
2018

XA PROCEEDINGS

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VOLUME 1 ISSUE 1

ISSN 2623-5668

XA PROCEEDINGS

XA Proceedings

Vol. 1. No. 1.
Zagreb, April 2018

Published annually.

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Publisher

English Student Club
3 Ivan Lučić Street
HR-10000 Zagreb, Croatia

For Publisher

Marko Babić

ISSN

2623-5668

UDC

812.111
811.111
81'25

XA Proceedings

Volumen 1. Broj 1.
Zagreb, travanj 2018

Izlazi jednom godišnje.

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ISSN

2623-5668

UDK

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FOREWORD

Dear Readers,

It is with much pleasure that I write this Foreword to the inaugural issue of XA Proceedings.

The aim of this publication, written by students from all parts of the (inter)disciplinary spectrum of English Studies, is to generate and disseminate new insights on English language teaching, literature, linguistics and translation studies. Moreover, XA Proceedings is intended to be a forum for the exchange of scholarly and scientific thought, ideas and proposals within this broadly understood discipline.

The first issue has taken shape as a result of the contributions by a number of authors from various European universities. The unifying theme is, of course, English Studies, while the diversity and complexity of the published papers reflects the increasingly collaborative nature of the discipline. The papers, written and presented in a lively and engaging style, offer recent approaches and new ways of conceiving and engaging the discipline of English Studies and are aimed at readers interested in new ideas in all aspects of this discipline.

The first issue of XA Proceedings is ready; although, it is only the first issue of many to be published. I would like to end by expressing my gratitude to all authors who have contributed to this issue with their papers, to members of the Editorial Board for their hard work on it and to the English Student Club for publishing it.

I hope you will enjoy reading this issue as much as I enjoyed editing it.

It was truly a pleasure.

Ivica Jeđud
Editor-in-Chief

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From Folklore to Fiction: Early Literary Manifestations of the Vampire Motif

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ABSTRACT Starting with the first mention of the term ‘vampire’ in the 11th century, this paper will follow the development of the vampire concept from Slavic folklore to the canonisation of the literary vampire motif with Bram Stoker’s 1897 novel *Dracula*. For this purpose, the key elements of the theme, such as supernatural strengths and weaknesses, will be analysed in the first literary manifestations of the lore, starting with Byron’s 1816 *A Fragment of a Novel* and Polidori’s 1819 *The Vampyre*, continuing with *Varney the Vampire* by an unidentified author, Le Fanu’s *Carmilla* and Hare’s *The Vampire of Croglin Hall*, and ending with Stoker’s *Dracula*. The key elements will then be contrasted with their equivalents from the folkloric vampire myth, revealing significant differences. Literary vampires evolved from the mute and mindless corpses of Slavic villagers to cunning aristocrats with a sinister agenda, who prefer to drain the blood of beautiful young girls instead of randomly killing their fellow villagers. These changes can be attributed to the scapegoat quality inherent to the vampire motif: from the height of the vampire phobia in 18th century Serbia to 19th century vampire literature and the current vampire craze, vampires have always represented a society’s deepest fears. Whereas Slavic villagers were so terrified of epidemics that they blamed their own dead, Victorians projected their fear of noblemen suppressing the masses and their mistrust of anything sexual upon their favourite fictional foes. Contemporarily, the suspicion of the monster within ourselves is only beginning to be explored, promising many more years of vampire lore to come.

KEYWORDS vampire fiction, folklore, *Dracula*

1. INTRODUCTION

Being a vampire is all about transformation: alive to dead, human to supernatural, pure to evil. It is also about the merging of binaries: the liminal state of being undead, superhuman strengths and subhuman weaknesses, the friend within the foe. The vampire narrative has explored this ambiguity by taking the shape of our deepest fears, with the vampire becoming society's ultimate scapegoat. Thus, the vampire theme has transformed itself over the turn of centuries, gaining true immortality through its adaptability.

This paper explores the transformation of the vampire motif from folklore to fiction by looking at two key elements from the narrative: the physical appearance of vampires and the killing of their victims. These two elements are traced back to their folkloric origins and compared with their manifestations in six works of early vampire fiction, namely *A Fragment of a Novel* by Lord Byron, *The Vampyre* by John Polidori, *Varney the Vampire* by an anonymous author, *Carmilla* by Sheridan Le Fanu, *The Vampire of Croglin Hall* by Augustus Hare and *Dracula* by Bram Stoker. Finally, the reasons for altering the folkloric source material to the shape of the fictional vampire we know today will be discussed.

2. FROM FOLKLORE TO FICTION

The Western literary vampire is based on the vampire myth in Slavic folklore, which started to develop around the time the Slavic kingdoms officially abolished their pagan beliefs in favour of Christianity in the 9th and 10th century (Perkowski 1989). Pagan traditions and rituals, however, were deeply rooted in everyday life and proved difficult to stamp out. The Bogomils, a dualistic Christian sect that was accused of engaging in pagan traditions, such as orgiastic rituals and blood sacrifice, was the most prominent group defying the Orthodox supremacy (McClelland 2006). The actual word 'vampire' first appeared in a Slavic manuscript from the 11th century, where it describes someone belonging to a certain group or religious belief, probably in a derogative sense;

it is probable that this label was also attached to the Bogomils by their contemporaries (compare McClelland 2006). The term 'vampire' itself likely acquired its supernatural attributes via a stereotyping process: the Church condemned the Bogomils' practices as immoral, which soon shifted to unnatural; from there on, it was only a small step to supernatural (McClelland 2006).

This process of supernaturalisation was completed by the beginning of the 18th century, and vampires had turned into convenient scapegoats for all the woes that plagued Slavic villagers. This scapegoat dynamic, comparable to the Western European witch craze, had been highly productive for centuries, but had stayed confined to its rural Slavic ecology. This changed in 1718, when the Austrian empire annexed parts of Serbia and Wallachia and installed a number of civil servants in these regions (Barber 1988). These civil servants were the first outsiders to witness the exhumation of supposed vampires, and they eagerly reported back to their homelands. The 1732 *Visum et Repertum* report by Austrian medical official Johann Flückinger describes the exhumation of a man suspected of vampirism in 1725, and was widely distributed all over Europe (Ellis 2000). Since Flückinger and his Western European readership were unaware of the scapegoat dynamic behind the vampire tale, they tended to mistake these accounts for a fact, which led to an animated discussion about the existence of vampires all over Europe (compare McClelland 2006).

Officials in Britain (Ellis 2000) and Austria (McClelland 2006) were quick to assure the public that the vampire concept lacked any scientific foundation, which curtailed the speculation about the existence of vampires but not the general fascination with the vampire theme. Soon, vampirism was used as a metaphor to rail against corrupt politicians "consuming the life-blood of the country" (Ellis 2000, 166–167), and appeared as a literary theme only 16 years after the *Visum et Repertum* report with the publication of Heinrich Ossenfelder's poem *Der Vampir* (Frost 1989). Vampires began taking the centre stage in prose with Byron's *A Fragment of a Novel* in 1816, and became known to the public as literary villains with Polidori's novella

The Vampyre in 1819. The serial novel *Varney the Vampyre; or, the Feast of Blood*, published between 1845 and 1847, further popularised the vampire motif (Perkowski 1989), while Le Fanu's *Carmilla* (1871) added another level of sexiness to the theme. Augustus Hare's 1892 short story *The Vampire of Croglin Hall* is relatively close to the folkloric source material, while Stoker's 1897 novel *Dracula* introduced its own inventory of vampiric traits and is largely thought to have codified the fictional vampire scheme "for all time" (Frost 1989, 52). It is true that most vampire texts after 1897 seem to refer to *Dracula* and its interpretation of the vampire motif in some way.

3. CHANGES IN THE VAMPIRE MOTIF

While many aspects of the fictional vampire theme have been adapted from the folkloric motif, the narrative has nonetheless been subjected to fundamental changes. This transformation of the vampire motif becomes most obvious in the physical appearance of vampires and in the killing of their victims.

The most apparent change in the physical appearance of vampires is due to their social status. Where folkloric vampires came from the same peasant communities they haunted (Barber 2010), each and every one of the vampiric villains in the literature discussed is descended from nobility: Byron's Augustus Darvell is "a man of considerable fortune and ancient family" (G. Byron 1999, 58–59), Hare's vampire was buried in a vault like a nobleman (Hare 1892), and Lord Ruthven, Sir Francis Varney, Countess Carmilla/Mircalla Karnstein and Count Dracula even have titles to show their status. The folkloric vampires wear the same plain clothing they had been buried in (Barber 1988), while their fictional counterparts are dressed in the expensive clothing that befits their status.

They are also more seductive in general: where folkloric revenants were basically corpses in various stages of decomposition, and showed the plumpness and reddish complexion characteristic of any decaying corpse (Barber 1988), fictional vampires are usually thin, pale and attractive. This

holds true for all texts discussed in this paper, with the exception of Hare's vampire of Croglin Hall, who is "brown, withered, shrivelled, mummified" (Hare 1892, 6). But while the sexual appeal of the vampire antagonists could be considered a by-product of the sexual repression in Victorian times against which only a monster could revolt, the vampires' paleness is a feature so uncharacteristic in folklore that it is hard to pinpoint a single motivation for changing it. There are two possible explanations: not only is paleness a means to illustrate the anaemic vampire's need for blood, but aristocratic whiteness was the beauty ideal of the 19th century as well. It is likely that this pale complexion, now an indispensable part of our image of vampires, was introduced to the vampire narrative for both these reasons.

Starting with *Varney the Vampire* (Prest 1847), fictional vampires also seem to have developed permanently fang-like teeth, all the better to kill their victims with. This element is revisited both by Le Fanu in *Carmilla* (1872) and by Stoker in *Dracula* (1897), and was possibly introduced to vampire lore to accompany the narrowing options for how vampires kill their victims. While vampires in folklore were indeed believed to suck the blood of the living, they rarely chose their victim's neck to do so, instead biting them in the thorax area; at the same time, it was believed that vampires killed their victims by strangling them (Barber 1988). That changed when the vampire theme was fictionalised: Polidori's Lord Ruthven kills Aubrey's love interest by biting her in the throat (Polidori 1819), Varney drinks blood both from his victims' necks and arms (Prest 1847), and Le Fanu's *Carmilla* goes for her victim's throat (Le Fanu 1872), as does Hare's vampire (Hare 1892). Stoker's *Dracula* prefers sucking blood from his victims' necks (Stoker 1897), while Byron's *Fragment of a Novel* makes no mention of a vampire attack at all. Bloodsucking then seems to have a revitalising effect on the vampire (Prest 1847; Stoker 1897), while the strength of their victims slowly falters (Prest 1847; Le Fanu 1872; Stoker 1897).

Like in folklore, many of the victims are attacked while sleeping (compare Barber 1988). This acquires an entirely different feel when one considers the targets of such an attack: where folkloric vampires brutally

assault fellow villagers regardless of their age and gender (compare Barber 1988; Ellis 2000), fictional vampires seem to have a taste for intruding into the boudoirs of beautiful young maidens and sensually killing them by taking just a little blood at a time. In folklore, the attacked usually die shortly afterwards (compare Barber 1988), which also seems to hold true for minor characters in fiction (compare Le Fanu 1872); however, if it suits the plot, the literary characters might suffer from a prolonged period of illness like Stoker's Lucy or Le Fanu's Laura. Of course, this increases the number of illicit visits to the maiden's bedchamber, which can get rather steamy (compare Prest 1847). Since that seems to have been to the readers' taste, it is no wonder almost all of the victims in fiction are pretty young girls: only Stoker's (1897) vampires bite children and men as well, although Dracula himself seems to favour female victims.

4. A 'CONTEMPORARY MYTH': EXPLAINING THE ADAPTATIONS¹

As shown above, adapting the vampire motif as a literary theme went hand in hand with significant alterations to the folkloric source material. Some of these changes appear to be primarily plot-related, like Lucy Westenra's lingering death. Others, like promoting the vampire from a brainless zombie to an evil mastermind, intend to establish him or her as a proper antagonist, as a force to be reckoned with. Some modifications to the original vampire corpus, however, are more strongly motivated, since they touch upon the very reason behind the persistence of the vampire motif: like the archetypal Dracula, the vampire takes the shape of whatever we fear most. Back in the Slavic villages, it was the inexplicable spread of deadly diseases or the destructive forces of nature; nowadays, the vampire turned protagonist embodies the fear of the monster inside of us. In the 19th century, people dreaded two things: unrestrained sexuality and economic insecurity.

It is a well-researched fact that the Victorians were especially uptight about anything remotely sexual. Especially women were expected to be pure and chaste, and sex was seen as a corrupting force. Strongly influenced

by the theme of transgression, the Gothic novel was then "interested in the exploration of what was forbidden" (G. Byron 1999, 2), and it is this desire that permanently attached a sexual note to the vampire theme. The literary vampire preys, above anyone else, on beautiful young maidens, on the very incarnation of innocence; this link between a girl's virginity and her desirability as a victim is painfully obvious when one of Varney's targets is told that there is no better protection against a vampire than a husband (Prest 1847). The vampire, on the other hand, is as evil and carnal as his maiden victim is pure, making her his absolute opposite. Her innocence is destroyed through the act of blood drinking: while biting a girl in the neck is reminiscent of a sensual kiss, the exchange of body fluids that goes along with it is a strong metaphor for sex itself. Sex then corrupts the victim even further when she is turned: as a vampire, Lucy is a voluptuous temptress (Stoker 1897), while the three sisters are actively trying to seduce Jonathan (Stoker 1897). The open display of their sexual desire is arguably their most horrifying trait, since this loss of control over a woman's sexuality must have been a frightening notion in the strictly patriarchal Victorian society indeed.

At the same time, it was not only the sexual nature of the vampire that was fearsome: after all, the vampire is "also the catalyst which releases subversive disruptive desire in others" (G. Byron 1999, 2). Exploring the desire within oneself was only permitted when it was simultaneously labelled as evil: when Varney attacks Flora in her bedroom, Flora feels strangely attracted to the intruder, and is immediately punished by being ferociously bitten (Prest 1847). Jonathan Harker, also, feels guilty for being attracted to Dracula's brides (G. Byron 1999). Since the fear of losing control to one's baser urges has not diminished over time, this theme has been persistent in vampire lore, with the heroine continuously being drawn to the dark sexuality of the vampire or vice versa.

Turning the villain from a next-door peasant to a remote aristocrat, on the other hand, might be the most drastic change in adapting the vampire theme. Yet it is an unsurprising one when we consider the social reality of

the 1800s: in the wake of the Industrial Revolution, the aristocratic ruling class had basically lost its function, but continued its decadent lifestyle on the back of the emerging working class, thus “sucking the energy from the working [...] classes” (McClelland 2006, 150). The vampire theme was almost immediately picked up as a metaphorical device to vilify corrupt politicians or noblemen (Ellis 2000). In times when the social disparity was wider than ever, this metaphor had grown so strong that it was extended to vampires in general: after all, only an aristocrat lived like a parasite off the blood of the masses, and vampires being titled as well was only a logical consequence of that. Ellis (2000, 196) notes that “the vampire theme allows topics that normally remain unspoken to be raised and addressed” and while he refers to the violation of sexual taboos within the vampire narrative, his statement also touches upon the covert criticism of the ruling classes under the cover of a supernatural villain.

While most writers used the vampire theme to covertly denounce the ruling class in general, John Polidori modelled his Lord Ruthven on one aristocrat in particular. Dissatisfied with his former employer, Lord Byron, Polidori took to criticize him rather overtly by likening the villain in his *The Vampyre* on his eccentric companion (Davies 2007). Lord Ruthven did not only inherit Byron’s social status, but also his dark charms, arrogance and intelligence (Jenkins 2010), a template that befits the majority of literary vampires up to this day.

Even though it seems that Polidori has created some sort of Byronic villain to stand alongside the Byronic hero, it is certainly the scapegoat quality of the vampire theme that made it permanently acquire the social status of an aristocrat. Long a mainstream cultural unit, the vampire narrative has been feeding upon the fears of the people, and the masses fear the economic supremacy of the rich. This fear has not subsided for obvious reasons, and today’s vampires are still powerful in a monetary sense we, as the masses, are defenceless against.

5. CONCLUSION

The word 'vampire' has certainly come a long way: once only a pejorative term for those defying the Church in an immoral sense, it came to signify those engaging in unnatural activities like blood sacrifice and orgies, only to symbolise a supernatural yet seemingly actual threat only a few centuries later. With vampires making convenient scapegoats upon which inexplicable catastrophes could be blamed, vampire lore was embellished until the 17th and 18th centuries, when it finally became the complex symbolic belief system associated with Slavic vampirism today.

A cultural merge between Eastern and Western Europe in the 18th century altered the vampire theme once more, with vampire exhumations increasingly attracting Western scholars. The scholars, unaware of the scapegoat dynamic of the vampire myth, reported on these exhumations in a purely scientific way, thus changing the vampire narrative once again. These reports were the ones distributed all over Western Europe in turn.

Writers in these countries, however, were quick to embellish the vampire theme with a symbolic meaning of their own: first a popular metaphor for corrupt politicians, vampires were soon used in fiction as well. Here, the vampire narrative was significantly transformed once more, with vampires taking the position of a scapegoat yet again to symbolise a manmade evil instead of a natural one, fictional vampires became noblemen like those suppressing the masses, and seductively carnal to signify the temptation the prudish Victorians were so eager to resist.

Judging from the millennium-long transformation process, it seems almost certain that the vampire theme will continue to evolve: even a thousand years after the coining of the term, vampires are society's ultimate scapegoats, taking the shape of whatever the collective of people fears the most. This is especially evident in more contemporary manifestations of the theme: modern vampires, now the protagonists of their own tales, make us fear the monsters within ourselves. It is this

adaptability that keeps the vampire narrative fresh, ensuring that it will continue to enthrall us for generations to come.

NOTES

¹ The term 'Contemporary Myth' is used by McClelland (2006, 17) while describing the "ability of the vampire motif to take on new symbolic shapes according to shifts in political" and other circumstances.

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Multimodality in TEFL Classroom

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ABSTRACT Multimodality is rarely focused on in classrooms, especially in Croatia. By definition, multimodality describes communication practices in terms of the textual, aural, linguistic, spatial, and visual resources used to compose messages. Therefore, it is of great importance in everyday communication on all levels – from interpersonal to personal communication, to media and even intrinsic communication. Having this in mind, teachers should implement more multimodal tasks in their classrooms in order to elevate the level of awareness of their students. That kind of multimodal exposure would especially improve deeper understanding of the communication process in second language learners, such as Croatian students who are rarely exposed to native speakers. Basic groundwork for this kind of use of multimodality was laid down by the international project called *The Distributed Little Red Hen Lab*, established by Francis Steen and Mark Turner. The main goal of the project, besides the theoretical framework, is the development of new computational, statistical, and technical tools to assist research into multimodal communication. While learning about the project, we came up with some multimodal tasks and ways to present multimodality to high-school Croatian learners of English, which will be explored in this paper. Furthermore, one practical example of multimodal classroom task will be thoroughly explained.

KEYWORDS multimodality, TEFL, gestures, redhen lab, SLA

1. INTRODUCTION

Multimodality of language and communication is often taken as granted in Croatian English as foreign language (EFL) classrooms. Teachers tend to focus on only some parts of it due to various reasons, but mostly because the whole extent of multimodality is not thoroughly covered during their education. Furthermore, Croatian national curriculum for English language does not include some aspects of multimodality, namely gestures. Considering the importance of multimodality of a language, teachers should implement more multimodal tasks in their classrooms in order to elevate the level of awareness of their students and enhance their proficiency. By extending the level of multimodal exposure, second language learners could develop a deeper understanding of the communication process. Therefore, various multimodal exercises could be devised in order to achieve that, especially with the help of an international project called *The Distributed Little Red Hen Lab*, established by Francis Steen and Mark Turner. While contributing to the project, we came up with some multimodal tasks and ways to present multimodality to high-school Croatian learners of English. Therefore, one practical example of multimodal classroom task will be thoroughly explained in this paper.

2. MULTIMODALITY IN CLASSROOMS

In most Croatian classrooms, English teachers tend to focus on the *four essential skills* – reading, listening, writing, speaking – as a result of their education. Although this focus is somewhat justified in a sense that the primary goal of language learning is to achieve a high level of proficiency in those four skills, the language itself cannot be constrained to these four aspects – in order to fully capture and convey meaning, the multimodality of language has to be taken into account (Jakšić 2017). English language is multimodal, and according to Murray (2013, 51), communication consists of five different resources (modes): “textual, aural, linguistic, spatial, and visual.” Therefore, people communicate by using

a combination of those five modes. The presence and absence of a single mode can alter the meaning of the message, which leads to a conclusion that these modes are interdependent, even though they can be used independently.

As mentioned before, the whole aspect of multimodality of communication is not explored in Croatian classrooms since teachers often overlook the spatial mode (Jakšić 2017; Korade 2017) and focus on other aspects, primarily on textual, aural and visual modes. This trifocal approach is criticised by Kress (2000, 184) who argues that “the so-called literate Western societies have for too long insisted on the priority of a particular form of engagement, through a combination of hearing and sight.” Kress (2000) further noted that hearing – the aural – is limited to the sounds of speech, while sight – the visual – is limited to the textual representation of speech, i.e. letters. However, by overlooking the spatial mode of communication, such as gestures and body posture, the meaning of a message, or a part of it, can change, therefore hindering the communication effort. Therefore, we believe that the scope of multimodality taught in TEFL classrooms should be expanded to all modes of communication.

3. GESTURES IN CLASSROOMS

Gestures are an integral part of the multimodality of communication, as visual cues that are spatial in nature, while in some instances they also have a linguistic mode. Even though they naturally occur during communication, they are rarely focused on in classes, especially in foreign language classes. Their presumed subconscious and automatic nature plays a part in this view as something that should not be specifically focused on in classes. However, Kendon (2004, 8) defines a gesture as “an action related to ongoing talk and that has the features of manifest deliberate expressiveness.” Therefore, a proper communication gesture is always deliberate as it requires a constructive mental effort behind and it is meant to either create and convey new meaning, or add another layer, another mode, to the already existing meaning (Korade 2017).

Furthermore, the aforementioned negligence of the (primarily) spatial mode of communication has led to a situation where students are expected to use and recognize gestures connected to their second language (L2) even if they have never received any education from their teachers. However, gestures and their frequency and meaning differ from language to language. Even though little is known about real differences between cultures and languages with respect to speech-associated or spontaneous gestures, differences do exist, and they can be assumed to pertain not only to culture, but also to various factors, such as region and socio-economic status (Gullberg 1998). Because of that, students should be taught about cultural differences and appropriateness in order to improve their L2 proficiency. This can be accomplished by educating L2 learners about gestures and their role in the language, and enticing them to perform and adapt their gesticulations while using L2 (Jakšić 2017).

3.1. GESTURES IN SLA THEORY

Gestures are rarely focused on in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) theory. However, gestures can find a place in most widespread theories, either as facilitators of acquisition or as a helping tool for deeper understanding of the communication process.

In the innatist perspective, Chomsky argued that children are biologically programmed for language and that language develops in the child in just the same way that other biological functions develop. He argued that the environment makes only a basic contribution – in this case, the availability of people who speak to the child. He concluded that children's minds are not blank slates to be filled by imitating language they hear in the environment, but that they were born with a specific innate ability to discover to themselves the underlying rules of a language system on the basis of the samples of a natural language they are exposed to (Lightbown and Spada 2013). Gestures correspond with the innatist theory since they often appear before spoken language. A child can perform simple, usually deictic gestures

when asking for food or a toy, or even spread their arms in search of a hug or clenching their fists in order to make a person give them something. In this theory, gestures can be perceived as a precursor of spoken language.

On the other hand, connectionism is a theory of knowledge, including language, as a complex system of units that become interconnected in the mind as they are encountered together. The more often units are heard or seen together, the more likely it is that the presence of one will lead to the activation of the other. Connectionists attribute greater importance to the role of the environment than to any specific innate knowledge in the learner (Lightbown and Spada 2013). Gestures are, as mentioned before, heavily influenced and modified by culture and environment. Furthermore, through constant use of gestures, both recognizing and performing ones, with certain words, they become deeply connected and the presence of one part of the entrenched unit will often elicit the activation of the other.

Krashen's Monitor Model consists of five hypotheses, and the most important one for gestures is the comprehensible input hypothesis. Krashen argues that acquisition occurs when one is exposed to language that is comprehensible and contains "i + 1". The 'i' represents the level of the language already acquired, and the '+1' is a metaphor for language, i.e. words, grammatical forms, etc., that is just a step beyond that level (Lightbown and Spada 2013). In a classroom, this theory can often be used with young learners. For example, while teaching numbers to the children, the teacher can count his fingers (see Figure 1) and accordingly announce the names of numbers – one, two, three, four, five.

In this instance, the gesture of counting the fingers represents the already known content – names of numbers in L1 (represented by the number of fingers), i.e. 'i', while new words (in L2) represent the '+1'. Students can be encouraged to repeat both counting fingers and speaking the new vocabulary after the teacher in order to create even stronger mental images and link between gestures and new words, thus between pre-existent knowledge and new content.

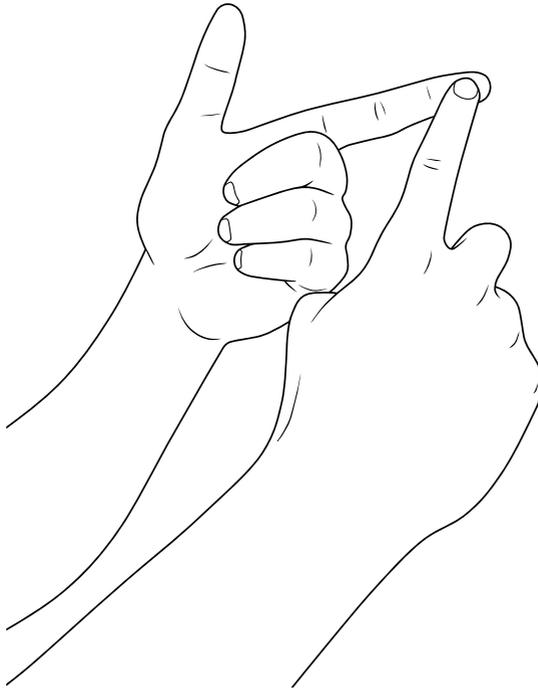


Figure 1. Counting fingers as an example of “ $i + 1$ ”

Long’s interaction hypothesis argues that conversational interaction is an essential, if not sufficient, condition for second language acquisition. The basis of this theory is that modified interaction – interactions with proficient interlocutors who modify the interaction – enhances acquisition. In this case, interlocutors need to work together to reach mutual comprehension through negotiation for meaning (Lightbown and Spada 2013). Since gestures are often heavily used during interaction, even to modify it, they can be relied upon to develop deeper understanding. Namely, while negotiating meaning, less proficient interlocutor will often pay closer attention to the proficient interlocutor’s body language in order to better grasp the meaning. The more competent he is in recognizing gestures, the more success he will have in decoding the message.

Connected to this is Swain's comprehensible output hypothesis, which argues that when learners must produce language that their interlocutor can understand, they are most likely to see the limits to their second language ability and need to find better ways to express their meaning, which then pushes learners ahead in their development (Lightbown and Spada 2013). However, during the current interaction, learners can use gestures in order to enhance their ability to convey the message even if they lack the vocabulary to do so. By doing so, they produce the comprehensible output, but also realize their weaknesses.

Schmidt's noticing hypothesis suggests that nothing is learned unless it has been noticed. Noticing does not itself result in acquisition, but it is the essential learning point (Lightbown and Spada 2013). By noticing the patterns, reasons of use and meaning of gestures, learners can deduce meaning of unknown words and learn when and why are certain gestures used. This is of great importance since L1 and L2 cultures are often very different, and by noticing and learning how to properly use certain gestures, L2 learners can reach near native-like competence.

One of the rare SLA theories that explicitly mentions gestures is Selinker's theory of interlanguage. According to Selinker (1972, 211), "[t]he process of learning a second language (L2) is characteristically non-linear and fragmentary, marked by a mixed landscape of rapid progression in certain areas but slow movement, incubation or even permanent stagnation in others. Such a process results in a linguistic system known as 'interlanguage.'" Essentially, the term *interlanguage* denotes learners' developing second language knowledge which consists of some characteristics influenced by previously learned languages, or his L1, some characteristics of the second language, and some general characteristics that often occur in various interlanguage systems, such as excessive gesturing. Therefore, learners who have not yet fully developed their L2 will tend to use gestures to convey meaning and enhance their production.

4. THE DISTRIBUTED LITTLE RED HEN LAB

The Distributed Little Red Hen Lab (Red Hen Lab) is a global laboratory and consortium for research into multimodal communication, founded by Francis Steen and Mark Turner. Its primary goal is to create a massive systematic corpus of ecologically valid multimodal data, along with new tools and practices to analyse given data (Steen and Turner 2013). Red Hen Lab's researchers record audio-visual news broadcasts systematically, and supplement the resulting dataset with other audio-visual records (Steen and Turner 2013).

Red Hen is organized as a cooperative of engaged researchers from all over the world who collaborate closely and contribute power and content to Red Hen Lab, and hence to each other and to future researchers. By developing various tools – theoretical, computational, technical and statistical – Red Hen Lab aims to advance research in any study of multimodal communication, including any area in which there are records of human communication. Therefore, the possible usefulness of Red Hen Lab is immense, since it can be applied to any language and almost any form of communication.

5. CLASSROOM APPLICATION

Gestures have a wide range of possible applications in classrooms. Besides teaching students about cultural differences among gestures, they can be used as a facilitator of second language acquisition, as shown in previous sections, or used as a specific learning topic.

However, in order to fully utilize them in classrooms, students must become aware of their importance. Therefore, we came up with a simple task that involves gestures – a variation was used in Jakšić 2017 and Korade 2017. This exercise is suitable for all age groups with minor tweaks, and requires no additional training.

The topic of the exercise is *Gestures in communication*, while its aims are:

- a) linguistic – introduction to multimodality
- b) communicative – developing deeper understanding by recognizing gestures
- c) educational – learning how to use body language; culture specific gestures.

Materials needed for this exercise are a PC or a laptop, and, depending on the availability, a projector or a smart board, while a blackboard serves as a backup for possible further explanations.

Students should be eased into the exercise by introducing the topic (gestures) and a brief discussion about it. Teachers are required to explain the importance of gestures and to demonstrate a small number of gestures and ask the students to do the same. During the discussion, a few students are chosen to use a specific gesture in a situation of their own.

After the introduction, the teacher plays a video clip without sound or subtitles while the students watch the clip and take down notes. The students are told to recognize as many gestures as possible during the first viewing. After the viewing, the teacher discusses the memorized gestures with the students.

Following the discussion, the teacher plays the video for the second time. This time, during the second viewing, the students are instructed to analyse the speakers by ascribing certain attributes to the speaker, for example commanding, compassionate, apologetic, aggressive, etc. Students should try to describe the general tone of the discussion in the video and recognize the hierarchy of speakers.

This kind of an exercise can be used to explain cultural differences and acquiring new gestures, as well as learning about the proper usage of gestures in everyday communication. Although almost any video clip can be used, we believe that movies are not as useful as talk shows,

since actors produce specific script-related gestures, while talk shows and similar TV shows present a more realistic and natural circumstances. Therefore, this exercise is best paired with Red Hen Lab's resources and videos, since they record TV shows and provide us with annotated gestures.

6. CONCLUSION

Currently, the whole extent of multimodality of language is not covered in Croatian TEFL classrooms. However, this could be changed by educating teachers on the importance of visual and spatial mode of communication, i.e. about gestures. This could be done by emphasising those aspects during their education, or by directing them in the *National curriculum*. We believe that teachers would improve their teaching success by using *The Distributed Little Red Hen Lab's* resources in creating various types of multimodal tasks. By doing that, they would open new horizons for their students, providing them with a lot of new and useful information, thus enabling them to reach higher levels of L2 proficiency. Furthermore, this would make the classes more interesting to students by shifting the focus from the "four essential skills" since the insistence on those can become fairly tedious to students. Therefore, the importance of gestures and other non-mainstream modes should not be underestimated, and they must be incorporated in TEFL classrooms.

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Diagnosing Bartleby

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ABSTRACT When we first encounter Herman Melville’s short story *Bartleby, the Scrivener: A Story of Wall Street*, it is hard to imagine the multitude of meanings it contains and the interpretations it inspires. However, after a thorough analysis, we see how Melville’s genius manages to offer us political, psychological, economic and other ways of reading it. This paper’s main focus will be the psychological interpretations, i.e., Bartleby as an example of mental illness. Throughout the years, this character has been diagnosed with a number of conditions – depression, anorexia, agoraphobia, schizophrenia, etc. This paper will examine the likelihood of Bartleby having these conditions by comparing Bartleby’s “symptoms” with those of each mental illness, and if it is at all possible to diagnose someone just through the view someone else gives us of them, in this case through what the narrator tells us about Bartleby. Offering an alternative interpretation to Bartleby’s “I would prefer not to”, this paper will also briefly touch upon the political interpretations of Melville’s story.

KEYWORDS Bartleby, mental illness, political, psychological

1. INTRODUCTION

When we first encounter Herman Melville's 1856 short story *Bartleby, the Scrivener: A Story of Wall Street*, it is hard to imagine the multitude of meanings it contains and the interpretations it inspires. However, after a thorough analysis, we see how Melville's genius manages to offer us political, psychological, economic and other ways of reading it. This paper will focus on the psychological interpretation – Bartleby as an example of mental illness – and will touch upon the political interpretation – Bartleby's silent protest – of the work.

Looking at the story from a psychological perspective, Bartleby can be “diagnosed” with several mental disorders such as depression, anorexia, agoraphobia, etc. The condition, whichever it may be, may have first developed during Bartleby's time as a clerk in the Dead Letter Office, a grim place where letters go to die. Cleverly guiding us through the story, Melville reveals this at the very end, making us re-examine some of our thoughts about Bartleby. While some critics agree with this view, others oppose it and propose other origins of Bartleby's troubles.

What can be said for sure is that during the course of the story Bartleby's condition worsens – he loses interest in doing his job, does not want to leave the office and does not eat. I am going to attempt to show why this is the case by looking at the disorders most commonly associated with him.

2. DEPRESSION

Depression is a disorder that is widely spread in today's society. Some of the symptoms associated with it are “persistent sad, anxious, or ‘empty’ mood”, “loss of interest or pleasure in hobbies and activities”, “appetite and/or weight changes”, “moving or talking more slowly” etc. (NIMH 2016a). Following Bartleby's behavior throughout the story, it is easy to determine the presence of some of these symptoms.

One of the strongest indications of his depressive nature are his "dead-wall reveries", as Melville (1856 14, 21–22) calls them. After losing interest in doing copying, something that he seems to enjoy doing, at least at the beginning of the story, he spends most of his time staring at the wall outside his window. The lethargy that seems to envelop him is all-encompassing.

His appetite, to which I will pay greater attention when analyzing his connection to anorexia, can be viewed as another symptom of depression. "He lives, then, on ginger-nuts, thought I; never eats a dinner, properly speaking; he must be a vegetarian then; but no; he never eats even vegetables, he eats nothing but ginger-nuts" (Melville 1856, 9). From this quote, we can see that Bartleby's eating habits are quite irregular and that he eats food that has almost no nutritional value.

Indeed, what Melville's (1856, 14) narrator calls "all the quiet mysteries which I had noted in the man" can be in some way seen as manifestations of his depressive state. Further on in the paper, it will be made clear that many of these symptoms also coincide with other disorders, and it may even be said that depression can be viewed as an accompanying condition of one of them, and not as a solitary infliction on Bartleby's mental health.

3. ANOREXIA AND AGORAPHOBIA

Anorexia and agoraphobia surface as two following conditions that can be used to analyze Bartleby's behavior and disposition. Certain indications of their coexistence can be observed in the character of Bartleby as will be made clear by Desmarais (2011) and Brown (1987).

Anorexics exhibit symptoms such as "extremely restricted eating", "extreme thinness (emaciation)", "brittle hair and nails", "dry and yellowish skin", "lethargy, sluggishness, or feeling tired", etc. (NIMH 2016b). Having these symptoms in mind, the easiest connection to make between Bartleby and anorexia as a disorder would be the descriptions of his appearance. Some of the phrases which Melville (1856) uses to describe Bartleby,

such as “lean visage” (12), “cadaverously gentlemanly *nonchalance*” (12), immediately invoke the image of a person with a rather sickly appearance.

Desmarais (2011, 5) states: “As many studies show, anorexics prefer to retreat from social life and seek out places of silence and solitude, where they are able to regulate meagre meals and live on virtually nothing. This is how the narrator describes Bartleby’s routine.” This shows another side of Bartleby’s anorexia insofar as, as previously mentioned, he refuses to take in any nourishment and lives entirely on ginger nuts.

The development of Bartleby’s anorexia is slow, and Melville gives us an indication to the importance of Bartleby’s eating habits by using metaphors connected to food when describing his working habits. “As if long famishing for something to copy, he seemed to gorge himself on my documents. There was no pause for digestion” (Melville 1856, 6). Everything Bartleby does is with the aim “to remain autonomous and self-contained” and “ultimately he refuses to *take in* any nourishment, but this is prefigured in the text by his refusing to *take on* more work” (Desmarais 2011, 2).

Desmarais (2011) also talks about what Brown (1987, 137) calls Bartleby’s “propinquity to walls” and which is related to agoraphobia as a possible explanation of Bartleby’s behavior. “Agoraphobic fears typically involve characteristic clusters of situations that include being outside the home alone; being in a crowd or standing in a line; being on a bridge; and traveling in a bus, train, or automobile” (Bressert 2017).

To shield themselves from these situations, agoraphobics avoid being out in public and prefer confined spaces whenever possible. This kind of behavior is evident in Bartleby – he prefers not to run any errands out of the office and in the latter parts of the story prefers not to move at all from his “hermitage” (Melville 1856). Discussing the walls in the story, Desmarais (2011, 6) identifies, aside from the obvious material walls that surround him, the psychological walls which Bartleby has erected to defend himself: “As long as he can stay in one place, he is content and quite literally ‘contained.’ The walls which surround him give him a sense of place, if not identity,

and there is a certain security in this. These external and inner walls are of course interrelated. Bartleby's physical environment metaphorically figures his psychological barricades."

While Desmarais (2011) adopts what one can say is more or less a purely psychological interpretation of Bartleby's agoraphobia, Brown (1987) infuses her interpretations with connections to marketplace and economy. According to Brown (1987, 136), the agoraphobia that developed in 19th century America is "literally, fear of the marketplace" and the antidote to this condition is domesticity. Connecting the condition to Bartleby, Brown (1987, 137) writes: "In his propinquity to walls and in his preference for his own impenetrable postures, Bartleby presents an extreme version of such a model: in 'his long-continued motionlessness' he achieves an 'austere reserve,' the ideal of domesticity within Wall Street."

With his behavior – refusing to do work, his "dead-wall reveries", his motionlessness – Bartleby "effectively achieves the hermitage and privacy that the lawyer imagines his establishment provides" (Brown 1987, 147). In addition to this, Brown (1987, 147) concludes that "Bartleby seeks to empty the domestic of the economic, to establish an impregnable privacy."

Brown (1987, 147–148) goes on to discuss anorexia in a similar context, connecting it to agoraphobia, as well as to the marketplace and the economy: "Anorexia, somewhat contrary to its name, is not the condition of being without desire but the enterprise of controlling desire. That is, the anorexic wants to not want and to this end tries not to consume, or to undo consumption."

The attempt of a person to shield themselves from the influences of the world and to preserve the sense of self they have can be identified as an element of both agoraphobia and anorexia. Anorexia goes one step further in this attempt because "in the logic of anorexia's perfection of agoraphobia, death best preserves the self" (Brown 1987, 150).

What best illustrates this is Bartleby's motionlessness, which is so all-encompassing that the narrator perpetually compares him to objects.

Towards the end of the story, Bartleby also tells the narrator: “I like to be stationary” (Melville 1856, 25). Brown’s (1987, 150) view that Bartleby “elaborates death as the best method of self-preservation” is not that different from Beja’s (1978) petrification stance in viewing Bartleby as a case study for schizophrenia, which will be examined in the next part of this paper.

4. SCHIZOPHRENIA

Schizophrenia is probably the most serious disorder of all that I have examined so far in this paper. While there is no consensus on how and why schizophrenia develops, scientists agree that genes, environment, and different brain chemistry and structure are factors in its development (NIMH 2016c).

When doing a psychological study on a fictional character, it is quite hard to determine how and why this disorder has developed and if it is indeed the right disorder. However, Beja (1978) states that “a clinical analysis of Bartleby would probably identify him as at least schizoid, probably schizophrenic” (556), specifying his probable diagnosis as “schizophrenia, catatonic type, withdrawn” (557). Some of the “symptoms” discussed before, for example his motionlessness, his “dead-wall reveries” etc. are also given as possible proof by Beja (1978) of Bartleby as a schizophrenic. However, this is the first time his famous phrase “I would prefer not to” (Melville 1856, 7) comes up as a symptom, or as Beja (1978, 557) says, Bartleby is “compulsively prone to repetitive acts or phrases.”

The basis for most of Beja’s (1978) analysis are R. D. Laing’s theories pertaining schizophrenia. An emphasis is put on “defining” normalcy and how it relates to Bartleby. The term “normal” is a restrictive and, in a sense, even a violent term that excludes a manner of human experiences, putting a pressure on people who are different to adapt to the majority’s opinion of what “normal” truly is. In this regard, Beja (1978, 560) believes that “we may come to look upon Bartleby’s mode of adaptation as a pathetic attempt to make himself truly

‘sane,’ and that for Bartleby “schizophrenia becomes a refuge – the awful result of a desperate attempt to avoid insanity.”

One of the most important connections to Laing’s theories that Beja (1978) makes is the importance of petrification as one of the “forms of anxiety encountered by the ontologically insecure person” (Laing 1965, 43, quoted in Beja 1978, 563) for Bartleby. “*Petrification* entails a retreat into stasis or even catatonia which is one of those modes of self-preservation by which we are accomplices in our self-destruction. One may so dread being ‘petrified,’ ‘turning, or being turned, from a live person into a dead thing, into stone’ that the terror brings about what is feared” (Beja 1978, 563).

As previously mentioned when discussing agoraphobia, Bartleby uses the words “I like to be stationary” (Melville 1856, 25) when asked what he would like to do. In fact, his preference for stasis is so great that at one point he simply stops moving and being active in any sort of way, in other words, he becomes “a perpetual sentry in the corner” (Melville 1856, 9). As an answer to the question of why Bartleby would “prefer” to become something else than a human being, to be as motionless as an object, we find multiple examples in the story of Bartleby being compared to an object, for example “he had become a millstone to me” (Melville 1856, 18), “like the last column of a ruined temple” (19), “you are as harmless as any of these old chairs” (22). As Beja (1978, 564) concludes: “Surely at least one of the sources for Bartleby’s having become a ‘thing’ is that he has been looked upon and treated as one.”

The tragedy of Bartleby’s attempt to defend himself against the world in such a way is that “like so many psychological defenses, petrification is not merely futile but more destructive than what it is supposed to provide a defense against” (Beja 1978, 564).

In order to protect himself from the world, Bartleby may have also created what Laing calls a “false self” – a performative version of the self “that one has in the outer world, which relates with that world and is

observed by others” (Beja 1978, 565), but which in no way contains any part of the true, inner self. This false self usually functions impeccably and gives no indication to others that it is there. In *Bartleby’s* case, this is his “façade” as the prefect copyist, until faced with a request this self can no longer comply with. The longer this protective shell, or rather wall that has been erected around the true self exists, the more divorced from reality this person becomes. The fate of the true self is that it remains “transcendent, unembodied, and thus never to be grasped, pinpointed, trapped, possessed” (Lang 1965, quoted in Beja 1978, 565).

This divided form of existence also means that the loss of the false self also means losing the connection to the rest of mankind. “In repudiating the false self – the self after all that relates to others, however ‘falsely’ – one repudiates all contact with other people. *Bartleby* obviously does that...” (Beja 1978, 565).

The source of *Bartleby’s* extreme dissociation, as well as his possible schizophrenia, is extremely hard to pinpoint, even after taking into account an extensive analysis such as Beja’s (1978). However, Beja (1978, 567) believes that “in the brutal parlance of everyday life, *Bartleby* dissociates himself from the outer world because he can no longer take it.”

5. “I WOULD PREFER NOT TO”

People suffering from mental disorders often develop an almost excessive politeness as a defense mechanism. *Bartleby’s* polite “I would prefer not to” can be interpreted as such. However, because *Bartleby’s* internal struggle is not seen, people often perceive him as disrespectful and even arrogant in his constant assertion of a preference – not to work, not to relocate, not to obey instruction. There are times when the narrator perceives *Bartleby* in this way: “It was rather weak in me I confess, but his manner on this occasion nettled me. Not only did there seem to lurk in it a certain calm disdain, but his perverseness seemed ungrateful, considering the undeniable good usage and indulgence he had received from me” (Melville 1856, 6).

A connection between the phrase and Bartleby's mental state can be found in Beja (1978) and Desmarais (2011), both of whom interpret the phrase as connected to the mental illnesses they examine, i.e. schizophrenia and anorexia. While Beja (1978) views it as a symptom, we can say that Desmarais (2011) finds in it another quality, apart from a simple manifestation of anorexic preference.

Beja (1978, 557) lists as one of Bartleby's symptoms of schizophrenia the fact that he is "compulsively prone to repetitive acts or phrases." He uses it as one of his rare means of communicating his emotions and desires to others, and, as mentioned previously, it is not always readily and easily understood, for Bartleby has "no" way of expressing himself in another way and maybe even explaining things further. "Still, if Bartleby's refrain of 'I would prefer not to' is a sign of anguished mental illness, it is also his forceful psychic response to existence on this earth" (Beja 1978, 562).

As the story goes on, Bartleby's "preferring not to" "becomes more and more encompassing until in the end it becomes all-inclusive – until, indeed, it refers to all of life and living. For poor Bartleby would prefer not to" (Beja 1978, 567).

Desmarais (2011, 5) views the phrase as a representation of "the paradoxical nature of anorexic behavior." Her linguistic analysis of the word *prefer*, "a comparative verb ... articulated ... as an absolute", characterizes it as "both illusive and allusive. Unspecific in what it refers to, the world alludes to a choice which it denies" (Desmarais 2011, 2).

For Desmarais (2011, 5), "I would prefer not to" is not merely a defense mechanism, but a "mantra of the dispossessed and unlocated" and "another wall between him and external reality" that is "more impermeable than any person can understand."

Bartleby's refrain also connects with the political interpretation of this story. His "I would prefer not to" is seen as an excellent example of passive resistance as a protest form. As a contrast to the defense mechanism thesis, Gullestad (2010, 403) stated the following: "Rather than a victim

whose passivity is seen as an impotent defense mechanism, Bartleby's generic reply is here treated as an *active*, potentially revolutionary force. This has even led to some viewing his passivity as a possible ideal for liberatory politics of today, either as a part of a larger strategy or in itself."

6. CONCLUSION

Even after this extensive analysis, there is no way to objectively say which condition Bartleby really "has" since Bartleby's symptoms are seen through the eyes of the narrator and we find out very little from the "patient" himself. He may have one or more of them coexist within him. Diagnosing a fictional character is also a very controversial practice and is viewed by some critics as very constricting. This paper has in no way the intention to exclude all other possible interpretations, but to present the psychological one in more detail.

Despite all this, many people will find themselves identifying with him and being sympathetic with his condition, especially if they have experienced something similar themselves. Hopefully, papers such as these and characters such as Bartleby will help with the breaking of the stigma around mental illness.

If Bartleby's actions are seen as a form of aware action, he can be classified as one of the legendary protesters of literature.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Dedicated to Professor Ognen Chemerski aka "Professor Moby Dick".

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Interdisciplinary Approach to Emotion Detection from Text

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ABSTRACT Emotions not only influence most aspects of cognition and behavior, but also play a prominent role in interaction and communication between people. With current multidimensional research on emotions being vast and varied, all researchers of emotions, both psychologists and linguists alike, agree that emotions are at the core of understanding ourselves and others. As a primary vehicle of communication and interaction, language is the most convenient medium for approaching research on the topic of emotions. Not only is one of the main functions of language the emotive one, but the interplay of emotions and language occurs at all linguistic levels. Textual data, in particular, can be beneficial to emotion detection due to its syntactic and semantic information containing not only informative content, but emotional states as well. A general overview of the emotion models based on the research in psychology, as well as the major approaches to emotion detection from text found in linguistics, together with usage demonstration of emotion detection linguistic tools, will be given in this paper. Examples of useful applications – from psychologists analyzing session transcripts in search for any subtle emotions, over public opinion mining on social networks to the development of AI technology – will also be provided showing that emotion detection from text has an abundance of practical uses. As the methods for emotion detection from text become more accurate, uses and applications of emotion detection from text will become more numerous and diverse in the future.

KEYWORDS emotion detection, computational linguistics, psychology

1. INTRODUCTION

Current multi-dimensional research on EMOTIONS¹, being vast and varied (Ogarkova 2007), provides evidence for the ubiquity of emotion which influence extends to all aspects of cognition and behavior (Cacioppo and Gardner 1999). Not only do emotions have an important role in human intelligence, rational decision-making and social interaction (Quan and Ren 2014), but they also help in identifying attitudes, states, conditions or modes of a particular situation or circumstance (Haggag 2014).

Emotion and language are genuine and basic to human nature (Sarter 2012). They are interrelated in numerous ways and researchers from wide ranges of disciplines – from historians, anthropologists, sociologists, biologists to philosophers – are interested in questions arising from their relationship (Ogarkova 2007), while the interplay of the two has received increased attention in the fields of psychology and linguistics (Robinson and Altarriba 2014).

English is a prime example of a tool for emotion studies as “there are literally hundreds of words available to English-speakers to describe how they are feeling” (Hobbs and Gordon 2008, 29), with nouns and adjectives in particular (Ezhilarasi and Minu 2012). The sheer quantity of words that reference emotions in English shows that all words are able to potentially convey emotional meaning (Strapparava, Valitutti and Stock 2006) and the best way to approach emotion detection in language is through textual data, which does not only contain informative content, but it also, as Haggag (2014) points out, involves emotional states.

While emotion detection and analysis in general has been widely researched in neuroscience, psychology and behavior science, as “emotions are an important element of human nature” (Canales and Martínez-Barco 2014, 1), EMOTION DETECTION FROM TEXT² is a relatively new classification task. Nonetheless, it has attracted a growing attention of many researchers, especially in the field of computational linguistics, for its wide range of potentially useful applications (Agrawal and An 2012).

Therefore, the primary aim of this paper is to explore the concepts and methods behind emotion detection from text by providing an overview of the major psychological and linguistic theoretical frameworks involved in emotion detection from text.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. In Section II, a literature survey of major theoretical approaches to emotions is presented. Section III provides a general overview of the emotion models based on research in psychology. An extensive review of relationship and interplay between language and emotion is presented in Section IV. Section V provides a general survey of the major linguistic methods to emotion detection from text along with a practical overview how they are utilized in research. Moreover, a wide range of applications of emotion detection from text is presented in Section VI. Finally, a conclusion is given and some future avenues of research work are predicted.

2. EMOTION THEORIES

The central point of emotion research is, of course, emotion, but defining what it is would prove to be a difficult task as there does not exist a clear definition (Izard 2010). Thus, “the determination of what an emotion is, is a notoriously difficult problem” (Ortony, Clore and Foss 1987, 342). As the aim of this paper is not to analyze the available definitions – for that consult Kleinginna and Kleinginna (1981) who have listed and analyzed 92 definitions of emotions – only the review of major theories of emotions, with their understanding what constitutes emotions, will be provided.

In *The Science of Emotion* (1996), Randolph Cornelius presents four major schools of emotion in psychology: DARWINIAN, JAMESIAN, COGNITIVE and SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVIST. These four major theoretical perspectives study and look at emotions from somewhat different angles; however, all of them contribute to the understanding of different aspects of emotion and the way how we consequently approach emotion detection and recognition.

The central idea of the **DARWINIAN PERSPECTIVE** is the notion that “emotions are evolved phenomena with important survival functions that have been selected for because they have solved certain problems we have faced as a species” (Cornelius 2000, 3). The adaptive behavior, including facial expressions and states of readiness to respond, is regarded as central to what emotions are and this behavior may be considered universal. Therefore, emotions are **FUNDAMENTAL, BASIC** and **PRIMARY** (Cornelius 2000). This perspective focuses on the functions of emotions, while the following perspective is concerned with emotional experience.

The **JAMESIAN PERSPECTIVE** was inspired by William James’ writings on emotion who maintained that “bodily changes follow directly from **PERCEPTION** of the exciting fact, and ... our feeling of the same changes as they occur is the emotion” (James 1884, 189–190). This perspective follows the idea that the experience of an emotion is a result of a “distinct bodily expression” (James 1884, 189), where the bodily expression or change is the emotion itself. Therefore, human body responds first and the experience of the bodily change constitutes what is called emotion, which is in turn differentiated by various bodily changes.

Among the four theoretical perspectives presented in this section, the **COGNITIVE PERSPECTIVE** is considered to be the dominant one (Cornelius 2000). The essence of this perspective lies in the notion that thought and emotion are inseparable (Arnold 1960) and the process of emotions is explained by the process of **APPRAISAL** – the process where events in the environment are judged or perceived. Magda Arnold (1960), the pioneer of this approach, argued that emotions are generated by judgments about the world and that an emotion always involves the assessment of how an object may harm or benefit a person. In essence, without appraisal there is no emotion and the type of emotion detected and recognized depends on the nature of appraisal as well. Elliott (1992) provides an overview of types of appraisals and emotion categories that stem from them. The overview is based on the works of Ortony, Clore and Collins (1988) and can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1. Emotion Categories Viewed from the Appraisal Perspective

Group	Specification	Category Label and Emotion Type
Well-Being	appraisal of a situation as an <i>event</i>	JOY: pleased about an <i>event</i> DISTRESS: displeased about an <i>event</i>
Fortunes-of-Others	presumed value of a situation as an <i>event</i> affecting another	HAPPY-FOR: pleased about an <i>event</i> desirable for another GLOATING: pleased about an <i>event</i> undesirable for another RESENTMENT: displeased about an <i>event</i> desirable for another JEALOUSY*: <i>resentment</i> over a desired mutually exclusive goal ENVY*: <i>resentment</i> over a desired non-exclusive goal SORRY-FOR: displeased about an <i>event</i> undesirable for another
Prospect-Based	appraisal of a situation as a prospective <i>event</i>	HOPE: pleased about a prospective desirable <i>event</i> FEAR: displeased about a prospective undesirable <i>event</i>
Confirmation	appraisal of a situation as confirming or disconfirming an expectation	SATISFACTION: pleased about a confirmed desirable <i>event</i> RELIEF: pleased about a disconfirmed undesirable <i>event</i> FEARS-CONFIRMED: displeased about a confirmed undesirable <i>event</i> DISAPPOINTMENT: displeased about a disconfirmed desirable <i>event</i>
Attribution	appraisal of a situation as an accountable <i>act</i> of some agent	PRIDE: approving of one's own <i>act</i> ADMIRATION: approving of another's <i>act</i> SHAME: disapproving of one's own <i>act</i> REPROACH: disapproving of another's <i>act</i>
Attraction	appraisal of a situation as containing an attractive or unattractive <i>object</i>	LIKING: finding an <i>object</i> appealing DISLIKING: finding an <i>object</i> unappealing
Well-Being / Attribution	compound emotions	GRATITUDE: admiration + joy ANGER: reproach + distress GRATIFICATION: pride + joy REMORSE: shame + distress
Attraction / Attribution	compound emotion extensions	LOVE: admiration + liking HATE: reproach + disliking

* Non-symmetric additions necessary for some stories.

Adapted from Elliott (1998) after Ortony, Clore and Collins (1988).

The SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVIST PERSPECTIVE, also known as the CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE, views emotions as “social constructions, not biological givens” and as “improvisations, based on an individual’s interpretation of the situation” (Averill 1980, 305). Emotions are therefore “cultural products that owe their meaning and coherence to learned social justice” (Cornelius 2000, 7). According to this perspective, culture provides the content of the appraisals that generate emotions making the content of appraisals cultural, while the process of appraisal remains to be a biological adaptation. “Recognition of the role of culture in specifying what we got emotional about and how we do it provides a powerful tool for understanding the larger social functions of emotions” (Cornelius 2000, 7). Culture in this case plays a central role in the organization, recognition and detection of emotions at a variety of levels.

Although being the youngest and the most diverse, the SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVIST perspective is the most controversial of the four perspectives on emotion (Cornelius 2000) as it proposes that emotions are social constructs influenced by culture. This opens the door for the GREAT EMOTIONS DEBATE (Feldman Barrett, Lindquist and Gendron 2007) where the question of cross-cultural similarities and differences in emotions is raised (Shaver, Murdaya and Fraley 2001). The proponents of CROSS-CULTURAL SIMILARITIES have accumulated evidence for cross-cultural facial expressions of a certain emotion (e.g. Ekman 1999) and the dimensions underlying emotions (e.g. Russell 1980). Ortony and Turner (1990) collated a wide range of research on identification of universal emotions and a short theoretical overview of the emotion categories and basis for inclusion can be seen in Table 2. Arguments and evidence for CROSS-CULTURAL DIFFERENCES³ have also been presented with different emotional expressions and display rules (e.g. Matsumoto et al. 1988) and emotion concepts⁴ (e.g. Levy 1984) found in different cultures.

Table 2. A Selection of Lists of Universal Emotions

	Universal Emotions	Basis for Inclusion
Arnold (1960)	ANGER, AVERSION, COURAGE, DEJECTION, DESIRE, DESPAIR, FEAR, HATE, HOPE, LOVE, SADNESS	relation to action tendencies
Ekman, Friesen and Ellsworth (1982)	ANGER, DISGUST, FEAR, JOY, SADNESS, SURPRISE	universal facial expressions
Frijda (1986)*	DESIRE, HAPPINESS, INTEREST, SURPRISE, WONDER, SORROW	forms of action readiness
Gray (1982)	RAGE AND TERROR, ANXIETY, JOY	hardwired
Izard (1971)	ANGER, CONTEMPT, DISGUST, DISTRESS, FEAR, GUILT, INTEREST, JOY, SHAME, SURPRISE	hardwired
James (1884)	FEAR, GRIEF, LOVE, RAGE	bodily involvement
McDougall (1926)	ANGER, DISGUST, ELATION, FEAR, SUBJECTION, TENDER- EMOTION, WONDER	relation to instincts
Mowrer (1960)	PAIN, PLEASURE	unlearned emotional states
Oatley and Johnson- Laird (1987)	ANGER, DISGUST, ANXIETY, HAPPINESS, SADNESS	do not require propositional content
Panksepp (1982)	EXPECTANCY, FEAR, RAGE, PANIC	hardwired
Plutchik (1980)	ACCEPTANCE, ANGER, ANTICIPATION, DISGUST, JOY, FEAR, SADNESS, SURPRISE	relation to adaptive biological processes
Tomkins (1984)	ANGER, INTEREST, CONTEMPT, DISGUST, DISTRESS, FEAR, JOY, SHAME, SURPRISE	density of neural firing
Watson (1930)	FEAR, LOVE, RAGE	hardwired
Weiner and Graham (1984)	HAPPINESS, SADNESS	attribution independent

* Based on Ortony and Turner's (1990) personal communication, September 8, 1986.

Adapted from Ortony and Turner (1990, 316) who use the term 'basic emotions' in their paper; however, I chose to use the term 'universal emotions' in order to avoid the mix-up with the terminology used when describing the Darwinian perspective on emotions.

Both sides may provide compelling arguments for their stance, but the debate between the UNIVERSALIST and RELATIVISTS still continues and "there will never be a single, simple answer to the question of emotion universals versus particularities" (Shaver, Murdaya and Fraley 2001, 202). The general conclusion is that "both the biological foundation of and cultural influences on emotion have significant implications for human experience and behavior, and are worthy of intensive study. They should be considered complementary, not competing, approaches to a fascinating and complex topic" (Shiota and Keltner 2005, 35). In relation to language, one of the tentative conclusion of the ongoing debate is that regardless of the final outcome of the debate, the evidence provided from both sides indicates that "language is the most convenient channel for approaching research on the topic of emotion" (Argaman 2010, 90) and that "words are important, if not necessary, for emotion perception" (Fugate and Barrett 2014, 282), thus once again proving the existence of an inextricable link between linguistics and psychology in emotion studies.

3. EMOTION MODELS

A prerequisite to emotion detection research is choosing a suitable emotion model which contains information on how emotions are explained and described (Canales and Martínez-Barco 2014) and which at the same time stipulates the knowledge needed to appraise events (Binali, Wu and Potdar 2010) or, in this case, textual data. Therefore, a suitable emotion model needs to be selected with an appropriate emotion detection technique for the target text. Canales and Martínez-Barco (2014) note that although a number of approaches to emotion models exists in psychology, the two umbrella models that are most important and most often used in emotion detection from text are EMOTIONAL CATEGORIES and EMOTIONAL DIMENSIONS.

EMOTIONAL CATEGORIES are based on distinct emotional classes or labels (Canales and Martínez-Barco 2014). This model assumes that there are

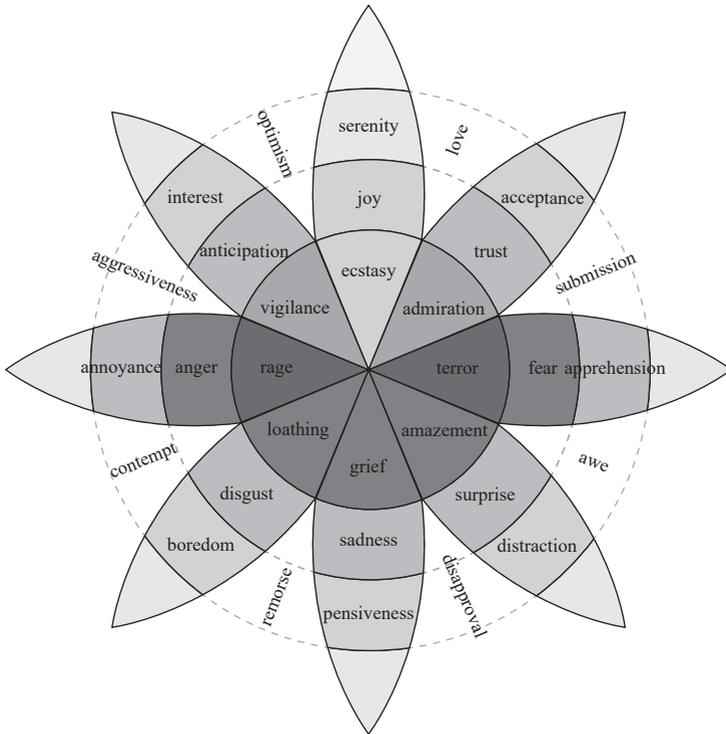


Figure 1. Bipolar Model

discrete emotional categories, i.e. a certain emotion has its own unique linguistic label, with Ekman's (1999) and Plutchik's (1982) models being the most known examples of emotional categories. According to Ekman's (1999) research on universal facial expressions, six basic emotions were discovered and identified: ANGER, DISGUST, FEAR, HAPPINESS, SADNESS, and SURPRISE. Plutchik's (1982) model was created in relation to adaptive biological processes reflected in his psycho-evolutionary theory of emotion which included 8 primary bipolar emotions – JOY-SADNESS, ANGER-FEAR, TRUST-DISGUST, SURPRISE-ANTICIPATION – with the ability to combine one with another to form different emotions, e.g. ANTICIPATION and JOY may be combined into OPTIMISM (Figure 1).

Table 3. Categorization of Emotions

Primary Emotion	Secondary Emotion	Tertiary Emotions
LOVE	AFFECTION LUST LONGING	ADORATION, AFFECTION, LOVE, FONDNESS, LIKING, ATTRACTION, CARING, TENDERNESS, COMPASSION, SENTIMENTALITY AROUSAL, DESIRE, LUST, PASSION, INFATUATION LONGING
JOY	CHEERFULNESS ZEST CONTENTMENT PRIDE OPTIMISM ENTHRALLMENT RELIEF	AMUSEMENT, BLISS, CHEERFULNESS, GAIETY, GLEE, JOLLINESS, JOVIALITY, JOY, DELIGHT, ENJOYMENT, GLADNESS, HAPPINESS, JUBILATION, ELATION, SATISFACTION, ECSTASY, EUPHORIA ENTHUSIASM, ZEAL, ZEST, EXCITEMENT, THRILL, EXHILARATION CONTENTMENT, PLEASURE PRIDE, TRIUMPH EAGERNESS, HOPE, OPTIMISM ENTHRALLMENT, RAPTURE RELIEF
SURPRISE	SURPRISE	AMAZEMENT, SURPRISE, ASTONISHMENT
ANGER	IRRITATION EXASPERATION RAGE DISGUST ENVY TORMENT	AGGRAVATION, IRRITATION, AGITATION, ANNOYANCE, GROUCHINESS, GRUMPINESS EXASPERATION, FRUSTRATION ANGER, RAGE, OUTRAGE, FURY, WRATH, HOSTILITY, FEROCITY, BITTERNESS, HATE, LOATHING, SCORN, SPITE, VENGEFULNESS, DISLIKE, RESENTMENT DISGUST, REVULSION, CONTEMPT ENVY, JEALOUSY TORMENT
SADNESS	SUFFERING SADNESS DISAPPOINTMENT SHAME NEGLECT SYMPATHY	AGONY, SUFFERING, HURT, ANGUISH DEPRESSION, DESPAIR, HOPELESSNESS, GLOOM, GLUMNESS, SADNESS, UNHAPPINESS, GRIEF, SORROW, WOE, MISERY, MELANCHOLY DISMAY, DISAPPOINTMENT, DISPLEASURE GUILT, SHAME, REGRET, REMORSE ALIENATION, ISOLATION, NEGLECT, LONELINESS, REJECTION, HOMESICKNESS, DEFEAT, DEJECTION, INSECURITY, EMBARRASSMENT, HUMILIATION, INSULT PITY, SYMPATHY
FEAR	HORROR NERVOUSNESS	ALARM, SHOCK, FEAR, FRIGHT, HORROR, TERROR, PANIC, HYSTERIA, MORTIFICATION ANXIETY, NERVOUSNESS, TENSENESS, UNEASINESS, APPREHENSION, WORRY, DISTRESS, DREAD

Adapted from Shaver et al. (1987, 1067).

Another model constituting of primary emotions merging and forming secondary and tertiary is provided by Shaver et al. (1987) which can be seen in Table 3. Although simpler and familiar when conducting emotion detection research, the drawback of emotional categories is contained in the notion that they may not cover all emotions adequately and may not correlate to a certain emotional state as they are limited in scope – a specific set of linguistic labels can only be used to identify a specific set of emotions.

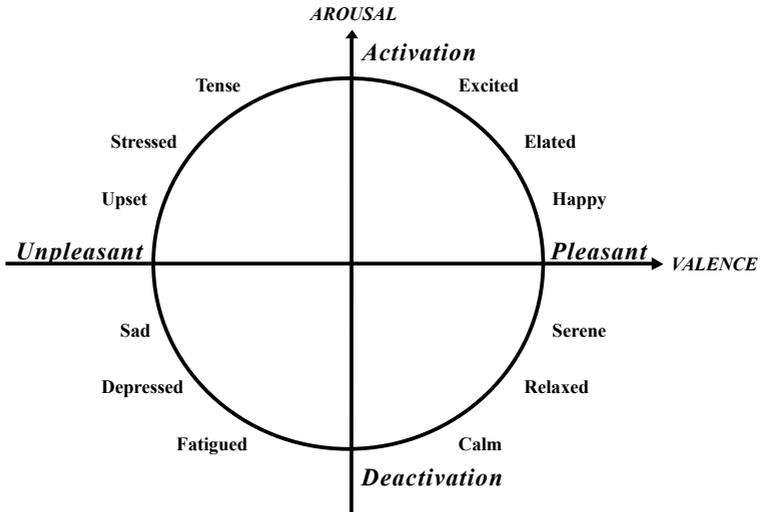


Figure 2. Circumplex Model

EMOTIONAL DIMENSIONS reflect the notion that emotions are combinations of several psychological dimensions where each emotion occupies a location in a dimensional form (Canales and Martínez-Barco 2014). Representatives of this emotional dimensions include Russell's (1980) CIRCUMPLEX and Mehrabian's (1996) PLEASURE-AROUSAL-DOMINANCE (PAD) model of emotions. Russell's (1980) model suggests that emotions are distributed in a two-dimensional circular space, as shown in Figure 2. The horizontal VALENCE dimension indicates how much pleasant or unpleasant an emotion is, while the vertical AROUSAL dimension differentiates activation and deactivation states of an emotion.

Mehrabian's PAD model (1996) is a three-dimensional model, as seen in Figure 3. The emotions are presented in the three-dimensional space⁵ based on how pleasant or unpleasant (PLEASURE), how energized or soporific (AROUSAL), and how dominant versus submissive (DOMINANCE) they are. Although emotional dimensions are able to capture subtle emotion concepts that differ only slightly, they may not provide clear-cut linguistic labels like the emotional categories do.

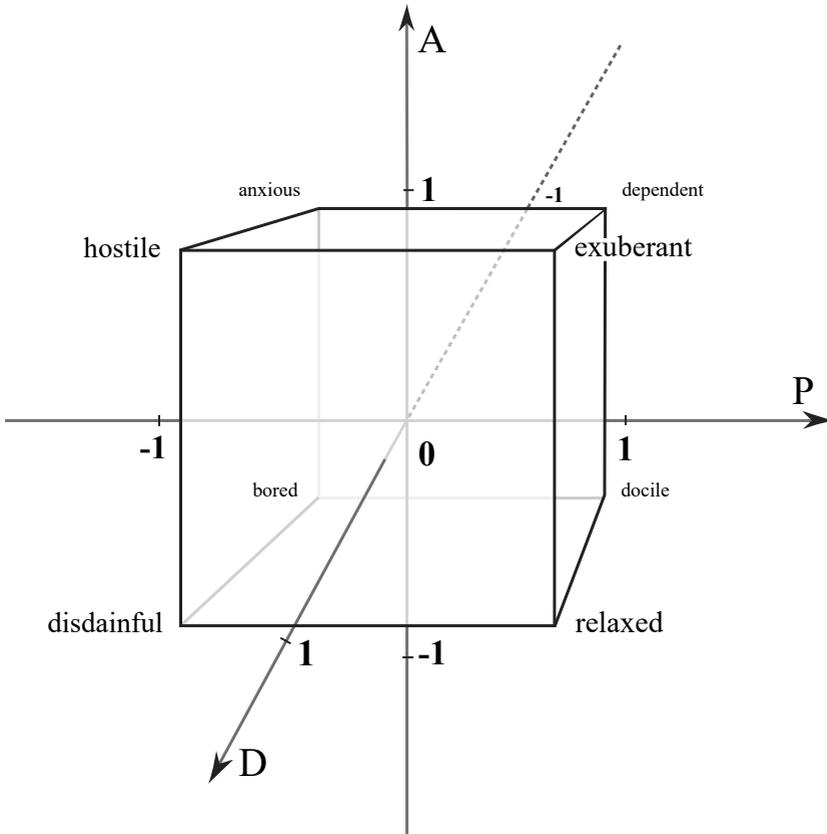


Figure 3. PAD Model

Neither of the two umbrella models of emotions is better than the other, and the selection of an emotion model depends on the textual data and the set of emotions we want to detect. Depending on the research goal, the researcher may opt for one of the emotional categories model if they want to clearly identify a specific emotion, or they will choose an emotional dimensions model when measuring a specific dimension such as pleasure or dominance. Examples of utilizing methods based on both major umbrella emotion models will be demonstrated in a later section.

The purely emotive stratum in language is presented by the interjections. They differ from the means of referential language both by their sound pattern (peculiar sound sequences or even sounds elsewhere unusual) and by their syntactic role (they are not components but equivalents of sentences). "Tut! Tut! said McGinty"; the complete utterance of Conan Doyle's character consists of two suction clicks. The emotive function, laid bare in the interjections, flavors to some extent all our utterances, on their phonic, grammatical, and lexical level.

Although Jakobson (1960) lists only interjections as one example of when the emotive function is expressed, "nearly every dimension of every language at least potentially encodes emotion" (Wilce 2009, 3). To explore if emotion can interact with language at many levels of structure – from the sound patterns of a language to its lexicon and grammar, and beyond how it appears in conversation and discourse – Majid (2012) analyzed research results from diverse subfields across the language sciences – including cognitive linguistics, psycholinguistics, linguistic anthropology, and conversation analysis. In his review he demonstrated that "emotion is, indeed, relevant to every dimension of language – from phonology to lexicon, grammar to discourse – emotional expression is finely tuned to language-specific structures" (Majid 2012, 441) proving once again that "emotion is in some sense indexed in and through almost every dimension of language" (Wilce 2009, 14).

Language can additionally be analyzed in terms of its role in different theories of emotion (Fugate and Barrett 2014). For example, language is viewed as independent of emotion in the Darwinian perspective, while in the social constructivist perspective it is culture's language that reflects the emotion experience and perception. Next, emotion words in the Jamesian perspective are constitutive of emotion generation and perception while, according to the cognitive perspective, they constrain categories in which appraisals are placed. For practitioners, such as psychotherapists in general and psychoanalysts in particular, language is a bridge to understanding the patient's soul, especially the unconscious part of the soul (Freud 1958).

The reasoning behind is based on the notion that “language is the most convenient channel for approaching research on the topic of emotions” (Argaman 2010, 90) and that it also helps constitute emotion by cohering sensations into specific perceptions of emotion categories (Lindquist, Satpute and Gendron 2015, 99). Moreover, “emotion words are the best way to reflect the emotional experience ... [and] the most natural way to externally express the inner emotional world” (Argaman 2010, 90). Furthermore, the research results show that words in particular, do not only convey information about internal states, attitudes, beliefs, social contexts, elicitors, motivations, values, behaviors, and many other referents (Shiota and Keltner 2005), but they also “construct and stabilize human mental emotional categories” (Jablonka, Ginsburg and Dor 2012, 2157). Moreover, language makes it much easier to manipulate emotions for both aggressive and cooperative ends (Jablonka, Ginsburg and Dor 2012), showing that language is not only a descriptor of emotions, but an inducer and manipulator as well. When writing about the perception of language in relation to emotion, Bamberg (1997, 309–310) notes:

If language is conceived of as merely representing (in the sense of ‘mirroring’) the world of emotions and/or people’s conceptualizations and understandings of the emotions, language offers an immediate access. ... If language, however, is conceived of in one or another way as contributing to how emotions are understood, or even, to what emotions “are”, the relationship is not direct, but mediated.

No matter how the relationship between language and emotion is viewed, there is a general consensus that “emotion is not confined to the outskirts of linguistic civilization but pervades its core” (Wilce 2009, 3) at the same time recognizing “the impossibility of exploring other people’s emotions without keeping language in focus: both as an object and as a tool of study” (Enfield and Wierzbicka 2002, 2).

5. LINGUISTIC RESOURCES FOR EMOTION DETECTION

As explored in the previous section, text, in addition to informative, contains attitudinal, and more specifically, emotional content (Ovesdotter Alm, Roth and Sproat 2005). The language – words, phrases and sentence structures in particular – people use in their daily lives can reveal important aspects of their social and psychological worlds. Emotions are at the core of understanding ourselves and others (Gill et al. 2008) making them “a key semantic component of human communication” (Calix et al. 2010, 544) and interaction. Therefore, emotion detection from text aims not only to infer the underlying emotions influencing the author by studying their input texts (Binali, Wu and Potdar 2010), but it also allows researchers to “reliably and quickly assess features of what people say as well as subtleties in their linguistic styles” (Pennebaker, Mehl and Niederhoffer 2003, 547).

Advancements in textual analysis have allowed the area of emotion detection to become a recent interest in computational linguistics (Mulcrone 2012). In this branch of linguistics, emotion detection from text does not only enhance our experience with technologies (Gill et al. 2008), but it also provides many applications in fields where there is a need to understand and interpret emotions exists (Binali, Wu and Potdar 2010). The possible applications will be discussed in one of the later sections of this paper, while in the next section, the use of computational linguistic tools to derive emotional features will be explored.

5.1. EMOTION DETECTION FROM TEXT: ANALYTICAL APPROACHES

Emotion detection from text is done primarily utilizing the following analytical approaches: KEYWORD-BASED, LEARNING-BASED and HYBRID-BASED (Haggag, Fathy and Elhaggag 2015). These methods use features primarily selected from syntactic – n-grams, POS tags, phrase patterns, etc. – and semantic – e.g. synonym sets – data to detect emotions (Binali, Wu and Potdar 2010). In this section, a brief description of them based on

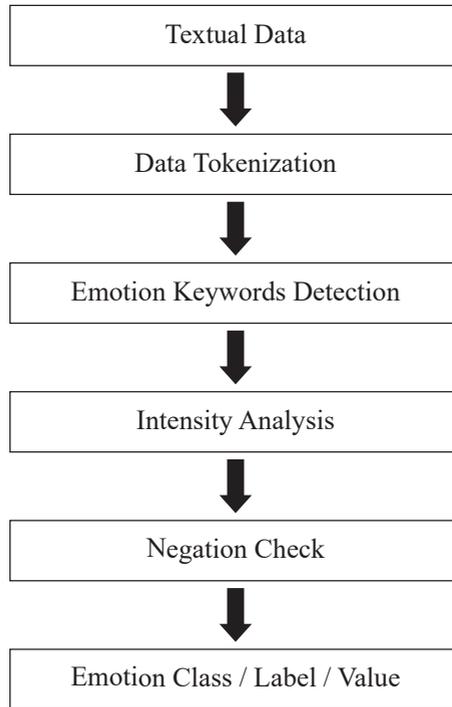


Figure 5. Keyword-based Approach

Haggag, Fathy and Elhaggar’s (2015, 240–241) work, including their limitations⁶, will be provided.

KEYWORD-BASED APPROACH relies on the presence of keywords and involves pre-processing with a parser and emotion dictionary containing emotional value of words (Figure 5). In order to classify emotions, emotional keywords are searched from input text, making this approach intuitive, straight forward and easy to implement and use. However, classification methods based on only keywords suffer from the ambiguity in the keyword definitions – a word may have different meanings according to usage and context, the lack of linguistic information and the incapability of recognizing emotions within sentences not containing emotional keywords.

LEARNING-BASED APPROACH uses a trained classifier to categorize input text into emotion classes by using keywords as features. It is easier and faster to adapt to domain changes since it can quickly learn new features from corpora by supplying a large training set to a machine learning algorithm for building a classification model. However, acquiring large corpora may not always be feasible and the major drawback of this approach is that it leads to blurred boundaries between emotion classes.

HYBRID-BASED APPROACH consists of a combination of the keyword-based and learning-based methods, in addition to information from different sciences like psychology. The advantages of this approach are that it can yield higher accuracy results from training a combination of classifiers and, adding knowledge-rich linguistic information from dictionaries and thesauri, it will offset the high cost involved in using human indexers for information retrieval tasks and minimize complexities encountered while integrating different lexical resources.

5.2. EMOTION DETECTION FROM TEXT: A DEMONSTRATION

For this demonstration, analytical tools written in PYTHON, “a popular [programming] language for machine learning, scientific, statistical, mathematical, and other types of specialized computing” (opensource.com n.d.) including emotion detection from text, will be used. Python is ideal for novice researchers and anyone interested in researching emotions as it is freely distributable and open sourced, available without charge for all major platforms. Moreover, this interpreted, object-oriented, high-level programming language with dynamic semantics supports modules and packages, which in turn encourages program modularity and code reuse (Python Software Foundation n.d.). Python’s wide range of applications can be illustrated by millions of developers who use it to perform tasks ranging from image manipulation, scientific calculations and data mining to powering some of the world’s most complex applications and websites such as Google’s search engine, YouTube and Instagram (Love n.d.;

opensource.com n.d.; Python Software Foundation n.d.). Thus, the advantages of this interpreted, object-oriented, high-level programming language with dynamic semantics for emotion detection from text can be summarized as threefold (Love n.d.):

- a) Python's easy-to-learn syntax, which closely resembles the English language using words like 'not' and 'in', makes it simple and easy to learn, while at the same time it emphasizes readability and reduces the cost of program maintenance;
- b) being developed in the late 1980s by Guido van Rossum and named after Monty Python, Python contains a plethora of written code and due to its open source nature, a large portion of it, including various modules and packages, has been made public providing resources for developers to (re)use and build upon;
- c) as an open source and modular language, Python has user groups and developer communities everywhere, thus providing continuous support and feedback.

A search for emotion detection projects written in Python on GITHUB⁷ reveals an existence of thriving community of developers interested in this topic⁸. For the purpose of this demonstration, the code repository TEXT ANALYSIS⁹ which includes a set of analytical tools for emotion detection from text in the form of Python scripts¹⁰ will be used. It combines not only emotion, but also sentiment¹¹, subjectivity, orientation, and color keyword data in performing textual analysis, not only showing that textual data contains plethora of information to analyze, but also providing analytical tools for the aforementioned data. Its core data set is comprised of five lexicons – NRC WORD-EMOTION ASSOCIATION LEXICON, NRC WORD-COLOUR ASSOCIATION LEXICON, OPINION LEXICON, SUBJECTIVITY LEXICON, HARVARD GENERAL INQUIRER.

NRC WORD-EMOTION ASSOCIATION LEXICON, also known as EmoLex (Mohammad and Turney 2010; Mohammad and Turney 2013), contains a list of 14,182 words and their associations with eight emotions – anger, fear, anticipation, trust, surprise, sadness, joy, and disgust – and two sentiments – negative and positive. Each word is assigned a value of 0 or 1 for each of the aforementioned eight emotions and two sentiments, with 0 indicating that the target word has no association with a specific emotion or sentiment category and 1 indicating an association. NRC WORD-COLOUR ASSOCIATION LEXICON (Mohammad 2011a; Mohammad 2011b) is comprised of around 14,000 unique words and the colors – white, black, red, green, yellow, blue, brown, pink, purple, orange and grey – they are most associated with. OPINION LEXICON, also known as Sentiment Lexicon (Hu and Liu 2004; Liu, Hu and Cheng 2005), is a list containing 2006 positive and 4782 negative English words. SUBJECTIVITY LEXICON (Riloff and Wiebe 2003; Wilson, Wiebe and Hoffmann 2005) is a list of 8222 words containing subjectivity clues – clues that are subjective in most contexts are considered strongly subjective, and those that may only have certain subjective usages are considered weakly subjective. HARVARD GENERAL INQUIRER (Stone and Hunt 1963; Stone et al. 1966) is a lexicon attaching syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic information to 11,788 words labeled with 182 categories of word tags, including positive and negative sentiment.

The aforementioned lexicons were parsed and compiled into a single UNIFIED LEXICON¹² containing textual data forming word categories listed in Table 4. The code repository used provides an additional Python script that allows inclusion of other data source, primarily lexicons, which in turn allows additional modification to the categories used when performing textual analysis. However, as the aim of this demonstration is to make readers of this paper somewhat familiar with the possibilities of using Python in research on emotion detection from text, the Unified Lexicon that is by default included in the code repository will not be modified in any way and only the results in the emotion and sentiment category will be presented and briefly commented upon.

Table 4. Unified Lexicon Data

Words Total	Words with Sentiment	Words with Subjectivity	Words with Orientation	Words with Color
14,852	10,916 (73.5%)	6,886 (46.4%)	2,192 (14.8%)	5,404 (36.4%)

The set of textual data for analyses is comprised of different types of texts reflecting different stages of evolution of the English language. Lewis Carroll’s novels *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) and *Through the Looking-Glass* (1872) reflect the English literature of the 19th century, J.K. Rowling’s series of *Harry Potter* books (1997; 1998; 1999; 2000; 2003; 2005; 2007) is written for the masses and filled with neologisms, a selection of Edgar Allan Poe’s poems (1827; 1830; 1845; 1849a; 1849b) was chosen to examine the importance of the structural element of the text in emotion detection, David Bowie’s song lyrics (1969; 1971a; 1971b; 1977; 1972a; 1972b; 1974; 1980; 1983a; 1983b) were analyzed to see whether lyrics isolated from the instrumental part and the vocal abilities of the singer convey the same emotion, and tweets by TV host Ellen Degeneres, actor Ryan Reynolds and YouTube creator Shane Dawson were studied as they contain numerous pragmatic markers and often resort to plays on words to elicit a reaction or emotion.

Using a built-in Python script, the text was beforehand parsed into discrete words in lowercase separated by spaces with punctuation removed. Subsequently the textual data was analyzed using another Python script and values, according to the categories at hand – emotion, color, orientation, sentiment, subjectivity, chapter (optional) – were assigned to words. The data itself was saved as a comma-separated values (CSV). Finally, additional Python script was used to compute the median category value of the target text categories and save the results as a JavaScript Object Notation (JSON) file. Each item in the output file represents a group of words, with numbers between 0 and 1 representing the relative weight of that particular category value (Figure 6). Moreover, the JSON file was further converted to a more reading-friendly Excel format as seen in Tables 5–10.

```
[
  {
    "chapter": 1,
    "emotion": [
      0.262, // anger
      0.071, // fear
      0.119, // anticipation
      0.643, // trust
      0.071, // surprise
      0.143, // sadness
      0.071, // joy
      0.143 // disgust
    ],
    "orientation": [
      0.712, // active
      0.613 // passive
    ],
    "sentiment": [
      0.657, // positive
      0.657 // negative
    ],
    "color": [
      0.045, // white
      0.136, // black
      0.227, // red
      0.136, // green
      0.023, // yellow
      0.045, // blue
      0.251, // brown
      0.023, // pink
      0.023, // purple
      0.023, // orange
      0.068 // grey
    ],
    "subjectivity": [
      0.681, // weak
      0.473 // strong
    ]
  }
]
```

Figure 6. Example of JSON Output File

Table 5. Results for *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*

Chapter	Emotion										Sentiment	
	ANGER	FEAR	ANTICIPATION	TRUST	SURPRISE	SADNESS	JOY	DISGUST	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE		
1	0.574	0.396	0.117	0.679	0.021	0.114	0.075	0.156	0.506	0.683		
2	0.607	0.498	0.195	0.354	0.057	0.177	0.147	0.171	0.496	0.788		
3	0.294	0.147	0.216	0.234	0.084	0.060	0.105	0.069	0.471	0.554		
4	0.595	0.336	0.147	0.408	0.027	0.486	0.174	0.150	0.680	0.967		
5	0.351	0.234	0.156	0.628	0.003	0.159	0.090	0.351	0.630	0.681		
6	0.342	0.607	0.222	0.474	0.027	0.081	0.201	0.153	0.698	1.000		
7	0.423	0.150	0.228	0.246	0.063	0.357	0.120	0.150	0.780	0.730		
8	0.508	0.700	0.216	0.405	0.057	0.126	0.123	0.360	0.540	0.831		
9	0.694	0.126	0.168	0.324	0.027	0.048	0.171	0.658	0.621	0.802		
10	0.306	0.375	0.279	0.288	0.018	0.216	0.153	0.114	0.425	0.808		
11	0.312	0.270	0.261	0.282	0.051	0.027	0.120	0.072	0.511	0.636		
12	1.000	0.258	0.159	0.402	0.015	0.123	0.174	0.432	0.472	0.847		

Table 6. Results for *Through the Looking-Glass*

Chapter	Emotion	Sentiment									
		ANGER	FEAR	ANTICIPATION	TRUST	SURPRISE	SADNESS	JOY	DISGUST	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
1		0.355	0.688	0.327	0.413	0.015	0.186	0.236	0.173	0.581	0.755
2		0.613	0.145	0.156	0.314	0.195	0.067	0.149	0.076	0.425	0.625
3		0.524	0.286	0.301	0.353	0.084	0.143	0.128	0.182	0.532	0.642
4		0.429	0.392	0.158	0.489	0.032	0.084	0.104	0.160	0.502	0.658
5		0.868	0.182	0.351	0.517	0.206	0.290	0.104	0.113	0.552	0.672
6		0.753	0.260	0.299	0.329	0.028	0.327	0.190	0.048	0.505	0.709
7		0.424	0.126	0.212	0.455	0.009	0.277	0.154	0.351	0.403	0.634
8		0.760	0.452	0.459	0.312	0.011	0.221	0.286	0.180	0.714	0.824
9		1.000	0.385	0.199	0.671	0.004	0.320	0.100	0.374	0.710	1.000
10		0.009	0.004	0	0.004	0	0	0	0.004	0.006	0.019
11		0.004	0.002	0	0.002	0	0	0	0	0	0.002
12		0.442	0.268	0.160	0.465	0.032	0.158	0.255	0.182	0.633	0.794

Table 7. Results for *Harry Potter* Book Series

Book	<i>Emotion</i>							<i>Sentiment</i>		
	ANGER	FEAR	ANTICIPATION	TRUST	SURPRISE	SADNESS	JOY	DISGUST	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
1	0.547	0.273	0.205	0.351	0.046	0.142	0.149	0.213	0.450	0.648
2	0.513	0.196	0.202	0.411	0.052	0.123	0.128	0.162	0.542	0.704
3	0.473	0.195	0.177	0.307	0.031	0.093	0.107	0.169	0.437	0.634
4	0.457	0.194	0.173	0.249	0.018	0.105	0.107	0.136	0.421	0.623
5	0.635	0.289	0.264	0.448	0.032	0.131	0.162	0.226	0.533	0.747
6	0.543	0.311	0.261	0.451	0.032	0.190	0.184	0.238	0.552	0.736
7	0.474	0.221	0.198	0.367	0.038	0.125	0.120	0.161	0.453	0.649

- (1) Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone
- (2) Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets
- (3) Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban
- (4) Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire
- (5) Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix
- (6) Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince
- (7) Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows

Table 8. Results for Edgar Allan Poe Poems

<i>Poem</i>	<i>Emotion</i>					<i>Sentiment</i>				
	ANGER	FEAR	ANTICIPATION	TRUST	SURPRISE	SADNESS	JOY	DISGUST	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
The Raven	1.000	0.260	0.410	0.940	0.040	0.670	0.180	0.400	0.862	1.000
Annabel Lee	0.110	0.110	0.020	0.120	0	0.040	0.040	0.080	0.182	0.234
A Dream Within a Dream	0.130	0.060	0.030	0.100	0	0.010	0.010	0.100	0.098	0.146
Alone	0.200	0.050	0.020	0.110	0	0.080	0.020	0.180	0.084	0.190
Eldorado	0.100	0.060	0.010	0.040	0.010	0.030	0.010	0.030	0.044	0.119

Table 9. Results for Twitter Posts

Tweet	Emotion										Sentiment		
	ANGER	FEAR	ANTICIPATION	TRUST	SURPRISE	SADNESS	JOY	DISGUST	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE			
1	0.500	0.333	0	0.167	0	0	0	0.167	0.054	0.432			
2	0.500	0.333	0	0.500	0	0	0	0.167	0.054	0.432			
3	0.500	0.500	0	0.333	0	0	0	0.167	0.054	0.514			
4	0.667	0.333	0	0.333	0	0	0	0	0.054	0.514			
5	0.667	0.333	0	0.333	0	0	0	0.167	0.135	0.622			
6	0.333	0.167	0	0.333	0	0	0	0	0.054	0.270			

(1) I wish everyone in that category could have won. Congratulations, @EdSheeran! So sorry I asked you to pet sit tonight #GRAMMYS (Ellen Degeneres, 28 January 2018, source: <https://twitter.com/TheEllensShow>)

(2) Porta bought baby carrots to give to trick-or-treaters. On the bright side, we'll probably never be out of toilet paper again. #Halloween (Ellen Degeneres, 1 November 2012, source: <https://twitter.com/TheEllensShow>)

(3) People in L.A are deathly afraid of gluten. I swear to god, you could rob a liquor store in this city with a bagel. (Ryan Reynolds, 7 January 2017, source: <https://twitter.com/VancityReynolds>)

(4) No matter which kids book I read to my screaming baby on an air plane, the moral of the story is always something about a vasectomy. (Ryan Reynolds, 7 August 2016, source: <https://twitter.com/VancityReynolds>)

(5) if u guys have any other title ideas for today's video let me know! i was trying to think of one that summed up the video but it was really hard hahaha

(Shane Dawson, 11 April 2018, source: <https://twitter.com/shanedawson>)

(6) omg, i just opened twitter and saw what happened. please everyone at bq stay safe :(((Shane Dawson, 10 January 2018, source: <https://twitter.com/shanedawson>)

Table 10. Results for David Bowie Song Lyrics

Song	Emotion	Sentiment									
		ANGER	FEAR	ANTICIPATION	TRUST	SURPRISE	SADNESS	JOY	DISGUST	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
1	0.262	0.071	0.119	0.643	0.071	0.143	0.071	0.143	0.657	0.657	
2	0.310	0.143	0.143	0.095	0.024	0.143	0.071	0.119	0.636	0.804	
3	1.000	0.143	0.071	0.357	0.095	0.190	0.119	0.071	0.594	1.000	
4	0.595	0.405	0.024	0.095	0	0.071	0.143	0.524	0.462	0.979	
5	0.524	0.357	0.167	0.190	0.190	0.286	0.167	0.119	0.608	0.888	
6	0.405	0.190	0.071	0.143	0.119	0.095	0.095	0.167	0.385	0.734	
7	0.524	0.048	0.143	0.310	0	0.143	0.071	0.190	0.559	0.825	
8	0.405	0.238	0.095	0.476	0.024	0.095	0.143	0.286	0.510	0.832	
9	0.429	0.190	0.095	0.048	0.119	0.429	0.048	0.143	0.350	0.972	
10	0.214	0.238	0	0.071	0.048	0.190	0	0.095	0.147	0.559	

- (1) Space Oddity
- (2) Changes
- (3) Life on Mars
- (4) Heroes
- (5) Starman
- (6) Ziggy Stardust
- (7) Rebel Rebel
- (8) Ashes to Ashes
- (9) Let's Dance
- (10) Modern Love

Since the intention of this section was to demonstrate how one can perform research on emotion detection from text, an in-depth analysis of the results is not provided. However, some remarks were made.

The findings reflect the limitations of using the keyword-based approach mentioned in the previous section. Calculating values exclusively of the annotated words found in emotion lexicons is a major drawback for emotion detection from certain types of text, as can be seen with Carroll's (1865; 1872) and Rowling's (1997; 1998; 1999; 2000; 2003; 2005; 2007) novels. Although primarily written for children, these books, as the results indicate, are filled with anger and fear and generally provide a negative sentiment. However, as readers acquainted with them know, that is not the case. The analysis of Poe's (1827; 1830; 1845; 1849a; 1849b) works also suffers from a similar ailment – the emotion that is achieved through line and verse structure, rhyme and rhythm is lost when parsing the text into discrete words separated by space with punctuation removed. Twitter posts reveal that the use of pragmatic markers such as “:)” or “hahaha” plays a significant role in emotion expression and perception, something, alongside sarcasm being a component a humor as well, is not taken into account by the analytical tools used in this demonstration. Finally, David Bowie's song lyrics reveal, especially with *Let's Dance* (1983a), that words that are repeated, often in choruses, may contribute to achieving a higher score in a certain category, although the song, when lyrics and the instrumental part are combined, conveys another emotion. All the above-mentioned factors form an intrinsic connection in emotion perception, evoking and detection.

This section was not intended to criticize available tools as inadequate for emotion research, but to point out their limitations and offer suggestions for improving them. For example, including lexicons such as NRC HASHTAG EMOTION LEXICON (Mohammad 2012; Mohammad and Kiritchenko 2015) to the Unified Lexicon will yield much more accurate results when analyzing tweets, while the usage of WHISSELL DICTIONARY OF AFFECT IN LANGUAGE (Whissell and Whissell 2000; Whissell 2009) may be more appropriate for the detection of emotion in song lyrics.

Taking context, structure of the text and its purpose into account, that is, combining multiple approaches, minimizing limitations and mitigating drawbacks by utilizing multilevel approach, will result in building more accurate tools and contribute to a more precise emotion detection from text. The first step is to get yourself acquainted with such tools with Python being just one of them. As more accurate methods bring more accurate results, this will in turn allow not only more theoretical, but also everyday applications as well. The next section is concerned with exactly such applications.

6. APPLICATIONS OF EMOTION DETECTION FROM TEXT

As illustrated in the previous sections, emotion detection research studies have been conducted in regards to emotions expressed through different mediums and observed in the changes of physiological state, facial expressions, prosody and text; however, there is a relative scarcity of research in emotion detection from text in comparison to the other areas of emotion detection (Binali, Wu and Potdar 2010). Nevertheless, emotion detection and analysis of emotional categories from text has attracted the attention of many researchers in computational linguistics because of its widespread applications¹³.

Emotion detection from text has a great number of important applications, with the prime one being the capability to gather the overall emotion of a specific text. These applications range from sentiment analysis to opinion mining, market analysis and developing natural language interfaces such as e-learning environments or educational games (Haggag, Fathy and Elhaggag 2015). Furthermore, it can also increase human-computer interaction by instructing the computer how to provide an accommodating form of interaction with the user depending on the user's emotional state (Shelke 2014). Emotion detection from text can help psychologists infer people's emotions based on the text that they write, which they can use to predict their state of mind (Binali, Wu and Potdar 2010, 172); moreover, it can be applied to suicide prevention or it can measure the well-being of a community (Canales and Martínez-Barco (2014).

Some of the proposed applications also include the ability to search based on emotions; the ability to study how emotional expression changes over time, between genders, or between ethnic groups (Shelke 2014).

With current methods of emotion detection from texts it is possible to approach its applicability with interesting results, as illustrated in the previous paragraph. As these methods become more accurate over time, their use in natural language applications will likely become even more ubiquitous opening exciting applicative perspectives for the future (Mohammad 2015).

7. CONCLUSION

As Jakobson (1960, 72) writes, “language must be investigated in all the variety of its functions.” In this paper, the emotive function that allows the interplay of language and emotions at all levels – from sound patterns, lexicon and grammar to conversation and discourse – proving that “all speaking and writing is inherently emotional to a greater or lesser extent” (Wilce 2009, 3) was explored. Emotions, as the literature survey has shown, are important as they not only influence most aspects of cognition and behavior, but also play a prominent role in the interaction and communication between people. To understand emotions is to understand ourselves and others.

This paper has vividly shown the existence of the undeniably strong and important link between language and emotion. The interplay of the two occurs at all linguistic levels, and to study emotions, to detect them in particular, is unconceivable without taking language into account. As a primary vehicle of communication and interaction, language is and will remain the most convenient medium for approaching research on the topic of emotions. The textual data, in particular, can be beneficial to emotion detection due to its syntactic and semantic information containing emotional states along with the informative content. As the methods for emotion detection from text become more accurate, its uses and applications will become more numerous and diverse as time goes by. The future for emotion detection from text looks bright.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to Mateo Štrbić for his insight and advice on emotions and emotion detection from a psychological point of view.

NOTES

¹ In this paper the term "emotion" will be used following the convention and tradition that emerged in English-speaking scientific literature. For the in-depth analysis of applicability of this term in cross-cultural studies see Wierzbicka (1999, 25–26).

² In this paper "emotion detection from text" is used to refer to the task of automatically determining feelings from text, in other words, automatically determining valence, emotions, and other affectual states from text.

³ An experiment conducted by Gendron et al. (2014) provides some arguments against culturally universal emotions. The experiment was conducted with Namibian tribal members who had to sort photos of six people making six facial expressions of basic emotions according to Ekman (1999). This did not result in six neat piles of images, but instead the tribal members created a multitude of piles, with some images appearing in more than one. The experiment was repeated in the USA with more unanimity in the sorting providing evidence against the emotion universals.

⁴ Examples of cross-cultural differences in emotion concepts can be observed with concepts such as Korean *han* – the state of feeling sad and hopeful at the same time, German *schadenfreude* – the state of feeling pleasure derived by someone from another person's misfortune, or Danish *hygge* – the state of feeling cozy and comfortable conviviality that engenders a feeling of contentment or well-being.

⁵ The space occupied by the PAD model might be divided into eight sub-spaces, that are named after extreme emotions represented by the extreme points of a scale (Mehrabian, 1996):

EXUBERANT (+P +A +D) vs. BORED (-P -A -D);
DEPENDENT (+P +A -D) vs. DISDAINFUL (-P -A +D);
RELAXED (+P -A +D) vs. ANXIOUS (-P +A -D);
DOCILE (+P -A -D) vs. HOSTILE (-P +A +D).

⁶ For an extensive review of limitations found in emotion detection from text, consult Mohammad (2016, 204–206).

⁷ GitHub is an online repository service that stores source code of projects written in a variety of different programming languages, Python included, that are publicly available for anyone to download and use. For more information visit <https://github.com/>.

⁸ As of December 15, 2017, there are 31 Python code repositories available for projects related to 'emotion detection', 53 to 'emotion text', 92 to 'emotion recognition' and 137 to 'emotion' in general.

⁹ The entire code repository, including analytical tools and guidelines how to use them for textual analysis, can be found at <https://github.com/beefoo/text-analysis>.

¹⁰ A Python script is a series of commands written in Python within a file that is capable of being executed in order to perform a certain task.

- ¹¹ Sentiment refers to a general opinion, and sentiment analysis focuses on classifying the polarity of the given textual data – i.e. whether the expressed opinion from text is positive, negative or neutral.
- ¹² Lexicons listed in this demonstration are used for non-commercial purposes. They are freely available for research uses. Some restrictions may apply. Consult with the respective authors for further details.
- ¹³ For an extensive review of applications of emotion detection from text, including public health, politics, brand management, education, emotion tracking in social media, detecting personality traits, understanding gender differences, literary analysis and visualizing emotions, consult Mohammad (2015, 202–203).

FIGURES

- ¹ Adapted from Kamińska, Sapiński and Pelikant (2014, 453) after Plutchik (1982).
- ² Adapted from Valenza, Lanata and Scilingo (2011, 238) after Russell (1980).
- ³ Adapted from Kolakowska et al. (2015) after Mehrabian (1996).
- ⁴ Adapted from Jakobson (1960, 357).
- ⁵ Adapted from Chopade (2015, 410).

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A Short History of Femininity in American Science Fiction

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ABSTRACT This paper aims to propose an interpretation of femininity in American science fiction. Following a chronological layout, I endeavour to generate a timeline of model works which are considered essential for the development of the genre. Initially I develop my own definition of science fiction and signify its place in the literary history. Moreover, I point out the most significant works which put the issue of femininity in question. It is inevitable to compare male and female writers' approach on this topic; therefore, I will provide a short observation on whether the writer's gender influences the work's tone. By referring to feminist literary theory, first I will try to define the traditional notion of femininity and will try to diverge from it. Postmodernist and poststructuralist thoughts are used as a theoretical basis in order to carry out a literary analysis of *the other*, *the alien*, and *the cyborg* in science fiction works and their resemblance to women's position in a patriarchal world. Finally, I attempt to predict the development of this topic in the future.

KEYWORDS gender, science fiction, femininity, literary theory, gender

1. INTRODUCTION

The abundance of intriguing and thought-provoking topics has always been ubiquitous in the sphere of science fiction. The history of thinking has always gone hand in hand with the prophetic vision that science fiction offers, where the very essential and fundamental questions of human existence have echoed through the vast abstruseness of the future, and the pitch-black, impenetrable sky. It is not very long ago that science fiction was established as a literary genre, although depending on the definition one would acknowledge, we can follow the trail of its pristine existence in the early ages. When it comes to its characteristics as a literary genre, as in many genres, in its primal years, science fiction was a sphere substantially dominated by male authors and readers. Due to its connection to technological advancements, the possibility of space and time travel, creating artificial intelligence with a close intellect to human beings, its themes were mainly considered “masculine”¹. The majority of early SF² authors are men, and as a consequence, many women willing to write in the same genre had to hide behind pseudonyms with the desire of being acknowledged by the readers and critics.

My aim will be to follow a chronological layout and generate a timeline of model works which are considered essential for the development of the genre. In order to do that, I will first create my own definition of science fiction and then point out the most significant works that call the topic of femininity into question. It is inevitable to compare male and female writers’ approach on this topic; therefore, I will present a short observation on whether the writer’s gender influences the work’s tone. By referring to feminist literary theory, first I will try to define the traditional notion of femininity and will try to diverge from it. Postmodernist and poststructuralist thoughts are used as a theoretical basis in order to carry out a literary analysis of *the other*, *the alien*, and *the cyborg* in science fiction works and their resemblance to women’s position in a patriarchal world. Finally, I will attempt to predict the development of this topic in the future.

2. WHY THIS TOPIC?

From the time that we see the traces of first stories written in this genre until today, SF has proved to be a permanent field, a field so complex that we can discuss themes varying from psychological interpretations of the human existence to tackling the laws of the universe. That is why gender has become an essential thing to discuss in the scope of SF. In his book *Decoding Gender in Science Fiction*, Brian Attebery (2002, 4) states that "the genre's storytelling conventions encourage writers to ask questions about the biological basis of sexual division and allow them to explore alternative formulations of society and the individual psyche." Taking it as a starting point, I intend to explore femininity in American SF, especially due to the fact that one could see the genre's most diverse representation in the great range of works published by American authors.

3. DEFINING SOME IMPORTANT TERMS

Reaching the conclusion on whether a work should be considered science fiction or not is not a straightforward task. If we were to ask some renowned SF authors, we would get answers incredibly different answers. While some consider it a very unserious genre, the others believe that it has a very big role in most of the revolutionary inventions done in the last couple of centuries. I maintain that science fiction represents a fertile land for metaphor systems mainly focused on the relationship between humans and scientific development on plausible settings and due to its prophetic potency, it is a *praxis* and *poiesis*. That is, SF is both a process and the making, it is tightly connected to the real-life representation of all the developments that are tackled within the genre's borders. Be it scientific inventions or exploring the psychology of an unknown species. The flexibility of the genre to reflect on many issues brings us to the distinction of feminism, femaleness and femininity as three important terms. According to Toril Moi (1989), feminism is a political position, femaleness is a matter of biology, and femininity is a set of culturally defined characteristics.

If we look at these terms in a group, we would realise that femaleness is the most fundamentally nature-given characteristic and triggers the binary point of view together with maleness. Feminism is the newest concept in the group and being a political position it has its own definition, manifest, and ideology. One can usually choose to become a feminist or not whereas one cannot naturally change their femaleness to something else. And thirdly, if we look at femininity we would see a cultural concept, a thing defined by the society having the social constructs as a basis.

4. WHAT IS THE AUTHOR'S ROLE IN ALL OF THIS?

SF was generally considered a masculine genre due to its historical background and the audience it mostly attracted. However, recent decades proved that this is not a good generalization to make as the female voice started to be heard much more than before. Mainly with the rise of new wave science fiction in the 60s, the genre evolved into a fertile land for metaphor systems that started to discuss 'softer' topics such as the human condition in the vast universe. Thus, it was inevitable to introduce the psychological and biological reactions to speculative situations. It is exactly this period when we start to classify some works as being speculative fiction and even feminist science fiction all thanks to some female authors who tackled topics of immaculate interest. One could not easily propose that the author's gender affects the work's tone, however we can conclude that the majority of the authors who brought a change to the genre's core were women.

5. THE OTHER, THE ALIEN, THE CYBORG

When trying to draw parallels between SF and its relation to femininity, the proposed arguments can be built on three pillars: *the other*, *the alien* and *the cyborg*. These three concepts enable us to build metaphors within a system of metaphors.

5.1. THE OTHER

In a world dominated by binaries, we have the norm and we have *the other*. Every major philosophy, religion, culture is built on this unwritten rule. If we consider masculinity as the norm, as it is considered in all patriarchal societies, we would automatically accept femininity as *the other*. Thus, if we consider human as the norm, we would take everything else as *the other*. The treatment of androids, aliens and genetically modified humans in most SF works is directly connected to this being discriminated against and excluded way of treatment.

The future presented in Philip K. Dick's 1968 *Do Androids Dream of Electric Sheep?* is quite different from today's world. However, the gender roles in the society stay intact. Men still occupy the more active sphere of society, while it is usual for women to be housewives or secretaries. Dick (1968) creates a world where androids, i.e. replicants, have been so improved that it is almost impossible to differentiate between them and humans. And yet, society has manipulated technology to such advanced magnitude that the robots are used as updated sex dolls. This leads to the question how ethical a love relationship between a human and a replicant could be, given the fact that replicants lack empathy. And yet Rachael Rosen, who is a gynoid, an android designed to look like a woman, is a femme fatale and her sexual power is the most feminine thing ever. Hayles (1999, 161) proposes another definition for a character like Rachel Rosen as she calls her a "schizoid android", a term used to define a usually female character that is smart, distant and lacks emotionality. Affect and empathy are foreign terms to these characters; in fact, they are on the verge of human or robot because of this (Hayles 1999). This is what complicates things in the novel. For Hayles (1999, 162), "gender dynamics is central to these complexities, for when the schizoid woman is brought into close proximity with a male character, he reacts to the androidism in her personality by experiencing a radical instability in the boundaries that define him and his world." Thus, *the other* is the one that stirs the balance between man and his world.

On the other hand, in *The Left Hand of Darkness* by Ursula K. Le Guin (1969) we have a different situation. The story takes place on Gethen, a planet inhabited by an androgynous species, Gethenians, who acquire either a male or a female sexual identity only during the phase of kemmer, which is the Gethenians' way of sexual intercourse. The genius of *The Left Hand of Darkness* is on its brave vision of a genderless alien society, and yet on linguistic level it fails to accomplish its potential. One of the basic linguistic issues is the usage of personal pronouns as Gethenians are referred to as he/his/him. Due to this, her androgynous character seems like "a male default that occasionally showcases essentialist characteristics of the female gender" (Stephenson 2016, 8). In fact, in her essay *Is Gender Necessary?* Le Guin (1989) wholeheartedly accepts the criticism and denotes that not being in favour of inventing new pronouns, she should have used the generic singular they/them/their instead. *The Left Hand of Darkness* makes us realise the importance of the language used in the way it can create *the other*, or fail to create it if it cannot escape the traps of patriarchy.

The other is not always the female. Most of the time, being agender or/and asexual is even worse according to the patriarchal standards, because that does not fit in the binary system. *Aye, and Gomorrah* by Samuel R. Delany (1967) takes place in an unidentifiable future where the world has been introduced to a modified class of people, known as spacers, who are chosen from children whose sexual responses are hopelessly retarded at puberty and are made asexual so that they can work in space without any probability of radiation affecting their genes, and lineage. Moreover, another group called frelks are human beings who worship spacers and are attracted to their androgynous traits. Written in an era when homosexuality was still considered an illness, Delany (1967) chooses a setting where homosexuality is no longer a taboo in the society, but this time the spacers are a minority both admired and unwanted. While we can assume the society has improved by accepting homosexuals as "normal" human beings, we are stricken by the exclusion of spacers. This prolific short story lays the general conception of *the other* in the society bare. Therefore, *the other* is not a locked term, but it alters according to what a binary dominated society would need.

5.2. THE ALIEN

Moreover, not only is femininity considered *the other*, it is also considered *the alien* gender. Similar to *the other* which is encompassing everything that is not generically masculine, *the alien* represents "a society without sexual division, gender as an individual choice, metamorphosis from one sex to another, gender as prosthesis" (Attebery 2002, 9). If we return to *The Left Hand of Darkness*, we will see that Le Guin's language is under the influence of essentialist gender markers. Genly Ai sees this world in binaries. Everything acquires a masculine or feminine characteristic in his eyes. Thus, the author does not utilise the tools of SF to escape or defeat patriarchal worldview, and sets the narration on a phallogocentric pinpoint. Stephenson cites that masculine descriptors like "handsome" or "very erect" are used for positive connotation; whereas feminine descriptors are often associated with weakness, be it emotional or physical (Stephenson 2016). The language, thus, gives the impression of reading not an androgynous society, but an all-male one whose habitants regularly/randomly acquire the female sex on a temporary basis. Le Guin (1989, 170–171) too admits this one-sided view on androgyny in her essay: "one does not see Estraven . . . in any role that we automatically perceive as 'female': and therefore, we tend to see him as a man." Genly is in constant conflict with himself about his feelings for Estraven. Interestingly, his conflicts do not arise because of Estraven's androgynous nature, but more because of his male-like portrayal.

Similarly, when drawing parallels between femininity and *the alien*, I should also mention *The Female Man* by Joanna Russ (1975). Russ constructs a novel with a complex narrative structure delivered by four protagonists, i.e. as Parslow (2010, 203) would put, a "hyper-individuated self" of a character, Joanna, and the various forms of her gendered consciousness. Janet is a woman coming from an all-woman society, while Jeannine is an oppressed woman from a slightly altered more dystopian reality of 1960's, and Jael is a "guerrilla" in a world where men and women are at war. Joanna, on the other hand lives in a realistic depiction of the 1960's. While Joanna epitomises the oppression, and Jael the aggression,

Janet is the everywoman of the story. She comes from Whileaway, a one-sexed utopia. Her reality is the self-actualisation of the *praxis*, the highest achievement. Patriarchy is an unknown term for her, as well as men, whom she considers a particularly foreign species (Russ 1975). The social structure of Whileaway is very different from Earth. Namely, everyone participates in the society; it is a classless, developed, improved society. When Janet explains their way of living, the other characters are in awe at the possibility of such a world. These kinds of anti-motifs of “societies without sexual division” or having “gender as an individual choice” is a most alien concept and usually the femininity is either absent, seen as a bad thing or completely undermined in the works.

5.3. THE CYBORG

Donna Haraway (1992, 150–151) writes in her essay *The Cyborg Manifesto*: “by the late twentieth century, our time, a mythic time, we are all chimeras, theorized and fabricated hybrids of machine and organism; in short, we are cyborgs ... The cyborg is a creature in a post-gender world; it has no truck with bisexuality, pre-oedipal symbiosis, unalienated labour, or other seductions to organic wholeness through a final appropriation of all the powers of the parts into a higher unity. In a sense, the cyborg has no origin story in the Western sense...” If we refer to her theory, a cyborg “has no origin story in the Western sense”, that is an origin story of “unity, fullness... the task of individual development and of history” (Haraway 1992, 150–151). Instead it is a being of a “post-gender world” which acquires its integrity by adapting “all the powers of the parts into a higher unity” (Haraway 1992, 150). This theory is very important when analysing *Patchwork Girl* by Shelley Jackson (1995). The monster, i.e. the patchwork girl, is a creation of various body parts. While we immediately accept it as a she, the author wittily constructs her out of, mainly female body parts, a male part, and even a limb of a cow. This shakes the subjectivity of the monster altogether. Additionally,

it challenges our ideas of the woman. One is immediately reminded of Simone de Beauvoir's famous proposition that one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman. Jackson (1995) takes this expression and mocks the notion of "becoming a woman", in fact what makes us accept the monster as a female is vague. I believe that it is tightly connected to Judith Butler's gender performativity theory. Namely, instead of accepting an identity attributed by the nature (gender essentialism), we should treat gender as performative (Butler 1990). The patchwork girl's identity is not given by the nature either. Instead, it is a collective subjectivity. After all, the monster does not have a traditional origin. It, as a metaphorical cyborg, exists to deconstruct the binary oppositions. Nevertheless, the patchwork girl simultaneously adjusts to being what Cixous (1976) has reserved for women – *the other* in her binary oppositions. Therefore, from a phallogocentric point of view, the patchwork girl "would not recognize the Garden of Eden; it is not made of mud and cannot dream of returning to dust" (Haraway 1992, 151).

6. CONCLUSION

The genre has chronologically seen incredible development. Every new invention had a primary influence on SF and vice versa. SF, with its revolutionary nature, challenges the norm of femininity and offers an opportunity a scope to look at the notion from an angle never used before. Putting gender studies in a science fictional context opens new opportunities both for understanding how much social norms influence our imagination and creativity, and for breaking the barriers built by the same social norms. Envisioning the post-gender world of artificial intelligence demonstrates the insignificance of the heated discussions on binary opposition hardcoded in the human consciousness. Thinking about alien species that do not fit in our world picture enhances our level of tolerance. Science fiction proves that we can change the future through language and literature, and it is praiseworthy.

NOTES

¹ Nowadays, the boundaries between the masculine and feminine are flickering in the hands of post- structural deconstruction; but for the sake of apprehending the historical misconceptions, I will not disregard the Western idea of binary oppositions.

² From now on I will use *SF* as the abbreviation for *science fiction*. While *sci-fi* is a more conventional abbreviation, due to its usage as a derogatory term in the past, like many science fiction authors, I prefer to use *SF*.

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Factors Influencing Vocabulary Learning Strategy Preferences

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ABSTRACT Vocabulary is a significant factor in learning a second language. Vocabulary learning strategies (VLS) have become an area of current interest in language teaching, learning and research. Throughout history many researchers and applied linguists have looked at various factors, such as gender, level of education, etc. that might influence learners' choices of VLS. However, the question what exactly influences learners' choice and frequency of use of certain VLS and certain types of VLS still remains open. The overall aim of this research was to explore which type of VLS learners use most frequently and whether any of the factors such as gender, level of education, years of learning English as a foreign language or learners' individual preferences and perceptions influenced this. The sample consisted of 320 learners of both elementary and high-school learners of English as a foreign language. The participants filled out the Croatian version of the VOLSQES questionnaire which measured learners' preferences regarding VLS use, as well as a demographic questionnaire which provided information about learners' preferences, and perceptions regarding certain aspects of English. The results of the analyses revealed certain differences between learners' perception of difficulty of English and their choice of incidental type of VLS, as well as some positive and negative relationships between learners' preferences and perceptions, and years of learning English and their choice of certain types of VLS. This indicates that some differences and relationships do indeed exist, but that further investigation is required.

KEYWORDS vocabulary learning strategies, VOLSQES, relationships, differences

1. INTRODUCTION

“Without grammar, very little can be conveyed; without vocabulary, nothing can be conveyed” (Wilkins 1972, 111). The preceding quote perfectly sums up the importance of vocabulary for second language acquisition (SLA), teaching English as a foreign language (TEFL), teachers themselves and, of course, learners. In the process of learning vocabulary, both teachers and learners employ certain strategies to significantly improve the results of the task at hand – the task that is vocabulary learning. They do so by employing strategies by the name of vocabulary learning strategies (VLS).

Vocabulary learning strategies are “specific strategies utilized in the isolated task of learning vocabulary in the target language” (Pavičić Takač 2008, 52). Many researchers (see Siriwan 2007; Gu 2010; Craven 2013) have their own way of defining VLS, however all of them agree on the following: they all refer to VLS as actions, steps or procedures that learners do when having as a goal to learn certain lexical items, that is vocabulary.

Just as every scholar and every researcher has their own way of defining VLS, they all have their own ways of classifying them as well.¹ For the purposes of this research, the chosen classification of the VLS was the one found in Pavičić Takač (2008). The classification goes as follows:

- a) FORMAL VLS includes the “VLS employed in learning a [foreign language (FL)] in a formal (classroom-based) context” (Pavičić Takač 2008, 104). For example, planning for vocabulary learning, translating words into L1, etc.;
- b) INFORMAL VLS is “characterized by a more systematic approach to vocabulary learning, i.e. by conscious efforts that learners make in order to learn lexical items” (Pavičić Takač 2008, 104). For example, leafing through the dictionary, using new words in sentences, etc.;
- c) INCIDENTAL VLS “contains strategies of spontaneous vocabulary learning in naturalistic learning situations” (Pavičić Takač 2008, 100). For example, remembering words from magazines, associating new words with already known, etc.

2. AIM AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main aim of the research was to explore which type of VLS learners use most frequently and whether any of the factors such as gender, level of education, etc. influenced their choice of VLS type.

What follows from this are research questions. There were three main research questions – the first one being which type of VLS learners use most/least frequently; the second one being which VLS learners use most/least frequently independent of the VLS type; and the third one being some interrelations between the most frequently used VLS type and certain variables and therefore the remaining research questions are as follows:

- a) Is there any difference between gender groups considering the most frequently used type of VLS?
- b) Is there any difference between learners' level of education considering the most frequently used type of VLS?
- c) Is there any difference between learners' perception of English as an easy language considering the most frequently used type of VLS?
- d) Is there a relationship between learners' preferences of certain aspects of English², their perception of importance of certain aspects of English³, their perception of difficulty of certain aspects of English⁴, and the use of a certain type of VLS?
- e) Is there a relationship between years of learning English as a FL and learners' use of a certain type of VLS?

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. SAMPLE

Out of 320 participants in this study, 95 were male, 209 were female, and 16 participants did not specify their gender. More precisely, 112 of them were elementary school students from 6th and 8th grade,

Table 1. Sample

		Frequency	Percent
Sex	Male	95	29.7
	Female	209	65.3
	Missing information	16	5.0
Total		320	100.0
Education Level	Elementary school	112	35.0
	High school	208	65.0
Total		320	100.0

Table 2. Learners' perception of difficulty of English as a foreign language (FL)

	Value
Mean	2.62
Standard Deviation	1.036
Mode	3.0

and 208 of them were high school students from all grades. Learners perceive English as being medium in difficulty with the mean value being 2.62 (SD = 1.036). These data can be found in Tables 1 and 2.

3.2. INSTRUMENTS

The instruments used in this study were questionnaires – the first one being the Demographic Questionnaire which was used to find out more about learners themselves and the second one being the VOLSQES Questionnaire or the *Vocabulary Learning Strategy Questionnaire for Elementary Schools* designed by Pavičić Takač (2008). It consisted of 27 items with 3-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (never) to 3 (always). The Questionnaire's internal consistency reliability was measured using Cronbach's Alpha at .845 for this sample which was considered quite satisfactory.

3.3. PROCEDURE

All the Questionnaires were administered during regular classes and it took learners approximately 15 min to complete them. The data that were collected were first entered into IBM SPSS Statistics software Version 20 and were analyzed afterwards. The statistical measures that were used were: descriptive statistics⁵, independent-sample t-test⁶, and Pearson Correlation test⁷.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this section the research questions will be answered. The results of analyses will be presented and explained.

Table 3 shows that the most frequently used VLSs are No. 5 (I pick up words from films and TV programs I watch), No. 27 (I pick up words from the Internet), and No. 19 (I translate words into my mother tongue to understand them) with their mean values being above 2.4. This is so because we live in a modern age of technology and we know that learners spend a lot of time in front of the TV and on the Internet.

Table 3. Most/least frequently used VLS independent of the type

VLS	Value	Standard Deviation
I pick up words from films and TV programs I watch.	2.53	.648
I pick up words from the Internet.	2.45	.636
I translate words into my mother tongue to understand them.	2.42	.701
I group words together in order to remember them.	1.35	.609
I write down words while I read books and magazines for pleasure.	1.31	.595
I write down words when I watch films and TV programs.	1.17	.442

The least frequently used VLSs are No. 20 (I group words together in order to remember them), No. 7 (I write down words while I read books and magazines for pleasure), and No. 13 (I write down words when I watch films and TV programs) with their mean values being lower than 1.3. This is so because all of these require more mental activity and more work, which a lot of learners are not ready to do.

These findings are consistent with the findings of Kulikova (2015) in so that the most frequently used VLS are, among others, those which involve the use of technology in one way or another, with their mean values being higher than 3.3. However, even more frequently used strategies are those which involve some sort of note-taking, with their mean value being higher than 4.5, which is then inconsistent with the findings of this research.

In research done by Azgari (2010) the findings are even more so consistent with the findings of this research. The researcher found that the most frequently used strategies are, among others, those which involve the use of media while the least frequently used strategies are, among others, those that require more efforts on the part of learners to learn a new lexical item, for example writing down words that are new and unfamiliar.

Table 4. Most/least frequently used type of VLS

	Formal VLS	Independent VLS	Incidental VLS
Mean	1.97	1.64	2.27
Standard Deviation	.465	.361	.468
Mode	1.82	1.67	2.0
Median	2.00	1.67	2.29

Table 4 portrays the answer to the second research question referring to the most/least frequently used type of VLSs. According to the analysis, the most frequently used type of VLS are incidental VLS with their mean value being 2.27 (SD = .468) and the least frequently used type are independent VLSs with their mean value being 1.64 (SD = .361). These results, of course, are not surprising and the reasons for this are pretty much the same as for the previous research question. Learners simply do spend a lot of time in front of the TV and on the Internet so they pick up on a lot of vocabulary. As far as the formal VLS are concerned, learners do not really have a choice because this takes place in a classroom-based context and, as far as the independent VLS go, these actually require making conscious efforts to learn vocabulary which learners are simply not willing to make as opposed to incidental VLS which do not require any conscious efforts.

These findings are consistent with the findings of many researchers, namely Pavičić Takač (2008), Gu (2010), Azgari (2010), and Craven (2013). They all found that incidental VLS are the most frequently used type of VLS and as far as the rationale for this goes, they mostly agree that the reason for this is that we live in a modern age in which technology has become a major part of peoples' lives by day and therefore, materials that source from various technological devices are very accessible, learners are exposed to them every day, so learning vocabulary without the mass media playing a significant role in it is simply inevitable.

Table 5. Difference between gender and incidental VLS

Sex	Mean	Standard Deviation	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Male	2.23	.492	-1.114	289	.266
Female	2.30	.454			

Table 6. Difference between the level of education and incidental VLS

Education Level	Mean	Standard Deviation	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Elementary school	2.28	.470	.108	304	.914
High school	2.27	.468			

Table 7. Difference between students' perception of difficulty of English as a foreign language (FL) and incidental VLS

Perception of Difficulty	Mean	Standard Deviation	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Easy	2.41	.040	4.325	303	.000
Difficult	2.18	.034			

Concerning the interrelations between incidental VLS, being the most frequently used type, and learners' gender, education level, and perception of difficulty of English as a FL, the t-test analysis, which can be seen in Tables 5, 6, and 7, has shown no statistically significant difference between learners' gender and education level, but has shown statistically significant difference between learners' perception of difficulty ($M = 2.41$; $SD = .040$). In other words, those learners who perceive English as an easy language use incidental VLS more frequently than those who perceive it as difficult. This is not surprising because it is logical – if learners believe that English is easy they will also believe that they do not need to put in any additional effort to learn it and therefore, they do not use independent VLS, but rather they rely on what they pick up on TV and the Internet.

As far as the research in literature goes, Siriwan (2007) states that in the most literature and research she has reviewed gender significantly influenced the choice of the most frequently used VLS type in that female learners were the ones who used the most frequently used type of VLS which is inconsistent with the findings of this research.

When it comes to the level of education, both Pavičić Takač (2008) and Gu (2010) state that learners who are on the higher level of education will consequently use strategies which require more mental activity and processing, which is also inconsistent with the findings of this research.

The results found in Table 8 portray correlations between learners who prefer certain aspects of English (such as knowing grammar, knowing vocabulary, understanding what is read, etc.), and think of them as important and perceive them as easy and the type of VLSs they use. As can be seen, there is a positive statistically significant correlation between learners who like doing certain tasks in English and their use of both independent ($r = .186$) and incidental VLS ($r = .262$) with the correlation being significant at the 0.001 level (2-tailed). This is logical because learners who like doing certain tasks in English will make an effort to consciously learn more words and as far as the incidental ones go,

Table 8. Correlation between learners' preferences and perceptions and VLS types

	Liking Tasks in English	Important in English	Difficult in English
Formal VLS	.100	.088	-.045
Independent VLS	.186***	.090	.128*
Incidental VLS	.262***	.232***	.325***

*** Correlation is significant at the 0.001 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

the answer is the same as always for this type – they just spend a lot of time in front of the TV and on the Internet. There is also a positive statistically significant correlation between learners' perception of difficulty and the same two types of VLS with the correlation being significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed) for independent VLS ($r = .128$) and at the 0.001 level (2-tailed) for incidental VLS ($r = .325$). This is also not surprising because the more learners perceive English as easy, the more they will like it and, the more they like it, the more effort will be put in learning more words. And finally, there is a positive statistically significant correlation between learners who think that certain aspects of English as a FL are important and incidental VLS ($r = .232$) with the correlation being significant at the 0.001 level (2-tailed). This was also surprising. It was expected that learners who give a lot of importance to certain aspects of English will use independent VLS more frequently because that would mean that they make conscious efforts to learn more because it is important, but the analysis has shown that they use incidental VLS more frequently.

Table 9. Correlation between years of learning English as a foreign language (FL) and independent VLS

	Years of Learning
Formal VLS	-.231***
Independent VLS	-.147**
Incidental VLS	-.081

*** Correlation is significant at the 0.001 level (2-tailed)

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

And finally, Table 9 presents correlation between the types of VLS and years of learning English as a FL. As can be seen in the table, there is a negative statistically significant correlation between years of learning and formal VLS ($r = -.231$) with the correlation being significant at the 0.001 level (2-tailed) and between years of learning and independent VLS ($r = -.147$) with the correlation being significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). In other words, the longer the learners have studied English as a FL, the less independent VLS they use and even fewer formal VLS. This only makes sense if we think of it in this way – if we assume that the longer the learners have learnt English, the more vocabulary they think they know, then they will think that there is not much vocabulary left to learn and will therefore make less and less conscious efforts to learn more new words because if there are not any, why bother?

This conclusion is consistent with Gu's conclusion (2010) in which it is stated that "when learners reach a point where they do not perceive the need to enrich their active vocabulary any more, their efforts and strategies in developing a richer productive vocabulary will stop" (Gu 2010, 114).

5. CONCLUSION

To conclude, a referral to the main aim of this research, which was to explore which type of VLS learners use most frequently and whether any of the factors such as gender, level of education, years of learning English, or learners' individual preferences and perceptions influenced this, will be made.

As we have seen, the most frequently used types of VLS were incidental VLS. As far as the factors influencing the choice of VLS to be used are concerned, according to the results, gender and level of education do not influence the choice and the frequency of use of incidental VLS, whereas learners' perception of difficulty does in so that the easier they think English is, the more incidental VLS they will use.

As far as the learners' individual preferences and perceptions are concerned⁸, there is a positive statistically significant correlation between learners liking particular aspects of English, their perception of difficulty, and their choice of certain type of VLS. The same goes for their perception of importance of certain aspects of English and their choice of certain VLS.

And finally, there is a negative statistically significant correlation between years of learning English as a foreign language and learners' choice of formal and independent VLS.

Many scholars argue that vocabulary is a significant factor in learning a second language, but that very little attention has been given to it in the classroom. What gives hope that something might change in the near future is the fact that precisely vocabulary learning strategies have become the area of current interest in language teaching, learning and research. And indeed, this is important because helping learners to get acquainted with different types of strategies and helping them to develop certain skills in using them will result in learners becoming better learners, confident learners, and most importantly, independent learners.

NOTES

- ¹ A great overview of the research that has been done so far along with the overview of different ways of classification of VLS can be found in Siriwan (2007): overview of the research done so far can be found from page 61 to 71, and an overview of different ways of classification of VLS can as well be found from page 46 to 58 in Kulikova (2015).
- ² Aspects such as reading texts, talking, learning new words, writing, learning grammar, and listening to texts.
- ³ Aspects such as knowing grammar, knowing a lot of words, understanding what is read, knowing how to write, understanding what is heard, knowing to speak.
- ⁴ Aspects such as writing essays, memorizing words, speaking, remembering words when necessary, understanding what is read, writing words correctly, grammar, understanding what is heard, pronouncing words.
- ⁵ Descriptive statistics was used to describe the sample and to answer the first two research questions.
- ⁶ Independent-sample t-test was used for questions labeled a) to c).
- ⁷ Pearson Correlation test was used for questions labeled d) and e).
- ⁸ For example, liking certain aspects of English, thinking of them as important and perceiving them as easy.

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From Poe to South Park: The Influence and Development of Lovecraft's 'Cosmic Horror' in American Culture

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ABSTRACT H.P. Lovecraft's 'Cosmic Horror' has been a staple of horror and gothic fiction, and therefore American culture, for more than 80 years. In this paper, I examine the development of the genre of horror, starting with Edgar Allan Poe's influence, and trace its development up to contemporary popular American culture exemplified by the TV show *South Park*. While Lovecraft's material has always been drawing from the same concept of the fear of the unknown and human powerlessness in the face of greater forces, the context, sources and reasons for this powerlessness have constantly changed over the decades. In this paper I offer an examination of where this idea of 'Cosmic Horror' originally came from, how Lovecraft developed it further and, ultimately, how American culture has adapted the source material to fit a contemporary context. By contrasting Lovecraft's early works with Poe's, I shed light on the beginnings of the sub-genre before taking a look at the height of 'Cosmic Horror' in Lovecraft's most famous texts of the Cthulhu myth and ultimately look at a trilogy of *South Park* episodes to put all of this into a modern American perspective. By doing so, I reveal how Lovecraft's tales and the underlying philosophy have always been an important part of American culture and how they continue to be relevant even today.

KEYWORDS cosmic horror, gothic, Lovecraft

1. INTRODUCTION

Howard Phillips Lovecraft was arguably “the most memorable and important American writer in the surprisingly enduring pulp terror genre” (Tyree 2008, 143) and one of the most diverse authors of gothic and horror fiction in American literary history. He left the world a significant number of short stories, novellas, and essays after his passing in March 1937. His influence is not limited to the world of literature; it covers the whole repertoire of modern popular culture (Evans 2005; Hull 2006). This strong appeal is partly due to the diversity of Lovecraft’s literary output. His works of fiction are usually divided into three categories: the ‘Macabre’ or more classic gothic stories written in the fashion of Edgar Allan Poe, the ‘Dream Cycle’ stories which take place in an alternative dimension entered through one’s dreams and, most famously, the ‘Cthulhu Mythos’ stories that feature gods and other entities from outer space and other dimensions like the aforementioned Cthulhu or Azathoth.

However, apart from the recurring characters and the gods, there is one major topic that links all of Lovecraft’s stories, which will also be the focus of this thesis: ‘Cosmic Horror’. The main idea behind this literary philosophy ushered forth by Howard Phillips Lovecraft is the idea that humanity and its actions are ultimately meaningless in the greater scheme of things (Lovecraft 1927b). Stemming from his disdain for religion and the numerous discoveries in the scientific world during his lifetime, Lovecraft was convinced that the human quest for knowledge eventually results in the realization that we are absolutely powerless to comprehend or influence what is really out there in the cosmos. Therefore, the characters in his story constantly find themselves subjected to this ultimate horror. Their search for knowledge and enlightenment brings forth something that they ultimately have to admit is utterly beyond their understanding and control, and has no interest whatsoever in their existence. It is this fear of the unknown and incomprehensible that stood at the center of all horror for Lovecraft.

In this paper, I will take a look at the development of ‘Cosmic Horror’, from Lovecraft’s 1923 story *The Rats in the Walls* and its connections to classic gothic horror and Edgar Allan Poe, all the way to how this concept was adapted by modern popular culture in the form of a TV series *South Park*.

2. POE’S INFLUENCE ON ‘COSMIC HORROR’ EXEMPLIFIED BY “THE RATS IN THE WALLS”

2.1. SIMILARITIES AND DISCREPANCIES TO “THE FALL OF THE HOUSE OF USHER”

The first and foremost similarity between the two stories is the setting itself. Both works feature a secluded building somewhere quite a distance away from other houses or villages, and both have a long family tradition. Whereas the Usher mansion served as the seat for the family of Roderick and Madeline for many generations (Poe 1839), the castle of Exham Priory in *The Rats in the Walls* (Lovecraft 1923) is even older. Built on “the site of a prehistoric temple” until eventually “Henry the Third granted the site to [...] Gilbert de la Poer, First Baron Exham, in 1261” (Lovecraft 1923), it has been in the possession of the Delapores for almost 700 years.

Furthermore, both share a strange connection to their inhabitants. In Poe’s story (1839), this connection is subtler than the one Lovecraft establishes. It is mentioned early on that “the ‘House of Usher’ [...] seemed to include, in the minds of the peasantry who used it, both the family and the family mansion” (Poe 1839). This bond is made evident at the very end when both Madeline and Roderick die, and their mansion begins to fall apart with them.

Lovecraft, on the other hand, uses a more straightforward approach to this matter through the titular rats. They serve as the main connection between the protagonist and the castle of his ancestors. The fact that the rats are directly linked to the Delapores, and not to the castle,

is addressed forthright by the protagonist himself when he states that, "no one had heard the rats save the felines and me" (Lovecraft 1923) and the fact that during his absence not even the cats showed further signs of agitation.

Another commonality between the two stories is the employment of inherited guilt. In *The Rats in the Walls* (Lovecraft 1923), Delapore discovers something evil about his ancestors and learns about the atrocities they have committed. The end result of this revelation is usually similar across his stories: either they pay for their own and their ancestors' guilt and deeds with their lives, or they go insane as is the case with Delapore (Evans 2005).

Ancestral guilt, more precisely incest, is also a possible explanation for Roderick's supposed illness, which seems hereditary. Eventually, he and Madeline end up the same as the characters in Lovecraft's stories whose background is not free of such immoral doings; they both die and eradicate their whole family line with them. Furthermore, the Ushers even take their family estate with them, just as Delapore who destroys Exham Priory completely after uncovering its secrets and falling into madness.

This ending seems to be an attempt to recreate what Lovecraft thought was one of Poe's strongest instruments in storytelling as Lovecraft (1927b) mentions in *Supernatural Horror in Literature*:

Inconceivable abnormalities slyly hinted into a horrible half-knowledge by words whose innocence we scarcely doubt till the cracked tension of the speaker's hollow voice bids us fear their nameless implications; daemonic patterns and presences slumbering noxiously till waked for one phobic instant into a shrieking revelation that cackles itself to sudden madness or explodes in memorable and cataclysmic echoes.

2.2. A FIRST GLIMPSE OF 'COSMIC HORROR'

As demonstrated before, Lovecraft took a lot of inspiration from his idol Edgar Allan Poe (Lovecraft 1931). However, he still succeeded in putting in some of his principles of 'Cosmic Horror' in *The Rats in the Walls*.

An assault of demons from space and the defeat of the laws of nature are recurring themes in Lovecraft's writings, and the essential parts of what creates 'Cosmic Horror' (Lee 2009). Traces and hints of it can be found in *The Rats in the Walls* (Lovecraft 1923) which make the story a great vantage point from which one can track the progression of this 'Cosmic Horror' throughout his bibliography.

The easiest way to spot elements of this Lovecraftian aspect of horror is the mentioning of one of the gods he invented, Nyarlathotep. Delapore states that he was venturing further and further into "those grinning caverns of earth's centre where Nyarlathotep, the mad faceless god, howls blindly to the piping of two amorphous idiot flute-players" (Lovecraft 1923). This god is one of the 'Other Gods' Lovecraft created throughout his lifetime and serves as an emissary for them, mainly for Azathoth. He is the central antagonist in *The Dream-Quest of Unknown Kadath* (Lovecraft 1927a) and later also appears in other stories of both the 'Dream Cycle' and the 'Cthulhu Mythos'. Lovecraft even dedicated a vignette to him titled *Nyarlathotep* (Lovecraft 1920).

The fact that he is mentioned by Delapore in this story raises the question of how he can even know his name. Usually, the names of these gods are only found in the fictional *Necronomicon* (consult Lovecraft 1927c), or are related by other characters that devoted their life to the studies of black magic and the 'Other Gods'. Delapore never mentioned having anything to do with any of this. However, the mentioning of Nyarlathotep gives the story this demon from outer space. Even though it is not mentioned that Delapore's predecessors were successful in possibly trying to summon one of the gods or other things from their realm, it adds to the feeling that there was something sinister going on in those catacombs besides the already horrible cannibalism and sacrifices, something even darker that is beyond the understanding of regular human beings.

This also deviates from the form that was already used in ancient works like Homer's *Iliad* or Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, where all the horror stems from being at the mercy of the gods. As Oates (1998, 179) puts it: "In these great works of the ancient world, existential horror would seem to be the result, not of human volition and responsibility, but of mere chance: the cruel caprice of gods." In *The Rats in the Walls* (1923) and Lovecraft's works in general, the horror, although rooted in the power of these gods and other beings, is called upon by humans. They are the ones who summon them or try to use some of their powers for their own purposes, and most often end up losing control. However, the element of chance is omitted here; it all comes back to an active role of the human characters that are directly responsible for the horror they let loose on the world through their doings.

According to Oates (1998), there is something else that contributes to a successful gothic story: man as a creature of instinct. This also holds true for *The Rats in the Walls* (1923) and basically every other story by Lovecraft. In *The Rats in the Walls* (Lovecraft 1923), this primitive instinct is highlighted through curiosity. Delapore is one of the characters who, despite also being a slave to his curiosity, goes about it in a slightly different manner than many other Lovecraft characters. The main difference is that he seeks the assistance of other people, mainly scientists, while uncovering the tombs under the Exham Priory.

However, the succumbing to one's primal instincts is best emphasized by the degeneration of Delapore towards the end of the story. There, he goes back in time linguistically, mumbling and screaming in languages and sounds that date further and further back in time. Furthermore, it not only reminds the reader almost violently of the basic nature of this character, it raises another question that is essential to the gothic story: "How human are we? How deep is our humanness? [...] Anxiety arises when we ponder to what degree we share in the civilization to which we belong. The most extreme "fall" is to revert to vampirism/cannibalism" (Oates 1998, 184–185). By connecting this essential question with ancient, unknown gods and human sacrifices, Lovecraft creates a powerful first glimpse of what 'Cosmic Horror' can be.

3. LOVECRAFT'S LEGACY IN PRESENT DAY TV SERIES "SOUTH PARK"

While the main focus of *South Park's* episodes *Coon 2: Hindsight*, *Mysterion Rises* and *Coon vs. Coon and Friends* on the Lovecraft material is a humorous one, certain elements of 'Cosmic Horror' can still be found. Most prominently, the idea that the downfall of humanity would be caused by discoveries of the scientific world which would eventually uncover things that are beyond human control. In the trilogy of *South Park* episodes about Cthulhu, this is symbolized by oil drillings that cause a hole to another dimension to appear and eventually even bring Cthulhu itself forth. Here, the scientific progress and the never-ending desire to uncover more and more about the universe are transformed into a greedy need for oil and eventually money, ultimately turning the message into an environmental one.

However, the basis is the same; man's tempering with nature beyond his means eventually brings its downfall. While it certainly will not bring forth a 'Great Old One', disasters like oil spills, the overfishing of the oceans, or the consequences of global warming, like melting glaciers and polar caps resulting in flooding and extreme weather conditions around the globe, are closer to the truth than Lovecraft himself would have probably imagined.

Furthermore, even if the heroes of the show eventually defeat Cthulhu, it still stands without a doubt that compared to beings like it, humanity is absolutely insignificant. Therefore, the twist at the end that only child superhero 'Mintberry Crunch', who is revealed to be an alien himself, can save the earth emphasizes the central point of 'Cosmic Horror' perfectly. Additionally, the incident left the people of the world in the knowledge that such things as Cthulhu do exist and that they could destroy the world on a whim, as long as humanity is not saved by something or someone equally powerful. The hero 'Mysterion' is especially left with uncertainty about his origins and powers at the end that goes hand in hand with the fear of the unknown found in Lovecraft's literary legacy.

Even if the shadow of satire hangs heavy over the legacy of 'Cosmic Horror' in *South Park*, the sheer look and magnitude of the beings that are summoned onto earth by a man-made mistake are enough to evoke at least a slight feeling of terror of what the future will bring if humanity cannot contain its urge to temper with nature and things it does not understand to its full extent. In this sense, Francis Wayland Thurston's words at the beginning of *The Call of Cthulhu* (Lovecraft 1926) hold true in a frightening way when he writes:

The most merciful thing in the world, I think, is the inability of the human mind to correlate all its contents. We live on a placid island of ignorance in the midst of black seas of infinity, and it was not meant that we should voyage far. The sciences, each straining in its own direction, have hitherto harmed us little; but some day the piecing together of dissociated knowledge will open up such terrifying vistas of reality, and of our frightful position therein, that we shall either go mad from the revelation or flee from the deadly light into the peace and safety of a new dark age.

Therefore, maybe the characters of the show are blessed by their ignorance of Kenny McCormick's immortality, its origins and the horrible implications of what lies in dimensions beyond human understanding.

4. CONCLUSION

In this paper I have shown how 'Cosmic Horror' has developed over time, not only in the writings of Howard Phillips Lovecraft, but also in modern popular culture, in the form of the TV show *South Park*.

By comparing *The Rats in the Walls* (1923) with a story from Lovecraft's role model Edgar Allan Poe, *The Fall of the House of Usher* (1839), I pointed out that, despite his heavy lean towards a stereotypical gothic story, Lovecraft was able to put his own trademark on the story by infusing it with a first small dose of 'Cosmic Horror'.

His 'Cosmic Horror' had fully developed by the time he wrote *The Call of Cthulhu* (1926), and is manifested in many of his stories in the form of the 'Great Old Ones' later on. These beings from another dimension stand for everything that is 'Cosmic Horror' in Lovecraft's writings; the fear of something beyond human understanding, powers that are too great to understand, let alone control or defeat, and the possibility that they awake from their slumber by the human quest for knowledge represented in the sciences. Furthermore, their sudden appearance as well as vanishing at the end of the stories convey another incredibly important aspect of his works; the fear of the unknown. Knowing that these gods and creatures lie waiting without having any idea of when the final day will arrive evokes an uncertainty that makes one shiver.

While the characters in Lovecraft's works have indeed caught only a glimpse of these terrifying vistas, the *South Park* episodes *Coon 2: Hindsight*, *Mysterion Rises* and *Coon vs. Coon and Friends* have gone all the way by calling forth the great Cthulhu through human hubris and greed. In this modern setting, Lovecraft's 'Cosmic Horror' suffers some blows for the sake of humor, but still conveys its principles and frightening implications of terrible monsters and powers in dimensions beyond human imagination, insignificance compared to these powers, and uncertainty about what is to come once these powers are awoken. In this sense, they prove that 'Cosmic Horror' indeed has transformed over time, from a substantial fear of what the sciences will uncover that is not meant to be known by the human mind, to more of a cautious tale about tempering with nature, but it has not lost its appeal.

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Metalinguistic Awareness in Bilingual People

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ABSTRACT The research on bilinguals indicates some bilingual advantages over the matched monolinguals. It is suggested that the exposure to two different language codes influences the brain elasticity and therefore, enhances metalinguistic advantages. Throughout the years, many studies have tried to reveal the relationship between bilingualism and the demonstrated performance on metalinguistic tasks. Similarly, the aim of this study is to provide some insight to the issue of monolingual and bilingual performance on metalinguistic tasks. To evaluate this ability, the participants were asked to complete a web designed survey. The survey was designed based on Ianco-Worrall's (1972), Bialystok's (1986b) and Bialystok and Niccols' (1989) studies on *form-judgment tasks*, Vygotsky's (1962) and Ricciardelli (1993) experiment on *word renaming tasks*, Ben-Zeev's (1977) *symbol substitution test* and Bialystok's (1987, 2001) and Ricciardelli's et al. (1989) *grammar judgments tests*. The questions from the survey intend to elicit the word or the syntactic awareness of the participants. The results did not demonstrate a complete overlap with the findings suggested by the literature. The general findings approved of the idea that superior metalinguistic abilities are evident in the performance of bilingual participants. However, contrary to the earlier assumptions, in some of the tasks the study identified superior metalinguistic performance demonstrated by the monolingual participant. The implications of these findings suggest that besides the exposure to two different languages, which enhances metalinguistic abilities, other factors might also influence the performance in metalinguistic tasks. Therefore, a future study which underlines a wider variety of crucial factors and a greater number of participants should be conducted to justify the validity of the results gathered from the *metalinguistic awareness survey*.

KEYWORDS awareness, metalinguistics, tests, bilinguals, monolinguals

1. INTRODUCTION

Metalinguistic tasks are tasks that require explicit attention to form, an aspect of language that is usually transparent in everyday language use. When people use language to communicate, they barely pay attention to grammar structures and rarely consider formal knowledge of the language rules (Cazden 1974). Cazden (1974), as the first one to define *metalinguistics*, refers to it as an ability to make language forms opaque and to attend to them. It is a special kind of a linguistic performance that requires special cognitive demands and is, at the same time, easier and less universally acquired than the other language performances. *Metalinguistic*, as a general term, has been defined in different ways. It refers to the ability to go beyond the communicative use of language and to appreciate various qualities of language, such as grammatical and phonological properties, and linguistic ambiguities (Hakes 1980). Despite all the various definitions, one of the most valuable definitions for this work is Feldman and Shen's (1971) explanation of metalinguistic awareness as something that distinguishes monolingual from bilingual children.

Ricciardelli (1993) suggests that any linguistic skill can be a candidate for a metalinguistic counterpart. Thus, metalinguistic tasks should be classified and analysed according to the linguistic skill they derive from. By analysing the subject's performances on syntax, word, print and phonological tasks, Ricciardelli (1993) further developed a detailed framework which involved two complements. Depending on the nature of the tasks, the complements were either classified as control of linguistic processing or as analysis of linguistic knowledge tasks. The control of linguistic processing is referred to the component responsible for directing the attention to the selection and integration of information. This component is evident in tasks in which participants are required to make an anomalous word substitution, answer sentences about renamed things, and repeat anomalous sentences. In these tasks, participants are required to manipulate the linguistic knowledge and deal with competing information (Ricciardelli 1993).

The second component refers to the skill component responsible for structuring and explication of linguistic knowledge. Tasks that place the greatest emphasis on this component include those in which the subjects are asked to detect errors, correct ungrammatical sentences, and explain detected errors (Bialystok 1987; Ricciardelli 1993 and Ricciardelli et al. 1989).

As suggested by Bialystok and Niccols (1989), Cummins (1978), and Pinker (1994), all metalinguistic tasks rely on processes that include representational analysis and intentional control. Studies on metalinguistics generally consist of tasks designed to assess either linguistic processing or the analysis of linguistic knowledge. According to Ricciardelli (1993), if any of the above listed attributes of metalinguistic awareness is performed better by a bilingual, the person is believed to have superior metalinguistic awareness. The feedback from the research conducted over the years generally coincides with the assumption that bilingual children develop metalinguistic awareness in a different and enhanced manner and rate from monolingual children.

2. RESEARCH ON METALINGUISTIC ABILITY TASKS

2.1. THE MAIN EXPERIMENT

Leopold's (1949) observation of his bilingual child is considered to be the initial and the most influential study of bilingualism and its correspondence to the metalinguistic abilities. The study resulted in favourable effects of bilingualism on child's mental development. His detailed observation account revealed that from very early age his daughter Hildegard could render the same story freely in both languages. Moreover, when memorizing rhymes of both languages, she demonstrated a tendency to destroy the rhyme by inserting her own meaningfully related vocabulary. Furthermore, she accepted new names for objects already denoted by a language and asked for additional names in a third or even fourth unfamiliar language.

This observation resulted in the conclusion that bilinguals demonstrate greater awareness of the fact that letters are symbols without an inherent meaning that do not resemble the sound they represent. This symbolic representation is interpreted earlier by bilinguals since they see the words written in two different ways. Through the process of organizing the two language systems, bilinguals develop a more analytical orientation to languages, which leads to greater metalinguistic awareness (Baker 2011; Leopold 1949). This conclusion has given rise to the period of metalinguistic experiments.

2.2. FORM-MEANING JUDGEMENT (ANALYSIS)

Ianco-Worrall's (1972), Bialystok's (1988) and Bialystok and Niccols' (1989) experiments tried to test the hypothesis that bilinguals outperform monolinguals on metalinguistic tasks. They observed the bilinguals' advantage in separating word sounds from word meaning by constructing tests in which the answer was based either on attention to the meaning or to the sound. The choice was either grounded on shared meaning or on shared acoustic properties. In the studies, the phonetic and semantic preference tests consisted of six monosyllabic set of words. Each set was made of three words drawn from everyday vocabulary used by English language speakers. In the tests, beside the word which was the standard one, two other words were provided as choices. One of the choices was semantically, while the other one was phonetically related to the standard. The participants were given three words: "cap", "can" and "hat". Based on their intuition, the participants were required to choose which word, "can" or "hat", is more like the word "cap" (Ianco-Worrall 1972). Since "cap" and "can" share the same sounds /kæ/, the candidate that chose the option "can" would appear to have made the choice determined by the sound of the words. The candidate that said that "hat" is more like "cap", appeared to choose meaning over sound. Consequently, "cap" and "hat" were given as samples that refer to the same characteristics.

The results suggested that bilinguals who have reached certain language proficiency tended to respond to the word meaning, while monolinguals more to the sound of the words. Therefore, bilinguals appear to believe that language is more of an arbitrary nature and, for that reason, chose the meaning over the sound. This statement coincides with Leopold's hypothesis and suggestion that, for bilinguals, the names of objects and the objects themselves are considered as separate notions.

2.3. WORD RENAMING (CONTROL)

Vygotsky (1962), Ianco-Worrall (1972) and Ricciardelli (1993) designed questionnaires that focused on the metalinguistic task that measured the participants' ability to demonstrate control over language structures and ambiguity. Based on their experiments, the so referred *word renaming* task was designed to assess the subject's understanding of the word-referent relation.

The first part of the task tested whether individuals conceived names as aspects of things or if they viewed words as being tied to the referents. This exercise required the participants to answer whether a name of a word could be substituted for another. They were given three sets of names: "cow" and "dog", "chair" and "jam" and "book" and "water". The participants were asked if "cow" could be called "dog", if "chair" could be called "jam" and if "book" could be called "water". By giving a positive answer, the participant was assumed to perceive language as a matter of agreed convention. On the other hand, a negative answer implied perceiving the words as tied to their referents.

In the second part, the participants were required to accept the new names for the referents and answer questions about them. It was explained to all subjects, irrespective of how they responded to the previous task, that the changing of names could be possible if everybody imagined that the names used to describe things have altered.

After the introduction, children were given test items which consisted of questions about the renamed referents. For instance, after the explanation that “moon” is to be called “sun” was introduced, the participants were asked “What would you call the thing in the sky when you go to bed at night?” (Ricciardelli 1993, 352). By explaining to the children that they were playing a game in which a *dog* was called a *cow*, they were asked questions like “Does ‘cow’ have horns?” and “Does ‘cow’ give milk?” (Ricciardelli 1993, 352). Their answer was considered correct if the attributes of the object were retained even though the names had changed. By attending closely to the new name while trying to avoid confusion with the old name, the participants were asked to place a greater demand on the control of the linguistic processing (Ricciardelli 1993; Bialystok 2001). Vygotsky’s (1962) and Ricciardelli’s (1993) results demonstrated that most of the bilinguals felt that names could be interchanged. The tasks aimed to demonstrate the differences in the willingness to accept that the names of the words were convention rather than necessity. The study showed that bilinguals were superior in separating the qualities of objects from their names, and that they performed better in tasks that required the formulation of concepts in which the names had been arbitrarily assigned to objects (Ianco-Worrall 1972). The results from the studies demonstrated that bilinguals were able to treat words as desemanticized units and change the rules of the system better than monolinguals did (Ben-Zeev 1977).

2.4. SYMBOL SUBSTITUTION TEST (CONTROL)

Ben-Zeev’s (1977) *symbol substitution test* tried to assess the individual’s formal properties of word awareness and the level of the referential word arbitrariness. Control tasks require a high level of processing, as the solution depends on paying attention to language aspects that are not evident in everyday language use. In the designed *symbol substitution test* high level processing is required as the participants have to ignore the natural tendency to attend to the meaning of the words and deal only with formal instructions (Bialystok 1986a).

For instance, to substitute the word “I” for “macaroni” and to construct a sentence as “Macaroni am warm”, a violation of the semantic and syntactic rules of the language rules was essential (Ben-Zeev 1977). In order to respond to the tasks correctly, the candidates had to ignore the word meaning, correct the sentence structure and resist the pragmatic-syntactic interference of the substituted word. To evade the interference of the word substitution, the usual semantic reference function had to be ignored and considered as a unit within a code system. Otherwise, the candidate would produce a sentence like “Maccaroni is warm” (Ben-Zeev 1977). The task would become more complicated if a minor part of speech was to be substituted for a major part. If the participant was asked to use the word “in” instead of “clean” and produce a sentence like “the doll is going ‘clean’ the house” (Ben-Zeev 1977), they would have been required to treat the sentences as an arbitrary and abstract code. This requires the ability to ignore both the meaning of individual words and the rules which govern the relationship of word classes in a sentence. The studies emphasised that bilinguals demonstrated superior skills in the area of linguistic understanding, especially in the relation between words and their meanings. This was prescribed to the presence of two language codes that provide different words which represent the same object (Ben-Zeev 1977). The existence of two language codes brings success in ignoring not only semantic, but also syntactic rules which govern the relationship between word classes and words in sentences. Since bilinguals have experienced more than one language, it is suggested that it should be easier for them to abandon the rules of a particular language and interchange them with a different set of rules when necessary.

2.5. GRAMMAR JUDGEMENT (CONTROL)

Bialystok (1986a) and Ricciardelli (1993) designed an experiment which measured the cognitive control of linguistic processing and explication of linguistic knowledge. By determining whether the sentences are grammatically correct or not, the participants were asked to judge

the grammatical acceptance and ignore the meaning of the sentences. The sentences were meaningful and grammatical (*Why is the dog barking so loudly?*); meaningful but grammatically incorrect (*Why the dog is barking so loudly?*); anomalous and ungrammatical (*Why the cat is barking so loudly?*), and anomalous but grammatically correct (*Why is the cat barking so loudly?*) (Bialystok 1986a; Ricciardelli 1993). The purpose was to determine whether or not the participants could evaluate a specific grammatical structure when asked to violate the grammatical and pragmatic rules (Bialystok 2001). Similarly, Galambos and Goldin-Meadow (1990) conducted a study in which a range of tasks assessing syntactic awareness was presented to monolingual and bilingual children. In both studies it was evident that noticing and correcting errors developed systematically in all children. However, bilinguals' ability to note and correct errors progressed faster, resulting in more significant advantages.

2.6. GAP IN THE EXISTING RESEARCH

As suggested by Bialystok et al. (2005), most of the metalinguistic experiments assess either word awareness or syntactic awareness. The focus of the conducted studies was either on linguistic processing or on the analysis of linguistic knowledge. However, what had not been conducted is a study which would focus on the control of linguistic processing and analysis of knowledge, and which would encompass tasks that involve word and grammar awareness of the participants. The designed *metalinguistic awareness survey* includes tasks that involve demonstrating word and grammar awareness. The study consists of five separate tasks, one of which assesses the ability to analyse linguistic knowledge and the remaining four measure the participants' skills in linguistic processing. Ianco-Worrall's (1972), Bialystok's (1987), and Bialystok and Niccols' (1989) experiments on *form-judgment tasks*, Vygotsky's (1962) and Ricciardelli (1993) designed questionnaires on *word renaming tasks*, Ben-Zeev's (1977) *symbol substitution test* and (Bialystok 1987 and 2001) and Ricciardelli's (1993) *grammar judgments tests* were used as guidelines for designing the *metalinguistic awareness survey*.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. CHOICE OF PARTICIPANTS

The metalinguistic awareness survey was conducted on 23 participants, 14 of whom gave answers considered acceptable. The conducted research included participants of various linguistic backgrounds.

The monolingual participants' native language was English and they had not lived in a foreign country. Since the conducted research tried to identify a feature within a restricted type of participants, the focus of the choice of monolingual participants was only on native English speakers who could barely speak another language. Due to the cost and time efficiency, the number of monolingual participants was limited to one.

The bilinguals were participants who have lived in England and had learned English at a level required for studying and working. The non-native English speakers who have lived, worked, or studied in an English-speaking environment had a native language other than English.

An important variable considered in the choice of participants was the level of English performance in bilingual participants. In the designed questionnaire, only the answers from the participants who are believed to have reached a certain level of English proficiency were considered. To ensure that the participants had reached the minimum level of English proficiency, only participants studying or working in English speaking surroundings have been taken into consideration. More precisely, in order to work or study in an English-speaking environment, the participants had to demonstrate that their English competence is no lower than B2 level according to Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR).

3.2. THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SURVEY

The survey was in the form of a web questionnaire administered to the participants via emails. The survey followed an interactive multi-page

delivery. The items were delivered in blocks on a single page which had to be completed before the participants were provided with the next page of items. Interactive multiple-page delivery prevented skipping questions or returning to the previous ones. After each page had been completed, the responses were transmitted to a host server by clicking *next* at the bottom of the page.

3.3. AIM OF THE RESEARCH

The essential idea was to identify the presence or absence of a quality in the observed individuals and how this quality was demonstrated in the designed tasks. The aim of the research was to demonstrate whether the bilinguals demonstrate greater metalinguistic abilities as suggested by the literature. Since there was only one monolingual participant, their result was used to confirm or reject the assumption of metalinguistic advantages in a limited number of monolingual individuals.

4. CONCLUSION

The survey resulted in a partial overlap with the findings presented in the literature. The literature suggests that, since bilinguals are constantly faced with interference of two language codes, they are expected to demonstrate superior metalinguistic abilities. The findings from the conducted survey suggest that the bilinguals demonstrated good mastery over some aspects of language. However, this mastery was not uniformly presented. The advantage of the bilingual participants was most evident in *form-meaning judgment*, *symbol substitution test* and *grammar judgment tasks*. Each of the tasks required either the ability to attend to the formal properties of the language, the selective attention to words or their properties, the performance of operation on the isolated target, or the ability to apply specific processes to target units as integral part of language use.

The conducted research has suggested that bilinguals have an advantage when it comes to analysing language forms owing to the exposure to two different languages. The feedback also approves Baker and Jones' (1998) and Appel and Muysken's (1987) idea that the exposure to two different linguistic codes promotes a more analytical orientation to linguistic operations, which leads to a greater awareness of the language systems.

Similar to the analysed results of the research conducted by Bialystok (1986a) and Ricciardelli (1993), in which children were asked to judge or correct sentences for their syntactic acceptability irrespective of the meaningfulness, the gathered feedback shows that bilinguals exhibit greater cognitive control of linguistic processes.

Similarly, Chin and Wigglesworth (2007) suggest that bilinguals have greater awareness of the arbitrary or conventional relationship between the words and the objects because they are constantly aware of the two competing forms for one meaning. The survey feedback demonstrates partial overlap with this theory. Bilinguals performed better than monolinguals, but not in tasks where names were conceived as aspects of things, but in answering questions which required recognizing attributes of the arbitrarily assigned names of things.

The gathered feedback also overlaps with Ricciardelli's (1993) study in which bilinguals demonstrated a superior performance in games which involved answering questions about the substituted item and in the meantime preserving the characteristics of the "old" word.

It is worthwhile to mention that even though the conducted research generally demonstrates the advantage of bilinguals, it was found that the advantage is confined to certain tasks and sometimes certain parts of the tasks. Previous research suggested that bilingual participants had consistently demonstrated the ability to pay particular attention to certain systematic aspects of the language, such as the advantage evident in the ability to process rules with flexibility and good ability in

associating words categorically (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981). According to the feedback to the conducted research, bilinguals failed to demonstrate the assumed consistent advantage in indicating the understanding of arbitrariness of language. Even though bilingual participants were able to treat words as desemantized units and change the syntactic rules within a given language code, they conceived names as aspects of things which is an ability related to monolinguals. Similarly, besides demonstrating mastery in the ability to recognize and retain attributes after the name of the target word had been changed, bilingual participants failed to grasp the idea that names of things could be interchanged. In conclusion, bilinguals have neither across-the-board metalinguistic awareness nor universal superior metalinguistic ability. Bilinguals have a good metalinguistic ability especially in tasks that require selective control of attention to the target information and tasks that require greater analysis of internal linguistic processing.

The results do not overlap with the assumption that monolinguals are less advantaged in solving metalinguistic problems (Bialystok 2001; Bialystok 1988; Bialystok 1986b; Ianco-Worrall 1972). The conducted study at hand yielded results similar to those demonstrated by both monolingual and bilingual participants from the above-mentioned study. Monolingual participants have also demonstrated superior analytical orientation to language. Successively, not only high metalinguistic abilities in monolingual participants are evident across all the studies, but higher scores obtained by monolinguals are also evident in the first part of the *word renaming tasks*. In other words, monolinguals appear to be more aware of the fact that the names of the objects should not be conceived as aspects of things.

It can be concluded that the research findings coincide with the theory that bilingual individuals develop analytical orientation to language. However, contrary to the earlier findings, bilingual subjects did not outperform their monolingual peers in the five conducted tasks, and thus the assumption that the great metalinguistic ability results only from organizing two different language systems is not valid for the conducted

research. This inconsistency might be considered for a further, more detailed study, which would underline a wider variety of crucial factors and a greater number of participants.

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Multilinguals and Language Choice in Dreams

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ABSTRACT The study explored the complex question of multilingual dreaming, more specifically, the choice of language in multilinguals' dreams. Studies have already proven the importance of proficiency for dreaming in a language other than the participants' L1, so the intention of this study was to look at language choice more closely and take into account the frequency of use and the influence of the environment on dreaming in an L2, L3, L4, etc. The instrument used was a questionnaire combined with a dream journal distributed to 11 students who have studied at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Zagreb. All of the participants were speakers of Croatian between 23 and 25 years old who had learnt more than one foreign language. The questionnaire was used to determine the participants' language proficiency, frequency of use of their languages and whether they were living in a country where their L1 was not spoken. The participants were asked to keep a dream journal for one month and write down references to language in their dreams. The dream journals demonstrated the complexity of the matter of multilingual dreaming and provided a more detailed insight into multilingual dreaming.

KEYWORDS multilingualism, dreams, language choice

1. INTRODUCTION

Unlike various other topics considering multilingualism, the question of multilinguals' dreams has not been the focus of recent research. As Sicard and de Bot (2013) note, empirical data on this topic is difficult to find. One of the reasons for the lack of empirical research on dreams may be due to the limited insight into dreams or, in other words, the impossibility to experience participants' dreams directly. Therefore, studies rely on some form of dream recall, be it a more immediate or a later one. Although this study is plagued by the same restrictions, the main focus was to investigate the languages multilinguals experience in their dreams. This study was interested in testing the existing theories that aim to explain language choice in dreams. Secondly, the study focused on examining Sicard and de Bot's (2013) conclusion that living in an L2 environment increases instances of dreaming in a language other than your L1.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. MULTILINGUALS' LANGUAGE CHOICE

Apart from the lack of literature on the subject, language choice in multilingual dreams is sometimes subsumed under the category of language choice in general. For example, in a chapter called *Thinking and Dreaming in Bilinguals*, Grosjean (2010, 128) draws a parallel between bilinguals' language choice in thoughts and in dreams: "things are no different when one is dreaming. [...] Once again, the complementarity principle is at work here: depending on the situation and the person we are dreaming about, we will use the one language, the other, or both". A similar tendency can be observed in Sicard and de Bot's (2013) application of social linguistic terminology regarding language choice to language choice in dreams. However, it is common-sense that dream speech is a different phenomenon in itself due to the lack of external input and deficient monitoring abilities of the dreamer (Foulkes et al. 1993). Nonetheless, the research on language choice is exceedingly useful in

the study of language choice in dreams if we work under the assumption that cognitive processes in our sleeping and waking state are the same (Foulkes et al. 1993). The assumption that language choice in dreams and in the conscious state largely overlap is partly a product of a cognitive approach to SLA and psychology (Okada, Matsuoka, and Hatakeyama 2005). Accordingly, this could present another approach to the question of multilinguals' access to their lexicon.

The topic of lexical access in multilingualism centres on the question of whether lexical access is selective or non-selective. Selective lexical access signifies that “words can be accessed individually within a language-specific lexical network and that the correct language is selected by way of an ‘input switch’ which guides the selection process” (De Angelis 2007, 103). To simplify, selective lexical access invokes the image of a switch in a multilingual mind, switching languages on and off according to the language needed. On the other hand, non-selective lexical access implies that “words from different languages are activated in parallel until a certain point in the selection process” (De Angelis 2007, 103). As de Bot (2004) mentions, the neighbourhood effect in word recognition, the influence of cognates in word recognition and the effect of cross-linguistic priming give legitimacy to the claim of non-selective access.

A few models which aim to explain non-selective lexical access have emerged and it is relevant to discuss the most prominent ones. De Angelis (2007) acknowledges the BIA model which introduces the idea of a language node level. In this model, words are also tagged for language, which means that an activation of one word also contains information about which language it belongs to. Language information from this word then hinders the choice of a word from a language that is not in use (De Angelis 2007, 105). Just as the bilingual model, the MIA model is based on the idea that “selection occurs by way of activation and inhibition of potential competitors” (De Angelis 2007, 106). Furthermore, it is relevant to mention Grosjean's Language Mode model. Grosjean (2010) differentiates between a monolingual and a bilingual mode at two end points.

Bilinguals' level of activation of a particular language can be on any point on the continuum between the two poles. However, Grosjean (2010) also notes that the monolingual mode does not imply that the other language is completely deactivated and it is also susceptible to change due to a change in interlocutors, in context, etc.

In discussing language choice, lexical access is only part of the discussion. Also, a speaker's choice of language depends on more than the interlocutor. For example, there is the phenomenon of distancing: "... bilinguals may codeswitch to their second language to distance themselves from what they say. Ideas that would be too disturbing when expressed in the first language are less anxiety-provoking in the second language" (Dewaele 2004, 207). His study supports the claim that L1 is more emotionally charged than multilinguals' other languages, which is also mentioned by Aneta Pavlenko. As Pavlenko (2005) asserts, the greater emotionality of the L1 often influences a speaker's choice of language. For example, multilingual authors often cannot imagine writing literature in a language that is not their L1 and numerous multilingual parents believe that L1 is crucial for establishing an emotional connection with their child. It is interesting that bilinguals in the research carried out by Foulkes et al. (1993) used their L2 more while awake than while asleep. The authors ascribe this to the hypothesis that thinking in an L2 is a cognitively more demanding task, which is not easily achieved in sleep. However, the emotional force of the L1 could also be an important factor in this case. Pavlenko (2005, 461) notes that choosing L1 due to its heightened emotionality sometimes goes directly against the interlocutor since "some speakers choose the L1 even though their partners have little or no proficiency in the language". Therefore, it is important to take into account all of the possible factors, especially emotional ones, which influence a speaker's choice of language, and not just the situational context or the interlocutor.

2.2. LANGUAGE CHOICE IN DREAMS

The topic of multilingual dreaming has not been widely researched, but there are some important observations on the subject. Firstly, it is useful to mention that the majority of multilinguals report dreaming in more than one language (Grosjean 2010). Moreover, multilinguals report dreaming in languages other than their L1 regardless of their proficiency, although proficiency is an important factor for language choice in dreams (Sicard and de Bot 2013). Bilingualism and multilingualism do not constrict dream speech and dream speech is generally “both grammatically well-formed and contextually appropriate” (Foulkes et al. 1993, 872). Moreover, language is chosen only after the rest of the dream environment has been created and self-participation in dreams in regards to language is more difficult than the participation (speech) of others (Foulkes et al. 1993).

Considering the theories on why certain languages are used in dreams, there are three that will be discussed. The first one is called the *accommodation theory*. It comes from sociolinguistics and is based on the idea that speakers accommodate interlocutors because “individuals find social acceptance and approval rewarding” (Sicard and de Bot 2013, 333). Accordingly, if someone is a speaker of German and is dreaming about talking to another speaker of German, they will use the language they find appropriate, for example, German. Then there is *waking appropriateness*, which Foulkes et al. (1993) find to be quite influential as a factor for language choice in dreams. They found that if the dream context fits the context we are exposed to in our waking life, we are likely to use the language appropriate for that given context. The last theory will be called *language mode*, according to Grosjean’s theory (2010). It refers to the fact that language choice in dreams can be influenced by activating language(s) before sleep, that is entering the mode of an L2, L3 etc. (Foulkes et al. 1993).

Lastly, the conclusions from Sicard and de Bot's study (2013) ought to be mentioned. One of their interests was to establish whether living in an L2 environment – any environment in which the speaker's L1 is not the most frequently spoken language – influences instances of multilingual dreaming. They found that living in an L2 environment positively influenced multilingual dreaming because, according to the study, participants living in an L2 environment experienced more instances of multilingual dreaming. A similar conclusion was drawn by Foulkes et al. (1993) insofar as they found that the socio-cultural context had a strong influence over their participants, although not stronger than the influence of the participants' L1.

3. STUDY

3.1. AIM

The aim of the study was to research the matter of multilingual dreaming in more detail. The study's focus was twofold. Firstly, the study was interested in whether the present theories regarding language choice in multilinguals' dreams would be applicable to our participants' dreams. The second part of the study was focused on Sicard and de Bot's (2013) conclusion that living in an L2 environment increases instances of multilingual dreaming. Therefore, the research questions were as follows:

RQ1. Could language choice in dreams be explained through existing theories – *accommodation theory*, *waking appropriateness* and *language mode*?

RQ2. Did participants living in an L2 environment have more instances of multilingual dreaming?

3.2. SAMPLE

The sample consisted of 11 speakers of Croatian as their L1, with the exception of one simultaneous bilingual, that had studied at the Faculty of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb. All of the

participants had spent more than 18 years of their life in a Croatian-speaking country. They were all between 23 and 25 years old and had all learnt at least two more languages along with Croatian, their L1. The number of languages and the languages themselves vary. Ten participants had studied at least one language at university, which entailed taking courses in linguistics. All participants reported using languages other than their L1 in their studies and/or work. While participating in the study, five of them were living in Croatia and five of them were living in an L2 environment. During the course of the study, one participant was living in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where Croatian, Bosnian and Serbian are spoken. Participants were divided into two groups in order to answer RQ2: group A, living in a country where their L1 was the most frequently spoken language in their environment, and group B, living in a country where a language other than their L1 was the most frequently spoken language in their environment.

3.3. PROCEDURE

Participants were required to state some basic information about themselves and to complete a version of a language biography – writing down which languages they have learnt so far, which languages they are most proficient in, where they use these languages and with whom they use these languages. This constituted the first part of the questionnaire. In the second part, they were asked to keep a dream journal for a month and pay attention to any potential references to language in dreams, be it through speaking, thinking, writing, reading or listening. Furthermore, they were asked to write down which language was present in their dreams. Lastly, they were encouraged to write down any details they found relevant to the study.

3.4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

With regard to RQ1, it was found that existing theories could be used to explain the participants' language choice in dreams.

Accommodation theory

I was talking to a woman who spoke to me in Italian but I tried to explain in English that I don't understand her. However, she didn't speak it. She asked me something in German but I didn't understand, and while she was trying to think of how to communicate with me, she spoke Polish to herself, saying things like: "How do I say this?" I then told her I spoke Polish and we both laughed.

Fleur – Croatian L1, English L2, Polish L3, German L4, Spanish L5

As evident from the example, the participant adapted to their collocutor until they were able to find an appropriate language for successful communication.

Waking appropriateness

I was at a folk concert and I met Jelena Karleuša. She spoke in Serbian and I spoke in Croatian.

Minerva – Croatian L1, English L2, German L3, Spanish L4

Since it is natural for Croats and Serbs – the collocutor is a Serbian singer – to stick to their own languages while successfully communicating with each other, we can conclude that the interaction in the dream context followed the principle of waking appropriateness.

Language mode

I was in a bar talking to a lot of foreign students in English and German. Coincidentally, that's what I was actually doing before going to bed, so I think my drunken mind was not able to create anything on its own, so it just showed me what it remembered the best.

Tom – Croatian L1, German L2, English L3

Evidently, the languages activated before sleep influenced the dream context.

However, not all cases were as straightforward to explain. To exemplify, let us examine this participant's dream:

Had a dream I was talking to my parents who apparently had a problem with my brother and his girlfriend, or, more specifically, with the bank that the two of them chose. The conversation was in Croatian and it was exactly like a normal conversation would be like between me and my parents in real life.

Gilderoy – Croatian L1, English L2, German L3, Portuguese L4,
Latin L5, Italian L6, Spanish L7, French L8, Dutch L9

This participant's dream can be explained through waking appropriateness because the speaker usually speaks Croatian with their parents. Therefore, this choice of language matches the choice made in everyday life. On the other hand, language choice can also be explained through the accommodation theory since the speaker obviously adapts to his parents. Evidently, there is an overlap in these theories.

Furthermore, the theories were not applicable to all dreams. Take, for example, a dream of one of the participants:

A vegetarian friend who is Czech has a carp on her plate and cannot decide whether to eat it or not. While she's looking at the piece of carp, she says in Croatian: "Oh, oh! I don't know!" When she sticks her fork into it, it turns into a juicy piece of red meat.

Helena – Croatian L1, English L2, German L3,
Latin L4, Czech L5, Spanish L6

In such cases, it is evident that language choice of the speaker is illogical, which reminds us that dreams are indeed a separate phenomenon from our waking life. Moreover, there was the example of a participant exhibiting knowledge of language that they do not have:

I used Spanish in a conversation with a Spanish girl at someone's wedding, even though I have never learned it. I know only some soap-opera expressions.

Tom – Croatian L1, German L2, English L3

This is an example similar to the one given by Grosjean (2011), in which he exemplifies that dreaming of speaking in an unknown language is usually the dreamers' conviction, but not a real possibility. Nevertheless, these dreams were also not possible to explain through the aforementioned theories, and they demonstrate the limitations of the existing theories.

Considering RQ2, the results were as follows:

1. Ten out of eleven participants (90.9%) reported dreaming in at least one L2 during the one-month period they kept the dream journal.
2. Eight out of eleven participants (72.7%) reported dreaming in more than one L2. Three of them (37.5%) belonged to group A (living in an L1 environment) and five of them (62.5%) belonged to group B (living in an L2 environment).
3. The instances of L2 dreaming amounted to 49.66% in group A and 65% in group B.

As demonstrated, the difference between the participants living in an L1 and L2 environment was minimal, which brings us to the problematic aspect of Sicard and de Bot's (2013) conclusion – the baseless assumption that living in an L2 environment inherently increases L2 exposure and L2 use and, accordingly, instances of multilingual dreaming. It would not take long for one to come up with examples that contradict this statement. Exposure and use of the L2 can be achieved in an L1 environment, as demonstrated by our participants in group A. They used L2s in their everyday life – through work, university, and communication with friends. Moreover, work, studying, music, television, and internet guaranteed L2 exposure for our participants. Exposure and use of L2 should not be boiled down to living in a certain environment, especially in the globalised and connected contemporary world. In conclusion, the results of group A put Sicard's and de Bot's (2013) conclusion about the influence of the L2 environment into question insofar as L2 environment was not found to be a detrimental factor for multilingual dreaming in this study.

4. CONCLUSION

In response to RQ1, it was evident that existing theories were able to explain our participants' instances of multilingual dreaming, but that they also had their limitations. A certain overlap in theories came into light, and it was evident that some instances of language choice in dreams were not covered by the existing theories. What is more, the research highlighted the need to treat dreams as a separate phenomenon. Of course, more detailed research on the subject of multilingual dreaming could change and improve our assumptions on language choice in dreams.

Regarding RQ2, the results from group A showed that L2 environment was not a crucial factor for multilingual dreaming. Furthermore, it became evident that Sicard's and de Bot's (2013) claim about L2 environment was based on the false assumption that living in an L2 environment automatically increases L2 exposure and L2 use.

Finally, although the findings are limited due to the nature of the study, they will hopefully motivate others to research the matter in more detail.

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Fare Ye Well: On Competition between Ye and You in Early Modern English

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ABSTRACT This paper looks at the competition between nominative and oblique forms of the second person formal pronoun in Early Modern English. It explores the major factors which were possibly responsible for the generalization of the oblique form, and the disappearance of the subject form. The influence of both linguistic and extralinguistic factors which resulted in the altered pronoun system will be discussed as it is believed that social circumstances, especially the level of formality, might have played a significant role in ousting the nominative case form.

In order to obtain the necessary language data, a corpus-based approach will be adopted. English historical corpora will be consulted so as to identify the particular period in which the major decrease in usage of the nominative form can be observed. Additionally, the parsed corpora will provide further evidence relating to the usage of the oblique form instead of the subject form.

The paper first briefly outlines the theoretical background of the morphological and syntactic properties of *ye* and *you* in Middle English and Early Modern English. Second, it provides a review of the relevant literature about the topic at hand. Third, it examines the examples from the corpora and literary texts. Fourth, it proceeds to discuss the possible sociolinguistic motivation behind the generalization of the oblique form *you*. The paper concludes with a brief summary of the main points and an outlook for future research.

KEYWORDS Early Modern English, *ye*, *you*, change from below

1. INTRODUCTION

Change seems to be one of the major characteristics of language at all levels of linguistic description. Given the fact that the process can be described as a diachronic one, it can be studied only after the particular formal or functional change has been completed, which implies that a certain amount of speculation is inevitably involved in the study of language change. However, contemporary linguistic tools, such as historical corpora, can enable the researchers to trace the initiation and development of changes. Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that language change can be manifested in a multitude of ways and that certain word classes seem to be more susceptible to it than the others.

A distinction between word classes commonly found not only in discussions on historical linguistics, but also in general linguistics handbooks, is the one between content words or open classes and function words or closed classes. Content words are used to describe various elements of the extralinguistic reality, such as "things, actions, and qualities" (Hopper and Closs Traugott 2004, 4). These open classes might seem to be more liable to change than function words as, by definition, they are 'open' and items can be easily added to the class and, if need be, changed. Closed classes demonstrate the relationships between the individual segments of a clause, sentence, or a higher level of linguistic analysis (Hopper and Closs Traugott 2004). The relationships between the pieces of a clause are fairly systematic and fixed, and therefore apparently less susceptible to diachronic changes. However, examples which challenge this claim, one of them being the pronoun system, can be found in the history of English. This phenomenon will be studied more closely in the paper at hand.

Specifically, the present paper will look at the changes which the second person pronoun nominative and oblique forms, namely *ye* and *you*, underwent during the Early Modern English period. The main concern of the paper is to provide a discussion of the competition between these forms and a description of the contexts in which *you*, the oblique case, ousted *ye*, previously the subject case. For this purpose, a corpus-based approach will be adopted, whereby *The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English* (Kroch, Santorini and Delfs 2004), hereinafter referred to as PPCEME, will be used as the major source of linguistic data.

The paper at hand is organised as follows. First, the literature concerning the topic of the paper will be reviewed. Second, the methodology adopted during the course of the project will be outlined. Third, the results will be discussed and an attempt will be made to describe the contexts in which the change at hand first became evident. Then, the paper will be concluded with the summary of the main points and an outlook for future research.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Several factors which contributed to the change under consideration can be found in the relevant literature, the majority of which can be described as language-internal. One of them involves the phonetic nature of the nominative form of the pronoun. *Ye*, as already noted by Jespersen (1942), was phonetically weak and unstressed in numerous positions. Based on his interpretation, it can be concluded that the form under analysis might have been pronounced as /jə/ in unstressed positions. While the perceived phonetic weakness certainly might have contributed to the loss of *ye*, other factors played a role in the process as well.

Another aspect mentioned in the literature on this topic which might have influenced the loss of *ye* is of morphosyntactic nature. More precisely, it is frequently claimed that the “confusion between the subject and the object forms”, particularly in the sentences which contain imperative and subjunctive mood gradually enabled *you* to become the only pronoun used (Rutkowska 2007, 186–187). Rutkowska (2007, 186) proposes that, in the sentences such as the following:

“I pray *you* that *ye* wollressaye them as myn own proper god (WM 1476).”

omitting the subordinator *that* would result in the following construction:

“I pray *you ye* wollressaye them as myn own proper god.”

Such a construction is, of course, not permitted, which implies that only one of the forms needs to be selected in order for the construction to be judged as grammatically acceptable. It seems fairly possible that, for the reason Jespersen (1942) proposes, *you* was selected instead of *ye*.

Rutkowska's (2007) suggestion can be judged reasonable as it is based on a database of letters, which, despite the fact that they represent written evidence, can be seen as relatively similar to spoken language. This is significant because spoken language, as it is generally known, is not attested in the historical corpora which focus on Middle and Early Modern English. However, it is precisely spoken language which is of importance when studying not only forms of address, but also diachronic language development in general. Therefore, studying correspondence can enable the researchers to approach spoken language.

Despite the existing literature on the topic, there is one aspect of the change under analysis which does not seem to have received the attention it could merit for the implications it might have for the sociolinguistic aspects of the change under consideration. This aspect is reflected in the sociolinguistic context in which the increase in the use of *you* in the subject form throughout the time is evident. A deeper knowledge of this factor could contribute to the better understanding of the sociolinguistic nature of the change. In order to enhance the current knowledge on this matter, this paper will focus on the sociolinguistics of the pronoun change in Early Modern English.

In the following section, the methodology adopted during the course of the project will be outlined.

3. METHODOLOGY

This section focuses on the methodological tools and conventions which were followed in order to obtain the linguistic data needed for the analysis. The project consisted of two main stages, the first of which involved reviewing the relevant literature on the topic at hand. The results of the review are summarised in Section 2 above. The second stage can be described as more empirical as it involved corpus research.

This stage of the research was conducted in several phases. First, the

author needed to decide which historical corpus to use. Having analysed the available options, it was decided to use the PPCEME corpus as it can be deemed fairly representative of the period under consideration. Of course, the question of representativeness is not as straightforward as it might seem at first as the extent to which a corpus adequately represents the language of which it aims to be representative is debatable. However, this discussion will not be taken up in the paper as it clearly exceeds its scope.

Having decided on the source of data, the empirical phase of the project was divided into two stages, namely a qualitative and quantitative one. Within the former stage, the main aim was to classify the pronouns into different categories. The categories which were established for the purposes of the research are *ye as the subject* and *you as the subject*. After the collection of all the examples which seemed pertinent to the study, the quantitative stage commenced. This stage largely involved basic statistical description in terms of raw frequency of the pronoun forms. It was assumed that the decrease and increase in one specific form would indicate the change under analysis.

During both of the stages, the primary source of data was personal correspondence in the form of letters as it is believed that, being somewhat less formal than, for instance, drama, they are more similar to the spoken language used in less formal contexts. In addition, the letters were classified into two categories, namely private and non-private. The members of the latter class include letters which were exchanged by family members or friends. The individuals involved in the correspondence were relatively easy to identify as the letters always include address, and, in certain cases, multiple mentions of the addressee. The rest of the letters, including the communication between, for example, two public personalities, was labelled non-private. This distinction was perceived to be relevant for the study at hand, as the former category is deemed highly representative of spoken language because family members and close friends are likely to adhere to less formal conventions when addressing each other.

Therefore, for the purposes of the present paper, the private letters under consideration will be defined as being representative of a relatively informal context. Changes which originate in this and similar contexts are sometimes termed "changes from below" (Mesthrie 2009, 112). Moreover, for the purposes of this paper, it is assumed that the context in which an ambiguous use of *you* in the subject form first increased is possibly also the context in which the change at hand was initiated.

As described above, after analysing each of the items obtained and classifying them into the categories, an attempt was made to conduct a quantitative analysis and see which items increase and decrease in numbers during the relevant period. At first, it was believed that a sample would have to be drawn from the entire population of data. Nevertheless, after conducting the qualitative analysis and calculating the raw numbers, this step was deemed unnecessary as the sample was relatively small and it was possible to take all the examples into account when performing the quantitative analysis. Taking the entire population from the genre under analysis, namely all private and non-private letters, enhances the reliability of the data. This was also one of the reasons why inferential statistical analyses were not conducted, as the results are true for the entire population and there was no need to verify their generalisability in this sense.

In the next section, the results obtained by following the above outlined methodology will be reported.

4. FINDINGS

This section of the paper provides the results of the study before they are discussed more thoroughly in Section 5. Before demonstrating the quantitative results and briefly reviewing them, the time frame under consideration will be explained.

As mentioned in various sections of this paper, the present study is concerned with the Early Modern English period. Nonetheless, as this

Table 1. Periodisation data taken over from the PPCEME

Period Abbreviation	Years*
E1	1500–1569
E2	1570–1639
E3	1640–1710

* A more detailed explanation of the periodisation system can be found at:
<https://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/PPCEME-RELEASE-3/index.html>.

Table 2. Distribution of *you* as subject case
in private and non-private letters

Period	Private	Non-private
E1 (1500–1569)	62	35
E2 (1570–1639)	245	77
E3 (1640–1710)	134	81

period is fairly large and encompasses approximately two hundred years, it was necessary to divide it into several shorter subperiods so as to be able to study the phenomenon at hand. This was done by taking over the system already devised in the PPCEME, which contains three subperiods of Early Modern English – E1, E2, E3 – each of which spans either 69 or 70 years. The relevant periods are shown in Table 1.

The main step in the analysis involved calculating raw instances of the forms under consideration found in private and non-private letters separately. The results obtained by adopting this method are demonstrated in Table 2.

As Table 2 indicates, in E1 period, the number of instances of *you* used in the subject case in private letters is larger than the number of the same forms found in non-private letters. Furthermore, the number of the forms under consideration significantly increased in E2 period, which seems to be a likely development if the fact that *you* is virtually the only pronoun form used nowadays is considered. However, the number then considerably decreases in E3 period, which can be understood as a fairly surprising further step and might be attributed to the low representativeness of the corpus. Therefore, the data should be treated with caution.

When looking at the numbers of *you* found in non-private letters, it can be discerned that they seem to provide more reliable findings. In particular, although the number of the forms is considerably smaller than in non-private letters for all three subperiods, the gradual increase in the use of *you* in the subject case seems to be more realistic given the use of the pronoun in the Present Day English.

In the following section, the results will be discussed in more depth.

5. DISCUSSION

This section will focus on the sociolinguistic dimension of the change under consideration, which, as explained in Section 2, has remained underexplored. First, the possibility that the change in the pronoun system of Early Modern English could be considered a 'change from below' will be considered. Then, the notion of covert prestige will be discussed in relation to the change in the pronoun system.

5.1. THE GENERALISATION OF *YOU* TO ALL CASE FORMS – A 'CHANGE FROM BELOW'?

The tendency of the pronoun *you* used in subject case to appear in higher numbers in informal than in formal letters can lead to the tentative conclusion that the change was initiated in contexts which can be

described as informal. These contexts can be linked to the distinction found in numerous variationist approaches to language change, namely the distinction between the so called ‘change from above’ and ‘change from below’. As most of these models were primarily concerned with phonetics in the past, they define these types of change in phonetic terms. Nevertheless, it should be noted that general characteristics of these changes can be fairly easily transferred to other levels of linguistic description as well.

The terms ‘above’ and ‘below’, as Mesthrie (2009, 118) explains, refer to both “levels of conscious awareness as well as position in the social hierarchy”. For the purposes of the present paper, the latter is more relevant as it is believed that studying the levels of awareness of users of Early Modern English by means of a corpus might be rather challenging. Therefore, in this paper, a ‘change from above’ in relation to data at hand is primarily understood as a change initiated in higher social strata of a particular society (Mesthrie 2009). This definition can also be extended to include another sociolinguistic criterion, namely the level of formality. The justification for such an extension can be found if two aspects are considered.

First, lower social strata were considerably more likely to engage in informal conversations with their family, friends and co-workers. They were rarely in a situation in which formal language was explicitly required. Therefore, in their everyday interactions they probably developed forms which, if they spread to higher social strata, can be described as initiating ‘changes from below’. Second, the different dimensions of formality are important variables in variationist sociolinguistics and have been used in the experiments in the field since its beginnings (see for example Trudgill 1974). If the informal contexts would need to be placed along the ‘below’ – ‘above’ continuum, they would most likely be located towards the former. Hence, including language changes which originate in informal contexts under the term ‘below’ seems to be reasonable.

As already mentioned in the methodology section of this paper, the different levels of formality are of high significance for the present study.

Particularly, non-private letters are believed to be representative of informal contexts, whereas the private letters exchanged between family members and friends are seen as informal contexts. The tendency of the pronoun *you* to be more numerous in private than in non-private letters, especially in the earliest period of Early Modern English marked as E1, seems to indicate that the change under consideration was initiated in informal contexts, or 'below'. This conclusion is, of course, based merely on the data from the PPCEME and data from other corpora, such as the *Corpus of Early Modern English Correspondence*, should also be studied in order to derive a more plausible conclusion.

Furthermore, it might have been the case that *you* acted as a marker of covert prestige in the informal contexts. Covert prestige is associated with the tendency "to be more favourably disposed towards other linguistic forms, which are not precisely standard, [...] hidden values associated with non-standard speech [which are] not normally overtly expressed" (Hernández-Campoy 2008, 20). This type of prestige might be an important factor in the instances of language change which are described as coming from 'below'. Specifically, the use of *you* in the subject slot might have been perceived as a marker of membership to a particular community and closeness, which might have been one of the reasons for its frequent use in the informal letters discussed in the present paper.

6. CONCLUSION

The present paper focused on the competition between two forms of the second person pronoun in Early Modern English, namely its subject case *ye* and its oblique case *you*. The discussion was primarily based on the evidence obtained from the PPCEME. Letters were used as the main source of data, as they are believed to be highly representative of personal correspondence. The letters were subdivided into private and non-private letters. Private letters were, for the purposes of this paper, taken to represent informal contexts, whereas the non-private ones are believed to be reflective of language practices found in formal contexts of the period.

The study, as explained in the section on methodology, can be qualified as a piece of mixed methods research, because it involved both qualitative and quantitative data analysis. The latter indicated that the use of *you* in the subject form is more numerous in private than in non-private letters of the period. This fact suggests that the change under consideration could be described as a change from 'below', as it was apparently initiated in informal contexts. *You* might have been perceived as a marker of covert prestige, which would corroborate this theory. The sociolinguistic factors, together with the language-internal factors, such as phonological weakness and morphosyntactic restructuring, most likely caused the generalisation of the oblique form *you* to all case forms.

Of course, the account of the pronoun change in Early Modern English presented in this paper is not to be seen as the ultimate solution to the research question at hand. Rather, it should be understood as a possible explanation which would be rendered more plausible within a larger research project which would involve a comparative analysis of the pronoun usage as attested in different diachronic corpora.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I would like to thank Dr Stefan Thim from the English Department of the University of Vienna for his inspiring lecture which made me want to discover more about the history of English pronoun system. Also, I would like to thank him for taking his time to hear about my paper and his helpful suggestions.

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Prepositional Phrases as Complements in Prepositional Phrases

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ABSTRACT The paper explores the instances where a prepositional phrase has its headword complemented by another prepositional phrase. Typically, grammars explaining this phenomenon focus primarily on either spatial or temporal (as extensions of the spatial relations into the temporal sphere) meanings that the complements carry. Hence, grammars routinely identify prepositions which may be complemented by a PP and, consequently, those which may not. The paper looks at the conceptual structures of the prepositions which the grammars claim to be able to take prepositional phrases as complements. All those prepositions are lative and reduce the landmarks to zero-dimensionality. The paper then tests the thesis that all prepositions with such conceptual structures allow complementation by prepositional phrases. A small-scale survey is included in the paper's appendix to boost the credibility of its main thesis.

KEYWORDS prepositional phrase, ablativity, allativity, dimensionality, complementation

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to discover the common characteristics shared by prepositions that may take a prepositional phrase, hereinafter referred to as PP, as their complement. First, it exposes the similarities between prepositions complemented by PPs in instances which are either documented in grammars or accepted in general usage. Afterwards, the paper discusses if the prepositions which share the aforementioned similarities can also be complemented by PPs even if such usage is not common and/or attested to in grammar books. This part of the paper will be supported by corpora examples and a small-scale survey on the degree of acceptability of usages, conducted on native speakers of English.

2. THE DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF PREPOSITIONS COMPLEMENTED BY PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

The PP is a very versatile syntactic item. It is able to function in several different functions on both sentence and phrase level. Still, all PPs share a common syntactic structure: each is headed by a preposition and each has an obligatory complement to the headword. The complement is typically nominal and either phrasal or clausal in form. However, in some cases, the complement may also not be nominal. The ones I am particularly interested in are the examples where the complement is realised by another PP:

(1) The X-ray emissions can only be detected from above the Earth's atmosphere. (British National Corpus)

Both Quirk et al. (1973) and Huddleston and Pullum (2008) acknowledge in their grammars the prepositions which take PPs as complements. They list three prepositions which readily accept PPs as their complements: "from", "since", and "till/until".

I will use the terms *trajector* and *landmark* throughout the paper, hereinafter referred to as TR and LM respectively, alongside *headword* and *complement*. A PP may be viewed as a relation between two items where one is the more involved, the one on which the speaker places the focus, while the other is used as a reference point for the former one. The latter is called the landmark and the former the trajector (Lindstromberg 2010; Langacker 2000, quoted in Lipovšek 2014a).

All the listed prepositions describe the relations in space and/or time. I will call the relations in space the *locative domain* and those in time the *temporal domain*. The two are connected: “The locative domain is the source for a large variety of semantic extensions to non-locative domains” (Huddleston and Pullum 2008, 643; see also Kemmerer 2004).

I believe that what makes some prepositions able to take PPs as complements is the *conceptual structure* of the prepositions. While prepositions are lexicalisations of different relations between TRs and LMs, a preposition’s conceptual structure is an abstraction of identical relations between different TRs and LMs, lexicalised as the preposition in question. If there is a pattern of common features in conceptual structures of the prepositions this paper deals with, there is reason enough to believe that whatever allows a preposition to take PPs as the complement lies in its conceptual structure, regardless of which domain it belongs to.

3. COMPARING THE CONCEPTUAL STRUCTURES OF PREPOSITIONS THAT MAY BE COMPLEMENTED BY PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

In comparison to other prepositions from the locative domain, “from” is unique because it allows LMs of different dimensionalities. The LM encompassing “from” may be zero-dimensional, two-dimensional, or three-dimensional, but always ablative (Lindstromberg 2010). Furthermore, the *proximity schema* (Lipovšek 2013) of TR and LM is left largely *unspecified* with regard to spatial dimensions.

Consider the following uses of “from” (see also Lipovšek 2014b):

- (2) Jenkins ran the race from start to finish.
- (3) Donald picked up a book from the shelf.
- (4) Take the tray from the oven.

The LM in (2) is a point-in-space entailing no dimensions. The starting and the finish lines are depicted in speech as *points*, even if in reality they are two- or three-dimensional. In (3), the LM (shelf) is necessarily two-dimensional as a shelf is a surface offering support for the TR. Similarly, in (4), the LM (oven) is a necessarily three-dimensional space the TR is about to leave. The use of “from” alone tells the addressee nothing about the dimensionality of the LM.

The reduction of the LM to zero-dimensionality is a key feature of the conceptual structure of “from”. Indeed, “the major feature that sets *from* apart from *off* and *out of* is that of reducing the LM’s dimensionality in space to a mere point in line” (Lipovšek 2013, 194).

Even though the LM is two- or three-dimensional in physical reality, this does not affect the addressee’s understanding of it as zero-dimensional (Lipovšek 2013). From a large enough distance, everything appears as nothing more than a *point*. This brings the paper to an interesting observation for PPs as complements: when Lipovšek (2013) compares “from”, “off”, and “out of”, she concludes that when dimensionality is irrelevant, prepositions may complement “from” to lexicalise the relation between the TR and LM which “from” alone is unable to specify. The other PP will compensate the dimensionality not included in the meaning of “from”. When, on the other hand, the dimensionality of LM is relevant, another preposition has to be used.

To demonstrate:

- (5) Donna fished the remote from (the place) behind the couch.

(6) *Donald picked up a book from (the surface) on the shelf.

(7) *Take the tray from (the place) in the oven.

Sentences (6) and (7) would be unacceptable in the form in which they are now because they are illogical: there is a clash of meaning between “from” and “on” or “in”. The default scheme of “from” is lative and zero-dimensional while “on” and “in” are necessarily dimensional: “on” is a lexicalisation of “support” (on a two-dimensional surface) and “in” is a lexicalisation of “containment” (in a three-dimensional space).

The use of “since” is very similar to the use of “from”. “Since”, too, is ablative as it denotes a starting point of a stretch of time (Quirk et al. 1973). But is it also like “from” in that it entails a zero-dimensional LM? The answer is almost definitely yes because time is understood as events which cannot deviate in any direction other than from the present to the past.¹ Events are viewed as “points in line” in relation to time. The conceptual structure of prepositions in the temporal domain entails either zero- or one-dimensional LMs: when no emphasis is put on the duration of the event-as-LM, it is perceived as zero-dimensional; when there is duration involved, it is perceived as one-dimensional.

A prepositional complement adds dimension to the LM of “since” similarly to how it does to “from”. “Since” describes an ablative relation between a TR and a zero-dimensional LM, what can be seen in the following sentence:

(8): Food has been scarce since the war.

Now, compare (8) to (9) and (10):

(9) Food has been scarce since (the time) before the war.
(Quirk et al. 1973, 658; parentheses added by the author)

(10) Food has been scarce since (the time) after the war.

The ellipted complement “the time” is one-dimensional as opposed to zero-dimensional. By adding the complement, a PP, the void of dimensionality in “since” was filled and the LM now isn’t a zero-dimensional point-event (the war) but a one-dimensional *ray*: either all the time *before* the war including the war in (9) or all the time *after* the war including the war in (10).

It seems that PPs as complements of prepositions add dimensionality to the prepositions they complement². If there is dimensionality already present in the meaning of a preposition, a clash in meanings occurs, and this could be the reason why only zero-dimensional prepositions apparently take PPs as complements.

There is another preposition which is in one of its meanings ablative and zero-dimensional, and that is “for”, but only when its meaning is “intended destination” (Lindstromberg, 2010). Lindstromberg (2010) explains how “for” stems from an Old Scandinavian preposition meaning “in front of”. As gifts were given to their recipients from the front, “for” came to be associated with intended recipients. “For” can therefore also be understood as a lexicalised ablative relation between a TR and a zero-dimensional LM, exactly like “from” and “since”. That it can be complemented by a PP should therefore come as no surprise:

(11) Australia are calling it a warm-up game for before the world cup.
(British National Corpus)

(12) Chandeliers are also a wonderful option for inside the home.
(English Web Corpus 2013)

Admittedly, these examples come from spoken English. However, the fact that a language is spoken makes it no less a language, of course, and if native speakers of English deem such usage acceptable, it can be said that PPs may sometimes complement “for”.

The final preposition which Quirk et al. (1973) and Huddleston and Pullum (2008) claim can take PPs as its complements is “until” – or its

variation “till”. This preposition³ is not *ablative* but *allative*: the relation between TR and LM is not “in the direction away from LM” but “in the direction *towards* LM”. Still, a PP as the complement of “until” adds dimensionality to LMs of “until” just as it does to the LMs of “since”.

(13) The Xbox 360 event lasted until before the end of chapter 2.
(English Web Corpus 2013)

(14) We didn’t meet until after the show. (Quirk et al. 1973, 658)

The final preposition this paper is concerned with is “to”. There is a certain congruency to be observed in the relations between “from” and “to”, and “since” and “until”. Because both the pair of ablative prepositions and the pair of temporal ones can take PPs as complements, one would expect “to” to adhere to the pattern. However, grammars do not attest to that.

“To” does, in fact, differ from the rest quite significantly: the TR and LM it selects do not necessarily coincide and whenever that is the case, “to” may be substituted with “towards”, which never implies coincidence (Lindstromberg 2010). Whenever there is an unavoidable distance between two objects, they together have to be understood as at least one-dimensional and certainly not as a single point in place. The LM of “to” is therefore not always zero-dimensional, and thus, dimensionality may not always be added.

However, there are examples of “to” being complemented by a PP:

(13) And then his hand moved to under her chin.
(Lipovšek 2014b, 30–31)

(14) Pure monosilane is heated to above its decomposition temperature then cooled. (English Web Corpus 2013)

In (13) and (14), the TR does end up coinciding with the LM. Substituting every “to” with “towards” drastically alters the meaning of the examples above. It appears that if and only if the relation between TR and LM lexicalised by “to” entails eventual coincidence, “to” may be complemented by a PP.

(15) And then his hand moved to (the place) under her chin.⁴

The evidence gathered leads me to believe that it is possible for locative⁵ prepositions to be complemented by a PP where there is a dimensional nominal phrase ellipsed, whenever the LM is zero-dimensional, and where there is earlier or eventual coincidence between the TR and the LM.

4. TOWARDS APPLICABILITY: RESEARCH SURVEY RESULTS

In order to test how well the theoretical considerations of locative zero-dimensional prepositions reflect the linguistic reality of English, I have constructed a survey comprised of 45 sentences which native speakers evaluated according to how acceptable they perceived the sentences to be. They were able to choose the degree of acceptability on a scale from –3 (completely unacceptable) via 0 to 3 (completely acceptable). The survey received 33 replies in total. For a detailed analysis and the examples used, see Appendix.

There were three categories in total. The first one included sentences with all the prepositions I was testing. Because they appear in grammars as prepositions accepting complements as PPs, “from”, “since”, and “until” were tested with five sentences only. Conversely, “to” and “for” were tested with ten sentences.

The second category included five sentences containing phrasal-prepositional verbs. Since phrasal-prepositional verbs are completely acceptable in English, the analysis of the data those five sentences provided was used as the benchmark for acceptability.

The third category consisted of five sentences with completely unacceptable usages of two adjacent prepositions. Either they conveyed paradoxical situations or included more than one place value per locative relation (Zhang 1996). The results obtained from these sentences were intended to represent the benchmark for unacceptability.

4. 1. BENCHMARKS FOR ACCEPTABILITY AND UNACCEPTABILITY

Regarding the sentences with phrasal-prepositional verbs, one would expect both a high degree of agreement among respondents, as well as them by and large deeming the sentences acceptable. Fortunately, this is exactly what happened: on average, the arithmetic mean amounted to 2.40, and the standard deviation to 0.96. The median was always at 3.

With the unacceptable sentences from category 3, the picture should be a mirrored image of the one the sentences with phrasal-prepositional verbs have painted. The results were not quite as perfect here: the median was in fact always -3 or -2, but the average arithmetic mean amounted “only” to -1.81. Still, I decided to accept the value -1.81 as the benchmark of unacceptability.

The gravitation of the scores of tested sentences towards either acceptability or unacceptability is a sufficient indicator of the actual acceptability of those sentences. As such, if most sentences where a particular preposition is complemented by a PP tend to be acceptable, it is possible to conclude that it is more acceptable than not for the preposition in question to be complemented by a PP.

4. 2. RESULTS BY PREPOSITION TESTED

The results for the prepositions “from”, “since”, and “until” have proven to be less conclusive than I had hoped. This is partly due to the mistakes I had made when constructing the sentences for testing, but partly also due to unforeseen developments.

There were three sentences where “from” was complemented by a PP which the native speakers found highly acceptable (average score: 2.22; average standard deviation: 1.33). One of those which was most often deemed unacceptable contained a reduplication of a place value (“from at”). The redundancy of the preposition was too unacceptable for most

respondents and hence the low scores (average: -1) with high degrees of variation among them (standard variation: 1.97).

Drawing conclusions from the data collected for both temporal prepositions proved even more troublesome. All examples bar one tended towards either marginal acceptability or unacceptability (the absolute value of the arithmetic mean rarely exceeded 0.85) with very high standard deviations (none under 1.92, only two under 2.02). The tendencies I was still able to observe include:

- a) Complementation by a PP headed by “before” tends to be more acceptable than complementation by one headed by “after”.
- b) Complementation by a PP headed by “during” tends to be unacceptable.
- c) Complementation by a PP headed by “by” tends to be unacceptable. Such complementation is unacceptable even if the complemented preposition is “from”.

With the preposition “to”, one would expect the results to be leaning towards unacceptability, except in cases where the meaning of “to” is more clearly lative than it is orientational. In either case, the standard deviation should be high, with speakers who understand it as orientational finding the usage in the test sentences unacceptable, while those who see it as lative find the uses more or less acceptable.

The actual results were surprisingly accurate: all but two sentences were found to be either marginally acceptable or marginally unacceptable (average absolute value of the arithmetic mean was 0.60) with relatively large values of standard deviation (average: 1.92).

The results for the preposition “for” are even more stunning. I expected the results to be similar to those for “to”, perhaps leaning more towards unacceptability. However, the sentences with “for” leaning towards acceptability turned out to be on average twice as acceptable as

those with “to” (0.80 as opposed to 0.40), while there was almost no difference in the perceived unacceptability of the unacceptable sentences (–0.73 with “to” versus –0.735 with “for”). Furthermore, the unacceptability of the latter was exacerbated by a grammatical mistake of which I am guilty, and a sentence where the meaning of “for” was not “intended destination” but probably “appropriacy” (Lindstomberg, 2010, 225). See Appendix for details.

Having all these data analysed, one can observe how complementation of lative and zero-dimensional prepositions with PPs gravitates towards acceptability when the complement actually adds dimensionality to the headword. Even though this survey is way too small-scale to ever be considered conclusive, it does at least support the original thesis this paper is based on.

5. CONCLUSION

The common characteristics of the conceptual structure of prepositions which are able to be complemented by PPs remain elusive. Some PPs mysteriously do not seem to be acceptable complements, and the sample size of the survey is far too small to be conclusive. However, there is still some merit in the paper’s main thesis. For now, I can claim with certainty that there are more prepositions which can take those complements than listed in grammar books.

This possibly has useful implications for translating prepositions. See Appendix for details.

NOTES

- ¹ Because of this, the passing of time is often represented with a line.
- ² Keep in mind that "from" may also have a temporal meaning. For the sake of brevity, I will not analyse its temporal occurrences separately.
- ³ Everything stated about "until" is true for "till", as well. For the sake of brevity, only "until" is discussed here.
- ⁴ Compare sentences (15) and (13).
- ⁵ Used by Lipovšek in Lipovšek 2014b to avoid a terminological pile-up.

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APPENDIX

Survey data

Table 1. From

Sentence	Average	Standard Deviation	Median
Mother heard a noise coming from behind the door.	2.27	1.05	3
Donald got the flowers from by the lake for Donna.	-.127	1.90	-2
You're not from around here, are you?	2.45	1.23	3
Bring me the box from at the back of the warehouse, please.	-1	1.97	-2
Donald fished out an old, yellowed piece of paper from behind the wardrobe.	1.94	1.70	3

Table 2. Since

Sentence	Average	Standard Deviation	Median
Not much has changed in the pub since during my time here.	-1.33	1.95	-2
He hasn't been this happy since before you two broke up.	0.72	2.02	2
I haven't really partied since after Christmas.	-0.58	1.92	-1
I haven't seen her since between 6 PM and 9 PM yesterday.	0.21	2.33	1
Haven't you been seeing each other since after you moved to Australia?	-0.67	2.01	-1

Table 3. Until

Sentence	Average	Standard Deviation	Median
You're not going to have any pudding until after you've finished your meat!	1	2.12	1
Donna never gets nervous until before she actually has to perform.	0.42	2.08	1
Until during the holidays, I was only able to get 5 hours of sleep every night.	-0.85	2.20	-1
You have to answer me until by Tuesday.	-2.33	1.24	-3
Do not get back into the pool until after two hours have passed from your last meal!	-.036	2.13	-1

Table 4. To

Sentence	Average	Standard Deviation	Median
The administrative region stretches from the desert to behind those mountains.	1.03	1.81	2
Donna averted her eyes to above Donald's shoulder.	0.09	1.91	0
The bed can retract to under the sofa.	-0.36	2.19	-1
Grandpa's memories fled to before the war he fought in.	-0.88	1.69	-1
Donald's chair was moved to opposite Donna's.	-0.15	2.20	0
The sign has been moved to in front of the statue.	0.09	2.01	1
The teacher decided to move our lesson to outside the classroom today.	0.39	2.11	0

Table 4. To (continued)

Sentence	Average	Standard Deviation	Median
We were invited for a visit to inside the studio this time.	-1.12	1.67	-1
Donna placed the jar to below the shelf.	-1.55	1.62	-2
Donna's reign of terror stretches to over the Himalayas.	-0.33	2.01	-1

Table 5. For

Sentence	Average	Standard Deviation	Median
I made you something to snack on for after swimming.	-0.09	2.07	-1
This foundation is for under the eyes.	0.91	2.19	2
Donna brought along a banner for over the entrance to the driveway.	-0.39	1.87	-1
This polish is for inside the car.	1.39	1.73	2
This nozzle is for behind the couch and other places difficult to reach.	0.94	2.00	2
Donald has always wanted a large painting of the beach for behind the glass door.	0.58	2.16	2
There is no more floor tiles for between the bathroom and Donald's room! *	-0.88	2.09	-1
Trousers are an article of clothing for under the waistline.	0.52	2.11	1
The planes are carrying relief packages for across the border.	0.45	1.91	1

Table 5. For (continued)

Sentence	Average	Standard Deviation	Median
Donald was carrying a flask of brandy for before facing the crowd of angry protesters. **	-1.58	1.68	-2

* The sentence contains a grammatical error.

** Not "intended destination."

Table 6. Phrasal-prepositional verbs

Sentence	Average	Standard Deviation	Median
Was Donald in on this all along?	2.09	1.33	3
The company CEO goes out of his way to employ as many workers as possible.	2.18	1.31	3
Donald wanted to take Donna out on a date.	2.72	0.62	3
The French were out for revenge.	2.24	1.05	3
We're running out of ideas!	2.76	0.49	3

Table 7. Unacceptable

Sentence	Average	Standard Deviation	Median
The cat jumped to in the box.	-1.58	2.35	-3
Donna placed the painting over above the fireplace.	-2.18	1.29	-3
I come from since before computers were invented.	-1.73	1.88	-3

Table 7. Unacceptable (continued)

Sentence	Average	Standard Deviation	Median
During before your wedding, you were simply unbearable!	-1.79	1.57	-2
The Jack O'Lantern was left by under the bridge to rot. *	-1.79	1.51	-2

* The sentence contains a spelling error.

Applicability

For languages in which the compounding of prepositions and clusters of prepositions are much more common than in English, relative solidity of this paper's main thesis means good news because the mutual intelligibility with English is better when prepositions are involved. An example I can expound on is my native language, Slovene, especially spoken Slovene. See the following examples. (Taken from the Gigafida Corpus, an online corpus of Slovene. Translations are marked with "e" next to the number of the example.)

- (1) Sonce je vzšlo *izza* gora.
- (1e) The Sun rose *from behind* the mountains.

- (2) Vzemi moj nahrbtnik *izpod* postelje.
- (2e) Take my backpack *from under* the bed.

- (3) *informal* Ostalo je pa bolj *za pod* predpražnik. (Gigafida Corpus)
- (3e) The rest only really belongs *under* the doormat.

(4) Gledalci so na teren začeli metati modro-rumene blazinice *za pod* rit. (Gigafida Corpus)

(4e) Spectators started to toss the blue and yellow cushions *for under* one's buttock onto the pitch.

(5) Pojdiva in si spravi piškot *za po* večerji. (Gigafida Corpus)

(5e) Let's go now, and save the biscuit *for after* dinner.

(6) Dobra dušica Ivo pripravi tudi seveda nekaj *za pred* in nekaj *za po* golažu. (Gigafida Corpus)

(6e) Being a good fellow, Ivo naturally prepares something *for before* and *for after* goulash.

In (1), (1e) and (2), (2e), there is almost a word-for-word parallel between English and Slovene. Prepositions from the locative domain often form compounds in Slovene and when these compounds consist of two prepositions, the first of which is ablative and zero-dimensional, there are no restrictions regarding the translations of such a compound into English.

However, examples (3) and (3e) are very different from the aforementioned compounds. The most obvious difference is the number of prepositions, two in Slovene and only one in the translation. This is so because informal Slovene readily allows clusters of *za* ("for") and other prepositions.

When at work, the translator is faced with two competing options. They may choose to include the meaning of *za* in another word – in (3e), the verb "belong" has this purpose – or another approach. In (4e), (5e) and (6e), both prepositions were directly translated into English. The contribution this paper has made states that this approach works only if the first preposition is lative and zero-dimensional, which "for", in fact, is.

That is why (4e), (5e) and (6e) can be taken into account as legitimate translations of their Slovene counterparts. Of course, such an approach can be met with some reservation as it is unclear whether more formal contexts will allow it, but in all the cases above, the translator need not worry about that, as the informality of the text itself persevered the translation from one language into another

Who Needs ‘Holden Caulfield’? From Reception to Legitimation

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ABSTRACT Salinger’s *The Catcher in the Rye*, as one of the most influential and culturally relevant novels of the 20th century, has often been put behind the myth of its protagonist, who is frequently considered to be a universal symbol of the American post-war teenage era. The goal of this paper is to examine how “Holden Caulfield” was formed in regards to dominant cultural values of its matrix context, but also to dismantle this very myth because, as will be shown, its process of constitution has often excluded important factors such as the post-war identity politics or how the novel itself relates to the literary conventions of modernity, all in favor of a biased approach on the grounds of traditional moral or essentialist concepts of youth. The novel’s reception will thus be particularly emphasized in order to analyze the relationship between the Catcher and the myth of the Catcher, and to note potential discrepancies between them, which might offer a broader picture than the one painted in and through the cultural perception of Holden. Finally, the ambivalent position of the modern subject will be outlined in regard to one’s institutional and linguistic determination, which draws attention to the blurred borders between the two major cultural paradigms of the 20th century and underlines the symbolic power of the literary medium and its relation to the complexity of (post)modern cultural dynamics, as well as discursive mechanisms that take part in its establishment.

KEYWORDS *The Catcher in the Rye*, modernity, cultural studies, reception, identity politics

How and why has the red cap become a universal symbol of American teenagers in the post-WWII age might seem rather self-explanatory at first glance. It is difficult to approach Salinger's eponymous *Catcher* without having to break through discursive layers which shaped the way he has been perceived as, often plunged into categories attributed to the youth culture: hypersensibility, introversion, recklessness, rebellion. The goal of this paper is to examine not only how Holden is constructed in the very text of the novel, but also to, at least partially, expose what hides behind the myth of Holden, as well as how this myth was formed in the first place. Since the emphasis will be put on the protagonist, the novel will be viewed in light of the dominant genre tradition of the Bildungsroman, with particular attention given to the cultural state that took part in the text's creation, as well as its reception. Finally, in the crucial formative moments of the human rights movement and the democratization of society, it is important to evaluate the very idea of identity as presented in the text, a task for which Holden seems particularly suitable, seeing that he has been and still is the primary element of the novel that the critics constantly revisit when approaching *The Catcher in the Rye*.

As opposed to the typical epic hero, who is a man of age, modernity prefers another type of hero, one that is achieved by shifting the focus onto youth as a crucial formative age, as noted by Franco Moretti (1987). That is to say, modernity as a cultural paradigm finds its key values in the material sign of youth, such as its revolutionary impulses and its forward-looking attitude (Moretti 1987), as well as the fact that the very concept of youth achieves its legitimation in the capitalist system precisely because it does not last forever, i.e. in its temporal determination. Moretti thus stresses that the spirit of youth has to be tamed in a certain way before it becomes dangerous to the system which produces it as its own representation. That is to say, it has to be symbolically and metaphysically defined. This explains how the Bildungsroman became the dominant symbolic form of modernity – it narrates a portion of a young person's life, which ends in the moment in which mature life begins, and in this way youth is sealed as a mere phase of development.

This model of the Bildungsroman corresponds to what Moretti (1987) refers to as the principle of classification – led by a “teleological rhetoric” and formulaic endings that retroactively make sense of the rest of the text – as opposed to the principle of transformation, wherein the emphasis is on the narration itself, without particular privilege given to the ending, which remains open and seemingly even abrupt. In these examples “youth does not want to give way to maturity” (Moretti 1987, 8), since a formulaic conclusion would deprive youth of its significance. The two principles represent two contrary attitudes towards modernity: one of them caged by the principle of classification and the other “exasperated and made hypnotic by” (Moretti 1987, 8) the principle of transformation. They both, however, show that the very ideology of modernity cannot be thought of as monolithic and normative, since it encompasses various and numerous attempts at portraying the dynamics of the two determining principles for the subject of the modern age – the individual and the collective, socialization and self-actualization, deviation and normality.

The position of Holden Caulfield, that of a young man on the border between the two poles, seems thus rather symptomatic of the novel’s matrix cultural context. At the very beginning of 1945, the New York Times published *A Teen-Age Bill of Rights*, a “ten point charter framed to meet the problems of growing youth” (Savage 2007, 455) which symbolically ratified the Teen-Age, with the youth movement increasingly interrelating with the Jewish, African-Americans and immigrants’ rights movement (Savage 2007), seeing that all of them based their propositions on the democratic principles of the US constitution to which the aforementioned Bill of Rights implicitly points. It should also be taken into account that the very manner of rewriting a legal document through the prism of the teenager as an “American invention” (Savage 2007, 462) shows the moment of the breakthrough of popular culture into all pores of society. This opens up another important issue, namely, the fact that in the capitalist system, the teenager is reduced to an “adolescent consumer,” which becomes his primary determinant in the view of the dominant culture and shows why the very concept of the teenage cannot be separated from all of the constitutive elements of modernity, thereby further affirming Holden’s borderline position.

After taking into account the contextual and genre determinants of the novel, it remains unclear why Holden is seen as a typical rebellious oversensitive teenager. In order to understand this more precisely, it is important to examine the critical reception of the novel, because it played an important role in constructing the myth of Holden Caulfield, very often on the basis of superficial readings and provisional moralism. Gwynn and Blotner, two scholars who dealt with the novel not long after its publication, find that the most important thing in the novel is the fact that Holden “never does a wrong thing,” i.e. he is a “saintly Christian figure” who does not break any Commandments (1970, 29). They also find it crucial to emphasize Holden’s similarity to Jesus Christ, backing up their claim by noting that he “is kind to the repulsive Ackley” and “sympathizes with the ugly daughter of Pencey’s headmaster” (Gwynn and Blotner 1970, 30). Another critic, Warren French, makes a claim that the novel is fundamentally an account of a physical and psychological “breakdown of a sixteen-year-old boy” (1960, 108), and a particular emphasis is given to his physical attributes, i.e. the fact that the protagonist is “skinny” (French 1960, 108) and is going through “the most physically difficult period of adolescence when only the most sympathetic care can enable the body to cope with the changes it is undergoing” (French 1960, 110).

From these examples, it can be seen that the authors’ interpretations are taken from instances in which the protagonist does not note the motivation behind his acts. This is not to say that Holden is amoral or evil, but rather that nowhere in the text of the novel does he offer any kind of an ethical maxim, nor does he express a wish or tendency to do what is morally *right*. In this reading, the Catcher seems to be placed on a moral high ground without admitting his moral superiority, implicitly suggesting that his youth is the reason for this. Although Warren French seems to replace traditional moralism with somatic determinism, the structure is shared with that of Gwynn and Blotner (1970) – by focusing on the work from a radically mimetic point of view, the critics ended up reading certain dominant categories into the novel, rather than reading out of its world, thereby ignoring important stylistic properties of the text and reduced Holden to a hypersensitive typical adolescent, as Carol and Richard Ohmann (1976) note in their analysis of the novel’s initial reception.

As can be seen, the majority of the initial reviews and analyses were based on normative definitions of adolescence, which led to interpretations based on imposed categories such as hypersensitivity and normality, and the novel got reduced to an array of clichés such as “miseries and ecstasies of an adolescent rebel” and “reality that almost breaks Holden’s heart” (Ohmann and Ohmann 1976, 20–21), while Holden himself became a symbol of an essentialist concept of adolescence, its problems timeless and unchangeable, perhaps a little more normal or a little more deviant, but in all cases presupposing a metaphysically determinant definition of youth in relation to which any young person could be proclaimed as a deviant, and its symbolic power suppressed so that it does not become a threat to the dominant culture.

To see how youth in the text is actually represented, one should examine the novel’s formal aspects, and the first one I will discuss is the language of the text. The dialect of the narrator is formed by combining a typical teenage speech of the time with particular phrases such as “I really did”, “or something”, “if you want to know the truth,” which are in a way claimed through their repetition and through this combination Holden creates his own idiolect which mimics spoken language (Graham 2007). Swear words are the second most common phrases in Holden’s speech, and this is so because they have no fixed meaning and are contextually determined (Graham 2007, 43), which exposes the fact that the language points to a shifting reality which cannot be clearly semantically locked. Holden’s main reference therefore shifts to the reader, whose privileged position is underlined by the fact that they are never addressed with expletives (Graham 2007). I will return to the relationship between Holden and the reader later on, but first I’d like to define Holden’s position in the text in greater detail and this is where contemporary theory could assist this reading, not by offering political boxes into which we could place Holden, but rather by offering a plurality of critical views which had some of its crucial moments of articulation precisely as part of the cultural processes of the novel’s matrix cultural context.

Pia Livia Hekanaho (2007) offers one such interpretation, examining Holden from the queer theory point of view. That is not to say that Holden

could be defined as homo- or heterosexual, but to note that he assumes a paradoxical position of someone who oscillates between heteronormative cultural patterns and a fascination with “images of difference or deviancy” (Hekanaho 2007, 92), which can be noticed, for example, in the voyeuristic scene in the ninth chapter in which he sits next to a hotel window and secretly observes a male transvestite dressing up, as well as the kinky sexual games of a straight couple and saying, “You should’ve seen them” (Salinger 1951, 61–62). It is also worth mentioning that Holden, for some reason, does not engage in a sexual act with Sunny in the thirteenth chapter and this is where the narrative gets unusual – after Sunny’s exit, Holden claims he felt “depressed,” first speaking to his departed brother, and then contemplating religion and God, without verbally confronting what had just happened (Salinger 1951, 98–100). This is not the only instance of a digression appearing instead of an explanation, and Clive Baldwin (2007) claims that these mechanisms show the ambivalence towards the expectations that the society sets on men, since the digressive approach is culturally viewed as a more “feminine” principle of explication. This makes the episode with Sunny even more ambivalent – it is unclear whether it is to be interpreted as the aforementioned repressed homosexual desire, an inability to “establish an emotional connection” or shock which comes from facing a female body as an object of economic transaction (Baldwin 2007, 114). In any case, Holden’s claim that he does not “understand” sex and constantly breaks the “rules” he makes for himself (Salinger 1951, 62–63) certainly shows as valid on the level of the narrative, since his sometimes misogynistic responses to women (Baldwin 2007) appear parallel to the moments of identification with female characters, which again implies that there is no fixed point on which he could build their identity.

Masculinity in *The Catcher* is also dealt with by Sally Robinson, who introduces the notion of class into the analysis. The American tradition of masculinity based on “competitive individualism” was disrupted by the gender equality movement (Robinson 2007, 76) and took place at the same time as the homogenization of individuals according to their identity, so that classification could help establish a market for a specific social group. The segmentation of the market according to the categories of identity

certainly led to its commodification (Robinson 2007), whereby it becomes a mere discursive product which offers the subject nothing more than an unstable category. As seen in the above examples, Holden cannot constitute his subjectivity inside the framework of the dominant cultural practices and it is unclear whether he mourns the traditional ideas of masculinity or finds masculinity as such repulsive. It is clear, however, that he cannot find himself in the dominant cultural image of a typical man, which also points to the presence and persistence of not only gender trouble, but trouble with all other components of identity.

The notion of race is another element that requires examination because, as will be shown, it undermines the presupposed universality of Holden's character. Racial identity cannot be reduced to not having the dominant skin color, but also includes the dominant white identity and this makes it more difficult to recognize it as a race because it constitutes a tacit norm (Curry 2007). By labeling Holden a universal example of the American teenager, one ignores the fact that he is discursively formed as an upper middle class white adolescent and thus his experience cannot be compared to the experience of the ethnically marked characters of the text. That is to say, Holden is not white because of his skin color, but because he consciously or unconsciously takes up the propositions, patterns and practices of the culture he is subjected to. This can be seen in his exoticistic thoughts on "colored singer Estelle Fletcher" (Salinger 1951, 113) and, even though he may not be aware of whiteness as a specific determinant of his worldview, his social status, defined by his choice of the means of transport, his ability to make a hotel reservation and, more generally speaking, his management of a certain amount of both material and cultural capital, certainly points out to a position of privilege. At one point he claims to hate when someone has a cheap suitcase, but then he almost apologetically says that he knows that it's "not important" and that "it sounds awful when he says it" (Salinger 1951, 108). As can be seen, his self-perception is chaotic, to say the least – in each component of an identity, his position remains ambivalent and shifting. He acts differently to his claims, he is not completely subsumed in any category which forms his way of thinking, and at the same time he does not know what to think because all discursive forms he is given do not represent him properly, he cannot find anything not susceptible to the play of meaning, nothing static and unchangeable like the museum he is so

fascinated with (Salinger 1951). His obsession with stasis was caused by Allie's death, and this *event*¹ has a particularly important place in the novel because we get to know about it only through introspection – and in this way, it escapes the reader in its singularity and inability to be represented as a particular correspondent textual token. The event of Allie's death thus becomes symbolically dispersed into the motifs such as the baseball glove, the red cap or the broken windows – these symbols do not completely correspond to the event, but they are reminiscent of it, they try to establish a relationship with it. This is why Holden is so fascinated by the static space of the museum, and also by another space – that of the Central Park Lake – in the episode when he asks where ducks go in winter (Salinger 1951). This simple question seems even more important when we draw connections to Allie's death – it represents hope that the pattern of the way all events occur might be deciphered, and then predicted, and possibly even prevented. The ducks that come and go signalize a stable rhythm of the nature in opposition to the chaotic unpredictability of Holden's discursive existence.

The position of the subject on the edge between self-actualization and socialization is emphasized both at the beginning and the end of the novel, because it is discursively encircled by apostrophe, i.e. the role of the reader is crucial here. In the novel's opening sentence², Holden *sentences* the reader to the role of his discursive companion. In some instances, this connection is just a lateral consequence of the slang used, but in other cases, it could be interpreted as an attempt at establishing a relationship or identifying with the reader. When taking into account the aforementioned identity issues in the novel, it is interesting that Holden ends his account with an ascertainment and almost a warning: "Don't ever tell anybody anything. If you do, you start missing everybody" (Salinger 1951, 214). Paradoxically enough, it is precisely with the act of *telling* that Holden tries to engage in a relationship with the reader – the story is what opens the communication channel between the two. Holden's conclusion almost implies the inability to achieve true socialization, because no matter what he goes through and shares with anyone through the text, he will lose them at a certain point, which should not be seen as a metaphysical claim, but rather a consequence of the nature of language as such.

This is why the heavily emphasized transformation principle in *The Catcher in the Rye* corresponds to another face of modernity. In this light, Holden may not be a universal symbol of a teenager, but he holds in himself a paradoxical universalism of the modern subject – he tries to make sense of his reality with what he is given, with his own singular experience, all the time taking part in cultural processes and thereby engaging in the mutual process of change with his context. In order for his voice to be heard, Holden does not seek legitimacy (nor does he find it) in the space of the political, the judicial or the educational, but he chooses the democratic world of literature, in which there is no other demand than the story itself and in which every story is equally (de)legitimized because of the very nature of language as its shaping medium. Only in this world can his youth find a way to voice its singularity and in this way offer a story that transcends particular categories which tried to tame its constant deferral, and thus Holden is enabled to remain forever young, not because of a presupposed essence of youth, but because of the way his youth is structured in the institution that conveys all of its claims.

NOTES

- ¹ "Event" used in this text implies a singular product of external forces which is not susceptible to symbolization (see Derrida 1988, 17–19).
- ² "If *you* really want to hear about it, the first thing *you'll* probably want to know is where *I* was born, and what *my* lousy childhood was like, and how *my* parents were occupied and all before they had *me* [...]" (Salinger 1951, 1; emphasis added).

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