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CONTINUITY IN LANGUAGE

Styles and Registers in Literary and Non-Literary Discourse

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Styles and Registers in Literary and Non-Literary Discourse

Edited by Ewa Willim

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PREFACE

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English Styles and Registers in Theory and Practice

1. Introduction

Linguistic diversity captured with the terms *style* and *register* is of interest to literary theory and to linguistic theory, as both are concerned with how individuals and the multiple social groups and networks that they can simultaneously be members of articulate themselves and how they distinguish themselves from others, the reasons that speakers/writers may have for their choice of linguistic forms, the ways in which these linguistic forms can be creatively exploited in particular contexts as well as with the effects that the choices and departures from norms or conventions of use may have on the hearers/readers. Among the issues of common interest to literary and linguistic theory are the formal, cultural, historical, axiological, moral, ideological, social, psychological, hermeneutic, and other aspects of the structure, production and perception of language.[1] These aspects are traditionally studied in relation to general concepts of convention and creativity, literalness and fictionality, objectivity and subjectivity, politeness and power, consensus and conflict, class and stigma, affect, personal identity and allegiance, and many others.

[1] While the study of the linguistic features of literary texts is not necessary for the development of literary theory and for studies of literature (Lye 1993, 2001; Semino 2006), linguistic models, including those developed with an aim of delineating the range of possible humanly attainable languages rather than any individual languages, cannot ignore the data of language, even if the crucial data on which theoretical arguments are built can only be acquired on the basis of introspective, intuitive judgments (Chomsky 1986).

Questions not only about what a particular choice of linguistic forms constituting a sentence, text or discourse means, but also how it gets to mean or to be interpreted, have been asked by literature critics and expert linguists as well as language commentators alike. The broad range of issues falling under the purview of both literary and linguistic inquiry into the significance of language, includes the relationship between form and content, language and cognition, and language and the extralinguistic reality as well as fictional, imaginary worlds which the human mind is capable of entertaining and exploring (cf., among others, Chrzanowska-Kluczewska 2012). Also questions about the functions of language and their interactions at different levels in texts and discourses have traditionally been investigated both from the literary perspective in explorations of literature through the analysis of its language, and from the linguistic perspective in empirical and theoretical explorations of language, including the language of literature. The answers have varied in the respective fields of inquiry over historical time. The diversity of ideas and models that have arisen in part reflects the changing nature of language and the sociocultural contexts of language use as well as conventions of categories of texts and genres (cf. Biber and Finegan 1989) and in part it reflects changes in the perspective on literature and language in twentieth-century literary and linguistic theory.

Traditionally viewed as highly complex formal objects with well-defined structural properties, language and literature alike have in the course of the twentieth century become reinterpreted by theoreticians from several influential schools of thought as complex processes in which both language and literature mediate culturally, historically, and ideologically saturated social interactions (Burton and Carter 2006; Eckert 2008; Lye 1993, 2001; Schilling-Estes 2002). Just as contemporary literary theory has come to be concerned with "the creative negotiation of meaning and affect between texts, contexts, and readers" (Wales 2006: 216), also linguistic variation studied by linguists in ordinary social interactions has recently become viewed as not simply deriving from and echoing pre-existing sociocultural meanings and social stratification, but as a resource for the creation of social meanings and identities and a force in social change (Eckert 2008; Schilling-Estes 2002). To the extent that linguistic variation constitutes a rich social semiotic system, linguistic forms have symbolic social meanings that speakers recognize and can exploit interpreting and creatively reinterpreting them in the wider social, cultural, political and ideological contexts of interaction. Seen from this perspective, linguistic diversity in literary as well as non-literary discourse need not be seen as driven by essentially different needs of speakers/authors even if the creative urges of individual speakers/authors on the whole have different linguistic expression in different discourses.

This short introductory article to the present volume comprising eleven studies into both literary and non-literary discourse selected from among the papers presented at the *English Styles and Registers in Theory and Practice* conference held in the Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski Krakow University in 2012 highlights some aspects of the structure, use and functions of language in different discourses explored in both contemporary literary and linguistic theory that have been dealt with in the papers included here. Its main aim is to place the analyses carried out in the selected paper in the broader context of the study of style and register from both the literary and the linguistic perspectives.

2. Language variation: literary vs. non-literary language

The popular view is that there is "literary" or "poetic" as opposed to "ordinary", "normal" or "instrumental" language (cf., among others, Chrzanowska-Kluczewska 2012; Leech and Short 1981).On this view, literary language is simply the language of literature while ordinary language is language of non-literary discourse. However, as Burton and Carter (2006: 269) point out, "[d]efinitions of literary language necessarily entail theories of literature, regardless of whether these theories are explicitly announced or recognized as such," and the same can be said about the views on language as the object of inquiry from the linguistic perspective.

As language is the medium of literature and the medium of ordinary discourse, it need not come as a surprise that there are two broad perspectives on what the object of study is in both contemporary literary and in linguistic theory. On the one end point of a scale on which the different literary approaches can be placed there are "formalist" or "inherency" models and on the opposite endpoint there are "functionalist" or "sociocultural" models (Burton and Carter 2006: 269). Also in contemporary linguistic theory, formalist approaches such as Chomskyan generative theory of language are usually viewed as a counter to functionalist approaches, including systemic-functional linguistics and modern sociolinguistic theory. Unsurprisingly, also views on the relationships between literary theory and the study of literature through the analysis of language have varied (Green 2006: 261) and sometimes the literary critical and the literary stylistic views of literary language and discourse have been poles apart, literary language, especially poetic language, taken to have "an ineradicable subjective core" (Green 2006: 264), and thus not being amenable to objective linguistic analysis (cf. Chrzanowska-Kluczewska 2012; Lye 1993, 2001). However, as Stockwell (2006: 748) observes, the study of style in a literary work can never be objective. The reasons is that:

> [a]s soon as stylistic analysis analysis is undertaken, it partakes of ideological motivations, from the nature of the reading to the selection of the particular work and particular model for analysis. Examining noun phrases in the poem, rather than verb phrases, or describing them as a semantic domain, or choosing to explore focalization are all matters of ideological selection.

Thus, "a stylistic study of any merit will say as much about (the limitations of) the model as about the text under scrutiny" (Wales 2006: 213). This much is true not only about the literary stylistic study of literature through the analysis of language, but also about the linguistic stylistic study of literary language as well as the language of non-literary discourses.

3. Style in literary stylistics and literary theory

Style is most simply defined as variation in the language used by individual speakers conditioned by contextual considerations such as type of text/discourse, setting, participants, purpose, etc. (cf. Fought 2006; Freeborn 2006; Stockwell 2006), with *registers* often taken to be subsets of language restricted by topic or field.[2] However, as Stockwell (2006: 746) points out:

> [e]ven in its most simple sense of variation in language use, many questions instantly arise: variation from what? varied by whom? for what purpose? in what context of use?

For literary stylistics, the study of style in literary texts and discourses means analysing the relevant linguistic features and patterns at the levels of phonology, including prosody, lexis, grammar, semantics and discourse to find out the effects of rhetorical devices, patterns of (un)grammaticality, linguistic creativity and experimentation on readers (Burton and Carter 2006;

---

[2] Both *style* and *register* are defined differently in different sources. While Crystal and Davy (1969) subsume all types of linguistic variation under the term *style*, the more popular approach to *style* associates it with the linguistic choices that are codetermined by a variety of contextual considerations, but which are not fixed for each speaker/writer (cf., among others, Yule 1985). This view excludes variation determined by some relatively permanent characteristics of speakers'/writers' identity as group members, including ethnicity, social class or status, age and sex. Also the choices that are determined by topic or field of discourse, e.g. legal language, religious language, instructional language, are excluded as they are fixed for each participant in the respective type of discourse. The latter are sometimes captured with the term *register* (cf. Haegeman 1987; Yule 1985). I adopt this distinction between style and register here. See, however, Biber (2006), where *register* is an umbrella term for all language varieties defined by situational characteristics similarly to how register is defined by Halliday et al. (1964).

Leech and Short 1981; Wales 2006). Linguistic study of style in literary texts can benefit literary critical interpretation, as it can be used

> [a]s a means of demystifying literary responses, understanding how varied readings are produced from the same text; and it can be used to assist in seeing features that might not otherwise have been noticed. It can shed light on the crafted texture of the literary text, as well as offering a productive form of assistance in completing interpretations, making them more complex and richer. (Stockwell 2006: 748)

However, if "[t]the aim is to find linguistic evidence for a critical judgment; to ground intuitions or hypotheses in a rigorous, methodical, and explicit textual basis; to produce an analysis that is verifiable" (Wales 2006: 213), the study of literary style must rely on linguistics to provide suitable theoretical and analytical instruments. Regardless which linguistic model is selected, its approach to language as the object of inquiry and the adopted methodology must be consistent with the broad approach to literature in the particular literary theory and with its practices.

Literary stylistics traditionally concerned itself primarily with describing how linguistic choices reveal individual author identities as well as conventions of genres, such as drama, satire, etc. It was author/writer-centred, and focused the text as the end product of the writer's creative process aiming at uncovering the text's creative principle (Burton and Carter 2006). The traditional view of literary language, arising from the preoccupation with poetic language, was that it was different in kind from ordinary language. Unlike ordinary language, whose main function is referential, which is truth-conditional and which by being monosemic is predictable, literary language was generally viewed as creative, polysemic and elaborated. The creativity and artistry of language in literary texts was taken to arise from elaboration of form (ornamentation), elaboration of meaning (figurativity), or from the interactions between both form and meaning on multiple levels of the production and perception of literary language (Leech and Short 1981). In early approaches, referred to as monist by Leech and Short (1981), elaboration of form, marked by complex language rich in unusual or even ungrammatical structural patterns, abstract, often archaic and foreign lexis and rhetorical devices such as alliteration, assonance and vowel harmony, metrical verse patterns, rhyme, repetition, omission, metaphor, metonymy etc., was taken as the medium of the aesthetic function, content inhering in the form itself.

However, the realization that there is a direct causal relationship between elaboration of form and elaboration of meaning led to the emergence of the dualist approach, in which the same content is taken to be capable of be-

ing expressed through different forms thus reducing style to the decisions that writers make in selecting one linguistic form rather than another for the purposes of expressing the same referential content, but with different connotation and effects on the readers. The dualist approach underpins the early formalist inherency approaches to literary language, the deviation theory, and Roman Jakobson's theory of self-referentiality of poetic language.

Deviation theory was predicated on the assumption that:

> [l]iterariness inheres in the degrees to which language use departs or deviates from expected patterns of language and thus defamiliarizes the reader. Language use is therefore different because it makes strange, disturbs, and upsets a routinized 'normal' view of things and thus generates new or renewed perceptions. (Burton and Carter 2006: 269)

On the other hand, for Roman Jakobson language has a special role to play in raising the aesthetic effects. Apart from being the vehicle of expressing content, language in a literary text also represents what it signifies. On this view, literary language is inherently representational in nature, unlike ordinary language, which is primarily referential (Burton and Carter 2006: 270).

Both deviation theory and the theory of self-referentiality of poetic language, embedded in the broad context of linguistic structuralism, took the literary text to be an autonomous formal object and the end product of the creative urges of the writer. An alternative to both the monist and the dualist approaches to the relation between language and the aesthetic effects of literary texts is pluralism.

> According to the pluralist, language performs a number of different functions, and any piece of language is likely to be the result of choices made on different functional levels. Hence the pluralist is not content with the dualist's division between 'expression' and 'content': he wants to distinguish various strands of meaning according to the various functions. (Leech and Short 1981: 24).

The pluralist approach, founded on the idea that "language is intrinsically multifunctional, so that even the simplest utterance conveys more than one kind of meaning" (Leech and Short 1981: 30), paved the way for functional interpretations of style in literature in which the activation of meaning of a text is a creative process engaging a reader who actively constructs the interpretation by taking into account various parameters of discourse that contribute to the meaning of the text. With the literary critic Richard Fowler's reinterpretation of literature as a socioculturally saturated action on the grounds that:

> a literary text is not simply a formal structure with such properties as grammaticality, cohesion, and rhetorical patterning such as parallelism, chiasmus, metaphor and so on but it is also the medium of a situated interaction with a source and a recipient, (Burton and Carter 2006: 271)

literature becomes viewed as discourse in which both "[c]ulture and individuals are constructed through networks of affiliated language, symbol and discourse usages" (Lye 2001: 3). As a result all texts become interrelated. With the widening of the context for interpreting literature, the boundaries between literary and non-literary texts begin to dissolve. Not only canonical forms of literature valued by literary critics for their artistic or aesthetic merit, but also forms of popular entertainment such as detective fiction and romances become the object of critical literary study (Lye 2001: 5). As Wales (2006: 213) observes, increasingly focus shifts "cross-modally to media discourses such as those of film, news reporting, advertising, politics, and hypertexts and to the oral discourses of story telling and song lyric," the discourses traditionally viewed as non-literary.

With attention drawn to "the text in its interactive discourse context … and to the reader as constructing the meaning of the text, rather than simply the decoder of a given message or single or eternal truth encoded by the writer" (Wales 2006: 216), the relation between language and its functions in literary discourse becomes reinterpreted as a mutually creative interplay between the writer, the reader, the immediate situational and the broad sociocultural context. The consequence is that even if literary language can still be viewed as more creative than the ordinary language used by the reader as well as by the writer outside of the literary contexts of use, literary language cannot be viewed as essentially distinct from non-literary language. This turn in literary theory is supported empirically by observations of creative uses of language as well as not infrequent occurrence of rhetorical devices, once taken to be the signature of poetic language, also in non-literary discourses, such as personal letters, ordinary conversation, advertising, etc. (cf. Freeborn 1996). Also translation practice demonstrates the need to take literary texts as objects with multiple levels of signification, where the interpretation of texts requires broader sociocultural contextual support as well as appreciation of the relationships among the texts and discourses constructing a given culture. The sociocultural, interpretive turn in literary theory converges with the findings of the philosophers John Austin, John Searl, Paul Grice, Ludwig Wittgenstein and others pointing to violations of general principles of communication or rules of meaning composition to raise special cognitive and communicative effects, as in deception, irony, etc., (also) in ordinary social interactions. What has also contributed

to this turn in contemporary literary theory, in which meaning is negotiated between writers and readers in fictional worlds, is the emergence in the second half of the twentieth century of non-classical logical systems supporting different concepts of possible worlds as well as the rise of cognitive linguistics and its reinterpretation of the relation between language and cognition, in which figuration is part and parcel of all language, literary as well as non-literary, in reflection of the interdependence of language and thought (cf. Chrzanowska-Kluczewska 2012).[3] The insight that human cognition is structured by metaphors, metonymic transfers of meaning, omission and other rhetorical devices and that human construal is founded on the principle of viewpoint or profiling that are reflected in language offered by cognitive linguistics has inspired new approaches to the study of tropes, mental schemes, subjectivization, etc. in cognitive poetics, where rhetorical devices earlier viewed as "manners of speaking" are taken to be different cognitive construals, hence as "manners of thought" that find reflection in language (cf. Stockwell 2006). As a result, the contemporary view of literary language is that while style is not imposed on language, literary language still functions differently from ordinary language. For Burton and Carter (2006: 272–273), "[l]iterary language is not special or different, in that any formal feature termed 'literary' can be found in other discourses." Rather, there is a scale of literariness along which different discourses can be arranged. A prototypical literary text, being fictional, is less medium dependent than a non-literary one. It is polysemic rather than monosemic and the interaction between the author and the reader is more deeply embedded or displaced than the context-bound interaction between the discourse participants in non-literary discourse, which projects direct interaction. Literary discourse is characterized by reregistration, fully exploiting all the available linguistic resources. This is because literary discourse is not a subset of discourse defined by purpose, setting or field, unlike occupational registers, and thus it is not restricted lexically and/or grammatically. Non-literary discourse on the whole does not contain reregistration. What transpires from this view is that while style is difference, it is not an absolute and it is internal to language. Essentially the same view was expressed almost a hundred years ago by the eminent linguist Edward Sapir, who took style to be

> [m]erely language itself, running in its natural grooves, and with enough of an individual accent to allow the artist's personality to be felt as a presence, not as an acrobat. (Sapir 1921: 227)

[3] This does not mean that the possible worlds of non-standard logic and the possible worlds in literary discourse have the same properties. See Semino (2006) for discussion.

4. English styles and registers in language descriptions and linguistic theory

Although variation is pervasive and persistent in language, in traditional descriptions of English it has only been a footnote added to the account of the complex structure of the core, stable and uniform grammar of English. Quirk et al.'s (1972) authoritative description of the grammar of contemporary English is a good example of the traditional approach to both inter-speaker and intra-speaker variation, while Biber et al.'s (1999) grammar, which systematically draws attention to the similarities and differences in the grammars of spoken and written English across various discourses, as supported by corpus studies, demonstrates a recent change of attitude to the significance of variability in language description.

The probable reason why variation has been the poor stepchild in studies on language for most of the twentieth century is that the first modern theory of language which put the analysis of actual languages on a scientific basis and informed language descriptions, the structuralist paradigm that had grown out of the work of Ferdinand de Saussure, drew a sharp divide between language understood as system (*langue*) and language understood as use (*parole*). The former was equated with the totality of the linguistic resources a language makes available that are summed up in a coherent system with well-defined structural properties. The latter was use of these resources in actual interactions in real time, constrained by a variety of factors, *parole* realising *langue* only imperfectly and incompletely. Of the two dimensions of language, it was *langue* that structuralism was concerned with at the expense of *parole*, the reason being that to offer a model of language understood as system, structuralism had to go beyond the available data. At the same time, by highlighting the social nature of language, *langue* never being completely realised in an individual, structuralism fostered the dichotomy between the community and the individual, focusing the structural complexity of community grammars at the expense of individual grammars. As a result, post-structuralist descriptions of English were descriptions of the grammatical norms of the written standard variety of English generally believed to constitute the common core of all kinds of English. Interest in variation and inclusion of data and sociocultural interpretation of the grammatical variables in descriptions of English such as Biber et al. (1999) can be viewed as stemming from the insight into language originally contributed by the sociolinguistic paradigm, the first modern framework for the description of language in its social context.

The hallmark of modern sociolinguistic theory is its focus on *parole*. It is a usage-based framework that studies linguistic variation at both the com-

munity and at the individual level. A divergent view on variation is taken in the theoretical framework most often seen as a counter to Labovian sociolinguistic paradigm, Chomskyan generative linguistics.

Although Chomskyan linguistics is mostly renowned for its assumption of the existence of Universal Grammar, the universal innate structural properties underlying human linguistics competence, variation has in fact been central to the generative view of language. The reason is that to construct a model of the knowledge of language rich enough to be compatible with the diversity of natural languages, its instruments must be flexible enough to account for all human languages, i.e. the model must be designed to cope with variation in the input.

In a framework predicated on the assumption that language is a cognitive faculty shared by all human minds, the study of language is the study of the shared properties of all internal, individual grammars, as they instantiate the architecture of the human language faculty (Universal Grammar, UG). UG is thus an innate toolkit that makes acquisition of language possible. On the assumption that the learner cannot learn the grammar on the basis of available external data, the representations of linguistic universals in the minds of children acquiring their first language, which could be any from the range of extant languages, must include the whole range of options that are available in natural language as such even if they are not instantiated in the grammars of individual target languages. Thus it is assumed that there is an initial pre-specification in the human brain of the form of the grammar of a possible humanly attainable language and that the brain is endowed with a mechanism for selecting the target grammar compatible with the external data available in the linguistic environment in which acquisition takes place. In the Principles and Parameters framework (Chomsky 1986), UG, the initial state of the mind of the language learner along with the language acquisition device, the mechanism for constructing a grammar on the basis of input, contains a set of universal principles, each with an open value parameter. The parameters of grammatical variation offer a choice between two settings. For example, languages may differ as to whether finite clauses must contain a lexical subject (English, French) or the subject may be phonetically unrealized or null (Polish, Italian, Spanish). The learner selects the appropriate value of the open parameter (+null subject language/–null subject language) on the basis of linguistic input and arrives at the grammar compatible with the data in the linguistic environment, i.e. the community grammar, on the basis of the universal principles interacting with the parameter setting for the target language. The Principles and Parameters framework is thus at the same time a model of the universal properties of language structure and a model of the cross-linguistic diversity of languages.

However, by taking grammar to be an autonomous system, in which choice has no role to play, the Principles and Parameters model is not designed to cope with inter-speaker and intra-speaker grammatical variation, including the stylistic and register variation characterized by structures that are ungrammatical or semantically deviant judged in terms of the parameter setting of the core grammar. To the extent that speakers (of Standard English) accept both the structures in (1a) and (1b), using (1b) in informal contexts of spoken interactions, but not in (more formal) writing, they have separate or competing grammars in their minds rather than a single variable grammar:

(1)a. There are books on the table.
b. There's books on the table.

Alternatively, stylistic and register variation must be taken to arise by "stretching" the core grammar. Marked exceptions such as structures that are strictly speaking ungrammatical, but are acceptable in specific styles or registers, e.g., informal spoken language, telegraphic or abbreviated as well as instructional registers, are dealt with in special subsystems of the language system and relegated to the periphery of the language in Chomsky (1986: 150–151). On this view, also phenomena such as subject omission in finite main clause contexts in the diary register shown in (2a) from Haegeman (2006: 471), possible also in embedded finite clauses illustrated in (2b) cited from Helen Fielding's *Bridget Jones's Diary* in Haegeman (2006: 472), illustrate a relaxation of the constraints on subject ellipsis active in the core grammar of English. While the core grammar licenses subject deletion only in coordinate finite structures illustrated with the example in (3b) (cf. Haegeman 2006: 469), where the deleted subject in the second conjunct must be identical with the subject of the initial conjunct, in the register-specific subsystem of the grammatical component of English this constraint is lifted and the identity of the deleted subject can be established in the wider situational context of the utterance rather than in the immediate linguistic context:

(2)a. _Wonder what he will do next.
b. Was worried that _ might split.
(3)a. *_ Speaks English.
b. I am very upset and _ will not talk to him any more.

Structures with stranded prepositions, such as *Who are you looking at*?, perfectly acceptable in informal English but stigmatised in formal English, which favours the variants with no preposition stranding, *At whom are*

you looking? can also be captured by postulating a ban against preposition stranding which is part of the core grammar of (formal) English, but which is lifted in the grammar of informal English. Also exceptional structures observed in literary discourse can be captured by appeal to relaxation of the constraints on core grammar, in which such structures are strictly speaking ungrammatical. The example in (4) from Mrs. Cotes's *Cinderella* cited in Haegeman (1987: 215) involves the violation of the condition on the syntactic movement of a *wh*-phrase in English. As shown in (5), a *wh*-phrase cannot be moved across an interrogative word in core English grammar, unlike in (4), which is licensed in the literary style or register in the periphery of English grammar:[4]

(4) It was really complicated with emotion and excitement in a way *which* I don't know *whether* I can describe _.
(5) *This is a film *which* you will be furious *when* you see _.

Wrapping up, on the assumption that the language of ordinary discourse modelled on the competence of the ideal speaker-hearer is unmarked and invariable, non-canonical constructions must be viewed as departing from the parameter setting of the core grammar and belong with the periphery of marked exceptions, which is also where irregular morphology and idioms belong.[5] In this model, cross-linguistic variation (macrovariation) and variation within the speaker as well as within the speech community (microvariation) are entirely different kinds of variation, which raises an important theoretical problem, namely why distinct systems of knowledge in the mind of a child do not affect negatively the rapidity of language learning in the social reality of linguistic diversity in the community grammar that the child eventually acquires. To the extent that speakers know that structures like (3a) and (5) are strictly speaking not entirely ruled out in English provided appropriate context, as shown in (3b) and (4) respectively, knowledge of register and stylistic variation that they illustrate does not seem to be independent of the knowledge of core grammar in the mind of the speakers. However, if the principles and the parameter setting for the individual language and the community grammar that provides input for

[4] The single underscore in (4) and (5) marks the original site from which the *wh*-pronouns are moved in the course of the syntactic derivation of the these structures. The asterisk (*) marks ungrammaticality as judged by the parameter setting of the core grammar of English.

[5] As Haegeman (2006) argues, as UG determines the limits of syntactic variation in natural language, the periphery of the grammar of a language is still constrained by the principles of UG. This, however, raises the question of the nature of the interdependence between the core and the periphery of language.

the linguistic competence of the speaker influence each other, the assumption of the invariability of the internal grammar of the speaker, on which Chomsky's theory is built, may be in need of some refinement. Thus, stylistic and register variation, while internal to language, cannot be captured in the Chomskyan paradigm without some additional assumptions.

By contrast, the linguistic paradigm that focuses variation, including stylistic and register variation, is Labov's usage-based sociolinguistic theory, where variants that belong to the same linguistic variables such as the variants illustrated in (1)–(5) are captured with variable rules. The entire range of variability is modelled by assuming that all the variants of the same variable must be specified by the total number of occurrences and the potential occurrences. The output of variable rules is thus probabilistic rather than deterministic, unlike in the generative paradigm. However, rather than taking variation to be free or optional and relegating style and register to the periphery of language, the study of all kinds of variation has been at the centre of Labovian sociolinguistics, and the notion of the linguistic variable, a primitive construct in the study of language, has been applied to all levels of language analysis, from phonology to discourse. The factors that determine the choice of a variant are both language-internal and language-external. The external variables that contribute to the relative frequency of the variants of the same linguistic variable, such as a choice of an allophone, a grammatical category, or a grammatical process, include relatively permanent user characteristics such as age, social class, region, constructed social or occupational networks or communities of practice, as well as idiosyncratic choices that determine the personal linguistic styles of the speakers. The special status of structures occurring in informal styles and in registers, which are judged as marked or ungrammatical compared with their variants found in written, more formal language, is not due to a violation of the grammar of English but is rather a frequency effect that may be explained in terms of processing, production or other external factors.

The classic methodology for the study of stylistic variation in this linguistic perspective is Labov's attention to speech model (Fought 2006; Schilling-Estes 2002). This approach is founded on the belief that individuals vary their speech according to how much attention they pay to it, in other other words, how carefully they select their language depending on the actual contexts of use, where the amount of attention is determined by the perceived level of formality. In this approach, style is the relation between linguistic variants or choices and a predetermined scale of formality. The more attention speakers pay to their language, the more formal the language is and the more standard, prestige linguistic forms it has. Linguistic repertoires are correlated with specific genres, as speakers vary their language

consistently according to the pre-determined scale of formality. The popular view triggered by the results of research in the Labovian paradigm, which appears to indicate that stylistic variation is always less than the degree of social differentiation, is that linguistic variation derives from and echoes social stratification (Bell 1984).[6]

The Labovian and similar models assume that variation or style-shifting is determined along a social axis, where social group characteristics constrain variation in some systematic fashion, and along an individual axis, where variation is constrained in a very specific manner determined by individual factors relating to participants and individual context of use of language. As speakers shift styles easily and frequently, all such models face the problem of explaining how the two dimensions are related to each other. A related problem is whether social variables have general, static meanings and how the factors that affect variation on either of the dimensions can be controlled to yield more objective findings. These problems have inspired novel approaches to style in sociolinguistics. The alternative models that developed on the basis of Labov's paradigm have shifted focus away from speakers' control of their linguistic resources to the factors that influence the relationships between speakers and other participants in the social contexts of interaction. Both Bell's (1984) audience design model focusing on how speakers may converge with the speech styles of their interlocutors to signal shared identity or intimacy, or diverge from them to highlight a separate identity or distance, and Eckert's (2008) multidimensional model of variation in which speakers are agents constructing their identity appropriately to the given context of interaction by freely manipulating the social and linguistic variables available in a given group or community, have shifted the focus from variation seen as product defined in terms of taxonomic distinctions to variation viewed as a process in which speakers give specific meanings to variants themselves or rather create meanings for the variants and for themselves. In the latter approach, style is no longer a linguistic entity reflecting group norms. Rather, variation constitutes "an indexical system that embeds ideology in language and that is in turn part and parcel of the construction of ideology" (Eckert 2008: 453). Eckert's approach to style as a complex system of all kinds of distinctions or differentiation occurring in the community in which speakers engage as social agents, style constituting only one kind of symbolic differentiation, is the first cross-modal model of style and style-shifting (Fought 2006:12). Importantly, this model is not

[6] However, Finegan and Biber's (1994) study suggests that greater attention to speech need not result in a higher level of formality and that the slope of style-shifting tends to be identical across social classes.

founded on the distinction between social and stylistic constraints on variation, which is problematic in view of the fact that the social and stylistic variation in a given sociolinguistic community both draw upon the same linguistic resources.

Sociolinguistic focus on the social context of language and the inclusion of external, sociocultural and interactional factors in modelling language variation has drawn attention to *parole* and widened the scope of inquiry in linguistics since the 1970s, complementing independent developments in pragmatic theory, Halliday's systemic-functional grammar, and text and discourse analysis. All of these developments have moved "beyond the sentence" to texts in their broader situational and sociocultural contexts and to (dialogic) discourses in their investigations of how the meaning of linguistic forms is interpreted. Language use has become studied as it is exercised in the communities of social practice, attention being drawn to the way communication is organized socially. Unlike in the early approaches of Austin, Searle, and Grice, who focused the speaker's role in the activation of meaning, recent advances in pragmatic theory, such as relevance theory, focus the role of implicature and inference in the hearers'/readers' interpretation of meaning. Unlike Gricean pragmatics, speech act theory, and more recently, also relevance theory, which treat figures of speech such as metaphors and metonymy as processed differently from ordinary language, requiring additional cognitive effort, cognitive linguistics has offered a uniform approach to both literal and figurative meaning and supplied new tools for the analysis of metaphors, metonymy and mental schemes and concepts for the study into readers' comprehension, including the concepts of figure and ground useful in the account of the readers' response to foregrounding, which are among the traditional concerns of literary semantic theory (cf. Chrzanowska-Kluczewska 2012). Of all the properties traditionally taken to be distinctive of literary language in contrast to ordinary language, it is perhaps only (un)grammaticality that continues to divide the linguistic community, as explained above.

As overviewed in section 3, the pragmatic and cognitive turns have also taken place outside linguistic theory, in literary theory and in stylistics. Here attention has shifted to the study of literary texts in their interactive discourse contexts, the negotiation of meaning, narrative strategies, interest in conversation in literary texts as well as in the cognitive interpretations of rhetorical figures and the relevance of mental schemes and semantic frames in readers' comprehension of texts in their broader contexts. This is not surprising as after all, the medium of verbal communication in all kinds of discourse, is language and literary stylistics has traditionally drawn upon

the advances in linguistics (Leech and Short 1981; Semino 2006; Stockwell 2006).[7]

As the study of style and register variation touches on the creative nature of language, one of the design features of human language, at the time when the boundaries between literary and non-literary discourse are dissolving, it seems that both literary stylistics and linguistics can teach each other even more fruitful lessons than in the past. The present volume can be viewed as an attempt at offering a broader view of the language of literary and ordinary discourse than is usually the case. Hopefully, it will bring inspiration to further studies on the essence of linguistic invariance and variation in all kinds of discourses.

5. English styles and registers in practice

The contributors to the present volume are all professional literary critics, stylisticians and linguists. The studies included here demonstrate how specific linguistic features or textual elements trigger the readers' understanding and mental creation of the world of the text and how they contribute to the literariness of the texts under scrutiny as well as what parameters of the situational and broader sociocultural contexts contribute to the text's meaning, what linguistic devices writers use to create their own personal identities and what linguistic devices they use to create the world-texts, how language is manipulated for the purposes of shared identity creation, and how the changing sociocultural context is reflected in changes in the linguistic choices in various kinds of discourse. Three studies approach their concerns through translation. Despite differences of general approach and analytic details, all of the contributions provide ample evidence for the significance of style and register and style- and register-shifting for the expression of the individual's creative urges and for group or community pressures on the linguistic practices of its members. Although the introductory comments have stressed the recent change of attitude to the question of the distinctiveness of the language of literary compared with non-literary discourse, the studies presented in this volume have been arranged in two broad parts in reflection of the differences of focus and methodology.

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[7] However, Green (2006: 266) observes, despite the now dominant strains in "historicized analysis, postcolonial and feminist (and postfeminist) work, including psychoanalytical approaches" in literary theory, many traditional concerns inspired by advances in linguistic theory are still being explored in stylistics, including metaphor and metonymy, speech acts and pragmatics, mind style, etc.

Part I includes studies concerned with the language of literary discourse, pursued in fiction as well as in poetry and drama. Of the seven articles, five combine stylistic and literary critical analysis. These are the studies by Katarzyna Bazarnik, Teresa Bela, Izabela Curyłło-Klag, Marek Pawlicki and Krystyna Stamirowska. The remaining two, by Elżbieta Chrzanowska-Kluczewska and Grzegorz Szpila, are linguistic stylistic studies into literary language.

Katarzyna Bazarnik takes a close look at the style of James Joyce's interior monologue in *Ulysses* and shows the degree of difficulty that the blending of third person narrative and free indirect speech exploiting features of colloquial spoken language in a written text and inexplicitness due to associative gaps and sparse punctuation have for the interpretation of the text, as revealed in the problems that she points out in Maciej Słomczyński's translation of *Ulysses* into Polish. Due to morphosyntactic, lexical, and orthographic contrasts between the language of the original text, English, and the language of the translation, Polish, many nuanced meanings of the original text are lost or misinterpreted in translation.

In her analysis of the love sonnets by five Elizabethan sonnet writers: Philip Sidney, Michael Drayton, Edmund Spenser, William Shakespeare, and Sir John Davis, **Teresa Bela** looks at how these writers express their ironical attitude to the excessive praise of the object of love in Petrarchan convention of love sonnets by focusing the style or attitudes conventionally employed in Petrarchan love sonnets. A scrupulous comparison of the sonnets of the five Elizabethan writers reveals finer-grained differences among the authors, each of which responds to different aspects of Petrarchan convention, playing with it in his own original way while at the same time upholding the ideals of love.

Izabela Curyłło-Klag focuses on the stylistic identity of the Polish avant-garde artist Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz (Witkacy), who is well-known for extremely complex, idiosyncratic and creative language as well as a highly visual, painterly manner of expression. Such a highly literary style poses innumerable problems in translation, not only of the linguistic, but also of the broad sociocultural nature. The degree of foregrounding, ambiguity and linguistic innovation characterized by style- and register-shifting make a faithful rendering of the Polish text into English impossible. In addition, the translation of drama calls for departures from the original to meet the rhythmical structure of English and demonstrates the difficulty in translating the "sound" of Witkacy's texts.

Marek Pawlicki's paper offers a very careful and insightful analysis of the function that irony plays in John Banville's confessional novel *The Untouchable*. Irony is shown to be used by Banville to characterize the narrator,

a spy, whose confession reveals his attempts at distancing his true thoughts and feelings from the views he expresses during the confession. Irony extends over the entire novel and is used by Banville to show the inability of the narrator who takes an auto-ironical stance to himself, to ever uncover and confront his true self.

Krystyna Stamirowska's paper is concerned with how Harold Pinter resorts to reregistration of ordinary conversation in his play *The Birthday Party* to build a portrait of humanity. Falling back on Deborah Tannen's discourse analysis of conversational style, Krystyna Stamirowska shows how repetitions used in ordinary conversation to ensure cohesive development of exchange are exploited by the author to show the power relationships between the protagonists and how the simple language of ordinary dialogue augmented with "machine gun questions" can be used to reveal the true sense of fear and insecurity.

Elżbieta Chrzanowska-Kluczewska looks at a variety of stylistic devices such as gaps, omissions of content and silence, instantiating the large figural strategy of suppression, to show how they operate at level of phrases and clauses in a text (microlevel), larger stretches of text (macrolevel) and at the level of the entire text (megalevel). Falling back on a variety of linguistic approaches, including text analysis, politeness theory and cognitive linguistics, she shows that suppression triggers psychological, cognitive and aesthetic effects, influencing both style and content, with implications for the text-world construal, narrative strategies, the portrayal of characters, and other dimensions of literary texts. The various functions and effects are illustrated with excerpts from poetry, drama, as well as fiction.

Grzegorz Szpila is concerned in his paper with Salman Rushdie's individual style as fiction writer. Rushdie's favourite stylistic device is shown to be idioms. Applying a methodology developed independently in analyses of non-literary language, Grzegorz Szpila shows that idioms in a literary text can undergo exactly the same range of manipulations as idioms in non-literary discourse, thus contributing to the debate on the distinction between literary and non-literary language. The phraseo-stylistic methodology employed in the analysis of Rushdie's fiction can provide tools for rigorous and verifiable studies into the textual function of idioms and the role that they play in creating the world-texts in Rushdie's novels.

Part II includes four papers concerned with stylistic and register variation in non-literary discourse. These are the studies by Agata Hołobut, Jerzy Freundlich, Mariusz Misztal, and Ewa Willim.

The paper by **Agata Hołobut** is concerned with the effects that the cultural transformation in post-communist Poland has had on audiovisual translation practice. Her study is based on a comparative analysis of two

renderings of the pilot episode *of Miami Vice*, the 1989 version and a DVD version released twenty years later. The comparison reveals a significant change, demonstrating increased target orientation and stylistic independence of the original communicative patterns of the more recent version, attributable to free translation strategy, compared with the source-oriented, literal and explanatory translation of the 1989 version. It also demonstrates how the changing sociocultural context of communication, and in particular colloquialization, influences the language of the dialogic film discourse.

Jerzy Freundlich's paper presents the results of a small-scale empirical study into the speech habits of four British political leaders: Tony Blair, David Cameron, Nick Clegg and Ed Miliband, a homogeneous group in terms of the social variables of age, gender, social class, higher education and occupation. The study, conducted on the basis of video material including both formal and informal production, was aimed at determining the frequency and circumstances in which these four RP speakers used a non-standard pronunciation of /t/ in word-final prevocalic position, and showed that Labour politicians were more likely to use pre-vocalic glottalling than Conservative and Liberal Democrat politicians. The differences in the styles of the four politicians are interpreted in terms of two influential models of stylistic variation: Bell's audience design model and the Coupland/Eckert personal identity projection model.

Mariusz Misztal's paper is concerned with the influence of Court etiquette on the language of official correspondence produced at Queen Victoria's Court, including her own official correspondence. A comparison of the Queen's official written style with the style she used in her semi-private letters reveals significant differences in lexis and sentence structure, which illustrate the effects that the social parameter of (in)formality has on the style of the letters. These differences demonstrate how language reflects the social role and personal identity of the author and the social relationships between the author and her addressees. The paper ends with a novel analysis of the apocryphal phrase "We are not amused" commonly attributed to Queen Victoria, including a discussion of the plausible sources of the common misunderstanding of the phrase.

Ewa Willim addresses the problem that stylistic and register variation poses for linguistic theory. In her paper she looks at the sociolinguist Peter Trudgill's characterization of Standard English as a naturally evolved social variety of English, which stands in sharp contrast to the received tradition of treating standardized varieties as social objects resulting from complex, ideologically saturated processes. She points out that stylistic and register variation in Standard English provides evidence against the crucial criterion used by Trudgill to delineate Standard English, the claim that as a result of

codification, Standard English is for the most part invariant. This criterion brings Trudgill's sociolinguistic perspective close to the view that there is no variability in the grammar espoused by formal generative linguistic theory, in which languages are only natural objects. To treat stylistic and register variation as internal to language, standard languages should be viewed as both natural and social objects.

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PART I.
STYLES AND REGISTERS IN LITERARY DISCOURSE

LITERARY CRITICAL STUDIES OF STYLES AND REGISTERS IN LITERARY DISCOURSE

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Excavatory Notes on the Style of Interior Monologue in the Polish Translation of Joyce's *Ulysses*

1. Stylistic features of interior monologue in English *Ulysses* and its Polish translation

James Joyce's *Ulysses* is a novel notorious for its polyphony, combining many different styles and registers, ranging from pastiches and parodies of English literature classics to colloquial speech of early 20th century Irish and American slang.[1] Moreover, Leopold Bloom's, Stephen Dedalus's, and other minor characters' impressions, reflections, and half-formulated thoughts permeate narrative passages, accounting for multiple and constantly shifting focalisation. It is often impossible to decide if a particular utterance should still be attributed to the narrator or already to the character; boundaries between the heterodiegetic narration, narration focalised on particular characters, and their direct stream of consciousness are fuzzy.

The mixture of the third person narrative voice intermingled with indirect free speech, and fragments of the characters' inner monologues enriches the stylistic texture of the novel. But this also poses a considerable challenge for the reader, who needs to be alert to subtle shifts in the narrative perspective and voice. Such fuzziness poses an even greater challenge in translation, especially into languages such as Polish, in which a lot of semantic and syntactic information is carried by inflected verb forms, hence forcing the translator to specify that which may remain vague in the original text. In or-

[1] Joyce's style in *Ulysses* has been discussed in numerous books and articles (cf. e.g. Hart and Hayman 1977; Lawrence 1981; Hutchinson 2011).

der to demonstrate the difficulty, I will present a few specific examples from Joyce's novel, and their counterparts in Maciej Słomczyński's translation, and comment on what has been achieved, and what possible improvements could be made to make the Polish version stylistically closer to the original.

When one considers some passages of interior monologue in the Polish translation of *Ulysses* by Słomczyński (2004),[2] one is struck by the fact that associative, strongly elided or truncated sentences of the English original are often rendered in rather correctly sounding Polish. The English passages require more structural gap-filling and interpretive activity to reconstruct their meaning than their Polish counterparts, which seem more coherent and natural. Consider, for example, a passage in 'Hades', the episode set in the Glasnevin cemetery, in which Bloom attends a friend's funeral. Triggered by the ceremony and the specific location, his stream of consciousness flows freely from one association to another: he reflects on Latin prayers, funeral accessories, priests' activities and appearance, as well as decaying bodies:

> Makes them feel more important to be prayed over in Latin. Requiem mass. Crape weepers. Blackedged notepaper. Your name on the altarlist. Chilly place this. Want to feed well, sitting in there all the morning in the gloom kicking his heels waiting for the next please. Eyes of a toad too. What swells him up that way? Molly gets swelled after cabbage. Air of the place maybe. Looks full up of bad gas. Must be an infernal lot of bad gas round the place. Butchers, for instance: they get like raw beefsteaks. Who was telling me? Mervyn Browne. Down in the vaults of saint Werburgh's lovely old organ hundred and fifty they have to bore a hole in the coffins sometimes to let out the bad gas and burn it. Out it rushes: blue. One whiff of that and you're a doner.(UG 6.601–612)[3]

> Wydaje im się, że są ważniejsi, kiedy się tak nad nimi modli po łacinie. Msza żałobna. Płaczki w krepie. Czarno obrzeżony papier listowy. Twoje imię wciągnięte do rejestru modłów kościelnych. Przejmujące chłodem miejsce. Trzeba

[2] Słomczyński's translation of *Ulysses* was first published in 1969 by PIW; and had many printings until the early 1990s. In 1992 Słomczyński brought out a revised edition (Bydgoszcz: Pomorze). The 21st century editions of Joyce's novel have been published by Krakow-based Znak, the latest of which came out in 2013. Just as the complicated publishing history of the original (cf. Slote 2004), the history of these publications constitutes a fascinating topic, which, however, goes beyond the scope of the present article (even the latest edition of 2013, for which I acted as a consultant, is not free from some minor flaws that could affect interpretation).

[3] The in-text citation follows the typical format of Joyce studies that identifies the edition (in this case James Joyce *Ulysses*, edited by H. W. Gabler et al. 1986), followed by the episode and line numbers. This makes it possible to locate the relevant passage in any of the Gabler editions of the novel and is commonly used in Joyce scholarship. All further references will be given in round brackets in this format.

> się dobrze odżywiać, siedząc tam przez całe ranki w mroku, zbijając bąki, czekając na następnego, proszę. I oczy ropuchy. Cóż go wzdyma? Molly wzdyma po kapuście. Może tutejsze powietrze. Wygląda jak wypełnione złym gazem. Musi być piekielnie dużo złego gazu wszędzie tutaj. Na przykład rzeźnicy: robią się podobni do surowych befsztyków. Kto mi opowiadał? Mervyn Brown. Tam w dole w kryptach świętego Werburgha, te piękne stare organy sto pięćdziesiąt lat, muszą borować czasami dziury w trumnach, żeby wypuścić zły gaz i spalić go. Wylatuje: niebieski. Jedno puff i już cię nie ma. (Joyce 2004: 115)

In English all Bloom's thoughts are quite clearly marked as private and inner, represented by inchoate language: some sentences lack the subject, others the verb or punctuation, which is a rhetorical device known as the anacoluthon (cf. Harmon and Holman 1996: 19–20), e.g.: "Down in the vaults of saint Werburgh's lovely old organ hundred and fifty they have to bore a hole in the coffins sometimes to let out the bad gas and burn it." The corresponding passage in Polish is also recognisable as interior monologue. However, it seems to me that its grammatical vagueness is less distinctive. For example, the lack of punctuation in the above-quoted English sentence makes it possible to read it as a sequence of overlapping phrases with blurred boundaries: "Down in the vaults of saint Werburgh's," "saint Werburgh's lovely old organ,""[a] hundred and fifty [years ago]" or "saint Werburgh's lovely old organ, [a] hundred and fifty [years old],"[4] "…and burnit." Moreover, sentences such as "Makes them feel more important to be prayed over in Latin" (*U*G 6.602) or "Want to feed well, sitting there in the morning in the gloom kicking his heels waiting for the next please" (*U*G 6.604–605), in which the omission of the subject and some commas is a mark of inner speech, translate into grammatically correct Polish "Wydaje im się, że są ważniejsi, kiedy się tak nad nimi modli po łacinie" (Joyce 2004: 115) and "Trzeba się dobrze odżywiać, siedząc tam przez całe ranki w mroku, zbijając bąki, czekając na następnego, proszę" (Joyce 2004: 115). The Polish reader does not notice any conspicuous colloquialisms, omissions or ungrammaticalities in these sentences, except perhaps for the final 'please' ('proszę'). Hence, the style of this sentence is closer to standard Polish than the original to standard English. Even though subject omission is in fact an acceptable feature of some English registers such as informal spoken language, diary

[4] St. Werburgh's church was destroyed by fire 150 years before 1904, and its new organ was installed in 1759 (Gifford and Seidman 1998: 118), hence, 145 years ago; so it is unclear what exactly the number of years in Bloom's interior monologue refers to. Incidentally, working in the times when little background information on *Ulysses* was available, Słomczyński was unaware that St. Werburgh was a female saint (she was a daughter of Wulfhere, the king of Mercia, cf. Gifford and Seidman 1998: 118), and rendered the name as male.

writing, literary style imitating diary writing, and language of instructions (Haegeman 2006: 470–473), Bloom's interior monologue appears semantically vaguer in the original than in translation. This discrepancy between degrees of vagueness in English and in Polish cannot be easily overridden because it results from inherent differences between these languages.

A considerable grammatical coherence of such passages in Polish may be explained by Polish being a "discourse oriented language", in which "the grammatical structure of any given sentence is significantly influenced by the surrounding discourse" (McShane 2005: 17). Marjorie McShane, who has written extensively on Polish and other Slavic languages as compared with English, further expounds that "[s]uch languages tend to have at least some of the following properties: theme-rheme or topic-comment structure, free word order, morphological case marking, and expanded use of ellipsis" (2005: 17).[5] Owing to these features, longer chunks of text containing a fair amount of elided elements still appear coherent. In particular, as a so-called 'pro-drop language' (Bussmann 1998: 393; Matthews 2007; Franks 1995: 287–332), Polish tends to elide some classes of pronouns since they can be easily inferred from the context of a sentence (McShane 2005: 173, 225; McShane 2009: 98). In fact, McShane (2009: 109) claims that in Polish the "baseline rule for pronominal subjects is to elide them", because the language has several features allowing subject omission easily. These include rich verbal and nominal inflection, subject-verb agreement, present, past and future tense verbal inflection indicating the person; and theme-rheme (topic-comment) discourse structure order (McShane 2009: 106). That is why subjectless sentences, so clearly marked in English as a symptom of inner speech, or the colloquial register (Thomas 1979: 43–68; Haegeman 2006), are unmarked and seem quite standard in Polish. Consequently, the effect of incompleteness, mental shorthand, and intimacy conveyed in the English source text is weakened in the translation.

The above-listed features of Polish are also responsible for greater syntactic flexibility. Since inflectional endings reflect relations between words

[5] Ellipsis is also common in English. I wish to express my gratitude to Elżbieta Chrzanowska-Kluczewska, who pointed this to me in the discussion following my presentation of this paper at *English Styles and Registers in Theory and Practice Conference* held in March 2013 at Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski Krakow Academy, and to Ewa Willim, who referred me to Haegeman's article on ellipsis in some English registers. On ellipsis in English see also Wilson (2000), and McShane (2005) for an analysis of this phenomenon in English, Russian and Polish, describing and defining its various types, where she concludes that though it can be observed in various forms in English, ellipsis is not as widespread in it as it is in these Slavic languages (2005: 18).

in an utterance, different parts of a sentence can be juggled around much more freely than in English. Nearly any ordering of words in a sentence is grammatically acceptable, and usually perceived as acceptable, if sometimes emphatic, by native speakers. On the one hand, this often allows for an effortless, nearly automatic rendering of Joyce's idiosyncratic, iconic syntax into Polish, but on the other, this makes it more challenging to create some 'special effects' of Joycean style.

2. "O! Exhausted that female has me" (UG 13.1253)

The above sentence provides a good example of an iconically structured piece of Bloom's internal monologue that is hardly possible to be successfully rendered in Polish. It is a verbalised record of Leopold's feeling after he has masturbated on the beach, looking at Gerty McDowell's display. The order of the words in his utterance reflects the order in which Bloom gradually realises his sensations and impressions. First comes an exclamatory "O!", reminiscent of his verbal and physical ejaculations, now just a sigh signalling his condition (he is so weak that he feels even unable to verbalise it properly), followed by the name of the very feeling his consciousness has identified – 'exhaustion'. That is why 'exhausted' appears in frontal position, although it seems incorrect to place this form of the verb at the beginning of the sentence. Next Bloom names the cause of his exhaustion – 'that female'. It is worth noting that he chooses the biological term 'female' rather than a more humanising 'girl' or 'woman'. His sentence is concluded with 'has', which may be analysed as the marker of perfect aspect of the compound verb 'have exhausted', followed by the personal pronoun 'me' as a kind of hanging object of this muddled sentence. Beside testifying to Bloom's extreme tiredness, which results in his confused language, the anomalous, jumbled syntax of the sentence may result in ambiguity. One could understand it to convey what the grammatical: "O! That female has exhausted me" does, but it can be also understood as a combination of two highly elliptic utterances: (1) O! [I am] 'exhausted' and (2) 'because that female has [got] me [masturbate]'.

Słomczyński renders it as "Och! Wyczerpała mnie ta kobieta" (Joyce 2004: 425) [the word-by-word translation of which: 'Oh! *(has) exhausted me that woman', can literally be interpreted to mean what the English 'Oh! That woman has exhausted me' means]. The Polish sentence sounds smoother, much more correct and ordinary to the Polish ear than the English one. Its syntax does not strike the reader as unusual or ungrammatical, though it emphasises the predicate (the feeling) and not the subject (its

cause – 'that woman'). That is why the inflected verb is placed in the initial position as in the source text. However, the frontal position of the predicate is perfectly correct and rather common in Polish. The translation also puts stress on exhaustion, but in a less conspicuous way. While it manages to emphasise Bloom's fatigue, it fails to reproduce its intensity signaled by the striking, unconventional word order, which additionally communicates Bloom's momentary lack of control over his grammar.

What is lost in translation here is the iconic juggling of elements that must draw the English reader's attention to the order of Bloom's perception of his own state. This untypical syntax must strike the English readers and make them momentarily ponder on the grammatical category of 'exhausted'. They need to decide if it is perfect aspect of the verb or a part of the complex predicate, which opens up space for the elliptical reading suggested above. The translation erases this potential hesitation because "wyczerpała" (inflected form of the verb 'wyczerpać', i.e. 'to exhaust') is immediately recognised as the past tense, first person singular verb form. The inflectional character of Polish makes it hardly feasible to achieve an effect comparable to the original one. One possible solution could be to place the pronoun 'me' ('mnie') at the end of the sentence, as in the following: 'Och! Wyczerpała ta kobieta *mnie*'. Strictly speaking, this would not be grammatically incorrect, but it would sound rather odd, so Bloom's lack of control over syntax could be at least hinted at.

Another point to make about Słomczyński's version is his choice of equivalent for 'female'. Bloom's usage of the biological term may stress that for him the incident on the beach was a purely physiological act, and indicate an animalistic, carnal relief obtained from it and ensuing tiredness. The translator goes for 'kobieta' – 'a woman' (not 'a girl,' although Gerty is clearly the latter, not the former). It sounds neutral, if not formal, definitely not as animalistic as Bloom's 'female'. However, this choice modifies the original context, and suggests that Bloom was involved in an 'adult' activity with a mature counterpart. So his behaviour may be seen as a sexual game of two equal partners in which he got as much satisfaction from his voyeurism as the woman who exposed herself to him, and not as an impulsive response to his lack of satisfactory sexual relationship with his wife Molly, or as a pathetic way to compensate this lack. It seems that Słomczyński avoided 'samica' ('the female specimen of a species'; 'a female person', also having an offensive overtone; cf. Quirk 1987: 375), as a possible equivalent, since it must have sounded too scientific or too vulgar to his ears. Consequently, his choice plays down a clear contrast between the two parts of the "Nausicaa" episode in which Gerty McDowell's sentimental, "namby-pamby jammy marmalady drawersy" (Joyce 1957: 135) style is juxtaposed with brisk,

sometimes coarse, short-sentenced, down-to-earth, matter-of-fact style of Bloom's inner speech.

3. "Nectar imagine it drinking electricity: gods' food" (UG 8.927)[6]

A similar instance of unorthodox, emphatic syntax blurring grammatical categories can be found in the above example coming from Bloom's thoughts in "Lestrygonians", the episode focused on food and drink.[7] Like other translations,[8] the Polish one also preserves the fronting of 'nectar', and as all the other translations do, separates it with a comma from the rest of the utterance: "Nektar, wyobraź sobie, że pijesz elektryczność: pożywienie bogów" (Joyce 2004: 197). However, it arranges the remaining elements even further by separating with commas the parenthetical clause 'wyobraź sobie' [literally: 'imagine to yourself' or 'depict it in your mind'], followed by the subordinate object clause: 'że pijesz elektryczność' [literally: 'that you are drinking electricity']. Additionally, the inflected form of the predicate, which is the second person singular, completes and sharpens the blurred boundaries of grammatical categories present in the original. Possible readings of 'drinking', which may be seen as part of a truncated sentence: 'I am drinking,' 'you are drinking,' 'one is drinking' or 'they are drinking', or as a gerund, are narrowed down to only one grammatical form (and one meaning). Not only do the inflection and introduction of punctuation erase ambiguity of the original, they also do away with the impression of inchoate, as yet unformed, amorphous thought as if captured at the moment just before it is expressed in a grammatically complete sentence. As in Molly's final monologue, the lack of punctuation may be also intended to reflect a relaxed flow of Bloom's thoughts (cf. Humphrey 1972: 26–7, 42–48), in this case metaphorically hinting at the pleasant and effortless swallowing of

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6 An earlier version of this section was published as part of a collaborative essay resulting from a translation workshop "TransWork" organised by Erika Mihálycsa and Fritz Senn in Zurich in May 8 to 11, 2010, cf. Bazarnik et al. 2012: 145–148).

7 After lunch in Davy Byrne's pub during which Bloom reflects on various kinds of food and drink, he spots his wife's lover, Blayzes Boylan in the street, and panicked he rushes into the National Museum gate to hide there.

8 Erika Mihálycsa and Fritz Senn compiled and distributed a series of translations of the sentence as workshop materials (TransWorkshop notes, May 2010–April 2011; e-mail of 14 April 2011 to the author of the present article and other participant of the project). Their notes included two German and two French translations, and one Italian, one Portuguese, and one Dutch version. See also Bazarnik et al (2012: 142–148), including the Hungarian, Romanian, and Polish versions.

the divine nectar. However, the structure of the Polish sentences seems to turn it into a series of clearly separated gulps.

If one wanted to retain something of the original fluidity, one could opt for words and a word order comparably inchoate in Polish, for example: 'Nektar wyobraź sobie pić elektryczność: pokarm bogów' or 'Nektar wyobraź sobie picie elektyczności: pokarmu bogów.' Apart from deleting the commas, marking off the parenthetical, the major modification in the proposed version would be the use of the infinitive 'pić' ['to drink'] or 'picie' ['drinking;' the gerund, which in Polish is analysed as a deverbalised noun]. The omission of commas would loosen the syntax and allow the reader to connect 'wyobraź sobie' [imagine][9] with either 'nektar' or 'pić/picie' [nectar; and drinking], consequently restoring the fluidity present in the original. In fact, in this case the (rightly) discredited technique of 'word for word translation' would have come in handy, as my version is nothing else but such a rendering. Another possible modification could entail using the infinitive 'wyobrazić sobie' [to imagine] instead of the imperative mood of the verb. This could enhance the impression of language *in statu nascendi*. The two infinitives in the proposed modification: 'Nektar wyobrazić sobie pić elektryczność' could be interpreted as 'raw material' of consciousness, a mass of (grammatically) undifferentiated particles at the verge of being formed into a grammatical sentence.

Why did Słomczynski render it as grammatically correct, punctuated phrases, and not choose to omit commas, following the original? Perhaps in this sentence using punctuation can be put down to his use of a subordinate clause rather than a more awkward gerundial phrase. Polish punctuation is quite strict in the case of subordinate clauses, in which commas are always required before all subordinate conjunctions. So editors and proofreaders have a strong tendency to regulate unconventional, idiosyncratic styles of punctuation because any deviations are seen as glaringly wrong or erroneous or sloppy language use; so the shape of this sentence may be a result of such an editorial intervention. However, in other, seemingly similar sentences, the translator sometimes retains Joyce's omissions, as in the following example, when Bloom is thinking how he would check whether the statues of goddesses in the museum have assholes: 'Bend down let something fall see if she' (Joyce 1961: 177; cf. *U*G 8.930–931).[10] Again the sentence mim-

[9] In 'wyobrazić sobie' 'sobie' ('self') is a subject-related anaphor (otherwise referred to as a reflexive pronoun).

[10] This quote, which differs from the most popular Gabler edition version being one sentence instead of two, comes from Random House 1961 edition of *Ulysses* because Słomczyński, who translated Joyce's novel in the years 1958–1969, used this edition. When he revised his translation in the early1990s, he did not collate it with Gabler's

ics a continuous, fluent movement of Bloom's projected gesture. The Polish translation reads as a word for word version: "Pochylę się upuszczę coś zobaczę czy ona." (Joyce 2004: 197). It describes a series of consecutive actions in the first person future forms of verbs, so it is a string of coordinate clauses, in which every element is of equal importance. Commas seem redundant, and their absence may indicate either an equal status of the described actions or a quick succession in time, which may explain why the punctuation marks have been omitted here.

Incidentally, this sentence provides us with another example of discrepancy between the marked pronoun drop in English and its unmarked presence in Polish, signaling clearly that this is again Bloom's interior monologue. In Polish its only marker is the truncated final phrase 'czy ona'('if she'), and the lack of commas. This may be another reason why they are omitted here; otherwise, the sentence would sound like standard, stylistically unmarked language.

4. "Then about six o'clock I can." (UG 8.852–853)

In fact, following Joyce's subtle use of punctuation may sometimes give translators "the keys to" (Joyce 1989: 628) solutions of some translatorial cruxes. "Then about six o'clock I can" also comes from Bloom's stream of consciousness, when he rushes into the National Museum to avoid meeting his wife's lover. At this point he reminds himself that Boylan is going to meet Molly at four o'clock, so he calculates that about six o'clock the visit (and their love making) should be already over. As Fritz Senn suggested, in the passage: "Then about six o'clock I can. Six. Six. Time will be gone then. She." (UG8.852–853), the phrase: "Time will be gone then" can be understood as 'shortmind' (shortened version, a kind of mental shorthand)[11] for: '[by that] time [he=Boylan] will be gone then' (Bazarnik et al. 2012: 153). Indeed, "Time will be gone then", though grammatically correct, is disturb-

edition (he did not have access to it then; the information based on my personal conversations with the translator in 1990s). Hence, the Polish translation follows the Random House version. Gabler's edition of 1986 has "Bend down let something drop. See if she" (UG 8.930–931), while his synoptic edition of 1984 notes the Random House variant without a full stop separating the two sentences, marked as tC (Joyce, vol.1: 1984: 368).

[11] As explained in the introduction to "Polylogue", "'Shortmind' is a term devised by Fritz Senn to designate a salient feature of Joyce's interior monologue where a thought is seen emerging in its pre-grammatical, pre-syntactic, inchoative, groping, associative semi-shape. Translators tend to smooth out and change such a provisional assembly of thoughts *in statu nascendi*, an initial jumble, into neat, grammatical, punctuation-controlled sentences" (Bazarnik et al. 2012: 134).

ing, as if it suggested the end or disappearance of time. It sounds familiar, but its oddity points to disturbance in the family life. "She" followed immediately by the full stop testifies to Bloom's repression of undesired, painful content that struggles to emerge from his unconsciousness. It signals an abrupt break in Bloom's interior monologue – he stops suddenly before the disturbing thought about Molly's adulterous act is formulated, turning his mind to another subject.

Yet, the existing translations render Bloom's 'shortmind' simply as 'the time will be gone by six.'[12] Słomczyński adopts a similar solution: "Później o szóstej będę mógł. Szósta, szósta. O tej porze będzie po wszystkim. Ona…" [literally: Then/Later at six o'clock I can/I will be able to. Six (o'clock). Six (o'clock). By/At that time/moment (it) will be all over. She…] (Joyce 2004: 194).[13] However, in the crucial part of the sentence the translator uses the verb 'będzie' and drops the pronoun in accordance with the spirit of the language. 'Będzie' is the future third person verb form of 'to be' that may be preceded by 'he', 'she' or 'it'. The context implicates very strongly that the omitted pronoun should be identified as 'it', as in the phrase 'it will be all over.' But it is technically possible to interpret the dropped pronoun as 'he' or 'she,' in which case the Polish reader could reconstruct the following sentences:

(1) O tej porze [on] będzie [gdzie indziej]/ [jego już nie] będzie, [czyli będzie] po wszystkim/wszystko będzie skończone [By that time he will be elsewhere/he will be gone, it will be all over].

or

(2) O tej porze [ona] będzie [już] po [stosunku z nim], [wtedy będzie] po wszystkim/wszystko będzie skończone [By that time she will be after an intercourse with him, by then it will be all over].

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[12] See Bazarnik et al. 2012: 153, including the following list of translations:
Dann ist die Zeit vorbei. ([German, G. Goyert] 198)
Dann ist die Zeit um. ([German, H. Wollschläger] 244)
Alors tout serait dit. ([French, Morel] 171)
Du temps aura coulé sous les ponts. ([French, J. Aubert] 254)
Il tempo sarà passato. ([Italian, G. De Angelis] 236)
El tiempo habrá pasado entonces. ([Spanish, F.G. Tortosa] 198)
Dan is de tijd voorbij. ([Dutch, Bindervoet and Henkes] 208)
Two translations, the Italian and the Portuguese ones, imply the elided pronoun, but it is still unclear if it refers to 'he', i.e. Boylan or to 'it', i.e. time.

[13] For an inexplicable reason, the Polish translation uses suspension points after the final "She." Although Gabler's synoptic edition of *Ulysses* notes this variant (marked as tC, see Joyce, vol.1: 1984: 368), as I explained in a footnote above, Słomczyński used the Random House edition, and it is unlikely that he ever consulted Joyce's genetic materials.

So in this case the inflectional nature of Polish produces some desirable ambiguity that hints at a possibility of the reading suggested by Fritz Senn, and at yet another reading, not obviously present in the original, in which Bloom's thoughts are focused more on Molly than on her lover.

This second reading could suggest yet another possible interpretation of Bloom's 'shortmind': '[By that] time [she=Molly] will be gone then. She,' in which Bloom would stop at the point of realisation that Molly might want to leave him for Boylan. So it could be interpreted as the pre-formed version of the following sentence "By that time she'll be gone then, she will/Molly", in a kind of creative extension of the strategy used in spoken language for emphasis (Carter and McCarthy 1997: 18)[14]. Hence, the final, abrupt "She" could be interpreted as the "tail," added to reinforce or amplify the first, elided "she". But even if Bloom's mind veered into this direction, he swerved to avoid the painful thought. The paragraph, being a brief one among longer stretches of text, breaks suddenly at this point, and is followed by a page-long passage describing how Bloom savours the taste of wine and food he has just consumed.

Admittedly, these interpretations are not easily noticeable. But the Polish translation seems to hint at this ambiguity slightly more than the original, which is reinforced when one considers the final "She…" as the tail of the phrase: 'she will be gone'. If one wanted to strengthen this kind of reading in translation, one could use a comma between 'będzie' [(it/he/she) will be] and 'po' [after/over]: 'O tej porze będzie, po wszystkim. Ona.' A (typical) omission of the personal pronoun resulting in ambiguity and an unconventional addition of the comma could possibly draw the reader's attention to suppressed meanings, and prompt him to speculate about what 'she' will do, as in the above examples. The unconventional punctuation mark would defamiliarise the common phrase ('będzie po wszystkim'), thereby drawing attention to the latent presence of Molly's lover in Bloom's mind, and Bloom's fear of being abandoned.

5. Conclusion

As can be seen in these few examples, Joyce had an acute sense of spoken language, and exploited features of colloquial speech extensively in his stream of consciousness technique. These features, which are used to express affects, emphasis or serve the phatic function in spoken communication, allowed him in writing to create an effect of intimate insight into the characters' minds, as if the readers were listening to Bloom, Steven (and Molly)

[14] I am grateful to Ewa Willim for pointing this interpretation to me.

talking to themselves. These traits are also responsible for ambiguity and certain "roughness" of the texture of *Ulyssean* interior monologue, thereby enhancing the impression of watching "raw material of consciousness" captured at the point of verbalisation. But this effect seems to be weakened in translation, partly owing to the nature of the Polish language. Admittedly, in the final example a reflection on Joyce's inchoative language in translation has helped us excavate various, unexpected layers of meaning buried under the surface of the sentence. But this is a rather unusual situation. More often it seems that the features of Polish as an elliptic, discourse-oriented, highly inflectional language are responsible for some smoothing up of the passages permeated by the stream of consciousness. Even if these features may occasionally prompt ambiguous readings, such ambiguities need to be enhanced in translation by other modifications, such as an unconventional use of punctuation.

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Playing with a Convention: The Uses of Irony in Elizabethan Sonnets

1. Introduction

It is a well-known fact from literary history that the sonnet is the oldest closed form in European lyrical poetry which is still alive as a literary genre in modern times. As a 14-line poem, with a set rhyme pattern, it was used first in 13th century Italy, by Dante and the poets of the *Dolce Stil Novo* movement. However, the pattern of love poems, written in sequences of sonnets and imitated in many places in Western Europe during the Renaissance, was set in the 14th century by Francesco Petrarch, the author of 366 poems addressed to Laura and collected in *Il Canzoniere.*

The history of the acceptance and development of Petrarchan convention in Renaissance England was not as straightforward as it might have been expected at the beginning of the 16th century when Henry VIII, known as a patron of arts and supporter of humanism, ascended the throne. Due to political upheavals, the early history of the sonnet in England had its dramatic moments.[1] After the first translations or adaptations of Petrarch's sonnets by the courtly poets of Henry VIII's time (Sir Thomas Wyatt and Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey), published posthumously in *Tottel's Miscellany* in 1557, there was no real follow-up to the first Petrarchan texts in English poetry for over three decades. The fashion of sonnet writing, which

[1] One of the two courtly poets who brought Petrarchism to England (Henry Howard) was accused of high treason and executed on the scaffold a few months before Henry VIII's death. The other 'courtly maker' – Sir Thomas Wyatt – was also imprisoned several times on suspicion of amorous contacts with Anne Boleyn, but eventually died a natural death in 1542.

had already reached its apogee on the Continent, started only with the publication of Sir Philip Sidney's sequence *Astrophel and Stella* in 1591. These poems were written in the early 1580s, but they circulated in manuscript only in court circles. The characteristic Petrarchan style of elaborate conceits and antitheses, as well as themes of spiritual idealism and ardent desire, of simultaneous joy of loving and pains of unrequited love, expressed in far-fetched praises of the woman put on a pedestal as an icon of perfection, had been known earlier from Wyatt's and Surrey's adaptations of Petrarch and from Italian and French poems, but they achieved a freshness and topicality a few decades later, in the poetry of the great courtier of Queen Elizabeth. Published five years after Sidney's death, *Astrophel and Stella* was widely imitated by greater and lesser poets. Petrarchan convention flourished quickly, sonnet sequences and individual poems were published in great numbers, but the vogue, so intense and wide-spread, proved to be short-lived – it lasted not much longer than a decade, and by the beginning of the 17th century it was considered passé.

The fact that Petrarchism, expressed through the literary genre of the sonnet, developed in English poetry so late and that it became widespread only in the last brilliant and intense decade of the century – "the Golden Age of English poetry" (Lewis 1957:120) – had a strong influence on the way and the directions in which the most important elements of this convention evolved. These elements were often transformed, in many instances displaying anti-generic features. There was apparently no time to leisurely enjoy classical Petrarchan idealism, conventional comparisons and rich poetic diction in the last decade of Elizabeth's reign since there were signals of the change of taste in love poetry, visible in the growing popularity of erotic mythological tales and of non-idealistic, satirical verse.

An interesting and significant problem in this context, which would require a wider and more profound treatment that lies outside the scope of this paper, is connected with what Alistair Fowler calls *epigrammatic transformation* of the Petrarchan sonnet. What he refers to, is the gradual approximation between the two genres, the sonnet and the epigram, which were originally opposed to each other as they employed contrasting kinds of style. It was 'medium' style in the case of the sonnet, which was a brief love elegy, and 'low' style as characteristic of the epigram, which was a short, colloquial and satiric poem (Fowler 1982: 176). The present study will not examine the complex phenomenon of this transformation in depth, but it will deal only with one related aspect of such "antithetic relations within a genre" (Fowler 1982: 174). It will focus on the eponymous "playing with the convention" carried out by means of the application of irony to various uses in the sonnets, apparently without any serious intention of destroy-

ing or disintegrating the generic status of the poems. Thus, my aim here will be to demonstrate, on a few chosen examples, how, almost from the start, Elizabethan sonneteers applied irony in their treatment of the basic thematic and stylistic features of Petrarchan convention. Irony, which in the modern times has become a wide term and in the opinion of some critics should be best left "adequately not defined" (Muecke 1969: 14), will be treated here not only as a stylistic device, but also as a situation with elements of incongruity and contrast, as a feature of hyperbolic description or a tool of satire or parody.

2. Sir Philip Sidney's auto-ironic stance

The earliest English Petrarchan sequence was described by Thomas Nashe in his preface to the first unauthorized edition of 1591 as a "tragicommedy of love performed by starlight" (Ewbank 1981: 43). This opinion is generally regarded as accurate since this love story, told in 108 sonnets and 11 songs, has very obvious dramatic qualities due to the behaviour of the main character – Astrophel (i.e. the 'star-lover') who is the speaker in the poems. The story is tragic (there is no happy ending to Astrophel's anguish), but it is told in rich and mellifluous Petrarchan style and – what is particularly important – it occasionally displays traces of mild humour. The humour of Sidney's sonnets stems mostly from the ironic way in which the speaker presents himself to the reader in the context of Petrarchan themes and motifs, stressing his own inadequacy and frustration in love. Other ways in which irony appears in the sequence, observed by literary theoreticians also in other Elizabethan sonnets, are connected with the above mentioned process of changing generic features of the poems through topical invention or counterstatement (Fowler 1982: 171).

Sidney's sequence provides the reader with quite numerous instances of such uses of irony. For instance, in the famous opening sonnet there is a slightly comic portrait of the poet-lover suffering, as we would now say, from a writer's block. He is desperately looking for invention and inspiration in the works of other poets, biting his pen and scolding himself for his lack of success, and therefore in the final lines he is rebuked by the Muse: "'Fool', said my Muse to me, 'look in thy heart and write.'" (Sonnet 1, l. 14). In Sonnet 20 we come across both an ironic presentation of the speaker, and ironic treatment of conventional elements resulting from topical invention. At the beginning of the poem, Cupid (called "that murdering boy" in line 2 of the poem) is lying in ambush, equipped not with a bow and arrows, but with a gun (of a matchlock type), as he is waiting to give his

prey "a bloody bullet." The speaker's cries in the first line addressed to his fellows on the battle field ("Fly, fly, my friends, I have my death wound, fly") sound a little hysterical and the whole situation – attempting to fly Cupid's ambush and attack – is invested with elements of farce. Only towards the end of the poem it turns out that what we have dealt with so far is an ironic overstatement: there is no bullet, and no gun, only Cupid's conventional dart of love that pierces the speaker's heart as he looks into the "heavenly eye" of his beloved (l. 7) and sees "motions of lightning grace" (l.12). Thus, the topical invention, which in Fowler's opinion is so radical that it merits being called "a counterstatement" (Fowler 1982: 171), is really an exercise in the application of irony to the conventional situation of the poet-lover. A closer inspection of these methods of using irony is applied below to two other sonnets from Sidney's sequence – number 31 and 59.

Of these, undoubtedly, the more famous, and the more frequently anthologized, is Sonnet 31 in which the speaker is involved in a one-sided conversation with the moon, prompted by the similarity between the moon's appearance and languid movements, and an unhappy lover's looks and manner:

> With how sad steps, O Moon, thou climb'st the skies,
> How silently, and with how wan a face;
> What, may it be that even in heaven'ly place
> That busy archer his sharp arrows tries? (Sidney, Sonnet 31, ll. 1–4)[2]

The description of the moon that is pale and apparently apathetic as it moves slowly in the sky introduces a slightly comic parallel between this heavenly body and the speaker as a dejected, depressed lover. Naturally, in Elizabethan literature the moon with its traditional metaphorical associations (e.g. dream-like beauty, but also inconstancy) often appeared in the context of love. It had also been used in poetic imagery in its capacity as a sole (and therefore important) witness of love scenes. It is by the light of the moon that Romeo declares his love for Juliet in Capulet's garden in Act II Scene 2 of Shakespeare's tragedy; later in the same scene Romeo swears the truth of his feelings "by yonder blessed moon" (Act II, sc. 2, l. 107). The Athenian mechanics presenting the play about the tragic love of Pyramus and Thisbe in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* even introduce a separate mute character with a lantern called Moonshine to demonstrate the important fact that the lovers meet by moonlight. In Sidney's poem, however, the moon is used not only as a traditional witness of love and therefore

[2] All quotations from sonnet sequences in this article, apart from Shakespeare's cycle, come in modernized spelling from Maurice Evan's (1977) anthology.

presumably an expert in love matters, but as the speaker's fellow-sufferer, as an unhappy lover residing outside the earthly region:

> Sure, if that long-with-Love-acquainted eyes
> Can judge of love, thou feel'st a Lover's case;
> I read it in thy looks; thy languished grace
> To me that feel the like, thy state descries. (Sidney, Sonnet 31, ll. 5–8)

The final part of the sonnet consists of several serious questions that the speaker asks the moon and that lead to the central concerns of Petrarchan love poems – the problems of the pride, cruelty and ungratefulness of the beauties, both on the earth and in the lunar sphere:

> Do they above love to be lov'd, and yet
> Those Lovers scorn whom that Love doth possess?
> Do they call Virtue there ungratefulness? (Sidney, Sonnet 31, ll. 12–14)

There is no doubt that Sonnet 31 is a beautiful example of typical Petrarchan verse. And yet – the first part of the poem which reveals traces of humour in the presentation of two pale and slow-moving figures, one on the earth and the other in the sky, clearly displays touches of irony which the speaker applies to himself. This auto-irony does not undermine the basic seriousness of the case and does not touch in any way the object of the speaker's love who is praised indirectly by means of a moving complaint. Providing the portrait of the lover with ironic touches on the one hand intensifies an impression of conventional humility on the part of the speaker, but on the other – it introduces, as I. S. Ewbank rightly observes, elements of introspection and self-analysis which contribute to the aura of sincerity surrounding the figure of Astrophel (Ewbank 1981: 22).

In Sonnet 59 Astrophel's complaint against Stella's indifference assumes a more distinct form and the choice of comic juxtapositions that imply the speaker's jealousy and exasperation clearly underlines the auto-irony to which the speaker resorts to express his absolute helplessness in the situation of unrequited love. Astrophel's initial question clearly addresses the problem: "Dear, why make you more of a dog than me?" (l.1). What follows is a list enumerating Stella's little dog's virtues and useful qualities that, as the speaker argues, are still inferior to the lover's own merits:

> If he do love, I burn, I burn in love;
> If he wait well, I never thence would move. (Sidney, Sonnet 59, ll. 2–3)

The comparisons become more ludicrous when they reach more incompatible aspects of human and animal attachment:

He barks; my songs thine own voice doth prove;
Bid'n, perhaps he fetches thee a glove
But I, unbid, fetch even my soul to thee. (Sidney, Sonnet 59, ll. 6–8)

Astrophel is jealous of Stella's affectionate treatment of her dog (which is cosseted and even kissed, in spite of its sour breath! (l. 11)), whereas no warm feeling is shown to the lover, although he claims he can do all, and even better, that the dog can do. The poem ends with a bitter joke which alludes to the conventional opposition of Love and Wit, and to a passionate lover's loss of Reason. Since Astrophel's wit will soon be entirely replaced by Love and he will become, like a dog, a "witless thing", it may ironically signify a happy end to his woes:

Alas, if you grant only such delight
To witless things, then Love I hope (since wit
Become a clog) will soon ease me of it. (Sidney, Sonnet 59, ll. 12–14)

In spite of the presence of irony in Sonnets 31 and 59, as well as in several other sonnets mentioned earlier, the tone of the poems is not really lighthearted. It means that the problem of unrequited love, central to Petrarchan convention and providing the context for the use of irony, is treated seriously. Sidney seems to defy some of the conventional elements (e.g. – in sonnet 59 the lady is even rebuked), but he does not undermine the basic tenets of Petrarchism. At this point it is hard to agree with I. S. Ewbank, who thinks that he is "crying out against conventional sonneteering" (Ewbank 1981: 22). One should rather say that being generally faithful to the convention, Sidney tries to make his poems attractively different by surrounding the figure of Astrophel with irony and providing his speaker with an ability to use self-irony effectively.

3. Michael Drayton and Edmund Spenser: approaching conventional borderlines

Drayton's and Spenser's sonnet sequences – *Idea's Mirror* (1594) and *Amoretti* (1595) respectively – are both regarded as very important Petrarchan texts that appeared in the wake of Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella.* Being significantly different in form (Spenser's poems follow a more intricate rhyme pattern – abab bcbc cdcd ee – than Drayton's three separate quatrains and a closing couplet), they are even more dissimilar in content. The title of Drayton's sequence recalls the Platonic Idea of a woman and – as one of the critics remarks – "records the poet's obsession with an ideal of beauty" (Hatfield 2001: 58), whereas *Amoretti* (i.e. 'little loves'), published together with *Epi-*

thalamion, refer to a real courtship (Spenser's courtship of Elizabeth Boyle) which ended in marriage.[3] There is no doubt that from a viewpoint of poetic merit Spenser's sonnets are much superior to Drayton's sequence of 1594: *Amoretti* was written by the famous author of the *Shepherds Calendar* and of the three books of *The Faerie Queene* whose command of rich poetic language and control of metaphor in non-dramatic poetry were not equalled by his contemporaries. In this section of the present study Drayton and Spenser are treated under the same heading because, in my opinion, there is a similarity in their application of irony with reference to some basic tenets of Petrarchan convention.

Drayton's sonnet sequence *Ideas Mirror* was published in 1594, but was revised and enlarged by the poet several times and its final edition appeared in 1619, when the sonnet vogue had already passed. Modern editors of Drayton's work have observed that his later sonnets "contain qualities of irony and concentration of meaning" which reveal more affinity with the drama and the poetry of the early 17th century than with the Elizabethan love sonnet (Evans: 202). For reasons of chronology, important for the main argument offered here, only the sonnets of the 1594 collection have been taken into consideration as they demonstrate that playing with Petrarchan convention by means of irony had taken place already among the first Elizabethan followers of Petrarch.

Idea's Mirror – like all Petrarchan sonnet sequences – has three main topical areas of poetic concern which are mutually woven together. There is a central conflict of the love story that involves two opposing forces – Love and Reason. The winner in this struggle is naturally Love, which leads to the second problem: the speaker is totally in the power of ardent feelings and his main wish is to express lavish praise of the lady who is a paragon of virtue and beauty. The third important issue is the poet-lover's frustration and suffering since his love is not and will never be reciprocated, which, however, does not diminish his feelings for his beloved. The first of the topics is, for instance, dramatically shown in Sonnet 38 (Amour 31),[4] which presents

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[3] It has been claimed that Drayton's sonnets are possibly a tribute to his patron's daughter (Evans 1977: 203), on the basis of sonnet 32 praising the River Ankor in the vicinity of which the poet's Idea lived. However, even if that was really the case, the poems – unlike Spenser's sonnets dedicated to his wife and crowned with a wedding song – were obviously meant simply as a kind of conventional compliment intensified with Neoplatonic associations, which could be paid to a friend.

[4] Drayton's sequence included in Maurice Evans's anthology *Elizabethan Sonnets* is the 1619 expanded version of *Idea*. The original numbers of the sonnets (called 'Amours' in the 1594 edition) are given in the brackets next to the number in Drayton's final version of the sequence.

a slightly comical scene with the speaker being commanded back and forth in turn by Love and by Reason. They become engaged in a quarrel concerning first of all the question which of them has the right to assign a task of writing verse to the lover:

> Sitting alone, Love bids me goe and write;
> Reason plucks back, commanding me to stay,
> Boasting that she doth still direct the way,
> Or else Love were unable to indite. (Drayton, Sonnet 38, ll. 1–4).

What follows is a heated argument between Love and Reason, both female figures, which refers to the content of poetry (whether it should be 'invented' or true to the reality) and is presented with clear touches of irony since what Reason and Love demonstrate in their opinions and behaviour are not what the reader would expect: Love scorns "Reason's maimed Argument" (l. 6) and accuses Reason of being untruthful and unreasonable in her permission to invent things (ll.7–8). In answer to this, Reason – probably familiar with Renaissance theories of poetry – shows contempt for Love and "laugheth at her Folly" (l. 10). Eventually, however, it is Love who crushes "Reason's reason" and getting rid of her opponent, comes out, in the closing couplet, as the sole winner in the quarrel:

> Reason, put back, doth out of sight remove
> And Love alone picks reason out of love. (Drayton, Sonnet 38, ll. 13–14).

As regards the poet's heated declarations of love and powerful praises of the lady, it is easily noticed that most of the sonnets in Drayton's cycle are devoted to these themes, presented in richly conceited style with rhetorical intensity and variety. These poems sound seriously conventional, employing strings of extended similes and, in spite of frequent complaints, they never approach any criticism of Idea – they never resort even to a mild rebuke of the beloved, as was the case in Sidney's Sonnet 59. Still, in a few poems describing the condition of the lover and his attempts to win the lady's favour the reader is presented with such excessive use of rhetorical devices and incompatibility in balance between metaphor and description that the seriousness of the speaker's aim is undermined and the presence of irony may be felt. For instance, in Sonnet 40 (Amour 44) the speaker describes the process of creating poetry inspired by powerful love and pain of love, using a string of metaphors drawn from a blacksmith's workshop:

> My Heart the Anvil where my Thoughts do beat,
> My Words the Hammers, fashioning my desire,
> My Breast the Forge, including all the heat,

Love is the Fuel, which maintains the fire,
My Sighs the Bellows, which the Flame increases,
Filling my Ears with Noise and Nightly groaning. (Drayton, Sonnet 40, ll. 1–6)

Being so detailed and literal in his conceits, the poet often comes – as one critic observes – "dangerously near to absurdity" (Smith 1968: 162), which may suggest his ironic treatment not only of the figure of the lover, but also of the conventional rhetoric used in love poetry.

Undermining the convention, both in its topical dimension and its rhetorical applicability, can be observed on an even larger scale also in Sonnet 41 (Amour 43). The poem deals with the problem always present in Petrarchan sonnet sequences, that is the lover's suffering because of unrequited love. It is, on the one hand, a testimony of his deep attachment, but on the other – it may lead to the situation of an overwhelming darkness of spirit, and eventually to lunacy. The earlier discussed conflict between Love and Reason and the inevitable victory of Love in Sonnet 38, which signifies natural scarcity of Reason in a lover, metaphorically prepare the way for the lover's inevitable end – i.e. total loss of reason, or madness. Although it has been traditionally maintained that a lover, a poet and a lunatic have a lot in common,[5] in most sonnets sequences the Petrarchan lover/poet's complaints that he is close to losing his mind because of his beloved's indifference, are to be treated only metaphorically. What we, however, witness in Drayton's Sonnet 41 has to be taken literally. The speaker presents his ironic self-diagnosis based on his own irrational behaviour (e.g. he speaks of joy, but is tormented by hellish pain, his heart is a "Den of Horror") and on the way he composes love poetry, using far-fetched comparisons and writing fashionable blazons (i.e. listing of eulogistic descriptions of parts of the lady's body):

But still distracted in Love's Lunacy
And Bedlam-like, thus raving in my Grief,
Now rail upon her Hair, then on her Eye;
Now call her Goddess, then I call her Thief;
Now I deny Her, then I do confess Her,
Now do I curse Her, then again I bless Her. (Drayton, Sonnet 41, ll. 9–14)

In the final part of the poem quoted above the poet's actions achieve a considerable degree of ridicule, or absurdity as we read the descriptions of the actions that indicate the speaker's deranged state of mind. Such words

[5] At the end of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* Theseus speaks of the affinity of the three, ascribing it to the excess of imagination in these figures: "The lunatic, the lover and the poet/Are of imagination all compact" (Act 5, Scene 1, ll. 8–9).

as 'rail', 'rave', or 'curse', which have connotations of anger or violence, are incongruous with complimentary intentions and out of place in the context of praise. Even if the reader laughs at this situation and at the speaker's behavior, the result is not, like in the case of Astrophel, a refreshing self-ironic presentation of the speaker, but a serious undermining of the position of the poet-lover, crucial to the convention. Another blow is dealt at the conventional form of praise used in Petrarchan poetry, as blazon and poetical ways of addressing the lady (e.g. 'goddess') seem to be mocked in this sonnet as well. It can be thus said that although in Drayton's sonnets of 1594 irony is not often introduced, in these few sonnets when it is applied, it is aimed at important elements of Petrarchan convention which are thus threatened with fundamental change. Since, however, the overwhelming majority of the sequence, consisting of 51 sonnets, are true to Petrarchan spirit in content and in form, the author of *Idea's Mirror* is regarded as closely following in Sidney's footsteps.

The use of irony as a topic does not seem to be suitable in an approach to Spenser's *Amoretti*, as both the subject matter and the general tone of its presentation are serious and ingenuous. Apart from Shakespeare's *Sonnets,* published fourteen years later, it is the only Elizabethan sonnet sequence that does not have the lady's name in the title. Moreover, in the text the lady herself is not fashionably called by any Petrarchan name of mythological or classical origin, but is discreetly addressed in Sonnet 74 as Elizabeth, which was the real name of Spenser's fiancée, who became his wife in 1594. The eighty nine sonnets of the sequence rehearse the most important themes of Petrarchan convention in a highly poetical way. Critics commonly praise Spenser's remarkable metrics, "the easy and natural flow of the verse", and "a steady and clear logical progression" in particular poems (Smith 1968: 169). The lady is greatly idealized and both her physical attributes and spiritual qualities, even her pride, are extolled in the sonnets. The poet often uses the fashionable blazons to describe her appearance, for instance in Sonnets 15 and 64, in which her beautiful features and body parts are compared to precious stones and various flowers respectively. As it is expected in Petrarchan convention, the speaker talks about his suffering caused by the lady's indifference, but he never resorts to impatience or to dramatic or despairing tones, as Astrophel or the speaker of *Idea's Mirror* did, and there is no question of his going mad because of the unbearable pain he experiences. Yet, although Spenser is true to the convention in its fundamental tenets and does not try to undermine its basic elements by means of irony, he does introduce a radical novelty into a Petrarchan love story: he changes the attitude of the lady towards the poet-lover and thus provides the speaker's courtship with a happy ending.

The change takes place in Sonnet 67 and is quite unexpected. The speaker tells us what happened using a metaphor drawn from hunting. Worn out and totally disheartened by lack of success in his pursuit of his beloved, he compares himself to a weary huntsman who, after a long and unsuccessful chase of a deer, gives up the hunt and sits down to rest under a tree. The deer comes back to drink some water from a nearby stream and although she sees the hunter, she does not run away:

> There she beholding me with milder look,
> Sought not to fly, but fearless still abide:
> Till I in hand her yet half trembling took,
> And with her own goodwill her firmly tied. (Spenser, Sonnet 67, ll. 9–12

What the speaker stresses in the description of the scene and repeats in the closing couplet is the deer' s own will to return and to stay with the hunter. Under the influence of love the cruel lady of Petrarchan convention becomes a responsive partner. The remaining twenty two sonnets of the sequence sing the praises of the lady's beauty and virtues in the best Petrarchan vein, underlining her superiority over other human beings including the speaker. If there are moments of unhappiness voiced by the poet-lover, they are caused by a brief separation of the lovers (Sonnets 78 and 87) or the speaker's longing to see the beloved (Sonnet 88), and not by the lady's indifference or hostility.

Sonnet 67, which turns the tide for the Petrarchan lover in *Amoretti*, is undoubtedly memorable due to the interesting narrative, set in remarkable imagery. Elizabethan readers of the poem, well acquainted with earlier Petrarchan verse, must have noticed an ironic parallel that Spenser's sonnet provided to Petrarch's famous Sonnet 190 (Rime 190) known in Wyatt's adaptation as "Whoso List to Hunt". In Petrarch's poem there is also a weary hunter who follows a deer, but she has a collar with an engraved inscription "Noli me tangere quia Ceasaris sum" ("Do not touch me as I am Ceasar's") and can never be caught by any hunter. Spenser's deer is free, does not belong to anybody and gives in to love out of her own free will. The lady of *Amoretti* does not lose anything from her previous power over the speaker who praises her in even more fervent terms, and sees their love in a religious context (e.g. Sonnet 68, occasioned by Easter Day, extols human and divine love). As it is pointed out by the critics, Spenser's Elizabeth is the central character in the cycle from beginning to end, because, unlike the other sonneteers' ladies (including Sidney's Stella), "she is portrayed most fully" (Smith: 166). The poet evokes Petrarch's image of a hunt and juxtaposes it with his own, thus modifying the Petrarchan concept of love as a one-sided voluntary service and showing the woman as even more attractive and

influential than she was in the conventional relations with the poet-lover. Spenser playfully reveals both his familiarity with the tradition and his ability to treat it with irony and changing the position of the lady brings the convention to its borderline. The convention, however, is not really broken: the lady, although responsive to the speaker's love, is still praised in Petrarchan language and style, and her superior position is eventually strengthened.

4. William Shakespeare and Sir John Davies: sophistication and parody

Although the date of the publication of the longest (154 poems) and most famous sonnet sequence, simply entitled "Shakespeare's Sonnets", places it in the Jacobean period (1609), there is evidence that the poems – like so many fashionable sonnets – were written over ten years earlier, during the last decade of Elizabeth's reign. Shakespeare's comedies written at that time (particularly *Love's Labour's Lost*, ca. 1594, which includes five sonnets) reveal his interest in sonnet writing and Francis Meres's *Paladis Tamia, or Wit's Treasury*, published in 1598, mentioned the fact that the poet was then known among his friends as a very good sonneteer (Drabble 1985: 920).[6] It is interesting to note that Meres referred to Shakespeare's sonnets and to the poet himself in complimentary terms which were then used with reference to Petrarchan style and Petrarchan followers: he mentioned the poet's sweet and rich language and mellifluous sound of verse. To modern readers of Shakespeare's sonnets this may come as a surprise since in critical opinions he is frequently presented as "anti-Petrarchan": individualistic in his themes and approach to love, defiant against conventional rhetoric and imagery, satirical of stylistic and thematic excess. It seems, however, that this long sequence provides material that can substantiate both claims: there are many sonnets, particularly in the part of the sequence addressed to the speaker's male friend, which demonstrate many features characteristic of Petrarchan style and Petrarchan attitudes: idealism in his approach to love and friendship, admiration for the object of love, richness of poetic texture and a general impression of remarkable eloquence of the speaking voice. On the other hand – as Fowler (1982) demonstrates in his analysis of generic transformations – among Shakespeare's sonnets there are many instances of poems that come very close to straight epigrams (e.g. Sonnets 126 and 145) or 'hybrids' that interweave lyric and epigram styles, which makes room for satirical and non-Petrarchan topics (e.g. 66, 95, 138, 151,). In the critic's

[6] Meres writes about "mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakespeare" and "his sugared sonnets among his private friends" (qtd. in Drabble 1985: 920)

opinion, "there is much to be said for the idea of Shakespeare's sequence as a book of epigrams" (Fowler 1982: 184).

The role of irony in Shakespeare's sequence is a topic that has been investigated on a few levels, with particular attention paid to the function of dramatic irony in the narrative of the speaker's 'two loves' or the ways dramatic irony is generated in the poems and the plays.[7] These, however, are more profound problems referring to the forms and meaning of Shakespeare's art which lie outside the scope of the present argument since it focuses on less weighty aspects of the use of irony – its use in poetical playing with a convention.

The two well-known sonnets that have been chosen for analysis here (18 and 130) demonstrate two different ways in which Shakespeare treats Petrarchan convention, openly referring to its presence in his poetic discourse.

The famous beginning of Sonnet 18 – "Shall I compare thee to a summer's day?" recalls an easily recognized Petrarchan simile, often used by Elizabethan sonneteers praising the beauty of the beloved. However, in this sonnet it is used somewhat provocatively, as a question which is answered in the negative, that is – contrary to the reader's expectations. The first two quatrains that follow the initial question undermine the justness of the conventional comparison by presenting the arguments for the addressee's superiority over a beautiful summer day – the beloved friend is both "more lovely and more temperate" (l.2), whereas the beauty of a summer day may be destroyed by changes in the weather and eventually by the inevitable passing of time:[8]

> Sometime too hot the eye of heaven shines,
> And often is his gold complexion dimm'd,
> And every fair from fair sometime declines,
> By chance, or nature's changing course, untrimm'd. (Shakespeare, Sonnet 18, ll. 5–8)

In the following quatrain, however, the speaker coins out of these denials a new, powerful compliment for his friend. It is an impressive praise of love, fortified with a typical Renaissance motif – the Horatian immortalization of the object of love by poetry:

> So long as men can breathe, or eyes can see,
> So long lives this, and this gives life to thee. (Shakespeare, Sonnet 18, ll. 13–14)

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7 Cf. Hunter (1953) or Mahood (1988), among others.

8 In Elizabethan poetry 'summer' is generally used as synonymous with 'spring', hence the reference to "the darling buds of May" in line 3.

Starting as if casually, from a seemingly unimportant matter, that is – a traditional compliment, the poem grows into a serious assertion of the power of the speaker's love and his poetry. Thus irony, employed delicately in the beginning of the sonnet, is completely lost in the last six lines of the poem, with the final couplet sounding serious, proud and happy.

Sonnet 130 presents a different use of irony in the context of Petrarchan style, although the irony here also stems from an evocation of conventional conceits. The poem makes use of the Petrarchan convention of the blazon – a catalogue of the lady's admirable physical features, starting usually from the eyes or the hair and employing hyperbole and simile in the course of the description which includes the main parts of the body. Recalling in the first line, like in Sonnet 18, a well-known Petrarchan conceit (this time praising the lady's eyes that are as beautiful and bright as the sun), the speaker firmly refutes it and provides a negative blazon of his beloved's physical features:

> My mistress eyes are nothing like the sun;
> Coral is far more red than her lips red;
> If snow be white, why then her breasts are dun;
> If hairs be wires, black wires grow on her head. (Shakespeare, Sonnet 130, ll. 1–4)

The speaker makes it clear that his mistress does not conform to the Petrarchan ideal of beauty: not only her eyes, the colour of her hair and her complexion, but her voice, her breath and her way of walking are not similar to those of a goddess:

> I love to hear her speak, yet well I know
> That music hath a far more pleasing sound;
> I grant I never saw a goddess go:
> My mistress, when she walks, treads on the ground. (Shakespeare, Sonnet 130, ll. 9–12)

Still, in contrast to the whole argument, the closing couplet, in an epigrammatic way, now refutes the charges against the lady and a new compliment is coined from all these negatives: although the speaker's beloved is not a divine being, she is still loveable, remarkable and apparently irresistible:

> And yet, by heaven, I think my love as rare
> As any she belied with false compare. (Shakespeare, Sonnet 130, ll. 13–14).

Alistair Fowler (1982: 185) considers Sonnet 130 as a burlesque blazon in Petrarchan form, but it seems that there is more to the poem than just caricaturing the style and spirit of Petrarchan convention. By his skilful use

of irony Shakespeare does not simply ridicule conventional clichés, but – similarly to his technique in Sonnet 18 – transcends the area of satire and extends the borders within which serious love poetry can be created. In other words, he does the same as in the earlier discussed sonnet, although this time employing humour: he opens new possibilities in love poetry, which is basically poetry of praise, defying Petrarchan standards and making his object of love surpass conventional descriptions.

Shakespeare's sonnets, discussed above, exemplify his frequent concern with Petrarchan style and his use of irony to find new ways of treatment of Petrarchan topics and, in particular, of formal elements of Petrarchan convention. Sir John Davies in his "Gullinge Sonnets," seemingly focused also on the matters of Petrarchan style, pushes the irony much further and comes up with a short sequence of satiric parodies, which – in Alistair Fowler's view – can also be read as "delicate mock sonnets" (Fowler 1982: 185). There are only nine sonnets in this cycle, which was never published in Davies's lifetime, but must have been composed some time after 1594. It was the year of the publication of an anonymous sonnet sequence entitled *Zepheria*, which inspired Davies's parodies and was mentioned specifically by name in his text.

Already the title of the sequence signals satirical intentions since in Elizabethan English 'a gull' meant 'a fool' or 'a dupe', and 'to gull' stood for 'to dupe', to 'take in'. The poems are about such a 'gull' in love, a foolish and ridiculous figure, who already in the first sonnet is described as greatly suffering and groaning "under a burthen of his Mistress' love" (l.1), so that the gods of Fate transform him into "a patient burden-bearing Asse" (l. 14). The title may also mean the poems that are to deceive the reader who wants to read about ideal love, but, instead, is presented with an image of a lover that is absolutely contemptible.

As has been the case in the other sonnet sequences, in "The Gullinge Sonnets" the unhappy lover is also the speaker in the poems. It is primarily in this capacity as a poet that he becomes the target of Davies's satire. The speaker in "The Gullinge Sonnets" has little control over his metaphors, which are applied literally or extended too far into the objective reality, naturally with ludicrous results. Davies parodies this inability to use the poetic language properly in several sonnets (2, 4, 7 and 8), the most ridiculous being the extension of the analogy in Sonnet 2 between a single unhappy thought (that came from "that poisonous beauty") which influences the poet's general state of mind and a diseased sheep that spreads infection throughout the whole flock. The end of the sonnet explains the poet-lover's problem with his thoughts in the following way:

Daily it spreads, and secretly doth creep
Till all the silly troup be overgone;
So by close neighbourhood in my breast
One scurvy thought infecteth all the rest. (Davies, Sonnet 2, ll. 11–14)

The majority of the sonnets satirize rhetorical devices, frequently employed by less talented Elizabethan sonneteers, which enabled the authors to substitute repeated stock phrases for a real development of argument in their poems. For instance, Sonnet 3 parodies the device of *reduplicatio*, in which the last word or words of one line are repeated at the beginning of the next. Already the first six lines of the poem demonstrate such an attack of confusing and thoughtless verbiage that does not seem to lead anywhere:

What Eagle can behold her sunbright eye,
Her sunbright eye that lights the world with love,
The world of Love wherein I love and die,
I live and die and diverse changes prove,
I changes prove, yet still the same I am,
The same am I and never will remove… (Davies, Sonnet 5, ll. 1–6)

The most ridiculous, however, is a parody of what Fowler (1982: 185) calls "sartorial blazon of love", which attempts to express the emotions of the poet-lover by means of the articles of clothing, typical of an Elizabethan courtier, which are to be worn by Cupid (traditionally represented as naked). The speaker announces that he intends to dress Cupid "with his own pen", starting with the god's head and moving down to his feet:

His hat of hope, his band of beauty fine,
His cloak of craft, his doublet of desire,
Grief for a girdle shall about him twine;
His points of pride, his Iletholes of ire,
His hose of hate, his Codpiece of conceit. (Davies, Sonnet 6, ll. 5–9)

Among the remaining items are "his stockings of stern strife", "his shirt of shame", "his pantofels of passions" and, in the end, the hilarious "socks of sullenness exceeding sweet." All the phrases are clearly meant to be absurd, alliteration being the only reason for pairing off particular items of clothing and emotional states of the lover.

The question arises here is whether the parody in "The Gullinge Sonnets", which makes use of irony without much restraint, brings about a destruction of Petrarchan convention. It seems that the deadly blow had not been dealt yet with this satire of gulling wit. The destruction that we witness in the sequence is that of the conventional poet-lover who, being a witless gull, no longer evokes pity in us as an unhappy victim of love. The lady is

not made fun of, the importance of ideal love in human life is not deeply undermined either. If we are to believe Davies's Dedicatory Sonnet, addressed to Sir Anthony Cooke, which preceded the sequence, the poet's aim was only to satirize the work of poor sonnet-writers, "the bastard sonnets of these Rymers base," whose numbers were growing "to their own shame and Poetry's disgrace" (Sanderson 1975: 52). He also wanted to correct this situation, with the support of the men of the royal Court (hence his address to Sir Anthony).

5. Conclusion

The poems discussed above all demonstrate various uses of irony, but they can be still perceived as illustrating what Hallett Smith called "the Elizabethan quest in the Petrarchan sonnet tradition", which aimed at finding in love poetry "variety, passion, invention, and plausibility" (Smith 1968: 176).

If looked at from this angle, Sidney's, Drayton's, Spenser's and even Shakespeare's sonnets do not radically break the rules of Petrarchan convention: they play with its main elements, without destroying the whole. Auto-irony, often delicate, in Sidney's poems is the early instance of asserting "poetic identity and the uniqueness of his experience" (Ewbank 1981: 22). Drayton's less poetically attractive way to use irony aims entirely at the ridicule of the speaker, who – as the main actor on the Petrarchan scene – brings the convention once almost to its limit. The tendency to make the poet-lover a target of ironic thrusts of the authors of the sonnets culminates in Sir John Davies's parodies which, however, focus more on the language and style of the Petrarchan speaker than on his attitudes. In Spenser's sonnets the lady is at the centre of poetic attention and it is she – still remaining the Petrarchan object of worship – who changes the conventional direction of love at the end. Shakespeare's use of irony is more sophisticated: his target, like in Davies's parodies, is the cliché language of Petrarchan poetry, but in his case the ironically treated hackneyed elements of style are applied to a new, complimentary use. Thus, what appears as his anti-Petrarchism is, in its essence, another bow to the convention of the excessive praise of the object of love.

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Rendering the Peculiarities of Style: Witkacy in Translation

1. Introduction

Among the Polish avant-garde artists, Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz, better known as Witkacy, stands out as an immediately recognizable stylist. Just like his visual creations, which are relatively easy to identify, Witkacy's writings possess distinctive features: the fusion of his idiosyncratic language and an expressive, painterly manner of representation results in an entirely new quality in Polish literature. What challenges does this style pose for the translator? How to make the essential strangeness and uniqueness of Witkacy's texts available to an English reader? This essay will attempt to answer these questions by referring to the translations by Daniel Gerould (occasionally assisted by collaborators, for instance his wife Eleanor or C. S. Durer) and Louis Iribarne. Thanks to the work of these people (Gerould in particular), Poland's chief modernist polymath has garnered significant reception in the English-speaking world. Nearly all of his plays have been rendered into English and staged in various locations across the globe – most recently in New York, Dublin and Melbourne.[1] Witkacy's name is included

[1] A futuristic version of *The Madman and the Nun* was staged in April 2014 as one of Off-Off-Broadway productions. Another staging of the same play took place in June 2014 at Dublin's Smock Alley Theatre, with Witkacy advertised as "a Polish Beckett". The Auto da Fe Theatre Company from Australia is currently preparing a series of readings from Witkacy's texts, as well as the staging of *Tropical Madness*. The Polish witkacologists' website: www.witkacologia.eu offers regular updates on Witkacy's reception abroad.

in major anthologies of drama, textbooks and reference books (e.g. Martin Esslin's classic *Theatre of the Absurd* or *The Oxford Illustrated History of Theatre,* edited by John Russell Brown); from time to time his achievement is also celebrated during scholarly sessions, literary and theatre festivals (e.g. the 2010 Witkacy Symposium in Washington, or Witkacy 2009 Festival in London). Without good translations, success abroad would not be possible, but to what degree is Witkacy really translatable?

2. Witkacy's phantasmagoric worlds

Reading Witkacy's work, or watching his plays on stage, entails an encounter with a non-mimetic universe. Characters bear impossible names, and the cast may include a Chinese Mummy, an Aboriginal king, a hermaphrodite called Masculette, Richard III borrowed from Shakespeare, or even Beelzebub himself. Corpses rise from the dead and resume their earthly existence, thugs are capable of leading philosophical discussions, madmen run lunatic asylums whereas nuns are creatures of carnal passion. Anything can happen in the Theatre of Pure Form, free from the demands of psychological realism, chronology and logic. Similarly Witkacy's novels, although not written according to the same theoretical principles as plays, conjure up phantasmagoric worlds. For instance, in the closing chapter of *Farewell to Autumn*, Athanasius Bazakbal, prior to being shot by a Russian squadron, journeys through the mountains and feeds a she-bear with cocaine. In *Insatiability* the protagonists indulge in pseudo-intellectual banter and numb their senses with the Murti-Bing pill, while the country is threatened with a Sino-Bolshevik conquest.

Witkacy's aesthetic method is hyperbolic, excessive, and overflowing with the grotesque. He frequently introduces estrangement and ominous tension, mixes heterogeneous elements and conflates the seemingly opposing concepts (such as life and death, in his characteristic device of a dead man/woman walking, a revived corpse). Binary pairs are challenged, boundaries blurred, identities difficult to define. As Daniel Gerould points out, Witkacy's works are more suitable for our world than for his own: he "can be regarded as one of the first postmodern playwrights" (2004: xxiii).

3. A painter's eye

Another aspect of Witkacy's writing style is the influence of his painterly imagination. A talented artist in both capacities, he succumbs to the twinned impulses driving his creativity and "paints with words". By using

tactile or kinetic imagery, and multiplying sensory responses through figurative language, Witkacy unveils before the reader what he sees with his mind's eye. Defamiliarization is his favourite trick: the most mundane sights and phenomena suddenly appear strange, as if we were confronting a totally alien cosmos. This is well visible in character descriptions:

> Prokurator Robert Scurvy – twarz szeroka, zrobiona jakby z czerwonego salcesonu, w którym tkwią inkrustowane, błękitne jak guziki od majtek oczy. Szczęki szerokie – pogryzłyby na proszek (zdawałoby się) kawałek granitu" (Witkiewicz 1985: 486).

> Prosecuting Attorney Robert Scurvy – A broad face, as if made out of red headcheese, in which are incrusted eyes pale blue as the buttons on underpants. Wide jaws – they'd grind a piece of granite to a fine powder (that's how it seems). (Witkiewicz, transl. by D. Gerould and C. S. Durer, 1993: 167)

> [Doktor Riexenburg] robił wrażenie statywu od jakiegoś mierniczego przyrządu; zdawało się, że członki jego mogą być odśrubowane i włożone jeden w drugi. Przy tym miał pozór elastyczności pewnej części ciała byka. (Witkiewicz 1992: 33)

> [Doctor Riexenburg] resembled a tripod used to support some kind of surveying instrument; it seemed that his limbs could be unscrewed and the pieces put into one another. And moreover, he himself appeared to possess the elasticity of a certain part of a bull's anatomy. (Witkiewicz, transl. by D. Gerould, 1993: 52–53)

Scrutinised by the artist's gaze, Witkacy's protagonists are like creatures from the cabinet of curiosities: odd, entangled in matter, hopelessly misshapen. Interestingly, their emotional states and even aesthetic experiences are also depicted in such a palpable, direct manner. Consider, for instance, the inner turmoil of Genezip Kapen, emerging into maturity, or the sensations of a theatre audience, exposed to a disquieting spectacle:

> Genezyp poczuł w sobie jakiegoś okrutnego polipa, który czepiał się ścian jego duszy, lepkich i zaognionych, i pełzł wyżej i wyżej (w kierunku mózgu może?), łaskocąc przy tym wszystkie nieczułe dawniej miejsca, rozkosznie i niemiłosiernie. (Witkiewicz 1992: 41)

> Genezip felt a hideous polyp fasten itself to the hot, viscous walls of his soul and start crawling higher (in the direction of his brain?), tickling as it went, mercilessly and with obvious relish, hitherto dormant regions. (Witkiewicz, transl. by L. Iribarne, 985: 28)

> Stargana za trzewia publiczność opadła jak jeden flak, po pierwszym akcie, w fotele. Każdy zdawał się sobie jakimś fantastycznym klozetem, w który tamta

banda bezczelnie srała i targała potem, gorączkowo i bezlitośnie, za rączkę z łańcuszkiem – ostatni wentyl bezpieczeństwa. (Witkiewicz 1992: 390)

After the first act, the gut-wrenched audience sank back into their chairs like one limp intestine. Each pictured himself as some sort of preposterous toilet, into which that gang below had been shitting, then frantically and mercilessly tugging on the chain handle – the last safety valve. (Witkiewicz, transl. by L. Iribarne, 1985: 338–339)

Striking and intense, such imagery is not easily forgotten: there is no match for Witkacy in Polish literature when it comes to physicality of descriptions. He has an eye both for the monstrous and the beautiful and is always attentive to detail when rendering colour, shape and texture of things. The visions he conjures could easily be transferred onto the canvas, like in this representative example of landscape depiction:

…szli po skrzypiącym śniegu wielką płaszczyzną, ciągnącą się ze cztery kilometry, aż do czerniejącej na horyzoncie ludzimierskiej puszczy. Gwiazdy mrugały mieniąc się tęczowymi blaskami. Orion płynął już równolegle na zachód nad widmowymi szczytami gór w oddali, a na wschodzie podnosił się właśnie zza horyzontu olbrzymi czerwonawy Arkturus. Ametystowe niebo, rozświetlone na zachodzie od tylko co zapadłego księżycowego sierpa, baldachimiało, kopuliło się nad wymarłą ziemią z jakimś fałszywym w tym momencie majestatem. (Witkiewicz 1992: 87–88)

…they marched through the crunching snow across a vast plain that stretched some four miles before reaching the Ludzimierz forest that was now darkening the horizon. The stars sparkled overhead with a rainbow-hued glitter. Orion was already drifting toward the west, paralleled to the spectral summit of the mountains in the distance, while rising up in to the east, up from behind the horizon, was enormous, orange-red Arcturus. Illuminated in the west by the fading crescent of the moon, the amethyst sky arched like a canopy above the deserted earth with a sort of counterfeit majesty. (Witkiewicz, transl. by L. Iribarne, 1985: 58)

The quote reveals the sensitivity of an accomplished painter. Witkacy's translators must possess visual imagination in order to render his style effectively into the target language.

4. Linguistic creativity

Perhaps the greatest difficulty with translating Witkacy lies in the uniqueness of his linguistic inventions. He narrates his worlds in a specific idiom, full of arresting phrases, weird similes, bold puns, and countless words of

his own coinage. His characters, too, speak in a mélange of bohemian banter, philosophical discourse, colloquialisms, sentimental clichés, scientific jargon, intrusions from highlanders' dialect, borrowings and vulgarisms. The combination often produces comic results, as in the bohemian salon conversation in *The 622 Downfalls of Bungo,* when the artist Tymbeusz addresses Baron Brummel with the following string of invectives:

> Pan jest bydlę, wstrętne bydlę! Pan ma brzuch z czerwonej flaneli, pan ma głowę pokrytą ołowianym śluzem! (*662 upadki Bunga, czyli demoniczna kobieta*, p. 78)

> You are a beast, abominable beast, sir! You have a red-flannel belly, and your head is coated with leaden slime! (transl. by I. Curyłło-Klag)

The collision between the high and the low ("beast, sir"), imagery appealing to various senses, in this case visual and kinesthetic ("a red-flannel belly"), a quasi-scientific metaphor ("head coated with leaden slime") constitute this characteristically Witkacian turn of phrase. He is playing with language to the extent of being almost untranslatable, for example when he combines dialect with academic jargon: "A dyć to jest dialektyka pirsej wody kublastej" (Witkiewicz 1985: 542) / "So that's your new dialectics of the first waterbucket" (Witkiewicz, transl. by D. Gerould and C. S. Durer, 1993: 212), or modifies idiomatic structures: "Pożal się Boże, jeśli masz komu" (Witkiewicz 1992: 393–394) /"God help yourself – if you can" (transl. by I. Curyłło-Klag). There is also the difficulty of rendering multilingual puns, where, e.g., the English of the original has to be substituted with other languages to retain the effect of strangeness: "smrood – po angielsku dla tych, co nie lubią ordynarnych wyrażeń" (Witkiewicz 1992: 432) /"'stink' – (or *shtink*, to give it a more Russian pronunciation, for those of you who are not fond of ordinary words)" (Witkiewicz, transl. by L. Iribarne, 1985: 376).

Witkacy uses highly idiosyncratic expressions both in his fictional and non-fictional texts, and his characters speak in the same manner. As the critic Jan Kott points out, there is not much variation of language between particular protagonists, or *dramatis personae*; all of them use the lingo peculiar to their author, no matter if they happen to be "servants, children, or executioners" (Kott 1984: 74). They just cannot be expected to use plain Polish: their speech must suit the unconventional framework of Witkacy's fictional and theatrical worlds. Even the most unassuming figures are likely to utter memorable statements. For instance, Gajowy Maszejko, a character from *Country House* (Griswold the Bailiff in the English version), famously reports that "wszystkie suki zborsuczyły się dziś o szóstej na folwarku" (Witkiewicz 1998: 16)/"all the thoroughbred bitches in the kennels started

mongrelizing" (Witkiewicz, transl. by D. Gerould, 1997: 8). Known to generations of Polish secondary school pupils for whom the play is a set text, the neologism 'zborsuczyć się'[2] has entered popular use, like many other terms of Witkacy's invention, e.g. 'kobieton' ('masculette'), 'glątwa' (meaning 'hangover' and sounding similar to Polish 'klątwa,' i.e. 'curse'), or 'pyfko' (from Polish 'piwko,' a diminutive form of 'piwo,' i.e. 'beer'). Most Poles are also familiar with Witkacy's imaginative expletives and invectives from the famous play *The Shoemakers*, such as for instance "wy kurdypiełki zafądziane" (Witkiewicz 1985: 508)/ "you unwiped fatasses" (Witkiewicz, transl. by D. Gerould and C. S. Durer, 1993: 184), or "sturba ich suka malowana, dziamdzia ich szać zaprzała" (Witkiewicz 1985: 495)/"son of a sucking prunt, the stupid, lousy, crock-picking skonkies" (Witkiewicz, transl. by D. Gerould and C. S. Durer, 1993: 170).

Translating the author whose language is so unique is a daunting task, for it requires a comprehensive approach. One has to immerse oneself in his strange world, embrace his culture, and then re-invent his idiom in a foreign tongue to achieve similar quality, a bit like one would proceed when recreating Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* in a new linguistic context.

5. Witkacy's translators into English and their strategies

Witkacy has been blessed with two very good translators, who have rendered most of his *oeuvre* into English. The more prolific and better-known of the two was Daniel Gerould, whose death in February 2012 constituted a great loss to the community of witkacologists and avant-garde theatre scholars. Having seen a performance of *Kurka wodna* (*The Water Hen)* in a theatre in Warsaw in the mid-1960s, Gerould decided to learn Polish and then, in the course of his long career, he translated virtually all Witkacy's plays (some in collaboration with C. S. Durer or Eleanor Gerould), as well as many of his theoretical texts and fragments of fiction. The other notable Witkacy's translator is Louis Iribarne, once a student of Czesław Miłosz at the University of California, now a retired Professor of Slavonic studies at the University of Toronto. Iribarne has translated *Insatiability*, Witkacy's major long novel, and his only work of fiction which is available in English in its entirety.

Gerould's and Iribarne's translations have played a crucial role in popularizing Witkacy in the West, and both scholars have gained recognition

[2] Literally, the expression 'zborsuczyć się' means 'become like a badger' ('borsuk'), but it also contains an echo of 'suka', i.e. 'bitch'. It is now used to denote a situation when something goes wrong, or does not work.

for their achievement.[3] Their work was prompted by a youthful fascination: having stumbled upon Witkacy in the early stages of their academic adventure, neither Gerould nor Iribarne knew much Polish when they first decided they must introduce American audiences to the strange east-European writer. Enthusiasm made them curious about Witkacy's culture, and motivated them to explore his unique language to get a firmer grip on the meaning he had intended.

In a text entitled *Encounters* Gerould describes his relation to Witkacy's work as extremely personal, almost intimate. He emphasises the need for an "immersion in [his favourite] author's life" (2007: 349), to the extent that:

> Translator and author make an inseparable pair; they are twins, the more identical the better. You say to your author, "I am you." Your author replies, "You are me." In fact, you have become your author and perhaps found yourself. (Gerould 2007: 350)

Later on, he uses an even stronger word – possession:

> After translating your author for many years you begin to feel that the author belongs to you. This is a form of possession—you possess the author. After all, in your country the author speaks your words, you speak for the author. But at the same time, the author possesses you and you belong to him. (Gerould 2007: 350)

Such extreme closeness was also what Gerould attempted in translation, striving to remain as faithful to the original as possible. The word-for-word exactness was relatively easy to achieve in prose, especially when rendering just selected passages from longer narratives, as in *The Witkiewicz Reader*. In such instances, Gerould seems perfectly transparent as a translator, keeping the structure and length of Witkacy's text, and finding felicitous turn of phrase:

> Miewał on czasami chwile pokus w kierunku czynów przeciwnych jego najgłębszej istocie, a nawet zgubnych. Jadąc pociągiem na przykład musiał się często trzymać, aby nie sięgnąć do kieszeni i nie wyrzucić za okno pieniędzy i koniecznych dokumentów lub żeby w towarzystwie zacnych matron i poważnych starców nie wymówić nagle jakiegoś dobitnie świńskiego wyrazu. (Witkiewicz 1992: 116)

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[3] Among the many institutions that have awarded prizes to Daniel Gerould are The Polish International Theatre Institute, the Polish Authors Agency, The Jurzykowski Foundation and the American Council of Polish Cultural Clubs. Louis Iribarne was a finalist of the U.S. National Book Award, for his translation of Czesław Miłosz's *The Issa Valley* in 1985.

> At times he felt strongly tempted to commit acts that were contrary to his innermost essence and potentially ruinous. When travelling by rail, for example, he often had to restrain himself forcibly from reaching into his pocket and throwing all his money and identification papers out of the window, or from blurting out some choice obscenity in the presence of proper matrons and staid elderly gentlemen. (Witkiewicz, transl. by D. Gerould, 1993: 65–66)

Even in pieces of much greater complexity and difficulty, such as excerpts from Witkacy's last, unfinished novel, *The Only Way Out*, Gerould strives to provide a near-identical, almost literal translation, although some of Witkacy's more inventive neologisms become neutralised. For instance, in the passage below, composite words such as 'punktochwila' or 'bezdnia', are supplanted with slightly less poetic equivalents – 'centre point' and 'abyss', respectively. The word 'wklęsał' is rendered as 'foundered', which suggests sinking rather than assuming concave shape. On the other hand, the translator creates a grotesque effect when he prefers 'crawling *ventre à terre*' over the more faithful 'riding *ventre à terre*',[4] thus perhaps compensating for his previous neutralising translation choices:

> Po prostu machając ukochaną malakką (pseudo) wychylał się w przestrzeń usianą miriadem słońc płonących astronomicznym światłem i rozrzedzonych do ostateczności mgławic, ziejących najprzenikliwszymi promieniami jak „z cebra". Horyzont wklęsał – wszystko zapadało w nieskończoność bezdni czterowymiarowej hiperprzestrzeni: bezpośrednio przeżywał koncepcje Minkowskiego à la Whitehead jadąc ventre a terre na punktochwili, w której skupiały się koordynaty czterowymiarowego continuum o heterogenicznych mimo wszystko elementach. Ta chwila długo trwać nie mogła – pękła, i to właśnie w formie „owej" kompozycji. Gdy ją ujrzał w mglistych zarysach na tle wygwieżdżonej ponad domkami przedmieścia Dajwór (już realnej teraz, jako ziemskie niebo) ciemności, ziemia znów stała się ziemią, zwykłą codzienną, obmierzłą dziurą, a idący stwór człowiekiem, wstrętną „bratnią" pokraką, symbolem ograniczenia i ułomności. (Witkiewicz 1993: 144)

> Casually swinging his beloved (pseudo) malacca cane, he leaned out into space strewn with myriads of suns from nebulae blazing with astronomical lights and rarefied to the vanishing point as they emitted penetrating rays seemingly "by the bucketful." The horizon foundered– falling headlong into the infinite abyss of fourth-dimensional space: Marcel directly experienced Minkowski's concept à la Whitehead crawling *ventre à terre* at the center point where the coordinates of the fourth-dimensional continuum and its grudgingly acknowledged heterogenous elements all converged. The moment could not last long – it burst, and in so doing assumed the form of the "aforesaid" composition. When he caught sight of it dimly outlined against the backdrop of starlit darkness (now more real, seen as an earthly sky) above the houses of the Daivur district, the earth be-

[4] '*ventre à terre*' – Fr. 'at full speed'

came the earth again, an ordinary, everyday dingy hole, and the walking creature turned out to be a man, a repulsive "fraternal" freak, symbol of limitation and infirmity. (Witkiewicz, transl. by D. Gerould, 1993: 296)

In Gerould's translations of plays concerns other than faithful rendering of the original seem to take priority. What becomes important is the tempo and flow of utterances, their rhythm and rhyme. Being a playwright himself, Gerould was fully aware of the requirements of the stage: as he observed, in the case of dramatic translation, "the translator not only translates the author, the translator represents the author to the world, serving as a matchmaker, trying to pair the author off with a theatre" (Gerould 2007: 349). For the sake of making Witkacy "playable" in English, Gerould sometimes allowed himself greater liberty with dramatic texts. One of his more controversial decisions was, for instance, transferring the action of *Country House* from the Polish setting of Kozłowice to what seems more of an English haunted mansion.[5] Yet as far as the style of the translation is concerned, the play is coherent and proceeds smoothly, with very few departures from the original, noticeable in the more challenging excerpts, such as Cousin Jibbery's poetry:

Siostrzyczki spijają z kieliszków jak naparstki
Bladozieloną truciznę, straszliwy, blady jad.
Za chwilę umrą – już w kurczach ściskają się garstki,
Już szyjki gną się jak łodygi i jedna główka zwisła jak więdnący kwiat. (Witkiewicz 1998: 40)

The two little sisters from a tiny goblet sup
Pale green poison, pale green poison, translucent, gruesome bane.
They soon will be dead—their little fingers in spasms curl up.
Now their soft necks bend like tender stalks, and one head drooped like a flower thirsting for rain. (Witkiewicz, transl. by D. Gerould, 1997: 22)

The lines in the English version contain repetitions and tiny changes of meaning, they are also longer by a few syllables than the original, but generally the idea of poor verse, marred by *fin de siècle* affectation has been

[5] *Country House* is in fact a parody of a lesser-known Polish play, *In a Small House*, written in 1904 by Tadeusz Rittner. Gerould was well aware of this fact: he discusses the intertextual dimension of Witkacy's drama in the *Introduction* to his translation. Assuming that allusions to Rittner's work might be lost on a wider audience, Gerould decided to move the play to a less specified setting and thus "call attention to its broader parodic impulses and associations with a variety of literary and dramatic genres flourishing in the early twentieth century" (Gerould's *Introduction* to Witkiewicz 1997: xviii).

conveyed successfully. Similarly in the translation of *The Shoemakers* the renderings of swearwords and blasphemies do not need to be very close to the original items, but their florid style and unmitigated flow must be retained, as in the following example:

> ty wandrygo, ty chałapudro, ty skierdaszony wądrołaju, ty chliporzygu bodwantroniony, ty wszawy bum… (Witkiewicz 1985: 508)

> you gazoony, you bahooley, you dejuiced soak-socker, you gutreamedpukeslurper, you lousy bum… (Witkiewicz, transl. by D. Gerould and C. S. Durer, 1996: 184)

By analysing Gerould's successive translations of Witkacy's texts, it is possible to observe that with time he developed an English equivalent to Witkacy's style, becoming ever more exact and nuanced in rendering the original meaning. The late translations gathered in *The Witkiewicz Reader* seem more assimilated to English language, or – to use Lawrence Venuti's term[6] – more 'domesticated' than the plays translated in the 1960s. Witkacy's other translator, Louis Iribarne, has also allowed the writer's style to grow on him, although it is more difficult to achieve it when dealing with one, extensive novel. His translation of *Insatiability* was first produced for a degree diploma, then it was revised for the first publication, and with subsequent reprints. Iribarne treated his task as a work in progress: even though his mentors Czesław Miłosz and Daniel Gerould deemed the translation "fine" when it first came out in 1977, he still found room for slight improvements. Here is an example of this translation strategy:

> Zaśmiał się gorzko, uświadomiwszy sobie swoje położenie. Ale to dało mu „nowy szturch". Nie czekać już tych chwil jak dawniej, tylko je tworzyć świadomie. Czym? Od czego wola? Jak? Zacisnął pięści z siłą, zdolną pozornie cały świat przetransformować na nowo w jego własny twór, w posłuszne mu bydlę, jak suka jego, Nirwana. (Witkiewicz 1992: 162)

> Seeing his present plight, however, he broke out laughing in an acrimonious manner. But this merely provoked him to go out in pursuit of such opportunities, instead of simply waiting around passively for them as in the past. But how? Where would he find the will? He clenched his fists with a ferocity that seemed capable of transforming the world anew into a creation of his own, into a docile beast akin to his bitch Nirvana. (Witkiewicz, transl. by L. Iribarne, 1985: 109)

> But seeing his present state, he broke out in a bitter laugh. This in turn acted as a provocation: you must force such moments to happen. But how? Where would he find the will? He clenched his fists with a ferocity that seemed capable

[6] See Venuti (1995) for his translation theories.

> of transforming the world into his own creation, into a docile beast akin to his dog Nirvana. (Witkiewicz, transl. by L. Iribarne, 1996: 137)

The revised version of the quote is more concise and sounds more natural to an English ear. The translator has given up on rare words such as 'plight' or 'acrimonious' for the sake of their more common synonyms: 'state', 'bitter'. The bitch Nirvana has been changed into a dog, probably to avoid misunderstandings ('bitch' could be taken for a swear word and make the meaning ambiguous, 'dog' does not carry such connotations). The neologism 'szturch' has not been supplanted by an English equivalent, but the phrase 'acted as a provocation' from the later quote is more accurate than the earlier 'merely provoked him' in that it approximates the noun-based structure of the original.

In "A Note about the Translation and Commentary" accompanying the early editions, Iribarne modestly reminds us that "[t]ranslation (…) is the art of failure" and claims that the book he has embarked upon is a work of "sufficient verbal complexity to defy translation" altogether (Iribarne, "A Note" to Witkiewicz 1985: np). Indeed, the text is challenging, given its sheer length: more than 400 pages of experimental and often disorderly prose. Witkacy considered fiction as a form requiring far less discipline than drama; he called novels "sacks" into which anything could be crammed (Witkiewicz 1976: 150).This attitude is also reflected in his chatty narrative style and convoluted, punning language. As one reviewer has pointed out, "Witkiewicz does not ration his words, but hurls them out by batallions in a mass of lengthy clauses" (Thompson 1978: 542). Iribarne's translation is successful at rendering Witkacy's verbal expansiveness, even though it does not adhere slavishly to every word and expression in the original. Sometimes, as the translator explains, "the need for lucidity seemed to justify sacrificing a felicitous phrase or particularly tortuous construction" ("A Note" to Witkiewicz 1985: np). But, being a former disciple of a poet, Iribarne executes his task with panache: *Insatiability* reads smoothly in all versions, giving the sense of a stylistically coherent whole.

6. Conclusion

A more relaxed attitude to the original where the emphasis falls on transferring the general mood of the text rather than rendering the exact sense of every word seems to be a necessary strategy when dealing with linguistically challenging writers. Translation then becomes an act of interpretation, a way of transferring these qualities which according to the translator matter the most, and make the source text successful. With Witkacy, it is rather

impossible to ignore his idiosyncratic style, so both Gerould's and Iribarne's translations aim at creating the English equivalents of his peculiar lingo. At its most difficult, the task is comparable to translating Joyce, as in the case of the following sentence, recurrent in Witkacy's plays and prose: "Miedzwalszczycy skarmią na widok Czarnego Beata, Buwaja Piecyty" (Witkiewicz 1998: 347 and 1992: 23, 27).[7] This mysterious line, ostensibly taken "from a dream in 1912" (Witkiewicz 1998: 347), poses a challenge to Witkacy scholars and translators alike; there is even a theory that it is a secret anagram, a code to be cracked. By way of concluding this essay, it is perhaps worth comparing its two translations, one proposed by Gerould in *The Anonymous Work*, another by Iribarne in *Insatiability:*

> The Grizzzloviks yelp at the sight of Black Beatus the Trundler. (*The Anonymous Work*, 171)

> The intralevelers feed at the sight of the black beatus, boovering moddly coddlers. (*Insatiability*, 10, 14)

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[7] In *Insatiability* Witkacy uses the same sentence, recounting the main protagonist's dream. There is a minor difference in spelling: the words 'czarnego beata, buwaja piecyty' are written in the lower case. The sentence is only partly intelligible: the dream is unpleasant, evokes a sense of guilt, and involves hairy beats: 'black beatus' may mean Satan himself. 'Skarmią' brings to mind the Polish 'skamlą', suggesting animal-like humiliation. 'Buwaj' may be a reference to a bull (a combination of the Polish 'buhaj' and the French 'bovine'), and 'piecyta' carries an echo of 'piec' – 'oven', which altogether might suggest sexual 'heat'. It is thought that Witkacy may refer to his own nightmare from 1912, when he was subjected to psychoanalytic treatment by doctor Beaurain.

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Irony in Confessional Discourse: John Banville's *The Untouchable*

1. The problem of style

In his study *The Problem of Style*, consisting of five lectures delivered at Oxford in 1921, John Middleton Murry (1967: 14) attempts to define the notion of a genuine style. "A [genuine] style," writes the critic, "must be individual, because it is the expression of an individual mode of feeling." As Murry adds, such a style may appear "peculiar" if the writer aims to describe an experience that transcends the common and the everyday. Opposed to genuine style is the notion of artificial style. A style becomes artificial if a writer deliberately makes his narrative unusual in order to win the approval or interest of his readers. "The test of a true idiosyncrasy of style", adds Murry, "is that we should feel it to be necessary and inevitable" (1967: 14).

Murry's subjective criterion of evaluating the style of a literary text will be of interest at the end of this analysis. Meanwhile, it is worthwhile to consider the definition of style which underlies it: style is understood here as a vehicle for one's thoughts and experience. While from the standpoint of the author, it can be said that his character and disposition precede and shape the style of his writing, the reverse is true from the vantage point of the reader: in the process of aesthetic reception, it is the individual style of the author that creates his image in the eyes of the readers. The latter observation applies not only to the author but also to the narrator, especially the homodiegetic first-person narrator.[1] In the books which have such a nar-

[1] A homodiegetic narrator is a narrator who is "present as a character in the story he tells" (Genette 1980: 245). The narrator of Banville's *The Untouchable* falls into this category, as is the case with all confessional narrators, including the narrators of Banville's *The Book of Evidence*, *Ghosts*, *Athena*, *Shroud* and *Eclipse*.

rator, it is important for the reader to know his characteristics in order to predict how he may interact with other protagonists. The task of forming a psychological portrait of such a narrator can be based on the analysis of his style; in other words, his particular manner of writing may show or hint at his characteristics, even if he is reluctant to write about them openly.

The analysis of John Banville's *The Untouchable* will concentrate on that constitutive feature of the narrator's style of writing which makes his narrative idiosyncratic, namely irony. Due to the fact that the subject of this chapter is irony in confessional discourse, the main emphasis will be put on the role of this rhetorical device in the examination and description of the narrator's thoughts and actions. Reflections upon the role of irony in *The Untouchable* will be concluded with more general comments on Banville's fiction, especially the nature of confessional discourse in his chosen novels.

2. Victor Maskell, Anthony Blunt and the case of the "Cambridge Five"

John Banville considers himself "a monologist essentially" (Kenny 2009: 24), and indeed his oeuvre is mostly comprised of first-person narratives, frequently of deeply personal and confessional bent. *The Untouchable*, published in 1997, belongs to this group. This confessional novel is narrated by Victor Maskell, an Irishman by descent and Englishman by choice.[2] In creating Maskell, Banville has been influenced by the controversial case of the Cambridge spies, who infiltrated the British Intelligence before and during World War II, and passed classified information to the Soviets.[3] Banville's narrator is largely based on the Cambridge spy Anthony Blunt, an art historian, who besides being a spy for the Soviet Union, was also Professor of the History of Art at the University of London, director of The Courtauld Institute of Art, and the surveyor of the Royal Collection. Blunt was unmasked as a spy in 1963 and confessed to his crime a year after. He agreed to reveal his subversive pre-war activity in return for full secrecy and immunity from persecution. For fifteen years his crime was known only to the Queen and the MI5. In 1979, however, Blunt was publicly exposed by Margaret Thatcher, which consequently led to his disgrace: he was stripped of his

[2] By the term *confessional novel* I do not mean autobiographical novels revealing the author's thoughts and actions, but novels written in confessional discourse and featuring fictional narrators. The extent to which the narrators' experiences can be identified with those of the author is a topic beyond the scope of this discussion.

[3] As Banville (1997: 13) admits, in creating Victor Maskell, he has also made extensive use of the biography and the works of an Irish poet Louis MacNeice.

knighthood, and ceased to be an Honorary Fellow of Trinity College. He died in London in 1983, aged 75.

Similarly to Blunt, Maskell is a former Russian spy recently unmasked by the Prime Minister. Having been exposed to public ignominy, he sets out to write a narrative – what he calls, "a memoir", "a scrapbook of memories", "notes toward an autobiography" (Banville 1998: 54)[4] – describing his life, most importantly, the circumstances leading to his crime. His memoir is also, in part, a journal, in which he narrates and comments upon events contemporaneous with the moment of writing, such as the meetings with his would-be biographer, a young woman called Serena Vandeleur. Although Maskell rarely uses the term in his narrative, his discourse can be termed confessional because it contains several key characteristics of this mode of self-expression.

3. Confessional discourse in *The Untouchable*

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines confession as "the disclosing of something the knowledge of which by others is considered humiliating or prejudicial to the person confessing" (Simpson and Weiner 1989: 703). This definition makes clear one important feature of this discourse: the fact that the information revealed by the confessional speaker or writer is viewed both by himself and by other people as humiliating and potentially harmful to his reputation. Despite the fact that the information disclosed in confession puts the writer at risk of losing his good name, he decides to write the narrative because he feels the need to order and examine his own chaotic and burdensome past.[5] In other words, the sense of being oppressed by his past is a factor which motivates his self-examination.

The idea that underlies confession is that the telling of one's shameful secrets can result in psychological and moral relief. This perception of confession can to some extent be attributed to Freud's notion of talking cure, but is in fact of much older provenance: it is derived from the understanding of confession as a sacrament. The aim of confession in Christian denomi-

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[4] Interestingly, Anthony Blunt, who inspired Banville to create the character of Victor Maskell, also wrote a memoir. Blunt began writing it after being exposed as a spy and left it with the instructions to reveal the document 25 years after his death. The 30,000 word manuscript was entrusted to the British Library and made public in 2009.

[5] As Axthelm (1967: 9) observes, the confessional writer's "suffering originates not in the chaos of the world but in the chaos within the self, and for him the only possible order or value must be found in self-understanding."

nations, especially the Catholic Church, is to confer absolution upon the penitent and to free him from the burden of his sins. In secular confession, including its literary realization, the terms penitent and absolution do not apply, but the need for change is felt just as keenly. Even the writers who distance themselves from the religious understanding of confession expect that the act of writing their first-person narratives will bring about a positive transformation in their attitude towards their past and life in general.

Victor Maskell can be called a confessional narrator because he has two crucial features of a confessional writer: he is ready to write about his past, including the actions which, with the benefit of hindsight, he considers shameful and potentially harmful to his reputation. The act of revealing his past takes place on the pages of his private journal, which he intends to leave after his death (he destroys all remaining private papers).

The difficulty with reading and interpreting Maskell's narrative lies in the fact that he has a tendency to dissemble his true thoughts and emotions. His narrative, which partly reveals and partly obscures his intentions, is par excellence an ironical one. As will be shown in this analysis, irony in Maskell's confession is a complex and intriguing mode of self-expression, which frequently challenges the reader to contemplate and evaluate the sincerity of his words.

4. Irony as a defensive strategy

"Irony is recognized if hearers in some manner notice a discrepancy between what a speaker says and believes, commonly called speaker and sentence meaning" (Barbe 1995: 51). This clear definition of irony points to its constitutive feature: the dissonance between the ironist's words and his disposition. The contrast is most blatant in the least nuanced example of irony, which can be called blame-by-praise, in which "flattery turns out on reflection to be the reverse of flattery" (Muecke 1986: 20). This instance of irony frequently occurs in *The Untouchable*. In the following fragment Maskell recalls the moment when he was unmasked publicly by Margaret Thatcher:

> I was listening on the wireless when our dear PM (I really do admire her; such firmness, such fixity of purpose, and so handsome, too, in a fascinatingly mannish way) stood up in the Commons and made the announcement, and for a moment I did not register my own name. […] The Department had already alerted me to what was to come–terribly rude, the people they have in there now, not at all the easygoing types of my day–but it was still a shock. Then on the television news at midday they had some extraordinary blurred photographs of me, I do not know how or where they got them […]. I looked like one of those preserved bodies they dig up from Scandinavian bogs, all jaw and sinewy

> throat and hooded eyeballs. […]. Now here I am, exposed again, and after all this time. (Banville 1998: 8)[6]

The quoted passage expresses not only Maskell's surprise, but also his criticism of the Prime Minister and the actions undertaken by her government. His comment about admiring the actions of the PM lends itself only to an ironical reading: it is clear even at the beginning of the book that Maskell is by no means a contrite criminal, willing to subject himself to the judgment of those in power. The same is true with the comment on the PM's "firmness" and her "fixity of purpose"; Maskell soon makes clear that he views her actions simply as a chaotic attempt to save her reputation.[7]

Even if Maskell's irony shows his opposition to the Prime Minister's decision, it simultaneously conveys his helplessness in the face of the oncoming events. Being in the situation in which he can no longer defend himself, he places himself in the role of a victim. This is clear in the last two sentences of the passage, in which he views himself through the eyes of the public and offers a description of himself as a mummified corpse. The discrepancy between this grotesque image and his self-centred attitude gives rise to irony, with the use of which he tries to distance himself from the traumatic event. Irony gives him the means to criticize the media and the politicians, and at the same time convey his feelings of shock and surprise, without expressing them overtly. This benefit of the understatement, which irony offers, is especially valuable to Maskell, who above all wants to appear calm and self-contained.

Understatement, which is an inherent feature of Maskell's narrative, frequently occurs in ironic utterances. As Hutcheon (1995: 37) comments,

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[6] It is worth noting that Maskell's account is in keeping with the historical reality. Blunt, similarly to Maskell, must have been surprised by Margaret Thatcher's announcement in the House of Commons in 1979, as it was by no means clear that the Prime Minister would disclose the secret information, and do so at short notice. Thatcher revealed Anthony Blunt's subversive activities at the request of a Labour MP, Ted Leadbitter, who requested that the she clarify the allegations concerning Soviet espionage during World War II. Thatcher did so only a week after Leadbitter's official request. More information about Anthony Blunt is available on the website of the BBC archives at http://www.bbc.co.uk/archive/cambridgespies/7818.shtml.

[7] Banville's novel is faithful even to the minute details of the scandal surrounding Blunt. Suspicions of his cooperation with the Soviets started with the publication of Andrew Boyle's book *Climate of Treason* on 5 November 1979. It may be argued that Margaret Thatcher's decision to expose Blunt ten days later, on 15 November, was a somewhat awkward attempt to counteract the possible criticism that the government had withheld this information from the public. Maskell implies this in the sentence: "Some writer fellow […] was about to identify me, but the government got in first, in what I must say was a clumsy attempt to save face" (Banville 1998: 8).

irony is a mode of discourse which is "asymmetrical, unbalanced in favour of the silent and the unsaid." Accordingly (Hutcheon 1995: 60), "[i]n interpreting irony we can and do oscillate very rapidly between the said and the unsaid." In Banville's novel the interplay between what is stated and what remains undisclosed is part of the game between the narrator and the narratee of the novel, Serena Vandeleur. During a series of interviews with Miss Vandeleur, Maskell takes care to present himself as an educated, cultured and forthcoming gentleman, who is sincere and ready to answer all questions. It soon becomes clear to the reader, however, that Maskell is highly selective in what he confides to his interviewer. In the game that he stages between himself and Miss Vandeleur, his task is to offer half-truths about his life as a spy, while Miss Vandeleur has no choice but to listen to his confession and try to probe deeper into his motivations. Needles to say, it is Maskell who has the upper hand in this encounter: Miss Vandeleur has no evidence for his subversive activities, and consequently no way of verifying the truthfulness of his account. The decision about the extent to which his life will be revealed belongs to him alone.

Maskell does not hide his perfidious strategy of narration from Miss Vandeleur. On the contrary, during their first meeting, he utters a statement which is provoking in its obscurity. When Miss Vandeleur asks him why he became a spy, he answers: "Why? […] Oh, cowboys and indians, my dear; cowboys and indians." The answer which Maskell gives is deliberately ambiguous; he cynically implies that the reasons for betraying England were banal and somewhat childish. He formulates this statement as a challenge to Miss Vandeleur: he is interested whether she will be able to see through his irony and evaluate the sincerity of his confession. Although his comment seems so banal as to be untrue, in the ensuing comment he entertains the possibility that it is in fact accurate: "It was true, in a way. The need for amusement, the fear of boredom: was the whole thing much more than that, really, despite all the grand theorising?" (Banville 1998: 22). As Maskell suggests, it might have been indeed the desire to act and to break the monotony of their lives that pushed him and other spies into action.

Maskell wants to prove his intellectual superiority over Miss Vandeleur by intentionally obscuring his motives for becoming a spy. By doing so, he wants to involve Miss Vandeleur into a game of truth and deceit, in which she would be forced to interpret his ambiguous hints and allusions. Rather than accept the challenge and play Maskell's game, Miss Vandeleur decides to step outside it and challenge its rules. After Maskell's extended allusion to the Stoic philosophy, by which he effectively proves her ignorance in the realm of ancient philosophy, she becomes irritated and openly asks him why he is determined to mock her. Surprisingly, he offers an honest reply to this

straightforward question: "In my world, there are no simple questions, and precious few answers of any kind. If you are going to write about me, you must resign yourself to that" (Banville 1998: 28). Maskell insists that he is a sophisticated and complicated individual, whose motivations cannot be set forth briefly and unambiguously.

It is a general feature of irony that it conveys "superior power or knowledge" (Muecke 1986: 47) of the ironist. Maskell uses this rhetorical device because it creates the impression that there are still things unsaid and thoughts left unuttered in his narrative, and therefore that he has managed to outwit Miss Vandeleur. By insisting on the complexity of his character, Maskell wants to show that it is exceedingly difficult or even impossible to grasp the true reasons for his actions. From this perspective, his deliberate obscurity can be seen as a strategy of self-defence: by using irony Maskell aims to forestall, or at least postpone the judgment of his actions.

5. Irony and the search for authenticity

Being an accomplished ironist, Maskell can distance himself not only from his own image as created by the media, but also from his task as a writer. His ability to reflect upon his narrative can be seen in the following comment, in which he asks himself about the reason for writing his memoir:

> What is my purpose here? I may say, *I just sat down to write*, but I am not deceived. I have never done anything in my life that did not have a purpose, usually hidden, sometimes even from myself. Am I […] out to settle old scores? Or is it perhaps my intention to justify my deeds, to offer extenuations? I hope not. On the other hand, neither do I want to fashion for myself yet another burnished mask… Having pondered for a moment, I realise that the metaphor is obvious: attribution, verification, restoration. I shall strip away layer after layer of grime–the toffee-coloured varnish and caked soot left by a lifetime of dissembling–until I come to the very thing itself and know it for what it is. My soul. My self. (When I laugh out loud like this the room seems to start back in surprise and dismay, with hand to lip. I have lived decorously here, I must not now turn into a shrieking hysteric). (Banville 1998: 8–9)

Maskell creates for himself a strictly confessional task–to reach the truth about himself–but he defines his goal by negation. First of all, he rejects the notion that his diary is a spontaneous and straightforward confession; on the contrary, he admits that there might be hidden motives underlying his writing, such as the desire to take revenge upon the people who have harmed him ("settle old scores"). Distancing himself from the idea that his memoir is an elaborate excuse, he accepts tentatively the notion of confes-

sion as an examination of the self. The task of self-examination is here compared to the painstaking renovation of a work of art: a meticulous process of removing the outer surface of a painting. Paradoxically, this understanding of his narrative is questioned by the ironic comment in parenthesis, in which he admits that he is laughing at his own attempts at self-discovery. Paradoxically, Maskell sets out on the task of self-analysis while at the same time questioning the notion of final truth about himself. He is a rather cynical confessional writer because he disbelieves in the sincerity of his own undertaking.

Maskell's cynicism results from the lack of belief in his own authenticity. As Kenny (2009: 82) observes, this disbelief stems from his career in military intelligence. Being a spy was for Maskell an exercise in ceaseless impersonation: when working with his English colleagues, he pretended to be a loyal compatriot, when dealing with the Soviets, he faked his belief in Marxism. As a result of his inability to fully invest his belief into either cause, he approached the question of his identity with scepticism, and continues to do so in his memoir. He asks himself: "Have I any authenticity at all? Or have I double dealt for so long that my true self has been forfeit? My true self. Ah" (Banville 1998: 288). The concluding interjection conveys his yearning for the long lost homogeneity of his identity, and, at the same time, the conviction that the true self can never be recovered.

Maskell perceives his identity as broken into a multitude of selves, or, as he writes, "the myriad rejected versions of myself" (Banville 1998: 223). The act of writing his memoir is an attempt to reconcile the conflicted version of himself: a patriot and a spy, a Royalist and a Marxist, a married man and a homosexual. Importantly, writing is not presented as a quest for self-discovery, but a creation and imposition of uniformity on the original complexity. As he puts it in a self-reflexive comment, "[t]he personal pronoun is everywhere, of course, propping up the edifice I am erecting, but what is there to be seen behind this slender capital?" (Banville 1998: 44). Writing is then an exercise in creating an unambiguous sense of identity, but the success of this task is already undermined by Maskell's doubts, expressed in the above-quoted sentence.

Maskell seems to have lost faith in the fruitfulness of self-examination. His highly sceptical attitude applies not only to the task of analysing the self, but affects his whole perception of the world, which is viewed as enormously complex, and resistant to any attempts to explain it. This conviction is also expressed by Gabriel Godkin, the narrator of *Mefisto* (1986), and the first of Banville's confessional heroes. Godkin is a talented mathematician who has spent his life trying to find an overarching pattern which could unravel the complexity of the universe. As he fails to find the longed-for

formula, he discovers that neither the universe nor the events in his life can be explained. As he confesses, "as once with numbers, so now with events, when I dismantled them they became not simplified, but scattered, and the more I knew, the less I seemed to understand" (Banville 1999: 187). In the process of self-analysis, Godkin discovers that his life eludes his attempts to impose one single pattern upon it.

The epistemologically sceptical stance of Banville's novels may be viewed as a reaction to such affirming statements of belief in postmodernism as the following: "[postmodernism] acknowledges the human urge to make order, while pointing out that the orders we create are just […] human constructs, not natural or given entities" (Hutcheon 1990: 41–2). This observation, which comes from Linda Hutcheon's influential study *A Poetics of Postmodernism*, is a confident statement of belief in postmodernist thought, whose value, Hutcheon claims, lies in its self-consciousness. A postmodernist thinker, according to this dictum, tries to make sense of the universe and his own place in it, but at the same time knows that those attempts are transcendent to the universe, which is by its nature protean and irreducible to any set of definitions or formulas. This approach has its advantages in that it is self-conscious and self-critical, but it also puts the philosopher under enormous strain. As a result of its adoption, the philosopher is torn between his search for a pattern and the awareness that no such pattern will give justice to the universe.

Banville in his novels illustrates the state of inner torment, which is caused by his narrators' involvement with the postmodernist thought. As Hand (2002: 4) aptly puts it, Banville's narrators are "caught between hope and despair, of being enthralled by the prospect of saying the whole world while simultaneously admitting the futility of any such act." What distinguishes Banville's fiction from other postmodern writers, adds the critic, is that "he feels deeply the loss of those grand narratives that explained the world and our place in the world" (Hand 2002: 4).

It seems that with Banville's novels, confessional fiction has fully entered the postmodern condition of "incredulity towards metanarratives." As Lyotard (1984: xxiv) adds in the introduction to his influential work *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, "the narrative function is losing […] its great hero, its great dangers, its great voyages, its great goal." This pessimistic statement is especially resonant in the context of the present discussion. What the confessional novel as a genre seems to have lost in the postmodern era is the great voyage of self-discovery. The notion of truth to be discovered in the process of self-analysis has always added momentum to the confessional task. St. Augustine or Jean-Jacques Rousseau wrote their confessions with a clear aim of discovering the truth about themselves; their

task of self-examination constituted a voyage into their inner self. With the appearance of postmodern epistemological scepticism, it seems that the confessional narrator has lost faith in the stable and fixed self-knowledge. Instead of a voyage, there are short and desperate forays into the unknown and vast territory of the self, from which the postmodern narrator returns with a sense of frustration.

6. Cynicism and honesty in confessional discourse

One common feature of all confessional narrators in Banville's novels is that they are all preoccupied by the question of their identity. Apart from Victor Maskell, other notable narrators in this group are Axel Vander in *Shroud* (2004) and Alexander Cleave in *Eclipse* (2002). Having spent years purporting to be someone other than they are, those narrators have lost their sense of true self. This painful awareness is perhaps best summed up by Alexander Cleave, whose lifelong work as a professional actor, was par excellence based on the elaborate art of impersonation. Writing about his identity, Cleave admits, "I really am a stranger to myself" (Banville 2002: 133), and thus admits that his long and arduous self-analysis ultimately remains inconclusive. A similar reflection is expressed by Axel Vander, an art historian whose academic career has been built on elaborate mystification. At the beginning of his narrative, Vander states that the source of his true identity remains obscure to him, and this stance remains unchanged throughout his confession.

There is a paradox which is inherent in the two mentioned confessional novels. This paradox consists in the fact that despite the narrators' disbelief in the sincerity of their own narrative and in the authenticity of their own identity, they continue the task of self-analysis. This contradiction is also clearly visible in Maskell's narrative, in which reflections on the impossibility of a true and stable identity meet with acute self-analysis, often accompanied by intimate confessions. Why does Maskell, despite his lack of belief in the felicity of his self-examination, continue writing his confession? The reasons for this perseverance may be various: it is possible that he writes his narrative out of indulgence (as he writes, "I do love the sound of my voice" (Banville 1998: 183)), or the desire to do justice to himself and to incriminate others. Finally, it is also possible that beneath the layers of irony and cynicism, Maskell feels a genuine need to confess his sins. The latter possibility, which is in stark contrast to the two mentioned earlier, is not as unlikely as it may seem, since he views confession as a means of lightening the burden of his past: at one point he entertains the possibility of telling his shameful past ("the litany of my sins" (Banville 1998: 166)) to his foster

mother. Although the understanding of confession as a sacrament seems alien to Maskell, it features in his narrative as a distant possibility.

Every confession, written or spoken, is an attempt to search for the truth about one's actions, and consequently every confessional narrative is an indirect proof that this truth indeed exists, or rather that the possibility of discovering it exists in the mind of the confessant. The extent to which Maskell is driven by the hope of learning more about his own nature remains unknown, but it is highly unlikely that as a self-conscious narrator he fails to appreciate this inherent goal of every self-examination. It is possible, then, to interpret Maskell's narrative as a tortuous, but sincere attempt at writing the truth about oneself, even if this truth is contentious and somewhat unsatisfying. His ambiguous stance is reflected in the style of his writing: it is the style of a man who expresses disbelief in the success of his undertaking, and at the same time invests his emotions and effort into it. In this paradoxical situation, irony is for him a valuable means of distancing himself from the frustrations connected with the writing of his narrative. This is clearly visible on the last page of his confession, when he decides to end his memoir and his life at the same time. Before committing suicide, he destroys all his private documents, and then turns his attention to his confession: "As to this–what, this memoir? this fictional memoir?–I shall leave it to [Miss Vandeleur] to decide how best to dispose of it" (Banville 1998: 367). The question about the sincerity of his account is left to Miss Vandeleur and the future readers, as Maskell signals that he is no longer interested in debating this issue. The strategy of evading reality by showing one's detachment from it is characteristic of his whole narrative.

In Maskell's confession, where little information is trustworthy, style becomes an important expression of the narrator's character and disposition. The fact that the reader can create a realistic and intriguing image of the narrator by analyzing his manner of writing is itself proof of the aesthetic achievement of Banville's novel. Indeed, referring to Murry's criterion of a genuine style, it can be argued that the idiosyncratic style of Maskell's confessional discourse conveys his character traits and personal convictions so aptly that it appears "necessary and inevitable" (Murry 1967: 14).

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The Way We Talk: Construction of Reality through Discourse in Harold Pinter's Plays

1. Introduction

Despite common assumptions about differences between literary language and ordinary conversation, the two discourses share a number of strategies. The essential difference is that one is written, while the other is spoken, but this does not necessarily constitute a *differentia specifica*, as exemplified by a dramatic performance. Drama, especially when performed on stage, is the only genre that is truly mimetic in the narrow sense: speech and dialogues can echo and imitate real life speech in a direct and obvious way which naturally bypasses some of the strategies involved in a highly complex processes of concretization occurring in the course of reading.

Peter Berger in his classical work *The Social Construction of Reality* says:

> Language originates in and has its primary reference to everyday life; it refers above all to the reality I experience (…) which I share with others (…) Language makes 'more real' my subjectivity not only to my conversation partner but also to myself. (…) This very important characteristic of language is well caught in the saying that men must talk about themeselves until they know themselves. (Berger 1984:53)

The research by the American social linguist Deborah Tannen on the role of language in human communication and relationships is a to a large extent based on the ideas of Peter Berger and Erving Goffman. Tannen, who analyses varieties of discourse used in social interaction, claims that:

> The comparison of spoken and written narratives suggests the insight that underlies the current research: that ordinary conversation and literary discourse have more in comon than has been commonly thought. (…) In reading the work of others, as well as in doing my own analyses of conversation, I encountered the findings that one or another linguistic strategy was characteristic of conversation which I recalled from my past life in English literature. They were the same strategies that, in my earlier studies of literature, I had learned to think of as quintessentially literary. (Tannen 2007: 30)

This directly mimetic effect I have referred to does not apply to the highly literary language of Shakespearean drama, or, to use a more recent example, to the poetic drama by T.S. Eliot, but it does apply to the kind of language often used in contemporary theatre, which may echo ordinary speech with uncanny accuracy. This is certainly the case of Harold Pinter's plays.

Interestingly, Pinter uses irony, repetition and symbol in a highly productive yet completely unobtrusive way which, when one is watching or even reading the play for the first time, may easily go unnoticed. Pinter's chief strategies correspond to those identified by Tannen through her empirical research on conversational discourse. She finds them indispensible since they create the involvement present in any spontaneous conversation, and her numerous examples demonstrate a variety of different forms of repetition, which perform the crucial function of giving coherence to interaction between people (Tannen 2007: 58).

2. *The Birthday Party:* nature and function of discourse

My example here is Pinter's early play *The Birthday Party*. As in most of his dramatic work, it is set in one place, a room in a run-down seaside boarding house, revolves around one event, the birthday party, and does not exceed 24 hours. What looks like classical unity is, however, deceptive; rather than contributing to coherence it intensifies the discord between banal appearance and disturbing indeterminacy, which generates unanswerable questions.

The dialogues progress from extremely banal and almost meaningless exchanges in the first act, focusing on the commonplace reality shared by the three characters, an elderly married couple, Meg and Petey, and their lodger, Stanley, through the suddenly menacing language dominating the evening party attended by mysterious new arrivals and marked by disruptions of behaviour, to culminate in a breakdown of speech, which results in the explosion of violence and the disintegration of the world constructed so far.

What could be seen as Pinter's literary variation of Berger's formula about the objectivating function of language, which makes the speaker's

subjective world more real both to his interlocutor and to himself (Berger 1984:53) is rendering the characters' talk about themselves as vitiated by falsification; that is, by talking about oneself, even *to* oneself, in terms of wishful thinking, that is, with reference to facts as one would like them to be, rather than as they are. When the characters seek a confirmation of their subjectivity, self-image or social role, more often than not they either delude themselves, like Meg, or Stanley, or they fail altogether.

Thus Stanely talks of his success as a pianist giving shape to his little story as it is unfolding: "all over the world" is corrected to "all over the country", "My father nearly came down to hear me" to "Well, I dropped him a card anyway" (Pinter 1968: 22), etc.

The dialogues, whose main function seems to be communication between the speakers are specific in that any communication that occurs is so superficial that it is almost non-existent. At a slightly deeper level than completely trivial and predictable, it usually fails. As a result, the reality denoted and constructed by the characters through the dialogue is never quite coextensive. The chance of success at establishing a common area of designation through speech acts regresses in the course of time.

The First Act opens in a most ordinary commonplace way, precluding interest. Repetitive small talk between an elderly couple, predictable questions and equally predictable answers bring no surprises and, quite obviously, echo similar exchanges from the past. Meg and Petey are sitting at breakfast and talking, or rather going through a familiar routine, an exchange of pseudo-questions and pseudo-answers. The only purpose of this exchange is reassurance derived from each other's presence, and confirmation of what is already taken for granted. The world designated by the language they share, however reduced and sterile, is familiar and secure. This is merely a semblance of contact, yet it is at least sufficient to stave off the sense of isolation.

They need to talk, and not to give or receive information or express emotions. Neither Meg's question when she hears her husband entering the living room "Is that you, Petey" nor his answer "Yes, it's me" have any semantic value; and this applies to the rest of their exchanges concerning the quality of the breakfast cornflakes and the content of the newspaper Petey is reading. The names Meg and Petey are diminutives, which may reflect their unconscious regression into the simplicity of childhood.

It is Meg who initiates the conversation, whose content is defined by her desire to have her world and her self-image confirmed by those she addresses. Out of habit and loyalty, her husband plays this game, which, through references to the newspaper society columns is symbolically extended to include non-existent relations with the wider world. The following exchange is a good example:

Meg: What are you reading?
Petey: Someone's just had a baby.
Meg: Oh, they haven't! Who?
Petey: Some girl.
Meg: Who, Petey, who?
Petey: Lady Mary Splatt. (Pinter 1968: 11)

At the same time, Meg, by asking questions about Petey's non-existant duties as a "beach attendant" confirms his public self as someone who has duties outside the house. No visitors to the seaside place, no holiday makers or swimmers, yet they could materialize one day; as indeed, two strangers, ostensibly in search of a room, shortly do materialize.

The mode of conversation changes slightly when the live-in guest, Stanley, joins the couple and subverts the established pattern by frustrating Meg's expectations through his teasing responses. To her ritual question how he likes his breakfast, he replies that it is horrible (which it may well be), and complains about the tea which he compares to gravy. By refusing to play the game, he refuses to cooperate in confirming the self image essential for her construction of reality; yet Meg ignores his criticism, which she prefers to take as a form of appreciative teasing. Meg needs Petey, who accepts his role; Stanley's provocative replies, although different in style, i.e. based on negation not affirmation, are equally predictable and, to her, fulfil the function of consolidating her self-perception as a still attractive and efficient woman, who is also a mother figure. Meg's flirtation with Stanley, although it meets with resentment, consolidates this image. The irony, both verbal and situational is based on Meg's deliberate misinterpretation of Stanley's words. His crude criticism is taken by her as inverted flattery, and Stanley's teasing, even if it conceals aggression, is not an expression of power.

Meg: I bet you don't know what it is.
Stanley: Oh yes I do.
Meg: What?
Stanley: Fried bread.
Meg: You didn't expect that, did you?
Stanley: I bloody well didn't. (Pinter 1968: 16)

The gap between what Stanley says and what he means is obvious, though Meg chooses to ignore it, as can be seen from another exchange.

Meg: Stanny! Don't you like your cup of tea of a morning – the one I bring you?
Stanley: I can't drink this muck. Didn't anyone ever tell you to warm the pot, at least? (Pinter 1968: 18).

3. Disruption of convention

The arrival of the two strangers, Goldberg and McCann, first announced by Petey, whom they approached on the beach, changes the range of fantasy-making language and adds new elements to the construction of Meg's world. The situational irony here consists in the fact that their arrival, which turns out to be Stanley's nemesis, confirms what Meg tries to project as her public role of the boarding house manageress. Meg is briefly questioned by the strangers whom she unwittingly provides with a clue as to how best to proceed, namely, she mentions Stanley's birthday, and Goldberg immediately suggests giving a party. She means well, and her naivete strongly contrasts with Goldberg's sharpness.

The two strangers introduce a new element into the familiar milieu and familiar predictable mode of speech, namely a sense of barely concealed threat.[1] From the start, they assume a position of power which is impossible to ignore and which brings about a change in the way each character constructs his/her world.

At first the strangers' sinister role is not quite obvious; it is only when they have the stage to themselves, moments before Meg appears, that their real purpose surfaces, and then is obfuscated by seemingly irrelevant talk about Golderg's uncle, whose function, regardless of his factual existence, is to reinforce the two men's power and determination. McCann's question about the job to be done is answered by Goldberg in sinister-sounding officialese in complete contrast to the former casual, seemingly incoherent speech.

> The main issue is a singular issue and quite distinct from your previous work. Certain elements, however, may well approximate in points of procedure to some of your other activities. All is dependent on the attitude of our subject. At all events, McCann, I can assure you that the assignment will be carried out and the mission accomplished with no exccessive aggravation to you or myself. (Pinter 1968: 30)

In her analysis of discourse, Sarah Mills, the British specialist in cultural studies, describes the conclusions from her research on power relations, which, as she demonstrates, can be negotiated through discourse, and those of a lower status can sometimes shift their position to their advantage. According to her,

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[1] In " Between the lines", John Russell Brown quotes Pinter's comment on his use of conflicting subtexts: "[t]he speech we hear is an indication of that we don't hear. It is a necessary avoidance, a violent, sly, anguished or mocking smokescreen which keeps the other in its place" (cf. *The Sunday Times* [4 March 1962], p. 25.

> there is no clear-cut distinction to be made between powerful talk, on the one hand, and powerless talk, on the other. Particularly through their verbal dexterity and use of language, those who are not in economically powerful positions, may nevertheless manage to negotiate for themselves fairly powerful positions in the hierarchy. (Mills 2007: 35)

This is what happens in Act II, where discourse strategies are directly linked to power relations: the superficially coherent speech gives way to the violent brainwashing of Stanley by McCann and Goldberg, of whom Stanley is evidently afraid; yet for a while he manages to hold his ground by speaking from a position of assumed authority, and tries to turn his persecutors out: "I run the house. I'm afraid you and your friend will have to find other accommodation. Get out" (Pinter 1968: 44). Interestingly, this echoes Meg's claims about her role as the one who is in charge. But the attempt to establish dominance and shift power relations through verbal resistance is short-lived and soon it is drowned in a deluge of ridiculous-sounding questions which alternate with equally absurd accusations. Stanley's first gesture of cooperation when he is trying to reply is equal to admitting defeat. The exchange between the increasingly frightened Stanley and his tormentors, Goldberg and McCann results in confusing and finally, almost paralyzing the obviously powerless Stanley. This is achieved through a rapid succession of often contradictory non-referential questions mixing up diverse discourses and impossible to place in a context. This verbal attack progresses from seemingly rational questions about his activities: "What were you doing yesterday?"; "What did you do the day before that?" to accusatory pseudo-questions which lack any coordinates and therefore preclude an answer. The question: "Why are you getting in everybody's way?" or "Where is your lechery leading you?" articulated from a position of power could only be challenged by a denial of the statement implied by the question, of which Stanley is no longer capable.

An increasingly confusing mode of interrogation, a mixture of conflicting discourses, starts from the everyday, and progresses through the quasi-philosophical, like: "Is the number 846 possible or necessary", "We admit possibility only after we grant necessity", the humourous "Which came first? Chicken or egg?", and through semi-political, obscure, but directly pertaining to real power-struggle Irish references which could (but do not have to) indicate a political motif for Stanley's persecution. This manner of intimidation through asking unanswerable questions culminates in out-of-context nonsensical queries, like "Why did the chicken cross the road?" or "Who watered the wicket in Melbourne?", alternating with direct accusations: "You betrayed our land", "You betray your breed" which can be taken

as implying some murky past connections. Stanley no longer tries to say anything, but emits inarticulate sounds. The interrogation ends up in direct abuse and in the final pronouncement: "You are dead. You can't live, you can't think, you can't love". The crushing of Stanley is reinforced by Goldberg taking his glasses away. Stanley's single (and final) effort at elocution is a question whether he may get them back. Goldberg obliges; yet the glasses are broken, an additional symbol of Stanley's complete break-down. From this crucial moment onwards, the already speechless Stanley also loses his capacity to see or act.

The arrival of Meg and Lulu dressed for the party and oblivious to what has been, and is still going on, puts a stop to the brutal scene. Before the party actually starts, the four participants form two pairs (Goldberg-Lulu and McCann-Meg) who engage, simultaneously, in two parallel dialogues, ironically enough, unaware not only of Stanley but also of their respective interlocutors. Godlberg starts by flirting with Lulu, and then goes on reminiscing about his past, while McCann resurrects his Irish memories, ostensibly addressing Meg and taking off from her reference to her father's visit to Ireland. How much of this is fabulation is never made clear, but it is not important; what matters is that both pairs are mostly talking to themselves and do not need acknowledgement.

The memory trip ends by a return to the present context, the party, and to the question about which game to play. Meg, fatally enough, suggests blind man's buff. The second act ends with an eruption of violence on Stanley's part. Having lost speech, he resorts to blows and attempted rape before he is constrained by Goldberg and McCann.

4. Language of manipulation and self deception

Act III opens with a slightly altered repetition of the original dialogue between Meg and Petey:

> Meg: Is that you, Stan?
> Petey: Yes?
> Meg: Is that you?
> Petey: It's me.
> Meg appearing at the hatch. Oh, it's you.
> (…)
> Meg: You got your paper?
> Petey: Yes.
> Meg: Is it good?
> Petey: Not bad. (Pinter 1968: 67)

This suggests that nothing has changed; as if the party did not happen. *Plus ça change, plus c'est la meme chose*. Instead of Stanley, supposedly still asleep, it is Goldberg who comes for his breakfast while Meg, untroubled, goes out shopping. When Stanley finally comes down, followed by McCann, he is mute and his glasses are broken. The recent brainwashing to which he has just been subjected echoes to some extent the interrogation in Act II, except that accusations and threats are replaced by ominous sounding promises of comfort, success and better life expressed in a parodied advertising jargon. The irony becomes savage. The offers, articulated from a position of superiority and dominance, change from the ordinary sounding "We'll renew your season ticket. We'll give you a discount" (Pinter 1968: 82–83) to the sinister:

> We'll make a man of you.
> And a woman.
> You'll be a mensch.
> You'll be reoriented.
> You'll be adjusted. (Pinter 1968: 83)

It is interesting to note the recurrence of the brainwashing jargon which emerges fifty years later in contemporary gender theory.

Whether any of this reaches Stanley is doubtful; he is speechless and seems oblivious of what is going on. In view of Goldberg's untypically grim mood preceding the order given to McCann to put the final (unspecified) pressure on Stanley, it could be, on the part of the persecutors, a bizarre self-protection procedure helping them to get over what has just happened ("Let's finish the bloody thing. Let's get the thing done and go" (Pinter 1968: 76)).

As before, the spectator never learns exactly what was the nature of the "bloody thing" to be accomplished. All he does see is the unresisting Stanley being led to the car by Goldberg and McCann, to be driven to some unknown destination. The symbolism is only too obvious: the long black car looks like a hearse; Stanley is now more like a corpse than a man.

Unlike real life, in which a form of internal verification of a dialogue is available, in Pinter's drama the self-contradictory and often incoherent speeches preclude such verification. The apparently realistic surface is illusive, and the initial banality of the langauge is undermined by a sense of hidden threat which is never defined, but which materializes in the form of the savage treatment of Stanley. Meg's limited power of comprehension, combined with a refusal to see, and verbal incompetence, disable and at the same time protect her. Her focus on the everyday blinds her to what is going on beneath the surface: thus her weakness is a form of survival strategy.

Meg's leaving before Stanley reappears looks like a symptom of this strategy which tells her not to hear or see.

At first, the dialogues seem dull, the characters barely articulate. It is only with the arrival of the two menacing figures Goldberg and McCann, whose real identity or status is never clarified, that the speech changes. It seems at first equally non-sequitur and commonplace as meaningless exchanges between Meg and Petey, but there is, from the very beginning, a subtext, an element of menace underneath banal phrases, which, intuitively, everyone does his best to ignore.

Listening to a Pinter dialogue, as it unfolds on stage, may well give the audience a near-perfect sense of listening to a real life speech, yet this seeming spontaneity is illusive. Even if based on real life conversations, for which Pinter had a keen ear, as a playwright, and also, as an actor, they are, obviously, carefully edited versions of authentic dialogues. Repetition is one of the most frequent strategies employed in both conversation and in literary discourse; used either deliberately or spontaneously. In conversation, it may be used for emphasis and also, to fill in the gaps if the speaker's vocabulary is limited. Looking unsuccessfully for another mode of expression, he may finally resort to repeating the same word or phrase. Yet reproduced *verbatim* in a literary text, repetitions would be too uninteresting and strategically unproductive to be used, therefore Pinter employs variations to highlight what is important and to give the text coherence. Occasionally, the same item recurs in a different context: names like a Fuller teashop or Boots library, mentioned first by Stanley with the intention of distancing himself from the gangsters' world, are taken up by Goldberg who seeks to demontrate the opposite, namely, some sinister connection in the past. Another attempt at creating a false association on the part of Stanley is his speech in praise of Ireland, the country he pretends to know, in the hope of favourably impressing McCann. Goldberg tells twice the same story supposedly referring to his happy family life: the listeners on the first occasion are McCann and Petey, and on the second – McCann, Meg and Lulu. The main figure in the first story is his mother, and in the second – his wife; each of them calling out to him urging him come to supper lest "it gets cold"; which hardly matters, since, as he says in the same passage, the supper *is* served cold. Both women call him Simey, which provokes a comment first from McCann and then from Lulu, who both remind him that he gave his name as Nat. These incongruities are of no importance, given that Goldberg's story is essentially what Goffman (1981: 111) calls *self-talk*.

Speech in Pinter is as often as not a tool of non-communication, producing a non-sequitur effect, either when addressed to no one in particular, or as an unconscious attempt to cover real anxiety or fear. Stanley tries to

frighten Meg by telling an absurd joke about a van with a wheelbarrow inside, projecting his own fear. It is only in the end that this joke assumes significance. Little narratives about the past, which very probably (another unverifiable assumption) are combinations of wishful thinking fantasies with some modified elements of the characters' past experience, appear out of context and do not seem to require an interlocutor.[2] Apart from the present, the construction of reality also requires the past, and the tone changes when fantasies about the past are articulated. Since there is no connection between the different worlds constructed by wishful thinking, a communicative function is reduced to null. Even though Meg is listening to him, Stanley is talking merely to himself when he describes his past career as a pianist. "I've played the piano all over the world. All over the country. I once gave a concert. Champagne we had that night, the lot. They were all there that night" (Pinter 1968: 22). The phrase recurs in Goldberg's account of his lecture, supposedly given in the Ethical Hall in Bayswater, attended by crowds ("they were all there that night").[3] Both fantasies are self-addressed and evidently fabricated; even if anyone listened, there would be no way of verifying either narration (although the idea of Goldberg giving a lecture on ethics is even more absurd than Stanley's artistic triumph).

Meg's fabulations about her kind father, "a great doctor", and her pink nursery room, aimed at creating a respectable past for herself, have their counterpart in Goldberg's (false) memories of his mother who cooked for him, and his Uncle Barney, "an impeccable dresser. One of the old school" who used to take him to the seaside, and taught him "that he word of a gentleman is enough". The sentimental tone changes dramatically when he is brought back to reality by McCann's question about the job to be done.

5. Conclusion

The dialogues in *The Birthday Party* reproduce everyday speech as used by ordinary and uneducated people. Pinter's acting and directing experience combined with an ear attuned to different registers helped him to create ir-

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[2] According to Gumperz (1992: 132), communication can only be successful when the participants understand and react to contextualization cues.

[3] The (distorted) name has its correlate in real space, namely, The Ethical Church in Queensway, Bayswater. It was established in the late 1890s by the American, Dr Stanton Coit, founder of the West London Ethical Society, and a member of The Ethical Movement which aimed at redefining the foundations of ethical behaviour, so as to move away from religion. The Church continued until 1953 when the premises were sold. See Spiller (1934: 65).

resistible imitation which assured success. It was this mimetic success which automatically released a sense of identification on the part of the audience and an enthusiastic response. It depended on the dialogue, which paradoxically, by exploiting the ordinary and the trivial provides both insight into and recognition of the unknown and dangerous as inseparable parts of human experience.

The dialogues never directly ask (or answer) crucial questions which would clarify the meaning of the constructed reality. Although not articulated, they are implicitly there and concern the identity of Goldberg, McCann and Monty, the mysterious figure behind them, as well as that of Stanley, and their possible connection in the past. The answers which would supply causal links between the events are deferred and never articulated. The world constructed through speech is both banal and incomplete, existing only on the surface which occasionally offers a glimpse into some mysterious unspecified threat.

The conclusion combines small talk about breakfast and shopping with suddenly revealed horror. The trivial changes into the tragic, and no words can give comfort or conceal the brutal reality. The unresisting and speechless Stanley, clean shaven, dressed in a dark suit, comes down escorted by his two tormentors, who explain they are taking him to the doctor. Petey, aware of what is going on, makes an attempt to intervene, but is silenced by the ominous invitation to come along, whose subtext is only too clear. Defeated, he cries out to Stanley: "don't let them tell you what to do". Yet these words, the only significant and important words he ever utters, cannot save Stanley or change his fate. Like Stanley's broken glasses, the small safe world has disintegrated and cannot be put together again.

After this dramatic moment, a brief insight into the reality of human condition, everything returns to normal: Petey picks up his paper, Meg comes back with her shopping and, reassured by her husband, unwilling to demolish her false sense of security, that Stanley is asleep, starts fantasizing about the party, at which she was "the belle of the ball". As another poet and playwright, T. S. Eliot succintly put it, "human kind cannot bear very much reality."

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LINGUISTIC STYLISTIC STUDIES OF STYLES AND REGISTERS IN LITERARY DISCOURSE

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The Figures of Suppression. Gappiness of Language and Text-Worlds and Its Reflection in Style

1. Reasons for suppression

H. Paul Grice's second Maxim of Quantity within the Cooperation Principle warns the speakers bluntly against giving more or less information than required in a given situation (Grice 1975). Yet, contrary to the Gricean idealized view of regular conversation and effective communication, the language of various discourses, to wit literary, religious, political, journalistic, etc., seems to rely on a different principle which might be expressed as follows: "It is not only how but also how much you say or do not say at all that matters." So what are the reasons for communicating less rather than more, that is for leaving lacunae in what we say or write? This article takes up the subject of the inherent gappiness of natural language, which finds stylistic reflection in a number of devices that I have proposed to gather under the umbrella term *suppression* (cf. Chrzanowska-Kluczewska 2013). Suppression, thus, is a collective megafigure of human cognition and language, a reflection of the pervasive *indeterminacy* of the actual and imaginary realities that shape our dealings with the world. By treating it as a megafigure, I claim that it is a rhetorical, textual property that structures several discourses in both overt and covert manner.

1.1. Gappiness of natural language

The most striking incompleteness of natural language at the level of lexis, recognized already in antiquity, was called by Michel Foucault in *Raymond*

Roussel "a piercing lack of words to describe the world," a linguistic emptiness of sorts (Foucault 1963/2001: 212, translation mine). In his penetrating analysis of the linguistic and literary experiments of the French psychotic writer Roussel, Foucault points to a severe limitation of any natural lexicon in describing the entities in the surrounding world. This scarcity of linguistic means contrasted with the richness of the referents makes language talk on the basis of its fundamental lack. And yet, the limitation of lexical means as an inherent quality of language causes it to function as an economical and efficient system, the aim of which is far from a redundant repetition of things. Foucault refers to this double-faced quality of human language as *whiteness*, *emptiness*, *void*, or an *absolute absence of being* (cf. also Banasiak 1988: 164–166). It is worth adding that the economy of language that purposefully chooses not to name everything in our experience is also related to the lack of isomorphism between conceptualization and language, to the fact that our thought need not be solely verbal or verbalized. Foucault rightly notices that the emptiness that surrounds and pervades language becomes its creative potential – literature is born in the vast *tropological space* as a reaction to the linguistic underdetermination and a natural human drive to fill it in.

A similar conception of the intrinsic gap between linguistic expressions and their denotata (signifieds) reverberates in Jacques Lacan's speculations on the role of figuration in the unconscious:

> […] it is the signifier-to-signifier connection that allows for the elision by which the signifier instates lack of being [*le manqué de l'être*] in the object-relation, using signification's referral [*renvoi*] value to invest it with the desire aiming at the lack it supports. (Lacan 1966/2004: 155)

More clearly the cognate idea in relation to the language of the conscious has been expounded by Jacques Derrida in his famed essay "Différance":

> The sign represents the present in its absence. […] When we cannot grasp or show the thing, state the present, the being-present, when the present cannot be presented, we signify, we go through the detour of the sign. […] According to this classical semiology the substitution of the sign for the thing itself is both *secondary* and *provisional*: secondary due to an original and lost presence from which the sign thus derives, provisional as concerns this final and missing presence toward which the sign in this sense is a movement of mediation. (Derrida 1968/1991: 61, also Derrida 1968/2002: 35–36)

Lexicon is not the only locus of linguistic vacancy. Any text, by nature, is also indeterminate or underdetermined in several other respects (cf. Chrzanowska-Kluczewska 2006). Umberto Eco's study *Lector in fabula*

(1979/1994: 75) is largely devoted to *white places* and *lacunae* in the body of the text, which is presented as a simultaneously frugal and lazy mechanism, largely dependent on the interpreter's (especially the Model Reader's) inventiveness. This issue requires a brief overview, presented in summary below.

1.2. Inherent gappiness of text-worlds

The idea of imaginary worlds that as conceptual constructs underlie all developed works of fiction has long been present in literary theorizing. With the advent of text linguistics in the 1970s, the belief was voiced that any text of an adequate length and complexity, be it fictional or factive, literary or non-literary, can claim a *text-world* as its conceptual foundation, a network of ideas and relationships among them that impose coherence on the text (cf. de Beaugrande and Dressler 1982/1990: V.2). Since the analysis in the remaining sections of this chapter will be directed towards artistic texts, it seems more than fit to start the discussion of *indeterminacy* in the so-called *portrayed worlds of fiction* with the phenomenological aesthetic theorizing of Roman Ingarden. Already in the 1930s, he devoted to this problem two by now classical works, namely *The Literary Work of Art* (1931) and *The Cognition of the Literary Work of Art* (1937, German edition 1968), made known to the English-speaking readership as late as the year 1973. His theory has seen since then several critical and interdisciplinary applications and extensions, among others in the development of *text-world semantics* (cf. Chrzanowska-Kluczewska 2009). The researchers in this field best known in the Anglo-American milieus who have taken up the theme of textual gaps and their *concretization* (to use the original Ingardenian term) include a prominent representative of the Konstanz-based "Poetics and Hermeneutics" group Wolfgang Iser (1976/1978), Lubomir Doležel (1989, 1995), Nils Erik Enkvist (1989), Eco (1979/1994, 1990), and in the neuroscientific-cognitive perspective Ellen Spolsky (1993) and quite recently Paul B. Armstrong (2013).

Basing himself on the distinction suggested by Ingarden, Doležel (1995) proposes to differentiate between two kinds of *underdetermination/incompleteness* of text-worlds, namely: 1) *ontological gaps*, which are irrecoverable due to the fact that information in this particular respect has been suppressed by the world-creator, that is the text says nothing on this point; Doležel refers to such lacunae as *zero of authenticating texture* and 2) *epistemic gaps*, where the lack of knowledge on the part of the interpreter in what concerns certain aspects of the textual world can be remedied and the *implicit texture* can be *inferred* on the basis of the explicit meaning present in the text. In the second case such text-driven meanings are acquired either through *inferen-*

tial mechanisms (*inferential excursions* according to Eco 1994: Ch. 7) or on the basis of *presuppositions* and *anticipations* (Eco 1979/1994: 162) that the interpreter is prone to articulate. Foucault (1969/1977: 153), in his theory of *discursive formations* (large bodies of discourses focused on a specific subject, viewed both from a diachronical and synchronical perspective), emphasizes that – of necessity – they all contain *fissures* and *cleavages* of various sorts which separate them from other discursive formations or mark shifts in perspective within one and the same discursive group.

This incompleteness in the construction and details of the textual world can be seen as either a challenge to the reader (especially the so-called lazy or unsophisticated reader) or else a source of pleasure, specifically to the imaginative interpreter, for Eco's Ideal/Model Reader will always try to fill in as many gaps as possible. Iser emphatically stresses that textual gaps act as stimuli or propellants for the reader's imagination, thus boosting his/her intellectual capacities. In his study of literary text worlds, Thomas G. Pavel (1986) notices that the cultures and periods of a stable world view (viz. Realism) tend to minimize incompleteness while the periods of transition and conflict (e. g. Symbolism, Postmodernism) will maximize it. Consequently, Doležel classifies texts along the lines of the world's *saturation* with gaps into *explicit* (prototypically scientific texts) and *(highly) implicit* (religious, literary, oratory and some journalistic genres).

Within the current that tries to straddle the border between the language and literature studies on the one hand and neuroscientific and cognitive studies on the other, Spolsky (1993) argues that the unavoidable incompleteness of fictional constructs, which imparts to literature a specific flavour, is an outcome of the inherently gappy organization of human mind. She espouses a modular approach to mind architecture, seeing the human brain as consisting of a number of autonomous areas, without a central processor that would conduct only a linear computation of information. The modules connect with one another in a kind of a network-like arrangement, which appears more efficient functionally. The gaps between modules are always there, however, and it is this fact which influences the way our cognition works in constructing representations of the world. Not only such representations, subsequently reflected in texts, but also interpretations themselves are tinged with underdetermination that our closure-loving intellect and a natural propensity for making sense even in the face of incomplete information are unable to overcome. Two decades later, Armstrong (2013) supports this vision of cognition, defending the aesthetic value of incompleteness in artistic discourses, be they verbal or non-verbal (pictorial, musical, etc.):

> The artistic values of disruption and disjunction are also consistent with a decentred, parallel-processing model of the brain. Aesthetically pleasing purposive dissonance is not noise. Unlike the randomness and disorganization of noise, aesthetically meaningful dissonance is an internally coherent structure of differences that is strategically opposed to the harmonies it disrupts. The cognitive purposes of dissonance have to do with how the plasticity of the brain organizes itself. (Armstrong 2013: 48)

We can take *harmony* and *dissonance* as denoting here not only musical but also textual effects. The remaining part of this article will deal with particular stylistic and rhetorical devices realized as omissions of various sorts, which can be seen as purposeful *disruptions* or *disjunctions* in the body of the text.

2. Suppression as a megafigure of cognition and verbal expression

From now on, we will consider the large figural strategy of *suppression* (Lat. *sustenatio*) as a cover term that subsumes a number of stylistic/rhetorical devices operative at the textual *microlevel* (phrases, clauses), *macrolevel* (larger stretches of text) and ultimately *megalevel* (a covert, underlying textual strategy, cf. Chrzanowska-Kluczewska 2013).

2.1. Ellipsis

In his comprehensive study devoted to structural omissions and their stylistic function across a wide range of literary and non-literary, written and spoken discourses, Peter Wilson claims that his use of the term *ellipsis* is generic, that is covering all kinds of "structurally potential language elements" (Wilson 2000: 7, 22). The problem of elliptical constructions has been present in both linguistic and literary theorizing for decades, no wonder then that different approaches to and formulations of this phenomenon have appeared in the literature on the subject. Probably the most widespread understanding of the term will relate ellipsis to recoverable omissions that abound in all natural languages. This kind of structural gapping is quite common in English and usually passes unnoticed in everyday exchanges; such gaps are pretty automatically closed in interpretation. Randolph Quirk *et al.* (1985) account also for some looser, not immediately recoverable forms of omission that they dub *quasi-ellipsis* (quoted also in Wilson 2000: 17). Wilson tries to be generous in his own approach, finally opting to define ellipsis as "structural gaps that can be related to (a) omitted elements recoverable from the linguistic context, (b) other potential syntactic forms, (c) the situational context" (Wilson 2000: 18). This definition is broad enough to cover cases

of intra- and intersentential gaps, of omissions that require linguistic context (co-text) and/or extra-linguistic context (consituation) in order to be completed.

As such, structural ellipsis is treated as an important *cohesion-building device* in text studies (cf. de Beaugrande and Dressler 1982/1990, IV: 32–37), rightly connected with another extremely powerful cohesive mechanism, namely that of *anaphora*. In this vein Rodney Huddleston and Geoffrey K. Pullum (2006: 1456) distinguish two kinds of ellipsis in English: *retrospective* and *anticipatory*, known better in textual and stylistic studies as *anaphoric* and *cataphoric*, respectively, to wit:

(1a) If you want me to *invite Kim* as well, I will [ ].
(1b) If you want me to [ ], I will *invite Kim*.

The ellipsis sites are indicated by means of empty bracketing; in the first sentence, the ellipsis positioned in the main clause looks backward for its expansion, while in the second example the gap appears already in the subordinate *if*-clause, creating for a moment a brief suspense that awaits its closure in the matrix clause that follows. Retrospective anaphora is by far the more common in all kinds of texts and discourses while the less frequent anticipatory anaphora (cataphora) has to be judged as a more interesting gapping device due to suspension it creates.

Let us now turn our attention to some examples of structural omissions in a literary form produced by a Victorian poet Christina Rossetti, whose works are characterized by a meticulously thought-out metrical, figurative and structural patterning and where ellipsis, though never over-used, plays an important role. Below, I quote the first stanza of the poem "Passing and glassing", marking the places of ellipsis together with what Wilson calls their *fleshing out*:

(2a) All things that pass
Are woman's looking-glass;
They show her how her bloom must fade,
And [how] she herself [must] be laid
With withered roses in the shade;
[She must be laid] With withered roses and [with] the fallen peach,
[Being] Unlovely, [and being] out of reach
Of summer joy that was. (Rossetti 1904/2001: 226)

Wilson rightly underscores the fact that one of the most fertile sources of ellipsis in English is coordination. Depending on the level of coordination, which can be clausal, phrasal or occurring among phrasal elements, different patterns of ellipsis and its expansion are possible. Ellipsis at the clause level,

in Wilson's opinion, proliferates the amount of elided elements, which our analysis above well illustrates. Wilson opts, after Huddleston (1984) and C. Wilder (1994) to accept the Small Conjunct Hypothesis together with the Across-the-Board (ATB) Rule, in which elements are allowed to have scope over a variety of coordinate constituents. As a result, conjunction can be moved down to the phrasal and intra-phrasal levels and, consequently, a minimum amount of gap-expansion is required. This kind of *coordination-reduction* mechanism (cf. Wilson 2000: Ch. 6) will affect our analysis in the second part of the above-quoted stanza:

(2b) [She must be laid] With withered roses and the fallen peach,
[Being] unlovely, [and] out of reach
Of summer joy that was.

This time, the preposition 'with' has scope over the entire coordinated nominal phrase 'withered roses and the fallen peach', while the participial form 'being' scopes over the conjoined adjectival phrase 'unlovely and out of reach'. What is more, the combined pronominal and verbal ellipsis [she must be laid] at the beginning of the first line in (2b) could possibly be dispensed with on condition we treat the prepositional phrase 'with withered roses and the fallen peach' as an epanaphoric, refrain-like extended repetition of the preceding phrase 'with withered roses.' Yet, no matter what stance we assume towards coordination patterns and the ensuing manner of recovering ellipted elements, "gaps are everywhere" (Wilson 2000: 1) and it is only a matter of their density that imparts a specific stylistic ambience to a given text.

2.2. Anacoluthon

Contrary to regular ellipsis (which is a structural device rather than a figure proper), *anacoluthon* (from Gr. 'illogical'), is classified as a mixed syntactico-semantic stylistic figure of shifting one construction to another by breaking off in the middle. After the break, the addresser usually continues by using a completely different construction. Anacolutha happen quite frequently in everyday exchanges, either in sloppy speech or as a result of memory failure or intention shift. Although they create syntactic inconsistency/incoherence, the receivers tend to overlook it, guided by the discursive strategy called *acceptability* by de Beaugrande and Dressler (1990: VI), which amounts to showing good will in the retrieval of sense. Typically, such "uncompleted embarkation on a new syntactic structure, a so-called false start" (Wilson 2000: 23), will take the following forms:

(3a) Well where do [ ] – which part of the town do you live?
(3b) You really ought [ ] – well, do it your own way.

Rhetorical and stylistic studies have pointed to the fact that anacoluthon is a scalar phenomenon, in which the degree of recoverability varies. In (3a) the ellipted part of the question seems to be [you live], which – upon having been judged to sound too general, becomes more specific in the reformulated question. However, in (3b) the omission is no longer recoverable, unless we have a larger textual or situational context at our disposal from which the missing part of the sentence can be inferred. Graphically, anacolutha are usually signalled by dashes or dots.

2.3. Aposiopesis

Aposiopesis (Gr. 'becoming silent', Lat. *reticentia*) is a rhetorical and stylistic device akin to anacoluthon in several respects. It is a figure of breaking off and declining to continue the utterance for various reasons, quite commonly to avoid a breach of the Politeness Principle. What often characterizes aposiopesis is the expressly stated reason for its use. Like anacoluthon, it has to be classified as a syntactic-semantic gap, signalled graphically in written texts. This time, however, we move further along the cline of indeterminacy, for more often than not aposiopesis will function as an utterly irrecoverable deletion. It can work as a *micro-figure,* within the limits of one sentence, or as a *macro-figure*, the task of which is to construe a larger excerpt.

In English literature, Laurence Sterne's novel *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* (1759) stands not only as a precursor of modern experiments with the texture of narration but also as a rich source of metatextual excursions and a fountain of omissions of different length and type. Let us consider some of them:

(4a) My mother, you must know – but I have fifty things more necessary to let you know first […]. (Sterne 1759/2007: 185)

This is a truly prototypical instance of an aposiopetic construction, an irrecoverable omission, with an apology of sorts appended to it.

Consider now a quote from the story descriptive in an ironic way of what befell Corporal Trim while he was nursed by a fair Beguine in hospital:

(4b) "It was not love" – for during three weeks she was almost constantly with me, fomenting my knee with her hand, night and day – I can honestly say, an' please your honour – that * * * * * * * * * * * * * once. That was very odd, Trim, quoth my uncle Toby. (Sterne 2007: 462)

Since dashes, which are used profusely throughout the novel, do not signal omissions, aposiopesis is marked by a sequence of asterisks, one of favourite graphical means of showing gaps utilized by Sterne. With a certain amount of inferential work on the reader's part the omission in (4b) can be spelled out, being an epistemic gap according to Doležel's distinction (cf. section 1.2). The reasons for suppression in this particular case are the requirements of decency, in accordance with the rules of politeness operative in 18th century England.

Now comes one of the most interesting cases of aposiopetic constructions in Sterne's work:

(4c) Then it can be out of nothing in the whole world, quoth my uncle Toby, in the simplicity of his heart, – but Modesty. – My sister, I dare say, added he, does not care to let a man come so near her ****. I will not say whether my uncle Toby had completed the sentence or not […] as, I think, he could have added no One Word which would have improved it.
If, on the contrary, my uncle Toby had not fully arrived at the period's end, then the world stands indebted to the sudden snapping of my father's tobacco-pipe for one of the neatest examples of that ornamental figure in oratory, which Rhetoricians style the Aposiopesis.
[…] Make this dash, 'tis an Aposiopesis. – Take the dash away, and write backside, 'tis Bawdy. – Scratch Backside out, and put Covered way in, 'tis a Metaphor […]. (Sterne 2007: 77–78)

Apart from the aposiopetic gap, signalled by four asterisks (to which Sterne refers as a *dash*), what makes this citation of particular value is a metarhetorical commentary on the reasons for applying aposiopesis and its textual role. We learn that this particular rhetorical device has been occasioned by the considerations of modesty and polite behaviour. The expansion of the lacuna would have brought a trivialism, obscenity or vulgarism into uncle Toby's pronouncement, whereas some more indirect or sophisticated reference to what has been suppressed might have resulted in metaphor. Tristram Shandy delivers here a rhetorical mini-commentary on the fine line that separates the figures of oratory and, by extension, proper, polite and cultivated behaviour from bawdiness. All the three examples of Sternian gaps cited above can be classified as instances of *micro-aposiopesis*, active within a sentential domain.

Consider, for a change, the following single-stanza poem "Fare thee well!" ["Bądź zdrowa!"]) by Tadeusz Miciński, a Polish symbolist-expressionist poet from the turn of the 19th century:

(5) Fare thee well! [strange that bell's reprise!]
Fare thee well! [leaves falling from the tree …]

Fare thee well! [love is like demise …]
Fare thee well! [an ill wind sings cruelly …]
– Nevermore! –
Your crying tears my heart in twain!
– Erupting unexpectedly.
– Farewell I bid thee … – needs must be – and Thou, O God, deign –
– to have mercy!…
Ahorse!… Christ Almighty!… (cf. Miciński 1899/1947, transl. by T. Bałuk-Ulewiczowa 2015)

The entire stanza is organized by a chain of micro-aposiopetic constructions, marked graphically by means of dashes and three dots, hence an instance of macro-aposiopesis. Contrary to the examples from Sterne's novel, the function of stacked omissions in Miciński's lyric is an iconic reflection of a highly emotional, close to hysterical mood of the poetic persona, whose voice is failing in the traumatic situation of a final, desperate parting between him and his beloved.

2.4. Poetical ellipsis

A transition between aposiopetic constructions and what I have chosen to call *poetical ellipsis* (Chrzanowska-Kluczewska 2013: 122) may be very smooth, indeed, as always when we face scalar phenomena. Contrary to regular syntactic ellipsis, which is recoverable, this one calls for a certain degree of imagination and opens several possibilities of concretization. It will be largely, though not totally, unrecoverable but not necessarily related to a sudden breakdown of a syntactic construction like in the case of anacoluthon or aposiopesis. Neither have the reasons for such omissions to be specified. *Tristram Shandy* contains several instances of this stylistic device, with a varying degree of recoverability of elided elements. Consider an exemplary figure of this kind, drawn from the chapter entitled "Upon Whiskers", which soon after its opening contains what follows:

(6) THE FRAGMENT
* *
* *

– You are half asleep, my good lady, said the old gentleman, taking hold of the old lady's hand, and giving it a gentle squeeze, as he pronounced the word Whiskers – shall we change the subject? By no means, replied the old lady – I like your account of those matters; […]. – I desire, continued she, you will go on.
The old gentleman went on as follows: – Whiskers! Cried the queen of Navarre […]. (Sterne 2007: 276)

From the intra-textual context we can infer that the lacuna filled with asterisks contains an exposition focused on the subject of whiskers. Yet, apart from this key-word, repeated explicitly in the text, it remains close to impossible to guess in any detail what has been left out of narration. A purely ludic aspect of this rhetorical device (and narrative strategy) becomes quite apparent, prodding the reader into imagining the missing content, as a part of the game of completion played incessantly throughout the novel by the narrator with his narratees. The kind of ellipsis demonstrated in (6), on purely structural grounds will be classified as both retrospective (anaphoric) and anticipatory (cataphoric) for the theme of whiskers has been signalled previously to the quoted excerpt and will be repeated in the subsequent deployment of the story.

Contemporary literature does not shun this kind of ellipsis. Here comes an excerpt from Chang-Rae Lee's novel *Native Speaker* (1995), in which Henry Park, the Korean-American protagonist, receives a list of his failings from his departing wife Leila. Though the motif of parting is distantly related to Miciński's aposiopetic effusion of emotions in example (5) above, the way of presentation is conspicuously different, showing the ironical, distanced attitude of a modern woman towards a painful situation of a marital split:

(7) You are surreptitious
B+ student of life
first thing hummer of Wagner and Strauss
illegal alien
emotional alien […]
Yellow peril: neo-American
great in bed […]
anti-romantic
---------- analyst (you fill in)
Stranger/follower/traitor/spy. (Lee 1995: 5)

The locus of poetical ellipsis is signalled explicitly – though apparently addressed to the main character, it actually serves as an invitation to the reader to become involved in the game of spelling out the omission, of bridging the gap in narration. The knowledge of the wider co-text will definitely help the reader to expand the ellipsis site; still, a considerable margin of freedom is left to the interpreters in exercising their imagination.

2.5. Paralepsis/preterition/apophansis

The three terms listed above are largely synonymous, referring to the figure of the feigned passing over, a *simulated omission*, the situation in which the

speaker promises not to mention something only to bring it into discussion later, sometimes in great detail. Under the name of *apophansis* it has been known since time immemorial in oratory, especially in political speeches. This rhetorical device can be seen as the teasing of the listener and often borders on linguistic manipulation. Owing to this strategy, the speaker excites his audience's curiosity and creates *suspense*.

Probably the most famous example of paralepsis/apophansis in the English literature is a protracted soliloquy with a few dialogical inserts delivered by Mark Anthony in William Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (III.II), the essence of which is cited below:

(8) Anthony: But here's a parchment with the seal of Caesar.
I found it in his closet, – 'tis his will: […]
Which, pardon me, I do not mean to read […]
Citizens: The will, the will! We will hear Caesar's will.
Anthony: Have patience, gentle friends, *I must not read it* […]
Citizens: They [Brutus and his collaborators] were villains, murderers: the will!
Read the will! […]
Citizens: […] the will: – let's stay and hear the will.
Anthony: *Here is the will*, and under Caesar's seal: –
To every Roman citizen he gives […] *seventy-five drachmas.* […].
(Shakespeare 1947: 598–600, italics mine)

Anthony, as an experienced orator, deftly instigates the citizens' curiosity – they crave to know the content of Caesar's testament. Yet, Anthony keeps the suspense growing for a prolonged period of time, pretending to ultimately yield to their insistent requests. In fact, he proves his skill in the linguistic manipulation of the crowd in the best tradition of Sophists' rhetorical tricks. The passage demonstrates Shakespeare's dexterity in using a macro-figurative pattern of paralepsis, which is additionally combined with other tropes, such as metaphor and irony, for it is the same excerpt in which Anthony repeatedly refers to Brutus as "an honourable man" (Shakespeare 1947: 598). The intertwining chains of apophansis and irony, interspersed with other figures, create a superb effect of an intricate rhetorical organization of this excerpt (cf. Chrzanowska-Kluczewska 2013: 81–82, 121 for more detail).

2.6. Silence

An extreme realization of suppression comes as *silence*, the technique whose persuasive but also manipulative force has been discussed in critical literature under the label of *rhetoric of silence*. Though seemingly an absolute violation of the Gricean Maxim of Quantity, the decision to decline from

mentioning certain things or to stop saying anything at all can boast a gamut of functions to play both in spoken exchanges and in literary practice.

On the positive side, silence can serve as a reflection of or adherence to the overriding Politeness Principle, thus showing its pragmatically-induced aspect. In certain cultural and artistic milieus silence can become a *semantic condition of elegance*; hence, the attempted completion of empty spots might even seem to be aesthetically vulgar. This canon often obtains in Oriental literary contexts, of which the rules for the construal of the *haiku* poetic form are highly revelatory (cf. Chrzanowska-Kluczewska 2013: 123–125 on the rhetorical strategy of euphemistic suppression in *haiku*).

To the contrary, among the negative effects of reverting to silence we can list the holding back of the information required. In this guise silence may become one of covert techniques of lying. From the logico-semantic perspective we touch here upon the issue of half-truths, half-lies, non-truth, truth concealed, truth coming in degrees, etc. – all these concepts take us beyond the classical truth-valuation in terms of absolute truth opposed to absolute falsity, towards non-classical many-valued or fuzzy logics, a fascinating subject that we are not going to develop at this point for reasons of space limitations.

Alessandro Serpieri (1982/1987), who treats ellipsis very broadly as any kind of linguistic or logical cut, claims that in literature silence may function at different levels of text construction and on different planes of meaning – it can reflect the indeterminacy of the fictional world through the suppression of narration (silence related to gaps in the fabula/plot), or it can be realized on the plane of logical relationships underlying the action (patterns of coherence). We can add that silence can also be indicative of certain emotional states of characters, point to their metaphysical searches, or it can play a purely aesthetic role of overcoming the routine of regular event-oriented narrative flow and regular dialogues or conversations.

Tristram Shandy comes again as an invaluable source of textual silences. One of them, for instance, is realized as a square gap marked in ink below the inscription 'Alas, poor Yorick,' serving as an elegiac epitaph to one of the leading characters in Tristram Shandy's narrative (Sterne 2007: 25). This graphically represented silence opens to the reader a meditative space on the old topic of v*anitas vanitatum.* In turn, Chapter 38 (p. 379) contains a blank page with an invitation to the reader to take a pencil and draw a portrait of the 'concupiscible widow Wadman,' the object of uncle Toby's fervent love. Here, the empty physical space of the page opens a possibility either to visualize the feminine beauty or to ponder (even if ironically) on the eternal subject of love, in the face of which we may stay speechless. The Sternian silences, fertile in suspense, take also the shape of one-sen-

tence Chapters 5 and 9 (p. 220 and 342) or of a totally missing Chapter 24 (p. 240) in another section of the book.

Gérard Genette, in his essay "Silences de Flaubert" (1966), discusses a peculiar narratorial technique – at the moment of utter happiness, the characters of Gustave Flaubert's novels (*Madame Bovary, L'Éducation sentimentale, Salambô*) in their elation cease to talk, often for extended periods of time. Their non-existent conversations or monologues become substituted with lengthy contemplative descriptions of the world or their dreams. Seemingly, language becomes useless as a means of inter-human communication, replaced by the immersion in other sensory modalities (visual, auditory, tactile, etc.). Genette refers to it as a *halt of all conversations*, *the suspension of all human speech* (Genette 1966: 236–237, translation mine). He also claims that apart from the metaphysical import, the Flaubertian silence assumes a highly aesthetic function. This project to say nothing inaugurates a contemporary *dedramatized* and *denovelized* novel, a book about nothing, a book without a clear subject, a "petrified language which reduces itself into silence" (p. 241–243, translation mine).

Likewise, silence functions at the macro- and mega-figurative level in several dramas, exercising as well a powerful effect in their performance. The playwrights who had a particular predilection for applying silence to create the *affect of boredom* (Colebrook 2002: 23) were Antony Chekhov, Samuel Beckett and Harold Pinter, who also pointed through it to the existential pointlessness and absurdity. According to Peter Stockwell's cognitive poetic model (and especially the *Gestalt* theory), in Pinter's plays silence in the shape of protracted pauses becomes foregrounded as a *textual dominant*, ceasing to be a mere *ground* and turning into a major *figure* (Stockwell 2002: 14).

3. Conclusion – Functions of Suppression

From our concise overview presented above it should become obvious that the generalized *megafigure of suppression* subsumes a number of more specific techniques that traverse a long scale, from regular syntactic ellipsis towards one end, through a number of syntactic-semantic omissions realized as stylistic/rhetorical devices whose borderlines are fuzzy, down to broad textual strategies of silence at the other end of the cline. All of them, depending upon the particular paradigm fashioned by the cultural setting, epoch or genre to which a given text/discourse belongs, count among fundamental factors that influence both style in the traditional sense of *elocution*, the outward garb of diction imposed on content, and the content itself, through the implications for the text-world construal, the shaping of narrative strategies, the highlighting of characters' features, etc.

I give floor to Sterne, the master of narratorial suppression, to tell us a few highly emotional words about the aesthetic value of gaps and silences. The citation below is a continuation of metatextual ponderings in (4c) above:

(9) Just Heaven! How does the *Poco piu* and the *Poco meno* of the Italian artists; – the insensible more or less, determine the precise line of beauty in the sentence, as well as in the statue! How do the slight touches of the chisel, the pencil, the pen, the fiddle-stick, *et caetera*, – give the true swell, which gives the true pleasure! – Of, my countrymen; – be nice; – be cautious of your language; and never, O! Never let it be forgotten upon what small particles your eloquence and your fame depend. (Sterne 2007: 78)

In this surprisingly contemporarily-sounding, *intermedial* description of style as a phenomenon operative across all kinds of semiotically conceived texts, verbal and sculptural works are compared, to show how a deft application of "the insensible more or less" may affect their apprehension in the eyes of the receiver.

Translated into the most recent parlance, Sterne's exhortation reverberates in Armstrong's neuroaesthetic speculations:

(10) Aesthetic experiences of harmony and dissonance play with the brain's recursivity and its contradictory need to create constancy and to preserve flexibility. How this happens, with what potential consequences, is suggested by phenomenological accounts of reading as a process of gap filling and consistency building. These descriptions of reading are fully consistent with neuroscientific explanations of the hermeneutic cycle, and they suggest how the neurological processes […] are manifested in our interaction with literature.
For example, reading a literary work is similar to the visual system in its tendency to "finish off" incomplete figures […] whether these are indeterminacies left unspecified by the perspectives in which characters, objects and scenes are represented or tacit meanings suggested but not explicitly articulated, or connections between states of affairs left for the reader to discover. (Armstrong 2013: 84)

We can add that if, paradoxically, our brain is – actually – to a certain extent gappy in its structure, yet simultaneously genetically induced to search for closures in representation and interpretation at all costs, then the balancing between expressing "the insensible more or less" will be present as a stylistic dominant in all artistic creation, verbal and non-verbal alike, bringing literature, the fine arts, architecture, music, theatre, film, etc. close together. It was in this broad artistic context that Viktor Shklovsky (1917/1965) talked about *defamiliarization* as a shift from the routine apperception of the world. The skilful introduction of the figures of suppression into any kind of artistic text will undoubtedly add to its *de-automatization*: gaps, lacunae,

cleavages, cuts, absences – whatever name we use to describe them, will all increase textual vagueness and ultimately lead to what Stockwell (2002) terms a *refreshment of conceptual schemata.*

On the psychological side, suppression is of great value in combating boredom for it stimulates the reader/listener/viewer through the suspense created. *Suspension*, sometimes treated as a separate figure active at the narrative level (cf. Chrzanowska-Kluczewska 2013: 123), will characterize specific genres, prototypically detective stories/novels but also political and media discourse. The psychological, cognitive and aesthetic effects of suppression tend to overlap for, as Armstrong notices, textual blanks and the drive to fill them in encourage the readers' immersion in the text's world and, consequently, in illusions, but also "create a space for abstract readerly reflections" (Armstrong 2013: 84).

The psychological aspects of suppression extend also over its pragmatic, contextual and social dimension. The considerations of politeness and tact that often influence our decisions to become less verbose or turn taciturn, akin to strategies of euphemism, are directed towards the weakening of disconcerting or disturbing effects upon the interpreter. Not without reason does Kathie Wales (1989) refer to the functions of aposiopesis as the *avoidance of unpleasantness*. Yet, it should be constantly borne in mind that the distance separating the polite limitation of information from the purposive suppression of truth, which hinges on manipulation, is dangerously small. Thus, "the insensible more or less", which has been the central theme of our considerations in this article, should be used with care, so that its persuasive force does not slide too easily into deceit.

It seems more than proper to use the famous Wittgensteinian statements from *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (1921/2008: 89) as our coda:

> There are, indeed, things that cannot be put into words. They *make themselves manifest*. They are what is mystical. (*TLP*, 6.522)

> What we cannot speak about we must pass over in silence. (*TLP*, 7)

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Phraseologically Speaking: A Case of Salman Rushdie's Idiomatic Style

1. Introduction

Personally speaking, my manner of looking at novelistic language has been affected in most part by first reading Salman Rushdie's *The Ground Beneath Her Feet* (2000) more than a decade ago. Although it was not the first book by Rushdie that I had read and which had come to my attention, it was the first to strike me as remarkably phraseological. I saw for the first time that a writer could speak phraseologically, I could mark to what extent a writer can express himself in this fashion and I could observe how figurative a novel can be as a result. The phraseologicalness of this and other novels by Rushdie should not perhaps come as a great surprise as the writer himself treats English, that is to say all the levels of its organization, in the first place lexis, but also pronunciation, spelling, grammar (morphology and syntax) in an equally exceptional fashion. Salman Rushdie does not seem to prioritize any element in foregrounding it for stylistic, aesthetic, content-related, meaning-related reasons. And naturally it is also true for the subcategories of phraseology understood in a broad sense, as well as various types of figurative devices, that is ways of speaking indirectly. Nevertheless, idioms come across in the reader's eyes as lexical entities that are explored and exploited by the author most originally and creatively. Idioms as a special category of phraseologisms are particularly focalized, and it is not surprising considering their primary referential function, as well as their metaphorical way of referring (metaphor is used here, for the sake of simplicity, as an umbrella term for figurative language). Other phraseological units, textual and interpersonal, are also used but they are markedly less frequently utilized for

functions other than their dominant roles. On the other hand, it has been shown that idioms can be used for other untypical purposes, achieved most of the time by other types of phraseological units with different functions (Szpila 2012).

My interest in Rushdie's phraseology has been so far "limited" to proverbs and idioms (Szpila 2004, 2012) and my analyses have been prose-oriented as the many aspects of these phraseological units are best revealed in their deployment in Rushdie's novelistic language. The study of the functions of idioms in literature is claimed, however, to have been relatively neglected in comparison with the analyses of the other contextual aspects of phraseological units (cf. Christophe 1997: 17), while the literary use of phraseological units is regarded as an essential aspect of phraseological study (cf. Fleischer 1997: 226; Burger 1998: 146 ff.), and as one without which the description of phraseology is rendered incomplete (cf. Pastor 1996: 214). The employment of phraseological units in literary texts has become consequently the main subject of many phraseological analyses which address, among others, the communicative, pragmatic and stylistic aspects of phraseologisms (cf. Fernando 1996; Moon 1998; Sick 1993; Strässler 1982).

This paper is a response to the postulates that phraseology/fixed idiomaticity be studied so that a complete picture of language use in a novelistic text should emerge. To this effect I set myself here two humble aims, somehow reflected in its title. Firstly, I would like to speak of phraseo-stylistics as an approach to the description of style that focuses on phraseological units in a literary text. Secondly, I would like to briefly characterize major features of Rushdie's phraseological style as revealed by dint of phraseo-stylistic tools. In other words I would like to address two issues: *phraseologically speaking* and *speaking phraseologically*.

2. Phraseologically speaking: a phraseo-stylistic perspective on style

Phraseologically speaking, Salman Rushdie is to my mind a very phraseological writer, and very idiomatic to boot. However, to show the idiomaticalness or – more generally – the phraseologicalness of his prose we have to examine it with the help of certain analytical tools, which may lead to a more exact evaluation of this mode of expression in his novels as well as other literary works. Studying the use of phraseological units in prose falls naturally under stylistics. As the lexical material of such stylistic examination is relatively well-defined as well as very rich in itself, it has been suggested that there be a separate study of phraseological units, with regard to their use in discourse, and which was given the name of phraseo-stylistics.

This is a relatively new branch of stylistics but has already been defined in its own terms (Gläser 1986, 1998; Naciscione 2001, 2010; Szpila 2012). Apart from phraseo-stylistics I have also suggested introducing paremiostylistics (a stylistic study of proverbs in discourse) as either a sub-discipline of phraseo-stylistics or a separate co-discipline with reference to stylistics (Szpila 2007).

The main idea behind phraseo-stylistics is the belief that due to their inherent features phraseological units play a significant role in the constitution of a text, in terms of, amongst others, content, text organization and stylistic effects. The description of phraseological units results from what I call phraseological reading (which includes idiomatic as well as paremic reading), and results in the characterization of the phraseo-sense of a text that is understood here as the sum total of the meanings expressed by all the idiomatic expressions forming the semantic phraseological whole.

This phraseological whole is established through an intricate network of relations between the semantics of phraseologisms and the semantics of their embedding on a micro- and macroplane. These relations operate at the lowest level of the phraseological units themselves, where the standard meanings of idioms are necessarily evoked, then at all the intermediate stages and at the uppermost level of idiomatic organization in a text. There are at least two fundamental issues which idioms at the very basic level may raise. Firstly, what must be considered is the choice of particular idioms, which are pregnant not only with specific referential meanings but also have different expressive and stylistics connotations, as well as belong to different registers (Gläser 1986: 31 ff., 1998: 127–129). Secondly, what must be taken into account as well are the forms in which idioms appear in a text, which range from canonical to highly modified, and all possible consequences these alterations bring to the formal/semantic/pragmatic effects and roles of phraseologisms. Each and every idiomatic locus is naturally bound to the embedding text as far as its semantics and formal fabric are concerned and the form and semantics of phraseologisms cannot be analyzed exclusive of the context in which they are submerged: they are natural building blocks of the meanings construed by all linguistic means. Despite the attempts to systematize the different textual uses of phraseological units (to some degree elucidating and clarifying), we must concede that they are oftentimes not sufficient as each text represents a unique environment in which idiomatic expressions operate. Moreover, phraseologisms functioning in one literary text enter into intertextual relations with phraseological units of other novels by the same author, by other writers or types of texts other than novels. By studying all these types of links we not only give a description of the inventory of idiomatic expressions frequently used and their modes of em-

ployment but we also define the meanings they typically convey, the forms in which they communicate them, and the ways in which the senses are established in search of common traits in the use of phraseologisms.

The evaluation of phraseological units is linked to the visibility of idiomatic expressions in a text. The more visible an idiom is, the easier it is to identify it in a text; the more canonical its form, the easier it is to match it with its standard and context-free interpretation. The identification is *a sine qua non* for a phraseological analysis to proceed, the failure to recognize phraseological units in the fabric of a text implies a huge loss of meanings, or in the worst-case scenario it results in literal, misconstrued and distorted senses.

There are idiomatic meanings whose interpretation is highly dependent on the recognition of idiomatic loci. The case in point is phraseological allusion, the identification of which is arguably the most arduous task in the phraseological analysis (Naciscione 2001: 99 ff.; Pajdzińska 1993: 174 ff.). Phraseological allusion is as important to the reading of a text as the reading of other less complex idiomatic loci. The following three examples demonstrate three clever uses of idiomatic allusion in Rushdie's novels:

> What is the most powerful impulse of human beings in the face of night, of danger, of the unknown? – It is to run away; to avert the eyes and flee; to pretend the menace is not loping towards them in seven-league boots. It is the will to ignorance, the iron folly with which we excise from consciousness whatever consciousness cannot bear. No need to evoke the ostrich to give this impulse symbolic form; humanity is more wilfully blind than any flightless bird. (*Shame*, 199)

> He has destroyed what he is not and cannot be; has taken revenge, returning treason for treason; and has done so by exploiting his enemy's weakness, bruising his unprotected heel. (*The Satanic Verses*, 466)

> Raza Hyder could not have been expecting the reception he got, because he went into Iskander's room with a conciliatory smile on his face; but the moment he shut the door the cursing began, and Colonel Shuja swore that he saw wisps of blue smoke emerging from the keyhole, as if there were a fire inside, or four hundred and twenty Havana cigars all smoking at the same time. (*Shame*, 225)

Identification is vital in the process of the description of the phraseo-sense of a text, however, regardless of how rewarding in itself it occasionally may turn out, the phrase-sense has not yet been defined in the slightest. The search for phraseo-sense starts when a particular idiomatic locus is identified, when an idiomatic expression has been isolated after having been reconstructed out of the idiomatic material made accessible to the reader by dint of textual operations, which may include, for example, phraseological

frames, juxtapositions, splitting, implications and a number of other modifications that phraseologisms may undergo (cf. Fleischer 1997, 226 ff., Palm 1997, 62 ff.) This is the moment when we can proceed with the construal of meaning. This construal involves revealing the ways in which the latent potential of idiomatic expressions creates senses, showing how they perform various text functions as well as what kind of stylistic effect they produce.

Interpretation of the phraseo-sense of a particular text has to involve all the dimensions of interaction between phraseological units and a text – the phraseo-sense of a text should appear in the process of the exhaustive phraseological reading of a text. Namely, if we focus too much on the surface structure and local references of idioms, we may overlook other levels of phraseological meaning and function. On the other hand, if we look at idioms too globally, we may ignore their relevance for the immediate context. In other words an analysis of each idiom involves a search for its meaning, which may be apparent at first glance or less easily accessible. Reading the phraseological lines, even often between them, reveals all the meanings that are conveyed by the idiomatic expressions, as well as the ways these meanings are activated. As a result the overall content, function and aesthetics of a text emerge.

There is yet another reason why the phraseological approach to text reading is worth undertaking. This time it is idiom-orientated, namely, an analysis of idiomatic expressions deployed in particular ways in a particular text contributes to our understanding of phraseological units as linguistic entities. Examining texts which discloses a plethora of aspects of idioms' nature show how the semantics of a particular idiom, a group of idioms or a phraseological category can be manipulated: how idiomatic sense can be changed, extended or enriched, how literal and figurative meanings of homonymous syntagmas interact in a text and suffuse it with diverse interpretations, which functions are most often performed by idiomatic expressions, etc. Texts make us see how phraseological units disintegrate semantically into constituent units, in what way the semantics of phraseological units is dependent on the components of the latter, what meanings the components acquire in the process of semantic disintegration and constituent individualization and how and to what extent the textual meanings of phraseological units may deviate from the meanings of the base forms (cf. Naciscione 2001: 19). In the light of the above, phraseo-sense could be understood as the information about phraseological units that is obtained from the aspects unfolding in a particular text. This type of phraseological information goes beyond the confines of one text and impacts the nature of the phraseological system as well.

3. Speaking phraseologically – phraseology and Salman Rushdie

Salman Rushdie has an exceptionally phraseological style, statistically speaking. On all the 3991pages of his novels analyzed there are 3046 actualizations of 1191 idiom types, which means that there are 0.29 idiom types per page and 0.76 idiom tokens per page. The statistical data, telltale as they may be in a text as that, the sheer numerousness of types and tokens reflect in a way the author's preferences as for the selection of lexical material, mode of conceptualization, etc, are evoked here only to demonstrate the numerical presence of idioms in Rushdie's books. I am not an advocate of this type of numerical evaluation of the authorial style in general. Phraseo-stylistic analysis is affected primarily by the way phraseological units are employed. Therefore, the mere statistics have to be complemented by a thorough examination of the contextualization of idioms in a larger novelistic context. Statistics are not necessarily a good indicator of the phraseologicalness of a novel/text or a particular author yet for another reason. Namely, so far no method of measuring the phraseological of a text has been suggested. In my analysis of Rushdie's idiomaticalness I contrasted, for comparative estimation, two analyses of phraseological units in other literary works, namely, Judith Munat's (2005) examination of Henry James's novel *The Sacred Fount*. In comparison to the latter each of Rushdie's books seems idiomatically exuberant. Munat (2005: 400) identifies over 70 "idiomatic or conventional phraseological units", and that class includes idioms only as a smaller group. In a similar phraseological analysis, of Ingrid Noll's *Der Hahn ist tot*, Gorchakova (2009) counts 441 idioms and 700 actualizations (2.5 per page). It is vital to note that the author includes in her analysis such fixed expressions as, for example, 'Glück haben' ('be in luck, lucky') and 'auf keinem Fall' ('under no circumstances'), which would not be included in my study of Rushdie's novelistic idiomaticon. The phraseological (idiomatic) evaluation of a novel is subjective as it is dependent on the classificatory criteria applied in the selection of analytical material. With no clear-cut yardsticks for differentiating phraseological from non-phraseological texts, the properties of literary fabric remain of a scalar nature. Nevertheless, taking in consideration both the statistics and a more detailed assessment of his linguistic style as well Mrazovič's classification of phraseological writers (1998), I would reiterate that Rushdie can be categorized as highly phraseological/idiomatic (cf. Szpila 2003, 2004, 2007, 2012).

Rushdie is not only an idiomatic writer in the strictest sense of the term, but he is also an author whose books are figurative (metaphorical), using Nash's (1980: 155) distinction of literal and non-literal narratives. In the case of Rushdie's novels phraseologicalness and non-idiomatic metaphori-

calness complement each other. The author's idiomatic style cannot then be easily divorced from his metaphorical language and in many a case it is impossible as the writer originally and creatively extends the metaphors and other figures of speech embedded already in idioms into metaphorical spaces where the distinction between the established and novel metaphorization is neatly precluded.

It is impossible to characterize all that strategies of idiom use we find in Rushdie's novels in a short exposition, not only because of a great number of actualizations of idiomatic types, but also because all of them fall in many a particularized class of use within which we encounter various ways of functionalizing of idiomatic use. All of them contribute to the constitution of the overall phraseo-sense. The following fragment is a case in point:

> The emperor sighed a little; when Gulbadan started climbing the family tree like an agitated parrot there was no telling how many branches she would need to settle on briefly before she decided to rest. (*The Enchantress of Florence*, 109)

As far as the form of idioms is concerned, Rushdie shows us all possible means of structural transformation. There is not a single modification type defined in phraseology that the writer would not utilize. Some lexical changes such as substitution, addition have an impact of the dictionary senses of the idioms affected, for example: "undressed to kill" (*Fury,* 232) and "take the breaks off sth" (*The Ground Beneath her Feet,* 47); others are not so much semantic as connotative and expressive in character, for instance: "tear away your eyes" (*Midnight's Children,* 174) and "arch your eyebrows" (*The Ground Beneath her Feet,* 196). Yet others are plays on words – or better to say plays on phrases – which make use of such figures as metaphor and metonymy.

As far as meaning is concerned, Rushdie uses the inherent function of idioms, that is their referential role in creating a fictional world. That is to say, he does not manipulate the standard senses of idioms and uses them canonically structurewise. At the same time he makes the reader notice their full expressive potential and he forces him/her to exploit all of their collocations sanctioned by the context of their deployment. Moreover, he takes advantage of their polysemy, the feature that is not so typical of idioms. My examination of all his 11 novels demonstrates that without manipulating the senses of idiomatic expressions, the author resorts ambidextrously to the context to exhibit the potentiality of a canonical form to interact with other linguistic means, plot, novelistic structure on many levels.

Semantically speaking then, Rushdie may not challenge the common meanings of idioms, but he is more than aware of the inherent double coding of most idioms and refers to the fact that some idioms may be paired

with homonymous literal equivalents. This feature of some idiomatic expressions increases the number of readings of a particular idiomatic locus and enhances the richness of text interpretation, for example:

> If he had had hands, he would have rubbed them. (*Grimus,* 85)

> Sometimes she literally rubbed their noses in the dirt. (*The Moor's Last Sigh,* 73)

> You've heard of vampires? Most of them are blood-thirsty, long-in-the-tooth, undead Aztec gods. (*Luka and the Fire of Life,* 128)

On analysing Rushdie's treatment of holistic senses of idioms it becomes apparent that the author notices and utilizes the polilexicality of idioms. He sees idioms as divisible elements, whose presence in fixed expressions is both motivated and motivatable. It happens more often than not that the writer uses not only whole idioms but their constituents for the purpose of allusion, sense individualization, and intensification of individualized constituent meaning. He treats idioms' constitutive parts as cohesive devices, for anaphoric and cataphoric references, and as elements warranting the coherence of a text by relating them to other text constituents. Apart from making good use of the established forms and the fixed meanings of idioms, he explores the motivational grounds of idioms, probes deep into their under-the-surface nature, bringing to light the structure of source domains as established by the form and sense of an idiom, which I call the idiomateme – a useful tool that allows to capture some important facets of idioms in action, as well as account for the nature of idioms themselves. He connects the unearthed elements, relationships, frames, schemas with the fabric of a novel.

Regardless of a strategy of idiom actualization, Rushdie uses idiomatic expressions to establish textual relations defined in terms of the relations between idiomatic loci and referents, in terms of micro- and macro-idioms for instance. He reinforces the senses by idiomatic repetition, metaphorizes text fragments, primarily by imagistic idioms themselves but also by means of extended metaphors. He uses idioms to describe the linguistic behaviour of his protagonists, to produce humorous effects, and in the process of employing them so skilfully enchants the reader.

I truly believe Rushdie's idiomatic language deserves particular attention and requires examining to assess fully his use of phraseological expressions. Nevertheless, we should also study other formulaic expressions such as proverbs, comparisons and similes, sayings, winged words, collocations and others both in his novels and non-fiction. Further individual analyses and overall interpretations will not only complement the previous studies of

Rushdie's authorial style, but also – I believe – confirm his status as a phraseologically ingenious writer.

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PART II.
STYLES AND REGISTERS IN NON-LITERARY DISCOURSE

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Good and Bad Cops in Polish Voice-Over Translation

1. Trends in audiovisual translation

Within the last four decades, translation studies have grown into a vibrant academic field (O'Connell 2007: 120), exploring literary, specialised and machine translation, as well as conference and community interpreting. Rapid cultural expansion of the multimedia has mapped out new areas of research, drawing scholars' attention to the Web, film, television and gaming industries. As a consequence, audiovisual translation, popularly known as AVT, has become the most dynamic branch of translation studies, giving rise to "dramatic developments" within the discipline (Munday 2012: 269).

Among the main techniques of audiovisual transfer, it is subtitling and dubbing that have enjoyed particular academic interest, being arguably "the best-known and most widespread forms of audiovisual translation" (Baker and Hochel 1998: 74). Their international popularity stems from socio-geographic factors. For years, dubbing has been the dominant method of film and television translation in French-, German-, Spanish- and Italian-speaking countries, while the Scandinavian states, Belgium, Greece, Portugal, Israel, the Netherlands, along with numerous non-European communities, have preferred subtitling instead (Gottlieb 1998: 244; Bogucki 2004). Several of these countries, especially Italy, Spain, Denmark and Belgium, have subsequently pioneered the study of screen translation, with scholars conducting case studies and formulating guidelines for dubbers and subtitlers, respectively.

The third dominant audiovisual translation mode, voice-over, has so far failed to attract much scholarly attention. Associated world-wide with documentary films and news reports, it has been regrettably neglected by the academic community (Franco 2000: 3). In fact, the first and only monograph to date on voice-over translation of non-fiction genres was published only four years ago (Orero, Matamala and Franco 2010).

Voice-over translation of fiction, by contrast, has been practiced for years in the countries of the (former) Soviet Bloc, such as Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Georgia, Bulgaria and Ukraine. Despite its popularity, however, practically no research has been done on it in the post-communist states (Grigaravièiûtë and Gottlieb 1999: 45-6), with Western scholars following suit. As for Poland, the few publications to date mentioning the technique include Bogucki (2004), Garcarz (2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2008), Tomaszkiewicz (2008), Szarkowska (2009) and, most prominently, Woźniak (2008, 2012), who openly defends the good name of the Polish voice-over. Still, the scope of these articles and passages seems too narrow to give justice to the technique.

"The ugly duckling of AVT" (Orero 2006 qtd in Woźniak 2012: 210), voice-over is actually a rare bird, with each country establishing individual technical and aesthetic standards of its execution: with single or multiple, male or female voices involved, using expressive or impassionate intonation. In Poland, the technique debuted on the national television at the end of the 1950s (Kozieł 2003: 40), fashioned after the Russian *Gavrilov* model (Bogucki 2004) and it has remained popular ever since, appearing both in fiction and non-fiction programmes. Because of its long-standing tradition and cultural specificity, the method certainly deserves a close analysis not only from a synchronic, but also from a diachronic perspective, in order to investigate its historical evolution and current standards.

This study documents a part of a wider project, aimed at tracing the changing strategies and norms of Polish voice-over translation of fiction genres. In response to Jorge Diaz Cintas' call for the analysis of power, culture and ideology in AVT (Munday 2012: 278; Diaz Cintas 2012: 275), I started collecting archival voice-over scripts prepared for Anglophone TV series in the communist times to compare them with more recent translations. Below, I present a case study of the pilot episode of *Miami Vice* (1984), first broadcast on Polish national television in 1989 and released on DVD twenty years after its premiere. Comparing the two versions, I analyse the changing approaches to slang in voice-over translation, observable over the two decades.

The issue of slang translation has already been addressed by Garcarz (2007), who described its major techniques. In order to enrich his findings,

I offer a close analysis of alternative translation solutions from a diachronic perspective. In the first part of my paper, I comment on the socio-cultural significance of the series and discuss the functions of slang in the original and translated dialogues. Subsequently, I describe the dominant techniques of slang translation used in the earliest and more recent versions by the Polish voice-over authors. I conclude my study with general remarks on the changing strategies of voice-over translation of fiction.

2. Research material

The choice of the feature-length pilot episode of *Miami Vice*, titled *Brother's Keeper*, as my research material was not incidental. Breaking the records of popularity in the United States, the series redefined crime drama, exerting enormous influence on millions of viewers. Imported to Poland, it helped popularise the genre among the Polish audience, creating a model for police procedural discourse to be followed by consecutive generations of Polish audiovisual translators. The pilot episode marked a historical moment: the Polish translator, Renata Plamowska, had to build the characters' voices from scratch, creating a stereotype of American cop and dealer slangs for unfamiliar Polish viewers.

Originally run between 1984–1989 by the American broadcaster NBC, the series featured Don Johnson as Detective James "Sonny" Crockett and Philip Michael Thomas as his partner, Detective Ricardo "Rico" Tubbs, two undercover agents chasing drug dealers and weapon smugglers in crime-ridden Miami. The screenwriters drew inspiration from the booming drug trade in Florida in the 1980s. Since the police had the legal right to use the confiscated property in drug enforcement, the producers jumped at the opportunity to present the protagonists as ultra-cool fashionists, wearing Day-Glow Armani suits, Ray Ban shades and slip-on sockless loafers, flaunting their yachts, Ferraris, and "superhip Vice lingo" (Donahue 1986: 106).

Addressed at the MTV generation, the show followed the new wave aesthetic: it was edited like a video clip and it employed popular music (Lyons 2010: 27). As one of the critics remarked, the series presented everything that Miami could be associated with: "water traffic, jai allai, condominiums, shooting alleys, dog racing, palm trees, many, many legs hanging out of many, many bikinis like so much pasta" (Leonard 1985: 40). Yet, all these rarities were "seen through filters of psychedelic lollipop, dissolved in montage … angled at from stars and sewers – a surreal sandwiching of abstract art and broken mirrors and picture postcards and laboratory slides and revolving doors" (Leonard 1985: 40). Being one of the pioneering

programmes to be broadcast in the stereo, *Miami Vice* was hailed as "the first show to look really new and different since colour TV was invented" (Greyling 2009: 49). Despite this visual exuberance, however, the authors went out of their way to stress the realism of their production. In one of the interviews, Don Johnson thus justified the pure decadence of *Vice* scenery:

> We wanted to maintain the integrity, the believability of the characters. Most hot, heavyweight undercover cops that deal down here in Miami and are working in major drug buys and money-laundering … use the goods and products that they confiscate in their work. Thus the Ferrari, the boat, the watch, the clothes… They have to look and behave like the people they're after (Kerwin 1985: 6D).

The same mimetic efforts are clearly recognizable in the shows' ripe dialogues. As the series features both "the usual assortment of slime-balls and sleaze-bags" (Leonard 1985: 39) and an unusual selection of heroes at Miami-Dade Police Department, the screenwriters took pains to individualise the characters verbally and thus to make them credible. They consequently recreated a variety of contemporary ethnic, professional and social dialects, helping the protagonists to express and change identities at will. Thus, while on the squad, the cops often employ police jargon. Working undercover, they switch over to the underworld lingo to fraternise with the criminals they are invigilating. The criminals in turn brazenly show off their slang in front of the audience. Interestingly, analogously to the visual portrayal of Miami, also the verbal portrayal of its underworld seems oversharp and larger-than-life, especially viewed from a contemporary perspective. Still, in the 1980s the creators took pride in the genuineness of the dialogue, claiming that the show was much appreciated by real policemen working undercover. Johnson enthused: "They love us. We're real. We don't spare an audience. We use real dialogue, we use street slang, police slang. I think audiences are into that. Our show is not just *Book'em, Danno*" (Kerwin 1985: 6D).

In spite of its iconic status, the popularity of the series in the United States gradually started to wane towards the end of the decade. That was incidentally the time when it was imported to Poland, only to relive its former glory behind the fallen Iron Curtain. In 1989, in the eve of massive political and economic transformation, the first episodes of the series were broadcast by the Polish national television, enrapturing the audience with its fluorescent lustre and exotic commercialism. *Miami Vice* proved so successful with the Polish audience that after the appearance on National Polish Television (TVP1), it was re-broadcast by other television channels and released on DVD.

In this chapter I will present a contrastive analysis of the oldest and the more recent voice-over translation of the feature-length pilot episode, titled *Brother's Keeper*. The former, prepared in 1989 and retrieved from the Polish Television Archives,[1] was translated by Renata Plamowska, revised by Krystyna Racławicka and read by Andrzej Racławicki. The latter, prepared by Monika Szpetulska, was released in 2008 by Polskie Media Amercom in a DVD format.

3. Translating *Miami Vice*

Considering its socio-cultural context of reception, the premiere translation of *Miami Vice* must have presented a linguistic as well as a cultural challenge. Its authors had to mediate between the polyphony of multi-ethnic characters and the monody of the voice artist; the loud ostentation of drug-drenched Miami and the muted parochialism of the Polish People's Republic. Judging by the popularity of the series, their efforts were rewarded with success.

This cannot be said of all the language versions produced. In 1986, the American journalist David Schweisberg reported that due to translation problems the series utterly flopped in Japan. "Some of Japan's best dubbing talent found the show's cop lingo, drug argot and ethnic slang impossible to translate," he concluded, having interviewed the persons involved in the project. "We had real trouble when they used the word 'pop' to mean arrest someone," the dubbing supervisor Yaeko Nukada complained in the same article. "When I was doing *Kojak*, they never used such expressions" (Schweisberg 1986). Apart from linguistic problems, also the cultural ones must have proved detrimental: "Japanese are savvy about designer clothes, fast cars and music, but are less so in the Latin American, drug-and-automatic weapons scene," the journalist argued, commenting on the commercial failure of the production (Schweisberg 1986).

Contrary to the Japanese audience, the Polish viewers in 1989 were not savvy about any aspect of *Miami Vice*: neither designer clothes, nor fast cars, nor the Latin American drug-and-automatic-weapon scene. Indeed, they lacked both real-life and on-screen experience of these narrative and aesthetic elements of the story. As for the former, the insularity of the Soviet Bloc has spared an average Pole the joys of prosperity and the sorrows of

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organised crime. The problem of drug abuse had remained off the public agenda until the 1980s, with the communist government officially denying its existence and introducing the first anti-narcotic regulations as late as 1985 (Barbaś 2012). Yet even before its acknowledgement, illicit drug trafficking came down to pill-popping and the consumption of the Polish heroine (also known as *compote*) (Barbaś 2012), a domestic invention independent of foreign cartels. It was only in the 1990s, after the dissolution of the Eastern Bloc, that Poland found itself at the intersection of the opiate smuggling route from the East and the South, and the synthetic drug smuggling route from the West and evolved an international drug black market (Barbaś 2012). Thus, in the 1980s blood feuds between drug barons were not part of the Polish reality. And neither were they popular onscreen. Although *Miami Vice* was another in a series of Anglophone police procedurals aired by the Polish television (along with, for example, *The Fugitive* in the 1960s, *Columbo*, *Kojak* and *Banacek* in the 1970s, or *Dempsey and Makepeace* or *Jake and the Fatman* in the 1980s), it was certainly the first to focus on the drug scene and the first to attempt its portrayal in a vivid, slangy dialogue.

Hence, the earliest translators of the series had neither real-life, nor fictional models to imitate, while rendering the American drug enforcement and drug dealer lingos into Polish. They practically had to invent the domestic counterparts of American "dealer slang" and "police jargon" from scratch, setting standards for consecutive generations of translators and screenwriters. By contrast, preparing a new DVD version of the film twenty years later, their successors could easily follow the established translation norms for police procedurals, which have since gained enormous popularity. With the transformed socio-cultural situation in Poland, they could also refer to real-life models of police jargon and dealer slang.

4. Research question

To explore the influence of political and cultural transformations on voice-over translation, I compared the original dialogue lines with the transcripts of Renata Plamowska's archival rendition and Monika Szpetulska's most recent version of the pilot episode, available on DVD. I focused specifically on the translators' approach to the socio-linguistic differentiation of film characters: police officers and drug dealers, who use jargon and slang to facilitate communication and to demonstrate in-group solidarity.

A close comparative analysis of both versions revealed dramatic differences in the translators' treatment of the audiovisual material and their

expectations concerning the audience's cultural competence. The 1989 version still shows traces of the old method of voice-over script preparation, practiced in Poland until the 1980s (Garcarz 2007: 142), with the translator creating a literal rendition of the dialogue lines, the so-called *surówka* ('raw material'), to be reworked by an editor responsible for introducing stylistic improvements and adapting the text to the voice talent's performance (Hołobut 2012: 482). Dialogue lines prepared for *Brother's Keeper* follow the structure of the original utterances quite closely. The major departures from literalism concern the replacement of cultural references with recognised translations (see examples 6, 21, 33), as well as functional and descriptive equivalents (culture-free terms or explanations, respectively) and frequent paraphrasing of expressive elements, such as slang expressions. Thus, following the British scholar Peter Newmark's terminology, Plamowska's decisions can be described in terms of semantic translation strategy, which involves a maximally literal treatment of the original utterances, with the exception of expressive and cultural elements, which are often replaced with functional equivalents in the target context (Newmark 1988: 46–48). The method often aims at explaining rather than re-expressing the source. The selected strategy helps us reconstruct the translator's priorities and difficulties, as presented in Table 1.

Priorities	to overcome the cultural differences in the characters' and viewers' experience
	to convey the characters' messages
	to clarify the characters' messages
	to signal the characters' socio-cultural identity (if possible)
Difficulties	lack of recognised equivalents for numerous extra-linguistic cultural references (American institutions, cultural products)
	lack of established norms in the translation of intra-lingual cultural references (language variation: police jargon, dealer slang)

Table 1. Priorities and difficulties discernable in the voice-over translation of *Brother's Keeper* in 1989

By contrast, the 2008 DVD edition demonstrates a more contemporary approach to voice-over translation with an independent practitioner both translating and adapting the text to the technical requirements of AVT, drawing special attention to extensive condensation. Such a treatment of the original verbal material can be described in terms of free translation, which expresses the message in a reworked form, as shown in Table 2 below:

Priorities	to condense the text
	to convey the characters' messages
	to tone down the anachronisms
Difficulties	the anachronism of extra-linguistic cultural references (American institutions, cultural products); in spite of the existence of recognised translations and cultural equivalents
	the anachronism of intra-lingual cultural references (language variation: police jargon, dealer slang), in spite of the established conventions of their translation into Polish

Table 2. Priorities and difficulties discernable in the voice-over translation of *Brother's Keeper* in 2008

Below, I present a comparative analysis of the original dialogues and their two consecutive Polish translations, discussing the verbal image of drug dealers and police officers they project. Since the American screenwriters took pains to depict crime-ridden Miami realistically by incorporating dealer slang and police jargon into the script, I describe the strategies and techniques of their rendition in the Polish versions.

First, I characterise the translators' approaches to general slang, focusing on terms of address and terms of abuse in consecutive translations. Subsequently, I concentrate on dealer slang and its treatment in the communist and post-communist realities. Finally, I investigate the translators' approaches to police jargon, commenting on the diachronic changes they demonstrate.

4.1. Forms of address in translation

As a pilot episode, *Brother's Keeper* aimed at a convincing portrayal of the crime scene in Miami. Hence, it featured petty criminals, drug dealers and undercover cops involved in highly informal exchanges, ripe in non-standard grammatical structures and lexical choices, which might be classified as general slang, unspecific to any particular social group or subculture. Both Polish translators recognised the importance of these sociolinguistic markers, yet they approached them in different ways.

As mentioned above, in their 1989 version, Plamowska and Racławicka created an almost literal translation of the dialogues, with the exception of slang and idiomatic expressions, which they adjusted to the needs of the Polish audience by means of available lexical resources: cultural equivalents, paraphrases and through-translations (calques), with rare instances of omission. This produced a slightly awkward effect, with traces of foreign communicative strategies and syntactic structures visible in translation. By

contrast, in her 2008 version, Szpetulska reworked the original dialogues extensively, adapting them to the technical requirements of contemporary voice-over. Hence, she occasionally replaced slang items with available cultural equivalents, but she omitted them whenever they compromised her main priorities: brevity and the natural flow of expression.

These differences come to the fore in the passages which include slangy placeholder forms of address, such as 'man', 'bro', 'buddy' or 'pal'. These expressions recur whenever the characters need to show their true grit and in-group solidarity. As examples (1–3) demonstrate, both drug dealers and undercover agents use typical placeholder vocatives to create friendly bonds with their interlocutors:

(1)	Leon:	You must be crazy, *man*.
	(TVP1):	Ty chyba zwariowałeś, *chłopie***.**
	(DVD):	Zwariowałeś.
(2)	Crockett:	Don't talk like that, *man.*
	(TVP1):	Nie mów tak, *chłopie.*
	(DVD):	Nie mów tak, bo urazisz jego uczucia.
(3)	Crockett:	Free enterprise, *dude.* Take it or leave it.
	(TVP1)	Wolna konkurencja*, chłopie.* Możesz się zgodzić, albo nie.
	(DVD)	Wolna przedsiębiorczość. Bierz lub spadaj.

Quite symptomatically, the archival television translation retains most of these vocative expressions throughout the film, replacing them with the few cultural equivalents, predominantly 'chłopie' ('man') or 'człowieku' ('man'). The recent DVD version, by contrast, tends to omit placeholder vocatives, following the principle of maximal compression. Example (4) is a good case in point. Detective Tubbs warns his future partner, Crockett, about the corruption in his department. The two exchange ostensible terms of endearment, 'buddy' and 'pal', which in the context become "decidedly aggressive" (Dunkling 1990: 191):

(4)	Tubbs:	You know, *buddy,* you got a leak in your department the size of the East River. Crockett: Listen, *pal,* I'll worry about my department.
	(TVP1)	Powiem ci, *bratku,* że macie w waszym wydziale przeciek wielki jak rzeka. Słuchaj, *koleś.* O mój wydział już ja sam się będę martwił.
	(DVD)	Macie w wydziale przeciek wielkości rzeki. Ja się zajmę moim wydziałem.

Polish renditions follow the mentioned patterns. Plamowska calques the original structure of the utterances, replacing the English addressatives with synonyms. 'Buddy' is rendered as 'bratek' (*old-fashioned*, dim. 'brother'),

and 'pal' as 'koleś' ('pal'). The latter solution successfully imitates everyday Polish conversations; the former sounds old-fashioned and redundant, an arguable instance of over-translation. Again, both addressative forms disappear from the more concise DVD translation, quite to the advantage of the conversation. Since Polish speakers have grammatical means to signal direct address, they rarely overuse nominal terms, however slangy they might sound.

Plamowska is equally consistent in her retention of terms of abuse. Example (5) below shows the literalism of her strategy and the editor's efforts at adapting the raw version to the Polish conventions. As can be seen in the revised dialogue list, the epithet 'airheads' was initially rendered as 'puste łby' ('empty heads'), only to be reworked into a more popular expression 'durnie' ('fools') at the editing stage. As in the previous examples, the DVD translation dispenses with the term of abuse altogether.

(5) Crockett: A little early, aren't you, *airheads*?
(TVP1) Czy nie za wcześnie, *[puste łby] durnie?*
(DVD) Trochę za wcześnie.

The last example (6) illustrating both translators' attitudes towards slang terms of address comes from the introductory scene of the film, in which two muggers accost detective Tubbs in South Bronx. They use exaggerated black slang, with the clichéd greeting 'Yo, brother', the condescending addressative form 'my man' (Dunkling 1990: 167) and an abusive 'sucker', not to mention several non-standard grammatical and lexical choices, such as 'dude' and 'cut' somebody 'good'. Both translators' solutions are symptomatic for their overall strategies:

(6) Thug: *Yo, brother*. Hey! Got a couple twenties I can hold, *my man*? (…)
Tubbs: Beat it, *punks*.
Thug: *Dude* think he be Michael Jackson or somethin', *man*. I'm gonna cut you good, *sucker*.
(TVP1) Masz dla mnie dwie dwudziestki, *dobry człowieku*? [Zjeżdżajcie] Spieprzajcie, *chłystki.* Ten *picuś* ma się chyba za Michaela Jacksona. Zaraz ci dosunę, *frajerze.*
(DVD) *Hej, bracie.* Masz dla nas kasę? Spadajcie. Myśli, że jest Michaelem Jacksonem. Załatwię cię, *frajerze.*

The 1989 version is literal and unselective, hence it retains many slang expressions, to a dubious effect. In the first utterance, the condescending addressative form 'my man' turns into an equally condescending, but slightly old-fashioned, 'dobry człowieku' ('good man'). However, the mugger's clearly approximate demand 'a couple twenties' is diligently converted

into 'dwie dwudziestki' ('two twenties'), which immediately turns the thug's nonchalance into unnatural pedantry. The recent solution, retaining the iconic greeting 'yo, brother' and demanding 'cash' ('kasa') sounds much more credible.

Coming back to other decisions, the older version clearly aims at verbal toughness, not only retaining the epithets, but even escalating the level of bluntness. As for the former, 'punks' is rendered as 'chłystki' (a dated synonym meaning 'pipsqueaks'); 'sucker' as 'frajer' ('sucker') and an ambiguous term of reference 'dude' is conveyed with a more specific 'picuś' ('smoothy'). As for the latter, two interesting interventions on the part of the editor are visible in the script. The slangy command 'beat it', rendered first by means of an informal verb 'zjeżdżajcie' ('get lost'), has been subsequently replaced with a mild vulgarism 'spieprzajcie' ('sod off'), confirming the authors' efforts at the realistic portrayal of street slang. The original threat 'I'm gonna cut you good', was first translated into a rather unfortunate 'zaraz cię posunę, frajerze', an expression with a sexual innuendo, only to be reformulated by the editor into a more accurate 'zaraz ci dosunę, frajerze' ('I'm going to biff you, sucker'). The last example demonstrates how challenging and experimental the recreation of street slang must have been for the television translators. The DVD version, by contrast, omits most terms of abuse and neutralises the original, reflecting selected slang expressions by means of popular colloquialisms: 'spadaj' ('take yourself off') and 'załatwę cię' ('I'll do you in').

Summing up, the archival translation of the episode signals the nonstandard uses of language by lexical means. This tendency is especially visible in the choice of mild vulgarisms (e.g. 'spieprzajcie', 'cholera') and excessive use of slangy terms of address, characteristic of American rather than Polish conventions. The recent translation, by contrast, follows the neutralization and reduction strategies, occasionally reflecting the original slang with cultural equivalents and colloquial synonyms.

Interestingly, the first translators used the same stylistic strategies as an emergency aid whenever the original seemed excessively slangy or metaphorical and hence difficult to understand. In example (7), Crockett's utterance apparently perplexed the authors of the archival version:

(7) Crockett: You might have commendations *up the ying-yang* in the Bronx or New York… or wherever the hell it is you're from, but this is Miami, pal, where you can't even tell the players without a program.

(TVP1) Może sobie zbierasz pochwały od jakiegoś *[kutasa] palanta* w Bronx czy w Nowym Jorku, ale tutaj jest Miami, koleś. Tu nie odróżnisz graczy nie mając programu.

(DVD) Możesz *mieć rozeznanie w Bronksie czy Nowym Jorku*, ale tu jest Miami. A sam nie rozpoznasz graczy. Tu jesteś amatorem.

They badly misinterpreted slangy expression 'up the ying-yang', which denotes 'a great, at times excessive, number' (Rundell 2009–2014), as an abusive reference to a 'yin-yang' (which, according to the online sources, may denote an 'anus' or, metaphorically, a 'jerk') (Rader 1996–2014). Interestingly, the translator decided uncritically to reflect the concept with a cultural equivalent – a vulgarism 'kutas' ('dick'), which was later on replaced by the editor with a milder colloquialism 'palant' ('jerk'). Thus, in the 1989 version of the series, Crockett accuses his partner of 'having commendations from some jerk in Bronx or in New York'. In the recent translation, by contrast, omission technique allows to avoid similar pitfalls. Crockett's entire utterance is neutralised and explicated: 'You can be in the know in Bronx or New York, but this is Miami'. This example highlights the difference between the literalism of the old and the liberalism of the recent version; the former searching for equivalents at the cost of errors and awkwardness; the latter searching for brevity and clarity at the cost of oversimplification.

Example (8) shows a different problem. The original employs a culture-specific reference to Hoover vacuum cleaners, which helped screenwriters devise a creative metaphor for people sniffing cocaine in a club toilet:

(8)	Gina:	A regular *Hoover convention in the loo* tonight. Six legs to a stall. I guess that's why they call it the powder room, dear.
	(TVP1)	Ale *ćpają w tym [sraczu] kiblu*. Sześć nóg w każdej kabinie. Pewnie dlatego nazywa się to „Prochownia", kochanie,
	(DVD)	W *łazience jest jak na konwencie*. Sześć nóg na kabinę. Dlatego mówią o pudrowaniu nosa.

The television translator decided to replace the metaphor with a non-figurative, yet highly slangy exclamation 'Ale ćpają w tym sraczu' ('Aren't they snorting in this crapper!'). By lowering the register, she presumably wished to compensate for having flattened out the original. The utterance has been subsequently censored by the editor to include a milder term 'kibel' ('loo'), but it still sounds surprisingly brusque in the mouth of the female character. The DVD version, by contrast, omits the cultural allusion to Hoover altogether, quite unexpectedly retaining the reference to a 'convention'. The word describes in Polish an assembly of politicians or gaming and fantasy fans, and it is only the latter meaning that can evoke some associations with drug abuse.

The play on words, contained in the other character's reply, has also presented problems in translation. The 1989 version misinterprets the jocular allusion to the toilet and provides the viewers with an armoury-related equivalent of 'powder room', 'prochownia'. The 2008 version, by contrast,

retains the play on words, mentioning the act of 'powdering one's nose' as an allusion to both sniffing cocaine and using the ladies' room.

4.2. Dealer slang in translation

Efforts at recreating the verbal vibrancy of the original did not prevent the first translation from exposing the inefficiencies of Polish lexicon, too innocent to portray the drug trafficking industry and the operations of American drug enforcement. Confronted with dealer slang, Plamowska resorted to existing Polish slang expressions, but she extended this repertoire with through-translations (calques) and specialist terms related to law and commerce. Consequently, in the 1989 Polish version the characters often use bureaucratese instead of slang. Quite to their detriment, as the former is redundant and formulaic, while the latter is usually elliptical and innovative, allowing speakers to economise, fraternise and overcome social taboos.

Example (9) demonstrates the deficiency of these strategies. Crockett recounts his undercover investigation to his superior, emphasising that his delinquent friends take him for 'a legit runner':

(9) Crockett: He works for the Colombian. I was *the middleman*. I told him I had a *big buyer* in from L.A. Eddie. They'd already gotten the word that I was a *legit runner* with a fast boat down at the marina.

(TVP1) Pracował dla tego Kolumbijczyka. Powiedziałem mu, że mam *dobrego kupca* z Los Angeles. Eddiego. *Mieli już cynk, że jestem prawdziwym przemytnikiem z szybką łodzią do dyspozycji.*

(DVD) Pracował dla Kolumbijczyka. Ja byłem *pośrednikiem*. Mówiłem, że mam *kupca* z Los Angeles, Eddiego. Wiedzieli, że *jestem z branży i mam szybką łódź.*

Commenting on the dealers' misapprehensions, Crockett adopts their perspective. However, in the television translation, he reports their thoughts using formal, bureaucratic terminology. Thus, a 'legit runner with a fast boat' transforms into 'a true smuggler with a fast boat at his disposal.' The undercover agent is forced to ascribe to the group he infiltrates negatively loaded self-reference terms. In DVD translation, in contrast, a more realistic solution is offered. Crockett uses the euphemistic expression 'They knew that I'm in business' ('jestem w branży'), which imitates his in-group perspective.

The terminology related to drug enforcement proved equally problematic in example (10), where Crockett's wife accuses him and his 'Vice cop buddies in plainclothes' of being similar to 'the dealers' they are after:

(10) Caroline: In a lot of ways, you and your *Vice cop buddies in plainclothes* are just the flip side of the same coin… I mean… from these *dealers* you're always masquerading around with.
(TVP1) To dziwne, ale pod wieloma względami ty i *twoi koledzy* niewiele się różnicie od tych *handlarzy narkotyków*, między którymi się obracacie i których udajecie.
(DVD) Ty i *twoi koledzy* to jak druga strona medalu *dilerów,* z którymi gracie w te swoje gierki.

Caroline is evidently familiar with her husband's work; hence she refers to his friends and enemies using his own idiom. She mentions 'Vice cop buddies in plainclothes' and 'dealers', respectively. Both versions generalise the former as a neutral 'koledzy' ('colleagues'). Yet while the television translation makes the latter more explicit, using an official law-enforcement term 'handlarz narkotyków' ('drug dealers'), the DVD version employs a cultural equivalent, i.e. a slangy borrowing 'diler', recreating the colloquial effect of the original.

Indeed, as far as the concept of a 'drug dealer' is concerned, the first translator used interchangeably two equivalents: 'handlarz narkotyków' ('drug dealer') and 'przemytnik' ('smuggler'), both conventionalised in the official law enforcement terminology and thus by no means slangy. Whenever more specific sub-categories were needed, she borrowed extant terminology related to commerce. For example, 'pusher' (11) is consistently rendered as 'detalista' ('retailer'), 'front man' (13) as 'oficjalny przedstawiciel' ('official representative'); and 'buyer' alternately as 'nabywca' (12) or 'kupiec'.

Examples below show the conventionalisation of new words related to drug trafficking:

(11) Tubbs: You ever hear of a local *dealer* named Calderone? Well, about four weeks ago, one of our detectives set himself up in a meet with Calderone and a New York *pusher* named Tooney.
(TVP1) Słyszeliście o miejscowym *handlarzu?* Nazywa się Calderone? Mniej więcej cztery tygodnie temu nasz detektyw nagrał sobie spotkanie z nim i pewnym nowojorskim *detalistą,* niejakim Tooneyem.
(DVD) Słyszałeś o *narko-bossie* Calderonie? Miesiąc temu jeden z kolegów umówił się z nim i *handlarzem* Tooneyem.

(12) Leon: Then again, there's always *buyers.*
(TVP1) *Nabywcy* zawsze się znajdą.
(DVD) A *kupcy* zawsze się znajdą.

(13) Tubbs: He's a *major-league*, Crockett. He killed a cop. That dude I showed up with tonight is one of his *front men.*
(TVP1) To *ktoś ważny,* Crockett. Zabił gliniarza. Ten facet, z którym pokazałem się dzisiaj, to jeden z *ich oficjalnych przedstawicieli.*

(DVD) To *gruba ryba.* Zabił gliniarza. Facet, z którym mnie widziałeś, to *jego człowiek*.

In her DVD version Szpetulska renders a 'local dealer' with a slangy neologism 'narko-boss'. 'Pushers' are rendered elliptically as 'handlarze', and 'buyers' as 'kupcy'. What merits attention is her respect for informal idiom, which signals in-group solidarity and facilitates communication among drug dealers or police officers, respectively. This function is clearly neglected in the 1989 translation, focused on explication rather than pragmatic equivalence. Thus, two cops talking about a drug lord being 'a major-league' (13), sound more realistic in Polish using the colloquialism 'gruba ryba' ('a big fish') than a periphrastic expression 'ktoś ważny' ('somebody important'). Analogously, they are more likely to use an elliptical expression 'jego człowiek' ('his man') than to describe the dealer's operative as his 'official representative' ('oficjalny przedstawiciel').

The above examples demonstrate a diachronic difference in the portrayal of the dealers' subculture in the two consecutive translations. In the early version, both officers and criminals often use bureaucratese, while twenty years later they already have equivalent slang expressions at their disposal. Similar tendencies can be observed whenever illegal substances and profits are mentioned in the dialogues. The earlier translation resorts to explicitation and paraphrase, thus explaining rather than expressing the characters' utterances. The recent one looks for functional or cultural equivalents whenever possible.

Examples below illustrate a curious tendency of the 1989 version, namely the use of adjectives in post-position to create a quasi-technical typology of illegal substances, which the cops and pushers mention, e.g. 'towar kolumbijski' and 'proszek peruwiański'. This produces an awkward stylistic effect, with the cops and criminals exchanging semi-scientific terms:

(14) Crockett: It'd be well worth it if he leads us to *this Colombian*.
(TVP1) Może to się opłaci, jeżeli doprowadzi nas do *towaru kolumbijskiego***.**
(DVD) Aby doprowadził nas do *Kolumbijczyka***.**

(15) Crockett: Eddie here *flashes the cash,* and we take my boat and pick up the *Colombian's stash.*
(TVP1) Eddie *wywala gotówkę,* potem wsiadamy do mojej łodzi i odbieramy *towar kolumbijski.*
(DVD) Eddie *ma forsę*, a *towar Kolumbijczyka* odbieramy moją łódką.

(16) Crockett: Ninety-two percent, lab-tested, *pure Peruvian flake*, Eddie. None of that *baby-laxed rat poo* they push on the coast. Root canal quality.
(TVP1) Dziewięćdziesiąt dwa procent, zbadany laboratoryjnie, *czysty proszek peruwiański,* a nie te *brudy*, które wpychają ci na wybrzeżu.

(DVD) Dziewięćdziesięcio-dwu procentowy *peruwiański towar*. Nie *doprawiany szczurzymi bobkami* jak na wybrzeżu. Najwyższa jakość.

The television version renders 'this Colombian' (14) and 'the Colombian's stash' (15) as 'towar kolumbijski' ('the Colombian stuff'). 'Pure Peruvian flake' (16) becomes 'czysty proszek peruwiański' ('pure Peruvian powder'). In these examples the place of origin functions as a *differentia specifica*, suggesting a pre-established geographical classification of illegal substances to which all dealers meticulously adhere in their professional conversations. By contrast, the recent translation retains the reference to 'the Colombian' (14), 'the Colombian's stash' (15) and 'Peruvian stuff' (16), with premodifier adjectives performing a characterising function and hence, suggesting the speaker's impromptu categorisation of reality.

The examples may also illustrate other problems related to dealer slang. In (16) a pusher named Corky uses a metaphorical image of 'baby-laxed rat poo' being distributed by his less diligent colleagues. The first translator explicates the figure of speech, arriving at its generalised paraphrase 'brudy' ('dirt'). Her successor, by contrast, retains the slangy vibrancy of the original, claiming the 'flake' is not 'laced with rat poo' ('Nie doprawiany szczurzymi bobkami').

Expressions relating to money constitute another problematic area in translation. The television version reflects this semantic field with relatively few slang equivalents. 'Cash' and 'bread' are predominantly rendered as 'gotówka' and 'forsa', while the slangy term 'grand' is consistently rendered with its standard synonym 'tysiąc' ('a thousand'). The DVD version boasts a wider range of slang equivalents (17–18), which contribute to a credible portrayal of the characters' interactions. Other lexical choices, such as the decision to use diminutives to designate Crockett's boat ('łódka', 17), enhance the effect of realism:

(17) Eddie: I got a *new shipment* comin' in tonight. Our original deal is still open if you're interested. That's 10 grand for you and your speedboat.
(TVP1) Mam nową *przesyłkę*. Nadejdzie dziś w nocy. Nasza następna umowa nadal jest aktualna. Jeżeli to cię interesuje. *Dziesięć tysięcy* dla ciebie i twojej szybkiej łodzi.
(DVD) Dziś będzie *dostawa*. Nasza umowa obowiązuje. *Dziesięć kawałków* dla ciebie za *łódkę*.

(18) Crockett: It's now 32 *grand a key*, not 40. Half the *bread* now, the rest contingent upon a purity test back at my place.
(TVP1) Trzydzieści dwa *tysiące,* a nie czterdzieści *za kilogram.* Połowa forsy teraz, reszta po próbie czystości.
(DVD) *32 koła* zamiast 40. Połowa teraz, połowa po sprawdzeniu towaru.

At times, attempts at semantic translation were compromised in the television version by the lack of proper linguistic resources, leading to the misinterpretation of drug dealers' vibrant idiom. Example (19) is a case in point. In the original scene the pusher Corky brags about his new car. He explains that he considered buying a more ostentatious one, but decided not to for fear of attracting too much attention:

(19) Corky: Check it out, Eddie. *Twelve grand cash*. I was gonna spring 18 for the presidential, but *it just screams dealer.* You know what I mean?
(TVP1) *Sprawdź to, Eddie*. Dwanaście tysięcy gotówką. Miałem zapłacić 18 tysięcy za *nowy samochód, tylko że nie podobał mi się sprzedawca.*
(DVD) *Dwanaście kawałków*. Miałem dać osiemnaście, ale *pachniało to dealerką,* jeśli *kumasz.*

The television version starts with an awkward through-translation of the idiomatic expression 'check it out', namely 'sprawdź to'. What follows, however, completely misrepresents Corky's utterance. The character voices his antipathy for the car seller ('Nie podobał mi się sprzedawca'), rather than his concern for the showiness of the more expensive model. The DVD version reflects his attitude much better with slangy lexical choices: 'pachniało dealerką' ('it smelled of drug pushing'), and 'kumasz' ('if you get it').

4.3. Police jargon and slang in translation

Both translators' previously described strategies also influence the portrayal of police officers. The 1989 version opts for explicitation and periphrasis, which distorts the slangy camaraderie of the original. The 2008 version offers a credible portrayal of American police idiom, drawing on the conventions established over the years by other translators of police procedurals. Let us consider a few illustrative examples:

(20) Crockett: *New York* figures he's back down here.
(TVP1) *Policja nowojorska* przypuszcza, że tu wrócił.
(DVD) *Nowy Jork* twierdzi, że wrócił tutaj.

(21) Crockett: I mean, who knows who this guy is working for. *D.E.A.? I.R.S.? State? County?*
(TVP1): Kto wie, dla kogo ten facet pracuje. *Agencja do zwalczania handlu narkotykami, urząd podatkowy. Policja Stanowa, Policja Hrabstwa.*
(DVD) Kto wie, dla kogo ten gość pracuje. *Służby specjalne, stanowe, federalne?*

In example (20) Crockett talks to his superior, making a metonymic reference to New York. As previously, his mental shortcut is elaborated on in the television translation, which mentions 'New York police' ('policja

nowojorska') and reflected metonymically in the DVD version. In (21), apart from widely known acronyms, he also uses two elliptical references to state and county police, intelligible for his interlocutor, a fellow officer. Similarly to the previous example, Plamowska clarifies these cultural references, using their recognised translations. This obviously produces an artificial effect, with two members of the same professional group exchanging full institutional names of the organisations they cooperate with. The 2008 version solves this problem effectively, generalising proper names to include 'special, state and federal agencies'.

The eponymous 'Vice', a slangy nickname of the Miami Dade Police Department, also poses difficulty to the Polish translators. In (22) Crockett mentions sixteen *Vice cops* working in his *unit*:

(22) Crockett: I've been takin' an informal survey of *my unit* this week, marriage-wise. Seems out of 16 *Vice cops,* we're barely *battin' 250.*
(TVP1) W tym tygodniu zrobiłem nieoficjalną ankietę *w moim oddziale* na temat małżeństwa. Wszyscy, a jest nas szesnastu *tropiących narkotyki,* mamy *kłopoty w życiu prywatnym.*
(DVD) Pytałem *chłopaków z wydziału* na temat małżeństw. Na szesnastu, *rzadko który punktuje.*

While the recent translation condenses the original, using an elliptical expression 'chłopaki z wydziału' ('boys from the unit'), the old one resorts to a clumsy periphrastic construction: 'wszyscy, a jest nas szesnastu tropiących narkotyki' ('all of us, and there are sixteen of us investigating narcotics') in an effort to clarify Crockett's reference. A similar intention must have moved the translator to explicate the idiom 'we're barely batting 250' by means of a formal paraphrase: 'mamy kłopoty w życiu prywatnym' ('we have problems in our personal life'). The DVD version uses an effective cultural equivalent, also based on a sports metaphor, 'rzadko który punktuje' ('hardly any of us scores')

Another reference to 'Vice' (23) encourages the translators to come up with other solutions:

(23) Tubbs: Yeah, well, excuse the hell outta me. You know, not that *Vice isn't the most glamorous gig in the world*, Crockett, but what happened, huh?
(TVP1) Przepraszam. Wiesz, to nie znaczy, żeby *walka z narkotykami* nie była najwspanialszym zajęciem na świecie, ale co się stało?
(DVD) Przepraszam uniżenie. Wiadomo, że *praca gliniarza* jest świetna, ale co się stało?

Plamowska refers to the officers' mission, replacing 'Vice' with 'walka z narkotykami' ('narcotics enforcement'). The DVD version uses a colloquial

paraphrase: 'praca gliniarza' ('a cop's work'), portraying the two policemen's interactions more realistically.

Another source of difficulty for the first translator of the episode must have been police jargon. Plamowska used the existing equivalents, known from the operations of the Polish *milicja* (for example 'wóz patrolowy' for a 'police car'), but she also resorted to paraphrases and functional equivalents, for loss of better words. In the examples below, she chose nouns with adjectival post-modifiers to reflect the American police jargon terms. Thus, 'surveillance photo' turns into 'fotografia policyjna' ('a police photography'), while 'C-4 plastics' is rendered as 'bomba plastykowa' ('a plastic bomb'). Because of their periphrastic nature, these phrases can hardly pose as professional jargon. The recent translator, by contrast, counts on the viewers' familiarity with specialist terms and mentions 'zdjęcie z monitoringu' and 'plastic C4', respectively:

(24) Tubbs: *Surveillance photo…* taken before the shootout.
(TVP1) To *fotografia policyjna.* Zrobiona przed tamtą strzelaniną.
(DVD) *Zdjęcie z monitoringu.* Przed strzelaniną.

(25) Zito: Yeah, Lieutenant, it's, uh, *C-4 plastics.* Bomb Squad says it's *C-4 plastics rigged up to the trunk lock.*
(TVP1) To *bomba plastykowa. Podłączona do zamka bagażnika.*
(DVD) Poruczniku? To *plastik C4.* Tak twierdzą technicy. *Był w bagażniku.*

Obviously, the use of periphrastic expressions in the 1989 version elevated the tone of the characters' utterances, depriving them of the original naturalness and familiar perspective. Nowhere is that more visible than in the scene where detective Tubbs visits his future partner, Crockett, in the marina:

(26) Tubbs: Rodriguez told me I'd find you here… under the name of Burnett. *Is that your cover or somethin'?*
Crockett: That's the general idea, Tubbs. As far as *the locals* are concerned, I'm just another *hard-partyin' ocean guy* with questionable means.
Tubbs: With *a hundred thousand dollar cigarette boat* and a sideline of *recreational stimulants*.
(TVP1) Rodriguez powiedział mi, że zastanę cię tutaj pod nazwiskiem Burnett. *Pod tym nazwiskiem działasz?* Taka jest koncepcja. Dla miejscowych jestem tylko jeszcze jednym *rozrywkowym przewodnikiem po oceanie,* facetem o wątpliwych źródłach utrzymania. Z łodzią za sto tysięcy dolarów i *ubocznymi dochodami z rekreacyjnych środków podniecających.*
(DVD) Rodriguez mówił, że pracujesz tu jako Burnett. *To przykrywka?* Tak jakby. *Lokalsi* uważają, ze jestem *imprezującym skipperem o podejrzanych dochodach. Z łódką za 100 tysięcy i stymulantami na boku.*

The television version paraphrases almost every idiomatic expression Tubbs and Crockett use, as if the translator wished to provide the viewers with their dictionary definitions. Thus Tubbs's remark on Crockett's 'cover' is explicated with a complex periphrastic structure: 'Pod tym nazwiskiem działasz?' ('Is that the name under which you act?'). Crockett's comment on his image of a 'hard partyin' ocean guy' is misinterpreted to include a reference to a 'fun-loving ocean guide'. Tubbs replies in an elevated tone, mentioning the 'side profits' that 'recreational stimulating drugs' generate. The DVD version stands in sharp contrast to its predecessor. It uses slangy equivalents of the original references to a 'cover' ('przykrywka') and 'recreational stimulants' ('stymulanty'). It also uses shockingly non-standard adaptations, characteristic of Polish general slang: 'lokalsi' for 'local people' and 'skipper' for a 'sailor'. Altogether, the colloquialism of the original dialogue is meticulously preserved in this rendition.

Interestingly, despite its sporadic efforts at bluntness (see section 4.1), the archival version of the episode has a tendency to elevate the style of the original even on occasions where no gaps in the Polish slang repertoire require patching up with standard equivalents. This may either testify to the translator's natural proclivity towards ennoblement or to the norms and conventions dominant in television translation at the end of the 1980s. The recent version, by contrast, does not display similar shifts, allowing the characters to use either neutral or informal language. Let us consider a few examples, which illustrate this observation. In (27) a drug dealer named De Soto alludes to Crockett's 'reputation as a boating enthusiast'. The television version ennobles his utterance, commending Crockett's 'renown as a keen sailor'. The DVD version, by contrast, retains conversational style, with the diminutive 'łódka' ('a small boat') and a direct form of address reflecting the character's easy-going personality.

(27) Ds Soto: Your reputation as a boating enthusiast precedes you, my friend.
(TVP1) *Sława zapalonego żeglarza* wszędzie pana wyprzedza.
(DVD) Wszyscy wiedzą, że jesteś *entuzjastą łódek*.

Crockett's friendly banter with his partner Eddie (28) is another case in point. Inquiring whether he 'did the hot-bloodied Latin machismo number', the protagonist retains a slangy, provocative tone. This disappears in the early translation, which employs a relatively formal structure 'you behaved as befits a hot-bloodied Latino', followed by a jarring colloquialism 'wyniosłeś się z hukiem' ('and got out of there with a bang'). The DVD version is more consistent in its stylistic choices. It retains the colloquial tone of the original, drawing on the transculturality of the concept of 'machismo', already familiar to the Polish audience:

(28) Crockett: So, anyway, you lost your temper, right? *You did the hot-blooded Latin machismo number,* and you stomped out of the house, right?
(TVP1) Tak czy owak, wściekłeś się, prawda? *Zachowałeś się jak przystało na gorącokrwistego Latynosa* i wyniosłeś się z hukiem?
(DVD) Znów się wściekłeś? *Zachowałeś się jak macho* i wyszedłeś z domu?

Other examples of ennoblement involve replacing phrasal verbs with simile and making elaborate lexical choices. In (29) Tubbs reports that he 'glided after [the criminal] like a shadow'; twenty years later he simply 'follows' the culprit. In (30) a policeman Switek describes Crockett as 'shocked by Eddie's death', after two decades his colleague is 'hit by this story with Eddie'. In (31) the drug dealer Leon fears his business partner will 'be his undoing', while in the subsequent translation Leon is simply going to 'get killed because of him':

(29) Tubbs: So, I *tailed him down* here from the courthouse.
(TVP1) *Sunąłem za nim jak cień* od sali sądowej.
(DVD) *Śledziłem go*.

(30) Switek: He's *pretty shaken up* about Eddie, Lieutenant.
(TVP1) Jest *wstrząśnięty śmiercią* Eddiego.
(DVD) *Trafiła go ta sprawa* z Eddiem.

(31) Leon: This man's gonna get me killed talkin' this stuff!
(TVP1) *Ten człowiek doprowadzi mnie do zguby.*
(DVD) *Przez niego mnie zabiją.*

Paradoxically, the occasional ennoblement of the television version might result from the translator's programmatic literalism. She strives to incorporate the foreign imagery into the script and rationalise it, instead of looking for more effective functional equivalents. This is visible in example (32), where the description of a shot cop *taking* his opponent *with him* is expanded to retain the metaphor of the passage to the afterworld. In effect, the Polish audience hears a story of a policeman, who 'having been shot to death, managed to take Tooney with him to the next world'. The DVD version provides a more down-to-earth rendition of this slangy utterance:

(32) Tubbs: The bust went sour. *Our man was shot to death. But he took Tooney with him,* and Calderone got away.
(TVP1) Sprawa się nie udała. *Nasz człowiek choć zastrzelony, zdołał zabrać ze sobą na tamten świat* Tooneya. Calderone uciekł.
(DVD) Coś poszło nie tak. *Nasz człowiek zginął. Zastrzelił Tooneya,* a Calderone zwiał.

Efforts at semantic translation, visible in the television version of the episode, do not only result in an occasional awkwardness or surprising elevation of tone. At times, they caricature the onscreen interactions, giving them a pedantic and over-specific air. This tendency has already been observed in example (1), but it is also clearly visible in the passages below. In (33), Lieutenant Rodriguez uses the approximation 'half-dozen' to indicate the scale of the drug dealer's offences. The television version provides an exact equivalent of the expression, combining it with a dictionary explanation of the term 'drug murders' ('murders related to drug traffic in our city'). This produces an artificial effect, reminiscent of the ones analysed in examples (21–25). The DVD version uses approximations instead, producing a more natural effect:

(33) Rodriguez: Suspect in a *half-dozen drug* murders down here. *Moves a lot of weight.*
(TVP1) Podejrzany o *pół tuzina* morderstw w związku z handlem narkotykami w naszym mieście. Gruba ryba.
(DVD) Podejrzany o *parę* morderstw. *Przerzuca masę towaru.*

Example (34) is another case point, demonstrating how a translator's meticulousness may undermine the realism of filmic speech. In the original, Eddie asks his partner for a coin, as he wishes to make a phone call. In the television version, he uses the recognised translation of the American 'dime', i.e. 'dziesięciocentówka', which sounds awkward and pedantic in the context. In the DVD version, he requests some spare 'change', in line with the pragmatics of a typical Polish conversation.

(34) Eddie: You got a *dime*? I wanna give her a call.
(TVP1) Masz *dziesięciocentówkę*? Chcę do niej zadzwonić.
(DVD) Masz *drobne*? Zadzwonię do niej.

All in all, the explicatory literalism of the archival version contrasts sharply with the adaptive brevity of the recent translation, testifying to the growth of the target audience's intercultural competence and to the formal evolution of the Polish voice-over technique over the last twenty years.

5. Conclusions

Viewed diachronically, the consecutive voice-over renditions of the pilot episode of *Miami Vice* reveal interesting changes in the audiovisual translation practice, bearing witness to the cultural transformations in the post-communist Poland. The 1989 version demonstrated a source-oriented

approach to the original dialogues. Intent to overcome the cultural barriers, the translator strived to reflect the original intricacies as faithfully as possible, making sure that the audience appreciate the foreign reality presented onscreen. The resultant dialogues may strike contemporary critics as inconsistent, designed to explain rather than express the characters' intentions. They combined literalism with explication; colloquialism with bureaucratese. Addressing the Poles right after the fall of the Iron Curtain, Miami cops and criminals mixed styles and registers; they often exchanged explicit, over-specific remarks, mistrusting the viewers' ability to infer information from the context. This strategy was clearly adjusted to the socio-cultural circumstances of the recipients. Unfamiliar with the genre, they must have needed assistance in their encounter with the foreign theme and the new aesthetics.

The DVD version released twenty years later demonstrates a target-oriented approach to the original script. It embodies a free translation strategy, typical of contemporary audiovisual translation practice. Aimed at maximal condensation and reliant on the viewers' sensitivity to the communicative context presented onscreen, the recent translation is much more concise and consistent than its predecessor. Addressing Poles at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the characters speak in their own idiom, evocative of their social and professional identities. The dialogues abound in jargon and slang terms, inspired by real-life language patterns and fictional models established by generations of screen translators. They also imitate the pragmatics of everyday conversation with its economy and context-dependence.

Although the above analysis focused on the varieties of language ascribed to American cops and dealers in the Polish releases of the television series, the collected material invites additional pragma-linguistic and stylistic research. As the preliminary overview shows, the norms of audiovisual translation in Poland have undergone a significant change over the last twenty years, demonstrating increased target orientation and stylistic independence of the original communicative patterns, which certainly deserve further investigation.

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Style, Style-Shifting and Political Allegiance as Factors in Phonetic Variation among Britain's Political Elite

1. Introduction

1.1. Style and style-shifting as linguistic variation

Style is central to any discussion of sociolinguistic variation. Such variation is generally mapped across two axes, or dimensions: the social and stylistic. "The social dimension denotes differences in the speech of different speakers, and the stylistic denotes differences within the speech of a single speaker" (Bell 1984: 145). According to Chambers (1995: 5), "stylistic differences have a simple social correlate, viz. formality", and this descriptor of style features in the classic sociolinguistic finding that:

> … if a feature is found to be more common in the lower than in the upper classes, it will also be more common in less formal than in more formal styles for all speakers. (Romaine 1982: 123)

However, as Schilling-Estes (2008: 975) points out, more recent research has identified a number of other criteria for the analysis of style, including audience, topic, projection of a persona and establishing relationships with interlocutors and wider social groups.

What any sociolinguistic investigation of style seeks to discover is: do these speakers belong to an identifiable social class or speech community and exactly when and why do they select from their repertoire a particular

variant of a linguistic variable? There are thus three fundamental elements involved, laid bare in Bell's succinct phrasing of the question: "Why did this speaker say it this way on this occasion?" (Bell 2001: 139). Establishing the identity (in terms of age, sex, social affiliation, etc.) of the speaker and the social context of the utterance is a relatively straightforward matter. But for a sociolinguistic analysis of style to be meaningful, the third factor must be addressed: what is the speaker's motivation for their selection of a particular variant and how is this choice affected by the social context? It is precisely this aspect which is most open to interpretation and which, consequently, has engendered the formation of several divergent models to account for style (inter-speaker variation) and style-shifting (intra-speaker variation).

A brief overview of the principal models proposed for an explanation of style reveals the following main currents of thought. Labov's (1966) pioneering work in New York was the first quantitative study of variables to emphasise the importance of style. His central thesis is that style is mainly determined by the degree of attention paid to speech: "Styles can be ranged along a single dimension, measured by the amount of attention paid to speech" (Labov 1984: 29). In Labov's model, each speaker has their *vernacular*, a mode of speech learned in early life "in which the minimum attention is paid to speech" (Labov 1984: 29). For Labov, this mode "provides the most systematic data for linguistic analysis" (Labov 1984: 29).

Bell (1984) departed significantly from Labov's view on the principal factor affecting a speaker's style, proposing an audience design model in which "style is essentially speakers' response to their audience" (Bell 1984: 145). In this framework, "speakers design their style primarily for and in response to their audience" (Bell 2001: 143). Third persons ("auditors and overhearers") can also form part of the audience and affect style. The interrelation between the social and stylistic dimensions is derivative, giving rise to Bell's Style Axiom:

> Variation on the style dimension within the speech of a single speaker derives from and echoes the variation which exists between speakers on the "social" dimension. (Bell 1984: 151)

Bell (1984: 161–164) draws on the idea developed in communication accommodation theory (CAT) that speakers adjust their speech to accommodate to others and that speakers tend to converge their speech style to that of their interlocutor when seeking the latter's social approval.[1] An important additional feature in Bell's model is that speakers can also use style

[1] The most important work in this field has been carried out by Howard Giles in numerous studies with various co-authors.

as initiative; this is described as referee design. It is directed towards an absent reference group rather than the immediate addressee and is particularly prevalent in mass communication (Bell 1984: 145).

Coupland (2001) argues that stylistic variation cannot be fully explained from a sociolinguistic perspective alone, but must be understood in the context of an individual's management of their persona, the 'identity dimension': "… stylistic variation needs to be seen as person variation" (Coupland 2001: 197). For Coupland, style is essentially *dialect style*, that is, variation "in respect of variable features associated semiotically within 'social' or socioeconomic class differentiation" (Coupland 2001: 189), but this should be regarded as "one aspect of the manipulation of semiotic resources in social contexts" (Coupland 2001: 186). The situational context of intra-personal variation should be at least partly explained "in terms of individuals' social motivations and projected outcomes" (Coupland 2001: 189). Accommodation theory is also implicit in Coupland's model, and in a joint paper with Giles it was argued that accommodation theory should "be viewed as a generalised model of situated communicative interaction" (Coupland and Giles 1988: 176), and that:

> It is the fact that the accommodation model explicitly integrates sociological, socio-psychological and sociolinguistic processes – talk embedded in its contextual antecedents and consequences – that best justifies its status as a communicative theory. (Coupland and Giles 1988: 178)

Eckert extends Coupland's model, incorporating linguistic style into a more comprehensive projection of the individual: "Persona style is the best level for approaching the meaning of variation, for it is at this level that we connect linguistic styles with other stylistic systems such as clothing … and with the kinds of ideological constructions that speakers share" (Eckert 2008: 456). In a recent paper, Eckert (2012) argues that variation is a "robust" social semiotic system which not only reflects but also constructs social meaning, thereby prompting social change, and that the meanings of variables only become specific in the context of styles (personae).

1.2. Word-final pre-vocalic glottal /t/ in British English: a stable sociolinguistic variable or an indicator of language change?

Few accents of English have been as closely documented or are as socially sensitive as Received Pronunciation (RP). One reason why this particular accent has aroused so much debate is the fact that it is characterised not only by its phonetic inventory but also by its social status, being traditionally described as the "prestige" accent in the UK (Hughes and Trudgill 1979:12; Gimson 1980: 89). Recent changes in RP have resulted from the adoption

of regional features (Milroy 2001; Hannisdal 2006), most notably from Cockney, the popular speech of the London area (Altendorf 1999, 2003). While there is some debate as to whether such changes will serve to undermine RP's distinctive status (Rosewarne 1994; Milroy 2001) or reinforce it (Trudgill 2008), there can be little doubt that the speech of that social stratum most closely associated with an RP accent (Fabricius 2002) in general sounds less 'posh' and socially exclusive than it once did (Altendorf 1999, 2003; Fabricius 2000; Hannisdal 2006).

T-glottalling was traditionally seen as a working-class variant (Cockney and some other regional accents) and therefore stigmatised by RP speakers. However, in 1982 Wells stated that although the plosives of more conservative RP speakers were never glottalled (Wells 1982:22), the speech of mainstream RP speakers included "glottalling in certain pre-consonantal environments" (1982: 299). Subsequently, Wells (1994: 201) noted that among younger RP speakers t-glottalling "can even be heard finally before vowels … What started as a vulgarism is becoming respectable." He also comments:

> The environments for the glottal stop replacing [t] now extend to word-final position even when the next word begins with a vowel, as in *quite easy*. Intervocalically within a word, as in *city, water*, glottal stops are still regarded as Cockney. (Wells 1997: 21)

From the foregoing observations it would appear that word-final pre-vocalic glottal /t/ is gradually becoming destigmatised among a proportion of RP speakers, but has met with more resistance than glottal /t/ in pre-consonantal position. RP speakers do not form a homogeneous speech community but comprise various subgroups classified according to such social variables as age, gender, class, educational background and ideology; moreover, their discourse is conducted in a variety of social contexts. Only after taking into account the distribution of word-final pre-vocalic glottal /t/ in the light of such factors can any judgement be made as to its status as either a stable sociolinguistic variable or an indicator of language change in which a non-prestigious variant is in the process of pushing out a more prestigious variant.[2]

Fabricius' (2000) study is the most detailed to date on the use of glottal /t/ among RP speakers. Her subjects were mixed-gender speakers in the

[2] A survey of accent evaluation (Coupland and Bishop 2007) recording 5,010 U.K. informants' reactions to 34 different accents of English reveals considerable age variation in ascribing prestige to specific accents. The general observation is that younger speakers are less likely than older speakers to regard RP as prestigious.

age group 18–30 with social and educational backgrounds typical for RP speakers. She found no significant gender differences and concluded that pre-consonantal glottal /t/ is stable and acceptable in modern RP in both formal and informal speech styles; however, in pre-vocalic position, she concluded that while it has lost some of its stigma, it has not yet acquired prestige (Fabricius 2000: 145). Of significance were her findings that, averaged for all speakers, the rate of t-glottalling in pre-vocalic position was 2% for reading passage (formal) style (Fabricius 2000: 116) but 40% for interview (informal) style (Fabricius 2000: 94).

It would appear that word-final pre-vocalic glottal /t/ is in the process of gaining acceptability as an RP variant. Fabricius' findings taken together with the fact that "younger speakers use more innovatory forms than older speakers" (Milroy and Milroy 1985: 341) make it not unreasonable to conclude that this variant is associated with informal styles and younger speakers.

1.3. The politics of accent in Britain

The relationship between accent and class is pervasive in British society and has a significant political dimension. As the following observations will indicate, accent has the potential of being politically sensitive if not charged. For almost a century, British politics has been dominated by two parties: Labour, representing the interests of the working class; and Conservative, representing those of the middle and upper classes.

Conservative politicians are generally products of the social classes they represent, sharing similar family and educational backgrounds and values, and are brought up (or end up) speaking the same accents as are either used or aspired to by their core constituency (the middle, upper-middle and upper classes),[3] namely RP or a near-RP accent with slight regional variation; it would probably be no exaggeration to state that this core constituency has traditionally expected its political representatives to sound like them. However, Conservative leaders do not always come out of this mould. Margaret Thatcher, the most influential and electorally successful post-war Conservative leader, was instantly recognisable by her distinctive 'upper-crust' RP accent even though she was not a native RP speaker;[4] her social background was lower middle-class and she grew up with a local Lincolnshire accent. However, a combination of elocution lessons (Mullan 1999), an Oxford

[3] This is the core *social* constituency, although an important *economic* constituency is the business community.

[4] See Fabricius (2002) for a discussion of the difference between *native-RP* and *construct-RP*.

education and voice coaching (Beckett 2006: 55) resulted in what Greer (2009) refers to as her "fake, cut-glass accent". Her successor as both party leader and Prime Minister, John Major, a man of humble origins who left school at 16, still emerged with an accent extremely close to modern RP, despite (very probably) not being a native RP speaker[5] or having undergone an RP-forming Oxbridge education.

Accent is also a consideration for leading Labour politicians. Just as Margaret Thatcher and John Major's political allegiance was not typical of those sharing their class background, many Labour politicians have a socio-economic and educational background which would, on the balance of statistical probability, place them in the Conservative camp and yet they make the political choice to support the interests of the working class. These are cases in which the relationship between politics and accent can give rise to some interesting phonetic variation.

The first two post-war leaders of the Labour Party, Clement Atlee (1932–1955) and Hugh Gaitskell (1955–1963), both hailed from the middle or upper middle class and spoke with an RP accent; neither made the slightest phonetic accommodation to their core constituency, hardly any of whom used the same accent. Gaitskell's successor, Harold Wilson (1963–1976, born into a middle-class professional family with left-of-centre political views), is, sociophonetically, a far more interesting case, which has been variously interpreted. According to one source, Wilson spoke with a "studied working class Yorkshire accent, although this was not part of his background, as his father had spoken 'upper class' English."[6] Mullan (1999), on the other hand, states: "His Huddersfield accent was disappearing during the 1940s and 50s, but mysteriously returned after he became Labour leader in 1963". Harriet Harman[7] is the niece of an earl and comes from a privileged background. She admitted in a newspaper interview that she lost her "cut-glass accent" to fit in with Labour Party colleagues, although claiming that "I didn't consciously change it, but I agree, I lost it somehow."[8]

The foregoing examples illustrate that politicians from both major UK parties have modified their accents to establish or reinforce their political identity. Inasmuch as these modifications are fairly stable, they represent a politician's phonetic style; however, when an individual speaker switches between different variants of a phoneme (intra-speaker variation), style-

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5 As one would reasonably conclude from his family background.

6 Wikipedia *Harold Wilson* http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harold_Wilson [13.09.2013]

7 At the time of writing Deputy Leader of the Labour Party.

8 *London Evening Standard,* 28 January 2010. http://www.standard.co.uk/news/harriet-harman-i-dropped-my-cutglass-accent-for-labour-6712114.html [13.08.2013]

shifting occurs. It was suggested above that while word-final pre-vocalic glottal /t/ is increasingly met in modern RP, it is not yet entirely acceptable in all social contexts, its use being considerably more likely in informal contexts and among younger speakers. The aim of this work was, firstly, to investigate the extent to which political leaders from the mainstream UK parties use this variant and, if so, in which speech situations; secondly, to examine the role of style-shifting in their use of this variant; and finally, to consider the influence of party allegiance and other social variables on speech differences between the speakers.

2. Methodology of the present study

2.1. Selecting the speakers, circumstances and linguistic variable

2.1.1. The speakers

The initial impetus for this study was provided by the observation that Tony Blair, Labour Prime Minister 1997–2007 and to all intents and purposes an RP speaker, not long after taking office had developed a propensity for t-glottalling, including in word-final pre-vocalic position, in certain social contexts.[9] This change in his speech was widely noticed and commented on, usually disparagingly.[10] So influential a politician was Blair as Labour leader that a number of younger ministers appointed by Blair appeared to follow Blair's phonetic lead,[11] and several political observers discern a continuing trend among leading Labour politicians to adopt this phonetic feature, regardless of their social and educational background.[12]

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9 Typically, TV and radio talk shows.

10 The portmanteau word *mockney* (*mock* + *Cockney*) was frequently used in connection with Blair's accent change, which was also described in one newspaper article as "faux-plebeian". (Cf. Geoffrey Wheatcroft, "It's the way Tony tells 'em…", *The Independent*, 7 June 1998. http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/its-the-way-tony-tells-em-1163337.html, [23.08.2013]).

11 Most notably, perhaps, his *protégé* David Miliband, former Foreign Secretary and older brother of the current Labour leader, Ed Miliband. (Cf. Mary Wakefield. Miliband needs coaching. *The Spectator*, 31 July 2008. http://blogs.spectator.co.uk/coffeehouse/2008/07/miliband-needs-coaching/, [19.08.2013]). Another blog posting tars younger brother Ed with the same brush: Milliband [sic] nitwits adopt Blairspeak, *Talking bollocks*, 29 September 2010: "the Brothers Milliband [sic] … both have that weird middle class accent with the inconsistent glotal [sic] stop – Just like Mr. Blair." http://talkingbollocks.net/2010/09/29/milliband-nitwits-adopt-blairspeak/, [17.07.2013].

12 The point is made in a number of political blogs, and very clearly in this example: The Labour Shadow Cabinet – Miliband's Mockneys, *Political Thoughts*, 27 December

Therefore, the initial focus in this study will be on Tony Blair and the matching of his phonetic to his political style. However, in order to determine how widespread the use of this variant is among leading British politicians and whether political allegiance and other social factors such as family and educational background play a role, I decided to analyse not only Blair's speech but also that of the three current leaders of the mainstream political parties in Britain: David Cameron (Conservative, currently Prime Minister), Nick Clegg (Liberal Democrat, currently Deputy Prime Minister), and Ed Miliband (Labour, currently Leader of the Opposition). They are of a similar age (47, 46 and 43 respectively) and all three are Oxbridge educated males, although unlike Cameron and Clegg, who were privately educated (Eton and Westminster respectively), Miliband attended the local state secondary school.[13] All three have a middle- or upper middle-class background; however, while both Cameron's parents were native English speakers, Clegg has a Dutch mother and both Miliband's parents emigrated to Britain from Europe.

Politicians can provide interesting material for an analysis of style and style-shifting because they, probably more than the average person, are conscious of their various audiences (direct or wider) and the personal image (or *persona*) they wish to project, which will vary according to context/audience. Moreover, since there are no differences between Cameron, Miliband and Clegg in terms of the social variables of age, gender, social class, higher education and occupation, other variable factors such as party allegiance should be considered to account for any speech differentiation.

2.1.2. The circumstances

Obviously, in this case there was no possibility of collecting data by means of the usual methods, such as word list, reading passage and face-to-face interview. The data were therefore gleaned from video material available

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2012: "Ed Miliband, the millionaire Labour leader, has assembled a group of middle class individuals, many of whom are privately educated and/or ex Oxbridge, as his Shadow Cabinet. They all seem to be given elocution lessons in cockney so that they can fool the poor and stupid into believing that they share the same background – Milliband's [sic] Mockneys." http://pol-check.blogspot.com/2011/12/labour-shadow-cabinet-millibands.html, [26.08.2013].

[13] Haverstock School in Chalk Farm, north London, which has been described as "Labour's Eton" since it was once favoured by members of Labour's elite living within its catchment area as the school of choice for their children. Cf. John Crace, " The London comprehensive that's schooled Labour's elite", *The Guardian*, 2 August 2010 http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2010/aug/02/haverstock-school-labour-leaders-eton, [08.09.2013].

on the Internet.[14] The types of material ranged from political speeches to interviews; however, classifying the circumstances as more or less formal was not a straightforward matter. Speeches given at party conferences can vary widely in tone from fairly formal to very informal (joke-telling, for example). Parliamentary statements and prepared speeches tend towards the more formal, while answering questions in parliament, especially Prime Minister's Questions (PMQs), can often be rumbustious affairs provoking spontaneous utterances which can, albeit briefly, reveal the speaker's most natural style (Labov's vernacular style, cf. section 1.1.). Interviews also vary in tone. The general rule seems to be: the more relaxed the atmosphere, the more natural and informal the interviewee's style. An additional factor is the interviewee's accommodation to the speech style of the interviewer (cf. section 4). While the aim was to find videos reflecting a range of social contexts and styles, limitations on the material available meant that it was not always possible to obtain a comprehensive range of circumstances.

It was decided that for Tony Blair the material should range not only stylistically but also chronologically: a diachronic view was desirable in view of the fact that his use of word-final pre-vocalic glottal /t/ appeared to vary over time in a pattern reflecting his political career. Moreover, the period in question, 1987 to 2012, is also concurrent with increasing use of glottal /t/ in modern RP. The material for Blair is intended to cover a range of styles; however, finding examples of relaxed, casual and informal speech proved somewhat challenging.

The material for the remaining political figures is all relatively recent and in each case contains one example of the following:

A parliamentary statement. This type of speech is addressed primarily to the House and since it generally deals with a serious political matter, can be expected to be fairly formal in tone. The convention is for a government minister (David Cameron, Nick Clegg) to make a prepared statement and for their opposition counterpart (Ed Miliband) to respond; the response is generally also in the form of a prepared statement (setting out the opposition party's position), but can also include a few unprepared comments in direct response to the statement just given.

A keynote speech given at a party conference. This type of speech tends to range in tone, from informal and humorous (a few jokes are *de rigueur* in such discourse) to more formal when making political points. The audience is primarily the party faithful attending the conference; however, such speeches receive considerably more media exposure than most parliamentary statements, and the speakers can therefore be expected to take that into account in their manner of delivery.

[14] Links to the videos analysed are provided in the appendix.

An informal interview. The aim was to select material in which the subjects were at their most relaxed and therefore most likely to use a natural, informal style. This was the most difficult type of material to find and it proved impossible to exactly match the circumstances for each speaker, a factor which will be taken into account when discussing the results. There is also some chronological separation between Cameron's interview and the remaining two.

2.1.3. The linguistic variable

The linguistic variable under investigation was word-final pre-vocalic /t/. For the purposes of this study, it was decided that there were three variant articulations:

1. [t] Voiceless alveolar plosive
2. [ɾ] Voiced alveolar tap or flap (also described as: T-voicing; T-tapping)[15]
3. [ʔ] Glottal stop.

2.2. Collecting the texts, identifying the variable and expressing the results

The process of collecting the texts involved internet searches to select appropriate video material. Occurrences of word-final pre-vocalic /t/ were identified auditory and classified according to the three categories listed above. Since the texts were not analysed instrumentally, instances where the articulation could not be clearly identified auditorily were omitted from the sample. Also excluded from analysis were instances where word-final /t/ comprised the final element of a consonant cluster (*asked*, *west*: glottalling virtually never occurs), but included were clusters with a preceding nasal or lateral (*grant*, *spilt*), where glottalling can occur. Finally, pre-pausal glottal /t/ was also disregarded, even when the pause was followed by a vowel. The results for each video are presented in tables giving the number of occurrences of each variant, also expressed as a percentage of the total. Accompanying some of the tables is a short explanatory note where it was deemed appropriate.

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[15] For most RP speakers, the voiced alveolar tap/flap [ɾ] is an acceptable allophone in pre-vocalic position across word boundaries, and even (in a small number of words) word-internally. It is more likely to be used in informal contexts and/or rapid speech. There are, however, certain lexical restrictions on its use in RP: in word-final position it is limited to certain short, high-frequency function words such as *but*, *it*, *not*, *get*, *what* and *that*; it is frequent in some common fixed phrases such as *a lot of*; and in word-medial position it is restricted to a very small number of words like *British*, *getting*. See Hannisdal (2006: 182–198) for a detailed account.

3. Results

3.1. Tony Blair

Variant	Occurrences	%
[t]	12	71
[ɾ]	5	29
[ʔ]	0	0
Total	17	100

Table 1. Tony Blair 1987: Formal TV interview

(Short interview with Blair, then a junior opposition spokesperson, answering questions on a financial crisis. The interviewer spoke with an RP accent with no pre-vocalic t-glottalling.)

Variant	Occurrences	%
[t]	15	68
[ɾ]	6	27
[ʔ]	1	5
Total	22	100

Table 2. Tony Blair 1994: Taking questions from the audience

(Blair is now the Shadow Home Secretary (not yet Labour party leader), taking part in a question and answer session on crime with a live audience.)

Variant	Occurrences	%
[t]	16	76
[ɾ]	4	19
[ʔ]	1	5
Total	21	100

Table 3. Tony Blair 2003: Speech to Parliament stating the case for war in Iraq

(Blair, as Prime Minister, makes the opening speech in a formal parliamentary debate on whether Britain should participate in the invasion of Iraq. The customary formality for an opening speech in a parliamentary debate is enhanced by the gravity of the situation.)

Variant	Occurrences	%
[t]	13	62
[ɾ]	3	14
[ʔ]	5	24
Total	21	100

Table 4. Tony Blair 2006: Prime Minister's Questions

(MPs from all parties have a weekly opportunity to question the Prime Minister in Parliament. The main focus is questions from the Leader of the Opposition (in this case

David Cameron). A lively occasion in which the speakers often use humour and sarcasm to score political points.)

Variant	Occurrences	%
[t]	4	19
[ɾ]	4	19
[ʔ]	13	62
Total	21	100

Table 5. Tony Blair 2007: Interview on Labourvision[16] about education

(Shortly before Blair announced his decision to step down as party leader and Prime Minister. Labourvision was a Labour Party TV channel broadcasting on the YouTube platform. It featured interviews with Tony Blair and other leading Labour politicians. Being a totally internal medium, the atmosphere in these interviews (conducted by John O'Farrell, a well-known author and Labour Party supporter) was informal and relaxed. In this interview, on education, Blair answered questions put by students in video/audio clips. O'Farrell's accent could be described as Educated Southern British English (a near-RP variety) with minimal word-final pre-vocalic t-glottalling.)

Variant	Occurrences	%
[t]	15	37.5
[ɾ]	18	45
[ʔ]	7	17.5
Total	40	100

Table 6. Tony Blair 2007: Resignation speech to local party members

(Blair made public his decision to step down as leader of the Labour Party and Prime Minister in this speech to party members at his local constituency in north-east England. Here he is among old friends but, having been Prime Minister for ten years, the message and therefore the occasion is one of considerable political significance for the country as a whole.)

Variant	Occurrences	%
[t]	16	50
[ɾ]	13	41
[ʔ]	3	9
Total	32	100

Table 7. Tony Blair 2012: TV interview with Andrew Marr

(Five years after stepping down as Prime Minister, Blair is no longer involved in British politics but is still regularly interviewed for his views as an international statesman. Andrew Marr is one of the most respected British political commentators with many

[16] A Labour Party channel on YouTube, launched in 2007.

years' experience interviewing leading politicians. The interview was conducted in a relaxed and friendly atmosphere. The interviewer's accent was RP with no pre-vocalic t-glottalling.)

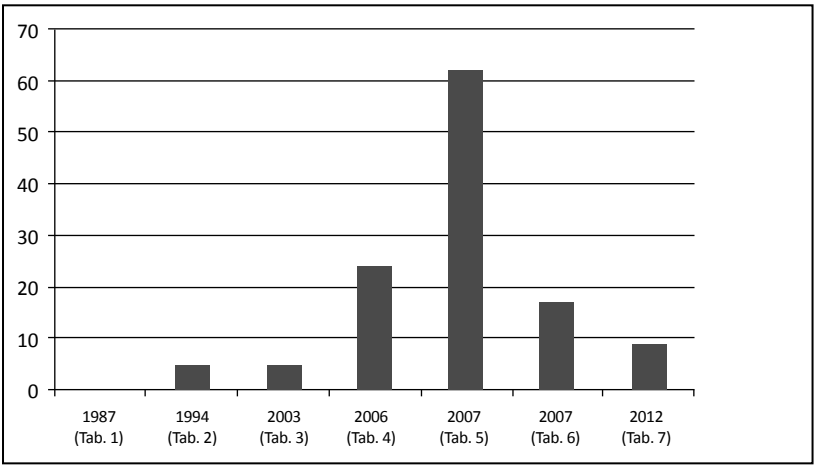

Figure 1. Tony Blair 1987–2012: Percentage of glottal /t/ (cross-referenced to Tables)

3.2. David Cameron, Ed Miliband, Nick Clegg

Variant	Occurrences	%
[t]	21	64
[ɾ]	9	27
[ʔ]	3	9
Total	33	100

Table 8. David Cameron 2011: Statement to Parliament on rioting in England

Variant	Occurrences	%
[t]	14	38
[ɾ]	8	22
[ʔ]	15	40
Total	37	100

Table 9. Ed Miliband 2011: Response to PM's statement (Table 8) on rioting in England

Variant	Occurrences	%
[t]	14	52
[ɾ]	13	48
[ʔ]	0	0
Total	27	100

Table 10. Nick Clegg 2012: Statement to Parliament on the report of an official enquiry on press behaviour

Variant	Occurrences	%
[t]	10	29
[ɾ]	18	51
[ʔ]	7	20
Total	35	100

Table 11. David Cameron 2013: Keynote speech to party conference

Variant	Occurrences	%
[t]	17	47
[ɾ]	11	31
[ʔ]	8	22
Total	36	100

Table 12. Ed Miliband 2013: Keynote speech to party conference

Variant	Occurrences	%
[t]	13	37
[ɾ]	21	60
[ʔ]	1	3
Total	35	100

Table 13. Nick Clegg 2012: Keynote speech to party conference

Variant	Occurrences	%
[t]	9	35
[ɾ]	12	46
[ʔ]	5	19
Total	26	100

Table 14. David Cameron 2009: Interview on Absolute Radio Breakfast Show

(As leader of the opposition, this was Cameron's second appearance as a guest on this popular radio show. He clearly felt relaxed, reflecting the atmosphere of the interview.

The discussion covered a range of topics. His interviewer, Christian O'Connell, is a radio DJ whose accent could be described as Estuary English with word-final pre-vocalic t-glottalling.)

Variant	Occurrences	%
[t]	4	13
[ɾ]	5	16
[ʔ]	22*	71
Total	31	100

* Does not include four instances of intervocalic word-medial glottal /t/

Table 15. Ed Miliband 2012: Interview with SB.TV

(As Leader of the Opposition, Miliband was interviewed for SB.TV, a leading youth broadcaster in the UK. The discussion mainly concerned politics and the interview was conducted in a relaxed manner. The interviewer's accent was that of Multicultural London English with both word-final pre-vocalic and word-medial intervocalic t-glottalling as standard.)

Variant	Occurrences	%
[t]	13	48
[ɾ]	9	33
[ʔ]	5*	19
Total	27	100

* Does not include one instance of intervocalic word-medial glottal /t/

Table 16. Nick Clegg 2011: Answering questions from secondary school pupils

(As Deputy Prime Minister, Clegg answered questions on politics put by a group of teenage school pupils from south London. Despite the generation gap and some initial distance between Clegg and his interviewers, the atmosphere was generally relaxed. The pupils used RP or near-RP Southern British accents (but see below) with occasional word-final pre-vocalic t-glottalling depending on the speaker. A small part of the clip had the pupils speaking outside the interview, when some of them appeared to be less careful with their speech in terms of using London variants than they were when they spoke to Clegg.)

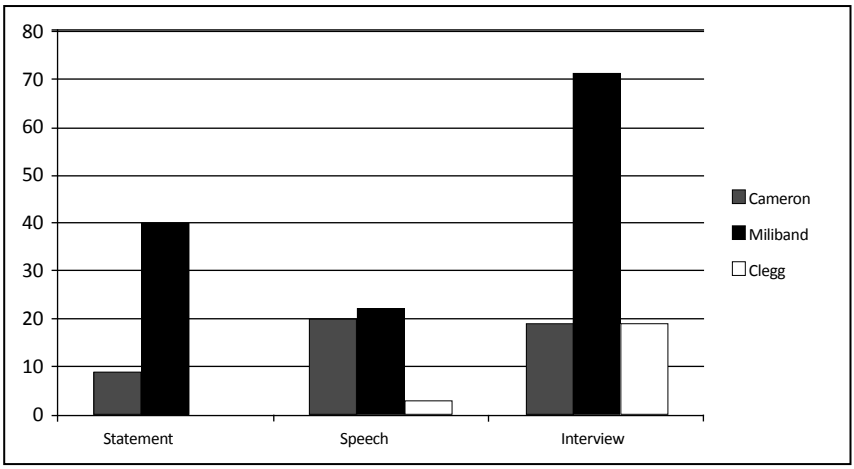

Figure 2. Cameron, Miliband, Clegg: Percentage of glottal /t/ for each speaker according to type of discourse (Tables 8–16)

4. Discussion

4.1.1. Tony Blair

Any discussion of Tony Blair's speech style should be framed in the context of the 'New Labour project', an attempt, dating from the mid-1990s, to 're-brand' Labour as a modern party occupying the centre ground of British politics and a radical departure from 'Old Labour', with its socialist ideology and strong links to the Trade Unions. An important factor in the success of this project, of which Blair was the figurehead, was slick presentational style. According to Fairclough, this was a lesson learnt from bitter experience: "The communicative style of leaders is now recognised as a crucial factor in political success or failure, and Labour is acutely of aware of this because their recent history has included failures" (Fairclough 2000: 4). Franklin (1998: 4) suggests that "New Labour is perhaps the first government genuinely committed to the view that presentation is part of the process of policy formation."

Fairclough (2000: 8) observes that "all politicians have to act, to pretend, or to put it more harshly (though not unfairly) to 'live a lie'". One of Blair's former teachers has described him as "a superb actor".[17] If so, he might be expected to have at his disposal a range of different speaking styles as well as being sensitive to the matching of style to situation. To my knowledge,

[17] Quoted in John Rentoul (2001), *Tony Blair. Prime Minister*. London: Little, Brown, p. 3.

the first reported observations of Blair adopting a Cockney style for certain phonemes followed his appearance on *Des O'Connor Tonight* [18] in 1998, one year after becoming Prime Minister. The occasion has been documented as follows:

> In 1998 the Prime Minister Tony Blair appeared on a TV chat show hosted by the entertainer Des O' Connor, who has a fairly broad London accent, and was heard to 'converge' quite noticeably with his host by dropping some of his aitches and using glottal stops in words such as *little* and *put*. (Davies 2005: 125)

A further occurrence was reported in 2006 following his participation in a popular football phone-in show on BBC radio.[19] The conclusion of one political blogger that Blair's use of t-glottalling was an attempt to "ingratiate himself with ordinary people" and that "he only put it on when appealing to the masses"[20] would appear to be in keeping with the comments of other observers cited earlier. On the basis of these reports, there would appear to be good evidence in both instances of Blair modifying his speaking style to include pre-vocalic t-glottalling in order to accommodate to that of his immediate and/or wider audience.

The data for Tony Blair reveal a pattern, both chronologically and contextually. The results given in Tables 1–7 and summarised in Figure 1 taken together with the observations of other writers quoted previously indicate a tendency for Blair to adopt t-glottalling in informal contexts during his period as Prime Minister (1997–2007), while avoiding its use both in other speech contexts and outside his period in office. Significant numbers are found only in the data in Tables 4–6. The contexts for Tables 4 and 6 allow for some variability of style; in Blair's resignation speech (Table 6), for example, glottalling was used twice at the beginning when relating a humorous anecdote before moving to more serious content in which he seems to assume a more statesmanlike tone. Similarly, in Prime Minister's Questions (Table 4), two examples of t-glottalling are heard at the end of the exchange, when Blair closes his response with biting sarcasm aimed at the Leader of the Opposition.

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[18] A popular British chat show hosted by Des O'Connor, broadcast from 1977 to 2002.

[19] According to one newspaper report, "When Mike in Leamington Spa asked (Blair) about footballers' wages, the reply came in a flurry of dropped t's. 'They ge' a lo' o' money, bu' I'm no' sure we can do much abow i'.'" (Cf. Martin Kelner, "How Call-Me-Tony put a glottal stop to Chiles play", *The Guardian*, 20 June 2006 http://www.theguardian.com/football/2006/jun/20/worldcup2006.sport23, [09.06.2013])

[20] Milliband [sic] nitwits adopt Blairspeak. *Talking bollocks*, 29 September 2010. http://talkingbollocks.net/2010/09/29/milliband-nitwits-adopt-blairspeak/, [17.07.2013].

The most striking data are in Table 5. While there was some degree of t-glottalling in most of Blair's Labourvision interviews,[21] levels in this interview were substantially higher. This may well be explained by the fact that the questions were submitted by students and Blair would have been addressing them at least as much as his interlocutor when giving his answers. Since pre-vocalic t-glottalling was not a prominent feature of his interviewer's speech style, one might conclude that Blair's copious use of it resulted from his desire to accommodate to the perceived speaking style (younger, more informal) of his wider audience.

By 2012, Blair was no longer a frontline politician focused on communicating with and convincing the British electorate; he now divided his time between international diplomacy (as international Middle East Envoy), charitable work and business activity. The interview with Andrew Marr was friendly and relaxed. Blair had no message to 'spin' and one might surmise that he was under no pressure to use speech patterns other than those which are natural for him. As Table 7 shows, there was minimal t-glottalling.

4.1.2. Blair: style-shifting

The data presented here and the observations of the commentators cited suggest that pre-vocalic t-glottalling is not a significant feature of Blair's general phonetic style, but can rather be seen as style-shifting deployed in certain contexts. The evidence points to the use of glottalling to connect with his audience, whether it be viewers of a popular TV chat show, football fans or students. The aim would appear to be gaining the acceptance and approval of a particular social group by adopting an accent more similar to theirs than the one he would use in most other contexts. As for interpreting this behaviour in terms of the models mentioned earlier (cf. section 1.1.), there would seem to be arguments in favour of both the Bell and Coupland versions. In the case of the former, Blair is obviously conscious of the audience, and for a politician, it is the wider audience that really matters in a mass media context. This is precisely the kind of situation envisaged in Bell's concept of referee design. On the other hand, Coupland's model could also be applied in Blair's case: it is certainly possible to argue that Blair's style-shifting is "the manipulation of semiotic resources in social contexts" to project a persona calculated to appeal to the electorate, or at least a substantial element of it. In adopting a phonetic feature generally used by speakers of a lower social class than his own, Blair may well have been exploiting what Coupland refers to as *dialect style*, that is, variation "in respect of variable features associated semiotically within 'social' or socioeconomic

[21] Available to view on YouTube.

class differentiation" (Coupland 2001: 189). Since both Bell's and Coupland's models contain elements of accommodation theory, it is perhaps not surprising that this theory finds application in explaining Blair's style-shifting: the irreducible fact is that the context for Blair's phonetic modification is engagement in a communicative act with auditors (immediate or wider) belonging to speech communities for whom a middle-class RP accent may have negative associations, and his most likely motivation for such convergence is to gain social approval.

4.2.1. David Cameron, Ed Miliband, Nick Clegg

On the basis of Fabricius' findings that t-glottalling is avoided in more formal contexts, the speaker whose results come closest to matching this pattern is Nick Clegg, with no glottalling in the formal statement, a slightly higher level in the conference speech, and the only significant amount of glottalling in the informal interview. The data for David Cameron show a similar progression from formal statement to conference speech (albeit it at a higher level than Clegg). Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, the degree of glottalling in Cameron's informal interview did not exceed that in the conference speech.[22] A possible explanation might be that the interview took place four years earlier than the speech, and the pace of change in this area of language is quite rapid in the direction of more frequent glottalling. Interestingly, the percentage of glottalling in the informal interview was identical for Cameron and Clegg (Tables 14 and 16 respectively). One noticeable instance of t-glottalling in Clegg's interview is word-medially in *little*, pronouncing it [ˈlɪʔo]. Since intervocalic, word-medial t-glottalling is still largely stigmatised in RP, it is quite surprising that Clegg should use it, especially in view of his general reluctance to glottalise /t/. Moreover, unlike Miliband's interviewer in his SB.TV interview (see below), Clegg's interlocutors used only moderate word-final pre-vocalic t-glottalling and seemed to be rather careful about their speech.

The data for Ed Miliband are noteworthy in several respects. Given that one result of Blair's considerable influence on younger Labour politicians was a tendency for them to imitate his glottalling style (cf. section 2.1.1.), it would perhaps not be surprising for Miliband's rate of glottalling to be somewhat higher than that of Cameron and Clegg; however, the scale of the difference (several-fold greater in both the formal statement the informal interview) might not have been reasonably expected. With regard to the par-

[22] There can be no question as to the informality of Cameron's language in the interview. He used a large number of colloquial words and expressions, including *twat*, considered rude by some people and for which he subsequently issued an apology.

liamentary statement, although Miliband was, strictly speaking, responding to rather than making a statement, his response was read from prepared notes and was not improvised. One interesting observation is that Miliband began and ended his response in language that matched the formality of the occasion, stressing the unity of all political parties in condemning the rioting and showing solidarity with the victims. All the t-glottalling comes in the middle part, when the content becomes somewhat more partisan and the tone more impassioned. Here Miliband is stressing the implementation of social policies to combat youth alienation rather than simply punishing the rioters, an approach which may be seen as reflecting Labour values rather than Conservative; thus, he may, consciously or unconsciously, have switched to an accent more appealing to the majority of Labour supporters.

The level of glottalling in Miliband's informal interview on SB.TV was exceptionally high, which might have been influenced by two factors. Firstly, he was interviewed by a speaker of Multicultural London English,[23] a variety sharing the same pattern of t-glottalling as Cockney, and was therefore the only one of the three to have an interviewer who consistently used both pre- and intervocalic t-glottalling. Miliband would probably have modified his accent to some degree to that of his interlocutor, as might be expected according to communication accommodation theory (cf. section 1.1.). Secondly, Miliband would have been aware that the SB.TV audience is composed almost entirely of young people and pre-vocalic t-glottalling is certainly a highly noticeable phonetic feature that many of the SB.TV audience would readily identify with. What is also quite remarkable in this interview is four instances of intervocalic t-glottalling in word-medial position: *totally* pronounced [ˈtəʊʔəli] (said twice) and *voted* pronounced [ˈvəʊʔɪd] (also said twice). It would seem that Miliband is reinforcing his identification with London inner-city youth by glottalling exactly as they do.

Another interesting point of comparison in the informal interview is that while Miliband's rate of t-glottalling is significantly higher that Cameron's and Clegg's, their rate of t-tapping is higher by a factor of 2.9 and 2.1 respectively (Tables 14 and 16). In Miliband's SB.TV interview, glottalling exceeded tapping by a factor of 4.4 (Table 15). Since t-tapping tends to be used more in informal speech in RP (cf. footnote 15), it may be the case that in informal situations pre-vocalic t-tapping is still favoured in more conservative varieties of RP, whereas glottalling is making inroads in a more 'progressive' type of RP. Differences noted in Blair's discourse style lend

[23] Multicultural London English (MLE) is a recently emerged variety spoken by young, working-class people in Inner London. Phonetically, it includes traditional Cockney features with additional influences from the Caribbean and South Asia.

some support to this theory. In the Labourvision interview, in which Blair appears to have modified his speech to accommodate to a wider audience of younger, more 'progressive' speakers, glottalling exceeded tapping by a factor of 3.3 (Table 5); however, during the Andrew Marr interview, conducted in an atmosphere by no means formal, he reverted to a more conservative style in which tapping exceeded glottalling by a factor of 4.6 (Table 7).

In seeking to account for the higher levels of glottalling displayed by Ed Miliband, it should be remembered that the circumstances of the informal interview were not identical for all three politicians (cf. section 2.1.2.); however, it is unlikely that this in itself could account for the whole difference, and in the case of the parliamentary statement, there are no significant "extenuating circumstances" for Miliband's higher glottalling rate. However, it is possible to identify certain social variables peculiar to Miliband which may go some way to providing an explanation: political allegiance, area of upbringing, schooling and parental origin:

Political allegiance. As a minister in Tony Blair's government, it is inevitable that Ed Miliband would have fallen under Blair's influence. One manifestation of this could be a degree of imitation of the latter's Prime Ministerial communicative style, in which t-glottalling was a fairly noticeable feature.[24] It was noted earlier (section 1.3.) that certain leading Labour politicians modified their accents to sound less middle class and more working class in order to connect with their core constituency, and the tendency towards t-glottalling by Blair and his protégés and/or successors may reasonably be seen in this light. Because of the different demographic of their core constituency, Conservative and Liberal Democrat politicians would not be susceptible to the same pressure to modify their accents 'downwards'.

Area of origin. Of the three party leaders, Miliband is the only one to have been brought up in London.[25] Fabricius found that while the average rate of pre-vocalic t-glottalling for all speakers in her study in interview style was 40% (Fabricius 2000: 94), there was some regional variation. Pre-vocalic glottalling rates were 55% for speakers from London, 38% for the Home Counties and 25% for remaining areas (Fabricius 2000: 98).

Schooling. Unlike his Conservative and Liberal Democrat counterparts, Miliband was educated entirely in the state system and mostly in London, where many of his peers would have had accents other than RP, including Cockney. Privately educated Cameron and Clegg, on the other hand, would predominantly have been exposed to RP accents at school.

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[24] Cf. footnotes 11 and 12.

[25] David Cameron was born but not brought up in London. Nick Clegg was partly educated at Westminster School, where he was a boarder, returning to the family home outside London at weekends and vacations.

Parental origin. Fabricius (2000: 104) found significant differences in levels of pre-vocalic t-glottalling in interview style between speakers with two British-born speakers and those with only one, being 31% and 54% respectively. Since both Miliband's parents were born outside Britain and learned English as a second language, this may also be a factor. Clegg has mixed parentage (Dutch mother), which in his case has not resulted in higher rates of t-glottalling.

4.2.2. Cameron, Miliband, Clegg: style-shifting

Cameron and Clegg both used moderate levels of word-final pre-vocalic t-glottalling in less formal situations while avoiding it in the most formal context, indicating some degree of style-shifting in order, it would appear, to accommodate to their interlocutors and/or the wider audience. For Cameron, the shift to a less formal style was indicated more clearly by a significant increase in the rate of t-tapping and a decrease in the use of the unvoiced alveolar plosive. With Clegg, this pattern was also discernible to some extent, but not nearly as pronounced as in the case of Cameron.

The data for Miliband present more of a challenge in attempting to establish a pattern of style-shifting. Compared with the conference speech, the informal interview represents a substantial style-shift in terms of the rate of pre-vocalic t-glottalling (from 20% to 71%), whereas the shift from parliamentary statement to informal interview (40% to 71%), which might have been expected to be greater, was less significant. Extrapolating the data obtained in this study somewhat, it might be speculated that the use of pre-vocalic t-glottalling is more frequent in Miliband's natural speech style than in Cameron's or Clegg's, or, for that matter, Blair's. However, what Blair and Miliband do have in common, apart from political allegiance, is that both have used word-final pre-vocalic t-glottalling at levels unusual for RP speakers (Tables 5 and 15 respectively) to effect a conspicuous shift in style in contexts where each politician felt it was appropriate to do so. As in the case of Blair, there are justifiable grounds for applying both Bell's and Coupland's models to explain Miliband's motivation (cf. section 4.1.2.).

5. Conclusions

On the basis of the evidence presented in this study, Labour politicians were more likely than Conservative or Liberal Democrat to use a speech style with frequent word-final pre-vocalic t-glottalling. While this feature was most marked in informal speech, the data for Ed Miliband suggest that it can also be found to some degree in more formal contexts. The purpose of

adopting this style would appear to be in order to connect with the speaker's audience, both immediate and wider, and may be interpreted either as a response to the audience or an attempt to project a certain type of persona, or even a combination of both. The findings concerning style-shifting are largely consistent with what could have been expected according to communication accommodation theory.

The fact that for most speakers examined in this study the use of prevocalic t-glottalling was restricted to the most informal contexts suggests that this phonetic feature remains a fairly stable sociolinguistic variable. The exception is Ed Miliband, and here one might hypothesise that he is representative of a subgroup of more 'progressive' RP speakers from the London area for whom the feature extends across different speech contexts. This may suggest the early stages of linguistic change in which a phonetic variant from a less prestigious, regional variety is pushing out one or more variants traditionally associated with RP. However, the small size and narrow range of the sample mean that considerable caution should be exercised before drawing any general conclusions in this regard.

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Appendix

Links to videos used for analysis.
Table 1: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u8lhtknnuSU&feature=related
Table 2: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BXtd4Rmg6qo
Table 3: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pg9aEV9bcxs
Table 4: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NpVycRpa2L8
Table 5: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gx6W33ym4RM
Table 6: http://www.youtube.com/watch?NR=1&v=_oOtN59_Ft0&feature=endscreen
Table 7: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8T7NCEuiTI0
Table 8: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WqAiVErPCQM
Table 9: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2SF-ZuvRO2Q
Table 10: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vQlFFqAjexU
Table 11: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZdtzjLsaQSI
Table 12: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bZSrM7Julsg
Table 13: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DT2gjNMmUPc
Table 14: http://www.absoluteradio.co.uk/player/Christian-O-Connell-Breakfast-Show/7132/David-Cameron-best-bits.html
Table 15: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mSbH-UatMII
Table 16: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PnS7AXnftIk
All the above were analysed in their entirety with the exception of the three conference speeches (Tables 11, 12, 13), which were too long for complete analysis; therefore, extracts of similar length at the beginning of each speech were selected for analysis.

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We are not amused. Etiquette and Language at the Court of Queen Victoria

1. Introduction

Etiquette, understood as a code of behaviour that delineates expectations for social behaviour according to contemporary conventional norms within a society, social class, or group, was the key word in Victorian Period. This French word 'étiquette' (from Old French '*estiquette', English 'tag' or 'ticket')* first appeared in English around 1750 (*Oxford English Dictionary*, *s.v.* 'etiquette', 1.a.) and originally meant the rules of court ceremony printed on tickets that were given to each person presented at court (Eichler 1: 2).

2. Court etiquette

Etiquette at the court of Queen Victoria was always strictly observed, and the poet Elizabeth Barrett Browning could only hope in 1837 that the young Queen's "tender heart" would not be hardened by "the coldness of state etiquette" (Munich 1996: 19). And one of the members of the household observed that when young Victoria, a "mere girl", ascended the throne, she was practically friendless, "with nothing but the prop of Court etiquette upon which to lean" (Anonymous 1901: 73), because from her accession the formalities of state and the necessary restraint that lies between sovereign and subject separated the Queen even from her mother, who was allowed to see her daughter only by appointment and at formal dinners and receptions.

Young Prince Albert wrote to his tutor that Victoria was believed to delight in "ceremonies, etiquette" and the "trivial formalities" of court life (Bolitho 1948: 45). But in reality, it was the Queen's husband, a man of impeccable manners and a master of royal protocol, who proved most unbending in matters of court etiquette. Even though Victoria tried to convince everyone that her husband was a paragon of virtue, many found it impossible to warm to his stiff and inhibited manner. Already in 1900, the writer Margaret Oliphant wondered whether Albert's hiding behind the court etiquette had been "a hindrance to that true appreciation which his character deserved" (Oliphant 1900: 62). Victoria, coached by Albert, used court etiquette to carefully cultivate the aura of majesty surrounding the British monarchy after years of disrepute under the earlier Hanoverian kings. The ceremonial of the court offered both a theatrical stage and an aura of prestige and was to increase Victoria's own position as the queen.

Etiquette ruled every moment of court life, even when the Queen was in company only of her household members. For example, court etiquette demanded that all coin of the realm passed to the sovereign should be new and unused so when Victoria passed her time playing cards with the Ladies-in-Waiting and Maids-of-Honour they were always obliged to keep new money about them (Anonymous 1901: 94).Victoria enjoyed going to the theatre, the opera or the ballet, but etiquette demanded that all her companions should remain standing throughout the whole performance. Also the rule that ministers must stand during their audiences with the Queen had been absolute. When Lord Derby, the Prime Minister, had an audience of Her Majesty after a serious illness, he mentioned it afterwards, as a proof of the royal favour, that the Queen had remarked "how sorry she was she could not ask him to be seated" (Disraeli to Lady Bradford, 7 August 1874 quoted in Buckle 1920: vol. 5: 339). She did not forget the etiquette also during the much awaited audience she gave to ailing Charles Dickens in March 1870, three months before his death. The Queen had even agreed to travel to London to receive him at Buckingham Palace when she was informed that he was not well enough to make the journey to Windsor. Protocol demanded, however, that Dickens should remain standing through an audience that would last for one and a half hours. To show the respect in which she held the author, the Queen did not sit either leaning over the back of a sofa (Johnson 1953: vol. 1: 733–5, 872–4).

As long as Prince Albert lived, only in one particular was the severity of the etiquette allowed to lapse. Once when the pregnant Lady John Russell seemed to be overcome by fatigue the Queen whispered to her to sit down but took the precaution of placing another lady in front of her so that the Prince should not notice this breach of etiquette (Charlot 1991: 224).

Later in the reign, when Albert was long dead, the person who could count on the Queen's forgetting the etiquette was Benjamin Disraeli. He made a habit of kissing the Queen's hand and of by-passing court etiquette by sending highly personal, witty, and entertaining letters direct to the Queen rather than through her private secretary. Disraeli reported that during one of his audiences the Queen said, "To think of your having the gout! How you must have suffered! And you ought not to stand now! You shall have a chair!"(Disraeli to Lady Bradford, 7 August 1874, quoted in Buckle 1920: vol. 5: 339).

3. Language of Court conversation

The ever-present etiquette is also the key to understanding the formality and the informality of the language used at the court of Queen Victoria. Guests invited to court were carefully briefed on how to dress, what to expect and how to behave. Male quests wore uniform or knee breeches, silk stockings, and frock coats. Guests were not to speak to the Queen unless spoken to by her first, and then were to confine their replies to the questions she raised. According to etiquette only the Queen could initiate a conversation (Waddington 1903: 192). Frederick Ponsonby, the Queen's private secretary, recalls that at the table talk was supposed to be general, but the custom was to talk to one's neighbour in very low tones, and those on the right and left of Her Majesty were the only ones who spoke up (Ponsonby 1951: 23). Lady Randolph Churchill recorded that during these dinners:

> conversation was carried on whispers, which I thought exceedingly oppressive and conducive to shyness. When the Queen spoke, even the whispers ceased. If she addresses a remark to you, the answer was given while the company listened. (Cornwallis-West 1908: 180)

Indeed, Lord Ribblesdale, the lord-in-waiting, said that the Queen remarks were conventional in the extreme. He wrote in his memoirs:

> One way or another, I must have dined many times at the Queen's dinner party, and I personally never heard her say anything at dinner which I remembered next morning. (Ribblesdale 1927: 118)

When, after dinner, the company was reassembled in the drawing-room the etiquette was as stiff as ever. For a few moments the Queen spoke in turn to each one of her guests. One night Charles Greville, the Clerk of the Privy Council, was present and he left the description of the conversation with the Queen:

> "Have you been riding to-day, Mr. Greville?" asked the Queen.
> "No, Madam, I have not," replied Greville.
> "It was a fine day," continued the Queen.
> "Yes, Madam, a very fine day," said Greville.
> "It was rather cold, though," said the Queen.
> "It was rather cold, Madam," said Greville.
> "Your sister, Lady Frances Egerton, rides, I think, doesn't she?" asked the Queen.
> "She does ride sometimes, Madam," said Greville. (Greville 1938: vol. 4: 41)

There was an awkward pause, after which Mr. Greville decided to take the lead, but remembering the etiquette he did not dare change the subject:

> "Has your Majesty been riding today?" asked Greville.
> "Oh yes, a very long ride," answered the Queen with animation.
> "Has your Majesty got a nice horse?" asked Greville. "Oh, a very nice horse," said the Queen. (Greville 1938: vol. 4: 41)

And the conversation was over. The Queen gave a smile and Greville a profound bow, and the next conversation began with the next gentleman.

4. Language of official correspondence

Etiquette demanded that in official writing third person singular forms should be used, even when writing about trifling matters. Ministers, officials and members of the household always started their letters or reports or memos with phrases like "Mr So and So presents his humble duty to your Majesty" or "So and So, with humble duty, begs to":

> Mr Gladstone to Queen Victoria.
> 7th February 1854.
>
> The Chancellor of the Exchequer presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has the honour to acknowledge your Majesty's gracious letter. He takes blame to himself for having caused your Majesty trouble by omitting to include in his short memorandum an explanation of the phrase 'qualified persons'…..(Benson 1908, vol. 3: 11)
>
> Queen Victoria to Mr Gladstone.
> Buckingham Palace, 17th February 1854.
>
> The Queen has received Mr Gladstone's letter and memorandum, and had heard from the Prince the further explanation of the grounds upon which he, Mr Gladstone, thinks the new regulations respecting the Civil Service necessary. The Queen, although not without considerable misgivings, sanctions the proposed plan….(Benson 1908, vol. 3: 10).

Even on everyday matters numerous notes and memos were exchanged, decisions being made in writing rather than orally. As the Queen disliked typewriters, she insisted that all official business with her be conducted using handwritten memoranda. The envelopes with every report, every piece of advice offered, by the order of the Queen had to be sealed with wax and an official seal and "not licked" (Ponsonby 1951: 43). Henry Ponsonby, the Queen's secretary, preserved in his papers numerous examples of often trivial communications between himself, the Queen and the many members of the royal household. For instance, when theatre performances were staged at court, the Queen did not hesitate to censor the script if she thought it too *outré*. In 1893, when Tennyson's tragedy *Becket* was prepared, the Queen, thinking about the scenes with Henry II's mistress, Rosamund, sent Ponsonby a memo saying:

> The Queen is rather alarmed at hearing from the P^{ce} of Wales & P^{ce} George that there is some very strong language (disagreeable & coarse rather) in *Becket* w^{h} must be somewhat changed for performance *here*… Pr^{ss} Louise says that some *scenes* or perhaps *one* are very *awkward*. What can be done? The P^{r} of Wales thought Sir Henry sh^{d} see & speak to Irving. The Queen hates anything of that sort. (Ponsonby 1942: 82–3)

When in 1888 Oscar Wilde wrote asking for leave "to copy some of the poetry written by the Queen when young," the Queen scribbled on the letter: "Really what will people not say & invent. Never c^{d} the Queen in her whole life write *one line of poetry* serious or comic or make a Rhyme even. This is therefore all *invention* & a *myth*" (Ponsonby 1942: 50). There is also an interesting example of the Queen's severity about handwriting. In 1881 a letter arrived from Lord Carmarthen, who was then nineteen and worked as an assistant secretary at the Colonial Office. She wrote on the letter:

> The Queen cannot help drawing Sir Henry's attention to this atrocious & disgraceful writing for a young nobleman. Sir Henry sh^{d} write to someone saying the Queen thinks he sh^{d} improve his writing to become distinct. It is too dreadful. What would Lord Palmerston have said! (Ponsonby 1942: 45)

Sir Henry must have found this note quite amusing, for whereas the nobleman's handwriting was quite legible, the Queen's minute took a quarter of an hour to decipher.

5. Language of semi-private correspondence

It is only on very rare occasions that in semi-private correspondence the "private" Victoria is well seen, displaying a wide range of feelings and emo-

tions of the hot-blooded human, sometimes even despite the official form. On Dean of Windsor's death in 1882 she wrote to her Private Secretary:

> Balmoral Castle, Sep. 18, 1882
> The Queen thanks Sir Henry Ponsonby for his letter of sympathy on a universal & irreparable loss, which is crushing to her! Irreparable! The last of her valued old friends & the most intimate of all. The dear Dean was with her for 33 years – knew our children from their earliest childhood & 3 from their births – shared any sorrow as well as any trouble & anxiety; was large minded cd understand anything so well – made allowances for everything & was such a wise, excellent adviser, the Queen thinks with great knowledge of the world & Windsor without him will be strange & dreadful. (Ponsonby 1942: 62)

In the case of Sir Henry Ponsonby, who was her private secretary for over thirty-eight years, she had only once in their long association stepped over the very formal boundaries that divided them as monarch and servant and written to him in the first person on the occasion of the death of his mother in 1884, Lady Emily, to whom he was very devoted: "I cannot write formally in the 3rd person to you at this moment of overwhelming grief" and added many touching expressions of sympathy (Ponsonby 1942: 150–151). When Benjamin Disraeli died, her grief was profound. Writing to his secretary, Lord Rowton, the Queen again ignored protocol, unable, she said, to "write in the 3rd person at this terrible moment when I can scarcely see for my fast falling tears" and a few days after his funeral she made a private visit to his tomb and placed a china wreath of flowers on his coffin (Blake 1966: 749).

There are very few instances of the Queen forgetting or disposing off of the etiquette and writing very personal letters to people clearly inferior to her in status. For example, after John Brown, her long-standing Personal Attendant, died, on 3 April 1883 she wrote to his sisters-in-law a very emotional, personal letter:

> Dear Lizzie and Jessie,
> Weep with me for we have lost the best, the truest heart that ever beat! As for me – my grief is unbounded – dreadful – & I know not how to bear it, – or how to believe it possible. … My dearest, best friend, to whom I could say everything and who watched over & protected me so kindly and who thought of everything. … He, dear, excellent, upright, warmhearted – strong! John – is happy, blessing us – while we weep. God bless you both! You have your husbands – your support – but I have no strong arm to lean on now.(Lamont-Brown 2000: 167–8)

And on the main wreath placed on Brown's grave the Queen had written: "A tribute of loving, grateful and everlasting friendship and affection

from his truest, best and most faithful friend, Victoria, R & I" (Lamont-Brown 2000: 169). The letter and the inscription on the wreath even today are used to prove some of the gossip regarding the Queen's secret relationship with Brown.

6. "We are not amused."

The phrase "We are not amused," commonly attributed to Queen Victoria, is probably apocryphal. The Queen's granddaughter, Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone, in her 1976 interview revealed that she had once asked her grandmother about the phrase and was told that she had never said the famous phrase. (The Princess Alice Interview 1976, at 5:55). It is possible that the quote in reality belonged to Queen Elizabeth I, who was not amused at Walter Raleigh smoking tobacco in her presence, but it has been observed that the phrase "We are not amused" fitted so well the general perception of Queen Victoria, that it "has hung like a millstone round the neck of her reputation. It has damned Victoria as [equally apocryphal] 'Let them eat cake' damned Marie Antoinette" (Hardy1976:1).

The quote first appeared in James Payn's novel entitled *The Talk of the Town* which was published in 1885, but without being attributed to Queen Victoria: "There was once a young gentleman who was endeavouring to make himself agreeable as a *raconteur* in the presence of Royalty. When he had done his story, the Royal lips let fall these terrible words: 'We are not amused.'" (Payn 1885: vol. 2: 158). Then, it was mentioned without much detail in anonymously published *Notebooks of a Spinster Lady*, where it says: "There is a tale of the unfortunate equerry who ventured during dinner at Windsor to tell a story with a spice of scandal or impropriety in it. 'We are not amused,' said the Queen when he had finished" (Holland 1919: 269). A later, and a fuller version of the story can be found in the memoirs of Lillie Langtry, the celebrated actress and mistress of Prince Edward. Langtry writes that in 1889 Queen Victoria heard that one of her equerries, Alick Yorke, was very good at mimicking her. One evening at dinner at Buckingham Palace, the Queen turned to the equerry and said:

> 'I understand that you give a very good imitation of me. Will you do it now?' … The trembling victim proceeded to give a greatly modified and extremely bad imitation, to which the Queen said in a freezing tone '*We* are not amused.' (Langtry 1978: 62–63)

The Queen's remark was often misinterpreted as demonstrating her lack of a sense of humour, but in fact she was showing her disapproval, not of the act itself, but of the manner in which it was performed at table.

From the linguistic point of view the phrase is quite ambiguous, and has at least two possible meanings. It can be understood as the opinion of the monarch, using the official 'we', the majestic plural and then it means 'We, the Queen, are not amused'. The majestic plural (*pluralis maiestatis,* 'the plural of majesty'), also called the royal pronoun, the royal 'we' or the Victorian 'we', was probably introduced to England in the late 12th century by William Longchamp, Chancellor of King Richard I (Turner 2004). Its first recorded use was in 1169, when, as the tradition has it, King Henry II, in connection with the Investiture Controversy claimed that according to the theory of "divine right of kings", the sovereign acted conjointly with God. Thus he used 'we' meaning 'God and I…' (cf. Warren 1973, 245).

Linguistically it is possible that the phrase "We are not amused" includes the majestic plural, but historically hardly so. After the death of her husband in 1861, Queen Victoria never used the plural form in her official speeches. So it is improbable that in this phrase, she should have used it (were the phrase hers). It is much more probable, and logical, that the 'we', in "We are not amused" has to do with clusivity, and is an example of the so called exclusive 'we', which specifically excludes the addressee. Thus, "We are not amused", means "We, (I and the ladies present, but not you), are not amused." Therefore, the phrase expresses the Queen's objection to the telling of *risqué* jokes by male members of the royal household, in presence of the ladies, many of whom were young, unmarried women. The Queen thought it indelicate for jokes that might cause her ladies-in-waiting embarrassment to be made in their presence.

There is much historical evidence to prove that such understanding of the phrase is more correct (cf. Mallet 1968; Hibbert 2000, 178–9). Nowadays, the prevailing image of the Queen is that of a glum monarch incapable of seeing the fun in anything. This image is, however, far from the truth. Already in 1901, Edmund Gosse in his anonymously published article on Queen Victoria, noticed that among the many photographs of the Queen there is none of her smiling, because, as Mary Ponsonby remarked, "under the evil spell of the photographic camera" the Queen's smile "disappeared altogether" (Gosse 1901:315). Indeed, the image of an unsmiling Queen had been the principle of the iconography of her reign, but Gosse was mistaken, for there are at least two photographs of the Queen in which she is smiling: one from 1886 with her daughter Beatrice, granddaughter Princess Victoria, and great-granddaughter Alice; another from 1898 in an open carriage (Gernsheim and Gernsheim 1954: plates 256 and 313; Hardy 1976: plates 19 and 20). As photographic techniques became more sophisticated and exposure times shortened, the camera was at last able to accommodate some movement in its subject. With it, more informal photos of the Queen

emerged and her smile was captured. Ethel Smyth, the famous composer and suffragette, who met the Queen in 1891, admitted to being quite taken aback by the "the sweetest, most entrancing smile I have ever seen on a human face" (Smyth 1987: 186).

Privately, the Queen loved humorous anecdotes and, as Hardy asserted, "she personally had a partiality for quite broad jokes", but she "always regarded it as her paramount duty to retain decorum at Court". (Hardy 1976: 8). As a young princess, Victoria was often described as bright, vivacious, and merry. She enjoyed the collective "mirth" of "gay conversation, music, jokes, dancing, laughter" (Woodham-Smith 1975: 150) and such good humour continued into the early years of her reign. The diarist Thomas Creevey in 1837 thus described young Victoria to his friend "in the strictest confidence":

> A more homely little being you never beheld when she is at her ease, and she is evidently dying to be always more so. She laughs in real earnest, opening her mouth as wide as it can go, showing not very pretty gums… She blushes and laughs every instant in so natural a way as to disarm anybody. (Creevey 1904, vol. 2: 326)

When after the death of her husband in 1861, Victoria disappeared from public view into deep mourning, there soon grew a legend that she had no sense of humour and did not allow any gaiety in her company. But during the last decades of her life she once more started to enjoy gossip and funny stories. She was also known to come up with an unexpected humorous comment. Alick Yorke reported that once at dinner he talked to his neighbour about queen Mary Tudor, and Victoria hearing the word 'queen' enquired which queen he was talking about. When told, she commented: "Oh! My bloody ancestor" (Ponsonby 1951: 23). Mary Mallet, one of her favourite ladies-in-waiting, recalls how the Queen's face would light up with amusement on hearing a *risqué* joke, often starting to laugh heartily. Mary's letters contain many references to the Queen's spontaneous laughter when at a 'hen dinner' with her ladies: "the Queen laughed till she cried", "she was immensely amused and roared with laughter, her whole face changing and lighting up in a wonderful way", "she was very funny at the evening concert… in excellent spirits and full of jokes" (Mallet 1968: 100, 127, 168).

Lord Ribblesdale, the lord-in-waiting, always knew when she was really amused. "'I knew this," he said, "by one of the rare smiles, as different as possible to the civil variety which, overtired, uninterested or thinking about something else, she contributed to the conventional observations of her visitors" (Ribblesdale 1927: 119–120). She was quite amused by the

rapidity with which her large family multiplied, remarking: "I fear the seventh granddaughter and fourteenth grand-child becomes a very uninteresting thing – for it seems to me to go on like the rabbits in Windsor Park" (Fulford 1971: 200–201). The comedian, J. L. Toole, was well known for his imitation of the Queen. When he was once invited to Windsor, the Queen asked him to imitate her:

> "Now, Mr Toole, imitate me." Toole, aghast, demurred. but the Queen persisted. After the performance she was "for a little while silent and serious, but then began to laugh, gently at first, and then more and more heartily". At last the Queen said, "Mr Toole that was very clever, and very, very funny, and you must promise me you will never, never do it again."(Musgrave 2011: 202)

There was also loud laughter when the Queen was told by Lord Dufferin of a naive American who asked his English hostess, "How old are you? How long have you been married? I should like to see your nuptial bed." The Queen burst out laughing and she raised her napkin to protect Princess Beatrice and the maids-of-honour who were sitting on the other side of the table (Longford 1964: 527). Upon a later hilarious occasion, an old and rather deaf Admiral was telling the Queen in minute detail how a ship which had sunk off the south coast had been raised and towed into Portsmouth. Anxious to stop the Admiral's flow of boring detail, the Queen tried to change the subject by asking him about his sister. Mishearing her, the Admiral continued, "Well, Ma'am, I am going to have her turned over, take a good look at her bottom and have it scraped." On hearing this, the Queen "put down her knife and fork, hid her face in her handkerchief and shook and heaved with laughter until the tears rolled down her face." (Hibbert 2000: 474). The Queen *was* amused.

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On the Invariance of Standard English

> …our ability to vary our language according to our social and regional backgrounds, our professional careers, and indeed our creative urges as individuals, is at the very heart of the gift that human language bestows. (Randolph Quirk 1990: 15)

1. Introduction

The standard is generally taken to be a (written) variety of language that varies minimally in form and maximally in function. The stability of form of the standard is a result of the codification of its norms in dictionaries and grammar books. The question of how the standard arises has received two distinct explanations in twentieth-century linguistic theory. In most sociolinguistic accounts, the standard is taken to be a result of deliberate and conscious efforts undertaken as part of the language maintenance and planning policy by government agencies, inculcated through the educational system and disseminated by language authorities as well as (parts of) the media. The variety of language propagated through these institutions is "educated" language, which carries high social prestige and which may be synonymous with an elite variety of language. It is the only variety of language characterized by elaboration of function.

To the extent that the standard is associated with a system of beliefs about the stability of its linguistic norms and attitudes to usage that is or is not sanctioned by authority, it is an ideology. In a recent study, Trudgill (1999, 2011) takes a different view, arguing that standard language in fact arises in the process of a natural course of language evolution through historical time. As a result, its distinctive grammatical features are not free from idiosyncrasy and irregularity, similarly to what is observed in non-standard

varieties. However, it cannot be linked to other, non-standard varieties, "because the codification that forms a crucial part of the standardisation process results in a situation where, in most cases, a feature is either standard or it is not" (Trudgill 1999: 124).

Trudgill supports his stand with an analysis of Standard British English, characterizing it from a sociolinguistic perspective as a "purely social dialect" spoken natively by a small fraction of between 12 to 15 per cent of the population of Britain at the top of the social class scale.[1] Although mainstream modern sociolinguistic theory is founded on the assumption that language is essentially a social phenomenon and is impressed by the social reality of linguistic diversity, Trudgill still focuses the stability of form as a defining criterion by which Standard British English, one from a range of other varieties of English, should be characterized.

The aim of this study is to reflect on Trudgill's approach, in which in an effort to view standard language as a naturally evolved variety, the concept of standard language is consciously divorced from language ideology, very much as in the philosophically and methodologically different generative tradition of linguistic theorizing. Unlike in sociolinguistic theory, in generative theoretical linguistics language is not social, but individual in that what underpins the speakers' linguistic performance are their internal, individual rather than group, societal or community grammars. Building on Wilson and Henry (1998), the view taken here is that standard language is both individual and social, arising only in linguistically and socially stratified communities in which the standard plays a symbolic, nation-defining role. However, if it is characterized as an educated, elite variety, it cannot be divorced from language ideology, contrary to Trudgill's stand. While the distinctive grammatical features of the standard variety divorced from grammatical ideology may well characterize the grammars internal to individuals who acquire Standard English natively, only the grammars of young children may be claimed to be constructed largely or entirely free from external, socially-driven motivation.[2] In adolescence and adult life, social factors impinge on the representation of language in the minds of individual speakers both in terms of the linguistic features and in terms of the social variables that de-

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1 As Trudgill advances his view on Standard English in reference to British English, discussion will be limited to Standard British English. Differences in the ideology of Standard British and Standard American English, which do not have any direct bearing on this study, are discussed in L. Milroy (1999). The linguistic differences between the two regional varieties of Standard English are described in some detail in Trudgill and Hannah (2008).

2 As Smith et al. (2013) argue, acquisition of social variables may be contemporaneous with acquisition of grammatical competence in young children.

cide on the choice of the variants that the grammar of the language makes available. Educated speakers in standard language cultures are conscious of standard norms and tend to use language in a manner that is closer to the socioculturally constructed idealized grammatical form of the language of their linguistic community at least in some situational contexts. However, for Standard English to be acquired and used natively, i.e. at home, it must have a full range of styles, including the most casual, whose grammatical features would be considered ungrammatical judged by the norms of the written standard (cf., among others, Carter and McCarthy 2006; Hudson and Holmes 1995). Standard English must also provide room for register variation, whose grammars contain grammatical features that would be ungrammatical in general Standard English (cf. Haegeman 2006), or they would be judged informal/colloquial (cf. Biber et al. 1999). Furthermore, as speakers of Standard English do not acquire and use language in socially homogeneous conditions, they may use features of non-standard English grammar in verbal interactions with non-standard English speakers in social interactions, as the study of Jerzy Freundlich in this volume shows (cf. also Labov 1972). This points to an inherent conflict between the claim of the invariance of Standard English and the assumption of its elaboration of function. Rather, the social reality of linguistic diversity calls for a distinction between the inherent ability of individual grammars to vary and actual production of variation in real-time social contexts of interactions, which may be supressed for purely social reasons. The standard, perhaps even more so than other varieties of language, provides evidence that language should be seen both as individual and as social.

2. Setting the scene: the concepts of standard language and standardization

Standardization which leads to the emergence of the standard form of language, is a complex process. In the approach of Trudgill (1999, 2011), it involves *determination*, which consists in the selection of a reference variety of a language for "particular purposes in the society or nation in question," *codification* whereby it "acquires a publicly recognized and fixed form," and subsequent *stabilization* whereby the formerly diffuse form of language undergoes focusing through the spread of the established linguistic norms to all discourse and as a result becomes (more) fixed and stable (Trudgill 1999: 117).

Reflecting on the nature of the phenomenon of standardization, J. Milroy (2001: 531) observes that its essence lies in the imposition of invariance

or uniformity on objects, including abstract objects such as languages or language varieties, which are not inherently invariable. Thus, "uniformity… becomes in itself an important defining characteristic of a standardized form of language." Nevertheless, if the standardized variety is to correspond to a sociolinguistic reality, it can never be completely invariant. The reason is that not being a system of weights and measures,

> language can never be fully fixed; if such were the case, it would no longer be functional as an instrument of communication, which has to be flexible to be able to adapt itself to changed circumstances. (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006: 252)

In fact, as observed by Hudson (1980: 34), given that languages inevitably change across space and through time, the assumption of full uniformity and stability would make the standard variety an unusual, perhaps even a pathological object. Thus, rather than bringing about complete uniformity and stability, the process of standardization, by promoting recognized linguistic norms, may at the most inhibit language change and suppress variation (J. Milroy 2000: 13–14).[3]

Considered from the perspective of sociology and anthropology of culture, linguistic standardization may be seen as part of "cultural focusing," a higher-level concept embracing efforts undertaken to regularize various aspects of social life, including linguistic expression (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2005: 38). However, if standardization involves not only the formation of a recognisable set of linguistic norms, codification and subsequent diffusion of these norms to all discourse, but also acceptance of a special status of the selected variety by the community, the problem of which variety is recognized as the standard is not just a linguistic problem of characterizing the structural and functional criteria that can help delimit and distinguish it from other varieties of the language in question (Hudson 1980: 32–33). To the extent that standardization is:

> a phenomenon in a linguistic community in which institutional maintenance of certain valued linguistic practices – in theory, fixed – acquires an explicitly-recognized hegemony over the definition of the community's norm (Silverstein 1996: 285–286),

it is a deliberate, regulatory process as a result of which certain linguistic norms become valourised and prescribed at the expense of others. As a result, the linguistic community becomes

[3] As Kroch (1978) argues, standardization may even lead to more or less conscious efforts on the part of speakers to reverse internal linguistic change in progress.

> united in adherence to the idea that there exists a functionally differentiated norm of using their "language" denotationally (to represent or describe things), the inclusive range of which the best language users are believed to have mastered in the appropriate way. There may be no actual historical individual who, in fact, does; that is not the point. It is allegiance to the concept of such a functionally differentiated denotational form of usage, said to define the "best" speakers of language L, that marks membership in a specific linguistic community for language L, and a sense of continuity with it. (Silverstein 1996: 285)

Seen in this light, the standard is a culturally and socio-politically saturated construct that arises through deliberate efforts undertaken by society in the course of a complex historical process (Inoue 2006; Hudson 1981; J. Milroy 1999, 2000, 2001; Silverstein 1996).

The question whether the concept of standard language can be divorced from axiological, aesthetic, or even moral notions of value or goodness, elegance, prestige, authority and symbolic function divides the linguistic community. The disagreement cuts across the divide over the proper object of the study of language in two influential contemporary perspectives on language, in core Chomskyan linguistics and in sociolinguistics.

In Chomskyan mentalistic, deductive, theory-oriented approach, the object of linguistic inquiry are the shared properties of I-languages, that is, individual mental grammars internal to each speaker. To clearly distinguish between knowledge of language or linguistic competence and the complexity of linguistic performance in real-time social interactions, in which also non-linguistic factors play a role, the linguistic environment in which first language is acquired is taken to be completely homogeneous. As a result of this theoretical abstraction, the study of language is the study of individual mental grammars which do not vary within or across the ideal speakers-hearers in their linguistic community, intraspeaker (idiolectal) and interspeaker variation falling out of the purview of scientific linguistic inquiry into Universal Grammar (Chomsky 1965, 1995).[4] Just as group, community or societal grammars, the so-called externalized or E-languages – not having a clear ontological status – are not the proper object of study, also

[4] An important argument advanced by Chomsky (1965) in support of the abstraction of I-languages to complete homogeneity is that there is no reason to assume that learning a language in a completely homogeneous speech community would not be possible. However, as Wilson and Henry (1998) point out, for the language faculty to delimit the class of possible human languages, it must be designed to accommodate variation in the input. If linguistic diversity is an inherent part of the human language faculty, abstracting away from its existence and range cannot offer much insight into the parametric requirements of the language faculty and the range of variation that it permits.

questions of value, authority or prestige do not have any role to play in this approach. The reason is not that they are not valid in the study of the phenomenon of language in all its complexity, which must encompass matters relating to the use of language in verbal communication, but because they do not belong with the abstract study of the organization of individual grammars as these grammars reflect the architecture of the universal language faculty. By definition, linguistic inquiry into the workings of the human language faculty cannot be prescriptive. It can only be descriptive (cf., among others, Pinker 1994).[5]

As core theoretical linguists tend to be speakers of standard languages, the I-languages that are the data source on which theoretical arguments are built are on the whole quite stable and uniform and further, as natively acquired cognitive entities, they are natural objects (cf. Adger and Trousdale 2007). However, if microvariation, the finer-grained diversity observed within I-grammars and within community grammars, which may be an instrument of the construction of psychological and social meaning (Eckert 2000), and may be affected by the knowledge and by the more or less covertly ideological prescriptivism of the standard variety supressing variation (Kerswill 2007; Kroch and Small 1978), is precluded from the theoretical study of linguistic competence, the reference variety underlying the I-grammars that is the data source for the study of the invariant properties of I-languages is an idealization. This aspect of Chomsky's approach has been heavily criticized on the grounds that both transmission and acquisition of language do not take place in a social vacuum. The criticism has not only been voiced by the opponents of his theory of syntax, but it has arisen also within the generative paradigm. As Wilson and Henry (1998: 18–19) have argued, if the abstract internal grammar of a natural language is to be acquired in the face of variable input, the language acquisition device must be designed to cope with variability in the input, and "to avoid information on real-time variation is to ignore evidence central to the nature of the very component designed to accommodate variation." However, to the extent that the parameters hypothesized to account for the range and limits of variation across languages also constrain the range and limits of variation within languages, I-languages are not uniform but rather, they are inherently variable.[6] On this approach, I-languages as cognitive objects and

[5] For a recent discussion that questions the common assumption that descriptivism is free from value-judgements in contrast to prescriptivism, commonly viewed as inherently evaluative, see Cameron (2012).

[6] In the current model of the generative theory of syntax, parametric variation is located in the lexicon and is attributed to the differences in the features of particular items, including functional heads. Parameters capture the variable properties of language, i.e.

E-languages as social objects do not exist independently from each other, but rather they influence each other in the minds of the speakers. As some studies of acquisition of linguistic and social norms demonstrate, complex patterns of linguistic variation and the social constraints on the linguistic variables may be acquired by children in tandem with language acquisition more generally (Smith et al. 2013).

In modern sociolinguistics, an inductive, usage-oriented enterprise founded on the assumption that languages are properties of linguistic communities rather than knowledge states that arise solely in the minds of individual speakers (cf. Labov 1972), language is an object with "orderly heterogeneity," in which "native-like command of heterogeneous structures is not a matter of multidialectalism or 'mere' performance, but is part of unilingual linguistic competence" (Weinreich et al. 1968: 100–101). The ever-changing structure of language is "itself embedded in the larger context of the speech community, in such a way that social and geographic variations are intrinsic elements of the structure" (Weinreich et al. 1968: 185). In this approach, variability is the defining, inherent property of the social phenomenon of language. However, variation is not random, but structured, as speakers of the same backgrounds tend to use the same proportion of variants of linguistic variables.

Nevertheless, views on how change and variation take place differ in sociolinguistic theory.[7] For Labov (1972), individuals are the object of study

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the properties that are underspecified by the language faculty. For example, if modals instantiate the category V(erb), they can be expected to occur in non-finite clauses, as in Old English, but if they instantiate the category of finite T(ense) in a language or a different stage of a language, the prediction is that they can only occur in finite clauses, as in Modern English (Roberts and Roussou 2002). This has consequences for the overall shape of the grammar. If modals originate in the V-position in a biclausal structure, they have to move in the syntax to the T-position (Old English), but if they are merged in the T-position, the structure with a modal is mono-clausal and there is no movement (Modern English). Thus, learning the lexicon is not just learning an unpredictable component of language, the component associated with de Saussurean arbitrariness. It is also learning the parametric structural profile of the language. Language change and variability can arise as a result of changes in the features of the relevant properties of particular items. In addition, sets of features may be spelled with more than one morphological form at different stages of the language or in different dialects of the grammar of a given language. To the extent that the grammar specifies a pool of variant forms, the choice of a variant by a speaker can depend on a variety of factors, including phonological fitness, ease of lexical access, sociolinguistic status, etc. (cf. Adger and Smith 2010).

[7] In core theoretical linguistics, which takes language to be a cognitive entity constructed unconsciously by individual speakers on the basis of exposure to real data, a grammar changes when a new generation of speakers internalizes a linguistic system

only insofar as they provide the data that can form the basis for the description of community grammars:

> What is the origin of a linguistic change? Clearly not an act some one individual whose tongue slips, or who slips into an odd habit of his own. We define language … as an instrument used by the members of the community to communicate with one another. Idiosyncratic habits are not a part of language so conceived, and idiosyncratic changes no more so. Therefore we can say that the language has changed only when a group of speakers use a different pattern to communicate with each other. … The origin of a change *is* its "propagation" or acceptance of others. (Labov 1972: 277)

For others, including J. Milroy (2001) and Keller (1994), language change must be studied with a view to explaining individual-based variation, since change begins in the speech of individuals, i.e. in individual grammars, from where it may find its way into community grammars (cf. also Croft 2002).[8] This ties in with the much quoted observation made by Sapir many years before the advent of modern sociolinguistics in the sixties of the past century that:

> [t]wo individuals of the same generation and locality, speaking precisely the same dialect and moving in the same circles, are never absolutely at one in their speech habits. A minute investigation of the speech of each individual would reveal countless differences of detail…. In a sense they speak slightly divergent dialects of the same language rather than identically the same language. (Sapir 1921: 147)

The reasons that sociolinguists have given to explain variation in individual and community grammars typically include both speaker-independent, internal and external, social factors including speaker parameters of age, sex, etc., situational contexts of interaction, social groupings and social net-

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that differs from the grammars of the adults in their community. The new grammar generates changes in the output of the speakers which is the input for new speakers acquiring language, leading to a further change. In contrast, for sociolinguists, who take language to exist and crucially to belong to the linguistic community of speakers as a group, change, apart from external factors such as production and processing constraints, arises in social interactions and is related to social variables such as sex, age, social class, etc. For a discussion of the main forces for change in language, including structural, functional and social types of change from different theoretical perspectives see Croft (2002) and Roberts and Roussou (2002). It should be borne in mind that since variation can be historically stable, as the variability in the use of relativizers *who/whom/which/that/Ø* in English illustrates, it is a a necessary, but not a sufficient cause of change.

8 Keller (1994: 139) captures individual-based variation with the maxim of distinctness, the urge of speakers to speak in such a way as to be noticed.

works within a community.[9] While it is common in sociolinguistics to take linguistic heterogeneity as deriving from and echoing social heterogeneity (cf., among others, Chambers 2003), Eckert (2000) argues that the relationships between individual and community or group grammars may be more complex than this, variation not only reflecting independently existing social stratification of speakers, but rather serving as an instrument for speakers to give new psychological and social meaning to linguistic forms through reinterpretation of the meanings already accepted within the group or community of speakers. In this sense, (stylistic) variation may be an instrument for the construction of symbolic social meaning.

If it is the case that speakers' selection of linguistic forms not only for denotational, but also for symbolic purposes is only meaningful in the course of interpretation and evaluation in social interactions, variation cannot be easily detached from valuation. This is the view taken by among others, Chambers (2003), Hudson (1980), and J. Milroy (1999, 2000, 2001). In this tradition, the idea of the standard cannot be divorced from value judgments and hence, from language ideology. Against this tradition, Trudgill (1999, 2011) has argued that the linguistic properties of the standard variety can be characterized and delimited without appeal to value-judgments and thus, standard language can be understood as simply one from a range of extant dialects or varieties of the language in question, spoken and written by a socially well-defined group of speakers, the data of which is demonstrated in language corpora. To appreciate the influence that the existence of publicly recognized norms and associated value-judgments may have not only on the acquisition and use of language in social contexts, but also on the beliefs about language, consequences of standardization are briefly discussed in the next section.

3. Consequences of standardization in linguistics and beyond

The consequences of language standardization and subsequent prescription are far-reaching and multifaceted (Inoue 2006; J. Milroy 1999, 2000, 2001;

[9] Internally-caused change is usually explained in functional terms in sociolinguistic theory, e.g. it is phonologically-conditioned, there is cognitive pressure for symmetry in phonological and morphological systems, etc. (cf., among others, Labov 1994). However, such explanations fall short of explaining why the initial change causing significant changes should occur in the first place. For Sapir (1921: 154), individuals have an involuntary tendency to vary the norm. While individual variations may be unconscious and random, languages drift: "[t]he drift of a language is constituted by the unconscious selection on the part of its speakers of those individual variations that are cumulative in some special direction" (Sapir 1921: 155).

Silverstein 1996; cf. also Bex 2000; Hope 2000; Peters 2006; Pinker 1994; Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2005; Watts 1999, 2000).

With the selection of a valourised variety, the terms *standard* and *non-standard* acquire positively/negatively-specifiable values of legitimacy/illegitimacy despite the fact that such attributions do not belong to languages themselves, as

> […] languages are not themselves moral objects. … [n]o moral judgment or critical evaluation can be validly made about the abstract structures we call languages. It is the speakers of languages, and not languages themselves, who live in a moral universe. (J. Milroy 1999: 16)

According to Inoue (2006: 122), the ideologization of standard languages is historically related to modernization and nation-state formation:[10]

> Language standardization has been one of the crucial projects of national modernity, seemingly obligatory in the context of industrial takeoff, urbanization, rational bureaucratic state formation, and the emergence of civil society. In modernizing social institutions, such as education, labor markets, administration, the military and the media, and in nationalizing the populace as the nation's citizen-subjects, language standardization was associated explicitly with the instrumentalist notions of 'efficiency', 'progress,' and 'rationality.'

Elevated to the status of a nation-defining variety, the standard has a role to play in language maintenance and planning policies, which involve deliberate institutional decisions and efforts, as a result of which the linguistic practices are affected in all sections of the community. Conscious of social stigma attached to non-standard forms recommended not to be used by language authorities or "shamans" (cf. Pinker 1994), the socially and linguistically privileged speakers strongly tend to avoid such forms, especially in (more) formal discourse, despite their relative frequency in spontaneous production in all discourse, including their own (cf. Crystal 2006; Kerswill 2007; Kroch and Small 1978).[11] For example, Kroch and Small (1978) attribute differences in the frequencies of structures with and without par-

[10] The association of progress and modernity with possession of a standard language is at the heart of the emergence of standard Japanese in late 19th century as well as standard Thai. In the latter case, the grammatical system of the language was modelled on English and other European languages in recognition of their world status as languages of modernized nations (Inoue 2006: 123).

[11] For Watts (1999), one of the stable and significant successes of prescriptivism is the rise of metalinguistic awareness of differences not only in the standard and non-standard grammars, but also of the awareness of the social attitudes to such differences.

ticle movement (e.g. *John pointed the mistake out* vs. *John pointed out the mistake*) and with or without *that*-deletion (e.g. *Sally knows Harry ate the salami* vs. *Sally knows that Harry ate the salami*) in a sample of analysed radio talk-show conversations to the influence of grammatical ideology on the use of language by radio hosts/guests, who due to their public role use language in a way that is closer to the norms of the written standard compared with the less careful usage by callers. In addition, more in a group of college undergraduates asked to evaluate the correctness of structures with and without particle movement thought structures without particle movement (e.g. *John called up Mary*) to be (substantially) more correct compared with structures with particle movement (*John called Mary up*), and more students in another group judged structures without *that*-deletion to be (substantially) more correct compared with cognate structures with *that*-deletion. For Kroch and Small (1978), the speakers' belief that sentences without particle movement and without *that*-deletion are more correct is grounded in the ideology of the standard prescribing that surface syntax should reflect propositional form iconically. As a result of this prescription, the particle placed next to the verb is taken to better reflect the semantic unity of the verb and the particle. An overt complementizer "can be said to indicate more explicitly the logical relationship between the matrix verb and the complement clause" (Kroch and Small 1978: 48).[12] While there is no conclusive evidence supporting a causal relationship between grammatical ideology and language change (Peters 2006), stigmatization of certain features of non-standard English may have speeded up their disappearance from use in public or more formal discourse, e.g. it may be behind the ultimate disappearance of *ain't* as a negator from Standard English in the nineteenth century and more generally, absence of negative concord in the grammar of standard English, a process that started already in the fifteenth century (Nevalainen 2003).[13] At the same time, speakers of non-standard varieties are dominated by the hegemony of the standard and have to learn the standard in school as the language of wider communication.

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[12] While some variation may be inherent to the grammar of natural language, existence of variant forms inevitably leads to linguistic instability and feeds speaker insecurity in standard language cultures. For recent discussions of the social effects of prescriptive ideology on British English speakers, especially their insecurity about the correctness of their language, see Cameron (2012), Crystal (2006) and Peters (2006).

[13] Anderwald's (2014) study provides evidence for the influence of modern-style prescriptivism on American newspaper language, in particular, for the sharp drop in the use of progressive passive in media language that can be attributed to the success of the publication in the US of a highly popular manual on style and its advice "to avoid the passive" (Alderwald 2014: 14).

In the process, speakers of non-standard varieties often come to believe that their vernacular is an inferior form of language, the phenomenon known in sociolinguistics as linguistic insecurity (cf., among others, Hudson 1980: 199),[14] and may have problems with acceptability judgments about certain standard forms which are grammatically different from semantically and functionally comparable structures in their vernacular (Adger and Trousdale 2007: 265).

The rise of the standard also has an effect on how the language is perceived and represented in the community. As J. Milroy (2000) argues, the ideology of nationhood – sometimes also of race – requires that the standard be legitimized by receiving an uninterrupted history. Thus the development of a language is often unilinear in historiography, stretching back to the earliest available records. This is, for example, how the history of the English language is presented by among others, Baugh and Cable (1978), where Standard English is the privileged variety that is a direct continuation of Old English, its ancestor variety.[15] To uphold the dictum of purity of standard language, the standard tends to be seen as essentially "unmixed" and free form "corruptions" that pervade non-standard varieties, even despite ample evidence to the contrary. To the extent that the standard varies over historical time and across communities, variation in the standard is considered to be independent of its speakers, internally-caused, systematic and thus legitimate, in contrast to non-standard varieties, which are often taken to vary randomly and thus to be linguistically aberrant. This despite the fact that "[l]anguage exists only in so far as it is actually used – spoken and heard, written and read" (Sapir 1921: 154–155) and that only dead languages which do not have native speakers have invariant forms. It is indeed ironical that minority language movements in multicultural, linguistically inherently variable societies possessing a reference variety should adopt the ideology of the standard in their efforts to establish their own linguistic

[14] As attitudes to what is standard can differ and change over historical time, also speakers of Standard English may in principle become linguistically insecure. See Fabricius (2002) for a discussion of the rise of Estuary English against the backdrop of the changing social landscape of Britain, where traditional social class-based as well as sex- and age-based distinctions are weakening. The social changes are beginning to lead to new patterns of social elites, standardization and stigmatization. As a result of these changes, RP speakers are increasingly becoming linguistically insecure, mainly due to the fact that the RP accent has been acquiring negative value-attributions of snobbishness and untrustworthiness. Note that the same feature can carry prestige in one variety of Standard English, but not in another. A case in point is the prestige associated with the non-rhotic accent in most of England and the stigmatization of non-rhotic accent in New York.

[15] For a dissenting view, see, among others, Hope (2000).

identity and choose to represent the non-standard vernacular languages as uniform and stable, thus overtly subscribing "to a monoglot ideology, the same language ideology that the dominant language groups deploy to marginalize variation" (Inoue 2006: 124).

The development of the standard also impinges on the methodology and scope of language description as well as linguistic theorizing. The knowledge of the requirements of the standard has an effect on the choices made by linguists delineating the linguistic boundaries of the standard language:

> although linguists often disapprove of popular attitudes to correctness, they are themselves in some respects affected by the ideology that conditions these popular views – the ideology of language standardisation with its emphasis on formal and written styles and neglect of the structure of spoken language. (J. Milroy 1999: 39)

If the construction of spoken discourse, due to its inherently interactive character, has its own set of linguistic characteristics (Carter and McCarthy 2006; Cheshire 1987, 1996, 1999), neglect of spoken discourse and the belief that the norms of spoken language are the same as the norms of written language are problematic for the linguistic categorization of forms as standard or non-standard. For example, as Carter and McCarthy (2006: 168) point out, "[w]hat may be considered 'non-standard' in writing may well be 'standard' in speech," including

> split infinitves (e.g. *He decided* ***to*** *immediately* ***sell*** *it*), double negation (e.g. *He* ***won't*** *be late I* ***don't*** *think*, as compared to *I* ***don't*** *think he* ***will*** *be late*), singular nouns after plural measurement expressions (e.g. *He's about six* ***foot*** *tall*), the use of contracted forms such as *gonna* (going to), *wanna* (want to), and so on. (Cater and McCarthy 2006: 167)

Inattention to the linguistic characteristics of spoken language in contrast to the norms of the written forms may in turn lead to a misrepresentation of the range of extant variation not only in the standard, but also in regional non-standard varieties, as well as impinge on the linguistic characterization of the emergent international varieties of the standard, the so-called New Englishes, the main data-source for which is spoken language. For example, New Englishes are said to be characterized by the use of so-called copy-pronouns in left-dislocated structures, as illustrated with the pronoun 'she' in the sentence *My daughter, she is attending the University of Nairobi* (Dąbrowska 2013: 111). However, as Carter and McCarthy (2006: 235) point out, although such structures are rare or do not occur in writing, they are widespread and normal in spoken discourse of adult, educated speakers of the traditional varieties of Standard English.

As J. Milroy (2001) observes, in linguistic communities that lack linguistic forms recognized as standard, as in the Pacific Ocean area, where most world's linguistic variation is found, speakers do not have a sense of the existence of clear, determinate boundaries of their own language (J. Milroy 2001). However, given the "involuntary tendency of individuals to vary the norm" (Sapir 1921: 154), existence of some amount of microvariation can be expected even in linguistically isolated and socioeconomically homogeneous communities. To the extent that such variation occurs (cf. Dorian 1994), it could suggest that for linguistic differences to catch the conscious or unconscious attention of speakers in monolingual communities and to give rise to a sense of linguistic heterogeneity within the community, the variation that occurs must carry enough cultural and/or social loading, the boundaries on the language spoken serving as a means for the creation of community identify. In the absence of "publicly recognized norms" or markers stratifying speakers linguistically in a socially homogeneous community, there are no determinate boundaries on one's own language that could arise in the speakers' minds. This is why only in standard language cultures the public routinely involves itself in discourses and practices aimed at perfecting their language. As Cameron (2012: vi) observes, the purifying, normative as well as prescriptive efforts, which she refers to as "verbal hygiene" practices need not been taken all negatively, as they testify to

> the capacity for metalinguistic reflexivity which makes human linguistic communication so uniquely flexible and nuanced. That capacity fulfils important functions in everyday communication (enabling us, for instance, to correct errors and misunderstandings), but it cannot be restricted to those functions. Its more elaborate forms exemplify a tendency seen throughout human history: reflection on what we observe in the world prompts the impulse to intervene in the world, take control of it, make it better. In relation to language, that impulse leads to a proliferation of norms defining what is good or bad, right or wrong, acceptable or unacceptable. Though their ostensible purpose is to regulate language, these norms may also express deeper anxieties which are not linguistic, but social, moral and political.

It is interesting to note that as Baugh and Cable (1978: 201) explain, the prescriptive norms and attitudes of the eighteenth century that gave rise to what J. Milroy (1999, 2000) calls standard language ideology and standard language culture grew out of much earlier public preoccupation with language, which they relate to the emergence of a new middle class in the later part of the sixteenth century that brought along emergence of social consciousness of socio-economic as well as cultural and linguistic standards to aspire to. It was the first time language itself had become an object of critical

reflection on the part of a wide range of individuals, including clergymen, schoolmasters, scientists, urging its purity and fitness for learned and literary use as well the need to control its forms for the benefit of education, as can be illustrated with the views of Sir John Cheke, an early spelling reformer, who also disapproved of English being mingled with other languages:

> our tung shold be written cleane and pure, vumixt and vnmangled with borrowing of other tungs wherein if we take not heed bi tijm, euer borrowing and neuer payeming, she shall be fain to keep her house as bankrupt. (J. Cheke 1561, quoted in Fisiak 1993: 99)

the views of Richard Mulcaster appealing for a grammar of English to be written to

> reduce our English tung to som certain rule for writing and reading, for words and for speaking, for sentence and ornament, that men maie know, when theie write or speak right. (R. Mulcaster 1585, quoted in Fisiak 1993: 103–104)

as well as the views of Thomas Elyot, the author of *The Governour*, the first book on education to be printed in England, who argued that English should be taught to those who would be occupied professionally at the court in such a way that they should:

> speke none englisshe but that which is cleane, polite, perfectly and accurately pronounced, omitting no letter or sillable. (T. Elyot 1563, quoted in Baugh and Cable 1978: 213)

As the quote from Elyot indicates, the standardization process which reached its peak in the eighteenth century was inherently a belief-forming system. Although the choice of one variety for use in a polite, cultured society does not in itself imply that all the other varieties should acquire negative attributions, dialectal varieties of English, once cherished as evidence of the richness and copiousness of English (Watts 2000), became castigated between ca. 1500 and 1750, as is clear, for example from Thomas Sheridan's stand on the difference between two varieties spoken in London:

> As amongst these various dialects, one must have the preference, and become fashionable, it will of course fall to the lot of that which prevails at court, the source of fashions of all kinds. All other dialects, are sure marks, either of a provincial, rustic, pedantic, or mechanical education; and therefore have some degree of disgrace attached to them. (T. Sheridan 1762, quoted in Watts 2000: 36)

The need for a socially prestigious form of language to have a fixed form is responsible for the formation of firm beliefs that it should be based on

clear norms, ensuring its stability. In *The Plan of a Dictionary* Samuel Johnson notes that the overarching principle of language use is

> to make no innovation, without a reason sufficient to balance the inconvenience of change; and such reasons I do not expect to find. All change is of itself an evil, which ought not to be hazarded for evident advantage; and as inconstancy is in every case a mark of weakness, it will add nothing to the reputation of our tongue. (S. Johnson 1747, quoted in Watts 2000: 39).

While Johnson himself later came to recognize the inherently variable nature of language and even inevitability of change (Nelson 2006: 462), the preoccupation of eighteenth century grammarians, school teachers, rhetoricians as well as linguistically untrained commentators – the prescriptive culture that they gave rise to – with "regulating" language so that it can become stable and uniform has had a profound influence on popular attitudes to usage and style. As a result of continual "verbal hygiene practices", the common belief is that where there are variants to consider, "the alternatives are rarely seen as neutral. The expectation is that "only one of them is 'correct', only one can be good for you" (Peters 2006: 774). That this is true is also clear from Cameron's (2012: 9) remark quoted below:

> I have never met anyone who did not subscribe, in one way or another, to the belief that language can be 'right' or 'wrong', 'good' or 'bad', more or less 'elegant' or 'effective' or 'appropriate'. Of course, there is massive disagreement about what values to espouse, and how to define them. Yet however people may pick and choose, it is rare to find anyone rejecting altogether the idea that there is some legitimate authority in language.

The history of Standard English thus shows that the process of codification of a particular variety that is to fulfil special social purposes is a socio-culturally saturated process in which language cannot be detached from value-judgments, prestige and stigma. This is the social aspect of standard language. But Standard English is also a natural variety in that it is acquired and used natively. Recall that for Trudgill (1999, 2011), one of the special features of Standard English is that for the most part it is uniform as a result of codification of its distinctive linguistic features. The question that arises is whether the criterion of uniformity can be successfully applied to characterize the internal grammars inherent to native speakers of Standard English and whether the fact that the community grammar does not vary for the most part as a result of standardization, also the grammars of native speakers of Standard English are for the most part stable and uniform. This question is addressed in some detail in the next section.

4. The question of stability and uniformity of Standard English

There is general agreement that there is a well-delimited set of linguistic properties of English that characterizes Standard English and helps draw the linguistic boundary between Standard English and non-standard varieties of English. This distinctive set of properties is widely believed to be grammatical in nature, excluding matters of lexis and most of all, excluding pronunciation. The reason why it is the grammar or rather syntax of English that can provide the criteria for the delineation of Standard English is that

> [t]he grammar of Standard English is much more stable and uniform than its pronunciation or word stock: there is remarkably little dispute about what is grammatical (in compliance with the rules of grammar) and what isn't. Of course, the small number of controversial points that there are – trouble spots like *who* versus *whom* – get all the public discussion in language columns and letters to the editor, so it may seem as if there is much turmoil: but the passions evinced over such problematic points should not obscure the fact that for the vast majority of questions about what's allowed in Standard English, the answers are clear. (Huddleston and Pullum 2005: 1–2)

Thus, although there is enough variation in evidence within the "standard" variety of language across the English-speaking world to distinguish several regional forms of the "standard English language," including Standard British English, Standard American English, Standard Scottish English, Standard Australian English as well as to classify some native New or World Englishes as standard (cf., among others, J. Milroy 1999; Quirk et al. 1972; Trudgill 1999, 2011; Trudgill and Hannah 2008), there must be some non-regional form of English that makes it possible for all the regional varieties to be brought under one umbrella term, that of Standard English. Crucially, regardless of how the distinctive set of grammatical choices is delimited, it must be largely invariant not only in the non-regional variety, but also within each regional standard dialect.

The view that English has a set of remarkably invariant grammatical properties present in all the regionally distinguished national Englishes is quite well-established in the descriptive tradition of English linguistics. For example, Quirk et al. (1972: 29) refer to this invariant set of grammatical properties as

> the common core of English which constitutes the major part of any variety of English, however specialized, and without which fluency in any variety at a higher than parrot level is impossible.

As this common core is shared by "all kinds of English" (Quirk 1964: 94), Standard English is

> [a] universal form of English; it is the kind used everywhere by educated people. It is, moreover, the official form of English, the only kind which is used for public information and administration. It thus has a quite different standing in the English-speaking world from the dialects, and this non-dialectal kind of English is best called Standard English. (D. Abercrombie (1955), quoted in Strang 1962: 20)

If the criterion for classifying a linguistic variety is education, the characterization of Standard English is sociolinguistic. Trudgill (1999, 2011) argues that Standard English is not an accent, as it can be spoken with a regional or local accent, it is not a style, as it can be used in both formal and informal contexts, and it is not a register, not being defined by situational characteristics such as speaker's purpose, the setting, the purpose of communication, and the field of discourse. Rather, it is simply one among many dialects of English, unusual in not having an associated accent and spoken natively only by educated speakers, but being a natural variety of the English language, it has distinctive and thus idiosyncratic properties, among which are the following eight:

(1) Standard English (SE) does not distinguish between the forms of the auxiliary *do* and its main verb forms, unlike non-standard varieties (NSE):
You did it, did you? SE
You done it, did you? NSE

(2) SE has an irregular present tense verb morphology encoding with *–s* only the features of third person singular number. Many other dialects use either zero for all persons or *–s* for all persons:
They kick the ball into the river. SE
They kicks the ball into the river. NSE

(3) SE bans double negation (negative concord), while most nonstandard varieties permit it:
I don't want any. SE
I don't want none. NSE

(4) SE has an irregular formation of reflexive pronouns, with *myself* based on the possessive *my*, *himself* based on the object form *him*. Most nonstandard varieties generalize the possessive form, e.g. *hisself*, *theirselves*.

(5) SE fails to distinguish between second person singular and second person plural pronouns, having *you* in both cases. In many nonstandard varieties, there are different forms in the singular, e.g. singular *thou* and plural *you*, or singular *you* and plural *youse*.

(6) SE has irregular inflection of the verb *to be* in both the present and the past tense (*am, is, are, was, were*). Many nonstandard varieties do not mark person and number in present and past tense forms of *to be* (*I/you/he/she/we/they be* and *I/you/he/she/we/they were*).
(7) SE redundantly distinguishes between past tense and past participle forms of many irregular verbs, e.g. *I saw* vs. *I have seen*, where in many NSE varieties, there is no distinction between the past tense (*seen*) and the past participle form (*seen*), while the perfect aspect is marked in NSE non-redundantly with *have*, as in *I have seen* vs. *I seen*.
(8) SE has a two-way contrast in its demonstrative system, with *this* (near to the speaker) opposed to *that* (away from the speaker). Many NSE varieties have a three-way system, with a further distinction between *that* (near to the listener) and *yon* (away from both speaker and listener).

Although various studies, including Trudgill's work on dialectal English (Trudgill and Chambers 1991; cf. also Aarts and McMahon 2006, Britain 2007, Hope 2000, and Trudgill and Hannah 2008), have identified further idiosyncratic features of Standard English in contrast to NSE varieties, the differences between Standard English and all the other non-standard varieties are on the whole viewed as rather small. In addition, for Trudgill they concern mostly if not exclusively matters of morphosyntax. This need not indicate that there is no actual syntactic variation in English and that there need not be deep-seated differences in dialectal grammars compared with Standard English.[16] Rather, what this seems to indicate is that syntactic variation is much harder to observe and categorize than morphological, lexical or phonological variation (cf. Adger and Trousdale 2007; Cheshire 1987). In fact, as Mair and Leech (2006) point out, there are quite a few areas of English grammar currently undergoing some observable significant changes, including the increasing use of the progressive aspect and semi-modals, the decline of *who/which* relative pronouns, the rise in the use of *that* as a relativizer, the rise of relative *that*-deletion, the use of singular *they* (e.g. *Everybody came in their car*), etc. (cf. also Bauer 1994). Some of these changes have been in progress for some time now. Furthermore, the density of the changes depends not only on style (formal vs. colloquial), but also on text type (cf., among others, Biber et al. 1999). The on-going increase in the progressive gave rise to the emergence of progressive passive (e.g. *Dinner*

[16] Henry's (2002) study of Belfast English shows that while it is clearly constrained by a parametric setting, this setting is not simply different from the parameters that constrain the shape of Standard English grammar. It is in fact a different set of grammatical choices, delineating a different grammar.

was being prepared) ousting passival progressive (e.g. *Dinner was preparing*) in the course of the nineteenth century, first occurrences of progressive passive recorded in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, when Standard English had already been largely codified. As shown in Anderwald (2014), the rise in the progressive passive is highly dependent on text-type. Nineteenth century also brought the rise of *get*-passive and phrasal verbs (Baugh and Cable 1978: 336–337).

To the extent that change is always in progress, the grammatical choices available to speakers of Standard English may be expected to vary and there must be "a certain amount of room for variation in the standard" (Bauer 1994: 2). Although Trudgill readily makes allowance for some degree of indeterminacy primarily due to dialect contact, Standard English being subject to linguistic change like all dialects, it is the claim of uniformity or invariance and the belief that "in most cases, a feature is either standard or it is not" (1999: 123) that is the most problematic for his characterization of Standard English as a natural object with distinctive grammatical properties which can be delimited independently of language ideological concerns.[17] The question is who or what decides whether a feature is or is not standard. If it is the speaker who decides, then there may well be no actual speaker of Standard English whose internal grammar is in all relevant respects exactly like the grammar of another speaker of Standard English, speakers having a natural tendency to vary the norm (cf. Eckert 2000; Keller 1994; Sapir 1921). What seems closer to reality is that in Modern Standard English spoken today, just as in Tudor England, when the first written and spoken variety of standard English, called Court English, is believed to have emerged, there are "alternative expressions in varying degrees of competition with each other in the language of the same set of individuals" (Nevalainen 2003: 138).[18] If so, it is an impossible task to attempt to impose fixed

[17] The impression that Trudgill, who illustrates cases of indeterminacy with the use of *than* as a preposition (*He is bigger than me*) or as a conjunction (*He is bigger than I am*) as well as impurities such as the use of the indefinite this in colloquial narratives (e.g. *There was this man, and he'd got this gun* … etc.), is that indeterminacy is negligent in the grammar of Standard English.

[18] The question of the development of Standard English is a complex one and there is much disagreement in the literature about whether it should be traced back to Chancery English, a kind of spelling system exhibiting quite a wide range of variation, or to levelled, spoken contact varieties with interdialectal features, that is features absent from the input dialects. According to Rissanen (2000), being confined mainly to bureaucratic, mercantile and business documents, but not having a spoken correlate, Chancery English was a merely a register defined by special situational characteristics rather than a standard language in the modern sense of the term, in which the elaboration of function of the standard is its defining property.

boundaries on Standard English, which like all other varieties of a living language, is a dynamic entity with enough underspecified features to allow for individual, stylistic, text-type based and register-based differenced to be expressed linguistically.

Independently of whether native speakers of Standard English need not pass value-judgments on the grammars of other native speakers they interact with in real-time interactions, as may be true of young children acquiring English as their first language, they must be able to observe the differences in the grammars of different speakers in their linguistic environment and to construct their own grammars in the face of input contributed by a variety of different speakers, each with their own idiolect.[19] If the arbiter on what is and what is not a standard form is to be an external authority, whether the authoritative *The Oxford Dictionary for Writers and Editors* or some other authority deciding on the rules of Standard English grammar, it must be possible to put objectively defined boundaries on the linguistic properties of Standard English in the first place. However, as Cameron (2012) argues, "rules arise from and themselves give rise to arguments," the rules of language being no different from other rules expected to be followed in social interactions. As a result of on-going variation and instability, an external arbiter such as an authoritative dictionary may take a different stand on the standardness of a given feature between two of its editions spanning the period of just eight years (Bauer 1994: 2). Some linguistic properties of Standard English are and have continued to be variable and thus subject to complex and often confusing linguistic descriptions in which even expert linguists admit insecurity marking structures they find difficult to fully accept with the question mark, as Quirk et al. (1972: 869) do in reference to the sentence *?He smokes as expensive cigarettes as he can afford*, and many other structures illustrating various grammatical features of Standard English. In this respect, the problem that descriptive grammarians describing Standard English encounter today need not be fundamentally different from the problems of eighteenth-century prescriptivists. Perhaps the main reason why no comprehensive description of the grammar of Standard English emerged in the eighteenth century was that the grammarians and rhetoricians found too much variation in the use of language in their communities (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006).[20]

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[19] As Standard English embraces grammatical structures that need not be acquired in early childhood (e.g. *Had I more money, I'd buy a BMW*), native speakers may have the intuition that they do not belong to their internalized grammars in the same way as more common variant structures (e.g. *If I had more money, I'd buy a BMW*). See Preston (2004) for discussion.

[20] More importantly from the prescriptivists' point of view, there was too much variation even in the language used by those whose usage they would have judged

While the codification of English in the eighteenth century and the dissemination of the norms contributed to a suppression of variation in (more) formal discourse, especially written (cf. Baugh and Cable 1978), it would be unrealistic to assume that suppression of variation in usage testifies to loss of ability of individual speakers to vary the norm.[21] In addition, as Cheshire (1996) argues, spoken grammar, where structures which would be hard to classify and explain using the categories typically applied in linguistic descriptions mostly based on written corpora supplemented with the linguists' judgments of acceptability are nevertheless used by native Standard English speakers, should not be interpreted by the criteria on which overtly codified grammar is interpreted. This is due to the differences between the principles and mechanisms of interactive, face-to-face discourse and written language. For example, while the basic dimension on which the contrast between deictic *this* and *that* is founded in English is spatial proximity/distance, in spoken discourse *this* and *that* are also used where the spatial meaning of *that* is irrelevant. Rather, in spontaneous discourse, for example *that* is used more often with the interpersonal and interactive functions of expressing speaker-involvement and of coordinating attention of the parties involved in conversation to points in the discourse where processing may be impeded. As a result, the spatial meanings of *this* and *that* may be weakening in Standard English. The problem that such findings have for Trudgill's characterization standardization of English as simply one from the extant varieties of English, unusual mainly due to the stability of its form, is that this criterion may be applied to spoken English much less so than to written usage and it must ignore register-based grammatical variation. If the social reality of language use in real-time interactions is one of inherent variability rather than stasis, the criterion of stability of form is inconsistent with Standard English being functionally elaborate.

5. Conclusion

The aim of this study has been to show that Standard English is both a natural cognitive and a socially constructed entity. It is constituted by a subset of distinctive properties from a remarkably rich set of linguistic resources

appropriate, mostly "the best authors," to serve as models of the codified Modern Standard English.

[21] Variability inherent to the grammars of individual speakers, which is controlled in some social contexts of use, has also been observed in private letters from the eighteenth century, including even the private letters of great prescriptivists like Robert Lowth and Samuel Johnson (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006). Biber et al. (1999) provide ample evidence for both quantitative and qualitative stylistic and register-based differences in contemporary English.

that the grammatical system of English affords its speakers, the range of which in itself demonstrates that English incorporates extensive variability. I-grammars are constructed in the minds of the speakers in linguistically and psychologically heterogeneous conditions in varying social contexts of interactions and for this reason they must be genetically designed to encompass variation in the environment. Language carries with it not only denotational, but also social, cultural and psychological meaning. No two individual minds are exactly alike and thus no individual mental grammars can ever be identical. However, as originally argued by Wilson and Henry (1998), a difference must be made between the ability of individual speakers to vary the norms and the actual production of variation. The former is allowed and at the same constrained by the bounds of the language faculty. The internal grammar of a child acquiring the first language may be different from the internal grammars of other speakers in his or her linguistic environment and further, the grammars internalized by two different speakers with the same social background may be different, but they still differ in highly restrictive ways. Actual production of variation is constrained by a range of factors related to production and processing of language in real time, including socially and culturally imposed norms. To take stability of form as a classificatory criterion, as Trudgill (1999, 2011) does, is to abstract away from the social reality of stylistic and register variation and the psychological and social role that variability has for negotiation and manipulation of power, status and stigma, construction of personal identity, etc. While idealizations may be necessary in linguistic theory, both generative and sociolinguistic, regardless their motivations, abstractions cannot explain the social reality of acquisition and use of language in real-time interactions.

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