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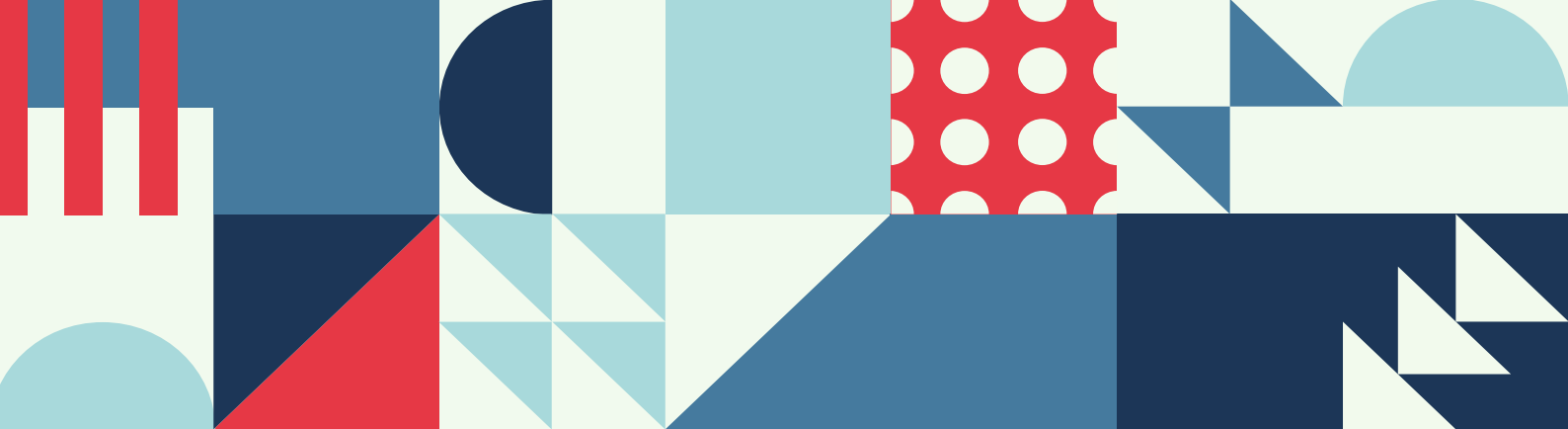
# — Foreword

Dear readers,

We present to you this year's topical issue of Patchwork, brought to fruition through Patchwork's collaboration with the English Student Club X.a. The issue's title is "New Frontiers"—a title which hopefully denotes a current necessity in the humanities to explore new ideas, to develop and implement new frameworks, and to reach new horizons. The following papers, we believe, are indicative of precisely the kind of interdisciplinarity that we welcome and hope will become the norm in English Studies, but also in the humanities in general. Consider, for example, Barbara Bočkaj's excellent reading of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* through the lens of psychology and trauma studies, or Patricia Díaz Muñoz's discourse analysis of the television series *How I Met Your Mother*. In all the papers, the contemporariness of the presented arguments, analyses and conclusions is what is important the most, and as such, we are proud to publish them and to make them available to the wider public. Moreover, the papers' diversity in terms of the content they present is in itself a reflection of the variety of possible avenues of research that English Studies provide, which we deem fruitful and encouraging.

We, the Guest Editors of this topical issue, are in the first place grateful to the main Editorial Team of Patchwork for their assistance every step of the way. We also thank the English Department at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb, the department from which this journal and Club X.a. operate, for their guidance. Finally, we wholeheartedly thank the Advisory Board of this issue, all of whom were kind enough to lend us some of their time and offer valuable comments on the papers hereby published. We hope you will enjoy reading them as much as we have, and that they will be of use to you in your own future research.

The Guest Editors



01

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**Anisa  
Begović**

**Integrated Language Teaching**

## PROFESSIONAL PAPER

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# Integrated Language Teaching

The aim of this paper is to investigate the needs and competences of students in terms of language skills in the context of teaching English to foreigners as well as the roles of teachers who take part in the teaching process.

Integrated language teaching is a term used to refer to teaching a foreign language through a content-based subject. That way language is integrated into the natural context and taught through real life situations in order to motivate students to acquire language for the sake of communication. Therefore, integrated language teaching gives preference to natural language acquisition rather than forced language learning (Brown 224-6).

This paper will discuss the nature of language in general, its function and purpose in real life, the constituent parts of language, and various language teaching methods. It will also analyse the approaches and attitudes that both teachers and students should be able and willing to assume, as well as the steps that they should take before and during the teaching and learning process. Additionally, I will inquire into the constructivism theory as a teaching and learning approach as well as examine the 5E model, a linear model based on the constructivist approach, which can be very helpful in acquiring new knowledge or understanding more deeply the already existing one.

### KEYWORDS

**integrated language teaching, 5E model, constructivism theory, teacher roles, student learning approaches**

## INTRODUCTION

The concept of the "teacher" has changed according to the needs and environmental factors of our age. Nowadays, the teacher cannot be defined as a person who only possesses certain knowledge and transfers it to others, as it was the case in the past. Today, when sources of information are not limited to teachers and the individual has extremely quick access to information, the teacher has assumed the roles of "leader", "source of inspiration" and "person who teaches learning".

In light of the findings of psychology, sociology and educational sciences, the concept of a student has also changed. Students are no longer passive recipients of knowledge and no one can teach a person who does not want to learn. A student who does not take responsibility for the learning process cannot be expected to learn anything, and the miracle of teaching such a student cannot be realized by the teacher (Brown 218-22). In this case, it is highly important that the teacher is aware of the role change. The teacher should be a guide that will help the student gain independence and become motivated to enter the learning process and for taking responsibility for it (Driscoll 23-6).

There have been radical changes in the theory of language teaching. Language is a communication tool. In real life, people do not use language with the purpose of using language elements (such as grammar, phonetics, vocabulary, etc.). The purpose of using language is achieving communication, be that verbally or in written form (Brown 329-42). Therefore, language should be taught as a skill-based tool of communication.

## WHAT ARE THE AIMS OF LANGUAGE LEARNING?

All definitions left aside, language is essentially a communication tool. The aims of language use can be summarized as follows: expressing feelings, needs, wishes and desires;

- expressing thoughts, ideas, and opinions;
- searching for, accessing, and sharing (receiving and giving) information;
- influencing others, inducing a change in attitudes, using others (for business);
- socializing with our surroundings and maintaining our social self (Brown 226-7).

Linguistic competence covers four basic skills: listening and speaking (natural skills), and reading and writing (skills acquired by teaching). In order to use these skills successfully, the individual needs some information on the language system and its internal rules. On the other hand, language is also a living organism: its rules will change over time and it will be put to different uses by its users.

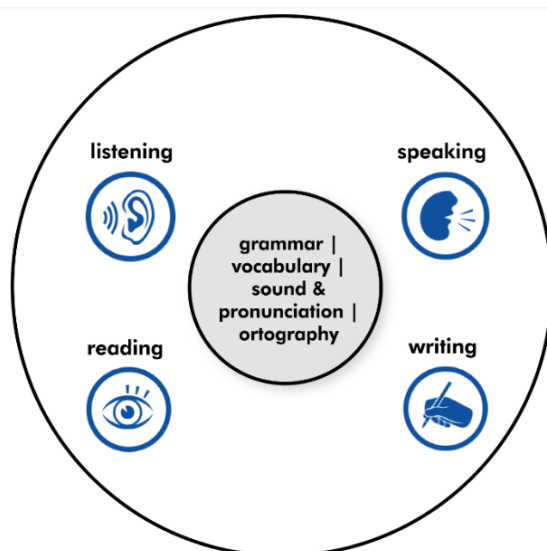


Figure 1: Basic language skills and sub-skills (core) that serve the use of basic skills.

As shown in Figure 1, the language functions as a whole. Basic language skills and sub-skills serve the purpose of communication only when they act together. They do not mean anything standing on their own. Furthermore, the core cannot avoid being shaped by its users while serving the use of language skills. For example, a word which has a positive meaning in a dictionary can assume an extremely negative meaning due to a user's change of tone. This shows that language cannot be isolated from the context in which it is used. The type of users, the nature of the relationship between them, the topic, place, environment, time, and purpose of communication can change the meaning of the message completely. In addition, the essential aspects of language such as body language, intonation and emphasis, as well as eye contact, have a significant role in the meaning and the purpose of the message (Jordan et al. 195).

Therefore, attempting to teach only the core of a language (sub-skills) as a single subject is impossible. Teaching someone vocabulary or orthography without covering the four basic skills is absolutely unimaginable. Language is not a single field of studies such as



mathematics or science. Language has no subject. Language is present everywhere and in everything. Considering the fact that language does not have limited content, language teaching is not something that can be accomplished solely by the transfer of knowledge (Jordan et al. 199-201). The approaches that are used to teach language by means of separation or isolation focus mostly on grammar (Oxford). In such approaches, the teacher illustrates a grammar subject with examples which are followed by numerous mechanical activities. In this type of activities, meaning and context are insignificant, i.e. only structural accuracy is important. The aim of these approaches is to serve grammar to students in small bites. The idea is that a student who memorizes grammar rules uses the language by applying these rules when necessary. Unfortunately, this is not the case in actual practice. The result is a frustrated individual who "knows the language but cannot use it" (Oxford).

Moreover, due to the nature of language, grammar explanations tend to be extremely long and complex. These explanations can trick the teacher into relaxing by thinking that they have managed to provide a summary of the grammatical rules, but in effect, this serves no purpose. Instead, it creates despair, confusion and weariness in a student (Echevarria et al. 139-40). Grammar is too abstract and complex to be simplified, and students can only learn the language when the meaning and context come into play.

According to the constructivism theory, learning arises out of thinking and comprehension. These activities encourage students to explore and make inventions using their own minds (Brown 353-60). Learning can begin after understanding is achieved, as something that is understood thoroughly is no longer part of memory but of the knowledge base. In addition, the student can easily acquire what they discover or find by themselves.

All individuals are active creators of their own knowledge. In order to learn something, one needs to be curious, to ask, investigate and evaluate. A person should learn for their own sakes and not because someone else wants that. All individuals should have their own ways and methods of learning and should not learn according to the exact instructions of someone else (Driscoll 17-21).

A teacher is not an artist or an art master, and students are not raw material for the teacher to shape according to their liking. However, a teacher who displays appropriate teacher behaviour can help their students in this challenging process. According to Echevarria and Vogt, correct teacher behaviours can be summarized as follows (121-8):

- listening to students, empathizing with them, and addressing their interests and needs;
- working in harmony with the students, having a collaborative and supportive role;
- creating a climate of respect and trust in the learning environment;
- making lessons interesting and enjoyable;
- creating intriguing activities suitable for students and allowing them to demonstrate their skills and talents by using challenging but achievable activities;
- evoking in students the feeling that they can achieve anything if they work hard enough;
- promoting the idea that exams are also learning tools instead of using them as a threat and an ultimate goal;
- doing their job with respect and enthusiasm.

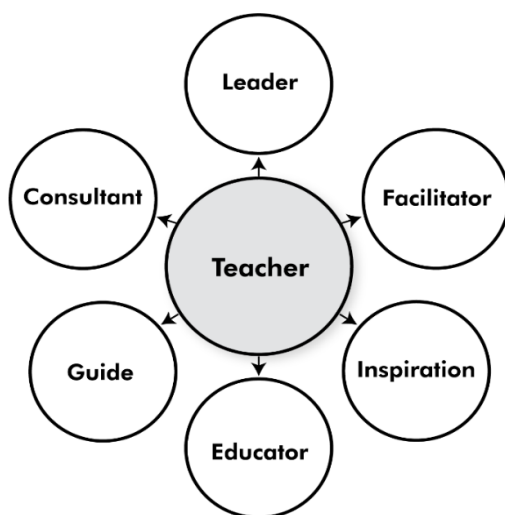


Figure 2: Teacher's roles

## INTEGRATED LANGUAGE TEACHING AND THE 5E MODEL

The essence of integrated language teaching is teaching the main and sub-skills of language as a whole. This approach covers communication-based and skill-based teaching methods. The meaning and the context are the most important elements. This is widely accepted by the constructivism theory (Jordan et al. 189-190).

Language learning is not product-oriented but process-oriented. Language learning is inherently a long and slow process. The teacher's efforts to accelerate this process and disrupt the natural language learning process create more harm than good.

Since the student's readiness to learn is extremely important, the first step is preparation – emotional, cognitive and linguistic (Oxford). Before starting to learn new content, it is necessary for each student to revise what is already present in the knowledge base (both general knowledge and experience, as well as linguistic competence) as new knowledge will be based on the existing foundation.

The 5E instructional model was designed and developed in order to promote the process of the constructivist approach in education. Its purpose is to interconnect the activities envisaged for a particular unit and to record the progress of foreign language learners during the learning process. According to Ballone Duran et al., the steps of the 5E model can be applied in language teaching as follows (51-57):

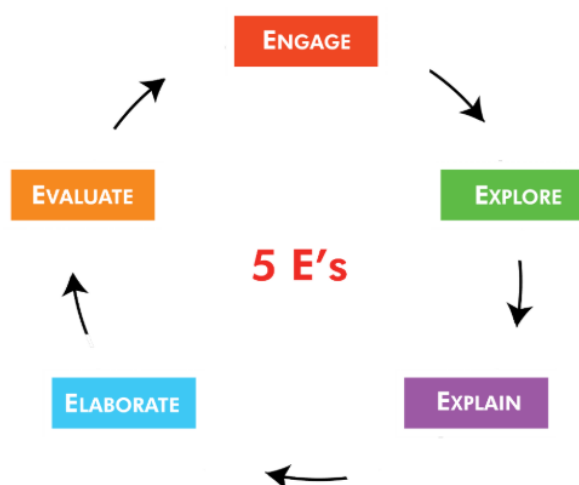


Figure 3: The steps of 5E model

Below are explained five stages of the 5E model along with examples of how this model can be applied through the subject of family and family relations by using previously taught language skills:

**1) Engage:** At this stage, pre-activities are carried out to attract students' attention and to help them recall the already existing knowledge in the knowledge base. The aim is to prepare students from the linguistic, cognitive and emotional aspect so that they can acquire new content and understand the existing one. Some of these activities include brainstorming, talking about images, sharing personal experiences and views, etc.

**Example:** See the pictures in front of you. Answer the questions.

Who are the persons in the picture?

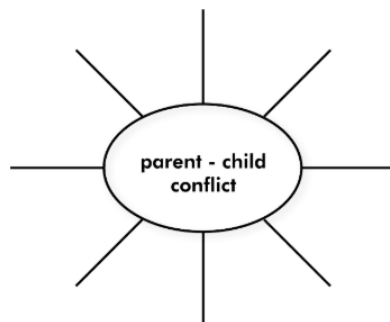
What is the relationship between them?

How do they feel? What makes you think so?

Why are they in this situation? Take a guess.

**2) Explore:** At this stage, the students work on a text or activity which is purely meaning- and context-oriented. Text-oriented activities are also used in this step, including activities such as finding the main idea by skimming through a text or listening, selecting an appropriate title for the text, skimming or listening to find the specific details, etc.

**Example:** Read the following text. Write down things that may cause the parent-child conflict mentioned in the text.



**3) Elicit or explain:** At this stage, students concentrate on a particular structure in the text or activity that enables the creation of meaning and context. They find out how the structure, which is being focused on with the help of the teacher's questions, gains meaning in the context. Some of the activities that can be used in this step are guessing the meaning of a word from the context or extracting certain syntactic structure from the text and understanding its contribution to the comprehension of the text.

**Example:** Look at the sentences from the text and answer the questions:

**Parents try to change that behavior which they find unacceptable and they do it by using physical or psychological strength.**

1. Who is the subject in the above sentence?
2. Is this subject general?
3. Which word(s) is/are displaying action?
4. What is the function of this sentence?
  - a) creating characters to tell the story
  - b) talking about an observed common attitude

- c) dreaming and creating imaginary heroes
- d) putting forward a different opinion and arguing

**4) Elaborate/expand:** At this stage, students try to use the language element on which they worked or focused in new (but similar) contexts. Any further activities must fit the context on which the student has worked so far and should create the opportunity for the student to use their knowledge.

**Example:** Answer the following questions.

Do you have these types of problems at home?

What is the most common problem?

How do you feel when there is a conflict going on?

How do you solve the problem?

Have you tried the solutions mentioned in the text? Did it work?

Do you have a suggestion for the solution? If yes, what is it?

**5) Evaluate:** The assessment is continuous and it is used for diagnostic purposes. It helps both the teacher and the student understand whether comprehension and learning actually take place in the student's learning process. The teacher can track the students' progress either through observation or by using assessment tools and can offer assistance when necessary.

**Example:** If the teacher fails to get an answer to a question, they should redirect it by saying "Read the first paragraph of the text again. Who is mentioned there?", or bring some additional activities to students, etc.

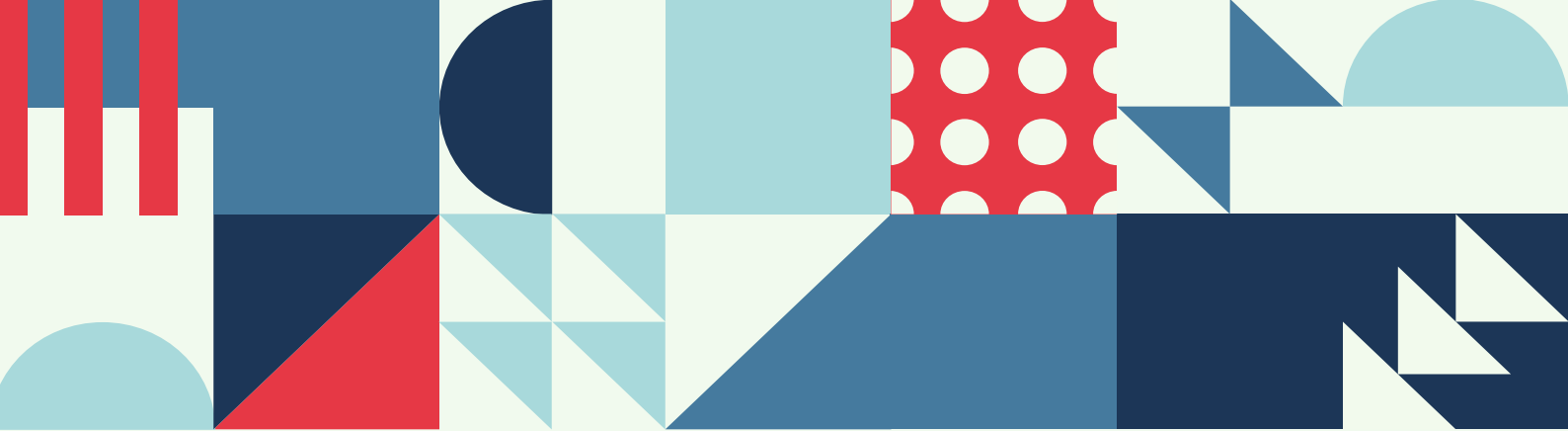
Consequently, as shown in the examples above, the use of the 5E instructional model can help teachers design the lesson plan in order to make the classroom instructions more consistent, coherent and comprehensive. Also, the five cognitive stages of this model enable students to respond accordingly and solve the problem they are assigned, to interact and cooperate with their peers and to recognize their own competences.

## CONCLUSION

Language as a communication tool can only be taught as a whole, for communication and skill-based purposes. Any of the opposite approaches cannot quite produce the desired outcome. The constructivist approach advocates that knowledge is created only by individuals and focuses on learning by doing. One of the fundamental principles of integrated language teaching is the active engagement of students in a content-based subject through the use of a target language. The integrated language teaching approach and the 5E model have largely contributed to the teaching of English as a foreign language. Having such teaching and learning resources enables teachers to concentrate on their leadership and guiding roles, which in turn enables students to enter the learning process with consciousness and responsibility and realize that they cannot learn anything without their own engagement and activity.

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02

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**Barbara  
Bočkaj**

**‘Full of scorpions is my mind’:  
Trauma in *Macbeth***



## PROFESSIONAL PAPER

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# 'Full of scorpions is my mind': Trauma in *Macbeth*

One of Shakespeare's 'great four', *Macbeth* deals intensely with the notion of sovereignty. The titular character, a soldier turned tyrant, is most often discussed in terms of his bloodthirst and dependency on the supernatural. Looking to predictions and apparitions for stability, he gradually divests himself of agency. However, not all of the apparitions are the result of supernatural forces, but could rather be viewed as a direct consequence of his role as a soldier.

The paper first establishes Macbeth as a PTSD sufferer and looks at the effects combat trauma has on him. It then moves on to recast that experience using the Lacanian notion of trauma, by looking at combat trauma as the intrusion of the pre-symbolic real, continuing with an exploration of the fantasy employed to bridge the gap between the real and the symbolic. Finally, by referring to instances of ambiguity, the paper turns to post-symbolic trauma, pointing to the different ways in which the stability of the social structure is compromised.

By using combat trauma in conjunction with Lacanian trauma theory, this paper aims to present a basis for reading *Macbeth* as a trauma narrative, and ultimately (to) pose questions about further research into the perception of veterans and PTSD in Elizabethan drama.

### KEYWORDS

**combat trauma, PTSD, pre-symbolic real, post-symbolic real**

## INTRODUCTION

The banquet scene in Shakespeare's *Macbeth* could be read as the episode in which Macbeth begins his descent into madness. But his hallucination of Banquo and the reaction it elicits raise questions about both its nature and underlying cause. To reassure the thanes, Lady Macbeth says her husband is 'often thus, / And hath been from his youth' and that '[t]he fit is momentary' (Shakespeare 3.4.53-5). Later in the scene he himself testifies to suffering from a 'strange infirmity, which is nothing / To those that know [him]' (3.4.87-8), and Lady Macbeth again urges those present to '[t]hink on this ... / But as a thing of custom' (3.4.98). This is easily interpreted as an attempt at damage limitation, but it could also be understood as an explicit reference to his suffering from PTSD. PTSD, or post-traumatic stress disorder, is defined as 'a condition ... result[ing] from experiencing (or witnessing) life-threatening events that extend beyond one's coping capacity' (Paulson and Krippner 1), and includes symptoms such as flashbacks, hypervigilance, feelings of anxiety, guilt, and worthlessness (15). It can also lead to virtually complete alienation (15) and experiencing vivid nightmares and night terrors, which include episodes of sleepwalking (127). It is a phenomenon that has been known since classical antiquity (Hunt and Robins 57), with recognisable symptoms and a mechanism which remains unchanged.

The aim of this essay is to look at the textual evidence that points to Macbeth suffering from the effects of combat trauma, and to see how this idea can be expanded upon by using concepts central to Lacanian trauma theory to present a basis for reading *Macbeth* as a trauma narrative. The first section of this essay establishes Macbeth as a PTSD sufferer, while the second and third sections draw parallels between aspects of the play and some notions of Lacanian trauma. In the second section, combat trauma is presented as an intrusion of the pre-symbolic real, while the last section looks at the interaction of the traumatised subject and the symbolic system.

## A STRANGE INFIRMITY

On a purely biochemical level, 'PTSD is the result of hyperarousal, which destabilizes the amygdala and autonomic nervous system, resulting in exaggerated anxiety, inhibitions, and agitation' (6). Other than the amygdala, which is the 'region of the brain that detects threat and controls defensive responses' (Southwick et al. 29), another area of the brain integral for understanding the effects of PTSD is the prefrontal cortex, which 'regulates behavior, thought, and affect' and 'plays an important

role in planning, guiding, and organizing behavior' (31). Put differently, when in a situation of uncontrollable stress, the amygdala induces the production of hormones which allow it to function at an optimal level, while at the same time inhibiting the prefrontal cortex (33). In other words, when in potentially life-threatening situations, the body dispenses with rationalising and analysing, and simply does instinctively what it needs to in order to survive. An extreme example of this happening to Macbeth is the episode reported by the bloodied Captain in 1.2.:

For brave Macbeth – well he deserves that name –  
Disdaining Fortune, with his brandished steel  
Which smoked with bloody execution,  
Like Valour's minion carved out his passage  
Till he faced the slave –  
Which ne'er shook hands nor bade farewell to him,  
Till he unseamed him from the nave to th' chops,  
And fixed his head upon our battlements. (Shakespeare 1.2.16-23)

This happens after new forces join Macdonald, possibly creating a feeling of being trapped. The reported event is clearly an episode of berserking. In the chapter dedicated to this phenomenon in his *Achilles in Vietnam: Combat Trauma and the Undoing of Character*, Jonathan Shay enumerates the triggers for this state, and alongside witnessing the death of a friend-in-arms, seeing bodies mutilated by the enemy, and being wounded, being surrounded or overrun features on the list. When berserking, a soldier is completely disconnected from their surroundings, killing indiscriminately, completely inattentive to their safety, devoid of fear and insensible to pain, or – in a word – frenzied. They might also see themselves, retrospectively of course, as godlike or beastlike. The situation the soldier is in gets narrowed down to a single aim, which is to cause as much destruction as possible. And that is precisely what Macbeth does when he '[l]ike Valour's minion carvel[s] out his passage' to face Macdonald. Berger cites one of the meanings of the word 'minion' as 'a piece of light artillery' (H. Berger 11), which would imply a certain dose of imprecision or haphazardness. Along with 'carving out a passage,' the phrase indicates a forceful charge through the crowd, irrespective of their affiliation. 'Disdaining Fortune', i.e. recklessly and without caring about any possible consequences, he charges through the battlefield until he meets Macdonald, does not honour military courtesy rituals (Shakespeare 97n21), and only stops after eviscerating and decapitating his opponent. His detachment and frenzy are commented on later by Ross when he references the fact that Macbeth was 'In[nothing] afeard of what [he himself did] make / Strange images of death' (1.3.95-6). And yet, it is precisely these 'strange images of death' that come back to haunt Macbeth again and again.

Apart from being responsible for automatic reactions to stress, the amygdala also plays a significant role in 'encoding and consolidation of memory for events and stimuli that are arousing, stressful, or fear-provoking' (Southwick et al. 29). An important thing to note here is that the details perceived as the most dangerous are recalled more vividly, while the rest of the scene is 'less effectively bound together', resulting in a fragmentation of the event and effectively incomplete memory (Brewin 135). What is behind traumatic memories is the purely evolutionary mechanism that is supposed to increase one's chances of survival should one find oneself in a similar life-threatening situation (Hunt and Robbins 60). For that reason, the memories must be easily and quickly accessible and contain all the necessary details. The implication is that encoding the memories into verbal memory will slow down the retrieval considerably, which is why they are encoded into what is called implicit memory (Hunt and Robbins 59) or the situationally accessible memory system, i.e. SAM (Brewin 140). Therefore, a situation reminiscent of the original traumatic event, i.e. containing 'trauma cues', (135) triggers the activation of information stored in the SAM system, which includes not only images, but also sounds and the person's physical reaction to the traumatic event, such as their heart rate, changes in body temperature, and pain (140), effectively making them re-live it. It is no wonder then that Macbeth is so preoccupied with this particular symptom. The first example of it is his aside in 1.3., where he attempts to understand the nature of the Sisters' prophecy, and says that 'I present fears / Are less than horrible imaginings' (Shakespeare 1.3.136-7), juxtaposing the moment and action with time extended and thought (primarily visual – *imaginings*). The next notable instance are the following lines in his first soliloquy:

if the assassination  
Could trammel up the consequence, and catch  
With his surcease, success, that but this blow  
Might be the be-all and end-all – here ...

But in these cases  
We still have judgement here, that we but teach  
Bloody instructions, which being taught, return  
To plague th'inventor. This even-handed justice  
Commends th'ingredients of our poisoned chalice  
To our own lips. (1.7.2-13)

Naturally, he is referring to the inevitable revenge that would follow should the king be murdered. However, given the wider context of the play, i.e. the prominence of the military aspect along with the killings that take place, the lines quoted above could well be understood as his reference

to PTSD. If there was nothing more to it than the single fatal hit, if the act of assassination could contain all effects in the here and now, he would 'jump the life to come' (1.7.7). However, he is conscious of the fact that judgement, the leveller, would use the 'bloody instructions' to 'plague' him. It should be noted that the verb 'to trammel up' implies hunting (Shakespeare 117n3). In the chapter on hunting in *Hamlet and the Vision of Darkness*, Lewis mentions Catherine Bates' analysis of 'hunting scenes in sixteenth-century literature as a sight [of] competing claims of masculine potency' (44). In light of this, it could be claimed that the ability to deal with PTSD symptoms is an indication of masculinity, and, consequently, that an inability to handle trauma could be understood as signs of effeminacy.

If the chalice that is poisoned is taken to imply the 'cup used in the communion service' (Shakespeare 118n11), the lines quoted above point to yet another symptom – isolation. The bloody instructions turn into the poisonous content of the chalice in a perversion of transubstantiation, not only plaguing him physically, but also excluding him socially. The use of spiritual imagery could here be interpreted as emphasizing the importance that community, i.e. emotional support, has for trauma sufferers. An instance proving the significance social relationships have for him is Lady Macbeth's fretting about his 'nature / [which] is too full o'th' milk of human kindness' (1.5.15-6). With milk interpreted as a source of nourishment (H. Berger 26), and kindness evoking kin and kind besides warm-heartedness, the phrase could be unpacked to mean that Macbeth puts great stock in personal relationships. Another case in point is his saying that he would 'Inlot cast aside so soon' the golden opinions he bought 'from all sorts of people' (Shakespeare 1.7.32-5), implying that praise and acceptance play a significant role in his life.

There are a couple of examples of Macbeth's apartness. The first one is in 1.3., when he launches into a series of asides after hearing he has been made Thane of Cawdor. Whether the asides are understood as an internal monologue verbalised for the audience's sake or his speaking to himself, they testify to his tendency to get lost in thought and distance himself from those around him. The same thing happens immediately after Duncan's murder in 2.2, where Macbeth seems stuck on understanding his paralysis in the episode with Duncan's chamberlains, completely disregarding his wife's comments. An example of physical isolation is his 'keeping [himself] till supper-time alone' in 3.1. (likely also evoking the image of a keep, with all its impenetrableness and detachedness), which is later remarked on by Lady Macbeth in 3.2. But possibly the most convincing argument in favour of his isolation is the lack of understanding between the spouses. A telling example is the difference in their conceptualisation of taking a life. He finds the 'horrible imaginings'

so unsettling that the 'horrid image ... unfix[es his] hair,' 'makes [his] ... heart pound' and 'shake[s] ... [his] single state of man' (1.3.), the 'black and deep desires' make his eye afraid to look on what's done (1.4.), the 'assassination' and 'bloody instructions ... return[ing] / To plague' him are 'th'ingredience of [the] poisoned chalice', a 'deep damnation' and a 'horrid deed' (1.7.), the 'filling of his] mind' (suggesting both defilement and a sharpness, a sensitivity to stimuli; 3.1.). She, on the other hand, perceives it as 'the nearest way,' 'mortal thoughts' and 'great business' (1.5.). The imagery he uses is much more visceral and focuses on the effect such an act would have on him, whereas she does not even touch on the consequences. But the difference is arguably most pronounced in their invocations. While Macbeth asks for cover of darkness so that '[t]he eye [would] wink at the hand' (1.4.53), Lady Macbeth needs the night so her 'keen knife [could] see not the wound it makes' (1.5.51). The displacement of agency in her case implies either that she does not understand the consequences of the act, or that she wishes to distance herself from the possible effects she is witnessing in her husband's character, without realising that the immediacy of the experience cannot be negotiated. A further example of the difference can be found in 2.2. when Macbeth comments on the fact that 'all great Neptune's ocean' (2.2.59) could not wash the blood off his hands, whereas she is convinced that '[a] little water clears [them] of this deed' (2.2.66). Another interesting aspect of their communication is the usage of 'you/thou,' with 'you' signalling a dose of formality and distance, and 'thou' familiarity and closeness. She appears to use 'thou' when she manipulates him emotionally, as in 'From this time, / Such I account thy love' (1.7.38-9), whereas he resorts to it in times of genuine distress like in 'Didst thou not hear a noise?' (2.2.15) immediately after the murder of Duncan, and when opening up about what is troubling him: 'O, full of scorpions is my mind, dear wife - / Thou know'st that Banquo and his Fleance lives' (3.2.39-40).

Returning to the scene featuring Banquo's ghost, Lady Macbeth tries to calm her husband by pointing to the fact that '[t]his is the very painting of [his] fear' (painting not only implying the image of what he fears, but also his fear making him see images), the same kind of vision that '[l]ed [him] to Duncan' (3.4.61; 63). The scene could be read as establishing PTSD as the phantasmatic elephant in the room (or alternatively raising questions about the discussion of PTSD in that society). Consider the following lines:

You make me strange  
Even to the disposition that I owe,  
When now I think you can behold such sights  
And keep the natural ruby of your cheeks,  
When mine is blanched with fear. (3.4.113-7)

'Such sights' might be taken to mean experiencing an episode that could be recognised by other soldiers as having a flashback, i.e. experiencing a vivid hallucination. He is saying that their indifference makes him feel that having such life-like intrusive images is not normal, the implication being that even those that have shared his experience of war do not or cannot understand him. An argument in favour of PTSD being a well-known phenomenon is the comment made by Caithness in 5.2. about people calling Macbeth's madness 'valiant fury' (14). There is also Ross' reference to 'strange images of death,' implying that cases of berserking, with their characteristic and unusual ferocity, were a familiar occurrence (Ross was not present when the Captain delivered his report). Another slightly obscured reference could be the following lines delivered by Banquo: 'New honours come upon him / Like our strange garments cleave not to their mould / But with the aid of use' (1.3.145-7). With the intervention of two commas, embedding 'like our strange garments', the lines could be understood to mean the following: his new title will take some getting used to, much like our 'strange garments' did. This phrase, in turn, could be a direct reference to their role as soldiers. The adjective is used four times up until that point – twice to imply that something is unfathomable and curious ('strange intelligence' in 1.3.76 and 'tis strange' in line 123), and twice in contexts of battle (as when Lennox comments on Ross' appearance in 1.2.47 – he looks like a man '[t]hat seems to speak things strange', a man that then goes on to give a report on yet another bloody skirmish – and in the aforementioned 'strange images of death'). This context, in conjunction with the image of a mould (implying a negative space, a hollowness), and the necessity of an adjustment period, could refer to the fact that it takes time to learn to manage the innate responses stemming from the visceral physicality of war.

## **SINGLE STATE OF MAN**

In analysing trauma in *Macbeth*, one might also resort to employing certain aspects characteristic of the Lacanian notion of trauma. This section will look at the ways in which combat trauma could be interpreted as an intrusion of the pre-symbolic real.

In *Trauma, Ethics and the Political beyond PTSD: The Dislocations of the Real* Gregory Bistoien defines the pre-symbolic real as 'a domain of immediate experience' only reaching consciousness by 'being filtered through representation' such as memory (64). Before entering the process of signification, the body is 'the prime example of the pre-symbolic real' (66) by virtue of the fact that it is 'delivered to a multitude of bodily urges and sensations' resulting in a rise in sensory tension (67). In that case, trauma



is the resurfacing of something disruptive that fractures the constructed perception of the body (80). As the senses sharpen, the body is flooded with sensory information, both internal and external. It is this physicality of the pre-symbolic (if taken out of the context of developmental psychology – non-symbolic) real, a physicality so intense it is traumatising, that is also present in the experience of combat. A variety of innate and automatic fear responses such as 'freezing behaviors, alterations in heart rate and blood pressure, ... and release of stress hormones' (Southwick et al. 29) are set in motion, facilitating quick response. As has been noted, due to the fact that the ultimate objective is to survive the current event and any other that would be equally threatening, the body ensures that the information is stored in a format that would be quickly retrievable. It is encoded as implicit memory, with the most salient details coming to the fore at times of exposure to trauma cues. In other words, it is situationally accessible. The experience is re-lived in a barrage of images and physical sensations, i.e. it is not symbolised through language, with aspects of it remaining unsymbolisable (this characteristic is touched upon below). However, by virtue of this being a play, the characters have to tell us what they see and sense in order for us to understand the effect it has on them. A case in point and the first example in the play of Macbeth having an unsettling physical reaction is his assumption that the Sisters' prophecy is true. Yet the suggestion that he might be king – which in his mind implies murder if the 'murder of his thought' is taken as a *parapraxis*, accounting for the fact that the image is 'horrid' – 'doth unfix [his] hair / And make [his] seated heart knock at [his] ribs / Against the use of nature' and '[s]hakes ... his single state of man' to the point where he can do nothing else but focus on the image, i.e. 'what is not' (Shakespeare 1.3.136-8; 141; 143). As the situation grows in complexity, this initial reaction grows into anxiety, which is often also present in PTSD sufferers (Paulson and Krippner 7). Upon hearing that Fleance managed to escape he says that he would have been 'whole as the marble, founded as the rock, / As broad, and general, as the casing air' if the plan had worked, but that he is now 'cabined, cribbed, confined, bound in / To saucy doubts and fears' (Shakespeare 3.4.22-5). The stability and freedom of movement implied in the first set of images is thrown into sharp relief by the second set packed with images of high on claustrophobic confinement. The notion of being bound in fears grows into the image of bear-baiting: 'They have tied me to a stake, I cannot fly, / But bear-like I must fight the course' (5.7.1-2), evoking not only feelings of being cornered, but also the potential for causing harm that Macbeth has (compare to the berserking episode).

In light of this, the dagger soliloquy could be read as an intrusion of one such vivid image. As Macbeth prepares to kill Duncan, his body enters a state of hyperarousal. He is himself aware of the fact that the 'fatal vision'



is a product of his 'heat-oppressed brain,' and yet it is 'in form as palpable' (i.e. is uncannily realistic) as the dagger he then proceeds to draw. As soon as the drops of blood appear on the blade, he is settled on the fact that it 'is the bloody business which informs / Thus to [his] eyes' (2.1.49-50) (the phrase is easily extended to mean killing in general, not simply killing Duncan). The episode also highlights the idea that he cannot fully rely on his senses: 'Mine eyes are made the fools o'th' other senses, / Or else worth all the rest' (2.1.45-6). It also testifies to the disorientation that this unreliability produces, as evidenced by the syntax of the central part, which is quite confusing, as embedded clauses make it difficult to follow the train of thought. Even the mention of 'Tarquin's ravishing strides' with which he moves 'towards his design' (2.1.56) references the physiology of the mounting tension and excitement over the execution of the act. The soliloquy deals intensely with perception and sensory overload typical of flashbacks. They are a type of implicit memory that can be triggered by a variety of situational trauma cues, external and internal alike (Brewin 140). What might explain the drops of blood is the fact that flashbacks are not a literal record but 'an imaginative extension' of the experience (135).

Another argument in favour of the fact that combat trauma is an 'immediate experience', that it is unsymbolisable as it were, i.e. that there are aspects of it that cannot be verbalized but can be recognized and understood, is the fact that veterans very often only talk openly about their combat experience with other veterans because "they are the only ones who 'understand'" (Hunt and Robbins 62). This impossibility of effective communication probably accounts for Lady Macbeth's lack of understanding, and taking his reactions (i.e. symptoms) for a sign of weakness.

In the mirror stage of psychological development, the 'fragmented experience of inner chaos [is transformed into] the experience of the body as a whole' (Bistoien 68), owing to the fact that the integrity of the body image is vital in a person's perception of themselves as 'a consistent and stable entity' (71). In light of the PTSD symptoms and the effects of traumatic experiences on the body that have been discussed above, it is no great stretch to claim that the state a PTSD sufferer is in is one of deep fracturing at the very least. The intuitive and unknowable, the jumble of urges and drives is pitted against the regulating rational other, with the added insecurity of sudden losses of control. In the mirror stage, the drives are regulated in the process of identification, where the image transforms the conflicting desires into an illusion of unity. Identification is therefore 'defense through misrecognition' whereby 'internal chaos [is actively denied] in favour of a (false) sense of mastery' (68). A parallel mechanism at work after the process of signification is a recourse to

various fantasies. In Macbeth's case the fantasy includes the male social role of a warrior.

## **FAIR IS FOUL, AND FOUL IS FAIR**

Due to the fact that the symbolic entails dependence on language, subject and reality alike are perceived as 'inherently instable structures' (59). In order to compensate for that, fantasies are employed as a mechanism that attempts to bridge the gap between the symbolic and the real, thereby promising wholeness and closure, allowing for a degree of consistency in reality (59; 66). Owing to the need to establish some sort of structure and order after the collapse of signification, 'the ideological narrative fetishes that permit the denial of symptoms' existence and power ... become ... the constitution of a new symbolic order' (J. Berger 566). Macbeth, in an attempt to bridle the effects of PTSD, resorts to the social and gender role of 'a man'. Throughout the play the word is used to imply courage and strength, as when Macbeth says 'I dare do all that may become a man' (Shakespeare 1.7.46), or the absence of those qualities, as in Lady Macbeth's trying to shame him into composure by asking: 'Are you a man?' (3.4.58). It is also clearly 'associated with violence made ... acceptable through the ritual of warfare' (Asp 154), and can thereby be understood to imply 'warrior'. Experiencing combat is a rite of passage, a condition to be met in order to qualify as 'a man,' as testified by the nameless 'unrough youths that even now / Protest their first of manhood' (Shakespeare 5.2.10-11), and young Seyward who 'only lived but till he was a man ... [and] like a man ... died' (5.7.70-3), like a soldier loyal to his legitimate sovereign. It is precisely as an emblem of 'manliness and soldiership that maintain[s] the cohesiveness of the tribe' (Asp 154) that Macbeth enters the scene. As a result, any sign of sensitivity in 'a man' is perceived as 'either degrading or counter-productive' (155). The fact that it is Macduff, however, who 'feel[s] ... like a man' (Shakespeare 4.3.221) that finally confronts and kills Macbeth points to the co-existence of two perceptions of the role. Macduff and Banquo, who is a threat because he 'hath a wisdom that doth guide his valour' (3.1.52), represent the balanced kind, 'integrat[ing] both feminine and masculine' (Asp 155), i.e. curbing the emotional and instinctive with the rational. Macbeth, on the other hand, seems to miss the importance of such a balance, taking the concept of valour as vital.

Even though the stereotypical male social role, with its ascribed modes of behaviour, serves as a scaffold, a crutch propping him up, the fantasy is shown to be easy to manipulate. After the 'If it were done when 'tis done' soliloquy, Macbeth decides not to go forward with regicide. '[W]

ith the valour of [her] tongue' (Shakespeare 1.5.26) Lady Macbeth then moves to subvert his male role (the phrase establishing a clear parallel between her skill as an orator and as a warrior). By introducing the idea of valour, the central concept he relies on, she ensures a reaction. She first calls him a coward, and then proceeds to say that he was a man when he dared kill Duncan, when neither the moment nor the place were fitting, but he was nevertheless bent on finding a way. Juxtaposing it with the present, when all circumstances present him with a perfect opportunity and he does nothing, she emphasizes the idea that time and place seem to have robbed him of his agency, thereby introducing a stereotypically female characteristic of passivity. The final nail in the coffin are the famous lines on her theoretical babe, where she effectively says that she would go against what is her natural duty as a mother (ensuring the infant's safety) if she had made a similarly binding oath. In other words, she compares his inability to do what his role as a man encompasses with her (hypothetically) doing what is diametrically opposite to her role, thereby emasculating him. But she tactfully focuses on herself so that it would not feel as a direct attack on him. During the banquet scene, however, she dispenses with the tact and openly compares him to a woman:

O these flaws and starts,  
Impostors to true fear, would well become  
A woman's story at a winter's fire,  
Authorizes by her grandam – shame itself,  
Why do you make such faces? (3.4.63-7)

As of yet unaware of the intensity of such 'flaws and starts', she accuses him of being overly dramatic, like a woman telling stories. This is the culmination of gradated imagery established in 2.2. when she chides him for not wanting to return to Duncan's chamber: 'the sleeping, and the dead, / Are but as pictures; 'tis the eye of childhood / That fears a painted devil' (2.2.52-4). Along with the 'painting of [his] fear' that cause 'these flaws and starts', the imagery refers to a time when male and female children were still in the female sphere of influence, their gender not differentiated (Lamb 530).

Seeing as how the process of identification does not lead to the formation of a stable and final identity (Bistoien 70), the inconclusiveness drives it forward 'in an endless cycle' (70). This, in turn, results in a series of fantasies being formed (70). And it is the Weird Sisters that present Macbeth with a new one. With the uncertainty that comes with suffering from PTSD, the fantasy of occupying the position of king symbolically offers stability, given the fact that the position of a king is one of absolute authority and control, the topmost position in the social order. In light of

that, the perceived security that it implies is an *objet a*, which Bistoën defines as that which 'drives desire forward' (89), and what Macbeth refers to as his 'vaulting ambition' (Shakespeare 1.7.27). The act of regicide itself, however, is the traumatic event which 'pulls away the imaginary cover' (Bistoën 59), exposing the real behind the fantasy. At the heart of that role for Macbeth was the idea of valour, encompassing courage on the battlefield and the social standing and reputation it results in. The circumstances of the regicide, the fact that it was an assassination of a benevolent king, as opposed to, for example, killing a tyrant in hand-to-hand combat, point to a lack of valour, shattering the structure he depended on for stability. The severity of the consequences of regicide is obvious in the following lines: 'Better be with the dead, / Whom we, to gain our peace, have sent to peace, / Than on the torture of the mind to lie / In restless ecstasy' (Shakespeare 3.2.21-4). The only other instance of the word 'ecstasy' being used in the play is in 4.3. when Ross comments on the state of affairs in Scotland, calling it their grave, a place '[w]here sighs, and groans, and shrieks that rend the air / Are made, not marked; where violent sorrow seems / A modern ecstasy' (4.3.168-170). The mass trauma resulting from Macbeth's reign could partly be explained by the fact that '[r]epeated reexposures [to traumatic events] may evolve into permanent neural pathways, consolidating behaviors ... that may become functionally independent of original stimuli' (Paulson and Krippner 6). In other words, feeling threatened in any way and responding violently may have become Macbeth's mode of functioning. His violence is 'a symptomatic and repetitive acting out,' as opposed to a 'therapeutic, narrative working through' (J. Berger 568). Working through does not seem like an option for him, given the fact that his wife (and society) might take any show of emotion as a sign of weakness, thereby further isolating him.

When he ascends the throne he is faced with another difficulty – progeny. He becomes obsessed with the fact that he has no children, i.e. potential heirs. The case of revolt against Duncan shows just how unstable the system of tanistry is (naming Malcolm heir was arguably Duncan's attempt to introduce a dose of stability). Having no children would go against the central requirements of the role of king and would be, somewhat paradoxically, a manifestation of social instability, or in other words another *objet a*, which Bistoën also defines as a materialisation of the negativity, i.e. the lack, that the real implies (102). The absence of children, therefore, could be understood as an indication of the post-symbolic real, which is defined as a signal of the 'constitutive incompleteness of any symbolic structure' (81). Children, with no ascribed gender (until boys were 'breech'd' at the age of five – Lamb 530) and social role, can also be interpreted as ambiguity incarnate. It then makes perfect sense for Macbeth to stop talking about offspring after visiting the Sisters in 4.1.,

as he is certain that he is not in danger. The scene also capitalizes on the fact that children are unmarked, so to speak, to further complicate the interpretation of the prophecy. The First Apparition, an armed head, is fairly straightforward when it tells him to 'beware Macduff, / Beware the Thane of Fife' (Shakespeare 4.1.85-6), whereas the other two are less explicit. The Second Apparition takes the form of a bloody child, while the last one appears as a crowned child, holding a tree. It is only in Act 5 that we understand what the prophecies meant, but the visual ambiguity of the children warns that their wording is not to be interpreted literally (unlike the prophecies from 1.3., or the one given by the First Apparition).

The prominent position given to the Weïrd Sisters should also be touched upon. They are the ones we see first, they set things in motion by promising Macbeth a change of social role, but other than that their attributes make them a dominant marker of the overarching idea of instability. They do not look 'like th'inhabitants o'th' earth' (1.3.41) but are on it, seem to hover between being fantastical (1.3.53), i.e. what 'man may question' (1.3.43), and that 'which outwardly [they] show' (1.3.54), and they exhibit both female and male characteristics – look like women, but have beards. They are human, but are associated with the spiritual world. They are also guilty of amphibology, 'the worst ... vice in rhetoric,' or to use a more familiar term, ambiguity – 'speaking or writing doubtfully, [so] that the sence [sic] may be taken in two ways' (Mullaney 36). A case in point is the famous 'Fair is foul, and foul is fair' (Shakespeare 1.1.11), which clearly denotes an elision of boundaries, a bleeding of one meaning into another, highlighting the symbolic as inherently unstable. The line is formally in grammatical present, but it is interesting to note that the previous lines referred to futurity. Therefore, we are left wondering about the deep structure of the utterance – is the situation already unstable, or will the instability be provoked (possibly by what we are about to see and hear)? Although their primary function is that of prophesying, knowing the future is only achieved through dark magic. '[T]he ingredients of [their] cauldron' (4.1.34), all coming together in a perversion of nature, testify to the unnaturalness of such knowledge. It is an unravelling of structure, presaging the societal effects it will have.

As such, their ambiguous characteristics and position of liminality serve to intimate the real. In that respect, Banquo's dream of them could be understood to signal his own suppressed desire, and by extension the inherent instability of the social system, seeing as how the meaning of dreams is an effect of the symbolic system (the Other), against which both the subject and reality are formed (Bistoën 77, 58-9). By mentioning the dream to Macbeth in 2.1. he draws attention to the fact that he too is preoccupied with who sits on the throne, establishing himself as a threat.

As soon as Macbeth ascends the throne and realises he cannot provide an heir, he starts eliminating all those who endanger his position.

When Banquo's 'ghost' comes back to haunt Macbeth, it is not just as a reflection of the blood spilt to ensure security. The 'fit' is brought on by hearing that Fleance escaped, which makes him feel anxious and cornered, setting off an intense physical reaction. He sees Banquo, 'the root and father / Of many kings' (Shakespeare 3.1.5-6), sitting on the throne, having unnaturally risen from his grave. The hallucination not only reminds him of what the Sisters prophesied to Banquo, but also stresses the precariousness of his position – a childless monarch is a dead man walking. What comes back to haunt Macbeth is the real.

## CONCLUSION

What is very often emphasized when it comes to *Macbeth* is the titular character's power of fantasy and the vividness of the imagery. Given the fact that Macbeth is primarily a soldier, the power of his fantasy could be pathological. The play provides us with a couple of telling episodes proving that he has suffered combat trauma. The episode of berserking when fighting Macdonald, after which he is lauded for his valour, shows him to be a man haunted by scenes from the battlefield, a reminder of the fragility of the body.

On account of the intensity of physical sensations experienced, combat trauma can also be understood as the intrusion of the pre-symbolic/non-symbolic real. In order for the person to function, an illusion of wholeness and stability needs to be maintained, which necessitates the employment of a series of fantasies upon entering the symbolic. In the case of Macbeth, initially it is the fantasy of his social role as a soldier, which is proven to be inherently unstable post-regicide as the act points to a lack of valour, a concept Macbeth finds central to this image. After his ascension to the throne, the real again asserts itself in the absence of heirs, signalling not just the inherent instability of the role, but the system at large.

Drawing on characteristics central to concepts of Lacanian trauma theory to expand combat trauma shows that *Macbeth* can be read as a trauma narrative. Although the mechanisms of PTSD were a mystery, the presence of symptoms in a context of civil war and warrior society points to the fact that the phenomenon was not altogether unknown in the early modern period. As 'madness' it might well have been subsumed under the umbrella term of 'melancholy', perceived as symptomatic of an excess of

black bile. The question that arises is whether those melancholics were in any way considered to be different, i.e. whether any allowances were made for the fact that they experienced combat. If so, re-interpreting characters such as Macbeth and Coriolanus, while keeping in mind the specificity of their mentality and interaction with their immediate environment, might shed new light on their contexts.



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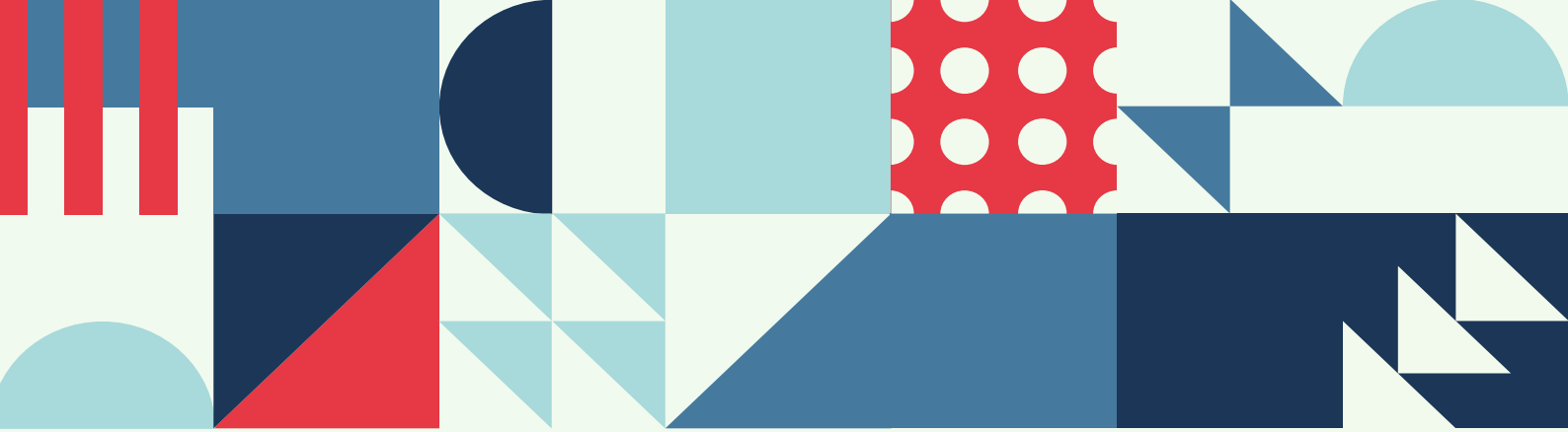


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**03**

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**Patricia  
Díaz-Muñoz**

**Accommodation in Fiction:  
The Role of Convergence in  
Intergroup Encounters**

## PROFESSIONAL PAPER

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# Accommodation in Fiction: The Role of Convergence in Intergroup Encounters

Linguistic strategies are frequently used in fiction so as to create a sense of reality. One of the most common of such resources in many anglophone TV series is the creation of groups of friends, who develop some rituals and conventions that the viewers are able to recognise as the show goes by, and one of the most common linguistic strategies in the creation of rituals and conventions is accommodation, which is usually used to create a sense of convergence or divergence towards the interlocutor(s). Although considerable research has been devoted to the concept of accommodation, less attention has been drawn to its use in fiction and the effects it triggers. Thus, the aim of this paper is to analyse the use of convergent accommodation as a linguistic strategy used to create a sense of reality in intergroup encounters within fiction. Hence, Communication Accommodation Theory (Dragojevic et al., "Communication Accommodation Theory", "Accommodative Strategies") was chosen as the framework to develop the study because it provides a thorough analysis of accommodative moves, considering speakers' orientation, goal and subsequent evaluation. The samples were gathered from the TV series *How I Met Your Mother*, for the characters in the series are a group of friends consisting of two women and three men, which also allows for the study of possible gender differences as regards trends in accommodation. The samples were analysed both in a quantitative and qualitative manner, considering speakers' initial orientation and gender. The results from the analysis show that convergent accommodation has an important role in the creation of rituals and conventions to provide the show with the desired sense of reality. Besides, the results also show some interesting differences in the way women and men are depicted regarding accommodation trends.

## KEYWORDS

**accommodation, convergence, fiction, intergroup encounters**

## INTRODUCTION

Recently, there has been growing interest in the concept of accommodation as a social phenomenon (Gasiorek and Giles; Dragojevic et al., "Communication Accommodation Theory"; Kádár and Marsden, among others). Accommodation is defined as a communicative adjustment produced by the participants of a conversation in order to adapt their linguistic behaviour to the context of the ongoing interaction in either verbal or non-verbal ways (Dragojevic et al., "Accommodative Strategies" 36). Consequently, it is mainly aimed at creating rapport and convergence among the participants of the conversation. However, Dragojevic et al. claim that it can also be considered as a divergent or maintenance strategy ("Accommodative Strategies" 36-37).

Since Giles proposed the Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT henceforth) in 1973, many scholars have expanded on the concept of accommodation (Coupland et al.; Ylänné; Gasiorek and Giles; Dragojevic et al., "Communication Accommodation Theory", *inter alia*). Nevertheless, little attention has been drawn to its use in fiction and the effect it produces. Hence, the aim of the present study is to analyse the use of convergent accommodation as a linguistic strategy in intergroup encounters within fiction. For that purpose, Communication Accommodation Theory (Coupland et al.; Dragojevic et al., "Communication Accommodation Theory", "Accommodative Strategies") has been chosen as the framework to design the study, as this theory provides a thorough analysis of accommodation, considering speakers' orientation, goal and subsequent evaluation. Thus, three research questions have been posed:

- RQ1:** What are the main functions and effects of convergent accommodation within intergroup encounters in fiction?
- RQ2:** Does convergent accommodation contribute to the creation of rituals and conventions to engage the viewers with the show?
- RQ3:** How are women and men depicted regarding accommodation trends within fiction?

The present paper is divided into five sections, with the introduction as the first one. In the second section, the theoretical background will provide the framework and define some important concepts concerning accommodation and fiction. The third section will include a brief description of the dataset gathered for the purposes of this study, as well as the participants, the tools and the procedure employed to design the study and analyse the samples. The fourth section will analyse and discuss some of the functions and effects of convergent accommodation on fiction, and possible gender differences. Finally, in section five, the

conclusion will be given, alongside possible future research directions concerning the topic.

## THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This section is divided into two subsections to introduce some theoretical notions that are necessary to develop the analysis, namely the concepts of accommodation, and rituals and conventions.

### The concept of accommodation

According to Dragojevic et al., "Upon entering a communicative encounter, people immediately (and often unconsciously) begin to synchronize aspects of their verbal (e.g., accent, speech rate) and nonverbal behavior (e.g., gesture, posture)" ("Accommodative Strategies" 36). This phenomenon is termed *accommodation* and can be considered a communicative adjustment. The present study focuses on verbal accommodation occurrences in intergroup encounters in fiction. It occurs when the characters adapt their linguistic behaviour to their interlocutor(s) so as to promote mutual understanding and convergence, as in example [a]<sup>1</sup>:

- a) A: We should start a band!  
B: Of course, we **should start a band!**

Moreover, Dragojevic et al. claim that accommodation is not always aimed to create rapport and convergence among people ("Accommodative Strategies" 36-37). It might also create a sense of divergence and, therefore, be used by the speakers so as to highlight that they are different or they have different opinions:

- b) A: It's freezing out there. Where's your coat?  
B: Ted, **I'm Canadian. I don't need a coat.**

Finally, it can be used to maintain the flow of the ongoing interaction as well:

- c) A: So, uh... Do you want to get a taco?  
B: **A taco?**

In 1973, Giles proposed the SAT, suggesting that speech variability might stem from the interpersonal accommodation processes (Dragojevic et al., "Communication Accommodation Theory" 2). Since then, many scholars

(Coupland et al.; Ylänné; Gasiorek and Giles; Dragojevic et al., "Communication Accommodation Theory", among others) have been adding new concepts to this framework for the analysis of communicative adjustments. The framework is currently termed *Communication Accommodation Theory* (CAT henceforth) and "seeks to explain and predict such communicative adjustments, and model how others in an interaction perceive, evaluate, and respond to them" (Dragojevic et al., "Communication Accommodation Theory" 1). Therefore, they suggest that accommodation can be analysed in terms of a set of principles that are summarised in Table 1.

Table 1. The main principles of CAT (based on Dragojevic et al., "Accommodative Strategies" 37-39) (cf. Dragojevic et al., "Accommodative Strategies")

<b>Social value</b>	Upward: use of more refined speech patterns.
	Downward: use of less refined speech patterns.
<b>Degree</b>	Full: fully accommodative behaviour.
	Partial: partially accommodative behaviour.
<b>Symmetry</b>	Symmetrical: mutual accommodation among the speakers.
	Asymmetrical: lack of mutual accommodation among the speakers.
<b>Modality</b>	Unimodal: accommodation affecting a single dimension.
	Multimodal: accommodation affecting more than one dimension.
<b>Duration</b>	Short-term: accommodation occurring in some turns.
	Long-term: accommodation occurring in many interactions.

Dragojevic et al.'s CAT framework is one of the most recent frameworks for accommodation and it provides a thorough approach to communicative adjustments, as can be seen in Table 1 above. However, the framework of CAT should not be understood as a set of rules and regulations that speakers follow or reject consciously. It is important to mention that speakers use accommodation in an idiosyncratic and unconscious manner and, hence, their reaction towards accommodation is also different.

## Ritual and convention

As regards rituals and conventions, Goffman was one of the first scholars who worked on rituals in interactions. Since then, many researchers have studied rituals and conventions as social phenomena (Gilbert; Bax and Kádár; Kádár and Marsden; Kádár and Terkourafi). Kádár and Terkourafi highlight the differences between rituals (see examples [1],

[2] and [3] in the *qualitative results* section) and conventions (see examples [4], [5] and [6] in the *qualitative results* section) and they claim that these two concepts do not have to be used interchangeably. According to them:

"We take convention to be a recurrent and schematic practice, which provides a readymade solution to a frequently encountered problem; conventions are normative, in that by acting in conventional ways interactants meet contextual expectations and their behaviour is positively evaluated as a result. We take ritual, on the other hand, to be a recurrent action, which re-enacts the ideologies or ethos of a relational network or broader social group as a 'performance', and generates intense emotions and affect (relational emotions)." (Kádár and Terkourafi 171)

Nevertheless, applying these distinctions to discursive examples remains challenging because the boundaries between ritual and convention are still blurred. Hence, empirical examples need to be analysed in order to clarify these differences and to apply them in the study of accommodation.

In this vein, many scholars (Bax and Kádár; Kádár; Kádár and Marsden) have studied the effects of accommodation in rituals and conventions from the perspective of (im)politeness; however, they have not considered CAT principles to analyse the main traits of the samples and classify them. In addition to that, the effects of accommodation on fiction have been largely neglected in the research on accommodation. Thus, this paper is aimed at analysing some discursive examples of convergent accommodation within the framework of CAT and the effects they have on fiction. The findings might contribute to the recently growing scholarship on the effects of different linguistic strategies on fiction (see Juez; Fernández Fontecha and Martínez Fernández) and the role of pragmatics in fiction (see Jucker and Locher, ed.).

## METHODOLOGY

The aim of this section is to describe the tools and the procedure employed in the present study. Furthermore, a brief description of the dataset and the participants will be provided. Hence, this section is divided into two subsections: dataset and participants description, and tools and procedure.

### Dataset and participants description

In order to analyse accommodation in fiction, a dataset was gathered. The dataset is composed of the script of three episodes from

the TV show *How I Met Your Mother*. This TV show was selected because all its scripts are easily available online<sup>2</sup> and therefore they offer a rich quantity of data to analyse intergroup encounters. Given that the show has nine seasons, the three episodes were randomly selected from the middle of the fourth season so that the examples reflect a well-established community of practice, which is necessary to conduct the analysis. Once all the scripts were collected, each one was given a code to prevent potential problems and confusions.

The show starts in 2030, when a father, Ted, is telling his children how he met their mother. Ted's story begins in 2006 and recounts the adventures Ted and his friends had until he married his wife (the children's mother). Thus, the participants of the study (actually, the fictional characters) are five friends, two women and three men<sup>3</sup> in their thirties, which facilitates the analysis of the gender variable. At this point, it is important to mention that Lily and Marshall are a couple instead of friends.

### **Tools and procedure**

Given that accommodation lies in participants' own evaluations within a conversation, verbal metalinguistic comments<sup>4</sup> were found by means of Wordsmith Tools<sup>5</sup> so as to gather convergent accommodation instances and start the analysis. Afterwards, every interaction among the participants was manually examined in order to check if those verbal evaluations were related to accommodation occurrences, and to find non-verbal evaluations and other verbal evaluations with a different linguistic realisation than the ones found through Wordsmith Tools. This thorough search was conducted so that no samples were left out. Finally, the total of samples collected was 74.

After analysing all the accommodation occurrences in the dataset within the CAT framework, they were classified into three groups considering their orientation (namely convergent, divergent and maintenance). Then, gender aspects regarding the aforementioned classification were also addressed. Finally, the results from the analyses, quantitative and qualitative, were compared and discussed, focussing on convergent orientation to reach some final findings and conclusions.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

This section is divided into two subsections. Firstly, the results of the quantitative analysis will be shown. Afterwards, taking the results from the quantitative analysis as a starting point, some representative



examples of convergent accommodation occurrences will be discussed in a qualitative manner.

### Quantitative results

Accommodation occurrences have been classified into three groups considering their orientation, namely maintenance, divergence and convergence. Special attention has been given to convergent orientation. Furthermore, two tables have been created so as to show the frequency of accommodation occurrences in rituals and conventions.

Table 2 illustrates the comparative analysis of maintenance, divergent, and convergent orientations in accommodation occurrences acting as rituals, with gender as a variable. The number of instances in which these orientations appear can be seen on the left side. Convergent accommodation is the only type employed as a ritual, with 16 instances, 7 of which are performed by women, while the other 9 were performed by men. The percentages representing the number of instances appear on the right side of the table.

Table 2. Accommodation occurrences as rituals

	Maintenance		Divergence		Convergence	
	n=	%	n=	%	n=	%
Female	-	-	-	-	7	43.75
Male	-	-	-	-	9	56.25
Total	-	-	-	-	16	100

Table 3 shows the same comparative analysis for the three orientations but considering accommodation occurrences as conventions. The same gender variable and distribution are included. In this case, the number of instances is balanced. The most repeated orientation is convergence, with 20 instances, followed by maintenance orientation with 19 instances. Lastly, divergent orientation has 9 instances, making a total of 48 instances concerning accommodation acting as a convention. Regarding the gender variable, the number of accommodative moves performed by men is slightly higher than the number of accommodative moves performed by women (27 instances and 21 instances, respectively).

Table 3. Accommodation occurrences as conventions

	Maintenance		Divergence		Convergence	
	n=	%	n=	%	n=	%
Female	9	18.75	6	12.5	6	12.5
Male	10	20.83	3	6.25	14	29.17
Total	19	39.58	9	18.75	20	41.67

In addition to the above presented results, it is also important to consider deviant cases, which is the case for 10 of the accommodation occurrences found within the dataset (see *deviant cases* section).

### Qualitative results

This section will discuss the different roles of convergent accommodation in rituals and conventions within this dataset. Moreover, some deviant cases will be also addressed.

#### *Convergent accommodation in rituals*

According to Bax and Kádár:

In-group ritual refers to the ritual practices formed by smaller social units (relational networks). In terms of typology, in-group ritual represents a different type of ritual practice than 'social ritual', i.e. ritual practice which counts as 'normative' on a wider, 'social' level. (23)

Given that the present study is based on five friends' interactions, some of the examples to follow would belong to verbal intergroup rituals, according to Bax and Kádár's definition.

Considering the results from the quantitative analysis, all the accommodation occurrences taking place in rituals within the dataset are performed in order to converge towards the interlocutor(s) (16 instances) and, hence, to create rapport among the participants. It would mean that no accommodation strategy is aimed at diverging from the interlocutor(s) in intergroup encounters regarding rituals. This may be due to the fact that rituals entail emotions and affection, as Kádár and Terkourafi claim, and they are better conveyed through convergent orientation (171). In the

same way, accommodation is not simply aimed at maintaining the flow of the ongoing interaction either. It may be due to the fact that maintenance accommodation goes unnoticed in most cases and it might prevent the participants of an interaction from recognising it as an intergroup practice, which is one of the main features of rituals, according to Kádár and Terkourafi (ibid.). Regarding the gender variable, the number of convergent strategies used by women and men is quite similar (7 instances and 9 instances, respectively), considering that the participants are two women and three men.

That said, the two main macro-functions of convergent accommodation cited by Dragojevic et al. have been found within the dataset: as a strategy to affiliate and agree, and as well as to show fear of the consequences of disaffiliation ("Communication Accommodation Theory" 10) . Consider the following examples:

In the first example, Ted and Barney come up with the idea of buying a bar and that is how both agree to do so:

- [1] T: We should buy a bar.  
B: **Of course, we should buy a bar!**  
T: We should totally buy a bar!  
B: **We should totally buy a bar!**  
T: Our bar would be awesome.  
B: (speaking loudly) And **dude! Dude! Dude! Dude!** The name of our bar:  
Puzzles. People will be like "Why is it called 'Puzzles'?" That's the puzzle.  
T: That is... a great name for a bar! And also, at Puzzles, no last call!  
B: **No last call!**  
[...]

As can be seen in the first example, Barney agrees with Ted by imitating his speech patterns and tone of voice during the interaction. In addition to that, Barney addresses Ted as 'dude', which is a vocative that male characters use to address other male characters throughout the show. Hence, this vocative can be employed as an upgrader to strengthen the convergent attitude towards each other. However, the use of nicknames, mainly this kind of nicknames, usually goes unnoticed in interaction and they are therefore considered conventions rather than rituals. On the other hand, agreeing by repeating each other's speech patterns is a practice that characters keep employing throughout the show, making it a ritual with a humorous effect. As a ritual practice with a pinch of humour, the viewers are able to recognise it and to get involved in the show. Consequently, it is an example of long-term accommodation to converge not only towards the characters, but also towards the viewers. It is also worth mentioning that

this excerpt also exemplifies multimodal and symmetric accommodation since both characters agree and imitate each other's speech patterns and tone of voice in the conversation.

In the second example, Robin realises people in a club dislike Canadians and tell jokes about them. She is trying to converge towards them because she fears their reaction when they realise she is Canadian.

[2] R: That is insane. Why do you think that Canadians are afraid of the dark?

M: Well, where does any prejudice come from, Robin? A stereotype starts, then all of a sudden it spreads like wildfire. Like Asians can't drive, Scotsmen are cheap, Brazilians always put on way too much postage. I just don't think this is gonna work out, Robin. You can't be hanging out with people who belittle your beloved homeland, so I'll walk you out.

R: No, wait. I have something to say.

R: Hey, everybody! Let me tell you something about people from Canada.

M: Hey, Robin, please don't make a scene.

R: Shh! **Do you know why Canadians never get a birthday wish? Because they are too afraid to blow out the candles!**

X: (laugh)

R: Oh, God! I love it here. God!

In this sample, Robin is using convergent accommodation so that her interlocutors cannot realise that she is Canadian. Hence, she converges towards them because she fears the consequences of being different and losing the respect she has gained from them. Although she is trying to be accommodative with them, they are not being accommodative with her. Even though they do not know she is Canadian, they are making fun of Canadian people. Thus, accommodation in this example is very asymmetrical. It is also worth mentioning that Robin thinks she is being accommodative, whereas Marshall perceives her intervention as overaccommodative (Dragojevic et al., "Communication Accommodation Theory" 15). In other words, Marshall thinks she is accommodating more than needed. As a result, Robin is very proud because people in the club evaluate her in a positive way. On the contrary, Marshall is getting angrier since he thinks that Robin is going too far. He shows his disapproval with his gestures and his facial expression. Hence, accommodation is a matter of perception, as they evaluate the situation in a different way. Finally, it has been categorised as a ritual since telling jokes about Canadian people is a common practice among this group of friends from Minnesota.

Nevertheless, there are other functions of convergent accommodation in rituals that should be addressed, even if they are not

as common as the ones mentioned by Dragojevic et al. ("Communication Accommodation Theory"). Take the following example:

[3] R: Look, guys. This is a private thing between me and Ted.  
R and T: (at the same time) **Private thing!**  
L, M and B: (groan).

Example [3] is similar to example [1] in that it also exemplifies a long-term ritual for agreements that both characters keep doing throughout the show. In the same way, viewers are familiar with it, so it can be considered as a tool for creating rapport and convergence among characters and viewers. However, there is a difference between this example and example [1]; convergent accommodation here is not only aimed at creating rapport and agreement, but also at excluding the other members of the group, for it is a ritual performed only by Robin and Ted. As a consequence, the other participants evaluate it in a negative way by groaning, whereas Ted and Robin use it in order to show the other participants that they are close friends. Thus, this example proves again that accommodation is a matter of perception and, therefore it can have two or more functions at the same time.

#### *Convergent accommodation in conventions*

As claimed by Kádár and Terkourafi, conventions are schematic and conventionalised practices, while rituals are recurrent actions that only take place in intergroup situations (171). As regards conventions within the dataset, convergent accommodation is the most employed strategy by the participants, with 20 instances. Nevertheless, there are many cases in which accommodation is used so as to maintain the flow of the ongoing interaction, hence going unnoticed (19 instances). Therefore, it can be considered as a schematic and conventionalised way of accommodation, which are two of the main features of conventions, according to Kádár and Terkourafi (ibid.). Finally, divergent orientation is the least employed strategy within the dataset (9 instances) probably because it analyses intergroup encounters, where the participants are a group of friends. Concerning the gender variable, men tend to use more convergent strategies than women (14 instances and 6 instances, respectively), while women tend to use more divergent strategies than men (6 instances and 3 instances, respectively). On the other hand, the number of maintenance strategies performed by men and women is quite similar (10 instances and 9 instances, respectively).

That said, the same two main macro-functions of convergent accommodation found in rituals have been found in conventions: as a

strategy to affiliate and show agreement, and as well as to show fear of the consequences of disaffiliation. Consider the following examples:

In example [4], Robin is apologising for pretending to be from Minnesota and trying to steal Marshall's friends. Marshall is apologising as well for telling the others that Robin is Canadian. Marshall ends up comforting Robin.

[4] M: **I'm so sorry for what happened back there. I acted like a total jerk. I... I shouldn't have said anything.**

R: **No, look, I'm sorry. That was your place. I shouldn't have tried to make it mine.** It's just every year at the holidays, I get homesick. And so far, every year I've had a reason to stay: a boyfriend, a job, or something. But... This year for the first time, I don't.

M: Yes, you do.

R: What?

M: **We all love you, okay? If you ever moved back to Canada, we would hope on a plane and we would track you down, and after Barney dragged us to a few of those strip clubs you talked about...**

R: (laughs)

M: ... **we would bring you back right here where you're supposed to be. It's... It's not New York without Robin Scherbatsky.**

R: (smiles) Thanks.

M: Yeah.

In this example, the participants accommodate towards each other's emotional needs. Although emotion and affection are properties mainly associated with rituals, it does not mean that conventions cannot entail them in some cases. In this situation, both characters are apologising to each other, and Marshall even tries to comfort Robin since she feels homesick. Concerning the orientation of this set of accommodative moves, it creates rapport and convergence between the characters, for they are being apologetic to each other after having an argument. In addition to that, it can be considered an example of symmetrical accommodation because both participants know they did wrong and they want to solve the problem. It is Marshall who apologises first, but Robin answers back with an apology as well. In the end, Robin thanks Marshall for his support, showing her approval and a positive evaluation of Marshall's convergent attitude. It is also important to mention that apologising and comforting are conventional ways of accommodation since they can be recognised by everyone and not only by smaller social units. The same occurs with other cases of emotional accommodation such as thanking or cheering. Finally, although there are only two participants, who are not involved in any kind of intergroup ritual, this sample is labelled as an intergroup encounter, for

Marshall is speaking on behalf of the group when comforting Robin ('We all love you', 'we would bring you back'...).

In example [5], Ted and Barney are drinking in a bar. They are waiting for two girls to come and Barney wants Ted to ask him about a 'game' he has made up.

- [5] T: It's pretty nasty out there. I don't think they're coming.  
B: Of course they are coming. They have to. If I can land just one of these girls, I'll have party school bingo.  
B: Come on, Ted. You're the only one here.  
T: Oh, sorry. **What's party school bingo?**  
B: Every year, Playboy releases a list of the top party schools in the country. I take the top 25, and I make up a bingo card. All I need is Arizona Tech, which is crazy. In league play, that would normally be designated a free space.  
[...]

As can be seen in example [5], Ted does not want to be accommodative with Barney, but he urges him to be. Finally, Ted gives up and asks Barney for further details. In this situation, Ted is kind of obligated to be accommodative since he does not want to disrupt the flow of the conversation and to damage his relationship with his interlocutor. Finally, Ted might think that he is not being accommodative, however, as can be seen, he acknowledges Barney's request and accommodates towards him. On the other hand, Barney perceives Ted's behaviour as underaccommodative<sup>6</sup> at the beginning and urges him to be accommodative. In the end, Barney obtains what he wants. Nevertheless, it can be considered as an example of short-term accommodation, for Ted is not showing interest in Barney's explanation after the question. Finally, it has been classified as a convention since asking for development is a schematic and conventionalised way of accommodation that is socially recognised.

In the case of conventions within the dataset, some other functions for convergent orientation can be also found. Take the following example: In example [6], Robin and Ted just had sex and they do not want their friends to know. That is why Ted is suggesting to Robin to keep it as a secret. Nevertheless, Marshall appears in an unexpected way.

- [6] T: Okay, listen. If this is gonna happen on occasion, we can't tell anyone about this. Deal?  
R: **Deal.**  
M: (suddenly appears) **Deal.**  
R and T: (surprised).

Example [6] would be labelled as a common example in the category of accommodation as a strategy to agree; however, it has an extra nuance. The actual aim of this excerpt is to create a sense of humour more than a sense of convergence between Ted and Robin. According to McGhee and Pistolesi, "Something unexpected, out of context, inappropriate, unreasonable, illogical, exaggerated, and so forth, must serve as a basic vehicle for the humor of an event" (10). When two people are making an agreement after having sex, we do not expect a third participant getting involved in it, which produces the humorous effect in this scene. Although Robin is imitating Ted's speech patterns so as to agree with him, Marshall's intervention doing the same is the core part here, humour comes before convergence. While Marshall's reaction in this situation might be unlikely in real-life encounters, similar and equally incongruent events can occur in everyday life. The main aim in both cases would be the accomplishment of a humorous effect.

### *Deviant cases*

Although some examples regarding both rituals and conventions have been discussed, the boundaries between them remain blurred. That is why some deviant cases can be also found within the dataset. Two representative examples will be addressed in this subsection.

In example [7], Marshall is in a meeting at work, however it is time to phone Lily and this is how he manages to deal with this situation:

[7] L: Hey, baby, it's lunch time, and I love you.

M: **I reciprocate in principle, although with the caveat that there seems to be a bit of a surplus here on my end.**

L: No, I love you more.

M: **Do we need to get in a room together and bang this thing out?**

M: **Those sound like agreeable terms, although I may need to adjust my briefs.**

M: (lower) Love you too.

Marshall is talking to Lily on the phone by using business vocabulary so that his colleagues cannot understand the conversation. On the one hand, Marshall appears to be underaccommodative with Lily in order to be, actually, accommodative. Consequently, it can be considered as an example of partial accommodation. On the other hand, his colleagues think that he is maintaining his default way of communication at work, while he is diverging from them so as to exclude them from the conversation. As a result, Marshall's move is underaccommodative and divergent for his colleagues, but accommodative and convergent for Lily. Furthermore,



Lily perceives it as accommodative since she answers back to him in a sweet way: 'I love you more.' The opposite case is presented in example [8], where Robin addresses Ted as 'buddy' in a sarcastic way in order to disagree with him. She seems to have a convergent orientation by using a positive vocative, however, she is diverging from him:

[8] T: Oh, I get it. No problem, buddy.

R: Yes, a problem, **buddy**.

The two examples above not only confirm that accommodation is a matter of perspective, but also highlight the importance of context when analysing accommodation. It means that accommodative moves are not convergent or divergent *per se*, but it is context that determines their final orientation.

Now, let us consider the second example in this category. After Marshall's previous talk about 'reading a magazine' at work, they keep on using this euphemism, as can be seen in example [9]:

[9] R: So, you checked into a hotel room just so you could **read a magazine** there?

M: Hey, Robin, do you want me to see if the waitress has any giant sugar cubes for that high horse of yours? Nobody likes to **read a magazine** at work, and if they say that they do, then they're not human.

B: Dude, I **read a magazine** at work every day. I can't tell you how many meetings I've been late to because I was busy reading a magazine.

[...]

At the beginning of the episode, Marshall uses a euphemism to say that he needs to go to the bathroom: 'to read a magazine'. In following conversations, they keep on using the same euphemism, as shown in example [9], where Robin and Barney accommodate towards him by using it. Thus, it can be considered as an accommodative move because of cognitive motives (cf. Dragojevic et al., "Communication Accommodation Theory" 10, 11), if we consider that they are employing the same euphemism so as to increase the communication efficiency. Nevertheless, the problem arises when labelling this example as convention or as a ritual. On the one hand, euphemisms are conventionalised expressions performed to avoid impolite or coarse language and, hence are easily recognised by the speakers of a language. On the other hand, 'to read a magazine' is not a conventionalised euphemism in the English language and it starts being used by this group of friends as a long-term expression in several conversations, even if its meaning can be easily decoded with an appropriate context. It can therefore be concluded that conventions

and rituals are not based on clear-cut categories containing clear-defined instances. They are rather defined as a continuum, whose extremes contain prototypical examples with fuzzy cases in-between. Thus, conventions and rituals are a matter of degree much more than a matter of categories and features.

## CONCLUSIONS

This paper has examined the role of convergent accommodation in intergroup encounters through three episodes of the TV show *How I Met your Mother*. The analysis has been developed following the framework for accommodation occurrences proposed by Dragojevic et al. , which is a framework developed for real-life encounters. The first and the second research questions addressed the functions and effects of convergent accommodation, and its role in the creation of rituals and conventions. First of all, it is worth mentioning that convergence has an important influence in both cases: while in rituals it is the only orientation employed by the speakers due to the emotional effect it provides, in conventions it is the most used one, although maintenance and divergence are also performed by the participants. Moreover, as claimed by Dragojevic et al. ("Communication Accommodation Theory" 10), the two macro-functions of convergent accommodation (in both rituals and conventions) are: to affiliate and agree with other people so as to create rapport, and to generate a false sense of affiliation for fear of being different. In addition to that, other functions are found: convergence in order to exclude other people or outsiders and convergence as a tool to create a humorous effect. These functions of accommodation within fiction coincide with the functions proposed by Dragojevic et al. for real life encounters, which suggest that accommodation is frequently used in fiction in the same manner as in real life (both in rituals and in conventions). This argument is supported by the fact that, in both cases, accommodation strategies have a concrete aim and are addressed to an intended audience, viewers or conversational partners depending on the case. Humorous situations are examples proving this idea, for accommodation instances have a specific goal i.e., the creation of humour, and are intended to a specific audience i.e., the viewers, even if the premises are different in each case. On account of these common elements between fiction and real life in terms of accommodation, the viewers are able to recognise what is going on in each situation. Thus, the viewers are engaged in the show and, at the same time, that desired sense of reality is achieved.

Furthermore, the results from the analyses suggest that there are no specific patterns or features associated to each function of convergent

accommodation. It is the context that determines the final orientation and function of accommodation instances instead. It can therefore be said that accommodation is better considered as a matter of degree and self-perception rather than clear-cut categories based on theoretical studies. The same happens when trying to establish a clear-cut distinction between rituals and conventions in terms of accommodation features. Hence, it can be concluded that rituals and conventions are better understood as a continuum than as a clear-cut dichotomy.

The third research question of the paper was intended to check possible gender differences regarding the use of accommodation in intergroup encounters within fiction. Within the dataset, men are depicted as more accommodative than women, in general terms, since they tend to maintain the patterns developed in intergroup encounters more than women. Men addressing their male friends with vocatives such as 'bro' or 'buddy' are examples of that, whereas women do not tend to use this kind of vocatives among themselves. Consequently, men use more convergent strategies, while women use more divergent strategies regarding conventions. Concerning rituals, both use a similar number of convergent strategies.

Finally, it is important to highlight that there is much to do in the field of accommodation. This paper only examines the macro-functions and main features of convergent accommodation in rituals and conventions within fiction. However, it would be interesting to analyse in depth the micro-functions of convergence (such as asking for development, excluding outsiders or creating humour), and the functions and features of the two other orientations concerning accommodation (namely, maintenance and divergence) in both fiction and real-life encounters.

## END NOTES

1 All the examples have been taken from the dataset gathered for the present study (see methodology section).

2 [https://www.springfieldspringfield.co.uk/episode\\_scripts.php?tv-show=how-i-met-your-mother](https://www.springfieldspringfield.co.uk/episode_scripts.php?tv-show=how-i-met-your-mother). Last access: 27/09/2019.

3 Transcription conventions: R stands for Robin, L stands for Lily, M stands for Marshall, B stands for Barney, T stands for Ted and X stands for unknown characters.

4 Metalinguistic comments are participants' verbal and non-verbal evaluations of other people's use of language and can be implicitly (e.g. thanking) or explicitly (e.g. 'That was mean' as a response to what someone has said) given (see Haugh on metapragmatic comments).

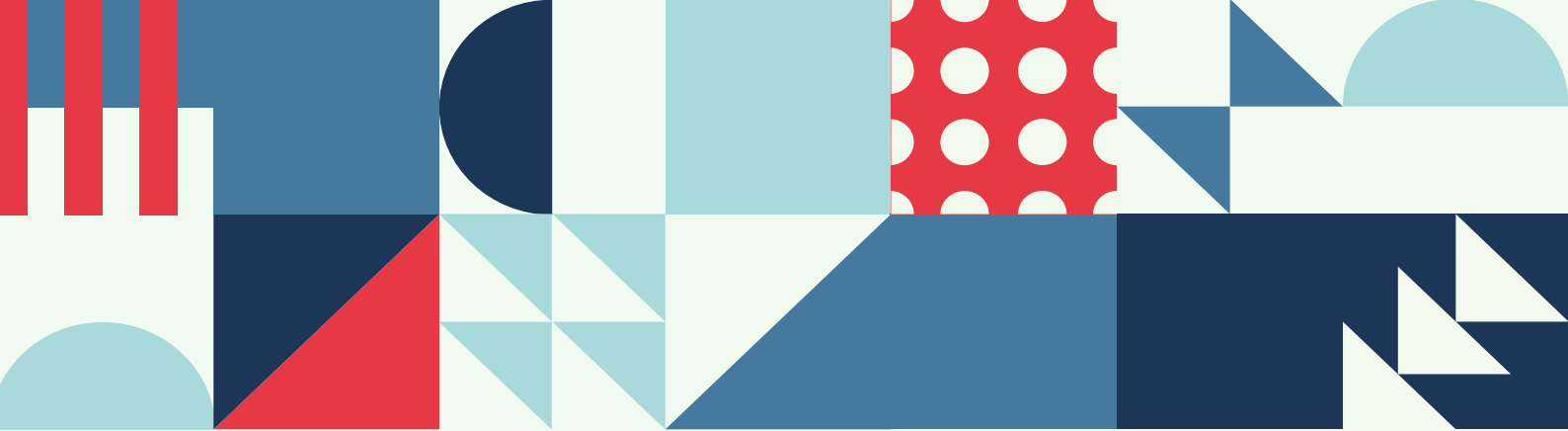
5 <https://lexically.net/wordsmith/version6/index.html>. Last access: 27/09/2019.

6 Insufficient accommodative attitude (cf. Dragojevic et al., "Communication Accommodation Theory" 4).

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04

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Iva  
Kurtović

Negotiation of Sentimental and  
Abolitionist Traditions in Harriet  
Jacobs's *Incident in the  
Life of a Slave Girl*

## PROFESSIONAL PAPER

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# Negotiation of Sentimental and Abolitionist Traditions in Harriet Jacobs's *Incident in the Life of a Slave Girl*

Harriet Jacobs's autobiographical narrative *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* offers invaluable insight into the specific position of female slaves in antebellum United States. However, the importance of the text does not rest solely on its historical value. It is first and foremost a narrative, and not only the story itself, but the way the story is told, is what differentiates Jacobs's text firstly from those focused on male slaves, and secondly from those written by white abolitionists. Thus, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* becomes a means of negotiation between various facets of the narrator's identity and what the society expects of her, according to the dominant social views on femininity and chastity. Moreover, Jacobs's text, through (and in spite of) both sentimental and abolitionist writing, tries to maneuver the narrator's position as regards her white, free, northern, female audience. By focusing on her experiences of womanhood and motherhood, Jacobs seemingly relies on the white female readers' sympathy, but ultimately rejects the kind of identification which would be based on the shared idea of "true womanhood". By doing so, Jacobs points to the necessity of a deeper, intersectional understanding of slave women's sufferings, and not one based solely on the sentimental notions of moral sympathy and sympathetic identification.

### KEYWORDS

**slave narrative, women's writing, "true womanhood", identity, sympathetic identification**



Harriet Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* offers invaluable insight into the specific position of female slaves in *antebellum* United States. However, the importance of the text does not rest solely on its historical value. Not only the story itself, but *the way the story is told*, is what differentiates Jacobs's text firstly from those focused on male slaves, and secondly from those written by white female abolitionists. Thus, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* becomes a means of negotiation between various facets of the narrator's identity and what the society expects of her, according to the dominant social views on femininity. Moreover, Jacobs's text, through (and in spite of) both sentimental and abolitionist writing, tries to maneuver the narrator's position as regards her white, free, northern, female audience.

When approaching Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, one ought to keep in mind the existing literary tradition that inevitably informed the creation of her narrative. As Sherman explains, "[g]ender directly shapes Jacobs's experience both as a slave and as a free woman; moreover, gender shapes the conventions available for her interpretations of these experiences" (168). The two literary traditions proposed by Nudelman are abolitionist writings and sentimental novels, since she interprets Jacobs's narrative as a negotiation and re-invention of both of these two literary modes:

The text's cultural significance lies neither in Jacobs's acquiescence to social and literary standards nor in her defiant rejection of them but in her restless movement between styles of address. Caught between a domestic ideology that relies on female sexual purity and an abolitionist discourse that insistently publicizes the sexual victimization of slave women, Jacobs is peculiarly able to elaborate on their interrelatedness, the ways they concur and conflict, and their particular limitations for the narration of black female experience. (942)

This "interrelatedness" Nudelman refers to brings to mind the modern-day notion of intersectional feminism. According to Ross Sheriff and Samuels, "intersectionality enables us to stretch our thinking about gender and feminism to include the impact of context and to pay attention to interlocking oppressions and privileges across various contexts" (5). Thus, a link is formed between a nineteenth century author and a late twentieth century analytical framework – from Ross Sheriff's and Samuels's description, it could be posited that Jacobs's text ought to be approached as a precursor of today's intersectional feminist thought. The very title of the book points to the fact that, however appalling any slave's experience must be, the incidents which could occur in the life of a female slave are, in certain aspects, irrefutably different from those of male slaves. It is also

interesting to note that in the title of her narrative, Jacobs fashions herself as a "slave girl", not as a "slave woman". This decision can be attributed to an editorial intervention, or merely to the social norms of address of the time. But it is precisely her identity as a young black woman in slavery that ultimately guides the narrative. Even with particular chapter titles, such as "The Trials of Girlhood" or "A Perilous Passage in the Slave Girl's Life", Jacobs points to the fact that her youth is another important aspect of her identity. "But now I enter on my fifteenth year – a sad epoch in the life of a slave girl", writes Jacobs, and brings the readers' attention to the fact that for women in slavery, adolescence is a far more dangerous rite of passage than it is for white women (27).

The different facets of her identity (gender, race, age, motherhood) that leave Linda Brent (Jacobs's pseudonym in the narrative) vulnerable to the system of slavery are explicitly stated in the narrative multiple times, sometimes through pleas for understanding and sympathy, at other times through righteous indignation. But even as she uses both, the sentimental and the abolitionist literary tradition, Jacobs "refigures the sympathetic model in a way that shows how *contextual* identities are" (Nelson 142). The mere fact that she has shared her suffering does not give the (white, northern, female) readers the right to claim they understand what it is like to have lived through those experiences. As Nelson points out, self-serving and uncritical sympathy "assumes *sameness* in a way that can prevent an understanding of the very real, material *differences* that structure human experience in a society based upon unequal distribution of power" (142).

One could claim that power (and the lack thereof) is the key motif of the text, one that helps Linda negotiate genteel notions of femininity and her own slave status. Linda's position is precarious in that she has none of the protection offered to free white women in exchange for their chastity but is still held to (and holds herself to) these notions in a social structure which renders them obsolete. She is supposed to be an example of what Barbara Welter calls "True Womanhood", a mode of being characterized by "four cardinal virtues – piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity" (152). It is interesting to note that all of these attributes are in some way part of her grandmother Martha's personality and worldviews. As Sherman explains, "Martha in many ways is a model of womanly strength and integrity. A capable, devout Christian, she has earned the respect of her community, black and white" (171). But, as the narrative regularly reminds us, Linda's grandmother Martha is a free woman. She is able to enjoy domesticity and hold on to her purity and piety in a way that is, as Jacobs suggests, untenable for women in slavery:

But, O, ye happy women, whose purity has been sheltered from childhood, who have been free to choose the objects of your affection, whose homes are protected by law, do not judge the poor desolate slave girl too severely! If slavery had been abolished, I, also, could have married the man of my choice; I could have had a *home shielded by the laws*; and I should have been spared the painful task of confessing what I am about to relate; but all my prospects had been blighted by slavery. *I wanted to keep myself pure*; and, under the most adverse circumstances, I tried hard to persevere my self-respect; but I was struggling alone in the powerful grasp of the demon Slavery; and the monster proved too strong for me. I felt as if I was *forsaken by God* and man; as if all my efforts must be frustrated; and I became reckless in my despair. (54, emphasis mine)

Linda ultimately has to accept the fact that the notions of chastity promoted under the Cult of True Womanhood are simply not viable in her position.

It is interesting to observe how Linda as the protagonist (and Jacobs as the writer) negotiates this moral qualm. On the one hand, Linda feels "wretched" (Jacobs 56) about having to confess that she had "degraded herself" (Jacobs 56), and cries "bitter tears, such as the eyes never shed but once" (Jacobs 57). This corresponds to the tenets of True Womanhood, wherein "to contemplate the loss of purity brought tears; to be guilty of such a crime, in the women's magazines at least, brought madness or death" (Welter 154). On the other hand, she refuses to be shamed by Dr Flint and maintains that by entering a sexual relationship with another man she has done her utmost to thwart the sexual harassment of her master (Jacobs 55). "I have sinned against God and myself .... but not against you," replies Linda to Dr Flint's accusations that she has wronged him by choosing Mr Sands as her sexual partner (Jacobs 58). Linda feels pride over the fact that she "*triumphed* over her tyrant even in that small way" (Jacobs 55, emphasis mine) – even while exhibiting greater sexual agency, she is still bound by the social mores of True Womanhood, for as Welter claims, "[i]f, however, a woman managed to withstand man's assaults on her virtue, she demonstrated her superiority and her power over him." (156). Power is only attainable for Linda through defiance of genteel mores of female behavior, and the creation of new ones.

For Linda to achieve the kind of agency she seeks, a new sort of sexual moral standard must be created, one that functions as a reaction to and in opposition to the sexual harassment she is subjected to by her master. According to Sherman, in doing so, Jacobs (although possibly not intentionally) points to real moral values: "[w]hat Brent seems reluctant to say, perhaps for fear of alienating her audience, is that if slavery renders

the practice of morality impossible, far from confusing all principles of morality, it may actually clarify them. Under pressure, the genuinely ethical stands out from the merely conventional." (172). Although Sherman's assertion may seem somewhat bold (for how does one unequivocally prove that terrible suffering leads to ethical clarity?), within the context of this particular narrative, it could be posited that some "genuinely ethical" sentiments *are* brought to light. Moreover, what perseveres as an emotional and moral constant – her unwavering devotion to her children – is brought about precisely because of Linda's breach of all norms of propriety. In fact, Li points out that it is motherhood that effectively gives Linda the strength to fight for freedom:

By fashioning a literary persona who is defined almost exclusively by her maternal identity, Jacobs rejects the materialist logic of human ownership. Maternal love is shown to offer a model of relations that opposes the economy of exchange and possession characterizing the *antebellum* system of human bondage. Converting her body and reproductive abilities from sites of exploitation to vehicles of resistance, Linda undermines the authority of the slave master and works to liberate her children. (15)

Furthermore, Li claims that motherhood is the key sympathetic device through which Jacobs is able to reach and move her white, northern, middle-class readership (17).

However, their shared sentiments of motherly affection do not automatically erase the differences between mothers in bondage and free white women. As Nelson points out, there is an underlying danger in the notion of the shared "essence" of womanhood and motherhood which seeks to annul the radically different circumstances and conditions in which these women live (141). Jacobs's narrative, in Nelson's words, "challenges essential constructions of womanhood" (141). While retelling the suffering of a mother being torn from her children on New Year's Day auction because they had been sold to a different master, Jacobs directly addressed free white mothers. "O, you happy free women, contrast your New Year's Day with that of the poor bond-woman," she writes, simultaneously pointing to their shared identity as mothers and the impossibility of equating their experiences of motherhood (Jacobs 16). Here again we see the intertwining of abolitionist style (in which northern readers are urged to contemplate on the horrors of slavery) and sentimental writing (which aims to excite sympathy in readers through motifs such as loss of virtue and motherhood). As Nudelman writes, "descriptions of the defiled slave girl and the bereft slave mother" (941) were crucial for abolitionist writers:

Because their own authority was founded on the proposed preservation of sexual purity and the dissemination of domestic values, white female abolitionists often took the sexual and maternal suffering of the female slave as their object. By showing that slavery entailed the sexual abuse of black women and the fragmentation of the black family, they could at once condemn slavery and extend the sexual and domestic values they were entrusted to protect. (Nudelman 941)

Although Jacobs's narrative is perhaps most readily compared to works written by white female abolitionists (such as Lydia Maria Child, the editor of *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, or Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of the abolitionist novel contemporary readers are best acquainted with, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*), one ought also to place it alongside male slave narratives. Gomaa cites from Frederick Douglass's *My Bondage and My Freedom* and *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* in order to point to the fact that "the slave body was used in abolitionist discourse as the site/sight of pain" (371). "Sentimentalizing pain", as Gomaa phrases it, was therefore not a practice exclusively linked to the representation of female slaves – the terribly scarred body of the male slave corresponded to the irrevocably tarnished chastity of the sexually molested female slave (371). However, the (re)presentational tactics inevitably differed – while similarly circumspect and apologetic in narrating such experiences, the scars on Douglass's back were freely presented to white northern audiences, while no such spectacle could be made to physically and publicly point to a woman's loss of virtue (Gomaa 371). "Spectacle" therefore becomes both the key term denoting the lived experience of an escaped male slave, as well something to be carefully managed and maneuvered in a writing a female slave's narrative. As Gomaa points out,

Antislavery discourse treated pain as a phenomenon that required interpretation and intervention – but it did not ascribe the role of the interpreter to the sufferer. Pain had a cultural meaning determined by the limits (i.e. who gets to do the interpretative work) and excesses (the fascination with spectacle) of its representation. On one hand, the abolitionists' attitude towards pain as preventable made significant impact on the progress of human rights discourse in the United States... On the other hand, the spectacle of pain also implied objectifying the sufferer by assigning the interpretative work to the viewers of the spectacle. (380)

Jacobs, however, negotiates this fascination with the spectacle of pain and asserts her interpretation of her own experiences: "[u]nlike the middle-class white authors' engaging narrators, Jacobs's narrator draws a line which the narratee may not cross in identifying with the narrator/protagonist." (Warhol 64). The narrator in *Incidents in the Life of a Slave*

*Girl* seeks the readers' sympathy, but there is a caveat – the readers are warned to be “careful about the motives and critical of the results of that sympathetic identification” (Nelson 142). This distinct mode of narration which eludes and rejects white northern identification becomes even more visible upon Linda's escape from the slaveholding south. Regardless of the fact that she has physically removed herself from the vicinity of her master, Linda is still chained up in the institution of slavery; and when she escapes to the north, she is faced with the fact that she is only “as free from the power of slaveholders as are the white people of the north” (Jacobs 201). Moreover, it is important to take note of the “bittersweet” ending, in which Linda finally gains her freedom, but only because she was bought without her knowledge or consent by her employer, the second Mrs Bruce (Sherman 183). Linda is free, but the ideal of peaceful domesticity is still unattainable to her, for she has exchanged slavery and sexual harassment in the south for servitude and benevolent patronage in the north:

The dream of my life is not yet realized. I do not sit with my children in a home of my own. I still long for the hearthstone of my own, however humble. I wish it for my children's sake far more than for my own. But God so orders circumstances as to keep me with my friend Mrs Bruce. Love, duty, gratitude, also bind me to her side. It is a privilege to serve her who pities my oppressed people, and who has bestowed the inestimable boon of freedom on me and my children. (Jacobs 201)

Here, in the penultimate paragraph of Jacobs's narrative, it becomes clear that however fortunate she herself may have been, so long as “her oppressed people” have to rely on the “pity” of white benefactors and readers and hope for them to “bestow the inestimable boon of freedom” on them, the sympathetic reader does not have the right to “assume sameness between Afro and Anglo Americans” (Nelson 145).

Harriet Jacobs's narrative is indubitably informed not only by two contending but nevertheless interwoven literary traditions, but also by her own position towards her middle-class white female audience and their ability to sympathize with her plights. By openly writing about sexual transgressions deemed deeply improper by the Cult of True Womanhood, Jacobs tries to create a space which would allow for a contextualization of social and sexual mores and acknowledge the inherent unfairness of subjecting free and bound women to the same standards. Another point of contention is the notion of motherhood, which serves to awaken a sense of humanity and tender feelings which is assumed to be shared by all women, but which must also be considered in the context of the situation a certain mother is placed in by society. A slave woman's narrative is

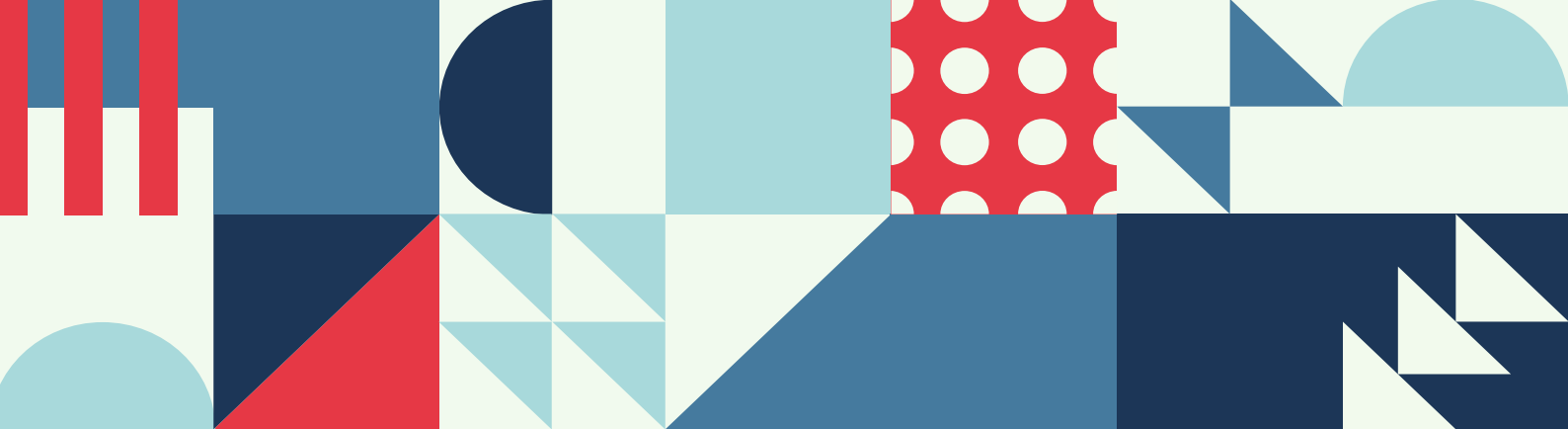


also placed in comparison to that of a male slave, as they are united by the abolitionist sentimental approach which makes a spectacle of their pain so as to incite sympathy. By taking up the interpretative work of her own narrative, Harriet Jacobs does not necessarily reject the abolitionist discourse, nor does she negate the cultural significance of the sentimental writing. *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* negotiates and shifts the social underpinnings and narrative norms behind these literary modes, but, it could be posited, not in a radical fashion. What does make narratives like Jacobs's radical, however, is the fact that they enable escaped slave women to take control in shaping the story. Rather than being an object to be bought and sold in the south, or a spectacle to be gawked at in the north, through the pseudonym *Linda Brent* Jacobs becomes an interpreter of her own experiences. She asserts herself as the storyteller of her own distinct pains and losses. This is visible most clearly in the way she instructs her readers to extend their sympathy, but not their complete identification – for that would shift the position of the interpreter back into free, white, northern hands, and that is something Jacobs refuses to do. Even in her final passages, she distinctly separates herself, a free but ultimately relatively powerless former “slave girl”, from her benefactor, a woman with enough social, legal and economic protection to grant freedom to Jacobs and her children. In pointing out this difference in their positions, she reclaims some of her power, even if Mrs Bruce is the one who freed her – for it is ultimately Harriet Jacobs who wields the power to tell her own story.

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**05**

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**Matjaž  
Zgonc**

**Some Cognitive Properties of  
English Continuation-Marking  
Aspectual Particles**

## PROFESSIONAL PAPER

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# Some Cognitive Properties of English Continuation-Marking Aspectual Particles

Continuation-marking aspectual particles are a means of construing an event described with an atelic verb as having a prolonged event-internal time. Speakers of English use them frequently to construe such events. The main thesis of this article is that they do so because various cognitive properties of continuation-marking aspectual particles allow for relatively easy cognitive processing of the particles. Two such properties are discussed: iconicity and metaphoricity. First, iconic motivation connecting the length of event structure and the length of the utterance is discussed. Then, the submetaphor of TIME IS SPACE, EVENT-INTERNAL TIME IS SPACE is used to link the arrangement patterns of prepositions 'on', 'along', 'around', and the adverb 'away' in terms of trajectors and landmarks, with the domain of EVENT-INTERNAL TIME. Additionally, the interaction patterns between conceptual metaphor and conceptual metonymy are discussed with regard to the particles and their behaviour. The final result is four diagrams giving schematic descriptions of how the metaphoric transfer of spatial concepts onto the domain of EVENT-INTERNAL TIME works for each particle, what semantic possibilities and restrictions the original spatial configurations bring when the mapping is complete and what historical reflexes still affect the choice of particles in present-day English.

### KEYWORDS

**aspectual particles, continuation-marking, iconicity, metaphor, metonymy, interaction patterns**

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Aspectual particles are a means of modifying event-internal time (aspect) in the English language by modifying verbs, thus adding an (additional) aspectual meaning to the construal for which the verb was used (cf. Comrie). Although they are typically considered informal, they are used by native speakers of English rather frequently (Biber et al. 410f). In this paper, the main research question is why people, when they are free to do so, would choose to modify event-internal time with aspectual particles and not another means of doing so. The analysis will be limited to the continuation-marking aspectual particles 'on', 'away', 'along' and 'around' (Walkowá)<sup>1</sup>.

In his book *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things*, George Lakoff explicitly stated that the optimal grammar "maximizes motivation" (539) and that "it is easier to learn, remember, and use [structures] which use existing patterns than it is to learn, remember, and use words whose meaning is not consistent with existing patterns [...]" (438). As we will show below, native speakers of English do in fact use aspectual particles frequently. Assuming that their mental grammar is optimal, that is, that they can process and express with their language just as well as any other speaker can with their language, we can presume for now that there must be a good degree of motivation in how aspectual particles are cognitively processed. A good indication that this assumption is in fact sound would be a diagram showing how there is a common pattern in cognitive processing of aspectual particles and other parts of speech which are also frequently used.

Thus, answering the research question involves researching cognitive processes, and those considered here are iconicity, metonymy and metaphor. Because of the iconic principle, it should be easy to express an event structure relatively longer than another event structure with aspectual particles. Metonymy and metaphor should interact to delineate exactly which part of the domain of SPACE is mapped onto the domain of EVENT-INTERNAL TIME with regard to aspectual particles.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, the literature concerning the key concepts is briefly reviewed and the relevant concepts are defined. In section 3, the indications of those cognitive processes in actual language performance are presented, for which data from the EnTenTen corpus were analysed. "Negative" indication, in the sense that a proposed reading of a sentence is impossible if it is assumed that a certain cognitive process is active in its construal, is given when it is easier to illustrate a point in this manner than to provide examples whose

proposed reading corroborate the point. In section 4, there is a discussion of the results as well as of relevant diachronic data. The final section summarizes the findings and concludes the article.

## 2. KEY CONCEPTS AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Bernard Comrie's 1976 seminal work on aspect is a comparative study in the grammatical categories of aspect in various Indo-European languages in which the author is mainly concerned with verbal morphology, such as comparing the English progressive with the Spanish or Russian imperfect. Comrie's work does not mention aspectual particles at all, although the concept of "event structure" must be attributed to him. Event structure or "internal temporal properties of the event" (Comrie) concern the construal of an event as having a beginning, a middle section, and an endpoint. The term "aspect" concerns encoding and decoding an event with an emphasis on one of those sections, or the whole event structure at the same time. Thus, *She sleeps* focusses on the entirety of the event, *She starts to sleep* on the beginning, and *She is sleeping* on the middle section.

Huddleston and Pullum's 2002 grammar of English discusses aspect in terms of verbal morphology and as well as of verbs whose semantic meaning is inherently aspectual (e.g. Huddleston and Pullum 117). Semantic properties related to event structure are typically referred to as "aktionsart", but the distinction between aspect and aktionsart will not be discussed here as it would steer the discussion off topic considerably. On the other hand, when discussing articles, they note that in terms of semantics, "[t]he most central particles are prepositions" (Huddleston and Pullum 280), which is relevant for the discussion of their cognitive properties since it is, in light of that, possible to draw parallels between the conceptual structure of prepositions (about which we know a lot) and that of particles. Huddleston and Pullum never discuss expressing aspect through aspectual particles in their grammar, or indeed particles in terms of aspect. Conversely, the grammar written by Biber et al., whose title notably includes spoken English, does discuss aspectual particles (cf. Biber et al. 410f) as "aspectual intransitive phrasal verbs". In their discussion (Biber et al. 410f), it is reported that such verb-particle combinations are far more typical of spoken discourse and fiction than more formal types of written discourse. There are tangible statistics given for the combination go on in this particular (i.e. continuation-marking aspectual) meaning—over 200 hits per one million words for spoken discourse and over 100 hits per one million words for fiction—but unfortunately, the statistics are only given for this combination.

The term "continuation-marking" comes from Milada Walkowá (Walkowá). Her paper is primarily concerned with the syntactic properties of particles but she also makes an important contribution to a cognitive-semantic analysis of said particles: "The other type [as opposed to telicity-marking particles] is continuation-marking particles, whose meaning indicates continuation and/or absence of goal and their particle verbs cannot license a direct object. I include in this group [...] *on*, *along* and *away* [and also] *about* and *around*, as they are similar to the other continuation-marking particles in meaning and object licensing" (Walkowá 151f; see also Brinton 175). In other words, she claims that particles have *meanings of their own* as opposed to just being a means to modify the meaning of a lexical verb; this meaning is described to be 'continuation and/or absence of goal', which is the cognitive input they contribute to the construal of an event, and the category of particles with this meaning includes 'on', 'away', 'along', and 'around'. Note that among those, all can be considered prepositions as Huddleston and Pullum have claimed, apart from 'away' which is an adverb (but cf. section 3).

"Iconicity" is a Peircean property of signs typical of those signs which resemble what they are signs for (Kövecses, 300). When he was comparing sentences such as *Sue launched the plan* and *Sue caused the plane to fly*, Kövecses noticed that there is a degree of congruency between the conceptual structure and the linguistic structure of the sentences construing the event. The principle of relative congruency between the conceptual and linguistic structures has been attested to by various other linguistic phenomena (cf. Kövecses 300-302), but for the purposes of this article, it is the length of the utterance that is relevant when the event it construes is also internally long.

The classical theory of conceptual metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, Lakoff, Johnson, Lakoff and Turner, see also Kövecses 115-133) posits the existence of two domains, the source domain and the target domain, the latter of which is construed in terms of the former through mapping because of structural similarity motivating such mapping. Section 3 discusses the similarity between SPACE and EVENT-INTERNAL TIME schematically, and motivation will be discussed in light of, among other things, the cognitive properties of the prepositions 'on', 'along', 'around', and the adverb 'away', as described in Lindstromberg.

In the past twenty years, there has been a lot of progress in the field of conceptual metaphor into various directions. One of those directions is the interaction patterns between metaphor and metonymy, i.e. situations where metaphoric mapping is accompanied by metonymic expansions or reductions of either the source domain or the target domain. Barcelona

first mentioned that each and every metaphorical mapping might be preceded by a metonymic reduction of the source domain. A more refined research on the matter was carried out by Ruiz de Mendoza and Galega-Masegosa who claim that metaphor and metonymy can conceptually interact in various patterns, some of which have linguistic consequences too. The combinations relevant here are target-in-source metonymy and source-in-target metonymy, for which a linguistic test was devised: the zeugma test (Geeraerts and Persiman, qtd. in Ruiz de Mendoza and Galega-Masegosa 7). The latter produce expressions which do not allow zeugmatic link whereas the former produce expressions that do. For illustration, please refer to (A) and (B) (Geeraerts and Persiman 2011, qtd. in Ruiz de Mendoza and Galega-Masegosa 7):

(A) *\*The red shirts won the match and had to be cleaned thoroughly.* (red shirts for football players or parts of the uniform; target-in-source)

(B) *The book is thick as well as boring.* (the book for non-metonymic reference and the contents of the book; source-in-target)

### 3. CORPUS DATA AND INDICATIONS OF COGNITIVE PROCESSES

In this section, sentences from the EnTenTen corpus containing continuation-marking aspectual particles 'on', 'away', 'along', and 'around' are reproduced as example sentences for the purposes of discussing the cognitive phenomena described in section 2. The sentences were found by performing an advanced concordance search in Sketch Engine of each particular particle as a lemma with the tag "particle" (ltag="RP"). When it comes to syntax, verbs modified by these particles cannot select direct objects, which is why the part-of-speech context was limited so that only results where no noun was immediately to the right of the particle-lemma were shown. In practice, this meant that a search for 'on' should only yield sentences where 'on' was a particle modifying an intransitive verb.

Unfortunately, because the software is only able to distinguish between individually tagged *words* and not phrases, the search did not yield only sentences having the desired form. I concluded that I would need to perform a manual search through the results to determine with certainty if a particular sentence contains the lemma I searched for functioning as an aspectual particle or as another part of speech.

#### 3.1 Iconicity

To restate the principle of iconicity, whenever a speaker uses a

sign which also resembles that which it is a sign for, we speak of iconic motivation behind the use of the sign. In terms of continuation-marking particles, the *length* of the utterance corresponds with the *length of the event structure* expressed by the verb and the particle. Compare:

- |                                     |   |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| (1) [Y]ou should                    | <u>go</u> to your dashboard to delete this page [...] |
| (2) The paper then                  | <u>goes on</u> to analyse [...] this term [...]       |
| (3) [T]he numbers after the decimal | <u>go on and on.</u>                                  |
| (4) The circus that is Leeds United | <u>goes on and on and on.</u>                         |

When written down, there is a clear correlation between the actual length of the sentences and the length of event-internal time of the structure of the events they describe. If the sentences were spoken, on the other hand, the event-internal time would correspond with the time it takes for one to finish an utterance. In both cases, the longer it takes to produce or comprehend the sentence, the longer the event-internal time is perceived to be. The unmodified verb 'go' in (1) is lengthened by the use of the particle 'on' in (2) just as the event-internal time of (2) is longer than the one in (1). This becomes even more pronounced in (3) and (4) where several particles are coordinated. The concordance search showed that 'on' is the particle which is used by far the most frequently for this process, although it can also be observed with other continuation particles:

- (5) [I] [...] spin off into the rabbit trails that cause the minutes to tick away and away and away.
- (6) We have been working on this along and along but now that we've decided to finish [...] <sup>2</sup>
- (7) [A]fter going around and around and getting nowhere I asked to speak to her supervisor.

We will not deem iconicity a process contingent on metaphor since it concerns congruency and not systematic motivated correspondence of structurally similar domains. Metaphor and metonymy are part of the section which follows.

### 3.2 Metaphoricity with the source-in-target metonymic reduction

Lindstromberg provides an exhaustive account of the cognitive semantics of English prepositions. The author considers every spatial preposition from the point-of-view of trajectors and landmarks, which are special cases of the figure-ground arrangement. The landmark, corresponding to 'ground' in this arrangement, is the 'static' entity relative



to which the 'dynamic' trajectory is set. For example, in *The book is on the table*, the table is the landmark relative to which the book, the trajectory, is placed. From the semantics of the preposition 'on', we can infer that the trajectory is placed on top of a two-dimensional landmark which supports it, but not so that it is wholly contained within its borders. Specifically for 'on', Lindstromberg proposes a schema of static support (51-54), which is a prototypical meaning for this preposition. Thus, every use of 'on' triggers the schema consisting of a two-dimensional landmark supporting, but not containing a trajectory. This basic, visual arrangement between the trajectory (henceforth TR) and landmark (henceforth LM), which is also sensitive with regard to the dimensionality of the LM and the movement of the TR, is going to be the basis for the analysis of how prepositions affect the event-internal time when they are used as particles.

Namely, if the particle 'on' is in fact just a preposition in a different syntactic function like Huddleston and Pullum have proposed, its semantic content should be unaffected by its role in a sentence. Hence, 'on' the preposition and 'on' the particle should both trigger the support schema described by Lindstromberg. However, in examples (2-4), reproduced here for the sake of convenience, all uses of 'on' provide a temporal input for the construal of the sentence, not a spatial one:

- (2) The paper then goes on to analyse [...] this term [...]
- (3) [T]he numbers after the decimal go on and on.
- (4) The circus that is Leeds United goes on and on and on.

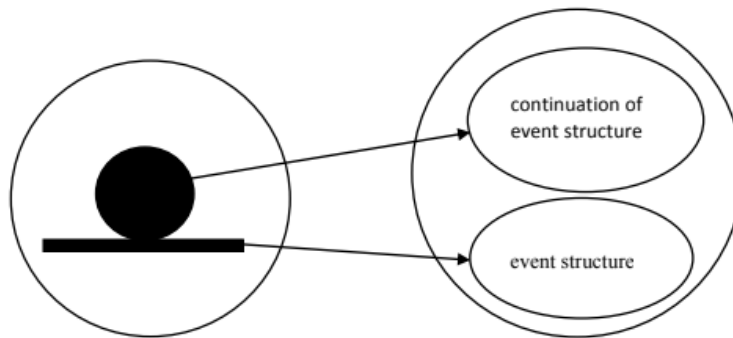
Luckily, using spatial terms for describing time has been documented very well in Lakoff (1987), Lakoff and Turner (1989), and Lakoff and Johnson (2003) in terms of the TIME IS SPACE metaphor. Whereas in section 3.1 we were observing a sign resembling what it is a sign for and set aside the question whether or not there is metaphorical mapping involved, we now face a coherent system of structural correspondences of elements from one domain, SPACE, and another, EVENT-INTERNAL TIME. It is thus justified to turn our attention to how the source domain of SPACE is used to structure the target domain of EVENT-INTERNAL TIME.

Since the schema for 'on' has already been described, this particle is considered first. The diagrams in the remainder of this section feature two circles with the one on the left representing the source domain and the one on the right representing the target domain. The 'source-domain circle' includes images of the schemata which are linked to the corresponding concepts in the 'target-domain circle' with arrows. As the source domain is space, which humans can see and otherwise perceive with our bodily receptors, whereas no such receptors exist for



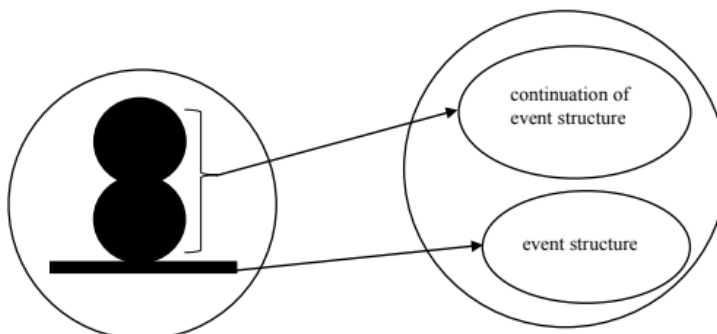
time, let alone event-internal time, it is only in the source-domain circle that schemata are used. The temporal-domain circles feature concepts spelled out with words.

ON<sub>2</sub>:



In the diagram, the LM, which is a two-dimensional supporting surface in this case, represents the event with a default event structure. The black ball on the surface is the TR as evoked by the semantics of 'on' as a preposition. But since this diagram represents the mapping from SPACE to EVENT-INTERNAL TIME, the TR is mapped onto the domain of EVENT-INTERNAL TIME as a continuation of event-internal time. In fact, if there are more trajectors, the event-internal time is prolonged even further, which fits the schema perfectly. Imagine ON<sub>2</sub> as a diagram for event-internal time in (2). Now, if there are coordinated instances of 'on' as in (3), the number of TRs increases and the event is construed as internally longer as all the TRs map onto the target domain. The diagram for (3) is plotted here as ON<sub>3</sub>:

ON<sub>3</sub>:



Of course, the continuation of event structure is longer in ON<sub>3</sub> than in ON<sub>2</sub>, but this is clear from the schema in the source-domain circle as well.

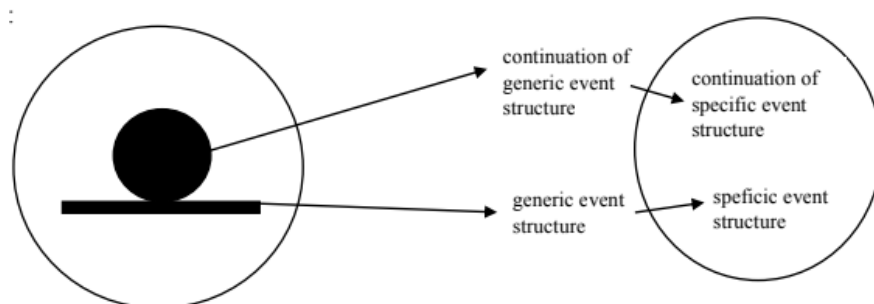
Still, there is more to be said about SPACE IS EVENT-INTERNAL TIME. While it is possible to coordinate continuation-marking particles with other particles of the same type, it is impossible to coordinate a continuation-marking and a telicity-marking particle. A sentence such as *She continued drinking and finished the glass* is perfectly acceptable but it is quite odd to hear a sentence such as *?She drank on and up*. It is unlikely that semantic contradiction is involved since the two sentences have very similar meanings. Furthermore, it is also not the case that metaphor would exclude coordination as such, as it is reasonably acceptable to read sentences like 'Your idea has solid foundations but can certainly be built upon' (THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS) or 'Both her attack and his counterattack were exceedingly mean' (ARGUMENT IS WAR). Why, then, is *?She drank on and up* so strange?

The example of 'on' and 'up' is used here because they are the most frequently used particles of their respective groups. Browsing the EnTenTen for sentences where 'on' and 'up' in the string 'on and up' would be marked as particles yielded 180 examples, so I manually searched through all. Not in one of them were the words actually aspectual particles (and not adverbs of space or manner) nor did they pertain to the same action simultaneously. The only example worth reproducing here is [...] *Pan-Scandinavianism evolved on and up, at least in the '30s and '40s [sic] of the 19th [sic] century*. Because it is impossible to evolve in a spatial direction, the example caught my attention. However, neither the sentence itself nor its context allow for a continuative interpretation followed by a telic one. It appears that the author either treated 'up' as a continuation-marking particle, or that 'up' is used here in its spatial sense, as in 'up north'. In any case, it certainly does not have a telic meaning.

Geeraerts and Persiman (qtd. in Ruiz de Mendoza and Galega-Masegosa 7) claim that the answer lies in the interaction patterns of metaphor and metonymy. They differentiate between target-in-source metonymies where the source domain is first metonymically reduced, and only the reduced part is mapped onto the target domain, and the converse process--source-in-target metonymies--where the source domain is unaffected by metonymy and it is rather that which is mapped onto the target domain that is subsequently metonymically reduced (11-14). Crucially, Geeraerts and Persiman employ the zeugma-test to determine which type of interaction is at work. In the example above, *Both her attack and his counterattack were exceedingly mean*, two parts of the source domain are connected by a zeugma. Conversely, in *\*The red shirts won the match and had to be cleaned*, a zeugma is impossible, which is why this has to be an instance of the source-in-target metonymy. We have also just determined that a zeugma is impossible with different

types of aspectual particles. It is therefore reasonable to infer that the metaphorical mapping between SPACE and EVENT-INTERNAL TIME is complicated by a metonymic reduction of the metaphoric target. This might be represented like so, for (2):

ON<sub>2.1</sub>:



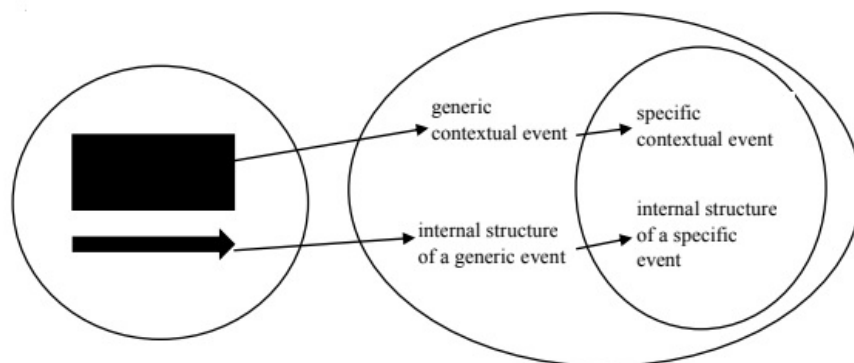
Evidence from the zeugma-test leads us to the conclusion that the schema of the preposition 'on' is not mapped directly onto the event structure. In fact, no continuation-marking particle seems to allow a zeugma with a telicity-marking one. Instead, the relationship between the TR and the LM is first mapped onto a *generic* event structure, an event structure of an unspecified event in the construal, and only afterwards can it be mapped onto the structure of a specific event in that particular construal. This would explain the lack of coordination possibilities for the particles. It is also in line with the general GENERIC FOR SPECIFIC metonymic pattern (see Kövecses 97-113). The diagrams for 'along', 'around' and 'away' will include a metonymic reduction of the target domain to keep in line with the pattern discussed here.

The preposition 'along' is a dynamic preposition and its TR is necessarily moving. Because of this, it is best represented in a diagram as a vector, i.e. a force moving in a certain direction, represented by an arrow figure (Lindstromberg 81-83). Crucially, however, whatever is 'along' is necessarily along something else. If one compares two sentences like *She sang* and *She sang along*, it is clear that the latter has had its event-internal time modified--the time of singing is not unspecified as in *She sang* but rather defined with respect to some element from the context of this utterance. Example (8) is taken from a report on river cleaning. It is given here together with its preceding sentence:

(8) Cleanup veterans [...] found a backwater slough that was choked full of huge tires and trash, apparently deposited in a flood quite a few years ago near the Hollywood Casino. Other volunteers worked along under the 370 bridge [...]

In (8), the internal temporal structure of “worked” is established in terms of the time it took the “cleanup veterans” to find the backwater slough filled with rubbish. The internal temporal structure of “worked” thus corresponds to the TR while the preceding context corresponds to the LM.

ALONG<sub>8</sub>:



The preposition ‘around’ is the youngest of the prepositions this paper is concerned with (Lindstromberg 133) and is also the only preposition-particle discussed here that Brinton does not include in her analysis of the historical continuity of aspectual meaning. In other words, the word ‘around’ has had the least amount of time to acquire aspectual meanings regardless of the syntactic roles in which it can function. As a preposition, it can be used in a variety of ways, among which the most frequent are ‘bypass’ or ‘circumvention’ (see also Lindstromberg 133-139). None of those meanings seem to be able to motivate prolonging the event-internal time. However, there is one meaning, namely that of “aimless and purposeless” behaviour (Lindstromberg 136) which is a good fit for the purpose.

This claim is based on the following. A corpus query where ‘around’ is marked as a particle and does in fact modify event-internal time yields, among others, examples (9-11). If the semantics of ‘around’ in (9-11) really include the notion of aimlessness, using an expression meaning ‘aimlessly’ in place of the verb modified by ‘around’ should provide sentences with their propositions unchanged. The same should not be true if the notion of ‘bypass’ or ‘circumvention’ is inserted into the sentence: in those cases, the original meaning of the sentence should be altered considerably. Below, examples (9-11) were altered to include expressions of aimlessness to give (9a-11a) and to include expressions of circumvention to give (9b-11b).

(9) Visit their website [...] and poke around!

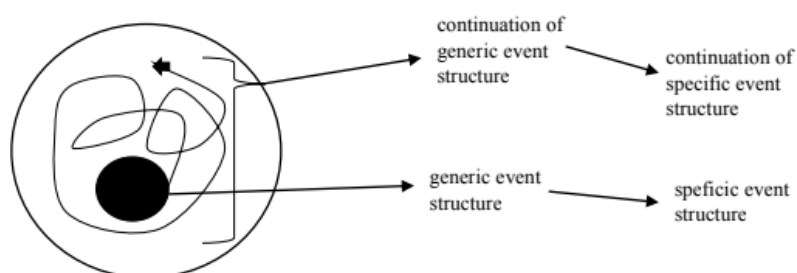
(9a) Visit their website and poke just whatever!

- (9b) Visit their website and poke across in a circular pattern!  
 (10) You can download the simple spreadsheet if you want to play around with the model yourselves.  
 (10a) You can download the simple spreadsheet if you want to play for fun with the model yourselves.  
 (10b) You can download the simple spreadsheet if you want to play in a circle surrounding the model yourselves.  
 (11) When I was a teenager, I used to loiter around the librarian's counter [...].  
 (11a) When I was a teenager, I used to loiter by the librarian's counter for no particular reason.  
 (11b) ??When I was a teenager, I used to loiter in a circle by the librarian's counter.

Examples (9a-11a) are close to examples (9-11) in meaning whereas examples (9b-10b) differ from their aspectual counterparts considerably. This is a good indicator that the meaning of 'around' which gets mapped into the EVENT-INTERNAL TIME domain is that of 'aimlessness'. This is especially evident in example 11b where loitering is supposed to be circumventing something. Because loitering is a static activity whereas circumvention requires movement, one has to conclude that 'around' in (11) cannot be reasonably interpreted as circumvention.

In the diagram below, the schema of 'around' in (11) is mapped onto the event-internal time of the event expressed by "loiter around". The idea of aimlessness is unfortunately not easy to capture in terms of a schema. Lindstromberg uses a line with an arrowhead going in unpredictable loops (136), and this is a strategy adopted here as well. However, one should not infer that the area to which the arrowhead is pointing is a goal, or that the path of aimlessness is always a reflection of this particular path. This schema is just one of the myriad possible schemas representing aimless movement. The LM is equipped with an arrowhead only to indicate rough direction of movement.

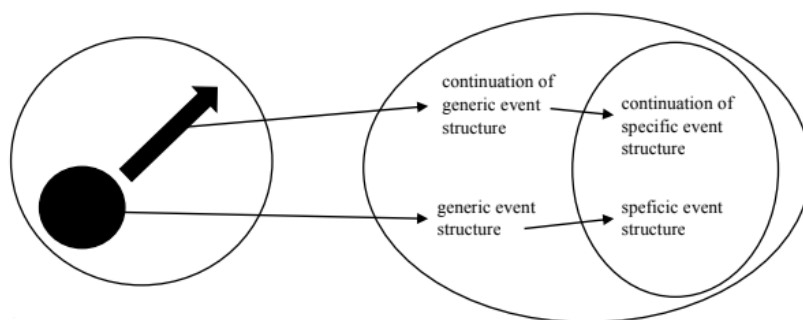
AROUND<sub>11</sub>:



'Away' is a peculiar particle because, as has been said, it is not usually considered a preposition. Indeed, it can *modify* a prepositional phrase, as in *She moved away from this town*, but it cannot function as a headword in one. Lindstromberg nevertheless describes it in terms of an arrangement of a TR and a LM, claiming that 'away' and 'away from' are the same word as far as meaning is concerned (48) and that both describe virtual movement of the TR that may or may not begin in the LM (is left unspecified in that respect). What is mapped into the EVENT-INTERNAL TIME domain is then the LM as the generic event structure, as was the case with 'on', and the path of virtual movement as the continuation of the generic event structure. The diagram below is a representation of Example 12:

(12) Pity the poor slob's slaving away in the trenches!

AWAY<sub>12</sub>:



## 4. DISCUSSION

Iconicity was claimed to explain the aid that human processing receives from linguistic structures as their meaning resembles their physical structure. But why should the congruency between semantics and physical properties be active only on the level of traditional lexemes? Phonemes have a physical--phonetic--realization which has not been considered in this article at all. A potential phonosemantic matter with which this article might be concerned is a physical property of resonants as opposed to obstruents, namely allowing the airflow to continue unimpeded for their pronunciation. While most continuation-marking aspectual particles end in a resonant ('on' /-n/; 'away' /-e/; 'along' /-ŋ/), some telicity-marking aspectual particles end in a stop ('up' /-p/; 'out' /-t/). Can it be said that positioning one's body so that the airflow is continuous when pronouncing most of the continuation-marking aspectual particles provides embodied semantic motivation?

The association is tempting, but assessing the link realistically must lead to a negative answer. Not only do 'around' and 'about', regardless of the fact that the latter is not considered in this article, not end in a resonant, there are also multiple telicity-marking particles ('down', 'through', 'over' in both British and American English) which do, so a correlation between a particle ending in a resonant and marking continuation cannot be established. This is also not true of lexemes in general: there are only very few words in English which both end in a resonant and are connected with movement: even if 'on', 'motion' and 'train' do, 'refrigerator', 'Seattle' and 'belly-button' do not, and neither do a vast majority of others. Finally, since the bodily basis of resonants is the same for all humans, speakers of all languages should be noticing the correspondence between ending in a resonant and denoting continuation. In fact, not even the languages out of which present-day English (PDE) developed observed this proposed "rule": the ancestor of "on" was an ingressive prefix in Old English (OE) and would only become consistently associated with continuation-marking in Early Modern English (Brinton 212, 232-233). Thus, it is safe to say that motivation when it comes to congruency between physical form and meaning is restricted to iconicity only.

This brings us to the historical development of continuation-marking particles. The development offers a part of the answer to the question why people would use a certain particle in a certain situation instead of a different one, as well as why 'on' and 'away' have meanings other than continuation-marking.

According to Brinton, the OE aspectual system relied on prefixes as opposed to particles for encoding the category of aspect. The only PDE particle with a traceable ancestor in the OE period was 'on'. What is peculiar about 'on' is that it was ingressive rather than continuation-marking (Brinton 212). In the Middle English (ME) period, 'on' became a particle and retained its ingressive sense, but an infrequently evoked (Brinton 232) continuative sense developed alongside it before its use became predominately continuation-marking in PDE. The reflex of its ingressive meaning is still detectable in sentences like *Play on!* ("Begin playing!" uttered by a baseball umpire). 'On' was also used when 'onweg' (on + weg), the OE ancestor of 'away', was coined. In OE, "it had both directional and telic meanings" (Brinton 211), with the telic meaning continuing via ME 'away' into PDE (Brinton 228): *The ice melted away*. In PDE, 'away' is only continuative in meaning when it expresses virtual movement. Conversely, 'along', another ME invention<sup>3</sup>, has always marked continuation (Brinton 217) even in its earlier form 'andlang' (231-232). As for 'around', it has already been mentioned that it has only first appeared as a particle after the OE and ME periods--in the 17<sup>th</sup> century



(Lindstromberg 133) to be exact--so there is no OE or ME form of the particle to discuss.

Not only is 'around' the youngest continuation-marking<sup>4</sup> particle--it has also been shown that its conceptual structure is fairly restricted with the notion of aimlessness. Whereas it is impossible to provide a definitive list of situations in which one particle will inevitably be preferred over another (because this is not only a matter of grammar but also pragmatics, linguistic strategy, etc.), it is still possible to say that some particles are more universally applicable for extending the internal time of an event than others. This inherent semantic property of 'around' makes it less universally applicable than, for example, 'on' because the construal of the event whose internal structure 'around' helps continue must also include the notion of aimlessness, or at the very least no notion that would conceptually clash with aimlessness. Similarly, both 'along' and 'away' bring into the construal a specific notion, 'an element with respect to which the event-internal time is specified' and 'virtual movement away from the LM' respectively (not to mention different specifications of contact between TR and LM, and the dimensionality of the LM). It seems that 'on' is the least semantically limited of the continuation-marking particles: unless the event structure is specifically impossible to conceptualize as a two-dimensional LM, 'on' can construe any event structure as continuous as long as the verb used to describe it is not telic.

Because its conceptual structure is rather simple and free, modifying the construal of an event structure as continuous with 'on' should come the most naturally to speakers of English. For this reason, 'on' should be the most frequent means of modifying the event structure in this manner, as well as the most modifiable. Since 'on' is indeed the most commonly used continuation-marking aspectual particles as well as lends itself most readily to utterances where it is repeated for increased effect (cf. examples (1-4)), there must be some merit to this claim.

## 5. CONCLUSION

This article's main thesis is that the continuation-marking aspectual particles 'on', 'along', 'away', and 'around' are used by native speakers most frequently to construe an event with a prolonged internal structure. It was shown that utterances containing the particles are longer than those without particles, which fits together with their event structures also being internally longer than those of utterances without particles. This is especially relevant with utterances where there are repeated instances of particles. It was also found that some particles such as 'on' are relatively



unhindered by their semantics when it comes to combinatorial possibilities whereas others, like 'along' and 'around', have rather specific meanings which prevent them from being used in certain situations.

Thus, a cognitive-semantic description of continuation-marking aspectual particles was made, which owes a lot of its content to the cognitive-semantic description of prepositions. There are risks of communication failure connected with verbs whose internal structure has been prolonged excessively, which might be true for research articles as well. For this reason, this is a good time to stop.

## END NOTES

1 Walkowa also considers 'about' but since the query function of Sketch Engine fails to find a single result (October 6 2019) where 'about' is used as a particle without being followed by a noun, which is a good indication of a decline of productivity, I will not be considering this particle.

2 Especially coordinated instances of 'along' are extremely infrequent; there are 7 in the entire corpus, one of which is repeated and three of which add semantic content to the verb, which is why they cannot be considered purely aspectual.

3 There is, however, an OE kenning "ondlongne dæg" (end-long day) in *The Battle of Brunanburgh*.

4 Note that "around" can also have a telic sense, as in "By the time October rolled around [...]" (EnTenTen)

5 <https://lexically.net/wordsmith/version6/index.html>. Last access: 27/09/2019.

6 Insufficient accommodative attitude (cf. Dragojevic et al., "Communication Accommodation Theory" 4).

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