes that the author intends the story to serve. Given the prevailing social context and relevant circumstances surrounding the story, it is obvious that the author’s purpose is to unequivocally satirize and condemn various kinds of social vices that characterize post-independence politics in Africa and Nigeria in particular. These are projected by the author via the actions and utterances of fictive characters. Below is an example of characters’ conversational interaction that exemplify the theme of bribery and corruption which is the overriding theme in the novel.

Example 10:

Background: (Chief Nanga had come to bribe Odili with two hundred and fifty pounds and a scholarship award. All efforts by Odili’s father to urge his son to take the offer proved abortive as Odili rejected it on account of principles, integrity and anti-corruption crusade he stands for.)

Odili: ...So your party gives ministers authority to take bribes, eh?

Odili’s father: What?

Odili: Chief Nanga said that *the ten percent he receives on contracts is for your party. Is that true?*

Odili’s father: If Alligator comes out of the water one morning and tells you that crocodile is sick, can you doubt his story?

Odili: I see. (Our Emphasis) (p. 120–121)

Odili’s utterances above is a reflection of corrupt practices that take place at the corridors of power. Besides, in his effort to further condemn corruption in our contemporary society, Achebe presents to readers the

exploitative inclinations of Boniface, a political thug hired by Odili for his self-protection against assault by his (Odili) political rivals. When Odili asks Boniface to give account of how the latter expends ten pounds earlier given to him, he says:

Example 11:

Boniface: We give three pounds ten to that policeman so that he go spoil the paper for our case. Then we give one ten to court clerk because they say as the matter done reach him eye the policeman no kuku spoil am just like that. Then we give another two pounds... (p. 114)

In the above example, the pervasive nature of corruption in the society is projected through the voice of Boniface.

Act Sequence

This shall be discussed in relation to the message form and message content in the speech event. The forms of the message that are found to characterize our data are characters' conversational interactions and story telling through the voice of Odili, an omniscient narrator in the novel. As our data reveal, the author Achebe chooses Odili as his mouth organ and through the latter's voice; Achebe intrudes into the story with a view to appreciating, discussing and assessing the situational categories of field, mode and tenor in the speech event. Below is an example of authorial comment through Odili's voice:

Example 12:

... most of the hunters reserved their precious powder to greet the Minister's arrival – *the price of gunpowder like everything having doubled again and again in the four years since this government took control.* (Our Emphasis) (p. 2)

Through the above comment, a picture of the deplorable economic situation of the country in the first republic (1960–1965) in Nigeria is painted. This situation, as revealed in the novel, is occasioned by the large scale corruption at the corridors of power. Some of the characters' conversational interaction observed in the novel have been cited as exemplification of the major issues in the novel.

The message content refers to the subject matter of the discourse. As pointed out earlier on, the novel focuses on the themes of money politics, corruption, moral decadence, greed, favouritism, anti-intellectualism and expertise, unhealthy political rivalry and turbulence, etc in the post-independence Nigeria using the fictitious city of Bori. For example, Chief Nanga's moral bankruptcy is emphasized in the interaction below:

Example 13:

Chief Nanga: I am sorry if you are offended; the mistake is mine. I tender unreserved apology. If you like I can bring you six girls this evening. You go do the thing so tay you go beg say you no want again. Ha, ha, ha, ha!

Odili: What a country! You call yourself minister of culture. God help us.

In the above interaction, the level of moral bankruptcy in our society is portrayed through Chief Nanga’s actions and utterances. Chief Nanga’s utterances above are least expected of a person of official caliber in the government of the day, a minister of culture.

Key

The author presents the speech events by telling the story that focuses on some characters. These characters are involved in mediated conversational interactions designed by the author to emphasize the thematic preoccupation of the story and the worldviews in Nigerian socio-context of the first republic (1960–1965).

Instrumentalities

Instrumentalities in the present study shall be examined in relation to the channel of communication and forms of the speech employed. The channel employed here is mainly story telling with conversational interactions among the participants in the events. Through this medium, Achebe presents the major concerns of the novel. The forms of speech in the data shall be discussed in relation to the language forms and address forms observed in the conversations. Language forms observed are standard/ formal English, non-standard/ pidgin English and code switching. The address forms observed in the data are the use of personal names, second person pronouns and kinship terms. These shall be discussed in turn.

The use of standard or non-standard English in the conversations is largely determined by the participants’ relationship and context of interaction; topic/ subject of the discourse and status equality and/ or differential between them. Standard English is used mainly in formal context where participants discuss serious and non personal issues/subjects whereas in non-formal context where participants interact at interpersonal and intimate levels, non-standard or Pidgin English is used. We can consider the conversational interactions below:

Example 14:

Odili: He is the author of *The Song of the Blackbird*.

Chief Nanga: I see. So your society includes musicians as well?

Mr. Jolio: No.

Odili: Hello, Jalio.
Chief Nanga: You didn't tell me, Mr. er...
Jalio: Jalio, sir.
Chief Nanga: Thank you, Mr. Jalio. Why didn't you tell me that you are expecting ambassadors at this function?
Mr. Jalio: I am sorry, sir but ... (p. 62)

Example 15:

Odili: All right, what do you want the twenty-five pounds for?
Boniface: They no tell you say Chief Nanga done return back from Bori yesterday?
Odili: So you wan give an money too? (p. 114)

In example 14, each of the speakers speaks standard English occasioned by the situational context in which the interaction take place. Conversely, in example 15, Odili first speaks Standard English to Boniface, but the latter does not get the code. Instead, he (Boniface) responds by using pidgin. Odili thereafter switches from Standard English to Pidgin despite the status differential between them. As our findings reveal, Odili's code switching is a product of the context of interaction and the need to meet the literacy level of his conversational partner. This supports Trudgill's (1985: 100) claim that "the same speaker uses different linguistic varieties in different situations..." Several instances of this variety switch abound in the data.

Personal names are used in two different ways in the conversations. First, participants with + HIGHER social status address their co-interactants who hold – HIGHER status by first name and second, among equals. Kinship terms such as 'my brother', 'my sister', etc. are used among participants (characters) who are close acquaintances in some contexts. Second person pronouns are used to mark status inequality.

Norms

In this study, norms shall be examined culturally and socially. What kinds of behaviour and utterances are culturally and socially expected or unexpected of characters (participants) within the social context in which they find themselves in the novel. In the course of their interactions in *A Man*, some characters utter certain statements that not only demean them but are also unexpected of them. For example, the interaction between Chief Nanga and Odili below can be considered.

Example 16:

Background (The quarrel ensues between Chief Nanga and Odili because the former had snatched and slept with Odili's girl friend.)

Odili: Look here, Mr. Nanga, respect yourself. Don't provoke me any more unless you want our names to come out in the newspapers today...

Chief Nanga: Don't be childish, Odili. Afterall she is not your wife. What is all these nonsense? She told me there is nothing between you and she, and you told me the same thing... But anyway, I am sorry if you are offended... *If you like I can bring you six girls this evening. You go do the thing so tay you go beg say you no want again. Ha, ha, ha, ha!*

Odili: What a country! You call yourself minister of culture. God help us. (Our Emphasis) (p. 71–72)

Given the status of Chief Nanga as a minister of culture in the novel, the cultural and social norms of the society in which the novel is set and the relationship between him and Odili, Chief Nanga's action and utterances in the above interactions are flagrant violation of the established cultural norms. Besides, he behaves in contradiction of the social expectation of him. By so doing, he could be said to have violated the cultural norm of the society. This earns him disrespect from Odili and eventually, their relationship turns sour from that moment. Several other examples abound in the data.

Genre

Our data are composed of several conversational interactions between and/ or among the characters in the novel. Through these conversational interactions involving characters of different social statuses, the themes of the novel unfold. Besides, via the characters' interactions and utterances, the societal world views, structures and beliefs are also projected by the author.

Conclusion

In the foregoing, we have examined and analysed conversational interactions in *A Man* using Hymes' (1972, 1992) model of speaking. Through this Hyme's speaking, and considering the social context in which the novel is set, our analysis has revealed the fact that the thematic preoccupations in the text is constrained by the socio-cultural context of the text. Besides, our findings also reveal that societal structures and beliefs are projected through the voices of fictive characters. In the novel, the social contextual variables such as cultural norms, topics, gender and situational constraints are observed to have largely influenced the interactions between the characters and these determine the language used by the characters. Considering these, Hyme's SPEAKING has contributed immensely to the overall understanding of the novel. Therefore, it can be concluded that analyzing literary texts most especially prose works using Hymes' SPEAKING aids better understanding of the texts.

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El español *¿sueña o sueña?* Engarce
interlingüístico y desviación léxico-gramatical en
los hábitos expresivos de estudiantes
hispanófonos rumanos
(en contextos de inmigración)*

Lavinia Ienceanu**

**Romanian as a Dead Ringer or “Dead Wringer” of Spanish?
Language Convergence and Lexico-grammatical Dissimilarities in
Linguistic Behaviour of Romanian Hispanophone Students
(Migrants included)**

Abstract:

With both Spanish and Romanian descending from a common ancestor, Latin, similarities between the two Romance sisters are a self-evident fact. And indeed, the inherent musicality of Spanish, most appealing to the Romanian ear, acts as an added incentive to an ever larger number of students acquiring it as bilinguals (L2) or as an optional subject (L3) in schools and centres for foreign languages. On the other hand, certain facilitating circumstances make it possible for some children to be actually immersed from quite an early age in the languacultural setting of the target language. A case in point provide families migrating to Spain or Latin America in search for better-paid jobs. Oddly enough, even if, admittedly, migration brings natives and foreigners closer together distance-wise, the remaining linguistic gaps to bridge are anything but few. Lending fresh support to this view is the paper at hand, which, while taking inspiration from one of the errors most frequently encountered in our teaching experience – i.e. mixing up *sonar* and *soñar* –, and amassing new evidence adduced by a national project research corpus, proposes to track down Spanish-Romanian interferences and zoom in on their structural-functional idiosyncrasies as exhibited by oral narrating skills of Romanian students at home learning SFL, on the one hand, and, on the other, of the

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former's fellow-countrymen resuming speaking Romanian after spending/studying several years in Spain, as compared to emigrating Romanian natives, for whom Spanish has been promoted to the status of L1. The ultimate goal of our research, therefore, is to advance new teaching strategies meant to enhance metalinguistic awareness and catalyse acquisition of typologically related languages such as Spanish and Romanian in both major student groups under survey.

Keywords: Spanish as a Foreign Language (SFL), migration, error, bilingualism, language interference

En virtud de su filiación latina, el entronque, así como las semejanzas lingüísticas entre el castellano y el rumano, que de ello derivan, caen por su propio peso. A los estudiantes rumanos les “hace tilín” el español, cuyas sonoridad y musicalidad intrínseca fungen como incentivos primordiales que hacen que un número cada vez mayor de éstos decidan convertirlo en su L2 o L3, según el caso, y acudan, a estos efectos, a academias de lenguas o centros educacionales que cuenten con sistemas de enseñanza del español en régimen bilingüe o bien como asignatura optativa. Por otro lado, la conjunción de ciertas circunstancias posibilita, desde una tierna edad, la inmersión *total de algunos niños en el entorno lingüístico-cultural de la lengua meta. En este sentido, las familias que por cuestiones laborales se mudan a España o cruzan el charco son el mejor botón de muestra al respecto. Bajo este prisma, si bien la migración ha acortado las distancias físicas, cabe subrayar que aún quedan bastantes asperezas por limar, ante todo a nivel lingüístico.* Así pues, partiendo de uno de los errores vueltos ya leitmotívicos, con el que nos hemos venido cruzando a lo largo de nuestra experiencia docente – a saber: la confusión entre *sonar* y *soñar* – y apoyándonos en un muestrario de errores recogidos en el marco de un proyecto de investigación académica, pretendemos rastrear las interferencias entre rumano y castellano – cada uno con su peculiar perfil estructural-funcional – concretadas en los hábitos de expresión narrativa oral manifiestos, por un lado en los aprendices de E/LE en un entorno nacional, por otro lado, en sus paisanos que, a su regreso, vuelven a hablar el rumano habiendo vivido y/o cursado algunos años en España, frente a los rumanófonos nativos emigrantes, en cuyo caso el español adquiere el estatus de L1. Todo ello con vistas a poder idear las estrategias didácticas idóneas que optimicen y refuercen el aprendizaje de ambos idiomas por parte de sendos grupos discentes.

Introducción

“La lengua española hace más leve el castigo de Babel”, aseveraba Juan Carlos I (*apud* Amela, 2010: 496a). Con la misma impresión de

real alivio parece comulgar al principio todo aquel que se da a la tarea de aprenderlo. Y, en efecto, para idioma melifluido, armónico, apacible, el español, sin duda, quizás entre otros... En fe de ello, la lengua de Cervantes cautiva, pero, ¡no nos engañemos!, pues, pese a lo que se alegue, el español no engancha tanto con su dulzura, cuanto con el pujante desgarrar y arrebatos que entraña y trasluce a menudo. Dado que en su crisol confluyen esencias de tan diversa índole, el español es completo y es complejo, es Escila y es Caribdis, es almíbar, mas cabe señalar que, por otra parte, es el acíbar latente que, por paradójico que parezca, muchos extranjeros llegan a paladear precisamente a la hora de profundizar en la lengua como tal. Porque una cosa es cierta: sea de molde ibérico o hispanoamericano, el idioma que viene secundando al inglés y lleva serios visos de convertirse de aquí a poco en el pan nuestro de cada día definitivamente no es pan comido.

El español y el rumano “hacen buenas migas” – ¿qué duda cabe? –, sin embargo un aprendizaje superficial llevado a cabo por un aprendiz incapaz de implementar estrategias etnodesviantes, contrastivas – complementarias a las etnocéntricas, cimentadas en el aprendizaje mediante analogía –, encaminadas estas últimas a encauzar al hispanohablante hacia el uso auténtico de la lengua meta, redundan en un claro perjuicio para el grado de dominio lingüístico alcanzado. Desde este punto de vista, el prejuicio imperante entre la mayoría de los rumanos que emprenden su proceso de aprendizaje idiomático articulándolo en torno a las similitudes ostensibles, mas, quepa recalcarlo, no siempre válidas, entre dos lenguas romances, vicia el proceso de adquisición de una lengua extranjera tanto en tierra propia o ajena. Por consiguiente, no pocas veces, mediante lo que conocemos como interferencia lingüística negativa, lo que para otros pudiera servir de trampolín no pocas veces lastra el aprendizaje del español por parte de aquéllos cuya lengua materna¹ es el rumano.

Pero ¿qué ocurre cuando, en un contexto de bilingüismo, la lengua extranjera – concretamente el español en el caso que nos ocupa –, arraiga a tal extremo que su dominio se vuelve equiparable o incluso superior al de la L1? Pues sucede cabalmente el proceso inverso, esto es que a veces es el idioma extranjero en vías de adquisición el que llega a marcar con su impronta la conducta lingüística de dichos aprendices en su L1. Y éste es precisamente el caso que nuestro equipo de investigación ha venido contemplando en las tres variantes que se dan a nivel local:

¹ En adelante “L1”.

(A) estudiantes de institutos teóricos nacionales rumanos de enseñanza intensiva u optativa del español para extranjeros, que no han vivido en España ni cuentan con parientes residentes allí

(B) estudiantes de institutos teóricos de enseñanza intensiva u optativa del español para extranjeros que sí cuentan con parientes viviendo en España, a quienes visitan con relativa frecuencia durante las vacaciones, o que cuentan éstos mismos con una estancia de 4 a 6 años en distintas provincias de España, durante la que han podido cursar por lo menos un ciclo formativo oficial impartido por completo en español, pero que han regresado a Rumanía para finalizar sus estudios

(C) estudiantes que, tras acabar un ciclo formativo básico en Rumanía, se han trasladado a España, donde llevan viviendo desde hace más de 4 años.

En el marco del proyecto de investigación susodicho, hemos sometido a pruebas orales y escritas tanto en rumano como en español a los alumnos de las tres categorías citadas más arriba, con edades que varían entre 14 y 18 años. No obstante, con miras al presente trabajo, someteremos a análisis únicamente aquellos aspectos lingüístico-discursivos detectados en un primer bloque, que asciende a un total de 148 pruebas de expresión oral practicadas a un número de 129 alumnos: 110 de la categoría A, 10 que integran la B y, no por último, 9 de C. Todos los alumnos fueron sometidos a una prueba de expresión oral que requería la creación y emisión oral en rumano de un breve cuento a raíz de las ilustraciones de un libro de Mercer Meyer², seguida de la recreación del mismo en español, además de rumano, por parte de los alumnos pertenecientes a la categoría C, y complementada por una entrevista adicional desarrollada en rumano hecha a los informantes de la categoría B. Tanto las producciones orales como las entrevistas fueron grabadas, transcritas al pie de la letra, tras lo cual se procedió a la codificación de los errores de los que damos cuenta aquí. Con ello se ha pretendido medir la destreza narrativa oral de todos los informantes, pero, más que nada nos interesaba comprobar asimismo el uso que de su lengua materna hacen los hispanohablantes que, por circunstancias de inmigración, tuvieron que relegarla a un segundo plano.

¿Cómo interfiere el rumano en el aprendizaje del español? ¿Hay algunos resortes sintagmáticos que perviven ora en el habla en español de los emigrantes rumanos a la hora de alternar los códigos ora en el discurso de los exdiscentes en España? ¿Hasta qué punto encarrila o descarrila una L1 la asimilación óptima de una segunda lengua³? ¿En qué

² *Frog, where are you?*. New York, Dial Books for Young Readers, 2003 [1969].

³ En adelante "L2".

medida se dejan los alumnos llevar por su “olfato” eufónico, ponen en práctica lo aprendido de oídas, se decantan por lo que les “*suen*a bien o no”, o se ponen a fantasear, a *soñar*, avanzando inventos léxicos creados con base en la supuesta flexibilidad de uno u otro idioma? ¿Cómo se ve afectado, a su vez, por los hábitos de su L2 el discurso en rumano de un hispanohablante a la par de rumanófono?

He aquí tan sólo unos puntos en los que nos detendremos a continuación a fin de deslindar los dos tipos de interferencia interlingüística identificados e ir sacando a relucir el andamiaje de pautas idiosincrásicas que subyace a toda actuación lingüística en sendos idiomas.

Estilo, interferencia y error

La configuración distinta de un mensaje según los parámetros de corrección formal y discursiva generalmente aceptados viene regida por varios criterios subjetivos que atañen a un hablante en particular. Ahora bien, a menos que la agramaticalidad sea irrefutable, a la hora de calibrar la incorrección de algunos sintagmas que pueden llegar a salpicar un discurso para acabar por tacharlos con toda contundencia de erróneos habrá que colegir el que una valoración objetiva de los mismos es casi imposible de lograr, pues, a su vez, ello depende de varios factores. Como bien señala Bustos Gisbert (1998: 12), “el grado de irritabilidad” que los errores suelen provocar en el oyente varía según el receptor de los mensajes. Así pues, parece lícito pensar que un filólogo, un abogado y un ingeniero puedan discrepar en cuanto a lo que es, parece o no es correcto, a juzgar por la posición que cada uno encarna y el ámbito en que se mueve. Es más, si a las variaciones diastráticas sumamos las diatópicas y diafásicas, cada caso supondrá una reunión de tiritos y troyanos.

Tamizados por el tupido cedazo de un profesor de idiomas – quien se dedica a anticipar y cazar errores, pero, no para penalizarlos, sino con el fiel propósito de prevenir o desterrarlos para formar usuarios autónomos competentes, casados con los buenos modales de *ars orandi* y *escribendi* en la lengua extranjera meta – la gravedad e importancia de éstos se magnifica. Aun así, independientemente del grado de desvío de la norma, en cuanto a la naturaleza del error se refiere, a falta de un sistema de monitorización a largo plazo, la evaluación concreta que hemos llevado a cabo tampoco nos permite averiguar a ciencia cierta si cada caso que barajamos apunta hacia un *error*, una *falta* o un *lapsus*, para ceñirnos a la taxonomía de S.P. Corder (*apud* Bustos Gisbert, *op. cit.*: 13). En otras palabras, si bien hay algunos errores achacables a los desajustes que suponen los distintos niveles de aprendizaje, no hay

manera de saber exactamente si en cada caso estamos ante un error de competencia, esto es un desvío sistémico, fosilizado, o si se trata, por lo contrario, de un desliz transitorio motivado por la fatiga o la urgencia comunicativa. A veces, un bajo rendimiento queda justificado, asimismo, por la presión e inhibición que genera el saberse evaluado, y, tratándose de una prueba oral como la que hemos implementado, pues con más razón. Con todo y esto, la dificultad añadida radica en conseguir dilucidar si una determinada transgresión lingüística detectada en el *Output* (Corder, 1981: 58) es fruto de un *Input* insuficiente o bien de un *Intake* defectuoso, es decir, si se remonta a una carencia de contenidos idiomáticos, con el consiguiente conocimiento parcial de las reglas que, discurriendo por la transferencia interlingüística (desde la L1 u otras L2), a su vez puede desembocar en el desarrollo de nuevas reglas falsas que rijan la eventual conducta lingüística del aprendiz, o si se trata más bien de un procesamiento insuficiente e internalización fallida de los contenidos por parte del aprendiz, lo cual vendría a ser un error de desarrollo específico, de corte intralingüístico.

Para eludir el riesgo de incurrir a nuestra vez en un error avanzando hipótesis infundadas por no disponer de todos los datos de índole psicosocial precisos para armar el rompecabezas, nos limitaremos a incidir en aquellos errores cuya procedencia da pie únicamente a equívocos de naturaleza lingüística. Como tal, de los cuatro grandes bloques de errores entre los que distingue Isabel Santos Gargallo (1993: 96 *apud* Bustos Gisbert: 24), enfocaremos aquellos léxico-semánticos, morfosintácticos y pragmático-discursivos exhibidos por nuestros informantes.

En rigor, los desvíos que, para empezar, dan fe de la interferencia lingüística son los que afectan la estructura superficial de la lengua, patentes, a modo de calco estructural, en omisiones, adiciones, la formación errónea mediante la sobrerregularización de algunas formas verbales o nominales, comisión e inversiones del orden oracional.

No obstante, ilustrativos en grado sumo para la misma prueban ser los cambios surgidos en la estructura profunda del discurso, donde los calcos semánticos, la elección lógico-contextual del significante acertado – o no tanto – para desempeñar cierta función evocativa, referencial, así como las estrategias de adecuación de registro, entretreídos con ciertos giros funcionales y recursos retóricos, pueden afianzar un significado o bien echarlo a perder.

Pues bien, lo primero que resalta a nivel de transferencia interlingüística es la confusión entre los verbos *ser*, *estar* y *haber*. Así, el uso de dos verbos españoles en las situaciones en las que el rumano

aparentemente utiliza sólo uno (*a fi*, en cuya conjugación⁴ en presente de indicativo parecen mezclarse las formas de los españoles *ser* y *estar*) para indicar tanto existencia como ubicación, acaba confundiendo incluso a los alumnos residentes de por vida en Rumanía, que acaban diciendo

(1) Rumano

*În cameră există un copil*⁵

en cuarto-NOM-INDF existir un-DET niño-NOM-INDF

por

*În cameră se află un copil*⁶

Edificante en igual medida, esta vez para la transferencia desde el rumano, es el error que hace un emigrante al afirmar que:

(2) Al despertar, la rana ya no **había** en el frasco...,

ya que éste no deseaba comunicarnos en absoluto que la rana hubiera dejado de existir, sino que ya no se ubicaba/ encontraba donde la había dejado el niño la noche anterior.

Sin lugar a dudas, lograr asimilar las peculiaridades gramaticales contrastivas a fuerza de machacones – porque no hay de otra –, al grado de llegar a aplicarlas de la misma forma natural que un nativo, que invariablemente las da por sentadas, sorprendentemente puede hacer que, una vez implantadas en el inconsciente – allí donde ha de tenerlas un forastero si es que pretende expresarse de forma correcta en una L2 –, éstas terminen colándose en el propio idioma materno. De ahí que, por ejemplo, la forma impersonal del verbo *haber*, que tanto les cuesta incluso a los nativos hispanohablantes, se transfiera al habla de algunos alumnos rumanos y les impida hacer la concordancia con el sujeto múltiple:

(3) *În această imagine este un copil, un câine și o broască*⁷

en esta imagen ser-PRS-3SG un-DET niño-NOM-INDF, un-DET PERRO-NOM-INDF Y una-DET rana-NOM-INDF

en vez de

În această imagine sunt un copil, un câine și o broască

⁴ Ro. eu sunt, tu ești, el/ea este, noi suntem, voi/ Dvs. sunteți, ei/ele sunt.

⁵ ‘En el cuarto existe un niño.’

⁶ ‘En el cuarto hay un niño’.

⁷ ‘En esta imagen hay un niño, un perro y una rana’.

ser-PRS-3PL.

Por otra parte, todo apunta a la homografía que hermana a los verbos *ser* e *ir* en pretérito indefinido, como fuente de un error como

(4) *Au fost să o caute în pădure*⁸
 Ser-PRF buscar-SBJV o-PRO-ACC en bosque-NOM-INDF,

donde lo correcto en rumano habría sido emplear el verbo *ir* (*a merge*).

Como se deducirá del ejemplo anterior, a diferencia de lo que sucede en el español estándar, el contraste entre pretérito perfecto y pretérito indefinido, con su abanico entero de matices inherentes, se neutraliza en el rumano estándar, donde, al igual que en algunas hablas dialectales peninsulares o hispanoamericanas, el uso del pretérito perfecto prevalece indistintamente. Como tal, la falta de práctica *in situ*, sumada al escaso tratamiento que se le da al pretérito simple dentro de las aulas rumanas, a menos que éste constituya un rasgo diatópico y se le dé la debida importancia a nivel regional, actuarían como eximentes para un error endémico de desarrollo, concretado bien en comisión, en la confusión y hasta fusión propiamente dicha de la formas de este tiempo verbal – desterrado por arcaico y regional – con las del pretérito pluscuamperfecto, ambos tiempos contando con formas sintéticas de conjugación, esto es, con morfemas flexivos de tiempo pegados a la raíz, por oposición al castellano, donde el pluscuamperfecto tiene una forma analítica. Así pues, tal vez también por causa del contagio con alguna forma popular de imperfecto⁹, no han sido pocos los casos en los que los rumanos con el español como L2 han desenvainado híbridos inexistentes del tipo:

(5) *dase= da~dădea+ dăduse*
 dar-IPF-3SG dar-PCP-3SG

en vez de la forma correcta del pretérito indefinido, *dădu*. Asimismo, es frecuente entre los rumanófonos nativos la sustitución indebida del pretérito perfecto/ indefinido por el pluscuamperfecto:

(6) *Cerbul l-a luat în coarne pe copilaș și îl aruncase în apă.*¹⁰

⁸ 'Fueron a buscarla por el bosque'.

⁹ Por ejemplo: *sta~stătea=* 'estaba sentado/de pie'.

¹⁰ 'El ciervo enganchó en sus cuernos al niño y lo **había arrojado** al agua'.

Ciervo-NOM-DEF tomar-PRF-3SG en cuernos al niño y tirar -PCP
 en agua-NOM-INDF
 en vez de

‘El ciervo lo enganchó en sus cuernos y lo **arrojó**¹¹ al agua’.

Si bien las muestras de empleo erróneo del pluscuamperfecto no abundan en las emisiones de los informantes de Rumanía, lo que sí pudimos advertir a este respecto fue de hecho una tendencia generalizada a evitar usarlo. En dicho sentido, cabe señalar que de cinco rumanos con E/LE, dos se decantaban por una narración en presente histórico, eventualmente glisando en una narración en pasado sobre la marcha, con lo cual las fronteras entre anterioridad, simultaneidad y posterioridad quedan difuminadas. Una aguda conciencia cronológica sobresale, en cambio, en el bando de los rumanos de España, la mayoría de los cuales optaron por usar el pluscuamperfecto cada vez que correspondía.

Por otro lado, si en el caso anterior, eran los aclimatados en tierras extrañas los inclinados a complicar y matizar de por sí las cosas, cuando las complicaciones forman una parte inalienable de la gramática de dicha lengua, el ímpetu de trecho en trecho simplificador del español se estrella contra las complicaciones del rumano, haciendo que un aprendiz de E/LE haga la concordancia del adjetivo relativo posesivo a la española, esto es prescindiendo del cruce propio del rumano (relativo-nombre antepuesto; artículo genitivo-nombre pospuesto). Así pues – además de oscurecer el sentido de la frase al equivocarse de poseedor en virtud de lo que suponemos fue la urgencia comunicativa, ya que “las impresiones” en realidad eran del niño-receptor, que percibe y filtra la realidad –, el malogro de la siguiente oración en parte también se debe al uso erróneo del relativo:

(7) *un copac după care se ascunde și un cerb, a căror prime impresii sunt pașnice*¹²

árbol-NOM-INDF tras el cual esconderse PRS-3SG y un ciervo-
 NOM-INDF cuyas primeras impresiones son pacíficas

¹¹ Ro. <‘*il aruncă/l-a aruncat*’.

¹² Recurriendo a una formulación más adecuada, lo anterior vendría a ser ‘un árbol tras el cual se esconde también un ciervo cuyos visos son pacíficos/que lleva visos de ser/ que aparenta ser pacífico’ lo cual, traspuesto a su vez en un correcto rumano bajo un prisma gramatical a la par que lógico, se traduciría: ‘*un copac după care se ascunde și un cerb, ale căruí semne/ mișcări sunt pașnice/ sunt semnale de pace*’.

En cuanto al pronombre relativo concierne, destacaríamos que la omisión tan frecuente a nivel cotidiano de la preposición obligatoria para distinguir el nominativo del acusativo en rumano, es recurrente entre los hispanohablantes de Rumanía, quienes, por contagio con la variante española, donde, sin embargo, se echa mano de la forma reflexiva del verbo *llamar* (ro. ‘*a se numi*’), tienden a no distinguir entre el nominativo

(8) *cineva care-l chema pe George*¹³ y el acusativo *cineva pe care-l chema George*¹⁴.

Sacando a colación ya no tanto las preposiciones omitidas, sino las reemplazadas erróneamente, el caso de los adjetivos de régimen preposicional es una prueba contundente para la interferencia de una L2 en la L1 de los aprendices que, por contagio con el español, llegan a afirmar que están

(8) *fericiți cu ideea/ gândul că...*¹⁵ en vez de *fericiți la ideea/ gândul că...*

o

(9) *suspicios de ceva*¹⁶ en vez de *suspicios cu privire/ în legătură cu ceva*.

Conviene señalar que la omisión de pronombres y artículos es igualmente nefasta en rumano puesto que, si bien la omisión del pronombre en español la mayoría de las veces no altera el significado de la frase, ya que el sujeto se puede inferir del contexto, la omisión del pronombre *ellos* en una oración rumana es totalmente desaconsejable en un caso como

(10) *iar [ei] își iau broasca acasă*¹⁷,

donde, a falta de éste, cabría contemplar la función adverbial iterativa (=‘otra vez’, ‘de nuevo’) que entraña la conjunción copulativa *iar*. Por otra parte la omisión del artículo en posición enclítica del que normalmente requieren los nombres comunes para formar el dativo en rumano, a diferencia del español, que lo resuelve añadiendo la

¹³ ‘alguien que llamaba a Jorge’.

¹⁴ ‘alguien que se llamaba Jorge’.

¹⁵ ‘felices/contentos con la idea de que’.

¹⁶ ‘desconfiado de algo’.

¹⁷ ‘ellos se llevan la rana de regreso para su casa’.

preposición *a*, genera confusiones no poco desdeñables como el caso citado a continuación del discurso de un aprendiz español como L2:

(11) *Copilul îi vine în minte*¹⁸, frente a (12) *Copilului îi vine în minte*¹⁹.

Por último, la elipsis verbal que aparece en un ejemplo del rumano: *când în apă*²⁰, también hunde sus raíces en lo que son los hábitos de expresión en español.

Mas, si la omisión de elementos es algo esporádico, lo que a raíz de las pruebas efectuadas se erige como error sistemático en los aprendices rumanos, por recurrente a veces a lo largo de una sola narración, es la adición pleonástica en construcciones como

(13) *a căzut jos*²¹ (14) *a coborât jos*²²,

cosa que, vale la pena enfatizarlo, jamás ha surgido en los discursos en rumano de nuestros informantes de España.

Habiendo descuajado, pues, tres de los vicios idiomáticos más arraigados en los rumanófonos, a saber: el pleonismo ya citado, el abuso del gerundio y de la pasiva, a los bilingües de España parece habersele pegado, en cambio, uno típicamente español, en concreto, el leísmo:

(15) se quedó admirándole [\Leftrightarrow a la rana].

Por otro lado, para ilustrar un caso inverso más, el énfasis que una inversión sintáctica le imprime a un discurso en castellano, una vez trasladado al rumano, puede provocar serios cambios semánticos. Es el caso de una frase emitida por un informante rumano quien, al alterar el orden sintáctico de la siguiente manera

(16) *atunci a văzut broscuța că avea o familie*²³,

lo que consigue es convertir en sujeto de la oración principal lo que debería ser parte de la subordinada completiva directa, cuando en realidad el contexto suponía una elipsis de sujeto:

¹⁸ ‘el niño le viene a la mente=recuerda al niño’

¹⁹ ‘al niño se le ocurre’.

²⁰ ‘cuando/una vez en el agua’.

²¹ ‘cayó al suelo’.

²² ‘bajó abajo’.

²³ ‘entonces vio la ranita que tenía una familia’.

*atunci [copilul] a văzut/ a văzut [copilul] că broscuța avea o familie*²⁴.

Visto lo anterior, estimamos justo sostener que el peso de la interferencia lingüística estriba en el armazón de calcos semánticos que configuran los ejemplos que citaremos a continuación:

(a) De los aprendices de E/LE destacamos: la transferencia al rumano del valor aspectual incoativo que conlleva la perífrasis *ponerse+a+infinitivo*

(17) *s-au pus să caute în pom*²⁵,
ponerse-PRF-3PL buscar- SBJV en árbol-NOM-INDF

la expresión *au urmat căutarea*²⁶ por *au continuat căutarea*, ya que ro. *a urma* significa ‘seguir a alguien’, y el forzado uso perifrástico resultativo encerrado en una construcción como *resultar ser*, que en rumano colinda con el barbarismo en un contexto como:

(18) *au rezultat să fie deranjate de prezența lor*²⁷,
Resultar-PRF-3PL ser- SBJV molestos (n) por su presencia

que sin duda tendría un correspondiente más acertado en

*s-au arătat deranjate de prezența lor*²⁸.

(b) Por su parte, en lo atinente a los rumanos que han vuelto de España, el calco *a lua studii*, así como la preferencia por la variante neológica, *preocupat*, a su variante patrimonial, *îngrijorat*, parecen estar inspirados en el español *tomar clases* y *preocupado*, respectivamente.

(c) Por lo que a los rumanófonos emigrantes se refiere, en su discurso en rumano cobra realce un término como *istoria* para referirse al cuento, cuando, al contrario de lo que sucede en español, éste se suele emplear para aludir a la sucesión de acontecimientos pasados oficiales de una nación. Asimismo, cabe citar el uso erróneo, identificado en dos de los nueve relatos concebidos por los rumanos emigrantes entrevistados, del sintagma *apă profundă*, claramente inspirado en el español *agua profunda*. En dicho sentido, el error descansa en que, en rumano, el

²⁴ ‘entonces el niño vio/ vio el niño que la ranita tenía una familia’.

²⁵ ‘se pusieron a buscar en el árbol’.

²⁶ ‘siguieron (con) la búsqueda’.

²⁷ ‘[los animales] resultaron (ser) molestados por su presencia’.

²⁸ ‘se mostraron molestos por su presencia’.

adjetivo *profundo* determina sustantivos abstractos, quedando el uso concreto reservado para su doblete semántico, *adânc*.

Por otro lado, el modo en que el rumano influye en la destreza comunicativa oral en español de los bilingües emigrantes, que se ven obligados a hacer un cambio consecutivo de código, queda patente, entre otros casos, en la equivocación de género en una palabra como *cuento*, que termina ensartada en este rosario de errores lingüísticos, no por filiación mental con las bolitas que normalmente lo componen, sino por contagio con el género femenino de su correlato rumano, que deriva en *el cuenta*. Asimismo, un sintagma como *gritó desde la ventana*, se remonta claramente al significado doble que entraña el verbo rumano *a striga*: por una parte, ‘clamar’, ‘decir algo en voz alta’, y, por otra parte, ‘llamar a alguien en voz alta’.

Pero el apartado léxico-semántico definitivamente no concluye aquí, pues mención aparte merece una serie de fenómenos peculiares sobremañera que a efectos prácticos maridan lo hilarante y lo siniestro en cuanto a propiedad de términos y cultura general se refiere. Esta vez en el punto de mira están la fauna, los heterónimos, los nombres de sustantivos colectivos, los nombres de crías, los sonidos emitidos por los animales y otros términos que exigen una competencia idiomática superior.

Para comenzar con lo más evidente, habrá que atender el tratamiento lingüístico que los alumnos le dieron a la peculiar mascota del protagonista del cuento. Por lo tanto, hay que puntualizar que, si bien el anfibio es sustantivo epiceno en español, en rumano no lo es. Por ende, tendremos *la rana hembra* y *la rana macho* por una parte, y por la otra, *broasca* y *broscoiul*.

Habida cuenta de ello, para nuestros informantes rumanos, el no poder descifrar si el personaje del cuento que tenían que narrar era hembra o macho fue solamente el comienzo de una situación problemática en la que se vieron inmersos. Prueba de este estado de confusión mental es precisamente que algunos informantes de la categoría A empezaran el cuento utilizando el femenino (*o broască/broscuță*), pero haciendo el resto de la concordancia en masculino, ya que parecían tener en el punto de mira al “amigo” – M – que el niño había encontrado en su mascota. Lo mismo explica que otros cambiaran de parecer sobre la marcha y decidieran operar un cambio de género en los determinantes y/o sustitutos nominales, sobre todo al comprobar que la rana había formado una familia. Ello motiva en parte que algunos discentes de la categoría C se decantaran incluso por la variante *sapo* – asimilable en rumano al vocablo *broscoi* –, aun cuando en castellano el mismo aluda a una especie distinta. Finalmente, para

zanjar el asunto, hemos de decir que solamente un informante del total que suman las categorías A y B juntas y dos de la categoría C decidieron proponer la forma *femelă vs mascul*, y *la rana macho con su hembra* o viceversa, respectivamente, mientras que, salvando los casos de oscilación de género anteriormente mencionados, los demás alumnos que integran los tres grupos optaron bien por términos como *partenerul/perechea/jumătatea sa, su pareja* o por recurrir a la personificación, distinguiendo, por consiguiente, entre la rana y *su esposo/a* (ro. ‘*soțul/soția*’). No por último, hubo quien aventuró el correlato femenino *broscoaică*, artificialmente creado a partir del ro. *broscoi*.

Para dar un paso más, al tener que designar a las crías de las ranas, la mayoría de los informantes de Rumanía se refirieron a éstos con la palabra atinada: *pui*. Por otra parte, cuando no se recurrió a la forma diminutiva ro. *broscuțe vs ranitas*, en aquellos casos donde se había acudido a la personificación en una primera fase, esto es, otorgando a los progenitores anfibios cualidades humanas (incluso llegando al ro. *tătic*= ‘papito’), para seguir la misma línea, se denominó a las crías «hijos» o «críos» (1xC). Hubo sólo dos casos dentro de la categoría C, cuando los discentes decidieron emplear el término *renacuajos*, aun cuando las imágenes mostraban unas crías de rana que habían superado el estado evolutivo que supone el renacuajo. Pese a cualquier expectativa, el correlato rumano *mormoloci* no fue sacado a colación en ningún momento en tierras rumanas.

De manera semejante, como si hecho adrede para defraudar las expectativas de los investigadores, en cuanto al sonido emitido por las ranas, el ansiado *croar* o siquiera el *canto* de las ranas, tal y como lo recogen los diccionarios, no salieron en ningún discurso de aquéllos viviendo allende el Mediterráneo. Con respecto a los aprendices rumanos, hubo un solo conato de pronunciar el término *orăcăit/orăcăială*, que, sin embargo, se quedó a medio decir, siendo rápidamente sustituido por uno de los hiperónimos por los se decantarían también el resto de los discentes: *zgomot/sunet* y *ruido/sonido*, respectivamente. Para nuestra sorpresa, un aprendiz de la categoría A mencionó el insólito *zumbido de las ranas* (ro. ‘*zumzet de broaște*’), cosa que, sin embargo, a nuestro juicio, tiene más que ver con unos insectos (p. ej. moscas o abejas), como los que tocaremos a continuación, que con las ranas.

Avanzando un paso más con nuestro análisis, los siguientes en poner a nuestros informantes en apuros fueron los sustantivos colectivos, por un lado, y nombres de escondites o refugios de los animales, por el otro.

Teniendo en cuenta las imágenes, cabe señalar que era bastante difícil discernir si estábamos ante unas abejas o avispas y, debido a su gran parecido, el *hormiguero*²⁹ bien podía pasar por *topera*³⁰ y viceversa. Esto sí, una vez interpretado el referente, esto es, habiendo decidido si estamos ante una *colmena de abejas*³¹, un *avispero*³² etc., la coherencia con el término que se escoja ha de ser guardada a lo largo de todo el relato. Con todo y eso, las graves confusiones terminológicas detectadas ratifican el que la mayoría de los discentes examinados no dominan ni la terminología específica, ni saben distinguir nítidamente entre varias nociones dicotómicas como lo estático-lo dinámico, por ejemplo. Baste citar como emblemáticas muestras de ello los siguientes híbridos léxicos y demás derivados inapropiados por designar una realidad vinculada con, pero no idéntica a la que figuraba en las imágenes:

(A) + (B): *mușuroi de albine, cuib de albine, stup de viespi*

(C): colmena de avispas, nido de abejas, *abejero* ('apicultor', 'persona que se dedica a criar las abejas y cuidar de las colmenas'), *colmenar* ('conjunto de o lugar donde están las colmenas').

Evidentemente, los términos acertados sí se nombraron en ocasiones, mas, si con esto habían atinado, sucedió que las tintas se cargaban hasta rozar lo hilarante cuando, en vez de afirmar, como es natural, que *el enjambre de abejas va persiguiendo al niño* y que *la colmena o el avispero se cae al suelo*, se presentaban unas situaciones en las que: *a căzut roiul*³³ (A)+(B)+(C), *câinele este urmărit de către stupul de albine*³⁴ (A)+(B), o *mușuroiul cade la pământ*³⁵ (A).

En lo que toca a la fauna, los rumanos demostraron tener vastos conocimientos al respecto, ya que barajaron términos como: *sconcs, oposum, castor, bursuc, șoarece, șobolan, hamster, cârțiță, viezure, hârciog, popândău, nevăstuică, cerb, căprioară*, frente a los estudiantes de España que se quedaron con *topo, ratón, ardilla* y *ciervo*. No obstante, hay que señalar que con *la tortuga*³⁶, *el reno*, *el delfín*, *el buitre*³⁷, el *halcón*³⁸ y el *gavilán*³⁹ por desgracia éstos no han dado en el

²⁹ Ro. 'mușuroi de furnici'.

³⁰ Ro. 'mușuroi de cârțiță'.

³¹ Ro. 'stup de albine'.

³² Ro. 'cuib de viespi'.

³³ 'se cayó el enjambre'.

³⁴ 'al perro lo va persiguiendo la colmena entera...'

³⁵ 'el hormiguero' —que se supone está ya en la tierra— 'se cae al suelo'.

³⁶ ro. 'broască țestoasă'.

³⁷ ro. 'vultur'.

clavo ya que, además de no corresponder al hábitat, dichos animales o aves están lejos de corresponderse con las imágenes, allí donde no hay sino una rana, un ciervo y un búho.

Teniendo en cuenta las pruebas a las que se les sometieron, tal parece que los emigrantes no tienen problema en matizar y recordar palabras precisas de su idioma materno. Así pues, éstos no tardan en recordar, al dar el salto desde su actual L1, las palabras idóneas como: *vizuină*⁴⁰, *scorbură*, *buştean/buturugă*, que la mayoría de los alumnos pertenecientes a la categoría A se mostraron propensos a sustituir por *gaură*⁴¹ – con la variante aislada *bortică*⁴² –, *trunchi*⁴³ o *lemn*⁴⁴. Por su parte, los aprendices de Rumanía presumen, sin embargo, de más conocimientos teóricos en cuanto a hidrografía: *iaz*⁴⁵, *baltă*⁴⁶, *râu*⁴⁷, *lac*⁴⁸, *mlaştină*⁴⁹ y *mare*⁵⁰, mientras que sus expaisanos barajan los términos *precipicio*, *barranco*, *acantilado*, lo que en rumano vendría a ser *râpă* o *prăpastie*. Pero lo más importante, además, es que los segundos describen correctamente lo que es *caerse por un barranco* o *acantilado*, o *caerse por/desde la ventana*, mientras que, según lo visto, algunos alumnos rumanos suelen tener bastantes deslices del tipo:

(19) *a căzut de pe prăpastie*⁵¹ o *a căzut de pe geam*⁵²

en vez de

*a căzut de pe marginea prăpastiei*⁵³ o *a căzut pe geam/ de pe pervazul geamului*⁵⁴ y

*a căzut în prăpastie*⁵⁵.

³⁸ ro. ‘şoim’.

³⁹ ro. ‘uliu’.

⁴⁰ ‘madriguera’.

⁴¹ ‘agujero’, ‘hueco’.

⁴² ‘resquicio’.

⁴³ ‘tronco’.

⁴⁴ ‘madera’ B; a lo mejor por asociación espontánea con *madero*.

⁴⁵ ‘estanque’.

⁴⁶ ‘charco’.

⁴⁷ ‘río’.

⁴⁸ ‘lago’.

⁴⁹ ‘pantano’.

⁵⁰ ‘mar’.

⁵¹ ‘se ha caído del barranco’.

⁵² ‘se ha caído de encima de la ventana’.

⁵³ ‘se ha caído desde el extremo superior del barranco’.

⁵⁴ ‘se ha caído por la ventana/ desde el alféizar de la ventana’.

A la hora de valorar cada una de las producciones narrativas de nuestros informantes en sí, existen, no obstante, algunos procedimientos, de corte pragmático-funcional que no influyen tanto a nivel oracional, cuanto a la estructura discursiva en su conjunto. Dicho de otra forma, el impacto que ciertos relatos producen en el oyente se debe, en parte, también a los recursos retóricos que se haya decidido emplear. En este sentido, cobran realce las fórmulas de apertura y cierre de un discurso. Y, desde este punto de vista, cabe evidenciar que, si bien seis de los nueve emigrantes entrevistados iniciaron tanto sus relatos en español como en rumano siguiendo los patrones estilísticos de un cuento de hadas: «Érase/Había una vez un niño...», «A fost/Era odată ca niciodată un băiețel...», lo mismo ocurre solamente en un 20% de los cuentos creados por los alumnos de Rumanía, ya que la mayoría de éstos prefirieron empezarlos con la fórmula: «În această poveste/ aceste imagini este vorba despre...», lo cual viene a decir que ‘Este cuento versa sobre/va de.../En estas imágenes se trata de...’. Vendría al caso citar en este punto también la interjección *¡y anda que...!* utilizada por uno de los nueve aprendices inmigrantes, que funciona como magnífico artificio compositivo, así como la pregunta retórica *Și ce să vezi?* (literalmente ‘¿Y qué hay que ver?’), que viene a ser un excelente conector oracional.

Conclusiones

El surtido de errores que hemos venido analizando a lo largo del presente trabajo – que hemos intentado desgranar dándoles a cada uno relevancia no tanto cuantitativa, esto es estadística, sino más bien cualitativa – ha propiciado unos hallazgos desasosegantes. Desde luego, nos alegra comprobar que gran parte de los rumanos emigrantes no olvidaron del todo su lengua materna. Ahora bien, el que, incluida la alternancia de código, un puñado de emigrantes cometan menos errores lingüísticos en la que fue su L1 frente a unos hablantes que conservan todavía su lengua materna, requiere plantearse unos serios interrogantes.

¿Será que los rumanos estamos encallados en un sistema de enseñanza demasiado rígido, que encorseta a docentes y discentes mediante el exceso de conocimientos y la mirada demasiado puesta en fomentar la expresión escrita, a costa de desatender la práctica oral?

Y es que ya no se trata de tener o no tener conciencia metalingüística, sino, en el marco del experimento que hemos llevado a cabo, de contar con o carecer de una capacidad comunicativa eficiente.

⁵⁵ ‘se ha caído directo al barranco’.

Según se desprende de los resultados de nuestro estudio, expuestos más arriba, los bilingües que han crecido en un contexto de inmersión lingüística, conviviendo con una nación que en más de una ocasión ha preferido sacrificar la corrección formal en aras de la expresividad, han hecho constar no sólo su capacidad superior a la hora de realizar la selección paradigmática e inmediata combinación sintagmática de forma intuitiva, coordinando dos sistemas lingüísticos a la vez, sino que ha sacado en claro el que éstos realmente disponen de una potente habilidad comunicativa a todos los niveles, derivada ésta de un alto desarrollo cognitivo y una gran flexibilidad mental, pero, ante todo, socioemocional, que les permite mantener el control ejecutivo verbal sin que se cohíban, y sin restarle fluidez expresiva al discurso.

En otras palabras, pese a que en nuestro caso particular, el español realmente pone al alcance de sus usuarios un abanico más amplio de sinónimos y conectores oracionales, los aprendices emigrantes desde tiernas edades, hechos al aprendizaje contrastivo, son los que con más probabilidades cuentan de recordar las sutilezas de su lengua materna, además de llegar a hacer, gracias al rendimiento superior de su memoria operatoria, un uso sumamente rico y eficaz – con la palabra adecuada, el matiz justo, la coherencia y la cohesión en su punto – de su nueva L1. Así pues, hemos podido comprobar por nosotros mismos que, por lo que a la destreza oral atañe, los locuaces o bien brevilocuentes estudiantes emigrantes rumanos no han dejado en ningún momento de ser elocuentes, y su capacidad de reformular la frase en el acto, sin que por ello se atasque o ralentice el discurso, es parangonable a la soltura de unos malabaristas verbales.

¿Será éste el acicate que Rumanía necesite para abrir de par en par las puertas que hasta hoy día ha mantenido entornadas para el español, y no sólo para éste, sino para cualquier lengua en cuyo centro axiológico están la valoración y cultivación de las virtudes idiomáticas propias, pero a la que no lo una ánimo de lucro alguno?

Para colofón, este proyecto de investigación nos ha permitido tomar el pulso de una parte de las jóvenes generaciones discentes. Generalizar más allá de lo que nos autorizan los datos sería incurrir a nuestra vez en un error. No obstante, entre los resultados que hemos podido compartir en la presente y el resto que aún nos queda por difundir, tenemos una pista acerca de en lo que vale la pena seguir indagando.

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ABREVIATURAS

- 3=3ª persona
ACC= Acusativo
DEF=Artículo definido
DET=determinante
E/LE=Español Lengua Extranjera
INDF=Artículo indefinido
IPF=Preterito Imperfecto de Indicativo
L1=lengua materna/ primera lengua (según el caso)

L2=segunda lengua
M=género masculino
n-género neutro en rumano
NOM=Nombre
PCP=Preterito Pluscuamperfecto de Indicativo
PL=plural
PRF= Preterito Perfecto de Indicativo
PRO= pronombre
PRS=Presente de Indicativo
SBJV = Subjuntivo
SFL=Spanish Foreign Language
SG=singular



Categoria gramaticală a determinării – elemente în litigiu

Lavinia Dălălău (Nasta)*

The Grammatical Category of Determination – Disputed Elements

Abstract:

The present article addresses the controversial issues within the category of determination in Romanian language. The focus of this study will be aimed towards three important aspects: the name of the category, the members of the paradigm and the lexico-grammatical class to which this category belongs.

Keywords: grammatical category, terminology, members of the paradigm, noun, verb

0. Din a doua jumătate a secolului trecut, lingviștii români au adăugat la inventarul categoriilor gramaticale și determinarea. Dacă la început opiniile privitoare la noul concept erau unitare, pe măsura înmulțirii studiilor, părerile au devenit tot mai diversificate, făcându-se loc interpretărilor și controverselor. Acest lucru ne-a determinat să semnalăm principalele elemente în litigiu care privesc noua categorie gramaticală, elemente pe care gramaticile contemporane nu le-au avut în vedere.¹

Pentru a putea defini o categorie gramaticală, ar trebui mai întâi să se cunoască exact cărei/ căror clase lexico-gramaticale îi aparține (substantiv, verb, adjectiv etc.), denumirea (gen, număr, caz, persoană, mod, timp)² și numărul membrilor. Dacă în cazul celorlalte categorii gramaticale aceste aspecte sunt, prin tradiție, bine stabilite, fără posibilitatea interpretărilor, nu același lucru se întâmplă cu determinarea, categorie care întâmpină divergențe la nivelul fiecăruia dintre cele trei aspecte amintite.

În continuare, ne propunem să prezentăm cele trei elemente discutabile care privesc noua categorie gramaticală, precizând încă de la

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¹ În studiul de față, vom semnală exclusiv elementele discutabile, nu vom avea în vedere părerile și definițiile unitare, lucru de care s-a ocupat GALR.

² Nu avem în vedere gradul de comparație și diateza, categorii gramaticale discutabile.

început că în lingvistica românească există două direcții de interpretare a categoriei în discuție: (1) categorie gramaticală specifică numelui și (2) categorie gramaticală extinsă la verb.

1. Categorie gramaticală specifică numelui

Odată cu apariția studiilor în care se pledează pentru integrarea articolului în rândul morfemelor, Paula Diaconescu (Diaconescu, 1961: 163–169; Idem, 1970: 80) și Valeria Guțu Romalo (Guțu Romalo, 1967: 225–236; Idem, 1968: 77–81; Iordan, Guțu Romalo, Niculescu, 1967: 166–179) aduc în discuție o nouă accepție a determinării, considerând că aceasta reprezintă a patra categorie gramaticală a numelui. Inovația, care constă nu în excluderea articolului dintre părțile de vorbire și încadrarea lui în rândul morfemelor³, ci în afirmarea unei noi categorii gramaticale a numelui, cunoaște o extindere neașteptată. Cei mai mulți preiau teoria determinării așa cum este prezentată de cele două inițiatoare, însă sunt și lingviști care prelucrează noul concept, aducând modificări terminologice și/ sau de clasificare a membrilor din paradigmă.

1.1. Probleme de natură terminologică

Primul obstacol în definirea noii categorii îl reprezintă denumirea. Valeria Guțu Romalo și Paula Diaconescu au propus conceptul de „determinare”, fără vreun alt calificativ, menționând că se poate manifesta lexical sau gramatical. Ulterior, adepții acestei teorii au susținut că este nevoie de o specializare terminologică, de aceea, fie au recomandat un alt concept, fie l-au completat pe primul. Amintim lingviștii care nu au fost de acord cu denumirea propusă de cele două autoare.

(1) Pentru a face distincție între determinarea de la nivelul sintactic și determinarea de la nivelul morfologic, Iorgu Iordan și Vladimir Robu propun o rafinare terminologică, vorbind despre o *determinare liberă* și despre o *determinare minimală*. Prin determinarea liberă, se referă la determinarea în accepția clasică a termenului, în timp ce prin determinarea minimală se înțelege funcția caracteristică relației dintre un lexem determinat (adică regent) și un morfem determinant minimal care are ca mijloc de expresie articolul (Iordan, Robu, 1978: 344). În concepția celor doi lingviști, un nume determinat de articol formează o sintagmă primară/ minimală, o sintagmă-cuvânt, o sintagmă legată care

³ În limba română, articolului i se recunoaște statutul de morfem înainte de dezbateră pe tema determinării. A se vedea în acest sens Ciorănic, 1953: 83 („noi credem că în limba română articolul hotărât trebuie considerat morfem”), și Iacob, 1957: 17 (articolul „devenit de fapt un morfem”).

poate fi individualizată în diferite grade (*Ibidem*: 355), în funcție de tipul de articol care însoțește substantivul.

(2) Gh. Constantinescu-Dobridor (1998: s.v. *determinare*) deosebește **determinarea concretă**, „realizată cu ajutorul unor cuvinte care dispun de sens lexical”, de **determinarea abstractă**, „realizată cu ajutorul unor cuvinte care nu dispun de sens lexical, ci numai de o semnificație gramaticală”. Pentru această denumire pledează și Ștefan Găitănanu, cu precizarea că acesta consideră determinarea abstractă o categorie semigramaticalizată (Găitănanu, 1998: 64).

Observație. În concepția lui G. G. Neamțu, aceste diviziuni ale determinării sunt discutabile și complică lucrurile, „deoarece nu există două categorii gramaticale ale determinării” (Neamțu, 2014: 280) pentru care să fie nevoie de o rafinare terminologică, ci există doar determinare despre care se poate vorbi la diferite niveluri ale limbii.

(3) Ținând cont de nivelul la care este plasată determinarea, Dumitru Irimia vorbește despre o **determinare categorială/ determinare morfologică/ determinare categorial-morfologică** în opoziție cu alte două tipuri de determinare: **sintactică** (relație sintactică de subordonare/determinare) și **lexicală** (în cazul substantivelor proprii) (Irimia, 1997: 57–58). Lingvistul merge mai departe cu selecția terminologică, deosebind în cadrul determinării categorial-morfologicedouă subtipuri: **determinarea minimă**, exprimată prin articolul nedefinit, și **determinarea maximă**, exprimată prin articolul definit (*Ibidem*: 54–55).

(4) În lucrarea *Nominalitatea în limba română*, Ana Vărăjitoru se arată refractară conceptului în discuție. Autoarea reproșează cuvântului „determinare” faptul că „are un sens prea general pentru a putea fi folosit pentru această semnificație specială” (Vărăjitoru, 1998: 64). Termenul pe care îl propune este „nominalitate”, susținând că „exprimă apropierea conținutului acestei categorii gramaticale de esența substantivului” (*Ibidem*).

Observație. Ana Vărăjitoru alege în schimbul unui termen „cu sens prea general” un altul despre care nu putem spune că are un sens particular/ individual, întrucât, în limba română, în categoria nominalului intră atât substantivul, cât și substitutele sale, pronumele și numeralul. Conform *GALR*, „nominalul” nu este sinonim cu „substantiv”, ci „substantivul” este inclus în „nominal” (*GALR*, 2005: 73). Astfel, acceptând această denumire, s-ar putea înțelege că **nominalitatea** este o categorie caracteristică nu doar substantivului cum și-a dorit autoarea, ci oricărui termen nominal. Prin urmare, noțiunea propusă nu este întocmai satisfăcătoare.

(5) Un alt oponent al conceptului de „determinare” este Alexandru Toșa. Acesta e de părere că „determinarea e o operație logică, limitată la noțiunile ordinate, necuprinzând speciile infime, noțiuni exprimate în mare număr de substantivele românești articulate” (Toșa, 1997: 6). Astfel, cercetătorul propune denumirea de „individualizare”, deoarece conceptul „operează și asupra speciilor infime” (*Ibidem*), păstrând opozițiile din cadrul paradigmei determinării așa cum sunt prezentate de Valeria Guțu Romalo. Într-un studiu polemic la adresa unei lucrări care aparține Anei Vrăjitoru, Mihail Oprescu, la fel ca Toșa, numește articolul „instrument al individualizării” (Oprescu, 1996: 27–29).

Observație. În opinia lui Șt. Iacob, articolul trebuie integrat în rândul morfemelor, dar nu trebuie considerat morfem al individualizării. În plus, autorul nu validează existența unei categorii gramaticale a determinării, ci susține că determinarea ar fi ceva supracategorial care se poate realiza „calitativ, cantitativ sau în ambele chipuri” (Iacob, 1957: 14) atât la nivel sintactic, cât și la nivel morfologic. În acest sistem, articolul, ca morfem, ocupă o „funcțiune specifică în cadrul procesului de *determinare cantitativă* [s.n. – L. N.] a noțiunii, și anume aceea de a arăta întregul, adică integritatea noțiunii când are formă singulară și totalitatea ei când are formă plurală” (*Ibidem*: 18).

În urma celor prezentate, observăm că cea de-a patra categorie gramaticală întâmpină dificultăți încă de la denumirea ei, iar fiecare concept propus este combătut ulterior din diferite motive. Deși există o varietate de noțiuni pentru numirea aceleiași categorii, ori de câte ori ne vom referi în acest studiu la cea de-a patra categorie a numelui vom utiliza termenul de „determinare”, nu pentru că am fi de acord cu acest concept, ci pentru că este cel mai larg răspândit.

1.2. Numărul membrilor categoriei gramaticale a determinării

Un alt aspect controversat care privește subiectul în discuție este reprezentat de membrii care compun paradigma determinării. Numărul acestora diferă de la un autor la altul sau chiar în studiile aceluiași autor, după cum urmează:

(1) Categoria determinării formată dintr-un singur membru.

Această teorie este amintită, dar nu fără anumite rezerve, de G. G. Neamțu într-un studiu în care dovedește cu argumente convingătoare inexistența articolului nehotărât în limba română (Neamțu, 2014: 120–127). În urma observațiilor din acest studiu, autorul menționează că „în măsura în care – și numai dacă – se poate vorbi în română de o categorie a determinării (minimale), exclusiv morfologice, aceasta ar fi numai definită și ar corespunde, în linii mari, articulării cu articol hotărât” (*Ibidem*: 127). Ideea profesorului Neamțu este preluată, susținută și

dezvoltată într-o lucrare amplă de către Maria Aldea. Pe parcursul lucrării, lingvistica clujeană amintește în repetate rânduri că, în plan morfemic, determinarea este realizată prin articolul definit, urmând ca în finalul lucrării să reafirme „existența categoriei gramaticale a determinării în limba română, a patra categorie gramaticală a substantivului, categorie reprezentată prin articolul hotărât” (Aldea, 2006: 229).

(2) Categoria determinării formată din doi membri: articolul nehotărât și articolul hotărât.

Chiar dacă într-o primă fază afirmă că „există motive să considerăm determinarea categorie gramaticală, după cum altele ne-ar putea servi ca obiecții” (Coja, 1969: 180), Ion Coja ajunge la concluzia că opozițiile determinative ar trebui reduse la articulat hotărât – articulat nehotărât, în timp ce „nedeterminarea n-are ce căuta în cadrul...determinării”, deoarece „zero nu poate fi termen al unei opoziții” (*Ibidem*).

Acestei opinii i se alătură și G. G. Neamțu⁴ după ce neagă nedeterminării statutul de membru în paradigma determinării, menționând că determinarea este binară, adică „funcționează prin doi membri (determinat definit – determinat nedefinit) și are ca morfeme articolul hotărât și articolul nehotărât, calitate în care ele sunt morfeme ale determinării (definite, respectiv nedefinite)” (Neamțu, 2014: 271).

Despre existența unei singure opoziții (articol nehotărât – articol hotărât) în cadrul determinării vorbește și Ana Vrăjitoru, susținând că „existența sistemului paradigmatic de opoziții dezvoltat prin articularea substantivului cu articol hotărât sau nehotărât și în care se realizează o corespondență perfectă între semnificant și semnificat constituie un argument pentru afirmarea existenței categoriei gramaticale a determinării”(Vrăjitoru, 1995: 7).⁵

(3) Categoria determinării formată din trei membri: articolul hotărât, articolul nehotărât și articolul zero.

Această opinie este împărtășită de cei mai mulți lingviști, fiind preluată inclusiv în *GALR* și *GBLR*. Paula Diaconescu (1961: 163–169) și Valeria Guțu Romalo (1967: 225–236) sunt cele care vorbesc pentru prima oară în limba română de existența unui sistem triadic de opoziții în cadrul categoriei gramaticale a determinării, și anume: nedeterminat – determinat nehotărât, nedeterminat – determinat hotărât, determinat

⁴ În articolul *Observații pe marginea conceptelor de „articol” și „determinare”* (Neamțu, 2014: 270–281), lingvistul reinterpretează teoria determinării, ajungând la alte concluzii față de Neamțu, 2014: 120–127.

⁵ Ulterior, lingvistica reconsideră paradigma „nominalității”, afirmând existența a trei membri (Vrăjitoru, 1998: 65).

nehotărât – determinat hotărât. La ora actuală, paradigma trihotomică a determinării rămâne cea mai răspândită.

(4) **Categoria determinării (numită, de fapt, „categoria individualizării”) formată din patru membri: articolul hotărât, articolul nehotărât, articolul posesiv și articolul genitival.**

Sistemul cvadripartit al paradigmei individualizării este adus în discuție de Alexandru Toșa (1983: 44–45), deși într-un studiu puțin mai vechi (Toșa, 1977: 6) sublinia că individualizarea morfologică este alcătuită din trei membri. Considerând că articolul este parte de vorbire și morfem în același timp, autorul este de părere că „din punctul de vedere al raportului dintre cele două laturi ale semnului lingvistic, le *signifiant* și le *signifié*, articolele românești (toate tipurile și în toate contextele în care apar) sunt morfeme, indici, mărci, expresii ale individualizării” (Idem, 1983: 44).

(5) **Categoria determinării formată din șase membri: articolul hotărât, articolul nehotărât, articolul genitival (posesiv), articolul demonstrativ, articolul invariabil „alde” și articolul zero.**

În concepția lui Iorgu Iordan și a lui Vladimir Robu, în categoria gramaticală a determinării (minimale) intră toate cele patru tipuri de articole, pe care le consideră o clasă de morfeme: un articol dependent, cel hotărât, și trei articole semiindependente, articolul nehotărât, articolul genitival (posesiv), articolul demonstrativ (Iordan, Robu, 1978: 344). La acestea mai adaugă articolul zero „pentru a putea asigura funcția opozițiilor în cadrul sistemului paradigmatic al numelui” (*Ibidem*: 355). De asemenea, cei doi lingviști tind să creadă că inclusiv „alde este un determinant minimal semiindependent, formând sintagmă primară cu numele determinant” (*Ibidem*, 1978: 361).

(6) **Categoria gramaticală a determinării formată din opt membri.**

Petru Zugun amplifică inventarul de morfeme care compun categoria gramaticală a determinării și, alături de cei trei membri specificați de Valeria Guțu Romalo, propune alte cinci morfeme structurale: vocalizarea, devocalizarea, substituirea de semivocale, deplasarea accentului, restructurarea silabică. Prin aceste modificări de ordin fonetic-fonologic „expresia categoriei determinării, este redundantă, articolul hotărât enclitic, morfemul principal, fiind dublat sau triplat de morfemele precizate” (Zugun, 1995: 172).

Oscilația numărului de membri (de la unu la opt) care alcătuiesc paradigma determinării și reconsiderările succesive, de multe ori în cadrul operei aceluiași autor, reprezintă un motiv în plus pentru care ar trebui să privim cu scepticism această categorie inedită.

2. Categorie gramaticală extinsă la verb

Categoria gramaticală a determinării este extinsă de unii lingviști și la alte părți de vorbire, mai precis la verb. La această clasă lexico-gramaticală, morfemele noii categorii gramaticale sunt, evident, diferite față de morfemele determinării substantivale. Mai mult, autorii care vorbesc despre categoria determinării la verb nu au o părere comună cu privire la mijloacele de expresie, de aceea am decis să prezentăm în continuare opiniile celor trei lingviști care susțin această teorie:

(1) Mihaela Mîinea separă adverbele „care se raportează direct la momentul actual, adică la zero deictic” (*ieri, azi, mâine*), de cele care „realizează localizarea temporală în funcție de un alt punct decât zero deictic, din sfera de timp a viitorului sau a trecutului” (*poimîne, răspoimîne, alaltăieri*) (Mîinea, 1969: 532). În privința celor din urmă (*poimîne, răspoimîne, alaltăieri*), se spune că sunt compuse din două segmente: segmentul bază (*mîne, ieri*), care guvernează timpul verbului, și segmentul prim (*poi-, răs-, alaltă-*), care este impus de timpul verbal. Această relație aparține dintre verb și segmentul prim „pledează pentru interpretarea acestuia din urmă ca morfem gramatical al determinării verbale” (*Ibidem*: 535). Altfel spus, autoarea consideră segmentele prime *poi-, răs-, alaltă-* drept morfeme ale determinării verbale.

Observație. Pentru a susține categoria gramaticală a determinării la verb, Mihaela Mîinea sacrifică mai multe legi ale gramaticii: prefixul lexical este numit morfem gramatical, adverbul se raportează pe segmente lexicale (prefix și radical) la verb, segmentele lexicale din structura aceluiași adverb se raportează în mod diferit la verb (baza este considerată un fel de termen regent, iar prefixul este considerat un fel de termen subordonat, iar verbul, în relație cu același cuvânt, îndeplinește pe rând rolul de termen subordonat și regent). În plus, ar trebui să admitem, potrivit celor spuse de cercetătoare, că în structura *vine poimîne* am avea cel puțin două sintagme: *vine mîne, vine –poi* și, eventual, *poi– mîne*. Acest lucru ar atrage după sine alte interpretări păguboase: mijlocul de subordonare (expresia relației) și denumirea raportului dintre așa-zisii termeni.

(2) O altă lingvistă care demonstrează într-o manieră proprie existența categoriei gramaticale a determinării la verb este Elena Dragoș. Aceasta nuanțează faptul că actualizarea, caracteristica recunoscută a articolului, este, de fapt, o trăsătură specifică verbului care dispune de marca de timp (prezent). Această remarcă, dincolo de faptul că apropie clasa numelui de cea a verbului, conduce „la aprecierea existenței categoriei determinării și dincolo de nume, la verb, de

exemplu” (Dragoș, 2007: 137). Dacă, în cazul numelui, articolul este cel care dispune de calitatea de referențializare, în cazul verbului, persoana și timpul clasează referențialitatea (*Ibidem*: 137–138). Concluzia la care ajunge autoarea este că „această categorie gramaticală a determinării este ilustrativă pentru verb, în fond, el fiind purtătorul cel mai avizat al determinării temporale” (*Ibidem*: 137).

Observație. Încercând să evidențieze asemănarea dintre nume și verb, în ce privește categoria gramaticală a determinării, Elena Dragoș pierde din vedere (voit sau nu) un lucru esențial: categoria gramaticală a determinării la nume are ca mijloace de expresie elemente proprii (= articolul), în timp ce categoria gramaticală a determinării verbale are ca mijloace de expresie alte categorii gramaticale: persoana și numărul (se vorbește despre „sincretismul desinențelor personale cu morfemul de timp”) (*Ibidem*: 137). Acest lucru ne aduce în fața unei alternative:

a) fie infirmăm ipoteza Elenei Dragoș, susținând că mijloacele de expresie a unei categorii gramaticale sunt flectivele, nu alte categorii gramaticale;

b) fie afirmăm (parțial) cele spuse de cercetătoare, cu precizarea că determinarea nu este o categorie gramaticală, ci este o categorie superioară (alta decât gramaticală, urmând să stabilim de care este) care se poate manifesta și la nivel morfematic, adică la nivelul tuturor categoriilor gramaticale (inclusiv verbale). Acest lucru ne obligă să căutăm articolului un alt rol decât cel de morfem al „categoriei gramaticale a determinării”.

(3) Vorbind despre gramatica adverbilor, Dumitru Nica aduce în discuție adverbele cu înțeles actualizator/ adverbe particule (Nica, 1988: 85). Statutul incert al acestor adverbe (ex.: *chiar, și, mai, tot, cam, prea* etc.) îl determină pe autor să afirme că „pot fi încadrate în categoria determinării, ca morfeme ale determinării”, făcând „în cadrul grupului verbal oficiul pe care-l fac, în alte condiții și cu alte caracteristici formal-gramaticale, articolele în cadrul grupului nominal” (*Ibidem*: 85).

Observație 1. Spre deosebire de alți lingviști, Dumitru Nica afirmă că „elementele care servesc categoria determinării nu trebuie înțelese numai decât ca morfeme, cum lasă a se înțelege unele lucrări” (*Ibidem*: 155). Din acest motiv, considerăm că afirmațiile lingvistului presupun două variante de înțelegere:

a) determinarea este o categorie gramaticală atipică al cărei inventar cuprinde atât morfeme, cât și clase lexico-gramaticale (exemplul dat de autor: adjectivele de întărire). Din punctul nostru de vedere, această variantă de interpretare trebuie respinsă, întrucât

categoria gramaticală, prin definiție⁶, are ca mijloace de expresie exclusiv flectivele.

b) determinarea este o categorie, dar nu gramaticală, și, prin urmare, trebuie stabilit ce fel de categorie este.

Observație 2. Încadrarea adverbilor „particule” (numite și semiadverbe sau adverbe de modalitate) în rândul morfemelor o considerăm discutabilă, deoarece aceste unități, deși au corp fonetic redus, au funcție sintactică autonomă (atribut sau complement) (Neamțu, 1986: 28).

Având în vedere acest studiu, al cărui scop a fost evidențierea elementelor în litigiu care privesc noua categorie gramaticală, elemente care nu s-au avut în vedere în momentul întocmirii celor două tratate mari de gramatică (*GALR* și *GBLR*), considerăm că determinarea, în calitate de categorie gramaticală care întâmpină serioase dificultăți și controverse în mai multe puncte ale caracterizării sale (terminologia, numărul membrilor din interiorul paradigmei și clasa lexico-gramaticală căreia îi aparține), trebuie regândită în așa fel încât să ofere o perspectivă unitară asupra tuturor aspectelor discutate. În funcție de concluziile obținute în urma reconsiderării, vom putea vorbi sau nu de existența acesteia.

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Câteva considerații teoretice privind conceptele de „substitut”, „anaforă” și „proformă”

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Some Theoretical Considerations on the Concepts of
“Substitute”, “Anaphora” and “Proform”

Abstract:

This article regards the concepts of *substitute*, *anaphora* and *proform*. In literature, there frequently appears a theory that the terms previously named “considerably overlap”, but Romanian grammar draws no clear boundaries between these concepts. After the comparative analysis of the main definitions for the concepts of *substitute*, *anaphora/ anaphoric* and *proforms*, I found that the *anaphors/ anaphoricals* are a type of proforms and the *proforms* are a type of substitute, which proves that the target terms are not equivalent.

Keywords: anaphora, anaphoric element, grammatical substitution, proform, substitute form

1. Introducere

În funcție de modul specific de integrare a cuvintelor în structura enunțului, unitățile lexicale ale unei limbi se organizează în *clase lexico-gramaticale* (părți de vorbire). Cercetările moderne din perspectivă dinamică și funcțională subliniază eterogenitatea părților de vorbire, precum și interferența acestora, Gabriela Pană Dindelegan remarcând, pe bună dreptate, că „există numeroase «zone de interferență», trăsături aparținând mai multor clase” (2003: 5) și că „nu există clase **total** «neproblematică»” (2003: 6). Gramaticile noi deosebesc între clasele *lexico-gramaticale* și cele *semantico-funcționale*. Dacă fiecare clasă lexico-gramaticală este caracterizată de un set de trăsături gramaticale specifice, particularitățile gramaticale comune nu mai sunt relevante pentru clasele semantico-referențiale, ci primează *particularitățile semantice și funcționale*.

Apelând la acest criteriu de clasificare, *GALR (Cuvântul, 2005: 45–60)* a ajuns la configurarea unor clase de cuvinte care înglobează unități lingvistice diferite din punctul de vedere al statutului gramatical, „celelalte clase de cuvinte” delimitate în virtutea unor particularități

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semantice și funcționale comune fiind: *cantitativele, determinanții, proformele, substitutele, deicticele, anaforicele, conectorii și jonctivele*. Tratatul de gramatică nu are în vedere, așa cum ar fi normal, o caracterizare clară a tuturor acestor clase funcționale, ci perpetuează idei înregistrate anterior în literatura de specialitate: „termenul *proformă* interferează ca semnificație cu *anaforic/ anaforă, cataforic, pronume și substitut*” (DȘL, 1997: s.v. *pro-formă*).

2. *Proformă și substitut*

Termenul *substitut*, utilizat adesea în gramaticile mai vechi cu sensul de *pronume* („partea de vorbire care se declină și ține locul unui substantiv” (GLR, vol. I: 132) și-a extins conținutul din ce în ce mai mult. De la semnificația inițială de *înlocuitor al substantivului* s-a ajuns ca substitutul să desemneze *orice secvență care ține locul unei părți de vorbire*, indiferent dacă este substantiv, adjectiv, verb sau chiar un enunț: „un substitut poate înlocui nu numai un nume, cum se aprecia în gramatica clasică, ci toate părțile centrale de vorbire și [...] un întreg enunț” (Nica, 1988: 118). După aproape două decenii, GALR (Cuvântul, 2005: 58) afirmă că proformele „se constituie în *substitui* al altor termeni, cuvinte, grupuri de cuvinte, propoziții” și că clasa substitutelor „se suprapune în mare *proformelor*”. Observăm că o trasare clară, evidentă a limitelor dintre *substitut* și *proformă* lipsește în gramatica românească.

În urma analizei comparative a principalelor definiții ale termenilor *substitui* și *proformă*, concluzia la care am ajuns este că opoziția *substitui-proformă* cunoaște trei direcții de interpretare:

- a. termenul *substitui* este sinonim cu *proformă*;
- b. clasa substitutelor include clasa proformelor;
- c. clasa substitutelor este inclusă în clasa proformelor.

a. Termenul *substitui* este sinonim cu *proformă*

Conform Teoderei Cristea, ceea ce gramaticile generativ-transformaționale numesc *proforme* sunt, de fapt, *substitute* sau *cuvinte de economie*: „există o clasă de unități pe care le-am denumit *substitute* și a căror existență răspunde principiului fundamental al economiei limbajului”¹ (1973: 3), iar „în gramaticile mai recente, generativ-transformaționale, aceste cuvinte sunt numite *proforme*”² (1973: 4).

¹ „Il existe une classe d’unités auxquelles on a donné le nom de substitut et dont l’existence répond au principe fondamental de l’économie du langage”.

² „Dans les grammaires plus récents, génératives transformationnelles, ces mots sont appelés proformes”.

Din perspectiva gramaticii generative, *Dictionnaire de linguistique* (Dubois, Giacomo, Guespin, Marcellesi, Marcellesi, Mevel, 1973: s.v. *proforme*) definește proforma astfel:

„proforma este reprezentantul unei categorii (al substantivului, de exemplu), adică proforma reprezintă ansamblul de proprietăți care sunt comune tuturor membrilor categoriei, excluzând trăsăturile semantice care îl diferențiază pe fiecare membru al categoriei în discuție”³.

În direcția impusă de definiția anterioară, sunt proforme substantive ca: *lucru, loc, fapt* etc.

Sinonimia dintre *substitut* și *proformă* este promovată și de lingvistica englezească. În *Linguistique et grammaire de l'anglais* (Lapaire, Rotgé, Michels, 2002: 279), proforma mai este denumită „substitut” și „instrument de reluare”⁴ întrucât „metatermenul **proformă** desemnează orice lexem ce are proprietatea de a se **substitui** unuia sau mai multor alte lexeme prezente în context”⁵ (2002: 518). Și *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistic* (2005: 361) pune semnul egalității între *substitut* și *proformă*.

În gramatica limbii române, această direcție de interpretare este susținută de Adriana Gorăscu (1980: 505), de Gabriela Pană Dindelegan (2003: 69, 77, 79) și de Alexandru Dîrul (2009: 141–142), cel din urmă considerând *proforme* (= *prolexeme*) *cuvinte-substitute* sau *lexeme-substitute*.

b. Clasa substitutelor include clasa proformelor

Maria Manoliu Manea (1968: 31) atribuie substitutelor rolul de „repetare a unei informații în scopul punerii în legătură cu a doua informație”⁶, numind proforme – „pro-adjectivele, pro-verbele și pro-frazele” (1968: 209) – substitute „prin excelență”. Lingvista extinde accepțiunea termenului *substitut* și asupra sinonimelor contextuale (*substitute lexicale*).⁷

³ „La *proforme* est le représentant d’une catégorie (N, par exemple), c’est-à-dire que la *proforme* représente l’ensemble des propriétés qui sont communes à tous les membres de la catégorie, abstraction faite des traits sémantiques qui distinguent chaque membre de la catégorie en question”.

⁴ „Proforme (qui se met à la place d’une autre forme)”; „pronom (qui se met à la place d’un nom)”.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 518: „le métaterme **proforme** désigne tout lexème qui a la propriété de se **substituer** à un ou plusieurs autres lexèmes présents dans le contexte.”

⁶ Și Teodora Cristea (1973: 4) consideră că funcția principală a substitutelor este cea iterativă: ele repetă o informație exprimată anterior pentru a o pune în legătură cu o a doua informație.

⁷ Maria Manoliu Manea (1968: 33) are ca punct de plecare *Structura morfologică a limbii române contemporane* (Iorgu Iordan, Valeria Guțu Romalo, Alexandru Niculescu,

Dumitru Nica (1988: 118) afirmă că „un substitut poate înlocui nu numai un nume, [...] ci toate părțile centrale de vorbire și [...] un enunț întreg”. Lingvistul clasifică substitutele, în funcție de secvența înlocuită, în: *pro-nume*, *pro-adjective*, *pro-verbe*, *pro-adverbe* și *pro-enunț*. Conform acestei tipologii a substitutelor, s-ar putea înțelege că Nica echivalează *substitutele* și *proformele*, însă lingvistul atrage atenția că numai *substitutele gramaticale*, adică *proformele*, fac obiect de cercetare pentru gramatică, celelalte substitute, lexicale, nu sunt studiate de gramatică. În aceeași sferă de interpretare este și Em. Vasiliu, care numește proformele „substitute ale părților de vorbire” (1990: 33).

Teoria că proformele sunt un tip de substitut devine mai clară odată cu definiția dată de *DȘL* pentru termenul *substitut*, definiție din care se înțelege că *substitutele* sunt de mai multe tipuri:

1. substitute ce vizează axa paradigmatică;
2. substitute ce vizează axa sintagmatică:
 - a. substitute gramaticale sau *proforme*;
 - b. substitute lexicale sinonime contextuale.

Așadar, proformele sunt un tip de substitute, *substitute gramaticale* sau „cuvinte specializate pentru rolul de iterație a informației lexicale” (*DȘL*, 1997: s.v. *substitut*).

Conform *GALR*, prin proforme se înțelege *substitute anaforice* (*Enunțul*, 2005: 660), denumire ce va fi adoptată și de către alți lingviști; de exemplu, Andra Vasilescu (2007: 213) înregistrează pentru *proforme* și denumirea de *substitute anaforice*.

Maria Vulișici Alexandrescu notează că proformele sunt substitute care „în locul unei părți de vorbire (adverb, adjectiv, verb) sau chiar al unui enunț” (2002: 153) și este printre puținii lingviști care au consemnat diferența dintre cele două clase de cuvinte: *nu toate proformele sunt substitute*. Lingvista are în vedere situația numeralului, care funcționează ca substitut, dar nu și ca proformă întrucât are sens lexical, este plin semantic⁸ (2015: 666).

Și în viziunea lui Ionuț Pomian (2013: 120) proformele sunt tot un tip de substitute – *substitute morfologice*, în opoziție cu cele *sintactice* (*procazuri* și *profuncții*)⁹.

București, 1967), unde se susține că și numele are capacitatea de a prelua informația unui nume exprimat anterior.

⁸ În legătură cu proformele realizate prin numerale, în momentul de față suntem de părere că existența lor, a proformelor realizate prin numeral, este în mare justificată, dar acest aspect reprezintă obiectul unei cercetări viitoare.

⁹ Conceptele gramaticale *procaz* și *profuncție* sunt promovate de Școala clujeană de gramatică. Vezi D.D. Drașoveanu, 1997; G.G. Neamțu, 1999; Ionuț Pomian, 2013.

c. Clasa substitutelor este inclusă în clasa proformelor

Această direcție de interpretare este slab reprezentată. O amintim pe Adriana Stoichițoiu-Ichim (http://ebooks.unibuc.ro/filologie/discurs/Capitolul%205II2.htm, consultată la 04.11.2016) care afirmă că „în categoria pro-formelor se includ și substitutele”.

În ceea ce ne privește, ne alăturăm celor care promovează cea de-a doua direcție. După cum se poate observa din cele prezentate anterior, substitutele se împart în *substitute lexicale* și *substitute gramaticale*. Cele din urmă, se ramifică, la rândul lor, în *morfologice* și *sintactice*. *Substitutele morfologice* sunt cunoscute în literatura de specialitate sub denumirea de *proforme*, iar substitutele sintactice cuprind *procazurile* și *profuncțiile*. Așadar, sfera semantică a termenilor *substitut* și *proformă* „se suprapune în mare” în sensul că *substitutele includ proformele* întrucât *proformele sunt un tip de substitut*.

3. Anaforă¹⁰ și proformă

Având în vedere multitudinea cercetărilor care se efectuează în domeniul text-discursului, notăm că *anafora* este un concept de mare actualitate. *Dictionnaire encyclopédique des sciences du langage* definește conceptul în discuție astfel: „un segment dintr-un discurs se numește anaforic atunci când pentru a i se da o interpretare (chiar și una literală) trebuie să se raporteze la un alt segment din același discurs”¹¹ (Ducrot, Todorov, 1972: 358). Cu alte cuvinte, „o expresie A este anaforică atunci când pentru a i se fixa referentul este nevoie să se treacă printr-o expresie lingvistică B ce este situată în co(n)textul lui A”¹² (Tasmowsky-de Ryck, 1994: 457). Chiar dacă anafora a atras atenția lingviștilor mai ales în ultimele trei decenii¹³, aceștia nu împărtășesc o viziune unitară, în domeniul anaforei cunoscându-se numeroase orientări controversate.¹⁴

¹⁰ Termenul acoperă și conceptul de *cataforă*.

¹¹ „Un segment de discours est dit anaphorique lorsqu’il est nécessaire pour lui donner une interprétation (même simplement littérale) de se rapporter à un autre segment du même discours”.

¹² „Une expression A est anaphorique lorsqu’il faut passer par une expression B qui se trouve dans le co(n)texte de A pour fixer le référent de A”.

¹³ Vezi Elvira Oroian, 2006, p. 27–39 și Irina Izverna-Tarabac, 2008, p. 41–55.

¹⁴ În lucrarea sa despre anaforă și cataforă, Elvira Oroian (2006: 29–39) identifică cinci puncte de vedere în abordarea anaforei: concepția substitutivă, concepția gramaticii generative, orientarea textualistă, orientarea memorială și teoria reprezentărilor mentale. La cele 5 orientări amintite anterior, Simona Aida Manolache (2006: 52–56) adaugă alte două orientări: cea pragma-semantică și cea verbală.

Pentru lingvistica românească, fenomenul anaforic nu a reprezentat un centru de interes. Gh.D. Trandafir nota că *substitutul*, adică un pronume care poate să înlocuiască nu numai un substantiv, ci și adjective, numerale sau propoziții, „în raport cu antecedentul său se numește *anaforic*” (1982: 27–28). După cum am menționat deja, această suprapunere de semnificații este subliniată în *DȘL*: „termenul *proformă* interferează ca semnificație *anaforic/ anaforă, cataforic, pronume și substitut*” (1997: s.v. *proformă*). Lucrarea lexicografică amintită definește *anafora* ca un „fenomen sintactico-semantic constând în reluarea printr-un substitut (sau anaforic) a unui termen plin referențial, exprimat anterior, numit antecedent. Relația antecedent–substitut, numită „relație anaforică” sau „interpretativă”, procură referința substitutului, component care, în afara contextului, este lipsit de referință proprie” (1997: s.v. *anaforă*), atrăgând totodată atenția că lucrările care au la bază modelul englezesc desemnează prin *anaforă* atât fenomenul lingvistic, cât și elementele concrete prin care acesta se realizează, adică „clasa de cuvinte fără referință proprie, alcătuită, mai ales, din pronume și adverbe pronominale, care primesc referința de la un component exprimat anterior, numit antecedent”. Astfel, termenii *anaforă, anaforic* („clasă de cuvinte fără referință proprie care își procură referința prin legarea referențială de un component (un cuvânt sau un grup de cuvinte) exprimat anterior, numit antecedent” (1997: s.v. *anaforic*)), *substitut* și *proformă* („clasă de cuvinte lipsite de referință proprie, care își procură referința contextual, în contextul lingvistic, prin legarea de un component plin referențial, numit sursă referențială” (1997: s.v. *proformă*)) interferează ca semnificație.

În *GALR* (*Enunțul*, 2005: 656–660), *anafora* este definită ca „relația dintre două elemente lingvistice, în care cel care apare ulterior în discurs (numit *anaforic*) nu are un sens de sine stătător, ci este interpretat semantico-referențial prin raportare la elementul deja apărut (*antecedent* sau *sursă*): anaforicul preia (parțial sau total) valoarea referențială sau sensul contextual al antecedentului”. Tratatul de gramatică atrage atenția că există două tipuri de *anaforă* parțial diferite (dar „imposibil de delimitat total” (Zafiu, 2004: 239)), *anafora sintactică* (obiectul gramaticii) și *anafora discursivă* (obiectul pragmaticii) și distinge două modalități prin care *anafora* se poate realiza: prin *substitutele anaforice* (*proforme*) sau prin *expresiile nominale indexate*. Substitutele anaforice sau proforme sunt caracterizate de lipsa sensului lexical și a referinței proprii, ele fiind decodate prin raportarea la o sursă: „depind referențial de context, își precizează referentul prin stabilirea unui raport anaforic, mai rar cataforic, cu alt component al comunicării (sursa proformei)” (*GALR. Cuvântul*, 2005: 57) și „se constituie în *substitut* al altor

termeni, cuvinte, grupuri de cuvinte, propoziții” (*GALR. Cuvântul*, 2005: 57).

Și în *Morfosintaxa limbii române*, accepția gramaticală a anaforicului este de component al enunțului, fără referință proprie, dar care și-o obține prin raportare la o sursă referențială exprimată, de obicei, anterior (*antecedent*) și care „se include în clasa proformelor” (Pană Dindelegan, Dragomirescu, Nedelcu, 2010: 207). Din această definiție deducem că proforme sunt supraordonate anaforicilor și că în clasa proformelor/substitutelor (2010: 155).

Conform *GBLR* (2010: 619), *anaforicele* (și *cataforicele*) sunt reprezentate de o „clasă de cuvinte lipsite de referință proprie, care își procură referința contextual, din contextul lingvistic, prin legarea de un component plin referențial” și care „stau” pentru: grupuri nominale, grupuri adjectivale și adverbiale, grupuri prepoziționale, propoziții. Comparând această definiție cu cea a proformei din *DȘL*, observăm că proforme și anafore/ anaforicele ar fi unul și același lucru.¹⁵

Concluzia noastră este că, deși termenii *proformă*, *anaforă*/ *anaforic* și *substitut* au din punct de vedere semantic mai multe trăsături comune, aceștia nu trebuie să se confunde, relația de sinonimie perfectă fiind exclusă. Așadar, trebuie să reținem că:

- a. Proforme reprezintă un tip de substitut – substitute morfologice.
- b. În funcție de așezarea sursei în raport cu proforma, proforme pot fi *anaforice* (și *cataforice*) sau *deictice*.

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¹⁵ A se vedea și Gabriela Pană Dindelegan, 2003: 69, 77, 79.

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God in Public: A Prolegomena to Public Theology in the Romanian Context^{*}

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Abstract:

This paper intends to begin a conversation on *public theology* in the Romanian context. The launching of the *Global Network for Public Theology* and of the *International Journal of Public Theology* some 10 years represent two significant markers for this new field of study. Public theology is a serious engagement of Christian faith with the public domain in all its social, political, cultural and economic spheres of life in society. It is proposed that the engagement of theology in conversation with issues of public domain becomes not only relevant but extremely urgent if we consider the historical, post-communist, post-dictatorial, transitional context of Romania and the entire region of Central and Eastern Europe, where faith was privatized and excluded from the public discourse for many decades. It is argued that in this context one of the most important and urgent tasks of the church as well as of Christian theology is to become an authentic witness in the public realm, to proclaim and embody the gospel as public truth, i.e. a theology concerned with and addressing the *entire reality* of life in society. It is thus shown that a crucial preoccupation for Christians in Romania and in this part of the world is an articulation of a solid public theology of culture, of work, of social justice and reconciliation, a public theology for the common good and human flourishing. After a brief presentation of a particular aspect of the Romanian regarding religion and public life, the paper offers an introduction to this new field of study by looking at some definitions, characteristics, approaches and tasks of public theology.

Keywords: public theology, faith and life, society, public realm, Romania, religion

Public Theology – Setting the Stage

It is more than ten years now since the launch of the *Global Network for Public Theology* and almost as much since the subsequent launch of the *International Journal of Public Theology* published by Brill. These were two very significant events for all those engaged in the academic study of theology, in general, and of *public theology*, in particular – which has become well established field of study in its own right. Public theology is

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not necessarily a new concept or domain of study as theologians have always been concerned with the public dimension of Christian faith, with the relevance of theology for society. However, with the privatization of religion in an increasingly secularized modern world, public theology has emerged as an intentional effort of Christian theologians and practitioners to enter into a meaningful dialog with society. They do this, on the one hand, in order to reflect on the specific contribution that the Gospel can bring to the common good and human flourishing while learning from the public discourse, and, on the other hand, to encourage Christians to participate and engage meaningfully in the public domain with a commitment to influence public policy and effect transformation, at a personal level, and transformation of social structures.

Public theology is thus a serious engagement of Christian faith with the public domain in all its social, political, cultural and economic spheres of life in society. It starts from the premise, proven throughout the history of Christianity's engagement with culture, that the Gospel can and should offer alternative moral, ethical and spiritual answers to the multifaceted and complex questions facing our world today. Public theology is concerned with theological questions that address the public sphere. The engagement of theology in conversation with issues of public domain becomes not only relevant but extremely urgent if we consider the historical, post-communist, post-dictatorial, transitional context of Central and Eastern Europe in general, and of Romania in particular. There is no question that communists did not like religion and that one of the most distinguishable Marxist 'prophecies' was that religion will soon disappear and will no longer play any role in society. And they worked hard to eradicate it and thought they could! Contrary to that, and somewhat unexpected, what we have witnessed at the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century, was a surprising and spectacular return of the religious phenomenon as an important and influential factor in the social arena. However, what the communists did manage to do was to discredit religion and to push it into the private sector of life, totally detached from any aspect of real life. In their struggle to survive, churches either withdrew from society or collaborated with the communist authorities conceding to their imposed limitations on churches. Unfortunately, the ultimate consequence of this tragic reality was that churches accepted this state of affairs and took their faith as something purely spiritual, between the believer and God, a faith that had nothing to do with the wider cultural, social, and political world!

It is in this context that it became evident that one of the most important and urgent tasks of the church as well as of Christian theology was to become an authentic witness in the public realm. This means to develop afresh and holistic, comprehensive public theology of *missio Dei* for our

days and articulate clearly the coordinates on which the gospel is to be channelled for addressing the social, economic, political and religious issues facing the Romanian society today. This should be a theology which emphasizes the mission of God to redeem the entire creation, which points to the lordship of Christ over entire reality, a theology which articulates clearly the contribution the gospel can bring for the common good and human flourishing. This may be, indeed, one of the most important missiological concerns for Christians of this generation, in our context: to proclaim and embody the gospel as public truth, i.e. a theology concerned with and addressing the *entire reality* of life in society. This is, in my opinion, an urgent missiological preoccupation for Christians in Romania and in this part of the world: to search for and articulate a solid public theology of culture, work, power, social justice and reconciliation, a public theology for the common good and human flourishing.

The purpose of this paper is to begin a conversation on the possibility and necessity of public theology in the Romanian context. After a presentation of a particular aspect of the Romanian context and the contradictory reality regarding religion and public life, the paper offers an introduction to the field of public theology by looking at some definitions, characteristics, approaches, tasks.¹

Faith and life in Romania: a contradictory reality

Romania ranks among the highest in Europe in religious adherence, with some over 99 percent of the population indicating they belong to a religious group, only 0.11 percent atheists and 0.10 percent indicating no religious affiliation.² However, the implications of this high religiosity for the everyday life of people and its effect on the concrete social, cultural, political and economic realities of the country reveal a disturbing and contradictory reality. Romania, the country with the highest ranking of religiosity in Europe, is also among the leading countries in terms of corruption, poverty, abortions, lack of trust.³ The

¹This paper represents an updated, revised and shortened version of a much larger material that I prepared for the Regnum Edinburgh Centenary Series and published as “Public Theology: Christian Faith and Public Square in Central and Eastern Europe,” in Corneliu Constantineanu, Marcel V. Măcelaru, Anne-Marie Kool, Mihai Himcinschi (eds), *Mission in Central and Eastern Europe: Realities, Perspectives, Trends*, Oxford, Regnum Books International, 2016.

²According to the latest National Census conducted in 2011, available at http://www.insse.ro/cms/files/publicatii/pliante%20statistice/08-Recensamintele%20despre%20religie_n.pdf, accessed on 28 october, 2015.

³Silviu Rogobete, “Between Fundamentalism and Secularization: the Place and the Role of Religion in Post-Communist Orthodox Romania,” in *Religion and Democracy in*

causes are many for such a state of affairs and for the lack of correlation between the predominant religiosity and the actual practice of life. This discrepancy does not invalidate the thesis that religion has a potential for being a positive factor for social, economic, and political change. It shows, however, at least two things: first, that the religious “potential” is not automatically translatable into the social realities; and, second, that it is not just any kind of religiosity that could contribute effectively to human flourishing and wellbeing. For an effective and beneficial practice of faith, and in order for its potential to bring about hope, compassion, reconciliation, and social healing, we must find resources within our own religious texts and traditions and explicate them in ways that are relevant to the concrete social and political realities of the communities.⁴

For far too long the church has divorced faith from the other aspects of reality and reduced it to a purely spiritual dimension with terrible consequences for the embodiment of the gospel. We have reduced faith to church attendance and to a private life of prayer and spirituality, a faith for Sundays and primarily within the walls of the church. Consequently, we did not gain the theology or the practical skills to embody the Christian faith in our families, at our work, in the society at large, from Monday to Saturday. The biblical usage of “the gospel” testifies to its public nature, as the Greek term used, *euangelion*, meant *good news* which was announced in the public square, for all the hear, concerning the life of the people and affecting everyone. The Christian gospel was never intended to be a hidden thing, a ‘private’ matter, because its proclamation about God in Jesus Christ as *gospel*, “entails an overarching claim to public truth.”⁵ The gospel is thus not simply a

Moldova. Edited by S. Devetak, O. Sirbu and S. Rogobete (Maribor-Chişinau: ISCOMET/ASER, 2005), 105–110. See also Tom Gallagher’s impressive and detailed analysis of the complex causes and factors which undermined the development of a stable, independent, and autonomous democracy in Romania, *Theft of a Nation. Romania Since Communism*, London, C. Hearst & Co, 2004.

⁴Two specific studies in the Romanian context illustrate the positive role that religion could have for a healthy political culture: Violeta Barbu, “Bisericile in Europa – un partner social?” in Radu Carp, ed. *Un suflet pentru Europa. Dimensiunea religioasa a unui proiect politic* (*A soul for Europe. The religious dimension of a political project*) (Bucureşti: Anastasia, 2005) and Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, “Biserica și politica: religia ca determinant al culturii politice”, in Mungiu-Pippidi, *Politica după communism*, Bucureşti, Humanitas, 2002. See also my study on the biblical foundations for the social dimension of the gospel, and its application to the Romanian context, Corneliu Constantineanu, *The social significance of reconciliation in Paul’s theology. Narrative readings in Romans*, London-New York, T&T Clark, Continuum, 2010.

⁵Gavin Drew, “The Gospel as public truth in a pluralistic ‘world’: A reflection on Lesslie Newbigin’s thought”, in *Evangel*, 24.2 (Summer 2006), p. 53. See also the strong

dialogue ‘partner’ in the public sphere but has the capacity to contribute to the public life, to model it in a specific way. This understanding of the gospel as public truth is essential for the development of a public theology for the common good. Just before we turn our attention to look closer to a public theology for this context a brief word in order about the danger and potential of religion in public square.

Public Theology: definition, characteristics, approaches, tasks

Even though in Romania this field of study is relatively new or even unknown, it is probably right to say that public theology is rather a flourishing discipline in Christian theology nowadays. As we will see, there are many approaches and proposals regarding the public significance of theology and even though it is not the space here to go into much details, we will look briefly at some of the most relevant definitions and categories that public theology operates with.

When we talk about *public* theology we have in mind a public activity, done in the public domain and in search for public truth, just as William Storrar and Andrew Morton correctly show: “Public theology has to do with the public relevance of a theology which has at the core of its Christian identity a concern for the coming of God’s kingdom in the public world of human history.”⁶ Duncan Forrester, a pioneer and significant figure in public theology, gives a more detailed description of it:

Public theology is ... talk about God, which claims to point to publicly accessible truth, to contribute to the public discussion by witnessing to a truth that is relevant to what is going on in the world and to the pressing issues which are facing people and societies today...It takes the public square and what goes on there seriously, but it tries to articulate in the public square its convictions about truth and goodness... Public theology is confessional and evangelical. It has a gospel to share, good news to proclaim. Public theology attends to the Bible and the tradition of faith at the same time as it attempts to discern the signs of the times and understand what is going on in the light of the gospel (2000, p. 127–128).

Public theology does not affect only private life and it is not just a function of individual subjectivity. It is regularly assumed and people usually work with the assumption that the private and public dimensions of

argument made by Tom Wright in his very recent book, which inspired my title, *God in Public: How the Bible Speaks Truth to Power Today*, London, SPCK, 2016.

⁶ William F. Storrar and Andrew R. Morton, “Introduction”, in William F. Storrar and Andrew R. Morton (eds.) *Public Theology for the 21st Century*, London, T&T Clark Continuum, 2004, p. 1. In similar fashion, Moltmann states: “Its subject alone makes Christian Theology a *theologia publica*, a public theology. It gets involved in the public affairs of society. It thinks about what is of general concern in the light of hope in Christ for the Kingdom of God”. See Jurgen Moltmann, *God for a Secular Society*, London, SCM Press, 1999, p. 1.

life are clearly demarcated and even totally separated. But reality shows that this is not the case at all. Even though these are distinguishable dimensions of our life, they are inseparable, the personal and institutional, the private and public, are permanently interacting with each other. Who we are and what we do in private life affects and determines to a great extent who we are and what we do in public life. And vice versa. That is why we have to resist the tendency and temptation to make a sharp distinction between the private and the public and, especially, to confine faith and theology to the private sector. The *gospel* makes public claims about the way things are – about God, about human beings, about the world, about society, about life – and therefore it is public truth, concerned with and addressing the entire reality, private and public. And as a result, theology, whose subject matter is the gospel/good news of God the creator, sustainer and redeemer of the entire creation, must be an activity concerned with and engaging the whole of reality (Morton, 2004: 25–26).

Theology is done in public, in the public forum and so involves two major components: proclamation of the good news for individual people and for society, for the common good; and also dialogue with other interlocutors from the public domain - which implies a careful listening and receptiveness to the other. It is clearly then that public theology is not simply a communication exercise but it is in the actual conversation with the other actors of public life that theology is produced. Or, in the words of Andrew Morton, “such conversation involves throughout both the persuasive eloquence of advocacy and the attentive silence of receptivity” (*Ibidem*: 28).

As we become interested in theological engagement in the public realm, we need to have a correct understanding of both the possibilities and limitations of the contribution of theology to public life and so should beware of the two temptations: to overestimate the contribution that theology can realistically make or, on the contrary, to underestimate the significance of theology for the public life (De Gruchy, 2004: 45). Given the reality that theology has lost its privileged status it once had, many do question whether theology has any public significance at all. But as De Gruchy rightly observes, “we should not confuse the one-time public status of theology with the real contribution it can make when rightly pursued within public life” (*Ibidem*). Theology can thus make a real contribution to the public realm but it needs to be pursued rightly and be aware of its own limitations and specifics.

In order to have a better understanding of public theology, a few words about *public* are in order. What is public domain? Is there only one or can we talk of more ‘publics’? If we understand “public” as a place or places where dialogue happens, where difference exists and is accepted and

therefore a particular distance is allowed, where people are free to disagree, then we can think first of society as a whole, the public domain as being such a space – a place where the social, the cultural, the economic the political and the religious sectors of life meet. And this will probably be the main ‘public’. Others define the public domain as being formed from various entities, individual or organized in various associations, which mediate between the State and society (Carp, 2009: 11–12). For Charles Taylor public sphere is a ‘common space in which the members of society are deemed to meet through a variety of media: print, electronic, and also face-to-face encounters; to discuss matters of common interest; and thus to be able to form a common mind about these’ (2004: 82). Duncan adds two other ‘publics:’ ‘Church’ and ‘Academy’ which meet the criteria for public entities referred to above. What is important to remember is that these ‘publics’ are all interrelated to each other and we have to consider very carefully this reality when we reflect on public theology.

A few words are in order about the different approaches to public theology. Duncan Forrester speaks about two broad ways of doing public theology: one more ‘top-down’, the *magisterial* mode, in which the church/theology teaches the truth (which is believed to be public truth) authoritatively to the powers that be; and the other, more ‘bottom-up’, the *liberationist* mode, which arouses from the everyday realities and experiences of life, closest to the least powerful in society (2000: p. 118–125). The first position is a bit pretentious and authoritative as it presupposes the church or Christianity to be in a position of neutrality, without interests of its own or promoting any particular agenda, attempting to offer a strong theology which to set and control the public agenda from the above, from the high place of power. The second position seeks to allow the voice, the experience, the emotions of those at the margins to be heard and then attempting to relate them to the gospel story. While this approach is somewhat closer to the experienced reality of many, it tends to lack solid theological questions about the fundamental issues involved. And so, both of these approaches are important for a realistic public theology as it needs to relate to both publics and to both centres of power and, eventually, hold the tension between them. Max Stackhouse, one of the most productive proponents of public theology, proposes a four-fold pattern, or four pillars on which to build a public theology: creation and liberation; vocation and covenant; moral law, sin, and freedom; ecclesiology and Trinity.⁷

⁷ Stackhouse, *Public Theology and Political Economy: Christian Stewardship in Modern Society*, Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1987, p. 33. Chris Green, in *A Higher Throne: Evangelicals and Public Theology*, Nottingham, Inter-Varsity Press, 2008, takes a more Evangelical approach by emphasizing the core biblical doctrines of creation, fall, redemption and revelation around which he builds his public theology. For a similar

Raymond Plant reminds all of us of the truth that public policies are closely related to the questions of value. All the difficult issues and concerns related to a meaningful life together in society - freedom, equality, punishment retribution, rehabilitation, restitution, distributive justice, human rights, social solidarity, welfare, etc. - these are all important moral issues, vital for our humanity, and it is our responsibility to consider them carefully in our engagement with the public life (2004: IX–X). And it is exactly here that public theology finds the first element of its difficult task, “to formulate a theologically coherent account of the moral issues facing public policy in a complex society”, together with the second “*meta-task* to do with arguing for a role for theology amongst the voices in society brought to bear upon these question” (Plant, 2004: X). Thus, public theology is attempting “to articulate a Christian social vision, which can be brought to bear upon the problems of civil and political life and arguing for a very strong case for the seriousness of that voice to be heard and respected within the conversation of modern society” (*Ibidem*: XI).

Many affirm today an obvious truth, namely that we live in a ‘glocal’ context, which is simultaneously global and local, with dynamic, pluralistic, multicultural societies, with numerous and increasing links and interconnections with regard especially to our economy and technology. This new reality requires that we reflect afresh theologically and respond appropriately to the new situation. It is in response to exactly this challenging new context that Max Stackhouse considers four areas of public theological explorations, which are, in his opinion, much neglected in contemporary thought: 1) a perspectival shift from ‘orders of creation’ to dynamic *spheres* of relative sovereignty; 2) a theological analysis of the global *powers* – principalities, authorities, thrones and dominions; 3) a comparative investigation of how *religion shapes civilizations*; 4) a recovery of covenantal thought as a mode of *public theology* for global civil society (2004: 18–191).

Conclusion

A very short word is in order at the end of this brief presentation. Public theology is a theology which seeks the welfare of the city and would consider itself an instrument in the service of common good and human

approach see George Hunsberger, “The Mission of Public Theology: an exploration”, in *Swedish Missiological Themes* 93.3 (2005): 315–324. At the other spectrum we find Kathryn Tanner, who believes in a common basis of both religion and public square and argue that the universal values and principles (equality, liberty, justice, mutual regard and pursue of happiness) should be the starting point of a public theology, in “Public Theology and the Character of Public Debate”, in *Annual of the Society of Christian Ethics*, 1996, p. 79–101.

flourishing. Miroslav Volf is right in arguing that a vision of the human flourishing is the most important contribution Christian faith brings to the common good, especially as this is not done “by imposing on others their vision of human flourishing and the common good but by bearing witness to Christ, who embodies the good life” (2011: XI) And if Jesus placed at the centre of his ministry the love of God and the love of neighbour, so should the Christians do, as both God and neighbour are fundamental to human flourishing⁸.

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⁸ For a solid argument on human flourishing see the very recent two books by Miroslav Volf, *Flourishing. Why we need religion in a globalized world*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2015, and Miroslav Volf & Justin Crisp (eds.), *Joy and Human Flourishing. Essays on Theology, Culture, and the Good Life*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015. I am very glad to see that theologians from Romania are beginning to pay attention to the concept of human flourishing. See, for example, the works of my colleague Marcel V. Măcelaru, who argues that “human flourishing describes a state of being, a mode of existence that is markedly Christian – its definition needs a Christian mind-set and its full experience is available only to the believer.” Marcel V. Măcelaru, “Human Flourishing – a theological perspective,” in Geogeta Rață and Patricia Runcan, *Happiness Through Education*, București, Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, 2014, p. 233. Similarly, my younger colleague, Benjamin Mocan, concludes his discussion on public theology by stating that “a thorough public theology will always aim to seek the welfare of the city. It will always work towards human flourishing, and it will always do it with respect to the plurality and diversity existed within the public”. Benjamin Mocan, *Social Imagination and the Possibility of a Pentecostal Public Theology*, MTh thesis presented to the Evangelical Theological Seminary, 2014, p. 40.

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Michael the Brave: the Construction of National Hero Myth in Cinematography*

Flavius Ghender**

Abstract:

In this article, I will present how the figure of the Wallachian Prince Michael the Brave was transformed into a modern national hero by means of cinematography. I will start with the assumption that the movies are efficient channels for the transmission of information about history and society, values for the promotion and consolidation of political ideologies. The communist regime of Nicolae Ceaușescu considered the cinematography as efficient weapon of propaganda. I will show how by means of two movies – Mihai Viteazul (Michael the Brave, 1971) and Buzduganul cu trei peceți (The mace with three seals, 1977) – the Prince of Wallachia was transformed into a modern national hero and the author of the Romanians` national unity dream. Although the myth of Michael the Brave national hero is older, probably the work of 19th century intellectual Nicolae Bălcescu, during the communist regime the construction of Michael the Brave`s myth from nationalist perspective was a state policy, realized through the simplification and the distortion of history. The school books and the movies were efficient channels for the promotion of Michael the Brave`s myth from national-communist perspective.

Keywords: nationalism, ideology, cinematography, communism, myth

Introduction

Nationalism, the extraordinary ideological force that marked the 20th century, assumes that nations are natural components of humanity. The nationalists claim a territory, homeland, and the ideal situation is when the political and the national unit are congruent (Gellner, 1997). For nationalists, nations were formed centuries ago, in The Middle Age or Antiquity. The fundamental themes of nationalist movements are sovereignty, unity, history and universality (Girardet, 2003: 32).

Form of human solidarity, the nation is an imagined community, based on the will to live together, which bounds people that share a

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sense of common history, common values and which share common future aspirations. Researchers like Ernst Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm and Benedict Anderson stressed the constructed, imagined, voluntary features of nationalism. Nations and nationalism are modern and are produced by modernity. However, nationalism generated a new culture and a strong new form of loyalty, the loyalty for the nation. As Eric Hobsbawm best explained, the nationalists “invented” traditions, and the interpretation of history became essential. The Romanian historian Lucian Boia argued that not a certain history built a nation, but in fact the nation, once formed, invented its own history (Boia, 2011: 15). That is why the nationalists are strongly interested in the interpretation of history. Using the national school system, mass media, literature, and art, the nationalists tried to (re)write history from a nationalist point of view, tried to build the Pantheon of national heroes.

Cinematography was strongly used in this effort. Films helped shape identities, consolidated national myths and heroes. The cinematographic discourse is important for shared political, social and cultural values. The promoters of the extreme ideologies – Communism and Nazism – perfectly understood the huge potential of cinematography and intensely used it (Popescu, 2001: 15–40).

In this article, I will analyze the construction of Michael the Brave’s myth in cinematography, from nationalist perspective, in the communist regime. Michael the Brave is the emblematic hero of Romanians’ national unification. The medieval hero was the object of many re-evaluations, in different political and ideological contexts.

Michael the Brave, from medieval figure to modern national hero

Symbolically, Michael the Brave’s name is associated to the first unification of the three medieval Romanian princedoms, in 1600. He is a strong reference also for other important themes of Romanian historiography: the struggle for independence and the continuity of Romanians in their homeland (Boia, 2005: 37).

Contemporary historians from the 17th century didn’t describe Michael the Brave as the Romanians’ unifier. For the Moldavian Miron Costin, he was a conqueror of Moldavia, who fought in too many battles. *The History of Wallachian Princes*, written at the end of century, appreciates Michael the Brave’s conquests, but doesn’t mention the goal of national unity. The Transylvanian School, obsessed with the history of the Romanians and their national identity, didn’t focus on the figure of Michael the Brave (*Ibidem*: 72–77). The first who interpreted the rule of Michael in terms of national unity was the Transylvanian professor Aron Florian, in 1837, who interpreted the conquest of the two

princedom as national project, a clear intention of unifying all Romanians in one state.

The most influential work was *The Romanians under the Michael the Brave*, by Nicolae Bălcescu (Pecican, 2002: 173–174). The Romanian revolutionist of 1848 started the work in 1847, but didn't finish it by 1952, at his death. Bălcescu's interpretation of Michael the Brave is marked by the ideals of the 1848 Revolution, as frequent comparisons suggest it all over the work. For Bălcescu, the unity ideal is the strongest element of Michael's strategy and represented an old desire of the Romanian princes. He wrote about "*the Romanians from the old Dacia*" and attributed to prince Mircea the Old the intention of unifying all Romanians in one principedom (Bălcescu, 1998: 178–179). He considered the idea of unity a large spread ideal of the Romanians and criticized Michael because the prince didn't help the peasants and didn't understand the necessity of social reforms (again, a problem of 1848 revolutionists) (*Ibidem*: 283–284).

Nicolae Bălcescu's ideas were rejected by the historians from the second half of the 19th century and from the first half of the next century, but the myth of the unifying prince remained important for literature. For the nationalist historian and politician Nicolae Iorga, the work of Bălcescu is part of literature, not a history book. For Iorga, Bălcescu's Michael the Brave is "more beautiful", "greater" (Iorga, 1968: 94).

The historians A.D. Xenopol, Dimitrie Onciul, P.P. Panaitescu and C.C. Giurescu considered that political thought of that time did not include the idea of national unity (Boia, 2005: 220–221). Iorga admitted that for the Moldavians, Michael was a conqueror (Iorga, 1919: 10–11). Nonetheless, Michael was "*sent by God to make a single body for Romania*" – not because this was his thought, but as an example for the next generations: the wonder is possible! Once the unifier myth was born, the steps to mystification were easy to make. In the communist age, the historiography was strongly controlled and impregnated by ideology. After the Second World War, the new political power ordered the writing of "true history", according to the new official ideology. Under the surveillance of Roller, historians stressed the importance of class struggle in history. After 1965, the Romanian communism radically changed and focused on nationalism, used as a way to legitimate the political power. The social sciences are dominated by "protocronism", official ideology promoting the ideas of unity and independence, forced-ideas of national history. For communists, Romania meant to be a single and independent state, and finally a communist society. National history was marked by providential

personalities, who led the people on his way. The communist leader Nicolae Ceaușescu was always presented among those exceptional leaders (only the kings were excluded).

There is no wonder the communists rediscovered and used the social and political thought of Nicolae Bălcescu, including the myth of Michael the Brave. There are several ideas of Nicolae Bălcescu used by the communist regime: the unity of the three princedoms as national project, the teleological view on history, the social egalitarian political view. Not only historians promoted those ideas, but the entire educational system. The extreme forms of mystification are the history handbooks, especially those for the first grades. Michael is a national hero, supported by the peasants and betrayed by the nobility (boyars) and foreign powers. The death of the prince is heroic, dedicated to union and liberty.

The construction of Michael the Brave's myth in cinematography

The context

The make up of *Michael the Brave* movie concurs with Nicolae Ceaușescu's decision to impose a new ideological strategy: the fusion between communism and nationalism. Literature and art, including the cinematography, sustained the effort to reinterpret historical ages and personalities. In 1965-1970, Romania had a relatively wealthy economy, the life of the people improved. When Ceaușescu condemned the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, arguing that every national state should decide its own faith, he reached the top of his popularity.

The Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party discussed the problem of national cinematography on 25th of June 1968 (Popescu, 2001: 116–133). Sergiu Nicolaescu, the well-known movie director, stated his intention to make a movie about Michael the Brave, who could be seen by “half of the Romanian people” or more, if it were broadcast on TV. Movie directors, script writers and politicians remarked the huge potential of cinematography. The movie was described as an “ideological front”. Ceaușescu himself asked for a “militant” movie, about “*our conception on world and life, about socialist humanism, about the whole development politics of our homeland*”.

Michael the Brave (1971)

The movie has two parts, Călugăreni and The Union. It is considered one of the best movies in Romanian cinematography by movie critics.

Movie director: Sergiu Nicolaescu. Script writer: Titus Popovici. Actors: Amza Pelea, Ion Besoiu, Olga Tudorache.

Sergiu Nicolaescu and Titus Popovici created a heroic character, Michael the Brave, and they wanted it to be perfectly interpreted. That is why the actor was Amza Pelea, but with the voice of Emanoil Petruț. The Prince is a character of the Renaissance: he is characterized by greatness, costumes, bravery, frankness (“I don’t know who to ask”, he said). Michael seduces the Italian noble countess Rossana, but Nicolae Ceaușescu opposed to the romance that the movie director wanted, for Hollywood-like box office success¹. The foreigners were presented in opposition to Michael the Brave: the traders from Levant are greedy, the European Princes are superficial. Michael stands with dignity in front of the Sultan, easily inclines the head as a salute, refusing the usually humble bow, amazing the European ambassadors (“man lives only one time”, he explained). The Habsburg Emperor recognized he was dominated by Michael, he regretted that the Romanian prince wasn’t born Austrian. While the rulers of the great powers act according with “real politik”, Michael feels the responsibility of history, representing the Romanian nation.

From the beginning, the movie presented important themes for the nationalist communism from Romania: the Romanians defended Europe in the Middle Age, the Europeans had the peace to refine their culture. The Romanians had great sacrifices in the name of Civilization. Michael the Brave is clear in his conversation with the Emperor Rudolf II: “*while you build those castles and search for philosophical stone, I burned my country, I lost my child*”. The European help for Michael and for the Romanians arrived always too late. The Hungarian Prince Sigismund Bathory had a party while the Romanians fought against the Ottoman Empire. The theme of the Romanians’ betrayal, left alone by the Europeans was strongly promoted by communist historiography.

The theme of predestination is important: Romanians should be united, Michael is the hero meant to fulfill this goal, and he knows it, he feels it as a duty. Several scenes took place in the Church. The link between the People and Faith is strong for the Romanian nationalists, but not in communists’ interpretation. That is why those scenes were considered courageous and innovative. Nonetheless, Cristian Tudor Popescu (2001: 200) appreciates that the greatest mystification was the absence of religion as the strongest motivation for Michael the Brave’s actions.

The political project of unifying all Romanians in one independent national state is the main idea of Nicolaescu’s movie. The clearest

¹ Cristian Tudor Popescu, *op. cit.*, pag 204, quoted Ceaușescu, who said that sentimental adventures of Michael the Brave were not important for the national hero.

expression is the answer that Michael gives to the Ottoman Empire's diplomat: *"all those who speak the language of my people live in those three countries. Those who are great and strong divided them, you and the others. That's enough!"*

The final scene, Michael the Brave's assassination, has testamentary value. The last thought of the Prince – *"I want this people to know what he wants, more and more, because I left a legacy"*. Michael understood the symbolic value of his actions, he's a hero who gave his life for the ideal of national state!

The Wallachian boyars are positive characters in Sergiu Nicolaescu's movie, especially the Buzescu brothers. Close to the people and their problems, honest, ready to fight for the country. However they, not Michael, have the responsibility for the decisions against peasantry (the interdiction to move from boyar's land to another boyar's land, criticized by Bălcescu). The movie clearly expresses the Prince's opposition to this decision – following Bălcescu's ideas on social division as the main cause of final defeat.

The peasants are secondary characters in the movie, but they are always in the background, the force behind Michael the Brave. For the communists, the peasantry is the country. The Prince's army is dressed in peasant's clothes, even if the historians agreed the Michael's army was formed of boyars and mercenaries. When Sigismund asked *"what army do you have?"*, Michael answered *"the entire country"*. The Romanians cheering the Union are also peasants. When hard times come, defeated at Mirăslău, Michael is welcomed by simple folks. The landscape is carefully chosen: 'plaiul' (foothill) represents the "mioritic space" described by the philosopher Lucian Blaga, the typical space of Romanians. Michael wonders alone, eats simple food in simple houses. The theme of good and long-suffering people is suggested in those scenes.

In opposition with the peasants are not the boyars, but Transylvanian nobles. They are presented during the ball, eating and drinking. The contrast between modesty – arrogance, austerity – opulence is clear. Sigismund reproached to Michael the sympathy for simple men: *"you awakened the dark power of mod, you, a Prince"*.

The mace with three seals (1977)

Movie director: Constantin Vaeni. Actors: Victor Rebengiuc, Toma Caragiu

The new movie was asked by Nicolae Ceaușescu, who wanted a production with more "class conscience" than Nicolaescu's *Michael the Brave*. The movie is focused on the unification: the action starts after the

battle of Călugăreni and ends before the decline and death of Michael the Brave. There are fewer battle scenes and definitely less spectacular, the goal is to follow the “thought” of the hero.

The main themes of nationalist ideology from Nicolaescu’s movie are maintained: the Romanian’s sacrifices on behalf of European Kingdoms, the cynicism and expansionism of the great European Kingdoms, the desire of national unity of the Romanians.

An important change was the role of religion. Ambiguous in Nicolaescu’s *Michael the Brave*, this time it was clearly denied. In conversations with his son, Nicolae, Michael said: “*Religion can not make a country! A country is made on the same lands, with the same language, with the same ancestors, with the same habits from generation to another generation. Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania were separated by the roguery of hard times, but we are still a country. Even if instead of Zalmoxis and Jupiter we raised other altars*” In another scene, he said he is not carrying on a religion war, he fights for freedom and his people. The force idea in *The mace with three seals* is the national and social motivation of the hero.

The priests excel in spying and political intrigues, the cope is more like a camouflage. The character Pamfilie (Toma Caragiu) looks like a secret service agent. Michael mock at him: “*Pamfilie, you got drunk last night, that is why God is not listening to you*”. It is clear that not Pamfilie is at stake, but the Church.

Another important change is the image of the boyars. In Vaeni’s movie, Michael is not surrendered by boyars, he has devoted servants. The Prince is presented very close to the peasantry. When his wife warned him that “*the country are the boyars*”, he roughly replied “*No, Lady! The country is the hats which jump in front of strangers only together with the heads!*” And later: “*I didn’t rise up against Turks to became the slave of the boyars!*” Michael is always in contradiction with the boyars, he mistrusts them. The peasants, in contrast, have solid class conscience: “*we and the boyars make cross with the same hand, but not with the same thoughts*”, said one of them.

An obsessive theme is the relationship with the foreign empires (“*I’m sick of great powers*”, he exclaimed). The character played by Victor Rebengiuc is proud, even defiant in front of the Turks, Austrians, Transylvanian nobles. He is described as visionary, he thinks that the course of history should be decided by the right of nations, not by royalties (another anachronistic thought).

The continuity theme, which confers to the Romanians superiority over foreigners, is introduced by invoking ancient Dacians. The prince Nicolae, son of Michael, teaches a history lesson to Sigismund Bathory

and the conclusion is that the Romanians are actually the old Dacians: “*the people did not disappear, they mix, but in substance remain the same*”. The re-discovery and valorization of ancient Dacians by national communism tried to establish deep roots for the Romanian people in their homeland: they were born here. The exaggeration of Dacian element in the formation of the Romanian nation was to bring to the reasoning Dacian = Romanian.

Michael the Brave character has an unusual sense of history. Regarding the past, he visited the grave of Stephan the Great, former prince of Moldavia. The ideological movie ends with Michael the Brave as a winner, cheered by the people at Alba Iulia, where the coronation ceremony took place, with optimistic message for the future: “*The Nation and the Union will live forever, because you will live forever*”.

Conclusions

The Romanian communism tried to legitimate itself by including nationalism in its discourse. Party officials were interested not only in re-writing history, but in promoting heroes and events at large scale, through educational system and mass-media. Cinematography was used in this effort.

Michael the Brave is one the most important rulers in Romanian history. The communist nationalism was interested in consolidating the myth of the first unifier of Romanians` homeland, act with the value of a prophecy.

The movies *Michael the Brave* and *The mace with three seals* created a visionary character, with a strange sense of history, with strong national conscience, close to the nationalists thought of the 20th century. Michael is not a political ruler – like the emperors of the foreign empires – he is a profound thinker, predestinated to unify the Romanians. He feels that he has a destiny to fulfill. On the background, clearly shaped, is the portrait of the Romanian people: kind and long-suffering, oppressed, poor but dignified, making sacrifices for Western Europe.

The communist ideology minimized or denied the importance of religion in Michael`s thought, but focused on the social or even class relations, on the theme of social conflict. The Romanians should fight against a double oppression: national and social.

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The Postal Market – a New Economic Challenge in the Context of Globalization

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Abstract:

Postal services emerged to satisfy the communication needs of man in both particular and social relationships. Satisfying this need was based on a network-shaped organization that provides transportation or sending messages, remotely. The solution consisted of creating international and national bodies to coordinate the work of postal networks. The creation of the Universal Postal Union as a specialized world body has allowed the organization and coordination of postal services worldwide, to reach globalization among the first ones. The functioning of national postal networks was in the attention of the state leaderships that have also created specific legislative framework to enable their commercialization in order to self-finance them. Improving, diversifying and expanding postal services enabled their commercialization and making profit. The economic amendments at a national and global level, as well as the globalization tendencies have produced strategic changes and at level of the postal services, culminating with their liberalization. Postal services were initially provided in a specific framework between domestic providers; currently they operate within the postal markets. The factors that have led to the realization of postal markets are external and internal. The external factors which allowed the development of the postal network are: the development and improving of the means of communication, of the means of transportation, the development of communication routes by land, sea, air and the liberalization of postal services. The internal factors are the increase and diversification of traditional postal services by the increase of the volume of commercial correspondence, of postal packages and increased bank transfers. Other internal factors are the development of postal services such as the new economy type: electronic mail, online money transfers and trade by mail. The new approaches to postal services are dominated by the economic aspect because of the postal market. Postal strategies are permanently considering satisfying the need for communication and the benefits of commercialization of these services.

Keywords: postal services, postal market, providers of postal services, competition, trade by post

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Introduction

Postal services were provided mainly by state institutions as part of the state's strategic units. Postal services emerges due to people's communication need, a need that expanded and diversified constantly. Thus, these services have always been in the attention of state leadership, benefiting from proper legislation and good organization. Cirrus, the King of Persia "founded the first permanent post in the world for military-administrative reasons" (Eminet, 1957: 22). Postal services are an important means of communication. Telecommunications have developed on their own infrastructure while postal services used the infrastructure of communication means, i.e. road and rail services as well as water and air services. The development of communication and telecommunication means brought about the development and diversification of postal services.

Postal market is a relatively new marked that emerged due to the liberalisation of postal services. It has become attractive since its beginnings as confirmed by the rapid development. The postal market is well structured and can be easily identified in the general context of markets. It is top ranked in the economy of services.

New policies and trade exchanges are supervised by the World Trade Organization (WTO), which regulates interstate trade exchanges and administrates international agreements on goods and services trade, especially the GATT Agreement. This agreement was signed at the Reunion of Ministers in Doha in 2001 at referred to initiating negotiations for the liberalisation of all services in international trade, including postal services. An important role is played by the rural postal network. (6) *The rural postal network, especially in the mountains and on islands plays an important role in the integration of companies in the national and international economy as well as in maintaining social cohesion and employment in these areas. Moreover, post offices in rural areas in the mountains or on islands can provide infrastructure to access new technologies in communication* (Directiva Parlamentului European și al Consiliului nr. 97/67/15.dec.1997). Manufacturers wanted and still want to access the rural area and this thing would be impossible as commercial centres are located in cities. The rural population want to have access to the goods of large companies and such thing is possible only in commercial centres located in cities. The solution to this problem both in favour of manufacturers and the population is the mail and parcel service.

A feature of postal services is their universal character given by the shipment of post and parcels both inland and outside the country's borders. The National Company Poșta Română S.A. has connections

with other post administration within the Universal Post Union. Private providers deliver post both inland and in other countries through their own network or via national networks of other private couriers they have agreements with. Post delivery services include: letters, letters with value, parcels and money transfer. This feature ensures all conditions for the development of postal services and postal trade. Economically, traditional postal services were insured by the state through the universal service provider. The emergence of private providers and the increase in the number of private postal deliveries and especially the number of trade deliveries led to the development of national and international postal market. There are two categories of service providers that activate on the postal market:

- The universal service providers that must ensure access to communication for the entire population through a package of post services, generically called universal services. Besides this package, they can provide other postal services.

- Private providers that are specialized in mail and parcel post.

The universal character of postal services configured an international postal market that functions according to the legislation of national markets of Universal Post Union member states.

Romanian Postal Market

Romanian postal market is relatively new and it was created along with the liberalization of postal services. In Romania at the end of 2015, there were 386 authorized postal services providers out of which only 236 were still active. The postal market is regulated and supervised by ANCOM (National Authority for Management and Regulation in Communication). According to workload and the position on the market, Romanian postal market is divided between 10 providers with the highest postal traffic and the rest of the providers.

The 10 most important providers of postal services that operate on Romanian territory are:

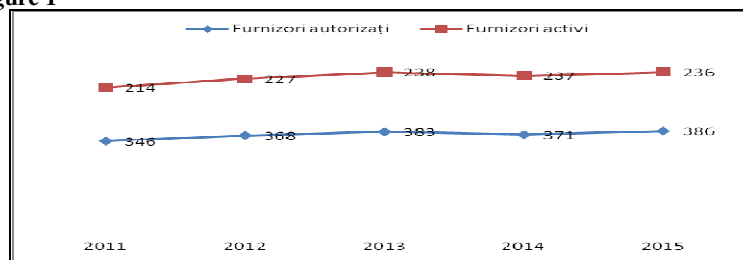
AK Postal Service Holding S.A.; National Company Poșta Română S.A.; Dynamic Parcel Distribution S.A, Fan Courier S.R.L.; GLS General Logistics Systems România S.R.L.; Nemo Prod Com Impex S.R.L.; Postmaster S.R.L.; Romfour Tur S.R.L., Total Post Mail Service S.R.L; Urgent Cargus S.A. (table 1, Figure 1)

**The Evolution of Postal Service Providers on Romanian Territory
Tabel.1**

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Authorised providers	346	368	383	371	386
Active providers	214	227	238	237	236

Source: ANCOM – Annual Report 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015

**The Evolution of Postal Service Providers on Romanian Territory
Figure 1**



Source: ANCOM – Annual Report 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015

The emergence of new postal service providers brought about competition on the market and the increase in their number led to new approaches of this field. Private couriers implemented new postal policies and the universal service provider, namely the traditional post was forced to reassess and reconsider its old postal policies.

Changes in the structure of postal services were determined by:

- globalization
- technological evolution
- competition
- regulations
- new policies and trade exchanges
- development of trade blocs (regionalization of exchanges: UE, ALENA, MERCOSUR, ASEAN)

The analysis of postal traffic for all services between 2011 and 2015 shows that it registered a growth by 80,23%. The indicator for domestic traffic registered a growth by 82,59% and 54,96% for external traffic. (Table 2 figure 2)

The Evolution of postal traffic between 2011 and 2014

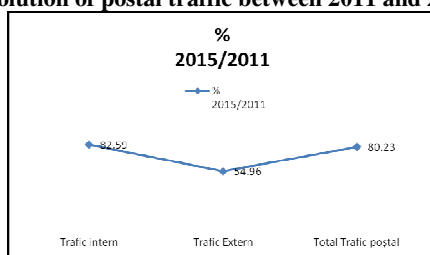
Table 2

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	% 2015/ 2011

Domestic traffic	496366748	493436207	530106710	592921878	600979933	82.59
External traffic	30909646	29850092	34152710	30283195	56243438	54.96
Total Postal traffic	527276394	523286299	564259420	623205073	657223371	80.23

Source: ANCOM – Annual Report 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015

Evolution of postal traffic between 2011 and 2014



Source: ANCOM – Annual Report 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015

Figure 2

For the indicator of letters, growth was registered only for domestic traffic while external traffic and the total amount dropped between 2011 and 2015 (**table 3, figure 3**)

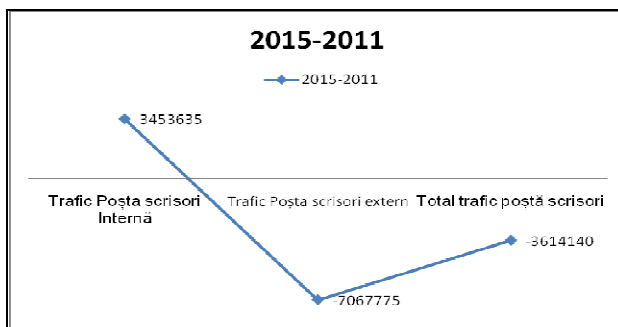
The Evolution of mail traffic

Table. 3

Indicator Mail post	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2015-2011
Domestic mail traffic	463106135	464717706	492863288	518726191	466559770	3453635
External mail traffic	27152655	25148212	30064299	21467666	20084880	7067775
Total mail traffic	490258790	489865918	522927587	540193857	486644650	3614140

Source: ANCOM – Annual Report 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015

The Evolution of mail traffic



Source: ANCOM- Annual Report 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015
Figure 3

The parcel post traffic increased by 18,3% between 2011 and 2015, i.e. domestic parcel post traffic experienced a growth of 22,1% while external parcel post traffic only 7,4%. The growth of parcel post traffic is a proof that post trade has increased too. (**table 4, figure 4**)

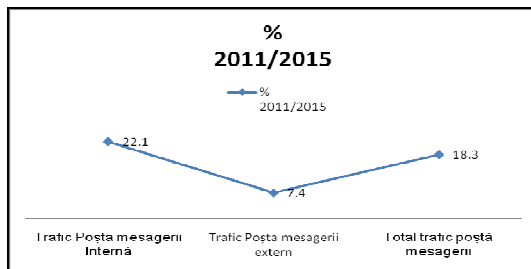
Evolution of parcel post traffic

Table 4

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	% 2011/2015
Domestic parcel post traffic	20884799	20515339	24450149	55469759	94558422	22.1
External parcel post traffic	2403654	3427959	2418080	6544784	32420926	7.4
Total parcel post traffic	23288453	23943298	26868229	62014543	126979348	18.3

Source: ANCOM – Annual Report 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015

The Evolution of parcel post traffic



Source: ANCOM – Annual Report 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015

The providers with the highest traffic for the segment of Express services are in alphabetical order, the following: COMPANIA NAȚIONALĂ POȘTA ROMÂNĂ S.A., DELIVERY SOLUTIONS S.A., DHL INTERNATIONAL ROMANIA S.R.L., DYNAMIC PARCEL DISTRIBUTION S.A., ECONT FOR YOU S.R.L., NEMO PROD COM IMPEX S.R.L., POȘTA ATCLASSIB CURIER RAPID S.R.L., TNT ROMANIA S.R.L., UPS ROMANIA S.R.L., WORLD MEDIATRANS S.R.

The structure of postal sector is determined by the launch on the postal market of three distinctive groups.

- The first group that became global consists of:
 - Deutsche Post World Net
 - TPG-Group
 - La Post Francaise and Consignia
 - attached companies UPS and FedEx
 - alliances.
- The second group consists of national providers and is formed of:
 - national service providers. These providers use state capital and can be distinguished based on their dimension, results, strategies as well as progress made after reformation.
- The third group is represented by private companies:
 - parcel post companies
 - courier companies
 - providers of postal services.

Theoretically, on national level, post can be organized under different forms. Practice, however, has shown that postal services are efficient only when regional subsidiaries are organized based on the diagram of state administrative structures. Local administration has social and economic interests, and access to communication at reasonable prices is among the social ones. Only the national universal services provider can grant such access. In economic terms, a post office

is an economic entity that can be supported by the local administration with a headquarters, with placement of mail boxes, development of access roads to human establishments or any other facilities. National coverage facilitates trade development via mail or electronic trade.

The liberalisation brought about lower costs and fees for goods and services. Therefore, the resources have been effectively redistributed, generating economic growth and improvement of quality standards. The competition between postal service providers is a way of getting benefits but it had also negative impact upon the providers' profit. The liberalisation of postal services can limit the users' access to postal services if proper measures aren't been taken.

The reformation of postal services is a necessity for developed countries as in many of them, postal services are provided by a company which has monopsony. By Directive 97/96/CE it was decided that postal monopsony of EU Member States should be gradually reduced. The experience of states that have already begun liberalisation of postal market suggests the necessity of a careful approach of this process.

Supply of postal services is governed by special laws that regulate the manner service providers have to satisfy the users' needs. The population's access to postal services is ensured by the universal service provider and private couriers. The difference between them is that the universal service provider is obliged to have a national coverage while private providers aren't.

The cost accessibility for postal services outside the area of universal services raise two problems: determining the fee above which the services ceases to be accessible and determining the category of users that will quit using the services after a fee-rise. Accessibility can be defined according to the following factors: specific national conditions (GDP/ capita), average earning per capita, share of expenditures with postal services in the monthly expenses of an individual, the approximate cost of postal services included in the universal service compared to other services and products, the users' ability of monitoring and controlling expenses. These factors will have to be correlated with fees from other countries with similar economic characteristics and with the fees from EU member states. The average income and the purchasing power will have to be taken into account.

Conclusions

Postal market experiences constant development to meet the social needs and the service providers try to revalue this opportunity by supplying postal services.

Postal service providers have to direct their strategies in the domestic area: by training the employees that have direct contact with the customers, by organizing production, transport and distribution but they should focus on external area too and advertise their services.

Mail and parcel services have a three dimensional economic side especially after the growth of parcel traffic and post trade. The beneficial effects of post trade are:

- increased economic efficiency of the postal service provider,
- increased customer satisfaction that become consumers,
- increased efficiency and satisfaction of good manufactures that can trade their goods in urban and rural areas.

The traditional provider through its own network delivers services in rural and urban areas. Private providers have initially targeted only the urban area. Currently, they supply their services to rural areas too especially in the suburbs with expanding tendencies.

Up to the emergence of economic crisis, the strategies of big postal operators targeted mostly economic agents; however. after the crisis, their strategies cover both economic agents and the population.

The general postal traffic is maintained and parcel traffic experiences growth. This fact underlines the idea that the strategies are designed both for economic agents and for the population.

The development of communication and telecommunication means, namely the internet offers great opportunities for the development of traditional postal services, especially to post trade.

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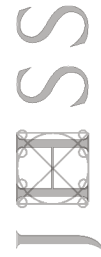
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Considerations on the Quality of Offender as Stipulated by Art. 8, paragraph 1, GO 15/2002^{*}

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Abstract:

The law topic exploited in the present paper is whether, according to the provisions of art. 1 paragraph 1 letter b) of the Government Ordinance no. 15/2002, on the application of usage tariff and tariff for crossing Romanian national road network, the contravention liability for the contravention provided by art. 8 par. 1 of the same normative act belongs to the natural or legal persons registered in registration certificate who fulfils, at the time of the offense, the condition of vehicle ownership or the contravention responsibility belongs to natural or legal persons inscribed in the certificate of ownership as owner, even if vehicle in question was alienated on basis of some translated property documents, bearing a certain date by presenting it to a public authority, but the vehicle was not registered on new owner's name.

Keywords: Contravention liability, offender, car user/customer, vehicle radiation, vignette, usage tariff

Legal provisions

Government Ordinance no. 15/2002 on the application of usage tariff and crossing tariff on Romaniannational road network:

Art. 1 par. (1) According to Ordinance content, the terms and expressions below are defined as follows:

b) users/customers – the natural or legal person registered in registration certificate, who owns or who, as the case may be, may use on the basis of a legal right vehicles registered in Romania, hereinafter referred to as Romanian users/customers, respectively the natural or legal person inscribed in the certificate who owns or, as the case may be may, use, on the basis of a legal right vehicles registered in other states, hereinafter referred to as foreign users/customers;

Article 7, paragraph (1) The responsibility for proper payment of usage tariff and the concession tariff rests exclusively with the Romanian customers, while, in case of foreign customers, it rests exclusively with vehicle driver.

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Article 8, paragraph (1) The act of driving without a valid vignette represents a continuous contravention and is sanctioned with fine.

Minister of Transport Order no. 611/2015 regarding the approval of Methodological Norms and their application by the Romanian National Company of Motorways and National Roads S.A.- the usage tariff and the passage rate /being in force since April, 28th, 2015.

ART 2 (1) According of these methodological rules, customers are:

a) Romanian users:

a1) natural or legal person registered in the vehicle registration certificate, which owns vehicles registered in Romania;

a2) natural or legal person enlisted in the vehicle registration certificate, which may use, on basis of a legal right, vehicles registered in Romania;

b) foreign users:

b1) natural or legal person registered in the vehicle registration certificate, who owns vehicles registered in other states;

b2) natural or legal person registered in the vehicle registration certificate, who may use vehicles registered in other states, under a legal right.

(2) The people referred to in paragraph (1) letter a) point a1) or letter b) point b.1) shall be considered users within the meaning of the present methodological norms only if the registration certificate does not include persons referred to in par. (1) letter a) point a2) or letter b) point b2).

Government Emergency Ordinance no. 195/2002, republished, on the public road traffic:

Art. 11 para. 4. In the case of vehicle ownership transfer, the data of the new owner shall be entered in the records of the competent authorities at the same time as the cessation of previous owner. In order to carry out this operation and to issue a new registration certificate, the new owner is required to request the competent authority to transcribe the transmission of his ownership right, within 30 days since the acquisition of the vehicle.

M.A.I order no. 1501 of November, 13th, 2006 on the procedure for matriculation registration, expunging and issuing of provisional driving plates or probe/test-drive plates.

Article 8 paragraph (1) The transcription of the transmission of ownership of a vehicle shall be made on basis of the following documents:

a) new owner application. In the case of recording in the registration certificate of other person, beside the owner, who can

use the vehicle by legal right basis the owner shall mention this explicit request in the application;

Article 24 (1) Owners of matriculated or registered vehicles may request radiation from circulation if they provide proof of vehicle storage in an appropriate space, held in accordance with law provisions.

(2) Owners of matriculated or registered vehicles are obliged to request the radiation from circulation within 30 days since:

a) the vehicle has been dismantled, quashed or handed over to a specialized unit for dismantling;

b) definitively removing the vehicle from Romania;

c) declaring vehicle theft;

d) alienation of the vehicle registered to another person.

3) The vehicle declared unclaimed or abandoned, by the local public administration authority, shall be radiated, *ex officio*, within 30 days from the receipt of the afore-mentioned order.

(4) The vehicle for which the traffic police ordered radiation from circulation, according to the law, shall be expunged since the date of communicated measure.

(5) The radiation shall be communicated within 30 days by the authority that performed it to local competent fiscal authority.

Article 25, the radiation shall be done by presenting the registration/matriculation certificate and the plates bearing matriculation/ registration number or, as the case may be, the vehicle identity card (only for vehicles registered after July 1st, 1993), the registration form with visa of the competent fiscal authority of the local public administration, stated according to law provisions, or according to tax attestation certificate, as well as documents proving the fact that one of the situations stipulated in art. 24 par. (1) – (4) occurred.

Decisions of Constitutional Court

The Constitutional Court ruled on the constitutionality of the provisions of art. 1 paragraph 2 letter b, art. 7 and art. 8 O.G no. 15/2002 (Decision No 459 / June 16th, 2015, Decision No 250 / May, 21th, 2013, Decision No 371 / September 24th, 2013, Decision No 303 / June, 13th, 2013, Decision No 217 / March, 9th, 2013, Decision No No 993 / November, 22th, 2012), dismissing unconstitutionality exceptions invoked.

The Constitutional Court of Appeal considered insubstantial the criticism that the sanction for non-compliance with the obligation of holding a Romanian national road vignette, applied to the natural or legal person (registered in vehicle registration certificate as owner or

legal customer), and not directly to vehicle driver, would be unconstitutional.

The Constitutional Court noted (paragraph 16 of Decision no. 459 / June, 16th, 2015) that although the term “user/customer” in the common language can refer to someone who drives the vehicle at some point, the legislator provided a legal definition, circumscribed to specific field.

Thus, the legislator opted to establish the payment obligation in charge of person registered in the registration certificate, considering that theoretically the same vehicle can be used temporarily and successively by several persons

However, there would have been a relativisation of rate payment obligation, if the legislator had established the payment obligation for person who was the driver of motor vehicle at the time of finding him in traffic without having paid the rate.

The purpose of introducing such a tariff was to improve the quality of national road network, which is also expected to be achieved through the contribution of each legal motor vehicle owner (owner of vehicle or owner of a leasing contract).

The chosen legislative solution is optimal for achieving the stated objectives and, at the same time, is not likely to contradict the provisions of art. 135 paragraph (2) letter b) of Constitution. In fact, it represents one of the way in which the state fulfils the obligation established in the afore-mentioned constitutional text.

All these, because the existence of a functional national road network is capable of ensuring the freedom trade. At the same time, this is a feature that circumscribes the state's obligation to create a favourable framework for all factors of production capitalization.

The jurisprudential exam of law question to debate reveals different interpretations as follows:

One opinion, which has been a long period of time, a relatively constant practice at Arad Tribunal level, is that the contravening liability belongs to the person registered as owner in the vehicle registration certificate, regardless if the vehicle was alienated or not, as long as the radiation from M.A.I – Directorate of Driving and Vehicle Registration Regime records was not registered.

In the argumentation of this opinion, it was noted that although the alienation was operated at the level of the tax authorities, according to the DRPCÍV records, the car is, however, the property of the petitioners.

According to art. 24 par. 2 letter d) of MIRA Order no. 1501/2006, the owners of registered vehicles are obliged to request the radiation within 30 days from the date of alienating the registered vehicle.

As the petitioners in question have not complied with this legal obligation, the alienation invoked has effects only between the contracting parties and cannot be opposed to respondent, until the completion of the transcription formalities, in the absence of radiation formalities completion the petitioners assume the risks arising from vehicle ownership.

Therefore, for as long as, at the time of traffic control, the petitioners were the owners and, implicitly, the presumed users of the vehicle running without a valid vignette, they also have the quality of the active subject of the contravention provided by art. 8 of O.G no. 15/2002.

Generally speaking, in such cases, the court detained the offense and replaced fine sanction with the warning (File No. 14629/55/2013, file No 9111/55/2013, file No 6477/55/2013)

The other opinion is that, according to art. 1 paragraph 1 letter b) from O.G no. 15/2002, in order for a person to be a customer, two cumulative conditions must be fulfilled: to be registered in the registration certificate and to own or be able to use the vehicle based on a legal right.

Given that sale-purchase contract (document under private signature that has acquired a certain date, in accordance with the provisions of art.278 Code of Civil Procedure, by being presented to the Tax Service,prior to the fact being committed), and the vehicle was expunged from tax records under the purchase contract, the fault in committing the offense does not belong to person registered as owner in the registration certificate.

This second opinion was shared in the recent case law of Arad Court.

Thus, for example, it is worth noting the Civil Decision no. 741 A / June, 29th, 2016 of Arad Court - Administrative and Fiscal Contentious Division, delivered in file no. 1438/210/2015, which established:

In accordance with art. 8 from O.G. no. 15/2002 the act of driving along without having a valid vignette is a contravention and is sanctioned with fine.

At the same time, art. 1 paragraph 1 letter b) from the same normative act, defines the user as the natural or legal person registered in the registration certificate, which owns or which, as the case may be, can use vehicles registered in Romania,based on a legal right.

Therefore, at the time of committing the contravention, the applicant was no longer the owner of the car and, as a consequence, no longer had the obligation to pay the rate for the use of the national road network, being indifferent, according to this point of view, the fact that the car registration certificate continues to mention the property of the applicant, while under the legal provisions of O.U.G. no. 195/2002, the

legal obligation to register the vehicle, in case of sale-purchase, belongs to the new owner, so that no fault can be attributed to the petitioner.

Thus, the petitioner no longer fulfils the condition of being the car user that circulated without a valid vignette, because, first of all, he is no longer the owner of the car and secondly, he has not used the car.

The conditions that come out of the provisions of art.1 letter b) of O.G. no. 15/2002 for being the car customer, is that the person to be registered in vehicle registration certificate, which he owns or, as the case may be, the person that can use vehicle registered in Romania, on the basis of a legal right.

These conditions must be met cumulatively because they are rehearsed, while, the conjunction “or” is used for the owner or for the lawful user of the vehicle, as alternative regulations.

Consequently, the cumulative conditions are: to be entered in the registration certificate and to be owner (or lawful user).So, it is necessary to fulfil two conditions, firstly to be entered in the registration certificate, and secondly, to own or legally use a car.

As the petitioner no longer owns the car, also, he is no longer the car user, even if he is registered in the registration certificate.

Regarding the nature of contravention, in the case of contravention provided by art. 8 paragraph 1 of O.G 15/2002, we consider that, in this respect, the liability is always subjective.

According to the provisions of art. 1 paragraph 2 of Ordinance no. 15/2002 on the application of the usage tariff and the driving along Romanian national road network, starting with July 1st, 2002, was introduced the afore-mentioned tariff, applied to all Romanian customers, for all registered vehicles, which use the Romaniannational road network and was structured according to travel and stationary period, the maximum emissions class (EURO), the maximum permissible laden mass (MTMA) and the number of axles, as the case may be.

In accordance with the provisions of art. 8 par. 1 from O.G. 15/2002, the act of driving out without a valid vignette is a contravention, sanctioned with ransom.

From the analysis of art. 7 and 8 provisions, in conjunction with those contained in art. 1 paragraph 1, point b) of O.G. no.15 / 2002, it is clear that the responsibility for vignette paying belongs to the person registered in the car's identity card as the owner or the legal user of the car, regardless of the person who actually drives out the car, at the moment of finding the contravention.

The act concluded between the parties is not opposable to third parties, being an act under private signature. Also, its date is not

opposable to third parties, any change of owner / user being opposable to third parties only after registration of the ownership right in the records of the competent public service.

As long as the petitioner appears as the owner and no other person is mentioned as a user, the petitioner has the status of active subject according to art.8 and art.1 letter b) of O.G no.15 / 2002.

Regarding the legal conditions to be met for vehicle right to ownership transmission, the intimate party invoked the provisions of article 24, paragraph 2, letter d) of the Order 1501/2006 on the procedure of registration, matriculation and the issue of provisional driving license or evidence of motor vehicles, according to which "Owners of matriculated or registered vehicles are obliged to request expunging from circulation, within 30 days from the date of vehicle alienation, to another person".

The complainant did not prove that the alienated vehicle would have been radiated, from the police records at the date of the contravention and the mere notification of the petitioner by which he notifies the transfer of ownership to MAI-DRPCVI as provided by art. 24 paragraph 2 point d) of the Order no.1501 / November, 13th, 2006 no longer permits the latter to be sanctioned.

A diligent seller has at his disposal sufficient legal means to complete all opposing formalities provided by law, even in the case of a buyer of bad faith, such as: a fact-finding action, followed by steps to be taken in relation to competent institutions, respectively, a court proceeding action against the buyer.

Concluding on the interpretation of user/customer notion, as defined by the legislator in art. 1 paragraph 1 of OUG 15/2002, we consider that responsibility for vignette payment belongs to natural or legal person registered in the registration certificate, who owns or, as the case may be, uses, on the basis of a legal right, vehicles registered in Romania, whether, in fact, someone drives along or not on public roads, especially considering the arguments of the Constitutional Court, presented above, within the framework of Decision no. 459 / June, 6th, 2015.

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Civil decision no. 741 A /2016, June, 29th of Arad Tribunal – Administrative and Fiscal Contentious Division, delivered in file no. 1438/210/2015, unpublished.

Civil decision no. 1165 2016, November, 9th, of Arad Tribunal – Administrative and Fiscal Litigation Division, delivered in the file. No 3731/55/2016, unpublished.

Civil Sentence no. 4925, October, 27th, 2014 pronounced in File. Nr. 14629/55/2014.

Decision no. 459 / 2015, June, 16th, regarding the dismissing of the unconstitutionality exception of the provisions of art. 1 paragraph (1) letter b) of the Government Ordinance no. 15/2002 regarding the application of usage tariff and crossing tariff on Romanian national road network.

Government Ordinance no. 15/2002 on the application of use tariff and crossing tariff on Romanian national road network, amended and republished, published in the Official Monitor, no. 885/19 December 2007.

Government Emergency Ordinance no. 195/2002, republished, on the circulation on public roads: published in the Official Monitor no. 958 of 28/12/2002.

M.A.I order no. 1501 of November, 13th, 2006 on procedure for matriculation, registration, erasure and issue of provisional driving license or vehicle samples.



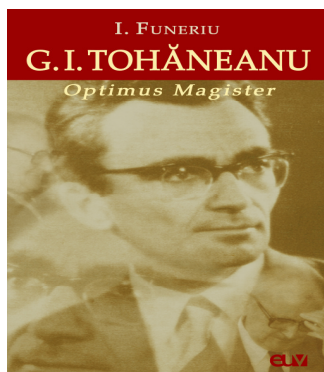
REVIEW ARTICLES

JESS

Un portret autentic: I. Funeriu, *G. I. Tohăneanu – Optimus Magister*

Florica Bodiștean*

An Authentic Portret: I. Funeriu, *G. I. Tohăneanu – Optimus Magister*



Dedicat personalității emblematice, întemeietoare și directoare a învățământului filologic timișorean și a școlii timișorene de stilistică, magistrul G. I. Tohăneanu, recentul volum semnat de universitarul Ionel Funeriu și publicat în mai 2017 la Editura Universității de Vest din Timișoara este o carte neconvențională și curajoasă și, prin aceasta, o carte vie. Nu e un volum omagial sau *in honorem*... de care profesorul Tohăneanu a avut parte la împlinirea vârstelor rotunde, de 70 și 80 de ani, prin substanțialele apariții prilejuite tot de Editura Universității de Vest. E o carte destinsă, de convorbiri, amintiri, reflecții, mărturii și mărturisiri convocate toate la *cuvânt* sau, etimologic, „la adunare”, de discursul „din ramă” al autorului, apropiat al profesorului, paradoxal discipolul său cel mai fidel, dar și cel mai emancipat. Cartea probează această relație afectuos-lucidă în primul rând prin „rama” unificatoare, care nu reprezintă un simplu cadru textual – introductiv, incitator, obedient, laudativ, cum ne-am aștepta –, ci e un portativ cel puțin egal ca amplitudine cu al celorlalte „voci” implicate: în primul rând profesorul Tohăneanu, cu care Ionel Funeriu dialoghează pe nu mai puțin de 200 de pagini, dar și foștii studenți, doctoranzii, colegii, colaboratorii, generic vorbind „Elevii”, ale căror

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mărturii alcătuiesc cea de-a treia secțiune a volumului, chiar astfel numită. Partea din mijloc, intitulată sugestiv *După douăzeci de ani*, răstimpul dumasian al „așezării lucrurilor”, e o consistentă *Addenda* ce vine să întregască, prin amintirile și reflecțiile personale ale autorului, portretul moral, spiritual, profesional al celui căruia în mediul academic i se spunea pur și simplu *Magistrul*.

De subliniat în primul rând este spiritul absolut dezinhibat, aș spune chiar împotriva prejudecăților și a structurilor instituționalizate, în care a fost concepută această carte. Ea rămâne, de la început și până la sfârșit, admirativă la adresa subiectului său, fără a deveni niciodată encomiastică. Cunosc opinia lui Ionel Funeriu despre sacralizarea care ucide și despre monumentalizarea care dărmă o personalitate, căci reprezentările abstracte și proiectarea în absolut, smulgând-o din planul existenței reale, nu fac altceva decât să-i efașeze reliefurile. Acesta e pericolul pe care el îl evită conștient, făcând din *provocare*, la propriu și la figurat, metoda sa de lucru. La figurat, pentru că ceea ce îl interesează e adevărul Omului cu toate fețele sale; la propriu, pentru că discuțiile purtate cu profesorul Tohăneanu la sfârșitul anilor '90 trebuiau să învingă structurala rezervă a acestuia din urmă față de confesiune și, mai ales, față de confesiunea scrisă.

Convorbirile se poartă pe teme „clasice”, de neocolit pentru devoalarea personalității unui mare om de cultură. Reconstituind traseul devenirii, profesorul Tohăneanu nu conține să sublinieze cât datorează modelelor (nu modelor!), între care cel dintâi e tatăl, venerat și însoțit în eternitate de „neuitare smerită”, urmat îndeaproape de marii profesori ai Universității bucureștene care i-au fost mentori: Tudor Vianu, Alexandru Rosetti, Iorgu Iordan, Alexandru Graur. Se vorbește apoi despre oamenii providențiali și despre obstructori într-o istorie comunistă abuzivă, despre cum să supraviețuiești „sub vremi”, despre moralitatea intelectualului în relație cu sistemul sau despre subteranele marelui efort de construcție a Filologiei timișorene la începutul anului 1956. Deasupra tuturor, ca o supratemă ce revine obsedant și dă pecetea inconfundabilă a acestei copleșitoare personalități, se află pledoaria, deopotrivă afectivă și științifică, pentru limba latină, limba noastră „paternă”, adică limba strămoșilor. Citind dialogurile, ne amintim, toți foștii „elevi”, mărturisirea de credință a profesorului Tohăneanu răspicată în numeroase împrejurări: „dacă româna este limba noastră maternă, atunci putem spune, cu aceeași îndreptățire și cu aceeași mândrie, că latina înseamnă, pentru obștea românească, limba ei paternă. Îmbogățim astfel și conceptul «patrie», extras din expresia latinească (*terra*) *patria* «pământ al strămoșilor»; actualizăm,

deopotrivă, măreția gravă pe care noțiunea «tată», «părinte», o avea în dreptul roman” (p. 48).

Din axele convorbirilor se încheagă și se rotunjește chiar și implicit, dincolo de declarații și mărturisiri, portretul interior esențializat al Magistrului, definit, cum însuși o spune, de trei elemente: modestia, discreția și sentimentul propriilor margini, înțeles – fapt cu adevărat de ținut minte pentru ceea ce înseamnă sau ar trebui să însemne cercetarea – ca etică a științei adevărate care i-a impus întotdeauna să nu vorbească decât despre ceea ce știe.

Dacă temele confesiunii sunt, cum spuneam, dintre cele „instituționalizate”, modul în care ele sunt conduse e unul atipic. În prezența unui spirit retractil în fața publicității și a denudării, suficient de sensibil pentru a menaja sensibilitatea altora, lui Ionel Funeriu nu-i rămâne decât să poarte discuția „pe muchie”, între incisivitate și diplomație. Vorbind în *Prefață* despre ideea și laboratorul cărții, recunoaște că a avut momente de exasperare când a constatat că mărturisirile smulse cu greu la o discuție preliminară, la o cafea sau la un pahar de vin, sunt cenzurate în răspunsurile pe care profesorul le dădea ulterior în scris întrebărilor sale reformulate tot în scris. Când însă, revăzând un text masiv cules la computer, profesorul se autocenzurează din nou, intervievatorul comite greșeala fatală de a-i spune următoarele: „domnule profesor, de câte ori aștept de la dumneavoastră un răspuns tranșant, fie ocoliți întrebarea, fie îmi recitați versuri în loc de răspuns, fie vă refugiați în solemnități” (p. 6-7). În consecință, finalizarea convorbirilor va fi amânată *sine die*, proiectul fiind constrâns să se limiteze în cele din urmă la paginile adunate până la acea dată.

Dacă spiritul critic resentimentar i-a lipsit, din prea mare delicatețe, profesorului Tohăneanu, Ionel Funeriu, în schimb, nu ezită să vorbească deschis despre receptarea critică a Magistrului. Consacrat „detractorilor”, un subcapitol al celei de-a doua secțiuni a cărții oferă o imagine asupra subteranei relațiilor colegiale, asupra animozităților și invidiilor pe care o personalitate de mare relief precum cea a profesorului era imposibil să nu le suscite. Este cel mai surprinzător segment al volumului, despre care autorul și mărturisește că a fost scris după o grea cumpănă, la capătul căreia a biruit gândul că trebuie să urmărească până la capăt și cu orice consecințe miza sub care și-a conceput proiectul memorialistic: reconstituirea onestă, cu respect pentru *altera pars* și în spiritul obiectivității. Dar nu numai acesta e motivul pentru care volumul de față poate fi socotit curajos și scris, cum spuneam, împotriva prejudecăților menajatoare. E vorba în carte despre inevitabilele puncte nevralgice ale învățământului filologic timișorean

aflat în faza sa de începuturi și sub presiunea politicului atotstăpânitor, despre oameni bine și rău intenționați cărora Ionel Funeriu nu se sfiște să le dea numele, despre valori, dar și despre imposturi universitare. Tocmai de aceea, în text se împletesc două registre diferite ale evocării, două stiluri, ambele sincere, ambele asumate, pentru că, dincolo de teritoriul comun trasat de relația discipol – maestru, se întâlnesc aici două individualități pregnante și două voci formate, fiecare cu timbrul său propriu: unul neologic, combativ, critic al interviewerului și altul arhaizant, poetizant, eufemistic al interviuatului. Căci poezia în sine și poezia cuvintelor au constituit pentru profesorul Tohăneanu un fel de „lichid amniotic” în care s-a scăldat întreaga sa existență verbală. Aș spune, parafrazând un cunoscut vers eminescian, că a fost un om care gândea în etimologii și vorbea în poezie, apelând la sensuri subterane, adică istorice, și la intertextualități poetice pe care numai un *insider* le putea percepe.

Deasupra acestui dialogism interior al volumului precumpănește intenția de a reface, sub lumina necruțătoare, dar caldă a zilei de vară, portretul interior al unui mare spirit cu fața sa umană, dincolo de cea științifică și profesională pe care toți discipolii și apropiații săi i-au cunoscut-o. Un om cu dispozițiile sale schimbătoare, cu mâhnirile sale, cu susceptibilitatea sa exagerată, cu excesele sale în general. Din contextul profund realist în care se situează, autorul nu pierde însă nicio clipă din vedere ceea ce rămâne și ceea ce contează, respectiv esența personalității profesorului Tohăneanu, pentru care conceptele de *labor improbus*, de *greu* și *dez-mărginire* nu au fost metafore, ci realități.

Cartea lui I. Funeriu reușește să restituie cu autenticitate imaginea unui Om și a Lumii prin care el a trecut. Fără idealizări, fără tabuuri, cu respect pentru pactul memorialistic și pentru dreapta memorie a Magistrului său, cel care i-a marcat destinul intelectual. Optimus Magister.

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A R A D