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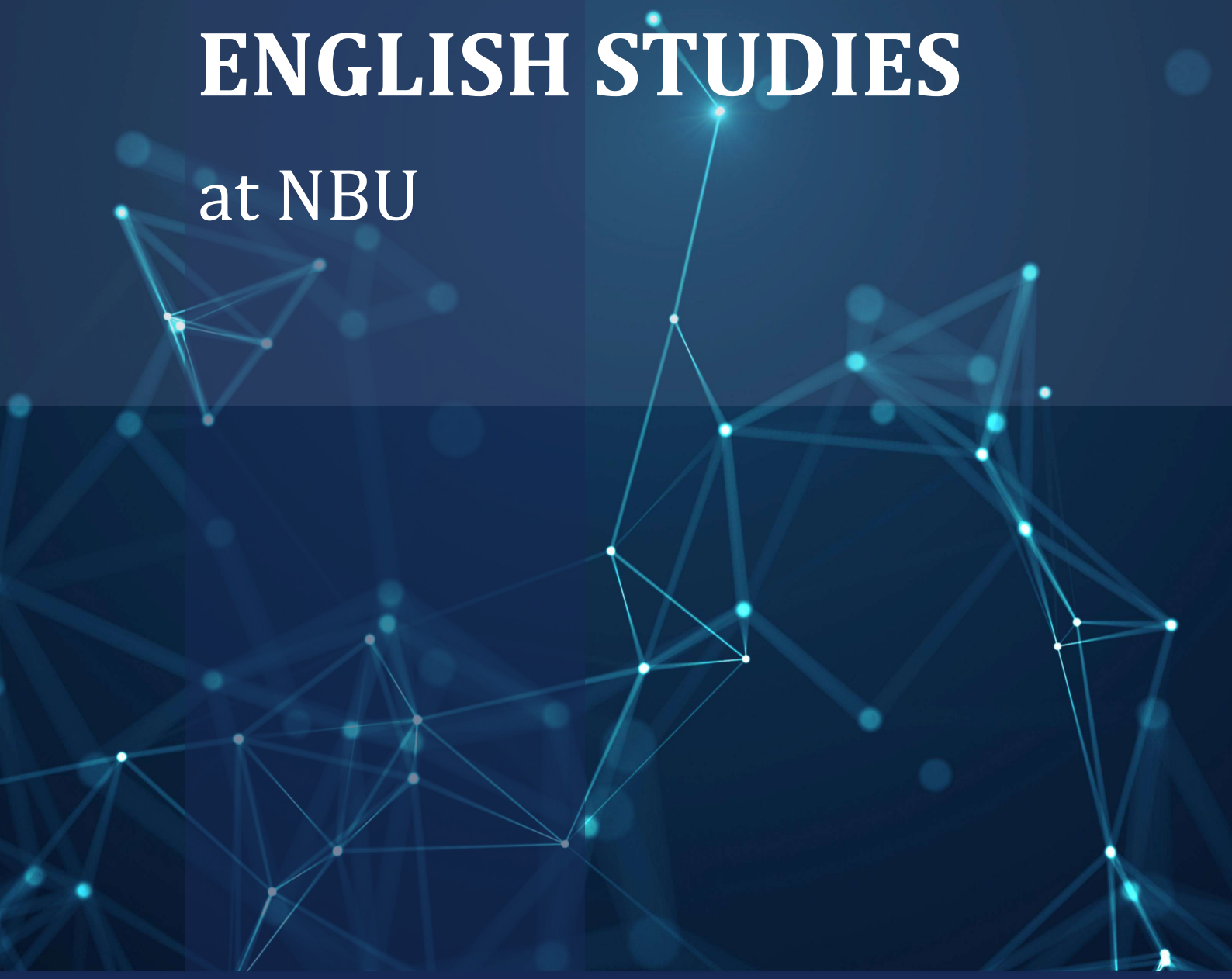

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About the journal

Aims & scope

English Studies at NBU (ESNBU) is an entirely open access, double-blind peer reviewed academic journal published by the Department of Foreign Languages and Cultures, New Bulgarian University in two issues per year, June and December, in print and online.

ESNBU welcomes original research articles, book reviews, discussion contributions and other forms of analysis and comment encompassing all aspects of English Studies and English for professional communication and the creative professions. Manuscripts are accepted in English. Translations of published articles are generally not accepted.

Submission and fees

Submissions are accepted from all researchers; authors do not need to have a connection to New Bulgarian University to publish in ESNBU.

There are **no submission fees** or **publication charges** for authors.

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Abstracting and Indexing

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ERIH PLUS - European Reference Index for the Humanities and the Social Sciences
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WoS Core Collection (ESCI) - Web of Science Emerging Sources Citation Index
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RSCI Core - Russian Science Citation Index (РИНЦ)
CNKI SCHOLAR (CNKI) China Knowledge Resource Integrated Database
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EZB - Elektronische Zeitschriftenbibliothek
BASE (Bielefeld Academic Search Engine)
iDiscover, the University of Cambridge's search and discovery system
European University Institute Articles+
Evaluated by MIAR - Information Matrix for the Analysis of Journals

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-Bulgarian National Library "St. St. Cyril and Methodius" (both print and digital full text formats)
-Central and Eastern European Online Library (CEEOL) (digital, full text).
-The Library of Congress (both print and digital from Vol4, Issue 2, 2018)
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EDITORS MESSAGE

English Studies at NBU is five years old!

To mark the occasion, we wanted to present the latest issue of the journal in the Book Centre at New Bulgarian University, but we had to cancel the event due to the unexpected COVID-19 pandemic.

However, our operations continued uninterrupted and we put together another very interesting issue.

Our authors come from Asia, Europe and Africa with research in ELT, Linguistics and Literature.

ESNBU is reaching a wider readership as we wrote in a blog post with the 2019 web site traffic analysis. Three of our top authors are PhD students at the time of publication – this is telling us we are on the right track by giving opportunities to young researchers and doctoral students.

Web site-wise, we now have a new Metrics widget, which adds Dimensions and Altmetrics data to PlumX for every published article.

You will notice the new cover – we changed it to reflect our development – while the old cover image showed unconnected glittering dots, the new "networking" image is meant to symbolise that we have started to create a community connecting authors, reviewers, editors and readers, and other collaborators.

We are now indexed in the British Library – we send hardcopies of the journal, and we are present in ZDB - Zeitschriften Datenbank and EZB - Elektronische Zeitschriftenbibliothek

As members of EASE, the EASE BG Chapter held a pre-conference event online where we discussed the difficulties editors face during times of crisis.

Finally, I would like to invite submissions for our next issue in December 2020.

Wishing you all good reading.

Stan Bogdanov
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Editor's note: Garuba, I. O. (2019). The Ageing Poet and Death Anxiety: Art as Existential Therapy in John Pepper Clark's "Of Sleep and Old Age". *English Studies at NBU, 5*(2), 268-283. https://doi.org/10.33919/esnbu.19.2.5

Stan Bogdanov, Ph.D.

Managing Editor

On 30 December 2019 we published I.O. Garuba's article "The Ageing Poet and Death Anxiety: Art as Existential Therapy in John Pepper Clark's Of Sleep and Old Age".

Recently, substantive concerns have been raised about an identical publication in another journal by the same author. For the benefit of our readers, we are publishing this Editor's Note to assert that the version published on 30 December 2019 in English Studies at NBU, Volume 5, Issue 2, 2019, is the authoritative and only version of record.

English Studies at NBU has no reason to consider retraction. The evidence collected during our investigation exculpated the author and confirmed that the other version was published without consent from the author ignoring his withdrawal letter.

We were unable to reach the publisher to seek removal of the said version.

We would like to discourage readers from citing or linking to the other version.

This editorial was published on 20 June 2020, at esnbu.org.

The Editors strive to uphold the very highest standards of publication ethics and are committed to supporting the high standards of integrity of ESNBU. Authors, reviewers, editors, and interested readers should consult the ethics section of ESNBU and the Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE) website for guidelines on publication ethics.

References

Garuba, I. O. (2019). The Ageing Poet and Death Anxiety: Art as Existential Therapy in John Pepper Clark's "Of Sleep and Old Age". *English Studies at NBU, 5*(2), 268-283. https://doi.org/10.33919/esnbu.19.2.5

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THE MOTIVATION OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS TO LEARN ENGLISH

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Abstract

This article reports on the findings of a study investigating the motivation of Bulgarian undergraduates of International Relations to learn English as a second language (L2). First, we consider language learning motivation in the context of three influential theoretical developments in research on motivation. Then, we report on a small-scale survey aiming to define the motivational profile of students of International Relations through the lens of the L2 Motivational Self System. The analysis of the survey data reveals similarities with findings of previous research as regards the favourable attitude towards English language learning, the prominent role of the ideal L2 self in the motivational pattern, and some doubt over the relation between the ought-to L2 self and the intended learning effort. The study results also indicate relations between travel orientation and the ought-to L2 self, and between the two types of instrumental motivation which have not been reported in previous research. These motivation peculiarities are explained through the specifics of the surveyed group that refer to students' aspirations and potential careers in international relations.

Keywords: language learning motivation, L2 Motivational Self System, foreign language learning

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Language Learning Motivation

Language learning motivation has consistently been found to be one of the two major learner characteristics (the other being language aptitude) with the greatest influence on foreign language learning (Gardner & Lambert, 1959, p. 266; Ellis, 2004, p. 531; Dörnyei, 2010, p. 247; Henry, 2011, p. 81). It accounts for only slightly less of the variance in learners' achievement scores than language aptitude (Ellis, 2004, p. 536), and has been argued to rank first as long as the motivation measure is related not only to language test results but also to situated learner behaviours (Dörnyei, 2010, p. 248). Whereas language aptitude is predominantly seen as a matter of innate endowment and, correspondingly, considered to be relatively fixed, motivation is regarded as more subject to change (Ellis, 2004, p. 534). It is therefore not surprising that motivation keeps attracting the attention of teachers and researchers alike – recognition of both its role in understanding language learning and its potential for making it more effective.

Theoretical Overview

The first rigorous attempts to study language learning motivation were made by Robert Gardner and Wallace Lambert (1959), who proposed that motivation is strongly influenced by two groups of reasons (or orientations, in Gardner and Lambert's terms) for learning the target language. The 'integrative' orientation refers to reasons that involve understanding of and interaction with the target language community, whereas the 'instrumental' orientation relates to the perceived need to learn a language for pragmatic reasons (e.g. to obtain a better job). Further elaboration of this proposal led to the socio-psychological model of second language acquisition (Gardner, 1985), whose most important feature is the distinction between motivation and two classes of attitudes, namely 'integrativeness' (i.e. the openness to the identification with the target language group) and 'attitudes towards the learning situation' (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003). According to the model, integrativeness and attitudes towards the learning situation influence language achievement indirectly, through motivation. These three major components are generally measured by means of the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB). The AMTB also measures the integrative and instrumental orientations, which do not necessarily reflect motivation (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003, pp. 124-129).

In this article, we use the term 'second language' in its broader sense, i.e. a language other than the first language that has been acquired. We refer to 'foreign language' when formal, classroom context is discussed.

Gardner's work has influenced motivation research enormously, in terms of both methodology and content (Skehan, 1991, p.283), and has been praised for laying down the foundations for L2 motivation research (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2013, p. 7). It has, however, received criticisms on several grounds, among which the irrelevance of the original distinction between integrative and instrumental orientation to some foreign language learning contexts, the failure to acknowledge the influence of success in language learning on motivation, and the lack of clear implications for foreign language pedagogy (Crokes and Schmidt, 1991, pp. 487-493; Skehan, 1991, pp. 283-285; Ellis, 2004, p. 537). It is therefore not surprising that the need for broadening the motivation research agenda has been recognised (Crokes & Schmidt, 1991), which has consequently spurred further explorations of language learning motivation.

A good example of these explorations is the proposal of Noels et al. (2000). It is inspired by Edward Desi and Richard Ryan's (1985) self-determination theory, which postulates two general types of motivation: 'intrinsic', or based on the interest in the activity per se; and 'extrinsic', or based on factors external to the activity. Noels et al. (2000, p. 38) distinguish three types of intrinsic motivation (IM): IM-Knowledge (the motivation associated with the positive feelings when exploring new ideas and developing knowledge), IM-Accomplishment (the pleasure derived from trying to accomplish a task or achieve a goal), and IM-Stimulation (aesthetic appreciation and excitement stemming from performing a task). Correspondingly, Noels et al. (2000, pp. 39-40) recognise three types of extrinsic motivation (EM): external regulation, which relates to behaviours motivated by sources external to the person; introjected regulation, which refers to behaviours stimulated by some pressure incorporated into the self; and identified regulation, which pertains to behaviours caused by personally relevant reasons. The test of Noel et al.'s model confirmed the distinction between amotivation, less self-determined forms of motivation (external and introjected regulation), and more self-determined forms of motivation (identified regulation and IM) on the one hand, and the usefulness of the model for predicting educational outcomes, on the other hand. Their study findings also suggest that the more internalised the reason for language learning is, the more comfortable and persevering the respondents are (Noels et al., 2000, p.53) – in other words, that intrinsic motivation contributes most to language learning.

Another influential proposal has been Zoltan Dörnyei's (2005) L2 Motivational Self System, which rests upon Gardner and Lambert's (1959) concept of integrative motivation, and the study of 'possible selves' (Markus & Nurius, 1986) and 'future self-guides' (Higgins et al., 1985; Higgins, 1987) in mainstream psychology. The L2 Motivational Self System comprises three components:

1. The 'ideal L2 self' is the aspect of Higgins' 'ideal self' (Higgins et al., 1985) that relates to the use of a second language – if we envision ourselves as perfectly fluent users of a second language, the desire to minimise the discrepancy between our actual and ideal selves can serve as a drive for language learning. This component relates to hopes and aspirations, and has a promotion focus. Dörnyei (2009) suggests that Robert Gardner's integrative and internalised promotional instrumental motives are subsumed within the ideal L2 self.
2. The 'ought-to L2 self' refers to the L2 knowledge and skills we think we ought to possess to live up to expectations and avoid any negative results. It corresponds to Higgins' ought self (Higgins et al., 1985), which relates to safety, responsibility and obligations, and has a prevention focus. Again, our desire to narrow the gap between our actual and our ought-to selves can stimulate language learning. According to Dörnyei (2009), this component incorporates Noels et al.'s (2000) more extrinsic types of instrumental motivation.
3. The 'L2 learning experience' relates to the language learning context (the influence of the teacher, the class, the curriculum), and learner's perceptions of own language learning success or lack thereof. Dörnyei recognises the different level of conceptualisation of this component, and suggests its possible self aspects should be elaborated in future research (Dörnyei, 2009, p.29).

Dörnyei (2009, p.30) claims there is a certain degree of compatibility between his paradigm and Gardner's more recent version of the socio-psychological model (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003), where the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery suggests three dimensions of motivated behaviour – integrativeness, instrumentality and attitudes towards the learning situation – which, according to Dörnyei, are similar to the L2 Motivational Self System. Additionally, Dörnyei finds some correspondence between his

concepts of ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self and L2 learning experience (p. 30), and Noel's (2001) identified regulation, introjected regulation and intrinsic motivation respectively. Dörnyei (2009, p.30) also draws parallels between the L2 Motivational Self System and Ema Ushioda's (2001) motivation construct. The eight motivation dimensions in the latter model – namely, academic interest, language-related enjoyment/liking, desired levels of L2 competence, personal goals, positive learning history, personal satisfaction, feelings about L2 (French, in Ushioda's context) speaking countries and people, and external pressures and incentives – could be subsumed, Dörnyei claims, into three categories: actual learning process, external pressures/incentives, and integrative disposition. They, in turn, could be easily matched to the three components of the L2 Motivational Self System.

The L2 Motivational Self System has been tested and validated in a variety of contexts: in six different countries, with over 16 500 participants representing different learner groups: secondary students from rural and urban areas, English-major/non-English-major university students, and adult learners. (Al-Shehri, 2009; Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Ryan, 2009; Taguchi et al., 2009; Lamb, 2012; You & Dörnyei, 2016). Additionally, there has been evidence for its compatibility with Gardner's and Noel's paradigms (Ryan, 2009; Taguchi et al., 2009), which could allow new meaningfulness of previous research results within the self framework (Dörnyei, 2009, p.38). Other studies, however, have not found a prominent relationship between the ought-to L2 self and motivated behaviour (Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Csizér & Lukács, 2010; Lamb, 2012). Their failures have been attributed to a potential weakness in the construct or in its measurement (Lamb, 2012; Teimouri, 2017). A suggested remedy is the application of more elaborate measures (Taguchi et al., 2009; Dörnyei & Chan, 2013) addressing different types of external influences separately.

The questionnaire employed and tested by Taguchi et al. (2009) includes, apart from the scales targeting exclusively the ideal L2 self, the ought-to L2 self, the L2 learning experience and the motivated L2 learning behaviour (which is also termed criterion measure, or intended effort), scales dealing with promotional (i.e. framed in a positive way) and preventional (framed in a preventive way) instrumental motives, and scales addressing affective factors such as fear of assimilation, English language learning anxiety and ethnocentrism (Taguchi et al., 2009). The questionnaire has predominantly

been used in large-scale studies (Taguchi et al., 2009; Papi, 2010; You & Dörnyei, 2016). It could be equally valuable, though, in small-scale teacher-led studies – it can give a snapshot of own students' motivation, which could stimulate teacher's reflections and actions, and/or further research.

In Bulgarian context, although the importance of L2 motivation for language learning has been recognised, and paradigms of L2 motivation have been analysed (Popandonova, 2009; Shopov, 2013, pp. 243-248; Shopov & Sofronieva, 2018, pp. 43-45), the literature search reveals few publications of empirical studies, and none of them follows any of the approaches described above. Pehlivanova (2011), for example, adopts a qualitative stance in her survey of L2 motivation and demotivation of fifty university students. The survey results suggest three factors defining her students' motivation: parents' role, language teacher's role and the opportunity to build on language knowledge and skills (Pehlivanova, 2011, p.15). Interestingly enough, parents' influence, the teacher's personality and the strive for self-development are among the least frequently mentioned L2 motives in another qualitative survey of 204 school students (Markova, 2016, p. 38). In this study, the top three L2 motivational factors referred to are the intrinsic interest in English as a language, the perceived importance of English and the desire to communicate with foreigners (Markova, 2016, p. 37). Other factors are related to students' future plans and to their interest in classroom activities and topics, which allows of some parallels between the findings of the latter study and the eight motivational dimensions in Ushioda's model (2001). Ruzhekova-Rogozherova (2014), by contrast, takes a quantitative-research approach in a survey of her university students' L2 motivation (the number of the survey participants is not provided). The survey findings indicate that communication and internet use are recognised as motivating factors by 94.45% of the respondents, whereas the sense of success, receiving 52.78% of the responses, is found to be the least frequently mentioned factor (Ruzhekova-Rogozherova, 2014, p. 24).

Below follows a description of a small-scale survey aiming to define the L2 motivational characteristics of Bulgarian students of International Relations in order to find out if they are similar to the motivational patterns described in other studies or there are differences that can be related to the learners' profile.

Method

Participants

The survey participants were 19 – 21-year-old students majoring in International Relations at a Bulgarian university who had chosen to study English as a first foreign language. Participation was voluntary and anonymous. The data collection took place at the beginning of the academic year. The average time needed for taking the survey was fifteen minutes. After the elimination of inadequately completed questionnaires the sample included thirty-one students – sixteen females and fifteen males.

Instrument

The Iranian version of the questionnaire used in Taguchi et al.'s (2009) study was considered most appropriate for data collection in the present research context. Still, this version was slightly adapted: items 31, 46 and 52 in the original questionnaire, addressing beliefs related to Islam and Islamic culture, were omitted as irrelevant to a Bulgarian university context. Thus, the questionnaire employed in this study (Appendix A) consists of 73 six-level Likert items, which range from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (6) for the statements in Part I, and from *not at all* (1) to *very much* (6) for the questions in Part II. The items target fourteen motivation variables, which are summarised in Table 1.

Table 1

Motivation variables

Variables	Item №	Sample items
Criterion measure	8, 16, 24, 31, 39, 48	I would like to study English even if I were not required.
Ideal L2 self	9, 17, 25, 32, 40, 49	I can imagine myself living abroad and using English effectively for communicating with the locals.
Ought-to L2 self	1, 10, 18, 26, 33, 42	Studying English is important to me because other people will respect me more if I have a knowledge of English.
Parental encouragement/ family influence	2, 11, 19, 27, 34, 43	My parents/family believe(s) that I must study English to be an educated person.
Instrumentality-promotion	3, 12, 20, 28, 36, 44	Studying English can be important to me because I think it will someday be useful in getting a good job and/or making money.
Instrumentality – prevention	4, 13, 21, 29, 35, 41, 46, 50	I have to study English; otherwise, I think I cannot be successful in my future career.

Attitudes towards learning English	51, 56, 60, 64, 68, 72	Do you like the atmosphere of your English classes?
Travel orientation	35, 30, 45	I study English because with English I can enjoy travelling abroad.
Fear of assimilation	6, 14, 22, 37, 47	I think the cultural and artistic values of English are going at the expense of Bulgarian values.
Ethnocentrism	7, 15, 23, 38	It would be a better world if everybody lived like the Bulgarian.
English anxiety	52, 57, 61, 65, 69, 73	How afraid are you of sounding stupid in English because of the mistakes you make?
Integrativeness	53, 66, 70	How much do you like English?
Cultural interest	54, 58, 62, 71	Do you like the music of English-speaking countries (e.g. pop music)?
Attitudes towards L2 community	55, 59, 63, 67	Do you like to travel to English-speaking countries?

Results and Discussion

Descriptive analysis

Table 2 presents the mean values of the motivation variables of the whole group and of the female and male subgroups.

Table 2

Mean values of the motivation variables

Variable	Total	Female	Male
Criterion measure (intended effort)	4.56	4.93	4.17
Ideal L2 self	5.25	5.39	5.12
Ought-to L2 self	3.19	3.49	2.88
Parental encouragement/Family influence	3.43	3.75	3.05
Instrumentality – promotion	4.93	5.01	4.85
Instrumentality – prevention	4.08	4.26	3.91
Attitudes towards learning English	4.92	5.17	4.67
Travel orientation	5.12	5.43	4.82
Fear of assimilation	3.14	3.18	3.1
Ethnocentrism	2.79	3.12	2.46
English anxiety	2.79	3.12	2.46
Integrativeness	4.77	4.76	4.79
Cultural interest	5.3	5.62	4.99
Attitudes towards L2 community	4.8	5.16	4.44

With the exception of factors 10-11 (i.e. ethnocentrism and English anxiety), whose scores fall on the negative side of the continuum, the mean values range from 3.14 to 5.3. For most of the factors (nine out of eleven), they exceed the midpoint of 3.5, which suggests that the surveyed group in general has a positive attitude towards English language learning. This is further evidenced by the high mean value for the criterion measure (4.56). Within this variable, the highest score (5.15) is for item 'I would like to study English even if I were not required'.

The highest mean values, however, are obtained for factors associated with the ideal L2 self domain: cultural interest (5.3), ideal L2 self (5.25) and travel orientation (5.12). These findings are not surprising given the profile of the respondents – students of International Relations whose future career would entail intercultural communication and travel dependent on their good command of English. The lowest mean values are connected with the affective factor 'fear of assimilation' (3.14), and with the ought-to L2 self domain – 3.19 for the ought-to self and 3.43 for parental encouragement. The next lowest mean value is for instrumentality-prevention (or the desire to avoid failure), which is also associated with the ought-to L2 self domain (You & Dörnyei, 2016). Yet, the scores for this factor, with a mean value of 4.08, definitely fall on the positive side of the continuum. With respect to the latter results, the present study corresponds to the survey conducted by You and Dörnyei (2016), where the ought-to L2 self domain also produced the lowest scores.

The survey data show consistent gender differences, which is in tune with the pattern found in empirical studies from different sociocultural contexts (Henry, 2011; Henry & Cliffordson, 2013; You & Dörnyei, 2016). There is no particular correspondence, however, between the descriptive statistics of the present study and the findings of the Bulgarian surveys discussed above.

Correlation analysis

The long-lasting interest in L2 learning motivation is closely connected with its relation to language learning. Whereas survey data cannot really explain how (or even whether) motivation influences actual learning behaviour, they allow us to examine the

associations between the motivation factors and the criterion measure, i.e. intended effort. The motivation-effort correlations are presented in table 3. Intended effort correlates most strongly with attitudes towards learning English (r = 0.68) and cultural interest (r = 0.68). These results suggest that, even at a university level, the positive evaluation of the process of learning English matters as it is closely associated with the willingness to put effort into language learning. They are corroborated by previous research findings (Lamb, 2012; You & Dörnyei, 2016), where the factor attitudes towards learning English has the strongest correlation with intended effort. The survey data analysis also indicates a moderate to strong correlation between intended effort and travel orientation (r = 0.65), and attitudes towards L2 community (r = 0.65). At this point, it might be useful to remember that the mean values of cultural interest (5.3) and travel orientation (5.12) rank correspondingly first and third among the motivational factors for the surveyed group. Attitudes towards the L2 community, though not among the top three, still obtain a high mean score – 4.80 on the positive side of the motivation continuum. All these findings suggest that the motivational variables which are closely associated with respondents' future careers in international relations bear relevance to their engagement with language learning.

At the same time, with correlation coefficients of 0.58 and 0.56, ideal L2 self (second mean score of 5.25) and instrumentality–promotion (fourth mean score of 4.93), correlate more highly with intended effort than ought-to L2 self and the variables it is associated with. Additionally, integrativeness (mean score of 4.77 on the positive side of the continuum) also displays significant moderate correlation with intended effort (r = 0.40). These findings come to confirm the observation that the extent of students' involvement in language learning is closely linked to the motivational factors that are meaningful for them. They are expectedly in tune with the results of previous studies confirming the role of the ideal L2 self as a strong predictor of different criterion measures connected with language learning (for a concise summary, see Dörnyei & Chan, 2019). Besides, the survey results agree with the findings of Taguchi et al. (2009, p.78), who reported higher correlations between the criterion measure and the ideal L2 self than between the criterion measure and integrativeness.

Table 3

Correlations between the motivational variables and intended effort

Ideal L2 Self	Ought-to L2 Self	Family Influence	Instrumentality - Promotion	Instrumentality - Prevention	Attitudes towards Learning English	Travel Orientation	Fear of Assimilation	Ethnocentrism	English Anxiety	Integrativeness	Cultural Interest	Attitudes towards L2 Community
0,58**	0.17	0.25	0.56**	0.24	0.68**	0.65**	-0.31	0.11	0.33	0.40*	0.68**	0.65**

Note: * $p < .05$ (2-tailed), ** $p < .01$ (2-tailed).

Table 4 shows how the ideal L2 self relates to the other motivational variables. Similarly to the results of Taguchi et al. (2009, p. 77), the present analysis reveals a correlation over 0.50 between the ideal L2 self and integrativeness. The correlation coefficients for Japan, China and Iran are correspondingly 0.59, 0.51 and 0.53; for the surveyed group of Bulgarian students the coefficient is 0.59 – these results imply that the two variables could be tapping into the same construct domain (Dörnyei, 2009, pp. 27-28; Taguchi et al., 2009, p.77). The strongest positive correlation for the surveyed group, however, is between the ideal L2 self and attitudes towards the L2 community (0.67). This result is not surprising – as Dörnyei (2009, p.28) points out, "… it is difficult to imagine that we can have a vivid and attractive L2 self if the L2 is spoken by a community we despise". The second strongest correlation in this analysis (r = 0.65), between the ideal L2 self and instrumentality-promotion, gives further evidence for the promotion focus of the ideal self-guide (Higgins, 1998; Dörnyei, 2009, pp. 27-28). The latter result also corresponds with the findings of Taguchi et al. (2009, p.79), where the obtained correlation coefficients for Japan, China and Iran are 0.60, 0.46 and 0.63 respectively. In general, the analysis reveals moderate to strong correlations between the ideal L2 self and the motivational variables it is associated with – instrumentality-promotion, travel orientation, integrativeness, cultural interest and attitudes towards L2 community (Dörnyei, 2009) – once again confirming the relationship between these constructs. An interesting aspect of this study is the moderate correlation (0.49) between the ideal L2 self and the attitudes towards learning English, which suggests that, for the surveyed group, positive attitudes towards learning the language are closely linked to students' ideal L2 selves.

Another interesting correlation, or lack thereof in this analysis, is the zero correlation between the ideal L2 self and family influence – an indication of the absence of any relation between the two constructs. This result is supported by previous research which links family influence to the ought-to L2 self, not to the ideal L2 self (Taguchi et al., 2009).

Table 4

Correlations between the motivational variables and ideal L2 self

Intended Effort	Ought-to L2 Self	Family Influence	Instrumentality - Promotion	Instrumentality - Prevention	Attitudes towards Learning English	Travel Orientation	Fear of Assimilation	Ethnocentrism	English Anxiety	Integrativeness	Cultural Interest	Attitudes towards L2 Community
0.58**	0.13	0.00	0.65**	0.19	0.49**	0.54**	-0.33	-0.14	-0.10	0.59**	0.56**	0.67**

Note: ** $p < .01$ (2-tailed).

The correlations between the ought-to L2 self and other motivational variables are illustrated in table 5. The motivation factors that correlate most strongly with the ought-to L2 self are family influence (0.71) and instrumentality-prevention (0.67), which supports the premises that the ought-to self-guide entails motives that are spurred by parents and therefore less internalised, and that often have a prevention focus (Higgins, 1998; Dörnyei, 2009, pp. 27-28). As regards instrumentality-prevention, similar results are reported by Taguchi et al. (2009, p. 79), who found correlation coefficients of 0.68 and 0.62 for the Chinese and Iranian contexts, and a less strong correlation (r = 0.45) for the Japanese context. There is a substantial correlation (r = 0.42) between the ought-to self and the instrumentality-promotion, which again corresponds with the findings of Taguchi et al. (2009, p. 79). They report similar correlations between the ought-to self and the instrumentality-promotion (0.46 for the Chinese context, 0.44 for the Iranian context), and interpret them within the typical family relationships of the two countries, where parents invest a lot in their children and expect similar attitude in return. Although Bulgarian culture and way of life may seem rather different from those of China and Iran, the specifics of Bulgarian parents' expectations and aspirations regarding their children's success in life might similarly

serve as an explanation of this correlation. This interpretation is supported by other significant correlations (Table 6) – between family influence (which is closely related to the ought-to L2 self) and instrumentality-promotion (r = 0.45), and between family influence and instrumentality-prevention (r = 0.54). These findings provide an additional angle for the relationships between the ought-to L2 self and instrumentality.

A different explanation of the substantial correlation between the ought-to L2 self and instrumentality-promotion can be found in the claim that there are problems with the measurement of the ought-to l2 self due to a mix of positive and negative end outcomes included in the questionnaire items (Teimouri, 2017, p. 686). According to Teimouri (2017, p. 686), items such as 'If I fail to learn English, I`ll be letting other people down' reflect the sensibility of the ought-to self to the presence or absence of negative outcomes, whereas items like 'Studying English is important to me because other people will respect me more if I have a knowledge of English' are related to the presence or absence of positive outcomes. Thus, the latter are more relevant to the measurement of the ideal L2 self than the ought-to self.

The substantial correlation (r = 0.47) between the ought-to L2 self and the travel orientation is also open to interpretations. Again, it could be explained with the discussed above mix of questionnaire items. Taking into account the profile of the surveyed group (students of International Relations), though, could lead us to another explanation – this particular type of respondents could relate travelling to their desire to meet expectations associated with a career in international relations, and thus to the ought-to self. Similar concerns reflecting the importance of English for students' future careers are reported in a qualitative research study focusing on the L2/L3 future selves in Thai context (Siridetkoon & Dewaele, 2017).

The final two significant correlations – (r = 0.51) between the ought-to L2 self and ethnocentrism, and (r = 0.40) between the ought-to L2 self and English anxiety – are not surprising. As ethnocentrism entails biased judgement of other cultures based on the belief that one's own culture is superior (LeVine, 2015, p. 166), it could be associated with the more extrinsic instrumental motives for studying English that the ought-to L2 self pertains to. This aspect of the analysis corresponds with the findings of a study of 47 Japanese university students, where the correlation coefficient between the ought-to L2 self and

ethnocentrism is 0.44 (Apple & Aliponga, 2018, pp. 289-308). As for the correlation between the ought-to L2 self and English anxiety, it confirms the assumption that less internalised instrumental motives to study English are more likely to be related to higher levels of language anxiety. This result is corroborated by similar correlations in previous research on the topic (Papi, 2010; MacWhinnie & Mitchell, 2017; Teimouri, 2017).

Table 5

Correlations between the motivational variables and ought-to L2 self

Intended Effort	Ideal L2 Self	Family Influence	Instrumentality - Promotion	Instrumentality - Prevention	Attitudes towards Learning English	Travel Orientation	Fear of Assimilation	Ethnocentrism	English Anxiety	Integrativeness	Cultural Interest	Attitudes towards L2 Community
0.17	0.13	0.71**	0.42*	0.67**	0.01	0.47**	0.16	0.51**	0.40*	0.27	0.22	0.22

Note: * $p < .05$ (2-tailed), ** $p < .01$ (2-tailed).

Previous research has found that parental encouragement contributes to students' learning behaviour in a positive way (Csizér & Lukács, 2010). Although the correlation between intended effort and parental encouragement in the present analysis is weak and non-significant, a look at how family influence correlates with the motivational variables that have not been discussed yet (table 6) could provide a more nuanced picture of the L2 motivational self system of the surveyed group. Apart from the substantial correlations with the two types of instrumentality discussed above, family influence has a moderate correlation with English anxiety ($r = 0.48$), ethnocentrism ($r = 0.42$) and cultural interest ($r = 0.38$). Among these, the first is perhaps the more logical to expect as language anxiety could be associated with aspirations and values that are more internal to the parents than to their children – an assumption that has been validated in an Iranian high-school context (Papi, 2010). The values of the other two correlation coefficients are similar although they seem to refer to opposite or near-opposite concepts – notwithstanding this opposition, these correlations indicate a connection between family influence and attitudes to other cultures.

Table 6

Correlations between the motivational variables and parental encouragement/family influence

Intended Effort	Ideal L2 Self	Ought-to L2 Self	Instrumentality - Promotion	Instrumentality - Prevention	Attitudes towards Learning English	Travel Orientation	Fear of Assimilation	Ethnocentrism	English Anxiety	Integrativeness	Cultural Interest	Attitudes towards L2 community
0.25	0.00	0.71**	0.45*	0.52**	0.04	0.42	0.24	0.42*	0.48**	0.19	0.38*	0.19

Note: * $p < .05$ (2-tailed), ** $p < .01$ (2-tailed).

Table 7 and table 8 provide details about the correlations between the motivational variables and the two types of instrumentality which could shed further light on the specifics of the relationship between the ought-to L2 self and the two aspects of instrumentality of the surveyed group. The correlation coefficients suggest substantial connections between instrumentality-promotion and travel orientation ($r = 0.56$), cultural interest ($r = 0.50$), and integrativeness ($r = 0.46$) on the one hand (Table 7), and between instrumentality-prevention and English anxiety ($r = 0.41$), and ethnocentrism ($r = 0.40$), on the other hand (Table 8). Additionally, Table 7 indicates moderate correlations between instrumentality-promotion and attitudes towards learning English ($r = 0.39$) and attitudes towards L2 community ($r = 0.36$). What is not in accordance with the L2 Motivational Self System, but is suggested by the correlation between the ought-to L2 system and instrumentality-promotion discussed above, is the substantial intercorrelation between instrumentality-promotion and instrumentality-prevention ($r = 0.54$). This result hints that the two aspects of instrumentality are not discrete enough for the surveyed group – a fact that could be interpreted as either a lack of sufficient internalisation of students' promotional motives or an inclination to satisfy their promotional motives through prevention-focus regulation. The latter interpretation could be supported by the substantial correlations (Table 8) between instrumentality-prevention and two variables typically associated with promotional motives: travel orientation ($r = 0.39$) and cultural interest ($r = 0.36$), and can be attributed to respondents' profile – students of International Relations. As Taguchi et al. (2009, p.82)

suggest, instrumentality items can be perceived differently depending on the context: studying English for going abroad could be promotional for those who want to study abroad, but it could be preventional for those for whom working abroad is part of their future jobs. Whatever the explanation, this feature of the L2 motivational profile of the surveyed group merits more exploration, perhaps through qualitative research instruments.

Table 7

Correlations between the motivational variables and instrumentality-promotion

Intended effort	Ideal L2 Self	Ought-to L2 Self	Family Influence	Instrumentality - Prevention	Attitudes towards Learning English	Travel Orientation	Fear of Assimilation	Ethnocentrism	English Anxiety	Integrativeness	Cultural Interest	Attitudes towards L2 community
0.56**	0,65**	0.42*	0.45*	0.54**	0.39*	0.56**	0.16	0.22	0.08	0.46**	0.50**	0.36*

Note: * $p < .05$ (2-tailed), ** $p < .01$ (2-tailed).

Table 8

Correlations between the motivational variables and instrumentality-prevention

Intended effort	Ideal L2 Self	Ought-to L2 Self	Family Influence	Instrumentality - Promotion	Attitudes towards Learning English	Travel Orientation	Fear of Assimilation	Ethnocentrism	English Anxiety	Integrativeness	Cultural Interest	Attitudes towards L2 community
0.24	0,19	0.67**	0.52**	0.54**	0.14	0.39*	0.16	0.40*	0.41*	0.23	0.36*	0.21

Note: * $p < .05$ (2-tailed), ** $p < .01$ (2-tailed).

Conclusion

The present study has several limitations. First, all the data come from students at only one university and may not be representative. Second, the survey participation has been voluntary, and the number of respondents, although sufficient for statistical

analysis, does not allow of generalisation. Third, the use of self-reported questionnaires as research instruments has its weaknesses – response fatigue and social desirability bias are just two examples. Therefore, caution is needed when extrapolating from this small-scale study to other contexts.

Still, the study offers a nuanced picture of the language learning motivation of students of International Relations at a Bulgarian university. Its findings are in broad agreement with those of examinations of the L2 Motivational Self System in other countries. Consistent with previous results (Lamb, 2012; You & Dörnyei, 2016), the study participants score high on the criterion measure and on factors associated with the ideal L2 self domain, while factors related to the ought-to L2 self domain receive lower scores. Similarly to other studies (Taguchi et al., 2009; You & Dörnyei, 2016), the reported attitudes towards learning English and ideal L2 self are found to be strongly connected to motivated L2 learning behaviour. The promotional focus of the ideal L2 self and the preventive aspect of the ought-to L2 self (Dörnyei, 2009; Taguchi et al., 2009) have once again found support in this study. Also, in tune with previous research (Papi, 2010), the affective factors are more substantially correlated to factors associated with the ought-to L2 self than to those related to the ideal L2 self.

Like previous research (Csizér & Lukács, 2010; Lamb, 2012), this study has been unable to resolve the doubt over the relation of the ought-to L2 self to the intended learning effort. Although the recommended, more elaborate measure (Taguchi et al., 2009; Dörnyei & Chan, 2013) was employed, the correlation between the ought-to L2 self and the criterion measure is low and non-significant. Additionally, in contrast to the premise of the L2 Motivational Self System, but in correspondence to the findings of Taguchi et al. (2009), a substantial correlation between the ought-to L2 self and promotional instrumentality has been arrived at. This inconsistency could be explained by the cultural specifics of family relations and expectations, but it could be also a sign of the ambiguity of the construct.

The analysis has revealed several motivational characteristics of the surveyed students that could be related to aspects of their profile connected with their future careers in international relations. There is a substantial correlation between the travel orientation, typically considered within the ideal L2 self domain, and the ought-to L2

self. The most unexpected result, however, is the significant intercorrelation between instrumentality-promotion and instrumentality-prevention. These findings suggest a prevention-focus approach to motives typically perceived as promotional which, however, could be interpreted as preventive by people who see travel, cultural interest and working abroad as integral to their future duties. More thorough, qualitative-approach investigation could provide a better understanding of this feature of the motivational profile of the surveyed group.

The study bears several practical implications. First, it offers evidence that, even at university level, individual teachers and the way they construct learning experiences are closely linked to their students' motivated behaviour. Second, it provides a detailed picture of the motivational characteristics of the Bulgarian students of International Relations which could stimulate their teachers to create learning conditions maximising learners' involvement. Last but not least, the outlined motivational profile – if shared with the students – may trigger students' self-reflection, enhance their self-awareness, and thus contribute to their personal and professional development.

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Appendix A

English Learner Questionnaire

This survey is conducted to better understand the thoughts and beliefs of learners of English. Please read each instruction and write your answers. This is not a test, so there are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers and you do not even have to write your name on it. The results of this survey will be used only for research purposes, so please give your answers sincerely. Thank you very much for your help!

Part I

In this part, we would like you to tell us how much you agree or disagree with the following statements by simply marking a number from 1 to 6. Please do not leave out any item.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6

(Ex.) If you strongly agree with the following statement, write this: I like skiing very much.	1 2 3 4 5 [6]
1. I study English because close friends of mine think it is important.	1 2 3 4 5 6
2. My parents/family believe(s) that I must study English to be an educated person.	1 2 3 4 5 6
3. Studying English can be important to me because I think it will someday be useful in getting a good job and/or making money.	1 2 3 4 5 6
4. I have to study English because I don`t want to get bad marks in it.	1 2 3 4 5 6
5. Learning English is important to me because I would like to travel internationally.	1 2 3 4 5 6
6. I think that there is a danger that Bulgarian people may forget the importance of Bulgarian culture, as a result of internationalization.	1 2 3 4 5 6
7. I would be happy if other cultures were more similar to Bulgarian.	1 2 3 4 5 6
8. I would like to spend lots of time studying English.	1 2 3 4 5 6
9. I can imagine myself speaking English as if I were a native speaker of English.	1 2 3 4 5 6
10. If I fail to learn English, I`ll be letting other people down.	1 2 3 4 5 6
11. Studying English is important to me in order to bring honours to my family.	1 2 3 4 5 6
12. Studying English is important to me because English proficiency is necessary for promotion in the future.	1 2 3 4 5 6
13. I have to learn English because without passing the English course I cannot get my degree.	1 2 3 4 5 6
14. Because of the influence of the English language, I think the Bulgarian language is becoming corrupt.	1 2 3 4 5 6
15. Most other cultures are backward compared to my Bulgarian culture.	1 2 3 4 5 6
16. I am prepared to expand a lot of effort in learning English.	1 2 3 4 5 6

17. I can imagine myself speaking English with international friends or colleagues.	1 2 3 4 5 6
18. I consider learning English important because the people I respect think that I should do it.	1 2 3 4 5 6
19. Being successful in English is important to me so that I can please my parents/relatives.	1 2 3 4 5 6
20. Studying English can be important to me because I think I`ll need it for further studies.	1 2 3 4 5 6
21. I have to study English; otherwise, I think I cannot be successful in my future career.	1 2 3 4 5 6
22. Because of the influence of English-speaking countries, I think the morales of Bulgarian people are becoming worse.	1 2 3 4 5 6
23. It would be a better world if everybody lived like the Bulgarian.	1 2 3 4 5 6
24. I would like to concentrate on studying English more than any other topic.	1 2 3 4 5 6
25. Whenever I think of my future career, I imagine myself using English.	1 2 3 4 5 6
26. Studying English is important to me in order to gain the approval of my peers/teachers/family/boss.	1 2 3 4 5 6
27. My family puts a lot of pressure on me to study English.	1 2 3 4 5 6
28. Studying English is important to me in order to achieve a special goal (e.g. to get a degree or a scholarship).	1 2 3 4 5 6
29. Studying English is important to me because, if I don`t have knowledge of English, I`ll be considered a weak learner.	1 2 3 4 5 6
30. Studying English is important to me because without English I won`t be able to travel a lot.	1 2 3 4 5 6
31. If an English course was offered in the future, I would like to take it.	1 2 3 4 5 6
32. I can imagine myself studying in a university where all my courses are taught in English.	1 2 3 4 5 6
33. Learning English is necessary because people surrounding me expect me to do so.	1 2 3 4 5 6
34. My parents encourage me to practice my English as much as possible.	1 2 3 4 5 6
35. Studying English is necessary for me because I don`t want to get poor score or fail mark in English proficiency tests (TOEFL, IELTS…).	1 2 3 4 5 6
36. I study English in order to keep updated and informed of recent news of the world.	1 2 3 4 5 6
37. I think the cultural and artistic values of English are going at the expanse of Bulgarian values.	1 2 3 4 5 6
38. It is hard to bear the behavior of people from other cultures.	1 2 3 4 5 6
39. If my teacher would give the class an optional assignment, I would certainly volunteer to do it.	1 2 3 4 5 6
40. I can imagine myself writing English e-mails/letters fluently.	1 2 3 4 5 6
41. I have to learn English because I don`t want to fail the English course.	1 2 3 4 5 6
42. Studying English is important to me because other people will respect me more if I have a knowledge of English.	1 2 3 4 5 6
43. I have to study English, because, if I don`t do it, my parents will be disappointed with me.	1 2 3 4 5 6
44. Studying English is important to me because I am planning to study abroad.	1 2 3 4 5 6

45. I study English because with English I can enjoy travelling abroad.	1 2 3 4 5 6
46. Studying English is important to me, because I would feel ashamed if I got bad grades in English.	1 2 3 4 5 6
47. I think that, as internationalization advances, there is a danger of losing the Bulgarian identity.	1 2 3 4 5 6
48. I would like to study English even if I were not required.	1 2 3 4 5 6
49. I can imagine myself living abroad and using English effectively for communicating with the locals.	1 2 3 4 5 6
50. Studying English is important to me because I don`t like to be considered poorly educated person.	1 2 3 4 5 6

Part II

These are new questions but please answer them the same way as you did before.

Not at all	Not so much	So-so	A little	Quite a lot	Very much
1	2	3	4	5	6

51. Do you like the atmosphere of your English classes?	1 2 3 4 5 6
52. How tense would you get if a foreigner asked you for directions in English?	1 2 3 4 5 6
53. How much would you become similar to the people who speak English?	1 2 3 4 5 6
54. Do you like the music of English-speaking countries (e.g. pop music)?	1 2 3 4 5 6
55. Do you like the people who live in English-speaking countries?	1 2 3 4 5 6
56. Do you find learning English really interesting?	1 2 3 4 5 6
57. How uneasy would you feel speaking English with a native speaker?	1 2 3 4 5 6
58. Do you like English films?	1 2 3 4 5 6
59. Do you like meeting people from English-speaking countries?	1 2 3 4 5 6
60. Do you think time passes faster while studying English?	1 2 3 4 5 6
61. How nervous and confused do you get when you are speaking in your English class?	1 2 3 4 5 6
62. Do you like TV programmes made in English-speaking countries?	1 2 3 4 5 6
63. Do you like to travel to English-speaking countries?	1 2 3 4 5 6
64. Do you always look forward to English classes?	1 2 3 4 5 6
65. How afraid are you of sounding stupid in English because of the mistakes you make?	1 2 3 4 5 6
66. How important do you think learning English is in order to learn more about the culture and art of its speakers?	1 2 3 4 5 6
67. Would you like to know more about people from English-speaking countries?	1 2 3 4 5 6
68. Would you like to have more English lessons at school?	1 2 3 4 5 6
69. How worried are you that other speakers of English would find your English strange?	1 2 3 4 5 6
70. How much do you like English?	1 2 3 4 5 6
71. Do you like English magazines, newspapers, or books?	1 2 3 4 5 6
72. Do you really enjoy learning English?	1 2 3 4 5 6
73. How afraid are you that other students will laugh at you when you speak English?	1 2 3 4 5 6

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ENGLISH MNEMONIC LEXICON: CONSTITUENT STRUCTURE AND VERBALIZATION POTENTIAL

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Abstract

This paper presents a study of the system of lexical devices used by English speakers to verbalize their personal memory experiences. The approach presented in the paper presupposes inclusion of non-narrative structures into the spectrum of language forms conveying mnemonic meanings and extends the latter so as to encompass the meanings of encoding, storage, retrieval and loss. The research is based on the hypothesis that lexical units expressing memory-related meanings in English constitute a specifically organized system. A variety of communicative contexts representing mnemonic situations are analyzed as to develop a typology of memory verbalizers in English, estimate their functional potential and role in objectifying personal memory experiences on the lexical level. The results confirm the original hypothesis and suggest that mnemonic lexicon as a linguistic reflection of the mnemonic faculty is an important and largely understudied element of the language – memory system.

Keywords: memory, mnemonic process, mnemonic lexicon, memory verbs, communicative context

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Memory has traditionally been one of the central concepts in philosophy and psychology, but recent decades have seen its persistent penetration into other research fields (see Assmann, 2008; Erll, 2011; Halbwachs, 1997; Hirsch, 2008; Klein, 2000), linguistics being no exception (see Bragina, 2007; Chafe, 1973; Gasparov, 2010; Smorti, Peterson & Tani, 2016; Wierzbicka, 2007). Theories and models describing memory – language relationships vary significantly across fields and authors. Nevertheless, whatever stands are taken by scholars in regard to the particular role posited for language in relation to memory and whatever arguments are proposed in the continuing debate about the extent of linkages between memory and language, there is a general understanding among researchers that language is a tool allowing for conscious access to and sharing of mnemonic content, and much of memory-related communication is accomplished through language channels (Howe & Courage, 1997; Fivush, 1999; Fivush & Nelson, 2004). Therefore, as it is generally accepted that memory finds its reflection in the language, it is logical to turn to verbal reports to explore how exactly memory is represented linguistically, whether there are any correlations between mnemonic content, mnemonic processes and language means used to express them.

Theoretical background

Previous findings clearly highlight two tendencies prevailing in the linguistic field of memory studies: the tendency to equate memory with the final stage of cognitive processing, that is, with the operation of retrieval, and the tendency to overlook verbal "products" of memory other than narrative. Recent studies have examined memory-related use of language in connection with reporting past events (Amberber, 2007; Tivyaeva, 2014; Tivyaeva, 2017) while mnemonic activities are not limited to archival memory and reconstructing the past. Human memory also embraces present and future when encoding information, keeping it up to date and ready to use whenever required and making plans and ensuring their realization. The longstanding concept of memory as an archive of the past is currently undergoing a profound transformation as our understanding of memory is being enriched with new perspectives offered by the cognitive science, humanities and social studies (Brockmeier, 2015). However, systematic linguistic data pertaining to ways of transmitting the mnemonic meaning in all of its totality and complexity are still lacking.

Therefore, drawing on the contemporary psychological view of individual memory as a cognitive system of information processing, in the current study the authors aim to explore how remembering, storing, recalling and forgetting are manifested linguistically, specifically, on the lexical level.

In the present study, we focus primarily on individual memory and ways it is lexicalized in English mostly due to the fact that it has been unambiguously described in terms of structural elements, that is, cognitive processes that may be represented by verbal means. As for collective memory, despite the fact that researchers accentuate profound importance of language for collective memorial practices (Assmann, 1995; Halbwachs, 1992; Ricoeur, 2004;) and, when conceptualizing the term 'collective memory', tend to describe it as deeply related to linguistic and narrative phenomena (Hirst & Echterhoff, 2012; Mlynář, 2014; Wertsch, 2008), there is no universal understanding of the nature of its relation to language. The vagueness of the term and lack of research into linguistic dimensions of collective memory make it difficult to determine what language structures could be seen as its verbalizers, therefore, in this paper, our empirical data and findings are limited to individual memory.

As for language structures representing personal mnemonic experience, the standard verbal form conventionally used as a research unit in memory studies is narrative. With the narrative turn in the humanities and social sciences, the view of narrative as a linguistic reflection of memory has gained significant support among scholars dogmatically conferring narrative the status of the verbal counterpart of memory. Thus, R. Schank and R. Abelson similize memory to a corpus of narratives:

> Human memory is a collection of thousands of stories we remember through experience, stories we remember by having heard them, and stories we remember by having composed them (Schank & Abelson 1995).

J. Bruner argues that experience and memory of human happenings are organized mostly in the form of narratives that function as linguistic "versions of reality" (Bruner, 1991, p. 4). Howe and Courage accentuate the verbalizer function of narrative by labelling the latter "the language of autobiographical memory" (1997, p. 320). J. Brockmeier calls narrative the most adequate and possibly the only form in which the time of the autobiographical process can exist (Brockmeier, 2000).

The primary focus of linguistic memory studies on memory-related narrative forms and discourse practices (Bellinger, 2010; Bondareva, 2014; Burima, 2010; Labov & Waletzky, 1966; Nyubina, 2008, 2013; Paganoni, 2011; Rebrina, 2014) is a reflection of a more general trend observed in psychology and the humanities consisting in a growing interest for cultural and social phenomena characteristic of large collectives rather than cognitive and personal spheres incident to individuals. For instance, Potter and Wetherell acknowledge the disconnection between cognitive science and discourse analysis stressing the independence of the latter from cognitive representations:

> Discourse analysis has eschewed any form of cognitive reductionism, any explanation that treats linguistic behavior as a product of mental entities or processes, whether it is based around social representations or some other cognitive furniture such as attitudes, beliefs, goals or wants. The concern is firmly with *language use*: the way accounts are constructed and different functions. (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 157)

Consequently, not much linguistic memory research has overstepped the borders of narrative and discourse analysis to look into other spectra of language devices transmitting various mnemonic meanings. However, over the last few years a new literature has been emerging that allows for transmission of mnemonic meanings by language structures other than narratives (Brockmeier, 2018; Haden & Wilkerson, 2010; Hedrick et al., 2009; Schwartz, 2013). In this paper our argument is that the conventional narrative approach to memory verbalization cannot accommodate all possible ways of linguistic encoding of mnemonic content because within its framework the natural structural variety of personal memory reports gets reduced to the stereotype narrative form; at the same time, content and structural analysis of a broad range of communicative contexts reflecting mnemonic experiences could open up possibilities for studying linguistic representation of individual memory in multiple ways, taking into account both its processual complexities and communicative dimensions.

In this paper, we seek to bridge the gap by extending the memory-language interrelation studies into the linguistic domain per se and making more profound inquiries into the verbal representation mechanism, specifically, its lexical level, which

would be important to gain an in-depth understanding of how cognitive phenomena get reflected in language.

As the perspective in the study of meaning shifted from structuralist views to the idea of frame as a cognitive structure (see Filmore, 1975; Langacker, 1991), the study of lexicalization patterns has been increasingly based on the idea of one-to-many correlation between semantic elements and surface elements and the ensuing assumption that languages differ systematically in the way conceptual components are verbalized in distinct structures (Talmy, 1985). Much attention has been given to how "words evoke knowledge about the world, and thoughts about the world are conveyed through words" (Malt et al., 2010, p. 29). In other words, to the general regularities of how a cognitive structure correlates to its lexical representation (see Bierwisch and Schreuder, 1992; Filipović, 2007; Lehmann, 1990; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Malt et al., 2010; Slobin, 2004), as well as to typological studies of differences and similarities between lexicalization patterns in certain languages in various spheres, such as motion (see the extensive literature review in Levin and Rappaport Hovav, 2019), parts of body (Majid et al., 2006), colour (Raffaelli et al., 2019), mental states (Goddard, 2010), and threat (Gaus & Riabova, 2019).

The present study is intended to be a small step in this direction, investigating the lexical component of the verbal code used to represent memory content in English. Therefore, the purpose of the current paper is threefold: (1) to extend the exploration of the relation between memory and linguistic categories to language devices and structures other than narrative; (2) to expand research on verbal representation of individual memory in order to encompass linguistic devices used to manifest memory operations; (3) to determine lexicalization patterns representing the mnemonic faculty in English.

Certain issues of memory objectification on the lexical level have already been discussed in past literature (see Golajdenko, 2012; Iskhakova & Khomyakova, 2009; Morimoto, 2016; Rebrina, 2008; Skoromyslova, 2003; Uehara, 2015). Linguists have addressed the use of memory verbs and collocations in different languages and discourse varieties (Rebrina, 2015; Zaliznjak, 2006), reflection of cultural memory in lexemes and idioms (Wierzbicka, 2001; Maslova, 2001; Skorobogatova, 2013), metaphoric representation of memory (Barančeeva, 2014). However, the obtained

results, despite their obvious value as regards specific languages and cultures, did not allow treating memory verbalizers as an organized system, on the one hand, and did not demarcate conclusions valid for individual memory and different forms of collective memory, on the other. In this paper, we attempt to address this void and provide a thorough analysis of the English lexicon of personal memory with a special emphasis on its systemic organization.

The present-day understanding of individual memory as a system of mnemonic processes (Sereda, 1985; Ogorodnikova, 2012) determined the scope of lexis to be included into the study. In accordance with information processing theories (Atkinson & Shiffrin, 1968; Baddeley, 1986; Craik & Lockhart, 1972; Loftus & Loftus, 1975), cognitive processing in memory presupposes four stages (encoding, storage, retrieval, and loss), therefore, our interest lies with language units lexicalizing the said mnemonic operations in English. The stock of lexical items conveying the meanings of encoding, storing, recalling, and forgetting will be further referred to as the *mnemonic lexicon*.

Accepting in general the view of organized lexical representation of memory with English memory verbs proposed by Rogačeva (2003), in the present paper we seek to validate it with more extended evidence not limited to example sentences reflecting the current usage of pre-defined mnemonic lexicon and further promote the idea of nonrandom choice of linguistic devices when verbalizing mnemonic experiences. We hypothesize that memory representation in natural languages (specifically in English which is used as a source of empirical data in this research) relies on regular lexicalization patterns. Our supposition is based on three arguments: 1) the concept of organized lexicalization applied to studying mnemonic verbs in Rogačeva (2003), 2) the idea of language and communication patterns widely accepted in mainstream linguistics and communication studies, 3) observation of language data strongly suggesting that the spectrum of lexical devices encoding memory operations transgresses the boundaries set by past research.

Preliminary observations of language data selected from various publicly available sources allow formulating the hypothesis as follows: English mnemonic lexicon has a complex system-based structure that includes two major groups of lexical items: 1) memory-related lexemes and collocations nominating mnemonic processes directly, 2) lexical items semantically unrelated to memory but capable of representing

mnemonic operations in context. The choice of lexical means for verbal encoding of memory content is determined by cognitive factors (the mnemonic process being verbalized) and communicative context (broad communicative conditions under which mnemonic content is transmitted).

Data and Methods

To confirm or disconfirm the hypothesis, a relevant research procedure was developed and empirical data was manually collected. As previous studies have focused mostly on analyzing specific lexemes (memory verbs) or text types (narratives), the yielded results were subject to language data under analysis. In the current research our choice was naturally occurring texts, specifically, text fragments illustrating verbal communication in cognitive situations of encoding, storing, retrieval and loss of information, as opposed to data collected in the course of interviews and often following pre-determined lexical and structural patterns set by the researcher's questions. All of the language samples used in this study are authentic material retrieved from British and American open sources in strict accordance with the cognitive and communicative criteria of relevance and disengagement, that is, a language sample was registered in the corpus if it represented a verbal accompaniment of a memory operation and was a product of natural communication, not subject to experimental conditions or a scholarly design.

Thus, the empirical basis of the paper is a language corpus containing 7,500 communicative contexts which were selected from publicly available open sources (both online and print) representing different discourse varieties. The items included into the corpus are thematically coherent and reflect verbal actions undertaken by speakers in memory-related situations.

Structurally language samples registered in the corpus can be classified into three types: memory conversations, memory monologues, and memory narratives. Drawing on empirical evidence, we propose broader definitions of memory conversations and memory monologues than found in Schwartz (2013) and Cohn (1983) respectively. Memory conversations are understood as verbal exchanges between speakers concerning mnemonic content (retrospectively or prospectively oriented). Memory monologues mostly deal with past happenings reconstructed from the agent's memory but can also represent mnemonic experiences related to the future.

Memory narratives are contrasted to memory monologues as language structures characterized by a specific internal organization that follows reconstructed events and subjects in their development.

The goals of the present paper dictate that a complex of research methods and procedures be used to provide balanced and reliable results. Theoretical methods comprise providing a critical review of earlier findings concerning linguistic devices used to objectify mnemonic operations and developing solid theoretical foundations for the proposed hypothesis. Empirical methods embrace the continuous sampling method and content analysis selected for collecting relevant language data from open sources; cognitive interpretation that allows determining the stage of cognitive processing of the mnemonic content being verbalized in each of the language samples; lexicographic analysis used to define and specify meanings of lexical items under consideration; the linguistic observation method, text analysis, contextual and discourse analysis applied to single out linguistic ways of manifesting mnemonic experiences and identify regular lexicalization patterns.

Results and Discussion

As dictated by the goals of the study outlined in the previous section, a relevant research procedure was developed. The present inquiry was conducted in three stages. In the first step of the investigation our focus was on lexical features of language samples, specifically, memory-related lexemes and lexical units acquiring memory-related meanings under contextual conditions. Content and lexicographic analysis of the language material allowed identifying the component structure of the English mnemonic lexicon and singling out its semantic and structural features relevant to the study. The second stage of the research was designed to estimate the potential of differentiated constituents of the mnemonic lexicon in relation to transmitting mnemonic meanings. Finally, in the third phase of the inquiry lexicalization patterns were marked out and their salience was assessed empirically.

Constituent structure of mnemonic lexicon

First, we concentrated on lexical realizations of mnemonic meanings. Each of the items registered in the corpus was handled manually. No automatic linguistic analysis software was used as the task in this stage was to detect all lexical devices (either

semantically related to memory or not) that contribute to verbal representation of mnemonic operations. The data revealed four groups of lexical units expressing memory-related meanings either systematically or contextually: memory verbs, memory nominals, memory collocations, and non-mnemonic lexis used metonymically.

Memory verbs appeared to be the most recurrent group prevailing in the data under examination. Their position of the most frequently occurring lexical device representing mnemonic content provides an explanation for them being assigned the status of primary memory verbalizers. Results of the qualitative analysis yielded a list of English verbs for which memory-related meanings were systemic (for the complete list, see Table 1 below).

Table 1

Memory verbs and their potential regarding verbalization of mnemonic processes

Memory verb	Memory processes			
	Encoding	Storage	Retrieval	Loss
remember	+	+	+	+
recall			+	+
reminisce			+	
recollect			+	+
remind		+		
forget		+		+
memorize	+			
misremember		+		
unforget			+	
mind		+		

The obtained results are very much in line with Rogačeva's (2003) findings, yet there are a few discrepancies regarding the total number of items on the list. While the study conducted by Rogačeva (2003) reports nine verbs in English expressing memory-related meanings, the number of memory verbs occurring in our corpus was ten. The differences concern the verb *to bethink* which is included on the list by Rogačeva (2003) as showing semantic properties indicative of its systemic memory-related meaning while our material reveals zero occurrence for the verb.

Another difference between our results and Rogačeva's (2003) findings concerns two memory-related verbs – *to misremember* and *to unforget* – that appeared in several language samples but, to the best of our knowledge, until now have not been studied as

lexical units capable of expressing mnemonic meanings. The number of occurrences in our corpus is under 1%, however, despite the low occurrence rate, the cases could not be ignored as that would have corrupted the results. Examples (1) and (2) below illustrate the use of the verbs *to misremember* and *to unforget* respectively, expressing memory-related meanings.

(1) If you first state the false information and then provide evidence of why it is wrong, people will tend to forget over time the evidence for why it is wrong, and start to ***misremember*** *the original falsehood as true. (Tsipursky, 2018)*

(2) Thwack! comes the noise once more. It takes several minutes to remember to forget my random thoughts, and to ***unforget*** *my breathing. (Leaf, 2002)*

After the list of English memory verbs was finalized, we proceeded to scrutinizing their potential as regards representation of specific stages of mnemonic processing. As suggested by the language data, memory verbs differ in their abilities to communicate various mnemonic meanings, that is, while some verbs are semantically capable of manifesting two or more stages of mnemonic processing, others are restricted in their usage. The verb *to remember* demonstrated the highest potential regarding verbalization of memory as a lexeme expressing any mnemonic process. Its use as a lexical verbalizer of memory input, storing, retrieval and forgetting is illustrated by Examples (3), (4), (5) and (6) respectively.

(3) I ***will remember*** *Tony Blair as the man who conclusively awakened my apathy towards party politics. (Busfield, 2007)*

(4) I ***remember*** *daydreams about being a concert pianist. I* ***remember*** *longing to have an older brother. My father was a widower when he married my mother. I used to fantasize that a half-brother would turn up out of the blue. (Cope, 2014)*

(5) After all, when I think of myself at 14, watching the couple across the carriage aisle, I ***am not remembering*** *them, I* ***am remembering*** *myself; innocent and yearning, but also a greedy voyeur rapping on the glass, wanting to be let in. (Abbott, 2014)*

(6)"I can't see a scenario where I would say that. What I can see is, it was 10 years ago and I ***don't remember*** *saying it. When someone says you said something, like the experience we just had right now – I* ***don't remember*** *saying that." (Bakare, 2018)*

The verb *to remember* is followed by three other constituents of the same semantic group registered as lexical markers of two mnemonic processes. Thus, *to recall* and *to recollect* can both objectify retrieval and loss of information (see (7a, b) and (8a, b)

respectively) while the semantics of *to forget* allows it to be used as a lexical verbalizer of storing information in memory and loss of information as illustrated in (9a, b).

*(7a) As I **recollect** the view point's as a child, I remember going to one of the sites where my dad was rebuilding a burned down church. (Sweet, 2017)*

*(7b) I **recall** one day, about a month before she passed, I was driving home from the hospital and decided to stop at Nordstrom. (Russell, 2018)*

*(8a) "In fact, I have no memory of this alleged incident," he added. "Brett Kavanaugh and I were friends in high school, but I **do not recall** the party described in Ford's letter. More to the point, I never saw Brett act in the manner Dr. Ford describes." (Herreria Russo, 2018)*

*(8b) I cannot **recollect** the circumstances of my A-level results. (Ratcliffe, 2013)*

*(9a) I may never know their names, but I **will** never **forget** what they did for me and my family. (Piazza, 2019)*

*(9b) Sometimes, as Loudon Wainwright III put it, I **forget**. I **forget** why I'm paying £5 a month to Macmillan Cancer Support and have been doing so for 20-odd years. (Jeffries, 2014)*

The verbs *to reminisce, to remind* and *to memorize* denote only one mnemonic process each, showing lower potential than the abovementioned constituents.

*(10a) I **reminisce** on the numerous ways I could have compromised myself or sacrificed my worth, had it not been for that constant refrain running in the back of my mind "save some for later." (Lawn, 2017)*

*(10b) I **was reminded** of Austerlitz, that meditation on war by WG Sebald, in which "we who are still alive are unreal in the eyes of the dead, and only occasionally, in certain lights and atmospheric conditions, do we appear in their field of vision". (Adams, 2018)*

*(10c) About a week later, the panic began to set in over the fact that I had to learn and **memorize** an obscene amount of music in such a short period of time. It's just Christmas music, you say? No, no. I had to **memorize** nearly 100 tunes with complex harmonies and obscure lyrics, figuring out where my part melted into the others. I had to **memorize** my starting pitch based off the blown pitch and perfect my ear training to ensure I came in exactly on my note. (Gould, 2018)*

Finally, the remaining three verbs on the list have limited potential regarding verbal representation of mnemonic experiences, being capable of expressing only one memory process developing under certain modalities as illustrated in (1) and (2). As a result, the said verbs are characterized by functional restrictions conditioned by their specific semantics.

The overall results of the qualitative and quantitative evaluation of the language data presented in this section demonstrate that the total number of English memory verbs directly nominating mnemonic operations amounts to ten. The said lexical units form a semantic group in which each component expresses a memory-related meaning as its primary one. However, it should be noted that this semantic group is characterized by a heterogeneous structure as the majority of its constituent members convey mnemonic meanings not loaded with any additional submeanings while three peripheral low frequency constituents objectify mnemonic meanings loaded with modifiers specifying external consequences attending the processes.

Another significant group of lexical items transmitting mnemonic meanings and serving as regular lexical markers of personal memory includes verbal collocations used as functional equivalents of memory verbs. In this study we restricted our analysis to frequently occurring collocations with verbal heads that are semantically equivalent to memory verbs and function as contextual synonyms of verbs systematically expressing memory-related meanings (for example, *"to have a flashback" (= to recall), "to stir up in memory" (= to remember), "to wipe from memory" (= to forget), etc.).* Non-verbal memory collocations, non-recurrent memory-related verb phrases or memory-related collocations that do not objectify any mnemonic processes directly (see (11a-c) below) were not included into the analysis.

(11a) to test memory as in

*I **used to test my memory** by recalling all the shops in the drenched Hollywood street (French, 2000)*

(11b) to toy with memory skills as in

*I **kept toying with my memory skills** (Cooke, 2015)*

(11c) to deny recollection as in

*The former Lehman Brothers boss Dick Fuld **has denied all recollection** of an accounting trick… (Clark, 2010)*

The findings reveal that verb-equivalent memory collocations possess a stable internal structure based on a number of regular models and demonstrate consistent functional patterns. In accordance with the results, it is possible to differentiate four structural models providing bases for verbal collocations marking mnemonic processes in English.

Model 1: ***Verb*$_{possess/suppress}$ *+ Mnemonic Noun***, in which Mnemonic Noun stands for a singular or plural noun with or without a determiner, systematically conveying a mnemonic meaning, and Verb$_{possess/suppress}$ stands for its collocate expressed by a verb of possession, suppression or causation of emergence as illustrated in the following example:

(12) It might be possible to ***trigger the memory*** *if there was a life size simulator we could sit in and go through the event one more time. Or not. (Is it possible to remember being born?)*

Model 2: ***Verb*$_{possess/suppress}$ *+ Mnemonic Noun + Preposition***, in which Mnemonic Noun stands for a singular or plural noun systematically conveying a mnemonic meaning, Verb$_{possess/suppress}$ stands for its collocate expressed by a verb of possession, suppression or causation of emergence, and Preposition denotes a preposition pointing either at an object of the mnemonic process being verbalized or at a period of time associated with the process. Mnemonic Noun in this model can also be preceded by an article, a pronoun, or an adjective usually specifying circumstances under which the marked process takes place. The example below demonstrates realization of this model in speech:

(13) "I ***have a memory*** *of turning around and [thinking], What was that? What am I supposed to do with it? What does it mean? The older I get, and the more I know, I feel very fortunate that something worse didn't happen." (Sieczkowski, 2017)*

Model 3: ***Verb*$_{keep}$ *+ Mnemonic Noun* + that + CLAUSE,** in which Mnemonic Noun stands for a memory-related noun with a possible attribute in preposition, Verb$_{keep}$ stands for its verbal collocate expressing possession, keeping, emergence, expression or suppression, and CLAUSE points at an objective or attributive clause providing a description of the mnemonic actant. For instance:

(14) I ***have a vague recollection that*** *his name was actually 'Flash', although as it must have been twenty odd years since I last watched it, I might be wrong… (What was the name of the tortoise in the seventies kids programme "Pipkins"?)*

Model 4: ***Verb*$_{imprint/suppress}$ *+ Noun/Pronoun*$_{object}$ *+ Preposition + Mnemonic Noun***, in which *Verb*$_{imprint/suppress}$ is the head element represented by verbs of imprinting or suppression, *Noun/Pronoun*$_{object}$ is a noun or an objective pronoun pointing at the object of the memory process denoted by the verbal collocate, *Preposition* stands for a spatial preposition, and *Mnemonic Noun* stands for a memory-related noun possibly modified by an attribute or a determiner as in (15) below:

(15) It had been years since she was outed as a CIA operative by Bob Novak resulting in her story catching fire in the press years ago, and quite frankly I ***had completely put her out of my memory****. (Kazmir, 2017)*

As indicated by empirical data, verb-equivalent memory collocations built on the basis of Models 1, 2 and 3 function as markers of three fundamental mnemonic processes: storing information in memory, retrieval and forgetting. The process of inputting information into memory is lexically signalled by verb-equivalent collocations structurally identical with Model 4.

According to the language data under analysis, English memory lexicon includes four groups of lexical verbalizers, two of which are composed of lexemes with systemic memory-related meanings, and the other two hold lexical items recurrently functioning as their contextual synonyms. The most frequent lexical devices marking mnemonic processes in communication were described above. Below we will present findings concerning the non-core lexical units that still merit close inspection as their specific semantics and figurative use highlight certain properties and peculiarities of memory processing relevant for understanding the linguistic mechanism of transmitting mnemonic meanings.

In addition to memory verbs and verb-equivalent collocations, numerous communicative contexts were registered in which mnemonic meanings were conveyed by lexemes systematically expressing memory-related meanings and belonging to parts of speech other than the verb. Specifically, this group of English mnemonic lexicon is composed of nouns and adjectives directly referring to memory operations and experiences. The subgroup of nouns includes the following items: *memory*, *flashback, recollection, reminiscence, recall, remembrance, misremembrance*.

The most frequent noun marking mnemonic processes in English communication is *memory*, its high frequency being a result of a complex semantic structure that includes several systematic meanings associated with memory and its processes. This semantic peculiarity of *memory* has two functional consequences. On the one hand, the broad meaning does not set any functional limits, thus, the noun in question is freely employed by subjects of communicative situations representing any mnemonic operation. On the other hand, as it lacks specifics, it is often used in contexts indicating

some kind of mnemonic activity without actually referring to any specific situations. For instance, in the example below, the noun *memory* refers the reader to past experience not specifying its status as "something stored in memory" or "something reconstructed from memory". It is due to the use of the verb *to remember* in the first sentence reflecting the relevant stage of cognitive processing as "keeping information in memory" that one can define the meaning of the noun in question as "something stored in memory".

> *(16) It is absolutely possible to remember something that you can't explain remembering. My earliest childhood* ***memory*** *was when I was roughly 5 months old. This* ***memory*** *looks like a dream when I'm remembering it - but it has actually happened. (Is it possible to remember being born?)*

According to the results of lexicographic analysis of the language samples, the other nouns constituting the group of memory nominals, unlike the noun *memory*, express only two memory-related meanings: 1) a memory as a result of mnemonic processing, and 2) an act of memory retrieval. *Recollection*, *recall* and *remembrance* have practically identical dictionary definitions and function as synonyms. The nouns *reminiscence* and *flashback* have a more complicated semantic structure which is characterized by the presence of an evaluative component. Along with objectifying memory processes, the said lexemes also express supplementary meanings, specifically, the agent's assessment of past experience as positive or negative.

As for the other nominals objectifying stages of cognitive processing in English, they have limited potential regarding representation of mnemonic operations, as shown by the empirical data. Only five memory-related adjectives were registered: *memorable, forgettable, forgetful, unforgettable* and *reminiscent*. *Memorable* and *unforgettable* have quite similar meanings and define an object as not subjected to the operation of forgetting. *Forgettable*, on the contrary, signals that mnemonic traces of a relevant object can be easily eliminated. The same process of memory loss is also marked by *forgetful* which qualifies the experiencer as tending to lose information stored in memory. Finally, the fifth constituent of this numerically insignificant group, the adjective *reminiscent*, has two meanings relevant to the purpose of this study: *1) tending to remind one of something; 2) absorbed in or suggesting absorption in memories* (Reminiscent, n.d.). The structure of its lexical meaning reflects its potential as regards verbal representation of two mnemonic processes: storing information in memory and

recall, which makes it unique among other group constituents capable of objectifying only one memory process.

Thus, the group of nominal lexical markers of mnemonic processes in English is constituted by nouns and adjectives systematically expressing memory-related meanings. According to the language data under consideration, it comprises seven nouns, none of which, however, can function as an independent memory marker, and five adjectives selectively representing three of the four core processes.

As demonstrated by our language data, there is a large number of lexemes devoid of any memory-related semantics, but still taking significant part in verbal objectifying of mnemonic processes due to acquiring memory-associated meanings under specific contextual conditions. Based on the empirical evidence within the involved lexis, the following thematic groups of lexemes can be differentiated:

1) thematic group of mental processes and states,
2) thematic group of sensual perception,
3) thematic group of translocation,
4) thematic group of past experience.

The thematic group of mental processes and states as presented in our language samples includes two subgroups associated with thinking: 1) verbs denoting mental acts and states, including verbs of thinking, understanding, and knowing (for example, *to know, to think, to reflect*); and 2) nouns naming the hypothetical "thinking organ" that controls mental processes (for example, *brain, mind, head*). Examples (17) and (18) below illustrate how lexemes belonging to the two subgroups under consideration take part in rendering mnemonic content.

*(17) It's funny **thinking back** on all this. My memories of the time is that Antonia had as usual some rehearsal for us and the character I was playing in Safe was crazy and it seemed to me that the rehearsals we were doing that week didn't help. (Carlyle, 1999)*

In the fragment above the mental verb *to think back* is employed as a lexical marker of memory retrieval. Although its semantics does not presuppose expressing any memory-related meanings, in the given context *to think back* develops a contextual meaning of remembering. This modification in the meaning becomes possible due to other lexical and grammatical devices explicitly or implicitly pointing at personal memory experience. On the lexical level, memory reporting is manifested by two

lexemes: *memories* standing for recollections of past experience and *time* accentuating a temporal gap between the moment of speaking and the events being reconstructed, the former being an explicit marker and the latter functioning as an implicit one. Structurally, the present and the time evoked in the agent's memory are demarcated by the adverbial *that week* amplifying the effect produced by the lexical means.

Example (18) below presents a case of a noun referring to the so called "memory organ" in the function of a supplementary lexical marker of mnemonic processes.

> *(18) I have a vague memory of being carried out to my mother who was laying on a hospital bed. I must have been a baby because I was in the palms of their hands. I also have vivid memories from when I was 12 months old. The human* ***mind*** *is a very powerful tool. You can unlock anything if you try. (Is it possible to remember being born?, n.d.)*

The example is an utterance produced by a memory agent and describing his experience of storing information in memory. The process of storing information is not nominated directly. Its primary lexical markers are two verb-equivalent collocations *have a vague memory* and *have vivid memories*. The mental noun *mind* denotes a metaphoric storage of memories and in this quality it does not name any processes but rather performs a supporting role referring to cognitive processing in general.

Other lexemes within the thematic group of mental processes registered in our database demonstrate identical behaviour: being integrated into the broader context, verbs objectify the process of memory retrieval while nouns render general mnemonic means, not specifying any operations.

The thematic group of sensual perception has a similar structure as that of mental processes. The group includes verbs of sensual perception (for example, *to feel, to see, to look*), and nouns describing abstract entities available to an individual as a result of sensual perception of the surrounding world (for example, *image, picture*). In Example 19 below the verb of visual perception *to look back* is employed as an additional marker of mnemonic reconstruction. This lexical unit cannot be regarded as a direct memory verbalizer since semantically it has no relation to the mnemonic function, but representing past events as experience that can be visualized, it stresses their vivacity and presence in the agent's memory. The adjective *past* and adverb *now* accentuate the gap between the current situation and the period retrieved from

memory and thus contribute to the contextual conditions activating the meaning of restoring from memory.

*(19) When I **look back** on my past adventures now, it's the real, unstaged photos and seemingly pointless selfies that make my heart sing anyway — not the curated, overedited, completely inauthentic shots. (Kucheran, 2019)*

The thematic group of translocation is constituted by verbs expressing transposition in space, specifically, verbs describing voluntary or involuntary change of location by an object relative to a landmark or independent of some other fixed object. The most numerous group constituents are reverse movement verbs denoting actions that return to the initial reference point. For instance, in the following fragment the reverse movement verbs *to take back* and *to flood back* mark the process of restoring information on the lexical level. At that, memory retrieval is represented as an externally initiated process not subjected to the experiencer's control, progressing regardless of their attitude and without any triggering actions on their part.

*(20) But for me, the most potent floral scent is the coconut aroma of gorse. It **takes** me straight **back**, almost half a century, to the cake shop below my grandparents' flat in Southsea, where the comforting smell of warm coconut wafted from trays of macaroons. Such is the evocative power of this aroma that these childhood memories **flooded back** in photographic detail as I sat under a bank of gorse this afternoon, during the pre-Easter heatwave that coaxed a spectacular display of gorse flowers into bloom. (Gates, 2003)*

Unlike the thematic groups of mental processes and sensual perception, the translocation group may objectify a second mnemonic process. Specifically, relevant evidence was received for verbs expressing leaving, departing, and removing that often in combination with prepositions *away* and *off* in postposition represent loss of information from memory. For instance, in the examples below the verbs *to melt* and *to fade* function as lexical markers of forgetting.

*(21a) My memories of Sadie would **melt away**. My life would feel normal. (Kinsella, 2010)*

*(21b) After this, I have very few memories of Honza. He just seemed to **fade away**. (Litt, 2010)*

Thus, the thematic group of translocation, being the only one constituted exclusively by verbs, contributes to lexical expression of two memory processes – forgetting and remembering. Moreover, unlike in the other groups, the semantics of its

constituents allows specifying the nature of memory processes as both voluntary and involuntary.

Finally, the fourth thematic group including constituents that can acquire memory-associated meanings represents past experience. Unlike the other three groups, it does not include any verbs. Its constituents are nouns and adjectives expressing retrospective semantics that can be further classified into lexemes explicitly pointing at a temporal distance (for instance, nouns *past, retrospect,* adjectives *old, early, last,* etc.) and lexemes denoting time periods and intervals (for example, *lifetime, year, youth*).

Similar to the thematic group of translocation, lexical units expressing retrospective semantics point at two memory processes – remembering and forgetting. For instance, in (22) below lexemes in bold with temporal or, more specifically, past-associated meanings function as additional markers, thus signalling transition into mnemonic narration mode, supporting the single memory verb *to remember* and extending its meaning onto the whole passage, not just the proposition that follows.

> *(22) I know there was a **time** when things were all right. I went climbing in the hills out back, slid down on paper bags over the gold-colored grass, played in the creek, climbed the cherry tree. I do not remember a **childhood** of chaos. Only in **retrospect** would I term it chaotic. [...] It was a world that I, through the keyhole of **years**, watched and reached a small hand out and tried to touch. (Hornbacher, 1999)*

As indicated by the language data, the layer of non-mnemonic lexis, although semantically not designed to express memory meanings, functionally plays an important role in verbalizing memory reports, its constituents performing both as objectifiers and amplifiers of mnemonic processes. Such transitions of meanings seem to be possible due to two factors: the broad semantics of the lexemes under consideration allowing for further contextual modifications, on the one hand, and linguistic conceptualization of memory as a mental organ as well as its strong interconnections with time and place.

Summing up the results obtained in the first stage of the research, it can be concluded that the English language has an extensive multi-level arsenal of linguistic devices used for transmission of mnemonic content in communication. Organizationally, English memory lexicon can be presented as a nuclear structure with the core memory

vocabulary forming its central part and supplementary lexical layers constituting the periphery. The nucleus is built around memory verbs serving as primary verbalizers of the mnemonic function in English and their collocation equivalents, both capable of expressing any of the cognitive processing stages. The proximal periphery is constituted by non-mnemonic lexis functioning either as contextual verbalizers or as supplementary signals. The far periphery is formed by nominal lexical units semantically associated with memory, but functionally deficient as regards direct nomination of its operations.

Constituent potential as regards transmitting of mnemonic meanings

The previous section of the paper dealt with the structural organization of English memory lexicon, presenting an inventory of lexical devices employed by English speakers to convey their mnemonic experiences. As demonstrated by the empirical evidence, the language system offers a choice of lexical means for expressing mnemonic operations. The second stage of the current study was aimed at determining the potential of each group of lexical markers and assessing their impact as regards verbal representation of memory reports.

Results obtained in the course of analyzing language samples indicated that the dominant memory verbalizers functioning on the lexical level are memory verbs, the verb *to remember* being the absolute leader in this group as a lexeme capable of nominating any stage of cognitive processing, which, on the one hand, accentuates its autonomous status and independence of any supplementary lexical devices, but, on the other hand, may result in ambiguity requiring relevant specifiers and amplifiers. Nevertheless, this group can be qualified as autonomous since its constituents are direct lexicalizers of mnemonic processes.

As for linguistic devices involved in lexicalization of memory indirectly, semantic analysis of verb-equivalent memory collocations revealed that just like memory verbs the former objectify mnemonic operations, thus functioning as contextual synonyms of the latter. However, unlike memory verbs, verb-equivalent memory collocations expand their meaning beyond nominating specific processes to providing extra information about their nature and flow specifics. For example, memory collocations denoting loss

of information include supplementary meanings reflecting its fundamental property – the motivated or unmotivated nature of forgetting. Verbal collocates of suppression and deletion accentuate the intentional nature of the process while verbal collocates of disappearance indicate that the agent does not have control over forgetting.

The semantic structure of verb-equivalent collocations may also manifest the same property in memory retrieval. Specifically, verb collocates of emergence emphasize the unmotivated nature of remembering while verb collocates expressing causation characterize the relevant process as self-triggered, resulting from intentional cognitive operations on the part of the agent. It should be noted in this regard that self-controllability as a relevant feature of a memory process is expressed only by collocations verbalizing memory retrieval and forgetting. The processes of recording information and storing it in memory as lexicalized in recurrent verb collocations are not marked for any special characteristics that would allow drawing any conclusions about the agent's will and control over memory operations.

Thus, memory collocations in English are capable of representing all of the key stages of cognitive processing verbalized by speakers and functioning autonomously. However, their potential related to marking memory processes on the lexical level is not as high as that of memory verbs, which can be explained by at least two reasons. The first one is the frequency factor indicating that memory verbs have a significant statistical advantage. And the other reason is related to the broader semantics of memory verbs, not modified by any processual specifics, which also adds to their functional predominance.

Yet a weaker verbalization potential has been found in non-mnemonic lexis used metonymically that cannot function as autonomous lexical markers of mnemonic content since their original semantics is not related to memory. Acquiring contextual memory-associated meanings under certain cognitive and communicative conditions, lexical constituents of the thematic groups of mental processes, sensual perception, translocation, and past experience take part in manifesting memory processes as supplementary markers playing a supporting role to words of mnemonic semantics and activating their systematic meanings.

This lexical layer has a peculiar feature setting it off the other groups of words within the structure of English mnemonic lexicon: their limited potential as regards direct nomination of specific stages of mnemonic processing is compensated with their ability to manifest memory content in general, not specifying particular operations it is subjected to.

Finally, the least autonomous component of English mnemonic lexicon includes memory nominals. Despite their systematic memory-related meanings registered in dictionaries, nouns and adjectives constituting this group are not capable of transmitting mnemonic content as freely and on the scale as large as memory verbs, collocations, and even non-mnemonic lexis can. As it has been mentioned above, the number of nouns in this group counts seven items, however, none of them can function as an independent memory marker. In accordance with the language data, the noun *memory* has the highest potential in this regard, however, its broad semantics results in functional limitations that do not allow nominating a memory process directly and require that specifiers be used. The other nouns in this group are also limited in their potential to represent memory operations as their semantic structure reflects only one mnemonic operation – memory retrieval. Besides that, two of the lexical units on the list render additional evaluative connotations.

Adjectival constituents of the semantic group under consideration are subject to yet more salient restrictions as they can mark only one or two mnemonic processes, which makes them supplementary lexical devices participating in transmitting of mnemonic meanings as specifiers or amplifiers but not as primary verbalizers.

An obvious consequence of the abovementioned functional limitations affecting the semantic group of nominals systematically expressing memory-related meanings in English is that memory nouns and adjectives are found mostly in communicative contexts in which the mnemonic process being verbalized is explicitly marked by other lexical devices. Therefore, the primary role of these lexemes in communication is to introduce or support the general memory theme initiated by the speaker, not naming any specific processes, and thus provide for the topical coherence of memory reports and delimitation of their borders in the communication flow.

As suggested by the language data, in terms of their verbalization potential, two types of components constituting English mnemonic lexicon can be differentiated: autonomous and non-autonomous. Autonomous constituents are capable of expressing mnemonic processes independent of any other lexical devices. They include memory verbs as primary direct verbalizers and memory collocations that do not nominate mnemonic operations directly; yet they can still function as lexical verbalizers not relying on any lexical adjuncts semantically associated with memory. Non-autonomous constituents can be seen as lacking verbalization potential and dependent on contextual satellites when conveying mnemonic content. This component of English mnemonic lexicon is represented by memory nominals characterized by a very limited lexicalization power. Non-mnemonic lexis associated with memory via metonymy occupies a transitional position between the autonomous and non-autonomous constituents. On the one hand, some of its members may objectify memory operations. On the other hand, their number is not vast, while most other members have to rely on supporting lexical elements.

It cannot go unnoticed that there is no direct correlation between the semantics of a lexical unit and its potential regarding representation of mnemonic meanings. Unexpectedly, memory nominals systematically expressing memory-related meanings play a more modest role in communicating mnemonic content than verb collocations that are not direct lexicalizers of memory. A possible explanation is that even having memory-associated semantics, their meanings are broader than those of memory verbs, thus, determining their dependence on adjunct lexical elements.

Another problem being solved in this stage of the study concerns the degree of objectifying mnemonic processing stages on the lexical level. According to the language data, storing and retrieval are two memory processes that are lexicalized most explicitly in English via five direct lexical verbalizers, verb collocations, and non-mnemonic lexis. Loss of information can be directly expressed by four memory verbs, verb collocations, and non-mnemonic lexis as well. Finally, the process of encoding is characterized by the lowest number of lexical markers and finds its verbal reflection only in two verbs and verb collocations. Memory nominals, as it has already been stated, do not take part in objectifying mnemonic processes explicitly, functioning as supporting lexical markers.

These results could suggest that direct lexicalization of mnemonic processes may correlate with the extent of their significance to individuals in English-speaking cultures. Therefore, storing and retrieval may be seen by English-speaking natives as the most important steps in the cognitive processing of incoming information.

Lexicalization patterns and their salience attribution

The final stage of the present research focused on identifying recurrent lexicalization patterns used to verbalize mnemonic experiences. For this purpose, language samples registered in the corpus were scanned for lexemes that could be seen as at least one of the semantic groups constituting English mnemonic lexicon. Results obtained while examining the language samples yielded the following patterns:

Pattern 1: Memory verb

Pattern 2: Memory verb + supporting memory nominal

Pattern 3: Memory verb + memory collocation

Pattern 4: Memory verb + non-mnemonic lexis used metonymically

Pattern 5: Memory verb + non-mnemonic lexis used metonymically+ supporting memory nominal

Pattern 6: Memory verb + memory collocation + supporting memory nominal

Pattern 7: Memory verb + memory collocation + non-mnemonic lexis used metonymically

Pattern 8: Memory verb + memory collocation + non-mnemonic lexis used metonymically + supporting memory nominal

Pattern 9: Memory nominal (or a combination)

Pattern 10: Memory collocation

Pattern 11: Memory collocation + supporting memory nominal

Pattern 12: Memory collocation + non-mnemonic lexis used metonymically

Pattern 13: Memory collocation + non-mnemonic lexis used metonymically + supporting memory nominal

Pattern 14: Non-mnemonic lexis used metonymically

Pattern 15: Non-mnemonic lexis used metonymically + supporting memory nominal

Pattern 1 is illustrated by Example 3 above in which the single memory verb *to remember* explicitly names the process of storing information in memory. This pattern

may have several realizations. For instance, in (4) and (5) the verb *to remember* is repeated twice. In Example 2 three memory verbs *to remember, to forget,* and *to unforget* are employed to convey mnemonic meanings.

Pattern 2 is activated in (16) in which the memory verb *to remember* combines with the mnemonic noun *memory*, the former being repeated three times and the latter being repeated twice.

Pattern 3 is exemplified in fragment (8) above, being lexically represented by the combination of the memory verb *to recall* used with a negator to express forgetting and the verb-equivalent collocation to *have no memory* also expressing loss of information.

Pattern 4 can be found in Example 6 illustrating the use of the perception verb *to see* expressing a general cognitive activity and the verb *to remember* denoting memory retrieval.

Pattern 5 is different from the four patterns above in the number of lexical devices involved in manifestation of memory operations. In Pattern 5 three lexical markers are combined: a memory verb, non-mnemonic lexis used metonymically, and a supporting memory nominal. Example (23) below demonstrates this pattern at work. The prospective memory content presented in the monologue is explicitly marked with the memory verbs *to forget, to remember,* and *to recollect*, the mental verb *to think*, and the noun *memory*.

> *(23) Jimmy Thomas, my loving husband, I* ***will*** *never* ***forget*** *you. I* ***will be remembering*** *you when I see lovers holding hands in early spring. I* ***will think*** *of you when I see a baby smile. And because of you, my heart will be invigorated with each rise and set of every radiant sun. Yes, I* ***will be remembering*** *you at the beginning of each day and for its duration. Because of you, I will have the peace to sleep through troublesome nights. Oh Jimmy, my husband, come every lazy, Sunday morning, I* ***will be recollecting memories*** *about you and me. I* ***will think*** *of you when I'm just thinking. Oh you, you, my perfect lover, I* ***will be remembering*** *you when I hear songbirds paying homage to life. Oh, I* ***will not forget*** *your warm, sweet kisses that we shared on those cold dreary winter nights. And when I listen to my heart, I know I will hear your laughter. I will enjoy your soft words of wisdom as they sooth my insecurity. And each rising morning and setting evening, I* ***will revisit*** *your words that said with clarity, 'I love you, Annie.' My husband, my only lover, I* ***will*** *always* ***be remembering*** *and wanting your love through all the days of the seasons. When leaves fall from the trees in early fall, and new and vibrant ones replace them, I will be longing for your soft touch. I somehow hoped that our story would never have ended, at least, not like this. But, I know I must go on. Our perfect* ***memories***

will become my partner for a lifetime. And I will nurture them with pride, love, and kindness. I will take comfort in knowing that my empty arms will hold you again, and this time, I know it will be for all eternity." (Casteel, 2009)

Pattern 6 can be observed in (24) below representing the communicative situation of memory retrieval which is manifested on the lexical level with the help of the memory verb *to forget*, the verb-equivalent collocation *to unleash memories* and the mnemonic noun *flashbacks*.

*(24) You try to **forget**, then without any warning something you hear, see or smell **unleashes the memories**: fear, panic and then profound sadness soon follow. And yet I was aware that my **flashbacks**, mercifully few and far between, provide only a fleeting glimpse into the enormous suffering of hundreds of thousands of victims and survivors. (Sunga, 2016)*

Example (25) illustrates the way Pattern 7 is activated in the communicative situation of memory retrieval. In the text below, which is a reader's comment to the discussion related to the article *Why can't I remember Mum?* on the Guardian website, the process of restoring information from memory is directly expressed by the memory verb *to remember* and the verb-equivalent collocations *to have memories* and *to have recollection*. A supporting lexical marker also presupposing a reconstructive cognitive activity is expressed by the verb *to visualize*, which is a constituent of the thematic group of mental processes within the larger group of non-mnemonic lexis used metonymically.

*(25) My mum died when I was 20 and I also **have no real memories** of her, indeed, I **have very few memories** of my entire childhood. Sometimes when I do try **to remember** things, I end up **visualising** something that is actually a photograph. It's very odd. It's horrible because it's just this massive blank in my life and when people ask me things I find myself repeating stories I've been told or recreating what I've seen in photographs.*

*Occasionally I can smell her very vividly. I can't **remember** what she sounds like though. I rarely dream about her, and when I do, she always announces that she's dead. I don't like it at all and prefer not to dream about her.*

*I can't decide whether it's a good thing I **have very little recollection** of her or a bad thing, it just feels like she was never really here at all.*

Anyway, thank you for sharing this, it's been a huge comfort, and of course, am very sorry for your loss. (Beales, 2010)

Pattern 8 is the most extended one, including all four possible types of lexical markers, that is, a memory verb, a verb-equivalent collocation, non-mnemonic lexis, and

a memory nominal. Example (26) illustrates its activation in the communicative situation of retention, specifically, the fragment discusses the earliest mnemonic experiences the individual is aware of. The process of keeping information in memory is directly nominated by the memory verb *to remember* and an equivalent construction *to have a memory*, the latter being used with a negator to demonstrate an undesirable result of storing in memory. The noun *memory* also explicitly marks a verbal product of cognitive processing while the supporting lexical marker *mind* belonging to the thematic group of mental activity lexemes in combination with the verb of retention *to imprint* accentuate the subject's focus on memory sharing.

> *(26) My earliest* ***memory*** *is a suitably vivid and somewhat gothic one from when I must have been around 18months old. I toddled into my grandmother's kitchen to find the tiny but extraordinarily terrifying matriarch of the family standing at the sink skinning a rabbit.*
>
> *And I think the main reason why this was so powerfully imprinted on my* ***mind*** *- apart from the obvious shock of seeing a knife wielding bloodthirsty granny - was the smell. I've asked cooks about this and apparently the odour of skinned rabbit can be very pungent. Also, I* ***remember*** *the skin having a greenish tint but I am not sure if that's just been blurred by time. Truth is that was the first and last time I have ever got close to rabbit skinning so have never been able to confirm any further details!*
>
> *Alas, I* ***have no memory*** *of what dish Nan ended up producing from it. I trust it was a tasty stew* :) *(Saner et al., 2018)*

Pattern 9 being, on the contrary, structurally minimalistic and including only a memory nominal or nominals, is represented in (27) below. A peculiar feature of Pattern 9 is predetermined by the semantics of its pattern-forming lexical elements and consists in its inability to nominate a specific mnemonic process since memory nominals stand out from the cohort of other memory-associated lexical units due to their functional deficiency in this regard.

> *(27) My Christmas brain is similarly selective about which childhood shopping memories it will allow. The first trip of the year to see Fenwick's Christmas window in Newcastle is in, followed by long, attentive study of the fragile, inky pages of the Argos catalogue (a treasure map of the adventures ahead). Finally there are my* ***reminiscences*** *of what was then Europe's biggest mall – the MetroCentre, Gateshead. It contained a faux-Victorian town square, a funfair, a fence made of giant pencils and indoor fountains full of sparkling pennies made shiny by the nostril-stinging chemicals in the water. Paradise. (Laverne, 2014)*

Pattern 10 finds its illustration in Example (15) which represents the subject's utterance in the situation of memory loss. The relevant mnemonic process is lexically manifested with the help of a verb-equivalent collocation synonymous to the verb *to forget*.

The application of Pattern 11 can be found in (28) below. In the statement made by the subject of mnemonic experience, the process of storing information in memory is represented by the verb-equivalent collocation *to have memories* while the supporting memory nominal *forgetful* does not indicate a specific process but rather points at a memory-related personal quality.

*(28) I am **forgetful** but **have memories** from 80 years ago. What's going on? (Liggett, 2019)*

Example (18) above demonstrates a sample representing Pattern 12. The pattern is based on two pattern-forming lexical elements: a verb-equivalent collocation (in case of the fragment under consideration it is *to have a vague memory*) and a non-mnemonic lexical unit used metonymically (in the extract above this component is represented by the noun *mind* that belongs to the thematic group of mental activity).

Pattern 13 is illustrated by (29) below. The fragment presents a linguistic reflection of the communicative situation of memory retrieval. The relevant process is explicitly specified by the verb-equivalent collocation *to get a flashback* that stresses the involuntary nature of remembering. The non-direct lexical markers of mnemonic processing are the semantically relevant noun *memory* and metonymically used mental noun *brain*.

*(29) This would be a nightmare. I really hate it when you **get a** cringe **flashback** of something stupid you did or said 20 or 30 years previously. I wish those **memories** could be burnt out of the **brain**. (Dahl, 2018)*

Pattern 14 has a peculiarity that makes it unique among the rest of the lexicalization patterns under discussion. It does not include any memory-related lexemes either directly nominating a mnemonic process or implicitly pointing at one. The lexical element performing the pattern-building function in case of Pattern 14 is a non-mnemonic lexical unit belonging to one of the thematic groups outlined in Section 1.3 above. For instance, Example (19) represents the subject's utterance in the situation of memory retrieval. On the lexical level the relevant process is marked with the help of

the perception verb *to look* with an adverb of reverse action in postposition. The temporal distance between the moment of memory retrieval and the period being reconstructed is additionally accentuated by the retrospective adjective *past*.

Pattern 15 is activated in Examples (17) and (20) above. Its structure is constituted by two secondary memory lexicalizers: a non-mnemonic lexical unit used metonymically and a supporting memory nominal. For instance, in (20) the first component is represented by a translocation verb *to take back* and an emergence verb *to flood back*, both expressing memory retrieval. The noun *memories* functions as a supporting element, pointing at mnemonic content in general.

Analysis of the fifteen patterns differentiated in the present study allows the following conclusions regarding lexical representation of memory processes in English:

1. Lexicalization of memory in English is based on a number of recurrent patterns that can be classified and described according to their structural organization.

2. Any of the constituents of English mnemonic lexicon can perform the role of the pattern-building element, that is, be strong enough to verbalize memory processes on its own in a relevant communicative situation. In such cases mnemonic content is conveyed in an utterance with a single lexical memory marker. Most patterns, however, are based on combinations of multiple lexical devices expressing memory meanings.

3. Constituents of English mnemonic lexicon can be freely combined in order to communicate memory meanings. The pattern-based structure of memory utterances in English allows for modifications that mostly consist in a repetition of a lexeme or constituent element.

4. In communication the opposition between semantically autonomous and non-autonomous lexis is neutralized as the two categories of lexical units characterized in the previous section as non-autonomous and transitional between autonomous and non-autonomous lexis due to their meanings expressing memory processing in general and not related to memory respectively, are still capable of transmitting mnemonic content and specifying memory operations. The most likely explanation for this fact seems to be the contextual effect, the communicative situation being the key factor modifying, specifying and amplifying the meaning of non-autonomous lexical markers.

Conclusion

This research was specifically aimed at examining the lexical component of the verbal code representing the mnemonic faculty in English and the sphere of cognitive processing in general which, to the best of our knowledge, has not yet merited an in-depth systematic analysis either in works on cognitive linguistics or in linguistic memory studies. As this domain opens a broad avenue for further investigation that will require joined efforts on the part of linguists, in the present paper our focus was specifically on the lexical level of memory encoding and lexicalization patterns in English.

The results show that English has an extensive set of lexical devices marking the mnemonic faculty in verbal communication. This set demonstrates properties of systematic organization, which reveals itself in the use of regular recurrent patterns for conveying memory meanings. The fifteen patterns differentiated in accordance with the language data are based on pattern-building components of the lexical code marking memory reports in English. The said components include 1) memory verbs, 2) verb-equivalent memory collocations, 3) memory nominals, and 4) non-mnemonic lexis used metonymically.

Memory verbs and verb-equivalent memory collocations are primary verbalizers of the mnemonic function in English, and they form the nucleus of the English mnemonic lexicon. The non-mnemonic lexis and memory nominals function as secondary verbalizers, and they constitute the proximal and far periphery respectively. As suggested by the language data, memory verbs and verb-equivalent collocations have the highest potential regarding verbal representation of mnemonic processes and therefore can be seen as autonomous memory verbalizers capable of communicating mnemonic content without any supplementary linguistic devices, such as specifiers or amplifiers. In this quality they should be considered a macrogroup of lexical units systematically expressing memory meanings and being the core of English mnemonic lexicon.

Empirical evidence allows differentiating the following functions of the lexical component of the linguistic memory code: 1) mnemonic lexicon signals the engagement of the mnemonic faculty in general without referring to any specific stage of memory processing; 2) mnemonic lexicon explicitly nominates phases of memory processing and presents its results; 3) mnemonic lexicon registers the nature of mnemonic processing and manifests the memory agent's response to initiation of a mnemonic process.

Thus, the results yielded by this investigation expand our current knowledge in the sphere of lexicalization of mnemonic content in English and are in line with the one-to-many concept describing basic principles of representing cognitive structures.

Limitations and Future Research

Although our findings have certain implications for linguistic memory studies and can be extrapolated to other cognitive faculties, they are still not devoid of a number of limitations resulting mostly from the composition of the language corpora under examination.

One limitation is related to the collection of data without respect to the gender and age of the memory agent producing a mnemonic utterance. Future research should investigate the role of these two factors on the choice of specific language means to represent mnemonic processes as it may shed light on the development of memory-related verbal competence with age and reveal if there are any gender-conditioned preferences regarding the choice of specific lexical devices. The presented findings may also have implications for the design of research procedures used by cognitive psychologists to study the development of memory-related language use in different age groups.

Despite the fact that the collected data were quite diverse with respect to genres and communication channels, the sources of empirical evidence were rather homogeneous as regards the discourse type (the corpora included samples of mass media and social media discourse, public and political discourse, autobiographical discourse and fiction), thus limiting the generalizability of the conclusions to other types of discourse. Future research should address and encompass other discourse varieties of present-day English, such as, for example, legal, medical and education discourses.

Another venue to explore in future studies of memory language is the cultural factor. Drawing on the idea presented in (Schwanenflugel, Martin, Takashi 1999, p. 813) that a typical approach to assessing the theory of mind held by a particular cultural group consists in studying the language used by group members to speak about mental activities, we suggest that prospective research of mnemonic lexicon should focus on its cultural and cross-cultural variation.

As a conclusion, we emphasize the importance of further investigation into mnemonic lexicon in cognitive, social, cultural and linguistic aspects for a more profound understanding of how languages reflect and what they reveal about the cognitive sphere.

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CREATING THE AUTHORIAL SELF IN ACADEMIC TEXTS: EVIDENCE FROM THE EXPERT'S STYLE OF WRITING

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Abstract

This paper reports on an analysis of stance expressions in a 439,490-word corpus of Ken Hyland's academic prose, encompassing 64 single-authored texts from journals, edited collections and his own monographs. Using WordSmith Tools 6.0, the study aims to find out how this expert academic writer creates his authorial self through stance mechanisms. The results reveal that Hyland's authorial participation in his discourse is mostly manifested through hedges, somewhat less definitely through boosters, but relatively infrequently by attitude markers and self-mention. The choice of the specific stance devices indicates a preference for detached objectivity when formulating empirically verifiable propositions and a shift towards subjectivity when referring to discourse acts and research methodology. These findings contribute to our understanding of stance-taking expertise in applied linguistics and may thus assist novice writers in the field in a more effective management of their own performance of self in academic prose.

Keywords: academic prose, authorial self, stance expressions, corpus analysis, Ken Hyland

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This article was inspired by Ken Hyland's presentation at the 2011 PRISEAL Conference on publishing and presenting research internationally, in which he examined how two leading applied linguists, John Swales and Debbie Cameron, construct their scholarly identity through discourse choices. Hyland (2015) later described this study in one of his papers, similarly as the analysis of John Swales' style of writing (Hyland, 2008). These articles motivated the undertaking of a similar project on the scholarly output of Ken Hyland himself, a renowned applied linguist who 'has had a large role in unveiling the interpersonal forces driving academic communication' (Dueñas, 2013, p. 2846). An important area of inquiry in Hyland's research is his model of writer-reader interaction based on the notions of stance and engagement (Hyland, 2005c). The former category has been selected as the topic of this study, as it concentrates on the writer and their expression of 'textual 'voice' or community recognized personality' through the resources for self-reference and for the presentation of attitudes, evaluations and commitments to potential readers (Hyland, 2005c, p. 176). Besides, due to the limited scope of the paper, it would be difficult to also do justice to the latter category.

Academic stance has been a popular focus of research; however, such investigations are often based on texts, the authors of which remain faceless. Hence, general trends in stance taking are highlighted, as observed in different disciplines (e.g., Pho, 2013), cultures (e.g., Abdollahzadeh, 2011), professional genres (e.g., Hyland, 2004), periods of time (e.g., Hyland & Jiang, 2016), groups of (non-)native speakers (e.g., Dontcheva-Navrátilová, 2009) or (non-)novice academics (e.g., Wang & Jiang, 2018). Less attention has been devoted to the textual analyses of the individual performance of eminent scholars, such as the above-mentioned ones by Hyland or the study by Önder (2012) who compared selected elements of metadiscourse, as used by John Swales and Ken Hyland. Still, as Hyland (2004, p. 149) asserts, 'the insights gained from examining how writing is constructed, interpreted, and used by experienced members of the community' may 'help us understand the nature of disciplinary identities and the meaning of expertise in particular fields' (Hyland, 2015, p. 304). This, in turn, is likely to help novice writers develop the desired conventions of stance taking that are integral to academic success.

Adopting a more fine-grained perspective on these issues, the paper investigates prominent stance devices in a corpus of Ken Hyland's published writing, attempting to reveal which exponents of 'personal attitudes and assessments of the status of knowledge' actually help him achieve credibility as a disciplinary insider (Hyland & Jiang, 2016, p. 253). Based on the scholar's recent paradigm of stance (Hyland, 2005c), the focus is on such stance markers as boosters, hedges, attitude markers and self-mention with respect to their: (1) frequency, (2) prominence in the corpus, (3) individual patterns of use, as well as (4) the reasons and implications underlying these tendencies. The aim is twofold: to see how Hyland exploits stance-taking resources to his own advantage, and to highlight the key aspects of his expert performance, attempting to foster stance awareness among novice academics.

Stance in academic writing

Academic persuasion goes beyond the mere communication of observable facts. What lies at its heart is, as Hyland (2019, p. 92) argues, 'the attempt to anticipate and head off possible objections to arguments'. Language choices have to be made carefully, as they give shape to the author's textual persona and help to validate the conveyed meanings with other partners in the discourse. Skilful use of language and tactful negotiation of rhetorical space, in which effective claims can be made as well as contested and then reframed, are all part of a process towards presenting the writer and their research as scientifically plausible and in line with the respective disciplinary community and its standards. The discoursal construction of what Clark and Ivanič (1997, p. 137) label as the 'authorial self' is manifested in the extent to which writers intrude into their texts 'to stamp their personal authority onto their arguments or step back and disguise their involvement' (Hyland, 2005c, p. 176).

To accomplish the mentioned aims, writers use a variety of rhetorical and linguistic resources that have been discussed in the literature under many different conceptual terms, a comprehensive overview of which can be found in Gray and Biber (2012), Pho (2013) or Hyland and Jiang (2016). Two important labels are 'evidentiality' (Chafe, 1986), connoting the writer's assessment of how they know their propositions are true, and 'affect' (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1989), denoting the subjective experience of feelings, moods or attitudes towards entities. Hyland and Jiang (2016) explain that these two concepts are often integrated into a single model, as reflected in Biber and

Finegan's (1989) conceptualization of 'stance' in terms of assessments of the status of knowledge as well as personal attitudes and emotions. Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad and Finegan (1999) developed this framework, proposing a distinction between attitudinal stance (affect) and epistemic stance (evidentiality), as well as adding the category of style of speaking, concerned with the writer's comments on the communication. Another important approach to these issues is 'evaluation' (Hunston & Thompson, 2000) that centres around the writer's evaluations of value (evaluations of characteristics), status (degree of certainty invested in information), expectedness (obviousness to the reader) and relevance (significance to the reader) of what they discuss. Closely related is also the model of 'appraisal' (Martin & White, 2005), which encompasses three systems: attitude that encodes affect (emotional responses), appreciation (aesthetic evaluations) and judgement (moral evaluations); engagement that aligns with epistemic stance meanings; and graduation that is concerned with the strength of evaluative positions.

Added to the above are Hyland's own conceptions of stance which are largely consistent with the mentioned approaches. In his early works, Hyland (1998a, 1998b) sees stance as constructed through hedges and boosters expressing various degrees of certainty and conviction. Later on, he starts to conceive of stance in terms of three components: evidentiality that concerns the writer's commitment to the truth of their propositions, affect that involves the manifestation of personal and professional attitudes towards what is said, and relation that refers to the writer's self-presentation and engagement with the readers (Hyland, 1999). Hyland's work on these issues also falls under the umbrella term 'metadiscourse' (Hyland, 2005a), in the framework of which stance relates to interactional resources that help to manage writer-reader interactions in texts. Hyland (2005c) further elaborates interactional metadiscourse, reframing it as two clear-cut dimensions: stance, which conveys the writer's attitudes and evaluations, and engagement, which relates to addressing the reader directly.

In Hyland's (2005c, p. 178) latter conception, adopted in this study, stance concerns 'the ways academics annotate their texts to comment on the possible accuracy or credibility of a claim, the extent they want to commit themselves to it, or the attitude they want to convey to an entity, a proposition, or the reader'. Stance features show the authorial presence and are thus writer-oriented, as opposed to engagement features,

which acknowledge the presence of readers and are thus reader-oriented. They provide important insights into the rhetorical choices through which writers convey 'epistemic and affective judgements, opinions and degrees of commitment to what they say' (Hyland, 2009, p. 111). Similarly as in Hyland's (1999) earlier conception, in this new model stance encompasses evidentiality and affect, but the category of relation has been replaced with presence that 'concerns the extent to which the writer chooses to project him or herself into the text' (Hyland, 2005c, p. 178). The resources carrying these meanings fall into four sub-categories: hedges and boosters (evidentiality), attitude markers (affect) and self-mentions (presence). They help writers to elaborate their own positions and fulfil a "dialogic purpose in that they refer to, anticipate, or otherwise take up the actual or anticipated voices and positions of potential readers" (Hyland, 2005c, p. 176).

This particular approach to stance is adopted in the study as it is fairly recent but widely used, clear and simple, and additionally, it builds on previous taxonomies (Abdi, Tavangar Rizi & Tavakoli, 2010). It seems to encompass Biber et al.'s (1999, p. 966) 'authorial stance', seen as the writer's 'personal feelings, attitudes, value judgments, or assessments' of the propositional content or other scholars, and 'authorial presence', manifested through the use of self-reference expressions to claim identity or authority (Clark & Ivanič, 1997). As Pho (2013, p. 22) explains, such conceptualization of stance is more comprehensive, as it 'includes various dimensions: personal versus impersonal, present versus absent, overt versus covert, explicit versus implicit, subjective versus objective, involved versus detached, or concrete versus abstract'. It also incorporates the idea that academic writing does not take place in a vacuum but is rather put through the lens of disciplinary readers. Thus, in seeking approval for their claims, academic writers engage in dialogic interaction with their audience, trying to orient them towards the desired interpretations, while simultaneously creating a discursive space for their imagined reactions to those interpretative stimuli.

As already mentioned, the linguistic means of marking stance have been divided by Hyland (2005c: 178-181) into four categories, all of which facilitate the achievement of interpersonal goals. Hedges (e.g., *possible*, *could*, *perhaps*) convey tentativeness and possibility, enabling the writer to reduce the level of their commitment to propositions. Statements are no longer seen as accredited facts but rather as plausible opinions that are still subject to negotiation, depending on how alternative the readers' perspectives

are. Hedges allow room for disagreement for they mark research results as indicative and not definitive, in fact contributing to their precise reporting by 'projecting honesty, modesty and proper caution in self-reports' and 'diplomatically creating space in areas heavily populated by other researchers' (Swales, 1990, p. 175). They constitute an effective tool for academic writers to signal subjective assessment of the reliability of their claims, while protecting themselves from being proved wrong, which is possible owing to the potential that hedges have for accommodating readers' feedback and manipulating them into agreement.

Boosters (e.g., *certainly*, *obviously*, *clearly*) express conviction and certainty, enabling the writer to forcefully assert propositions. When the propositional content is presented more categorically, a marked authorial voice is promoted. This, admittedly, closes the discursive space for competing views but persuades readers of the relevance of findings that would not be reported so confidently if their reliability could not be sufficiently guaranteed. The presence of boosters gives the impression that the author is heavily involved with the topic and is thus licensed to act as a disciplinary authority whose conclusions can be shared. Readers are thus invited to become a part of the discussion on the strength of their awareness of certain self-evident details, which seems to constitute an implicit assumption in a more assured and confident discourse. Together, hedges and boosters activate those 'aspects of language use' that are 'generally referred to as epistemic: they enable writers to express their assessment of possibilities and indicate the degree of confidence in what they say' (Hyland & Milton, 1997, p. 183).

Attitude markers (e.g., *dramatic*, *desirable*, *surprising*) reflect the writer's affective attitude to the propositional information, clarifying their emotions, feelings or degree of importance attached to the subject matter and its audience. The use of attitudinals in a text contributes to creating interpersonal solidarity, as 'by signalling an assumption of shared attitudes, values and reactions to material, writers both express a position and pull readers into a conspiracy of agreement so that it can often be difficult to dispute these judgements' (Hyland, 2005c, p. 180). An appropriate personal evaluation of what is presented in the discursive space can favourably dispose the reader towards the author's claims, especially if the latter have been formulated in line with 'the value system of the particular community they address' (Dueñas, 2010, p. 51).

Self-mention (e.g., *I*, *my*, *the author*) is defined by Hyland (2001a, p. 207) as 'the extent to which writers can explicitly intrude into their discourse' to report 'propositional, affective and interpersonal information' (Hyland, 2005c, p. 181). Authors consciously decide whether to include or exclude direct personal reference to themselves or their research. What prompts them to do so is the desire to direct readers through a text towards the desired interpretations while simultaneously highlighting their own role as researchers and seeking acceptance for their scientific endeavours.

The degree of authorial investment that writers realize in academic prose reveals not only how skilful they are at managing the textual structuring of the language or what preferences they have for the specific linguistic means of expression. The different modes of authorial projection are also indicative of how confident writers feel as researchers, disciplinary insiders and partners in a discursive exchange of perspectives, the negotiation of which is crucial to academic success. The constellation of rhetorical choices made to stamp one's persona on their texts constitutes a benchmark of their individual writing performance that is geared to give shape to the assertions presented and win readers' approval. Yet, to ensure the latter, the writer needs to engage disciplinary readers in the discussion by employing a compelling configuration of stance devices.

Corpus and method

The Hyland corpus (HC) consists of 64 single-authored texts, comprising 48 research articles, 14 book chapters (see Appendix), the monograph *Disciplinary Discourses* (2000/2004) and theoretical fragments from *English for Academic Purposes* (2006). The collected documents were modified by removing those fragments that could not be considered as the author's own discourse (e.g., block and longer in-text quotations, examples, tables and other figures, references). Subsequently, they were converted to plain-text format, bringing the total of 439,490 words.

The corpus was scanned with WordSmith Tools 6 (Scott, 2012) for occurrences of 228 common stance devices (91 hedges, 64 boosters, 62 attitude markers, 11 self-mentions), the list of which was adapted from Crosthwaite, Cheung and Jiang (2017). The scholars' choice of items matches that of Hyland (2004) and additionally incorporates different variant forms of a given stance device, which makes it comparable with Hyland's (2005a) list of interactional metadiscourse items.

Simultaneously, Crosthwaite et al.'s (2017) list is less extensive and thus it better suits the limited scope of this study. The devices were then categorized into three sets, depending on their overall frequency in the corpus. The 'Freq. 0' set comprised 54 devices which did occur even once, the 'Freq. <25' set comprised 70 devices which occurred less than 25 times, and the 'Freq. ≥25' set comprised 104 devices which occurred at least 25 times, with certain exceptions. Specifically, if a given item had its variant forms, they were also included in the latter set, even if their rate of occurrence was lower, for example, *possible* with 263 tokens and *possibly* with 9 tokens were both included. Subsequently, the 'Freq. ≥25' set was examined through a close reading of its items' concordance lines to eliminate those occurrences that did not function as stance markers. The final list comprised 93 frequent items that were examined in context to capture the main aspects of Hyland's projection of authorial stance.

Data analysis and discussion

Overall frequency

Table 1 shows the overall picture of the Hyland corpus content in terms of stance expressions, which have been arranged in decreasing order of frequency. Underlining marks the variant forms that were included in the 'Freq. ≥25' set because of the high frequency of their co-forms. The italicized items were eliminated from further study, as their concordances revealed that they rarely functioned as stance markers.

Table 1

Stance Devices Searched in the Hyland Corpus

Freq. 0	Freq. <25	Freq. ≥25
	Attitude markers (*N*=62)	
agreed, amazed, amazingly, astonished, astonishing, astonishingly, desirably, disappointingly, disagrees, disagreed, expectedly, fortunate, fortunately, hopeful, inappropriately, preferable, shocked, shocking, shockingly, unbelievable, unbelievably, unexpectedly, unfortunate	striking, unfortunately, dramatically, disagree, admittedly, unusual, usual, correctly, dramatic, hopefully, remarkable, I agree, disappointed, strikingly, understandable, agrees, desirable, preferably, remarkably, understandably, curious, disappointing, unusually	important, appropriate, even x, interesting, expected, appropriately, importantly, essential, surprisingly, interestingly, surprising, inappropriate, unexpected, surprised *preferred, prefer*

Boosters (*N*=64)		
beyond doubt, incontestable, incontestably, incontrovertible, incontrovertibly, indisputable, indisputably, realizes, surely, truly, undeniable, undeniably, undisputedly, without doubt	believed, know, I/we believe, really, no doubt, find that, proved, definitely, definite, sure, prove, finds, believes, doubtless, undoubtedly, knew, found that, conclusively, decidedly, known, proves	clearly, shows, the fact that, always, show, must, establish, in fact, actually, of course, obviously, demonstrate, shown, obvious, think, showed, indeed, certainly, never, true, established, it is clear, demonstrates, thought, demonstrated, thinks, certain that
Hedges (*N*=91)		
certain extent, couldn't, from our perspective, from my perspective, in most instances, in my view, in our view, in my opinion, in our opinion, postulated, postulates , presumable, supposes, to my knowledge, uncertainly, unclearly, wouldn't,	probably, roughly, unclear, suspect, somewhat, presumably, suppose, supposed, in this view, certain amount, around, in most cases, ought, guess, estimate, estimated , suspects, from this perspective, certain level, approximately, maybe, on the whole, mostly, postulate, probable	often, may, mainly, might, perhaps, likely, generally, possible, largely, typically, almost, suggests, relatively, suggest, frequently, tend to, essentially, seems, about, indicate, tended to, seem, would, rather x, usually, could, appears to, suggested, plausible, sometimes, tends to, assume, appear to, broadly, apparently, fairly, indicates, seemed, uncertain, assumed, assumes, unlikely, appeared to, indicated, in general, possibly, plausibly, it appears that *evident, evidently*
Self-mention (*N*=7)		
		I, my, me, mine *we, our, us the author, the author's the writer, the writer's*

Overall, 14 (22.58%) of the attitude markers searched, 27 (42.19%) of boosters, 48 (52.75%) of hedges and 4 (36.36%) of self-mentions were considered as characteristic of Hyland's expression of stance and subjected to further study. This gives

the total of 93 stance devices, 51.61% of which are hedges, 29.03% are boosters, 15.05% are attitude markers and 4.3% are self-mentions. Regarding the total occurrence of these features and the values of their frequency normalized to 1,000 words, shown in Table 2, hedges are Hyland's first choice, followed by boosters, attitude markers and the least preferred self-mention.

Table 2

Distribution of the Most Frequent Stance Devices in the Hyland Corpus

	Self-mention	Attitude markers	Boosters	Hedges
Raw frequency	1081	1279	2514	5882
Per 1,000 words	2.45	2.91	5.72	13.38

Hyland's preferences for stance features are largely consistent with the trends commonly observed in academic writing in general as well as with the ones that are typical of the soft disciplines (see Yu, 2019), which he himself represents. This concerns especially his strong inclination for using hedges that 'are among the highest frequency content words in academic writing' (Hyland, 2005b, p. 105), particularly in the humanities (Hyland 1999). Boosters are also common in the soft sciences (Hyland, 2008; 2011), whereas attitude markers are usually less frequent (Abdollahzadeh, 2011), similarly as person markers (Hyland, 2004).

Self-mention

Self-reference (*N*=4) is the least frequent stance device in the Hyland corpus, as it occurs 2.45 times per 1,000 words (see Table 2). It should be noted that *we*, *our* and *us* were excluded from further analysis, as only 8 instances out of 2279 were identified as exclusive (1), that is, belonging to the category of self-mention, while the rest were inclusive (2) and functioned as engagement markers (see Hyland, 2005a).

(1) The fact that we have examined a number of these features elsewhere in this book […] (2000/2004)

(2) […] knowledge, disciplines and the professional careers of academics themselves are ultimately constructed through the ways we write. (172)

Comparably rare is the use of the third person for authorial self-reference, as none of 900 tokens of *the author*, *the author's*, *the writer* or *the writer's* were identified

as subjective. Apparently, Hyland readily identifies his 'public persona as an academic' with 'the private "I" persona' (Sanderson, 2008, p. 157), which makes *I* (818 tokens), *my* (243), *me* (19) and *mine* (1) the main means of self-representation. Hyland's overt presence in his texts correlates with the rhetorical apparatus of humanities prose which puts emphasis on 'establishing an appropriately authorial persona' to effectively probe 'relationships and connections with the entities that are generally more particular, less precisely measurable, and less clear-cut than in the' non-soft disciplines (Hyland, 2001a, p. 216). Besides, recently there has been a shift from using *we* to using *I* as 'the preferred marker in applied linguistics' (Hyland & Jiang, 2016, p. 267).

The most frequent lexical verb collocates of *I*, occurring within the span of three words to the right, constitute discourse verbs (111 tokens): *discuss* (48), *note* (23), *suggest* (20), *focus on* (20). Then, there are cognitive verbs (72 tokens): *want* (50), *hope* (22) and the least frequent are research verbs (65 tokens): *explore* (42), *examine* (23).

(3) I discuss my approach to texts in detail in Chapter 7 […] (2000/2004)

(4) First, I want to provide some theoretical background as a context for what follows […] (2000/2004)

(5) In this article I briefly explore the most visible expression of a writer's presence in a text: […] (70)

Considering the semantic characteristics of the above verbs, it seems that Hyland explicitly links himself with 'the verbal expression of research or cognitive activities', but less readily with his own mental activities or 'experimental actions or procedures' (Ling Lin, 2020, p. 68). This preference for discourse acts is his expression of disciplinary voice, since frequent use of such verbs has been reported as typical of applied linguistics (Hyland, 2001b). The soft disciplines are discursive rather than experimental by nature, therefore writers 'must rely far more on focusing readers on the claim-making negotiations of the discourse community, the arguments themselves, rather than relatively unmediated real-world phenomena' (Hyland, 1998a, p. 361).

However, Hyland's choice of verbs accompanying the pronoun *I* may also appear as ambivalent. Sometimes his discourse voice is presented somewhat tentatively through a stance of academic modesty, as in (6) and (7), while in other sentences he expresses volition, making his voice 'more persuasive and more easily shared with the

reader/audience', as in (8) (Belladelli, 2009, p. 310). Also, the verbs *hope* and *want* mark attitudinal stance, reflecting the writer's private state of desire in relation to the different discourse activities (Fortanet-Gómez, 2004).

(6) In reality, as I hope the previous analyses have suggested, […] (2000/2004)

(7) In this section, I have suggested how writers draw in their readers to engage them […] (65)

(8) As an illustration of corpus research, I want to consider a study which attempts to see […] (184)

The most frequent collocates of *my*, occurring within the span of three words to the right, belong to the category of research nouns. The largest group constitute words denoting research participants (67 tokens): *informant(s)* (53), *respondents* (10), *interviewees* (4), and the remaining items (52 tokens) include: *corpus* (22), *analysis/es* (8), *research* (8), *method(s)* (4), *data* (4), *discussion* (3), *study* (3). As Charles (2004, p. 210) claims, research nouns help to construct 'a stance of objectivity and impersonality', but the writer may wish 'to retain some responsibility' for the elements of research methodology, which is achieved by combining these nouns with explicit self-mention, as shown below.

(9) In my corpus these texts were generally composed of fewer moves […] (88)

(10) My analysis shows that writers are not responding to creative whim […] (2000/2004)

(11) This was made clear by several of my disciplinary informants during the interviews: (97)

Attitude markers

Attitude markers (*N*=14) in the Hyland corpus occur 2.91 times per 1,000 words which makes them only slightly more popular than self-mention and twice less frequent than boosters (see Table 2). This finding is in line with Conrad and Biber's (2000, p. 68) claim that attitudinal resources are 'moderately common' in academic prose. It also reflects the tendency observed by Hyland and Jiang (2016), according to whom nowadays applied linguists employ attitudinals twice as infrequently as boosters.

The most frequent attitude markers include: *important* (522 tokens), *appropriate* (271), *even x* (144), *interesting* (88) and *expected* (55). This finding is corroborative of previous data by Hyland and Jiang (2016), who found that excepting *appropriate*, the other words were the main choice of applied linguists. Similar preferences were also reported by Akinci (2016) and Yu (2019). The item which seems to be unique to Hyland's individual way of marking attitudinal stance is *appropriate*, which is often employed to mean that something is suitable for the situation at hand (12) and to create the cluster shown in (13).

(12) Effective academic writing depends on <u>appropriate</u> language choices […] (109)

(13) Respondents had greater difficulty in assigning <u>an appropriate degree of</u> certainty to hedges. (58)

Attitudes are most frequently signalled by adjectives (8 items, Freq. 953), followed by adverbs (5 items, Freq. 271), and verbs are the least frequent (1 item, Freq. 55), which corroborates previous research on the grammatical categories of attitudinals in applied linguistics (see Abdollahzadeh, 2011; Yu, 2019). Adjectives 'make up a large proportion of the vocabulary of evaluation' (Paquot 2010, p. 20) and 'play important cohesive, classificatory […] roles' (Hinkel, 2004, p. 211). Therefore, they facilitate the demonstration of qualitative research in the soft fields and help in 'the logical comparison of alternatives and the use of persuasive form' that are integral to convincing humanities prose (Biber, 1988, p. 194). Examples illustrating how Hyland exploits these functions of adjectives are presented below.

(14) An emphasis on research features in these circumstances might therefore be an <u>appropriate</u> persuasive strategy rather than a departure from the norms of research writing. (127)

(15) The adjunct model, widely used in the US, is perhaps the most <u>interesting</u> of these three approaches to cross-curricular collaboration […] (2006)

In another sentence, Hyland uses *important* to reveal his assumption about the propositional content, and then credits his readers with knowledge about the nature of concordances:

(16) Concordances are <u>important</u> as they display all occurrences of a feature in its immediate co-text, […], which enables functions to be identified and ambiguities clarified. (97)

The most strongly represented functional category of attitudinals is evaluation (6 items, Freq. 911), especially positive evaluation expressed by *important(ly)*, *appropriate(ly)* and *essential*, more than the negative one conveyed only by *inappropriate*. These items are used to favourably evaluate Hyland's own (17) or others' work (18), and even more often to highlight the significance of the discussed issues (19).

(17) […] I want to consider a study which attempts to see what corpus research can contribute to the study of identity […] The study is <u>important</u> as it seeks to move away from […] (184)

(18) More <u>importantly</u>, Halloran (1984) has argued that there is also an entrepreneurial spirit in the discipline […] (78)

(19) As I have suggested, learning about genres that have accumulated cultural capital does not rule out critical analysis but provides an <u>essential</u> foundation for it. (21)

Another prominent category is affect (6 items, Freq. 307), signalled by *even x*, *interesting(ly)*, *surprising(ly)* and *surprised*. The emotional tones and dispositions are adopted to research results (20), viewpoints of other scholars (21) or other phenomena discussed (22). The least represented are attitudinal markers of position (2 items, Freq. 61): *(un)expected*, which relate to 'the way authors position themselves and view works and arguments' (Yu, 2019, p. 81), as in (23).

(20) There was also a <u>surprising</u> use of full names for both friends and non-academics, with over 90% in each category […] (80)

(21) Killingsworth and Gilbertson (1992: 7) make the <u>interesting</u> point that communities are actually a kind of communication media in that they affect the manner and meaning of any message delivered through it. (2000/2004)

(22) <u>Even</u> applied linguistics has become increasingly implicated in the socio-cultural struggles of the end-users of its research (2000/2004)

(23) Less frequent than <u>expected</u> in this corpus, perhaps, are moves which relate to the author's research and teaching. (157)

Boosters

Boosters (*N*=27) occur 5.72 times per 1,000 words, which makes them the second most popular stance device in the Hyland corpus (see Table 2). This finding is comparable with the frequency of 6.2 reported by Hyland (1998a) in applied linguistics papers. The fact that the frequency of boosters reported here is smaller than the one reported by Hyland twenty years ago may reflect a general decrease in their use by applied linguists in recent years that was observed by Hyland and Jiang (2016).

The most frequent items increasing the force of claims are verbs (13 items, Freq. 1093), followed by adverbs (8 items, Freq. 921), then by phrases (3 items, Freq. 401) and adjectives (3 items, Freq. 99). These findings are in line with the results obtained by Yu (2019) and partly corroborate those reported by Abdollahzadeh (2011), who found that the most frequent boosters in his corpus of applied linguistics papers were modal verbs and adverbials, followed by verbs and adjectives. In the Hyland corpus, the most frequent boosters are *clearly* (299 tokens), *shows* (236), *the fact that* (223), *always* (218) and *show* (200).

Verbal boosters include: *show**[1] (523 tokens), *must* (193), *establish** (186), *demonstrate** (123) and *think** (68). As Hyland (2004, p. 90) claims, *show*, *demonstrate* and *establish* involve 'the discursive presentations of evidence' that is declared as true based on the convincing nature of the study results rather than on the persuasive skills of the writer, as in (24) and (25). These verbs are often reported as very frequent in academic writing (Peacock, 2006; Hyland, 2004) and, as Hyland and Jiang (2016) conclude, especially the first two have recently become even more popular in applied linguistics than before. The scholars also noted a decline in the use of the cognitive verb *think*, which is moderately frequent in the Hyland corpus, as well. The reason may be that the certainty implied by *think* is subjective, as it results from personal belief, not from the evidential nature of the data, as in (26). This rhetorical evasion is nevertheless compensated for by Hyland's use of the directive modal booster *must*, which carries a high degree of certainty and helps to manoeuvre between strong subjectivity (27) and detached objectivity (28). The latter accounts for 24.9% occurrences of *must* in the corpus, allowing Hyland to hide behind his assertions 'by placing the syntactic focus on the theme' (Yu, 2019, p. 77).

[1] The asterisk indicates different forms of the verb in the corpus.

(24) The results also show some interesting cross-discipline comparisons. (139)

(25) My analyses demonstrate that social context always impinges on the discourses of the academy […] (2000/2004)

(26) It was thought that this list would provide a broad international base of comparable institutions from which to collect data for the study. (157)

(27) An effective response to this view must therefore involve (i) encouraging students to […] (70)

(28) Here hedges must be seen as part of a wider process of creating and crafting complete texts, […] (38)

Boosters in the form of adverbs are dominated by items that convey a high degree of certitude in a proposition along with a mutual understanding between the author and the reader, emphasizing shared information and discourse community membership (Hyland, 1998a). The boosters that express such meanings were attested 568 times and include not only the adverbs *clearly* (299 tokens), *of course* (95) and *obviously* (82), but also the adjective *obvious* (64) and the phrase *it is clear* (28). As Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer (2007) claim, *clearly*, which is authority-oriented, is more popular in writing than the more solidarity-oriented *obviously*, yet they both indicate that the writer's certainty results from evidence or generally accepted knowledge, as in (29) and (30). Hyland's frequent use of *clearly* may be also attributed to the fact that it 'tends to be used in discussions of data', which are, in principle, empirically grounded, similarly as Hyland's applied linguistic analyses (Rozumko 2017, p. 86). *Of course* is 'linked to politeness and solidarity' (Szczyrbak 2014, p. 98) and the certainty it expresses stems from 'the fact that the state of affairs is in accordance with expectations' (Simon-Vandenbergen & Aijmer, 2007, p. 81). This can be seen in (31), where Hyland politely explains why risk is involved in the discussed tactic. By comparison, in (32) Hyland exploits the authoritarian nature of the adverb, which may also imply 'as everybody knows or should know', assuming that the reader knows that written scientific output is generally high (Simon-Vandenbergen & Aijmer, 2007, p. 219-220).

(29) The percentage distribution of appraisal shows clearly how the disciplines separated along the hard-soft knowledge divide. (2000/2004)

(30) Obviously everyone is different. Social class, ethnicity, gender, age and so on influence how we make sense of our disciplines […] (215)

(31) This tactic is not without risks, of course, as it can violate the conventional fiction of democratic peer relationships diligently cultivated in published research writing. (65)

(32) A huge number and variety of texts are, of course, produced by the academy and, […] (2000/2004)

Other frequent expectation markers are *in fact* (150 tokens) and *actually* (114), which convey 'assertion in reality' (Hoye, 1997, p. 184) and 'involve some kind of on-line matching of knowledge against a prior pattern' (Chafe 1986, p. 271). Contrary to the adverbs discussed above as well as such items as *indeed* (40) and *certainly* (38), those concerned with actuality 'do not express conviction or high probability but counter-expectation' (Simon-Vandenbergen & Aijmer, 2007, p. 70). The examples below show how Hyland incorporates in his writing the suggestions that some fact goes beyond what might have been expected, trying simultaneously to remain polite to his readers.

(33) Learning about genres does not preclude critical analysis. In fact it provides a necessary basis for critical engagement with cultural and textual practices, […] (2006)

(34) I get the impression that teachers often see genre as a research tool rather than a teaching one, but this is a misconception. Genre is actually a robust pedagogical approach […] as it serves a key instructional purpose: that of illuminating the constraints of social contexts on language use. (130)

Another frequent booster is *the fact that* (223 tokens). Its popularity as a means of expressing stance in academic writing has been confirmed by many researchers, including Hyland (1998a) himself, who reported it as the second most frequent booster in a general academic corpus, as well as Peacock (2006), who reported it as the fourth most frequent booster in language and linguistics. According to Jiang and Hyland (2015, p. 532), the phrase is 'a powerful persuasive device as the choice of noun foregrounds an author's assessment of the reliability of what follows and indicates to readers how the material should be understood'. The scholars also note that *fact* is the third most popular stance noun in this construction among applied linguists. As for Hyland, it is his preferred noun, since none of the other ones listed by Jiang and Hyland (2015) as frequent in applied linguistics had a comparable number of occurrences in the study corpus. Hyland often uses *the fact that* to comment on an evidential reality, as in (35),

and only sometimes to convey a judgement of certainty, as in (36). Following Jiang and Hyland's (2015) explanation, in (36) the preposition *despite* denotes a contrast between the initial and the final part of the sentence, implying that *the fact that* expresses an epistemic evaluation commenting on the likely certainty of what the reader is oriented to by the fragment *book publication […]*.

(35) The second reason for the attention given to academic writing is the fact that what academics principally do is write: […] (2000/2004)

(36) They [book reviews] also appear in a number of hard knowledge journals, despite the fact that book publication accounts for only a fraction of research output in these disciplines. (2000/2004)

Hedges

Hedges (*N*=48) are the most frequent category of stance in the Hyland corpus, as they occur 13.38 times per 1,000 words (see Table 2). This finding is corroborative of previous studies which reported common use of hedges in academic texts (see Hyland, 2005b; Abdollahzadeh, 2011; Yu, 2019), reflecting scholars' preference for prudence in reporting their research.

Hyland's claims are most often mitigated by adverbs (19 items, Freq. 2983), followed by verbs (23 items, Freq. 2291), then by adjectives (5 items, Freq. 598) and phrases (1 item, Freq. 10). This partly reflects the results reported by Yu (2019), who found adverbs to be the second most frequent category of hedges in applied linguistics, after modals but before lexical verbs. In the Hyland corpus, the most frequent hedges are *often* (870 tokens), *may* (572), *might* (308), *perhaps* (296) and *likely* (268).

When expressing caution through adverbs, Hyland often makes reference to the frequency of the propositional information, the precision of which cannot be categorically stated but can be empirically verified (5 items: *often*, *typically*, *frequently*, *usually*, *sometimes*; Freq. 1333), as in (37). He also readily comments on the indefiniteness of the degree to which the propositional information applies (7 items: *generally*, *largely*, *relatively*, *mainly*, *rather x*, *broadly*, *fairly*; Freq. 873), as in (38), sometimes employing the phrase *in general* (Freq. 10), as in (39). Tentative approximations of the precision with which the propositional content is presented are less common (3 items: *almost*, *essentially*, *about*; Freq. 422), as in (40), similarly as

adverbs expressing degrees of probability (4 items: *perhaps*, *apparently*, *possibly*, *plausibly*; Freq. 355), as in (41).

(37) In this corpus, the conclusions typically reiterated the strongest claim made in the letter, summarising the main results […] (2000/2004)

(38) The analyses show that […] the written genres contained relatively few stance and organizing bundles. (184)

(39) In general, more reader oriented markers were found in the discursive soft fields, […] (2000/2004)

(40) Overall, they [reader features] occurred about 32 times per article, almost two on every page. (65)

(41) Reader pronouns are perhaps the most explicit way that readers are brought into a discourse. (94)

Verbal hedging involves six lexical (Freq. 1265) and four modal verbs (Freq. 1026). The most frequent are tentative linking verbs (Freq. 622): *tend* to* (278 tokens), as well as *seem** (225) and *appear** (119) that express epistemic evidentiality; followed by non-factive reporting verbs (Freq. 544): *suggest** (401) and *indicate** (143), and the least popular tentative cognition verb *assume** (99), where the three latter verbs express epistemic speculative judgement (Hyland 1998b). Hyland uses these verbs for three main purposes: to present own (42) or other's (43) research and to tentatively qualify claims about the discussed issues (44). A relatively high proportion of such discourse-oriented verbs as *suggest* and *indicate* as well as infrequent use of cognition verbs testify to Hyland's preference for creating an objective discourse where prominence is given to 'the persuasive strength of data or methodological practice rather than the convictions of the interpreting writer', which, as Hyland and Jiang (2016, p. 270) argue, is a recent trend in the soft disciplines.

(42) […] these writers tended to make explicit the kind of help they received, with only 1.5% of the thanking acts unclassifiable from the context. (88)

(43) Toulmin (1972) suggests that communities can be approximately arranged on a continuum from 'compact' to 'diffuse' […] (2000/2004)

(44) Four-word bundles seem to be most often studied, […] (164)

The most common modal auxiliary was *may* (572 tokens), followed by *might* (308), both of which are generally frequent in academic prose (see Hyland, 1998b), and then by the definitely less popular *would* (87) and *could* (59). Given the frequency with

which *may* is used in the corpus, Hyland seems to prefer 'factual possibility' (45) over 'tentative possibility' (46), as expressed by *might* and *could* (Leech & Svartvik, 1975, p. 111-112). In turn, employing *would*, Hyland usually conveys hypotheticality (47) and only sometimes a tentative assertion (48).

(45) In practice, these principles may be expressed in very different ways as genre approaches do not represent a single set of techniques. (116)

(46) It could be that these differences are related to rank rather than gender. (154)

(47) Removing these metadiscourse features would make the passage much less personal, less interesting, and less easy to follow. (142)

(48) The decision to adopt an impersonal rhetorical style or to represent oneself explicitly would seem to have significant consequences for how one's message is received. (63)

The adjectives through which Hyland expresses hedging all convey degrees of probability involved in the certainty or accuracy of the propositional content (5 items: *likely*, *possible*, *plausible*, *uncertain*, *unlikely*; Freq. 579), as in (49).

(49) While these self-reports offer plausible explanations for the different rhetorical practices of the disciplines, […] (78)

Conclusion

This paper has examined how Ken Hyland constructs his authorial self through stance mechanisms, testifying to the expertise with which he manoeuvres in the discursive reality of his own field. Hyland frequently hedges his claims in response to the vagueness of soft-knowledge research, but orients readers' interpretation to factual rather than hypothetical possibility (see Leech & Svartvik, 2002). Yet, he is aware that restrained commitment to propositions should be balanced by markers of the writer's authoritative persona. To this end, Hyland exploits the semantic potential of epistemic emphatics or boosters, realizing that an explicit expression of conviction in the truth of the propositional content contributes to his image of a disciplinary insider. Simultaneously he softens the categorical nature of these assertions, guiding the readers towards the preferred interpretations by drawing on factual and empirical evidence rather than on subjectivity-laden arguments. This helps to achieve argumentative consensus with the readers, which is additionally promoted by the incorporation of

relevant explanations that facilitate the identification of collective sense. The frequent use of hedges and boosters emphasizes Hyland's role as a researcher, which he tries to mitigate by a relatively lower incidence of the other stance devices.

Hyland's economical use of attitudinals and self-mention confirms his expertise in the latest stance-taking repertoires of his own discipline. The scholar restrains himself from advancing arguments based on value-laden attitudes, as these could suggest the partiality of his perspective. However, to remain rhetorically effective, he prudently strengthens the persuasiveness of the presented claims by skilfully shifting between the affective language that is acceptable to other disciplinary insiders and his individual attitudinal resources which enhance his professional assertiveness and reveal excitement at the discussed topics. Hyland gives meaning to his authorial identity by explicitly intruding into his texts when referring to discourse acts and claiming responsibility for elements of research methodology, but takes a more objective stance when reporting research, allowing the empirical data to speak for themselves, which reflects a recent trend in applied linguistics (Hyland & Jiang, 2016).

The main limitation of this study is the exclusive reliance on the data retrieved from a corpus of Hyland's published writing without juxtaposing it with the scholar's own evaluation of his texts. Nevertheless, this shortcoming opens avenues for future research that could seek an opportunity to interview the renowned academic on the individual ways in which he uses stance devices to project himself into the research papers he writes. It would be also interesting to explore how these preferences have changed throughout Hyland's career, gradually creating the image of an influential academic figure in the discipline of applied linguistics. Given the researcher's reputation and impact on his own field, it is believed that the presented findings provide important implications for novice writers who often feel overwhelmed by the plethora of stance taking devices they may use in their applied linguistics texts. The details of expert performance presented here may serve as a signpost giving direction to the specific rhetorical choices that ensure the appropriate expression of authorial stance and hence contribute to the effective construction of competent scholarly identity within the respective discipline. This kind of stance awareness seems to be more valuable to beginner academics than the mere conviction that apart from conveying content, they should also adequately represent themselves in their writing.

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Notes

1. Full bibliographical details of the corpus texts are available in Hyland's CV at https://uea.academia.edu/KenHyland/CurriculumVitae:

    a. Numbers of the respective research articles: 24, 38, 43, 52, 55, 58, 65, 63, 70, 71, 72, 73, 77, 78, 80, 88, 89, 91, 94, 99, 109, 116, 118, 119, 123, 125, 127, 129, 130, 142, 145, 154, 153, 157, 161, 164, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 190, 195, 198, 205, 209, 215, 221;

    b. Numbers of the respective book chapters: 53, 68, 79, 97, 101, 132, 139, 152, 158, 168, 171, 184, 186.

    c. Publication dates of the respective books: 2000/2004, 2006;

2. The corpus also includes the following book chapter:

Hyland, K. (2003). Writing and teaching writing. In K. Hyland (Ed.), *Second Language Writing* (pp. 1-30). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511667251.004

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FRAMING THE IDENTITY OF AN IDEAL PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHER OF ENGLISH

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Abstract

The article presents a study that aimed to examine how primary school teachers of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) framed the identity of an ideal EFL teacher. The specific research aim was to identify and classify frames associated with the identity of an EFL primary school teacher in the corpus of reflective essays of approximately 1000 words about an ideal EFL teacher in Norwegian primary school contexts written by 32 Norwegian in-service primary school EFL teachers. It was hypothesised that the participants' framing would be reflective of the identity of an ideal EFL teacher in Norway. The corpus of the participants' essays was analysed in accordance with the framing methodology developed by Entman (1993) and Dahl (2015). The results of the framing analysis indicated that the participants in the study framed the identity of an ideal EFL teacher via frames associated with future ideal selves, ought-to selves, the identity of their former EFL teachers, and the identity of an ideal EFL teacher as a fictional character. The study implications would be beneficial to pre-service and current in-service EFL teachers and teacher-trainers alike, who could treat the results as a collective "portrait" of an ideal EFL teacher.

***Keywords*:** English as a Foreign Language (EFL), framing, primary school, teacher identity

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The identity of an ideal teacher of English

This article presents a study that seeks to elucidate how in-service primary school teachers of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) frame the identity of an ideal EFL primary school teacher. The aim of the study is to identify and classify frames associated with the identity of an EFL primary school teacher in the corpus of reflective essays written by a group of in-service primary school EFL teachers (henceforth – "participants"). It is assumed in the study that the participants' framing would be reflective of the identity of an ideal EFL teacher in Norwegian primary school contexts.

From a theoretical perspective, this study combines the methodological premises of i) the possible-self theory (Makay, 2019; Markus & Nurius, 1986; Oyserman, Destin, & Novin, 2015; Oyserman, Lewis, Yan, et al., 2017) that involves "the representations of hopes, wishes and fears in the shape of desirable and undesirable potential future selves" (Makay, 2019, p. 51) and ii) the applied linguistics approach to framing in EFL contexts (Pennington, 1999; Pennington & Hoekje, 2014), where EFL is conceptualised within sociocultural parameters of "*internal* framing determined by the types of people involved in ELT practice and an *external* framing by larger institutions and social structures" (Pennington & Hoekje, 2014: 163). Building upon these theoretical tenets, the specific research aim of this study is to discover whether or not the participants would frame the identity of an ideal EFL primary school teacher as a desirable and achievable representation of their "future selves" in the light of the possible-self theory (Makay, 2019; Sahakyan, Lamb, & Chambers, 2018), or would they frame it via the lenses of frames that are associated with unrealistic and fictional characters.

Assuming that "the self is the capacity of an "I" to reflect on an object "me" and to be aware of this reflection" (Oyserman et al., 2017, p. 139), it appears logical to extend this notion to the construal of an ideal self. According to Makay (2019), the ideal self involves a "desire to become your best possible self" (Makay, 2019, p. 51). The construal of an ideal self has gained currency in a number of research studies in psychology (Horowitz, Sorensen, Yoder, et al., 2018), pedagogy (Arnon & Reichel, 2007; Yuan, 2018), and applied linguistics, where it is employed to construe an ideal teacher and, specifically, an ideal EFL teacher (Butler, 2007; Külekçi, 2018; Sahakyan et al., 2018; Yuan, 2018). Specifying the construal of an ideal teacher, Lauriala and Kukkonen (2005) suggest that it is concomitant with several forms of identities that are comprised of a

teacher's actual identity and the so-called "ought-to" identity, which is regarded as a teaching role to be fulfilled. In the current research literature, the identity of an ideal teacher reflects "personally valued orientations and goals, which play an influential role in shaping and reshaping their professional practice and continuing development" (Yuan, 2018, p. 187).

Further, this article is structured as follows. First, literature review associated with the identity of an ideal EFL teacher will be provided. Second, framing and framing methodology in EFL contexts will be introduced. Afterwards, the present study will be discussed. Finally, the article will be concluded with the summary of the findings.

Literature Review

The construal of the identity of an ideal EFL teacher has been addressed in a number of previous studies that were conducted in a variety of EFL contexts in Armenia (Sahakyan et al., 2018), China (Yuan, 2018), Japan (Butler, 2007), Saudi Arabia (Al-Khairi, 2015; Javid, 2014), and Turkey (Külekçi, 2018). In EFL contexts in Armenia, Sahakyan et al. (2018) explored how pre-service teachers view the ideal identity of an EFL teacher. The authors report that Armenian pre-service EFL teachers point to the following variables that are involved in the identity of an ideal EFL teacher: i) their own learning experiences, ii) their former EFL teachers, and iii) parental and institutional expectations (Sahakyan et. al., 2018).

In Chinese EFL contexts, Yuan (2018) investigated how EFL teacher educators construe the identity of an ideal EFL teacher. Yuan (2018) explored those ideal identities that involve teacher educators' "goals and aspirations they would ideally like to attain in their professional contexts" (Yuan, 2018, p. 186). According to Yuan (2018), there are several ideal teachers' identities in Chinese EFL contexts, e.g. 'practical expert', 'model', and 'learner'.

Unlike in China, the construal of an ideal EFL teacher in Japanese EFL contexts is associated with the degree of nativeness in speaking the English language (Butler, 2007). Japanese EFL teachers seem to equate the identity of an ideal EFL teacher with a native speaker of English (Butler, 2007). In Japan, a native speaker of English is by default perceived as an ideal EFL teacher, especially at primary school level of EFL teaching and learning (Butler, 2007, p. 7).

In Saudi Arabia, Saudi EFL students seem to construe ideal EFL teachers as professional individuals, who are "experts in their field, are well-organised, explain according to the level of the learners, answer learners' questions correctly, are clear in instructions" (Javid, 2014, p. 42). In another study in Saudi EFL contexts, Saudi EFL students indicated that gender is not considered a variable in their perception of the ideal EFL teacher (Al-Khairi, 2015). Irrespective of gender, Saudi EFL students emphasised such qualities of an ideal EFL teacher as commitment, dedication, exemplary attitudes towards teaching, and professional in-service development (Al-Khairi, 2015).

In Turkish EFL contexts, the identity of an ideal EFL teacher appears to be embedded in behaviors and attitudes that contribute to the effective EFL teaching and learning (Külekçi, 2018). In particular, Turkish pre-service EFL teachers frame the identity of an ideal EFL teacher as an understandable and well-prepared professional, who provides realistic examples and uses appropriate teaching materials in an EFL classroom (Külekçi, 2018).

As evident from the afore-mentioned studies, the identity of an ideal EFL teacher is amply elucidated. Currently, however, little is known about how primary school EFL teachers in Norway construe that identity (Borg, 2017). The study further presented in the article seeks to address this issue. Prior to proceeding to the study, it seems pertinent to provide an overview of framing, which is another key concept in the present study.

Frames and Framing Methodology in EFL Studies

Typically, frames are associated with "a data-structure representing a stereotyped situation" (Minski, 1975, p. 212). As a data-related structure, frames involve "any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any one concept it is necessary to understand the entire system" (Petruck, 1996, p. 1). Frames are evocative of system-related features of a stereotypical context or situation that provides ''structured understandings of the way aspects of the world function'' (Sweetser & Fauconnier, 1996, p. 5). This contention has gained currency in discourse studies, where frames are deemed to involve the identification of a problem or a situation, the setting of the problem's agenda, and the articulation of a possible solution to the problem (Entman, 1993; Muis, van Schie, Wieringa, et al., 2019). Frames provide the interlocutors with a lens to view, classify, characterise, and understand an issue, or a

stereotypical situation (Leeper & Slothuus, 2018, p. 7). The present study follows the definition of framing formulated by Entman (1993), who posits that framing involves the selection of certain aspects of a communicative situation in order to promote a particular problem, its interpretation, evaluation, and a possible solution (Entman, 1993, p. 52).

Framing is amply employed in applied linguistics and EFL studies (Pennington, 1999; Pennington & Hoekje, 2014; Zhu, Zhu, Peng, et al., 2019). In a pioneering work on framing in EFL contexts, Pennington (1999) proposes several frames, e.g. "Lesson", "Lesson Support", and "Institutional Support" that characterise an EFL classroom situation. Whereas "Lesson" pertains to communicative and educational activities, "Lesson Support" involves the role of an EFL teacher, and "Institutional Support" is associated with school as an institution. This approach to framing in EFL contexts has been further developed by Pennington and Hoekje (2014), who argue that framing in EFL is determined by sociocultural variables that provide structure to internal and external frames (Pennington & Hoekje, 2014, p. 164).

Similarly to Pennington and Hoekje (2014), Zhu et al. (2019) suggest that EFL teaching and learning can be seen through the mechanism of framing. In particular, framing may involve metaphors associated with EFL-related activities (Zhu et al., 2019). Framing by means of metaphors is argued to provide insights into socio-cultural contexts of EFL teaching and learning (Zhu et al., 2019). Due to the emphasis on socio-cultural variables, Zhu et al.'s (2019) approach to framing appears to be analogous to that of Pennington and Hoekje (2014).

While there are previous studies on framing in EFL contexts, the framing of an EFL teacher's identity in Norwegian EFL contexts is under-represented. The study further discussed in the article addresses the issue of an ideal EFL teacher's identity in Norwegian EFL primary school contexts by means of the application of the framing methodology to a corpus of reflective essays written by the participants (i.e., a group of in-service EFL primary school teachers).

Method

The present study was contextualised within an in-service teacher training course that was designed for primary school EFL teachers. The course was offered at a regional university in Norway. It was comprised of the following modules: functional

grammar, phonetics, and children's literature. Each of those modules involved an integrated component of EFL didactics. At one of the seminars, there was a discussion concerning the identity of an ideal EFL teacher in Norwegian EFL contexts. The present study eventuated from that classroom discussion. In the study, the participants were instructed to write a reflective essay on the identity of an ideal EFL teacher in Norwegian primary school contexts. The corpus of the reflective essays was examined by the author of the article for the presence of frames that were deemed to be associated with the identity of an ideal EFL teacher.

It was assumed that the participants' faming would be reflective of "what the professional ideal that they ascribe to" (Arnon & Reichel, 2007, p. 442). Following Sahakyan et al. (2018), and Yuan (2018), it was theorised that the participants' framing would be indicative of their future ideal selves, and ought-to selves as an ideal EFL primary school teacher. Hence, the following research aims were formulated in the study: i) to identify a range of possible frames associated with the identity of an ideal EFL primary school teacher; ii) to examine whether or not those frames would be evocative of the participants' future ideal selves, ought-to selves, and/or other variables were involved in the self-construction.

Participants

In total, 32 participants (30 women and 2 men, mean age = 43 years, *SD* = 8,31) took part in the study. All participants were primary school teachers who were enrolled in the in-service EFL teacher training course at a regional university in Norway. The participants' teaching experience was calculated to be at 16 years of teaching at primary schools (*SD* = 9). The participants' first language (L1) was Norwegian and English was a foreign language to all of them. The participants signed the consent form that allowed the author to collect their written data and analyse it. The participants' real names were coded to ensure confidentiality. The codes were P (the abbreviation for the "participant") and the number, e.g. P1 – P32.

Corpus

The participants' reflective essays were collated and merged into a single file and analysed in the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) (2016). The analysis of the corpus of the participants' essays in SPSS yielded the descriptive statistics summarised in Table 1 below.

Table 1

The Descriptive Statistics of the Corpus

N	Statistical Measure	Statistical Value
1	Total number of words in the corpus	38 747
2	Mean number of words in the corpus	1 211
3	Standard deviation	266
4	Minimum	943
5	Maximum	2 272

Procedure

The procedure in the study involved the following steps. First, the participants had a classroom discussion during one of the seminars, where they reflected upon possible characteristics of an ideal teacher of English at a Norwegian primary school. Second, following the discussion the participants were instructed to write a reflective essay of approximately 1000 words about an ideal EFL teacher in Norwegian primary school contexts. The participants were given two weeks for the writing of the reflective essays at home. Once completed, the reflective essays were sent by e-mail. Thereafter, the corpus was examined for the presence of frames associated with the identity of an ideal EFL primary school teacher. The qualitative methodology of framing analysis was applied to the corpus of the participants' reflective essays in accordance with the approach formulated by Entman (1993) and Dahl (2015). Following Dahl (2015), the corpus was manually investigated for key words, recurrent phrases, stereotyped expressions, and sentences that provided thematically reinforcing clustering. Then, the manual procedure was verified by means of the computer-assisted count of the most frequent words in the corpus by means of the software program WordSmith (Scott, 2008). Based upon the afore-mentioned methodology, the labelling of the frames was carried out and subsequently checked by a specialist in discourse studies, who confirmed the labelling.

Results

It has been assumed in the hypothesis that the participants' reflective essays would be characterised by frames associated with the identity of an ideal EFL teacher in Norwegian primary school contexts. The results of the framing analysis indicate that the

participants frame the ideal EFL primary school teacher by means of the following frames: “A Fictional Hero”, “A Former English Teacher”, “A Role Model”, “Authority”, “Classroom Atmosphere”, and “Subject Knowledge”. It is evident from the corpus that the distribution of these frames differs, as illustrated by Table 2 below:

Table 2

The Framing of an Ideal EFL Teacher

N	Frame	Percentage of the Frames per Group of Participants
1	“A Fictional Hero”	38%
2	“A Former English Teacher”	9%
3	“A Role Model”	13%
4	“Authority”	19%
5	“Classroom Atmosphere”	25%
6	“Subject Knowledge”	22%

The frames summarised in Table 2 are different in terms of the in-group and within participants distribution. It is evident from the data analysis that while 38% of the participants tend to frame their reflective essays via only one frame (typically represented in the majority of cases by the frame “A Fictional Hero”), 62% of the participants resort to a combination of frames in one essay. For instance, several participants frame their reflective essays by means of a combination of the frames “Authority” and “Classroom Atmosphere”, or by a triad of frames, e.g. “Subject Knowledge”, “A Role Model”, and “Authority”, where these frames co-occur in one essay. Arguably, these findings are suggestive of a dynamic nature of the teacher’s identity that is characterised by multiple framings.

Discussion

Indirectly, the results seem to support the study conducted by Sahakyan et al. (2018), who emphasise that the identity of an ideal EFL teacher involve several dynamic foci that exhibit a tendency to reflect an individual teacher’s developmental trajectory. The participants’ frames are discussed below within the context of the participants’ future ideal selves, ought-to selves, the identity of their former EFL teachers, and the identity of an ideal EFL teacher as a fictional character.

The Frame "A Fictional Hero"

The frame "A Fictional Hero" has not been identified in the literature associated with the identity of an ideal EFL teacher (e.g., Al-Khairi, 2015; Butler, 2007; Javid, 2014; Külekçi, 2018; Sahakyan et al., 2018; Yuan, 2018). Arguably, the presence of the frame "A Fictional Hero" could be accounted by the fact that the participants extensively employ excerpts from English books in their EFL classes, as well as read English fiction for pleasure. In particular, several participants indicate that they use the book "Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone" (Rowling, 2015) as well as the eponymous film on DVD in their EFL classes. Judging from the data, 38% of the participants frame the identity of an ideal EFL primary school teacher via one of the teacher characters in the book "Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone" (Rowling, 2015).

The qualitative analysis of the participants' framing suggests that the majority of the participants frame "A Fictional Hero" without an explicit reference to their own realistic possible selves, such as a future ideal self or an ought-to self. Instead, they seem to focus on the fictional self of an ideal teacher in the ideal world, e.g.

> (1) In an ideal world, I think the ideal teacher would be a mix of Professor Albus Dumbledore and Professor Minerva McGonagall. Their wisdom, in-depth knowledge, relation to the students, strictness and sense of humour are qualities that serve as examples to most teachers. (P11)

In (1), the participant refers to the ideal EFL teacher within the discursive space of Harry Potter's universe. Similarly, another participant construes a personal identity of an EFL teacher within the parameters of the fictional self, e.g. "To be the ideal English teacher, I need some magic dust. I would use the magic dust in those situations where I feel I should have done more" (P14). It is inferred from the afore-mentioned quote that a real-life ideal EFL teacher would have benefitted from supernatural powers to be able to complete more and/or achieve more. However, there does not seem to be an explicit reference to "some magic dust" in the professional identity of a real-life EFL teacher.

The Frame "A Former English Teacher"

The frame "A Former English Teacher" could be argued to form a relationship of contrast to the frame "A Fictional Hero". While in the frame "A Fictional Hero" the focus is on an ideal teacher in the work of fiction, the frame "A Former English Teacher"

involves a real-life teacher, who possesses certain realistic qualities that are perceived as desirable and realistically achievable by the participants within the context of the so-called future ideal selves, as emblematised by Excerpt (2):

> (2) I had a very good English teacher when I was a student. He read to us from books, and he told us stories, stories that made us hold our breath while waiting to hear the rest. This made English fun, entertaining and interesting. We learnt new words and sentence structure without thinking about it. He was also faithful to the school's rules, and always positive to other teachers. He had a positive perception on both life and people, which he passed on to us. These are good qualities that I want to take with me when I am my own ideal teacher. (P13)

The presence of the frame "A Former English Teacher" in the corpus of the participants' reflective essays lends support to Sahakyan et al., (2018), who have found that the construal of the EFL teacher's ideal self-images is reflective of the teachers' own learning experiences and their former EFL school teachers. In concert with the study by Sahakyan et. al., (2018), the results of the data analysis indicate that several participants (n = 2) frame the identity of an ideal EFL primary school teacher via the negative identity of their former teachers. In particular, they construe the frame "A Former English Teacher" as a schema "an ideal teacher X, who is unlike my former teacher Y". To illustrate the point, let us consider the following quote from the reflective essay written by the participant P1:

> […] my own English teacher made me feel stupid every lesson I had to read aloud. She made fun of me when I couldn't pronounce the "th" sound correctly. I think she was the reason I became a teacher" (P1).

Presumably, having experienced negative aspects of the former EFL teacher's identity, the participant P1 decided to become a teacher herself in order to "save other students from experiencing the same" (P1). This finding echoes Sahakyan et al., (2018, p. 60), who posit that negative images of an EFL teacher are undesirable and not internalised by the participants as their future selves.

The Frame "A Role Model"

The identity of an ideal EFL primary school teacher is framed by 13% of the participants by means of the frame "A Role Model". This frame involves the participants'

ought-to identity, i.e. the image of the role model, which the participants should conform to according to the societal expectations, e.g.

> (3) An ideal teacher of English is conscious of being a good role model, because the students see and hear what she does all the time, and they see how she treats the individual student. I think that by being a good role model, she shows her values, attitudes and the academics she wants her students to learn. (P28)

Excerpt (3) illustrates a range of qualities that an ideal EFL primary school teacher should possess from the vantage point of a variety of stakeholders. Presumably, in (3) there is an amalgamation of desired, expected, and realistic qualities of the ideal EFL teacher, whose identity is construed as a role model. This finding supports Yuan (2018), who argues that an ideal EFL teacher's identity involves the construal of a teacher as a role model. The ought-to teacher's identity as a role model is seen by one of the participants as an inherent characteristic of a teacher that is expected not only by such stake-holders as the general public and educational system, but by primary school students as well, e.g. "When you work as a teacher for kids you automatically become a role model" (P3).

The Frame "Authority"

The frame "Authority" has been identified in 19% of the participants' reflective essays. This frame is suggestive of the importance of the professional identity of the teacher, who controls and manages the classroom environment. However, it is evident from the data that the participants are aware of the difference between authority and authoritarianism. Whilst the former is framed as a positive feature of the identity of an ideal EFL primary school teacher, the latter is not regarded as a desirable characteristic, e.g. "Ideally, a good teacher should be in control of what happens in the classroom. However, I do not think that a teacher who is too authoritarian is good" (P13). Similarly, another participant argues that "The ideal teacher is academically strong and have a certain authority without being authoritarian" (P7). This contention is echoed in Excerpt (4), where the participant indicates that

> (4) There are other qualities as well that I find important in a teacher, like being authoritative. An authoritative teacher is good at building a good relationship with her students, at the same time as she is in control and sets the boundaries for the students. (P15)

It is evident from (4) that an ideal EFL teacher should be strict, yet fair, and should not be perceived by the students as authoritarian. It is inferred from these findings that the frame "Authority" is reflective of the participants' ought-to selves rather than their desired future selves. Specifically, there are no linguistically explicit references in the corpus that indicate that the participants want to be authoritative in the feasible future. However, it is seen in the data that the participants regard authoritarian teachers as their feared-selves in the sense described by Sahakyan et al., (2018).

The Frame "Classroom Atmosphere"

The frame "Classroom Atmosphere" is present in the reflective essays written by 25% of the participants. Following the frame "A Fictional Hero", the frame "Classroom Atmosphere" appears to be the second most frequent frame used by the participants. Judging from the data, the frame "Classroom Atmosphere" is evocative of the participants' ought-to selves, as well as desired future selves, as illustrated by Excerpt (5):

> (5) A good relationship is important and so is the feeling of having someone to trust and rely on at all times. If only I could be that someone… To be a person to rely on, I guess you have to make an effort and show your students that you will always be there for them. That does not mean you always will agree with them, but somehow they will have an understanding of you being there no matter what (P17)

It is evident from (5) that the participant makes an explicit reference to the identity of an ideal EFL teacher who facilitates the creation of a positive atmosphere in the classroom and promotes trust. This reference involves an aspect of the participant's desired future self, e.g. "If only I could be that someone…". Presumably, that aspect of a desired future self as a teacher, who creates a good classroom atmosphere, seems to be attainable by the participant. It should be noted that a positive classroom atmosphere is expected by the educational system in Norway (Flem, Moen, and Gudmundsdottir, 2004). Hence, it could be argued that the frame "Classroom Atmosphere" is associated both with the participants' desired future selves and ought-to selves, which are expected by the societal stake-holders.

The Frame "Subject Knowledge"

As seen in Table 2, 22% of the participants frame their perception of an ideal EFL teacher via the frame "Subject Knowledge". This finding supports Javid (2014), Külekçi

(2018), and Yuan (2018), who argue that the role of an ideal EFL teacher is associated with a knowledgeable and professional teacher, who disseminates knowledge. It is seen in the corpus that some of the participants seem to prioritise good knowledge amongst other identity characteristics of an ideal EFL teacher in Norwegian primary school contexts, e.g.

> (6) The first thing an ideal teacher must have is knowledge. The teacher must have a solid understanding of the subject he or she is teaching. Secondly, the teacher must be able to pass on this knowledge to the pupils in a way that makes sense to them. This is what we call didactics in the teaching profession. The lessons must be understandable, and ideally, interesting and challenging at the same time. (P12)

In (6), the participant demonstrates her vision of an ideal EFL teacher via the lenses of the ought-to identity. Specifically, the participant explicitly and repetitively uses the modal verb "must" to convey the message that an ideal EFL teacher is expected to possess knowledge. Interestingly, none of the participants indicates that the knowledge of the English language is associated with the ideal EFL teacher who is a native speaker of English. This finding is in contrast to Butler (2007), who has found that in Japanese and South-East Asian contexts an ideal EFL teacher is perceived as a native speaker of English.

Conclusions

The article presented a study that analysed how the participants framed the identity of an ideal EFL teacher at a Norwegian primary school. The study involved a combination of the framing analysis in EFL contexts that was proposed by Pennington (1999), and Pennington and Hoekje (2014) with the theoretical premises of the possible-self theory formulated by Markus and Nurius (1986) and Oyserman et al. (2017).

The results of the framing analysis indicated that the participants framed the identity of an ideal EFL teacher by means of the frames "A Fictional Hero" (38%), "A Former English Teacher" (9%), "A Role Model" (13%), "Authority" (19%), "Classroom Atmosphere" (25%), and "Subject Knowledge" (22%). In light of the approach to framing in EFL formulated by Pennington and Hoekje (2014), all those frames were regarded as internal, i.e. they were determined by the explicit reference to people

involved in EFL teaching and learning. Whilst the reference to social structures and educational systems was implied, none of the frames was characterised as external (i.e., those frames that referred to socio-educational systems) in the sense by Pennington and Hoekje (2014, p. 163).

The afore-mentioned frames exhibited a range of the possible selves that were reflective of the participants' desirable future selves ("A Former English Teacher", "A Role Model", "Classroom Atmosphere"), ought-to selves ("A Role Model"; "Authority", "Classroom Atmosphere", "Subject Knowledge"), and unrealistic fictional selves represented by ideal teachers in the fantasy universe ("A Fictional Hero"). Judging from the data, there appeared a nexus between the participants' ought-to selves and desirable future selves. The nexus was represented by the frames "A Role Model" and "Classroom Atmosphere", respectively. From the qualitative point of view, the frames that were associated with the participants' desirable future selves and ought-to selves as an ideal EFL teacher were represented by a diverse range of frames comprised of "A Former English Teacher", "A Role Model", "Authority", "Classroom Atmosphere", and "Subject Knowledge". Arguably, the presence of those frames in the participants' perceptions of the identity of an ideal EFL teacher was indicative of the prevalence of a realistic view of the ideal EFL primary school teacher.

It should be noted that the results of the study are limited and should be treated with caution due to the following shortcomings: i) a limited number of participants (N = 32); ii) a heavily skewed participant population (30 women and 2 men), whereas a gender-balanced cohort of participants would be desirable.

Whilst acknowledging its limitations, the present study offers a range of practical and theoretical implications. The study feeds into a growing line of research associated with framing in applied linguistics (see Pennington & Hoekje, 2014). Arguably, the study could contribute to generating new knowledge about frames in EFL contexts. The study could also facilitate a better understanding of professional and personal qualities of an ideal EFL teacher in primary school, which would be beneficial to pre-service and current in-service EFL teachers and teacher-trainers alike, who could treat the results of the present study as a collective "portrait" of an ideal EFL teacher. In addition, the results of this study might provide an impetus for future research associated with framing the identity of an ideal EFL teacher in Scandinavian and European contexts.

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A LOST LADY: A NARRATIVE OF "MANIFEST DESTINY" AND NEOCOLONIALISM

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Abstract

The greatly examined story of *A Lost Lady* usually depicts Mrs. Forrester's success in meeting and adapting to the challenges of a changing world, a world characterized by materialism and self-fulfilment. However, the overlooked story, one far more disturbing than the privileged story in the text, is the narrative of oppressed groups of people of other races and the lower class. Drawing on some aspects of postcolonial theory, this paper explores Willa Cather's own reactions to real changes in her society, to the waning power of imperialism, and of her nostalgic longing for the western prairies of her youth, without showing any sympathy for the dispossessed Native Americans and other oppressed races. It will also disclose the unmistakable colonial overtones, which remarkably resonate with the common discourse of "Manifest Destiny" during the time period of American expansion to the Wild West.

Keywords: Colonialism, Imperialism, Manifest Destiny, Neocolonialism, Postcolonialism

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Power and Discourse: Lost Lady as Myth

The relation between power and discourse is manifest in Willa Cather's *A Lost Lady* (1923). Cather is involved in discursive practices that enable her to exercise power over her readers and her voiceless characters. She idealizes a predominant culture that enacted and legitimized its colonial practices in texts and speeches. She adopts the language of those in power during the American pioneers' era to affect the mentalities of her readers. Cather mythologizes the frontiersmen of the Wild West as "great-hearted," and "courteous" despite the historical fact that such men dispossessed and displaced indigenous people. Moreover, she ignores the history of the "Indian's" displacement despite their presence being greater in number than the pioneers.

Cather's 1923 novel *A Lost Lady* tells the story of a wealthy and prominent family, the Forresters who, after running a successful railroad construction business, goes through financial hardship and decline in social status. It is set at the end of the nineteenth century in the small town of Sweet Water, Nebraska. The story is narrated by Niel Herbert, a young man who admires the Forresters, especially Mrs. Forrester, who is older than him, and much younger than her elderly husband, Captain Daniel Forrester. Niel feels sympathy for the Forresters and decides to assist them in their financial crisis and provide care for the ailing Mr. Forrester. Niel observes that Mrs. Forrester becomes another woman after her husband's death, and he concludes that she is a lost lady.

Literature Review: Cather and Native Americans

Wendy K. Perriman (2009) has attempted to recover Cather from the pro-colonial voice manifested in *A Lost Lady*. Perriman asserts that the novel appears to examine "the plight of the Plains Indians ... through the medium of dance" and through the Forresters' sympathy with "the dying race" (pp. 137-138). However, Perriman's argument is problematic because it is based on historical allusions irrelevant to Cather's intended meaning. Perriman's approach invests her textual analysis with a short-lived plausibility. She affirms that Cather made reference to "the Ghost Dance" to demonstrate her sympathy with the displaced Native Americans. According to Perriman, the Ghost Dance is important to Cather because of its spiritual power to rescue the Great Sioux from their sufferings in the late 19th century (p. 136).

However, Cather did not make this reference to the Ghost Dance in *A Lost Lady*, only in an earlier short story entitled "Tommy, the Unsentimental." Moreover, Cather's reference to the Ghost Dance in the story could imply anything but a sign of sympathy with the displaced Sioux. Cather notes: "They just came down like the wolf on the fold. It sounded like the approach of a ghost dance" (as cited in Perriman, 2009, p.136). This analogy portrays the spiritual power of the Sioux as a vicious intruder who invades a place where they have no right to be. Cather compares the process of rescuing the victim to a wolf penetrating a sheepfold to attack them.

Other critics suggest that Cather was indifferent to the historical plight of Native Americans in a number of her works. To illustrate, Janis Stout (2000) notes that Cather ignores the history of Native American displacement in all her midwestern and southwestern novels and considers it "a major distortion" (p. 157). Similarly, Mike Fischer (1990) notes the absence of Native Americans in *My Antonia* and declares that Cather's writing seems to justify and purify the conquest of the Native Americans. He argues that Cather deliberately overlooks the dispossession and displacement of the "Indians" because such people and contexts do not "accommodate her textual strategy" (p. 32). Later, Joseph Urgo (1995) declares Cather's acceptance of America's imperial stance. Even many years before Fischer and Urgo, Sharon O'Brein (1987) asserts that Cather's writing is itself an act of colonization. She suggests that Cather herself was aware of this connection: "at times Cather described the writer's relationship to both reader and subject as a drama of dominance and submission ... if the artist were a conqueror or a warrior, then the reader was his colonized subject" (p. 151). Recently, Astrid Haas (2012) has examined Cather's celebration of the socio-cultural benefits of U.S.-American annexation of the Southwest in *Death Comes for the Archbishop*. The novel defames Mexican Padre Martínez and alludes to the Gadsden Purchase of 1853, by which the United States obtained territory from the Mexicans.

Lost Lady as a Cultural Shift in Colonial History

Although *A Lost Lady* is tinged with colonial and neo-colonial overtones, most critiques of the novel have shied away from exploring the colonial voice of Willa Cather. Sally Harvey (1995) notes that Cather is aware of the importance of the shift from the old culture to the new one, and that an adaptation to a shift is needed. According to

Harvey, Cather seems to embrace the new culture of personality through which an "American Dream of self-fulfilment" is achieved. Harvey also discusses how Cather, through Marian Forrester, demonstrates the dreamer's spirits of the pioneer in action, just as her husband, Captain Forrester, represented that spirit for an earlier time (Harvey, 1995, pp. 70-71). Mrs. Forrester successfully meets and adapts to the challenges of a changing world, a world characterized by materialism and self-fulfilment.

But Cather was discomfited by this new culture that valued materialism over the heroism of the past in America. By 1929, electrification increased which resulted in a wider availability of consumer goods and new mechanical devices at home. According to Stout (2000), Cather was not comfortable with this increased availability of household products. In her letters, Cather noted that the telephone always interrupted her work and that she "would go out and use a telephone elsewhere in the afternoon ... she was keeping her telephone number secret" (p. 194). Obviously, Cather was disturbed by the new culture in which materialism greatly prevails. This disturbance is clearly expressed in *A Lost Lady*. Stout calls Cather's work "dark" and "concerned with the severing of the present and future from the past" (p. 187). Although the novel is about Cather's reactions to real changes in her society, and her nostalgic longing for the western prairies of her youth, she records her feelings about the past and her reaction to the present by employing a discourse that has nuanced colonial overtones. Her novel perpetuates the colonial discourse common in 19th century America by romanticizing the pioneers of the Wild West and blocking the voice of indigenous people.

Historically speaking, colonialism had different forms and shapes in different parts of the world. But, according to Ania Loomba (1998), it was identical in locking "the original inhabitants and the newcomers into the most complex and traumatic relationships in human history." She asserts that colonialism is "the conquest and control of other people's land and goods." It is a widespread phenomenon in human history by which stronger countries dominate weaker ones. In other words, colonialism is not merely specific to the expansion of Europeans powers into several parts of the world (p. 8). According to Loomba, colonialism aims to form and reform communities by involving different kinds of practices such as warfare, plunder, enslavement, negotiation, and genocide. Employing benevolent and noble discourse like "The White

Man's Burden" in justifying colonialism, Europe created the economic imbalance that was essential for its capitalist and industrial growth. It is colonialism that led to the birth of European capitalism; without it, capitalism could not have been realized in Europe (p. 10).

The US version of colonialism, which was driven by a religiously rooted awareness of "Manifest Destiny," was the midwife that helped give birth to the capitalist economy of the United States. This unique form of colonialism was the means through which U.S. capitalism achieved its expansion to the western plains. For instance, the discovery of gold in 1848 in California motivated hungry businessmen and politicians to fulfil the notion of Manifest Destiny. As European Americans moved westward, railroad construction companies were established to open the western plains and connect the east coast to California. New industries emerged such as electrical power, telegraphy, and steel manufacturing. This industrial growth transformed American society in that it produced a new class of wealthy people, referred to as the capitalist class, and a prosperous middle class.

Notably, racism facilitated the expansion of U.S. colonial capitalism to the Wild West. It was the conduit through which the land and natural resources of the indigenous people were appropriated. The notion of Manifest Destiny linked American national identity to "an elaborate racial hierarchy" in which the white race was supreme (Ostler, 2004, p. 38). Since racism preceded Darwinism, which first appeared in 1859, the idea of Manifest Destiny did not have to wait for Darwin to make its appearance. Indeed, American expansionists had already called upon racial destiny many years before Darwin published his theory. Referring to a speech by Missouri Senator Thomas Hart Benton in 1846, Jeffrey Ostler (2004) argues that the notion of Manifest Destiny was a racialized ideology. In his speech, Benton justifies why the "White race" has the obligation "to subdue and replenish the earth." He explains that "of all the world's races, only the white race had obeyed God's command" to fill the earth with life. In obedience to His "great command," "Whites" expanded their powers into different parts of the world and then to the "New World," where the "Red Race" "disappeared from the Atlantic coast" and had to meet "extinction" because they "resisted civilization." Benton predicted that Manifest Destiny would extend its influence beyond its continental

boundaries into the Pacific and Caribbean basins. Ostler concludes that Benton's speech tells "a history and future of intentional acts of genocide and ethnocide" (pp. 38 -39).

A Lost Lady as the Silencing of Voices

While many believe that Cather's *A Lost Lady* describes the triumph of the new materialistic civilization over the heroism of the past in America, the novel also blocks Native American voices from confronting or questioning Captain Forrester's integrity as celebrated by Cather. Generally, Cather disregards the history of Native American displacement in all her midwestern and southwestern novels. According to Stout (2000), "To ignore them and to ignore the history of their displacement in novels that avow their historical foundation is a major distortion. Indeed, Cather can well be seen as the lyrical voice of Manifest Destiny" (p. 157). She likely knew what was happening to the natives, yet she continues to praise the pioneers rather than, implicitly or explicitly, showing any sympathy for the dispossessed natives. This major distortion of history in Cather's novels suggests her sympathy with the American Imperialism of occupying and annexing of Native American land. While she was writing *A Lost Lady*, Cather, whether consciously or unconsciously, seemed to invest great effort in covering up the wrongs of the pioneers through presenting them to her modern readers as the most ideal example of moral people. She is not always objective, mythologizing the pioneers, through the words of Niel Herbert, as being "great-hearted," "generous," "unpractical," and "courteous" (p. 102). She also expresses regret over earlier times and the end of the pioneers who had been, she says, "strong in attack but weak in defence, who could conquer but could not hold" (p. 102). So, Cather uses the language of heroes, and heartily celebrates the "higher moral law" of the pioneers despite their shameful, yet indirect, role in dispossessing and displacing Native Americans.

Cather spent her late-childhood and adolescent years not in the south, where she had been born, but in Nebraska, where her family moved to Catherton in 1883. The family moved to Red Cloud, amid the mid-western prairie land. This land had been recently snatched from Native Americans when she moved there. She was at first homesick and felt very lonely, but soon came to love her new home:

> "So the country and I had it out together and by the end of the first autumn the shaggy grass country had gripped me with a passion that I have never been able

> to shake. It has been the happiness and the curse of my life" (as cited in Woodress, 1987, p.36).

So, it brought her great happiness, yet she was more likely to know what had happened to Native Americans with regard to their cruel treatment by the US government. Cather, however, chose to focus her narrative upon praising the pioneers rather than, implicitly or explicitly, showing some sympathy for the natives, who are barely mentioned.

By erasing the Native presence from her narrative, Cather is perhaps denying indigenous people their rights to keep their own lands or express how unjustly they are treated. Cather's exclusion of "Indians" from *A Lost Lady* resonates with the Congress legislation in 1871, which declares that, "no Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe, or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty" (Ryser, 2012, p. 54). However, the pioneers broke these treaties when gold was discovered in the Black Hills in 1875, forcing the Sioux to be shifted and reduced in number. Stout (2000) links the presence of the European migrants and immigrants Cather admired and the absence, both from the plains and from her novel, of Native Americans to the emergence of railroads, "one of the most powerful forces in the process of immigration into the Midwest" (p. 159). Cather perhaps lived at a time and in a culture that had its assumptions and beliefs about morality, which never question people like Captain Forrester who was involved in the mistreatment of "Indians." These assumptions embraced by Cather are greatly displayed in *A Lost Lady*. For instance, during Cather's lifetime, Social Darwinism was at its height and was put in the service of imperial ambitions. It calls for "the survival of the fittest," and according to Raymond Williams (2005), the weaker or less able race "should not be artificially preserved" (p. 88). Thus, Herbert Spencer's theory increased the belief in Anglo-Saxon racial superiority. Similarly, by ignoring the history of Native Americans, Cather holds that the natives are the unfit who cannot survive, nor they should be artificially preserved.

The novel centres upon the Forresters, who could be described as part of American colonial history. However, Cather depicts Captain Forrester as being a man of integrity, while he clearly stole land from the natives. He builds his future home on "an

Indian encampment" (p. 50), and later acquired "a splendid land from the Indians" (p. 117). This seems to be a blind spot for Cather who does not appear to see that "Indians" too have rights. Through Captain Forrester, Cather conceals imperial motives, and violent annexation of indigenous people's lands by the American empire, in the language of the American dream:

> All our great West has been developed from such dreams; the homesteader's and the prospector's and the contractor's. We dreamed the railroads across the mountains, just as I dreamed my place on the Sweet Water. All these things will be everyday facts to the coming generation, but to us— Captain Forrester ended with a sort of grunt. Something forbidding had come into his voice, the lonely, defiant note that is so often heard in the voices of old Indians. (p. 53)

For the Captain, to dream is to take things whether by force or by peace. Imperialism, in the context of both the construction of Burlington railroads and his home on an "Indian" land, is "an accomplished fact" (Gustake, 2008, p. 65). In contrast, Ivy Peters steps in and takes over the land, at first leasing some and then taking it over completely. This is seen in negative terms, despite it being a financial arrangement, rather than stealing. Charmion Gustke (2008) claims that Cather employs "the fact of Native American dislocation in Nebraska" to criticize the presence of the American empire on the frontier. She claims that Cather deliberately interrupted the Captain's "romantic musings" by including "the lonely" echoes of "old Indians" (p. 65). This inclusion, however, is merely meant to stress how inevitable it is that the old culture submits to the new. The important point is that Cather is not comfortable seeing the Western European culture no longer dominant in the newly diverse and multicultural America.

The White Man's Burden

Cather continues the legacy of the White Man's Burden and exemplifies its truthfulness. Written by the British novelist and poet Rudyard Kipling in 1899, "The White Man Burden" persuades the U.S. to play an imperial role, as British and other European nations did, during the Philippine-American War by placing Puerto Rico, Guam, Cuba, and the Philippines under American control (Schedlock & Patton, 2012, p. 15). The notion of the White Man's Burden entails that the white race has the moral duty to take care of the other races of mankind. Commenting on Kipling's poem, Edward Said argues:

> "Behind the White Man's mask of amiable leadership there is always the express willingness to use force [...] What dignifies his mission is some sense of intellectual dedication; he is a White Man, but not for mere profit, since his "chosen star" presumably sits far above earthly gain" (Said, 1979, p. 226).

Through Captain Forrester, Cather illustrates how the pioneers are dedicated to their moral duty of taking care of the non-White people, the less fortunate, even if this dedication leads to their destruction. After his bank goes bankrupt, the captain, as "a man of honor," "strips himself down," and pays all the money back to its depositors. Although some of the depositors are Poles and Swedes, there is also a crowd of Mexicans who Judge Pommeroy, "upon [his] honor," recognizes as being helpless. Cather uses her writing authority to present Mexican voices in states of fear and beseeching the Captain's generous assistance: "A lot of them couldn't speak English,--seemed like the only English word they knew was 'Forrester.' As we went in and out we'd hear the Mexicans saying, 'Forrester, Forrester'" (p. 87). It is tormenting for Judge Pommeroy to see that the Captain takes up the burden of another race of mankind by selling everything he owns to compensate their losses.

Because of the colonialist ideology of both the Judge and the Captain, who believe in their own superiority over the Mexicans, they are aware of the Mexicans' dependency on them. By 1848, the U.S. had snatched what is today Arizona, Texas, Colorado, Utah, and California from Mexico. Supposing the superiority of their race, the whites had the obligation to expand from ocean to ocean to civilize the Mexicans, the Native Americans and to seize their territories by using superior force (Zinn, 2005, pp. 149 -169). These Mexicans in the novel are either colonized or displaced from their lands by the pioneers. The annexation of their lands and their displacement bring economic success and security for Captain Forrester while establishing economic dependency between the Captain and the Mexicans. Cather illustrates a relationship in which the existence of the colonized is dependent on the colonizer and the colonizer's gain is dependent on the colonized. However, she does not only illustrate that the notion of the White Man's Burden suggests uplifting the colonized. Cather also takes one step further to exemplify that the colonizer is ready to destroy himself for the sake of the colony's security and sustenance.

Indeed, Cather paints a positive image of the pioneers when Captain Forrester returns home in financial ruin after his bank has failed. Because he had felt an obligation to the clients of his bank, "he stood firm that not one of the depositors should lose a dollar" (p. 86). This obligation to rescue the depositors demonstrates a sense of colonial "noblesse oblige," a concept belonging to an idealized time when privileged people had a duty to care and act with generosity toward those less privileged. However, it did not extend to giving equal opportunities to all and, in the colonial context, it deemed it legitimate to control and manipulate colonial subjects as is clear from the way the Captain had treated Native Americans. So, Captain Forrester believes that he has a moral obligation to act with nobility toward those less privileged, such as Mexicans, whose first language is not English and whose skin is brown. But he has "to sell the mining stocks," a shady activity that first stemmed from the exploitation of the "Indians," to pay back his investors. The Captain pays for the depositors' loss, ruining himself both financially and physically. Cather is utilizing a colonial discourse in which she polishes the image of the colonizers and reinforces their superiority. For instance, she hides the atrocious history of people like Captain Forrester and Judge Pommeroy, while predominately presenting them as moralists. Cather only presents the Mexicans as the object of discourse through which Captain Forrester sustains his superior image.

The Mythic Pioneer: the construction of race, exploitation and gender

Cather never stops presenting her readers with purer, yet mythic, images of the pioneers. She also demonstrates the racism of the people she always admires throughout the novel while still believing in their kindness. While Captain Forrester pays for his integrity and for being loyal to his investors, "Judge Pommeroy's loyalty is demystified only by Cather's language." His servant, Black Tom, is a loyal servant, as told by Cather early in the novel; indeed, throughout the novel, Tom is portrayed as a good and faithful servant. But at one point, late in the story, Judge Pommeroy, the "honorable" judge, "also descends into unfaithfulness, on the very site of the presumably 'faithful' bond between his servant and himself" (Meisel, 2007, p. 177). Pommeroy of the purer, older West says, "The difference between a businessman and a scoundrel, was bigger than the difference between a white man and a nigger" (p. 88). Cather here never challenges the judge's denigration of his servant, who is less privileged, but also,

throughout the story, blocks his voice from telling readers whether Judge Pommeroy is really faithful to him or not.

As a matter of fact, Cather displays many of the stereotypes, and much of the ignorance and arrogance common in the views of most white people in the United States in the nineteenth century. She seems indifferent to such racism. Indeed, by idealizing people who believed in racial hierarchy and supremacy, Cather is clearly involved in producing a narrative of Western cultural dominance and white superiority. It was a common practice during the pioneers' era to identify the differences between the white race and other races. Cather seems to be influenced by the fact that Western science was allied with political power. White superiority was the means to colonize others. To justify this superiority, Western science in the eighteenth century had been involved in debating differences in skin colour for centuries. The debate had been revolving around whether blackness was a product of environment or a "sign of sinfulness." Instead of rejecting earlier suppositions about the inferiority of other races, scientists in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries continued to defend such inferiority. Out of prejudice, scientists suggested that the skin color of specific races could not change even if its members moved to a different location. Thus, other races were biologically different and immutably inferior (Loomba, 1998, p. 62). This biological difference also entailed inferiority in manners and mores. Although Black Tom is a "loyal" and faithful servant, he is compared to "a scoundrel," not because he is immoral but because he is not white. This is a myth that Cather is blinded by.

Colonialist ideology always creates a social hierarchy and makes great efforts to maintain it. The colonizers are at the top rung of the social ladder, while the colonized occupy the bottom rungs of the ladder. In the case of Black Tom, his inferior status is primarily based on his race. Stout (2000) asserts that the colonizing culture that Cather admires treats Tom as "an appendage" and "a functionary," who must be pressed into the service of his racist masters (p. 223). Indeed, both Mrs. Forrester and Niel ask Judge Pommeroy to "lend" them Tom in order to serve them. For the pioneers, Tom, despite his "unscrupulous soul," is biologically perfect for particular tasks accomplished under conditions of servitude. Since the pioneers colonized and dispossessed Native Americans, it is more likely that they adopted Ernest Renan's ideology of racial differences. Renan believed that "Nature has made a race of workers ... a race of tillers

of the soil, the Negro," and "a race of masters and soldiers, the European race ... Let each one do what he is made for, and all will be well" (as cited in Loomba, 1998, p. 109). Tom's masters are "well" and happy as long as he is available to serve them, but the wellness and happiness of Forrester's family are gone after they lose their proper social standing. Cather is sad for the Forresters to lose their "predestined superiority" and insensitive to Tom's inferiority.

Exploitation is a major theme in the novel, but the way it is demonstrated is questionable. Cather depicts Ivy Peters as the novel's villain who was behind the decline of the good Old West, despite the fact that he is not worse than Captain Forrester and Judge Pommeroy, considering the possibility that both men are complicit in exploiting the "Indians." Ivy Peters rents the "meadow-land on the Forrester place," and drains "the old marsh and [puts] it into wheat" (p. 100). Later, he becomes the owner of the Forresters' properties. This is seen in negative terms, despite the fact that it was a financial arrangement, the normal way of doing business, rather than cheating and stealing. However, Ivy Peters is not always a villain; he has done positive things that are barely acknowledged. Still, he is not portrayed as being the equal of the ideal businessmen of the Old West. He rescues Mrs. Forrester while "honorable" men like Mr. Forrester, Judge Pommeroy and Niel Herbert cannot. For Cather, saving a community that embraces imperial ideals is more important than saving individuals.

Indeed, in another scene, Cather demonstrates the importance of the values of the Old West community over the values of individuals. Niel resents the fact that Mrs. Forrester sleeps with Ivy Peters not because she betrays her dead husband, but actually, because she betrays all her "old friends" of the West, who are representative of imperial qualities. Mrs. Forrester is unfaithful to something more than her husband, "she was not willing to immolate herself, like the widow of all these great men, and die with the pioneer period to which she belonged" (p. 161). In other words, Mrs. Forrester should burn herself because no man deserves her after her husband's death. As postulated by William R. Handley (2002), Mrs. Forrester needs to demonstrate a sign of her husband's greatness by immolating "herself upon his passing, given her function as legitimating adornment to his pioneer dream and property" (p. 155). Moreover, Mrs. Forrester's faithfulness to her husband is greatly measured by whom she sleeps with rather than by

her fidelity. She becomes “a common woman” when she sleeps with Ivy Peters, but not when she has an affair with Frank Ellinger, the Captain’s old friend.

Similarly, the women of the town have a particular view of Marian Forrester as the wife of an aristocratic man whose collapse signifies the death of the values of the Old West community. The collapse of Captain Forrester, according to Mrs. Forrester’s old friends, is seen as a “judgment” upon her. For her friends, this was expected after she left the Old West ideals behind and embraced the “destructive” ideals of Ivy Peters. Later, when the friends visit the Forresters’ home after the collapse of the Captain, they find out that life in their home is no means perfect. They believe “they had been fooled all these years.” The place is no longer as attractive as it used to be. Also, “[the] kitchen was inconvenient, the sink was smelly. The carpets were worn, the curtains faded, the clumsy, old-fashioned furniture they wouldn't have had for a gift, and the upstairs bed-rooms were full of dust and cobwebs” (p. 132). They have certain expectations, but Mrs. Forrester does not match up to their assumptions, and they react. She makes her own decisions and finally she has to pay for her choices.

The abuse of nature

In the novel, both the pioneers and the new generation are involved in activities that abuse nature. The pioneers seem to be as abusive to nature as Ivy Peters, a fact that Niel fails to observe. He claims that people like Ivy Peters would destroy “[the] space, the colour, the princely carelessness of the pioneer,” and cut it up “into profitable bits, as the match factory splinters the primeval forest” (p. 102). He is aware that Ivy Peters and the people of his generation will produce matchsticks from the wood that their ancestors cut. Moreover, Ivy Peters is scorned for destroying the aesthetic beauty of the Forresters’ marsh, while Captain Forrester is hailed for preserving the marsh on his land as a luxury, despite the fact that draining the marsh will turn the land into productive wheat fields. Cather has associated Ivy Peters with those who mercilessly abuse wildlife, including killing animals and destroying the natural state of land despite the fact that Captain Forrester is also involved in subduing the wilderness by building the straight tracks of railroads. She perceives the land of the pioneers as being perfect and well taken care of, until the arrival of people like Ivy Peters. That being said, Cather

seems completely occupied in romanticizing the pioneers without revealing and evaluating their shortcomings.

Expansive Imperialism: rupture or continuity?

Towards the end of the story, Marian Forrester, through her shrewd connection with Ivy Peters, escapes to California. There she meets the next man who will "save her," a wealthy old Englishman who takes Marian to the frontier of South America, a fitting place for a pioneer who has run away from the West, so the imperialistic theme continues with a new site of conquest. Alluding to Edward Said's view on the centrality of England with "a series of overseas territories connected to it at the peripheries," Deborah Karush (1996) argues that Cather relegates overseas territories to the margins of her narrative. In so doing, Cather's narrative "creates a sense of the United States' global centrality" similar to that of England. For instance, in *A Lost Lady*, Cather relegates Buenos Aires to the end as Mrs. Forrester starts a new life there. Thus, Karush concludes that Cather's fiction "has familiar imperial overtones" (pp. 24-25). Moreover, the old Englishman might be, although not explicitly suggested, as genteel and honourable as Captain Forrester. In memory of his late wife, the old Englishman plans "for the future care of Captain Forrester's grave." After hearing this, Niel becomes relieved that Mrs. Forrester "was well cared for, to the very end" (p. 166). The old Englishman is representative of another imperial ambition, having been born in and still living in a developing part of the world where raw materials and opportunities are abundant.

Indeed, Cather's inclusion of a developing part in the world, such as South America, at the end of the novel, raises many questions about the author's motives. Is she hinting at possible expansion southward? Is South America the next fertile soil for imperial expansion? Considering the fact that developing countries have always been attractive to imperialists throughout history, Cather perhaps suggests the importance of such destinations for ambitious people, as were the pioneers. Cather gives Ed Elliot the last word in the novel, holding some hope, perhaps, for the future of a new and different imperialistic ambition. Ed Elliot is "a prosperous mining engineer," "broad-shouldered," frank and generous. He "is an alternative to the noble old Captain whose day is done and the cynical and corrupt Ivy Peters whom Niel fears is taking over" (Thomas, 1990, p.

107). However, his presence in an underdeveloped geographical area like South America entertains the idea that he could be a representative of an imperial ambition. This ambition is now expanding to South America where an imperialist economy is likely to move with the aim of initially creating infrastructure but also optimizing exploitation of raw materials, and eventually persuading locals to buy its products.

Cather paints the period of imperialism as positive, but what followed it, the coming of towns and industrialization, is described in more negative tones. Cather's story is one with a number of twists and turns; characters rise and fall in their relative places in society as modern urbanism takes over the imperialistic past. The fall of Captain Forrester signifies the loss of the moral ideals the Old West celebrated by Cather and the arrival of a new culture whose people are characterized by their great interest in self-fulfilment, but less interested in moral imperatives. Cather attributes the fall of Captain Forrester to the arrival of "ugly," on the inside and the outside, people like Ivy Peters, and to the Captain's loyalty to his investors. However, she never attributes it to the pioneers who started this shift in the first place and paved the way to people like Ivy Peters. In short, Cather nostalgically longs for the colonial past of the pioneers. She is not in favour of the present culture, which is greatly dominated by people like Peters. Instead of extending the imperialistic heritage of the pioneers, Peters is greatly invested in taking over what the pioneers have achieved. Thus, Cather is hopeful that new people like Ed Elliot will revive the pioneers' heritage and move to a non-industrialized country where he can penetrate and control its market.

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THE POLITICS AND AESTHETICS OF STORYTELLING IN DIANA ABU-JABER'S *CRESCENT*: A STRATEGIC IMPLEMENTATION OF AN OLD FOLKLORIC ARAB TRADITION

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Abstract

This paper discusses the politics and multi-functionality of storytelling in Diana Abu-Jaber's novel *Crescent* (2003). I argue that the strategic use of storytelling places *Crescent* as a complex hybrid text that projects the nature, and development, of Arab American literature in the contemporary era. In addition to having the practice of storytelling as an apparatus to project identity in *Crescent*, Abu-Jaber re-appropriates its empowered status in Arab culture as well as politicizes its image in the mind of her readers. Besides employing critical and analytical approaches to the novel, this paper relies on arguments and perspectives of prominent postcolonial and literary critics and theorists such as Edward Said, Suzanne Keen, Walter Benjamin, and Samaya Sami Sabry, to name a few.

***Keywords*:** Arab American, orality, storytelling, identity, Diana Abu-Jaber, hybrid text

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> *Storytelling suggests telling existent stories to the audience while the audience is involved and whenever the audience is involved, there are multiple interpretations involved as well*.
>
> (Tabackovà, 2015, p. 116)

The art of storytelling is one of the human race's oldest cultural traditions. In its simple definition, storytelling is "the vivid description of ideas, beliefs, personal experiences, and life-lessons through stories or narratives that evoke powerful emotions or insights" (Serrat, 2008, p. 1). This art of orality has a significant place in Arab culture. In fact, Arab culture *per se* "is an originally oral culture in which the spoken word occupies a central position" (Herzog, 2012, p. 627). Tarik Sabry, for instance, explains that "Arab oral popular cultures (*turath sha'bi*), including storytelling, poetry and other creative forms […] constitute an important element of the cultural heritage that made it into the written word" (2010, p. 57). Indeed, transforming such cultural heritage into the written word, as Magali Cornier Michael argues, is evident in contemporary Arab American literary creation, especially in modern times (2011).

It should be acknowledged that this paper contributes to Magali Cornier Michael's research article titled "Arabian Nights in America: Hybrid Form and Identity in Diana Abu-Jaber's *Crescent*" (2011). Michael traces the historical development of *One Thousand and One Nights* and projects how such a tradition of telling and re-telling stories appears and functions in Abu-Jaber's narratives. She, however, does not acknowledge how such mixed narratives are reflected in the modern era and whether or not they affect readers' engagement with the text. Moreover, her analysis of the novel disregards the role of the storyteller – in this case, the uncle – as a literary device that 'strategically' structures the narratives of Diana Abu-Jaber. As such, this paper provides in-depth analysis of the uncle's storytelling to assess the functionality of orality, as echoed by the uncle, and build on Michael's thesis. The contribution appears in different aspects, such as challenging Walter Benjamin's thought about the ineffectiveness of storytelling technique to trigger reader's engagement with a text and narratives in modern era, projecting the multifunctional role of the storyteller in the novel, constructing a link between storytelling and the life of Arab Americans as lived out in reality – such as Palestinian Americans – and providing other insights that may broaden the horizons of Michael's arguments.

Storytelling, as Fadda-Conrey points out, is one of the essential tools that shapes the literary outputs of contemporary Arab American authors as well as their affiliations and identity. According to her, "contemporary Arab-American literature is a primary site for envisioning and delineating transnational reconfigurations of citizenship and belonging by virtue of its ability to transform social discourse and to shape subjectivities through the imaginative yet deeply effective tools of narratives and storytelling" (2014, p. 177). Diana Abu-Jaber's novel reflects Fadda-Conrey's statement by perpetuating both the art and style of storytelling in its narratives. It places itself as a medium by which Arab cultural heritage and subjectivities can be discerned and understood. Abu-Jaber herself comments on the tradition of storytelling as an indicator of her original culture – an Arab – as well as a comfort for herself during her growing-up years. Her perspective towards storytelling seems to fall within Irwin and Auster's claim that "stories are fundamental food for the soul" (2013, p.46). Abu-Jaber says:

> Storytelling was very important when I grew up. My father and my uncles are all great storytellers, and they regaled us with jokes, fables, and reminiscences about their growing-up years. And that storytelling, along with food, was one of the great pillars of my own cultural education. Thus it was really important to me to try to bring some of that format into *Crescent*. I wanted the uncle to be telling Sirine, his niece, a story throughout the course of the book. I wanted the story to have the flavor of the oral narrative, and the surprises and the nuances of the spoken voice. (Field, 2006, p. 221)

The novel essentially revolves around the life of two main protagonists: Sirine and Hanif El Eyad (known as Han). The former is a thirty-nine-year-old Iraqi American woman who works as a chef at Um-Nadia's Café, an Arab restaurant located in a Los Angeles Iranian neighbourhood called Tahrangeles. The latter is an Iraqi professor of literature at a nearby university. He chooses exile to flee the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein's regime. The practice of storytelling and its implication in Abu-Jaber's *Crescent* appears through Sirine's uncle. He is a quintessential storyteller of Arabic folklore and proverbs in the novel. He is an Iraqi immigrant and professor of Near Middle Eastern Studies. He offers a frame for the novel through his episodic stories about the adventurous slave named Abdelrahman Salahadin and his mother Camille. He refers to himself in the novel as an accomplished uncle and storyteller who should be rewarded with "plates of knaffea pastry" (Abu-Jaber, 2003, p. 38). He always appeals to his niece, Sirine, to listen and ponder his storytelling – he claims that "there is an art to listening

to a story – it requires equal parts silence and receptivity" (Abu-Jaber, 2003, p. 308). For him, the art of storytelling is one of the key aspects of life.

Sirine's uncle[1] is an important character in the novel as well as a key literary device for the structure of the narratives. Diana Abu-Jaber comments on this particular character as a figure who has a special role in the making up of *Crescent*: "I think of him so much as 'The Uncle.' And then when I tried to give him a name it felt so false to me, too specific and too personal. I wanted to give him this very archetypal, avuncular presence, because in a way, for a great deal of the book […] He is the Storyteller" (Field, 2006, pp. 220-221). Interestingly, it might be necessary to draw attention to the description of the uncle as archetypal in Abu-Jaber's statement – a typical personalization of a key character. The uncle can critically be regarded in this way due to characteristics that position him as a wise, educated, experienced, knowledgeable, compassionate, and accomplished person to most characters in the novel such as Han and Sirine. The latter for instance views him as a godfather –Abu-Jaber states that Sirine" sees him strictly as the one who is going to care for her, take care of her, answer her questions, and make her feel safe" (Field, 2006, p. 220). He is an example of the storyteller who "takes what he tells from experience — his own or that reported by others. And he in turn makes it the experience of those who are listening to his tale" (Benjamin, 1968, p. 87).

The uncle's storytelling in Abu-Jaber's novel, moreover, might be seen as a key device that functions to challenge Walter Benjamin's statement that storytelling is witnessing its demise in the modern novel when he claims that "the art of storytelling is coming to an end" (1968, p. 78). This particular art is perpetuated by the uncle in narratives through his constant interventions and eloquence. He is what Derek Matravers calls an 'explicit narrator' who is represented as 'overly punctilious' and responsible for narrating the main story and sustaining the reader's interest by making explicit interventions in the text, especially fictional ones (2014, pp. 119-126). In so doing, Sirine's uncle can be regarded as an "omniscient narrator" (Field, 2006, p. 221) who knows the past as well as the present and the future of both the story he tells and the overall plot of the novel. In this regard, it might also be possible to evoke the notion of 'Author Surrogate': this can be explicated as a literary technique to deliver the

[1] This particular character will appear in this section as both 'the uncle' and 'Sirine's uncle' to avoid distorting repetition.

author's opinion or message through one of the main characters who is usually the narrator *per se*. Given that Sirine's uncle is the main narrator in *Crescent*, Abu-Jaber uses him as a medium to introduce Iraq, and the Middle East in general, to the readers of her novel from her own point of view. This is apparent when Sirine's uncle acts as an informer and teacher of Arab legacies and history within the context of his storytelling, which seems a central method to the remembering of history:

> There was once an Arab empire that dominated the world. The glorious Abbasid Empire reigned from the eighth until the thirteenth centuries—five hundred years. And Baghdad was it celestial capital. Now you blink: it is seven or eight centuries later and the world has turned upside down in its usual way. The Abbasid Empire dissolved […] The Arab Abbasid Empire had enjoyed the same sort of glory as that of the Roman Empire and had achieved the depth of the Greek; it had spanned continents and hemispheres, produced libraries, inventions, and celestial insights—and then it was gone and the Arabs had to go back to being regular people. (Abu-Jaber, 2003, pp. 171–72)

The oral history of the Arab empire as perpetuated by the uncle can critically be seen as an extension of his storytelling, tracking the legacy of Arabs and their historical domination over the world for five hundred years, but also as a method of resisting any deformation/fabrication that Arab history might encounter. In other words, oral history within storytelling is a strategy to both teach and protect history. It should be noted, moreover, that the uncle's account does not glorify the Abbasid Empire – an act of romanticising – but he simply invokes such a piece of information to remind of what he assumes is a disregarded history. The novel, in this way, defines the act of storytelling as an apparatus of voicing neglected histories. Interestingly, the uncle's strategy is, to a great extent, similar to that of Palestinians. The latter, as Nur Masalha explains, deploythe Arab tradition of oral storytelling in the form of *al-hakawati* (the storyteller) to preserve their historiography, and encounter and resist "Zionist memoricideand toponymicide – the erasure of the material culture of Palestine and Palestinian cultural memory" (2018, p. 27).

In addition, with regard to the term 'Author Surrogate', the uncle also strategically functions as a device by which Abu-Jaber can express her critical socio-historical perspective to discuss the issues that surround the lives of Arabs. This is, by extension, evident in the uncle's storytelling:

> Slavery has been outlawed in most Arab countries for years now. But there are villages in Jordan made up entirely of the descendants of runaway Saudi slaves. Abdelrahman knows he might be free, but he's still an Arab. No one ever wants to be the Arab—it's too old and too tragic and too mysterious and too exasperating and too lonely for anyone but an actual Arab to put up with for very long. Essentially, it's an image problem. Ask anyone, Persians, Turks, even Lebanese and Egyptians—none of them want to be the Arab. (Abu-Jaber, 2003, p. 54)

This passage denotes the extent to which Arabness can be regarded as a burden and an obstacle to assimilation and being accepted in a foreign culture. Being an Arab, according to the uncle, is an identity that people deny and avoid. It is possible to critically argue that the uncle uses his hero Abdelrahman, within the context of the story, as a prototype of Arabs living in the USA who, on the one hand, struggle to keep their Arab roots, and on the other hand, overcome the negative image of Arabness that has a profound impact on their lives in the wider American society. The experiences of Abdelrahman in his journey from the East to the West in Sirine's uncle's storytelling, therefore, can be regarded as a lesson, or a reference, for Arab American audience and Arabs in general. It tackles how to negotiate Arabness and manage its ramifications in a setting of racism and discrimination, especially in the aftermath of 9/11. Diana Abu-Jaber in this regard uses the uncle's storytelling as a means to provide a helpful counsel which consequently increases the communicability between her narratives and her readers – particularly Arab Americans and Arabs – on the basis of Abdelrahman's correlating experiences. This confirms, through the art of storytelling, that novels, as Abu-Jaber argues, are "tutorials in how to connect and empathize with others. Novels are one of the very few forms that we have available to really instruct us in the experiences of others" (Field, 2006, p.211).

Abu-Jaber's argument, in this context, challenges Walter Benjamin's view towards the literary functionality of the novel that it poorly replaces the art of storytelling in the modern era. The latter claims that literary forms, such as novels, cannot projectthe potentiality to invoke shared feelings and collective meaning due to the increasing industrial reproduction that distorts the essence of any original work of art. This consequently features the modern reader as isolated, passively unable to communicate, and unable to show empathy. According to Walter Benjamin, a novel in modern times "neither comes from oral tradition nor goes into it" (1968, p. 77) and that storytelling

"began quite slowly to recede in the archaic" (1968, p. 78). Abu-Jaber's *Crescent*, however, seems to prove Benjamin's argument wrong in terms of the idea that a novel, in contemporary times, still intersects with the politics of storytelling and triggers the notions of empathy and communication. Indeed, empathy contributes to the communicability between the reader and Abu-Jaber's narratives, especially characters, in terms of shared emotions or experiences. Suzanne Keen, for instance, observes that "women writers and novelists from around the world endorse the notion of shared human emotions when they overtly call upon their reader's empathy (2007, p. viii). This empathetic engagement with narratives, in analysis of *Crescent*, might also be regarded as an outcome of the similarity and commonality that occur between Abdelrahman, the Arab character in the uncle's storytelling, and Arab and Arab American readers. This similarity appears in different aspects such as displacement, exile, identity crisis, diasporic conditions, and cultural hybridity, etc. In other words, as Suzanne Keen argues, "readers' empathy for situations depicted in fiction may be enhanced by chance relevance to particular historical, economic, cultural, or social circumstances, either in the moment of first publication or in later times, fortuitously anticipated or prophetically foreseen by the novelist" (2007, p. xii). This means that novelists, such as Abu-Jaber, have the ability to control the extent to which their readers engage with their narratives empathetically. However, it should also be noted that "no one text evokes the same responses in all of its readers, and not all texts succeed in stimulating readers to feel and act as their authors apparently wish" (Keen, 2007, p. 4).

Similarly, regardless of its complex echo within the major events in the novel, Sirine's uncle's storytelling seems to be a kind of a map and instructive for both his audience and the novel's readers. The uncle explains that stories "can point you in the right direction but they can't take you all the way there" (Abu-Jaber, 2003, p. 384).The uncle's storytelling in this case can critically be regarded as a form of allegory for its readers, especially Arabs and Arab Americans; it is conventionally known that storytelling is used to convey a message about real-world issues through hidden meanings and allusions. Storytelling, therefore, as Fadia Faqir argues, is a "form of strong oral Arab culture that reinterprets everyday life" (2011, p. 7). Abu-Jaber, hence, seems to position her storyteller as a figure to build upon, and also to oppose, Benjamin's arguments. The latter claims that "the storyteller is a man who has counsel for his readers. But if today 'having counsel' is beginning to have an old-fashioned ring,

this is because the communicability of experience is decreasing. In consequence we have no counsel either for ourselves or for others" (1968, p. 86). The opposition between the uncle's storytelling and Benjamin's view can be identified through the increase of communicability between the uncle, as a storyteller, and his audience in the novel such as his niece Sirine who always enquires about some details in the storytelling (Abu-Jaber, 2003, pp. 308-309). Plus, the uncle always provides his audience with consistent counselling. For instance, in one of his conversations with Sirine, the uncle refers to his storytelling as a guidance of "how to love" (Abu-Jaber, 2003, p. 17), given that his niece always fails to open her heart for her lovers. This shows that storytelling is multifunctional: it functions as a source of information, advice, guidance, framework of narratives in the novel, and a medium to project identity.

To shine some light on it, the uncle's storytelling mainly revolves around the moralless story of Abdelrahman Salahadin, an Arab Bedouin slave, who had an incredible addiction to selling himself and faking his drowning only to make money by acting as a guide for unskilled sailors (Abu-Jaber, 2003, p. 17). The uncle introduces him as "the son of a freed Nubian and burdened Iraqi Bedouin" (Abu-Jaber, 2003, p. 54). Abdelrahman was his mother's favourite son (Abu-Jaber, 2003, p. 27) and also the uncle's favourite cousin (Abu-Jaber, 2003, p. 17). The uncle tells Sirine that Camille, the mother of the hero, told him the story of her son when he was a very young boy (Abu-Jaber, 2003, p. 308). According to Sirine's uncle, Abdelrahman was a pious, devout, and sensitive person who "never forgot to bathe before his prayers. Sometimes he knelt on the beach and made the sand his prayer carpet" (Abu-Jaber, 2003, p. 18). After several unexpected journeys and thrilling events, Abdelrahman eventually ends up a movie star in Hollywood and changes his name to Omar Sharif.

Abdelrahman Salahadin's name, as Sirine's uncle states, is a long name comprised of two meanings: "The Servant of the Merciful One – Abdelrahman – and the name of a great warrior and liberator – Salah al-Din" (Abu-Jaber, 2003, p. 26). Interestingly, his name can critically be regarded as symbolic, or representative, of Islamic identity and history and also Arabness. Names, as Paul Leslie and James Skipper argue, "are not just arbitrary symbols; they signify status, achievement, privilege, and meaningful social organization. They may communicate ethnicity, social status, and social prestige all understood as meaningful within social contexts" (2013, p. 273). For instance, in his

critique of Andalusian history in *Crescent* Nouri Gana argues that the name 'Abdelrahman' refers to the Umyyad emir [prince] who escaped the Abbasid massacre of his ruling family in 750 C.E. and fled from Baghdad through North Africa to Al-Andalus, which he reached in 755 C.E. A year later, he became the founder and governor of Córdoba" (2008, p. 239). The name 'Salahadin', Gana continues, refers to "the Kurdish Muslim leader Salahadin Al-Ayyubi, who besieged Jerusalem for more than a dozen days before he captured it on October 2, 1187, after 88 years of crusader rule" (2008, p. 239). Interestingly, the composition of Abdelrahman Salahadin's name and its meaning posits a theoretical perspective that it can be related to 'literary onomastics'. Iraida Gerus-Tarnawecky explains that "[n]ames used in literature form an individual, yet, to a certain degree, parallel group to general onomastic material. They are called *literary proper names* or *literary names,* and their theoretical study is *literary onomastics*" (2013, p. 312). Gerus-Tarnawecky further argues that, despite their primary function being stylistic, literary names' individuality "does not prevent a considerable quantity of such names from appearing on both levels in the language system, (e.g. names of historical persons often appear as names of literary characters)" (2013, p. 312). As such, 'Abdelrahman Salahadin' as a meaningful literary name in the uncle's storytelling produces a type of symbolic correspondence to Arab-Islamic history and, to some extent, to mythology as well. Creating such a parallel between the character's name and historically real individuals shows that the uncle is well-educated and a clever storyteller. He not only controls the nature of Abdelrahman Salahadin in his storytelling but also his name.

In the same respect, Abdelrahman Salahadin, the Arab hero in Sirine's uncle's storytelling, can be regarded as a reflection of the co-protagonist Han in the novel in terms of the endeavour to skilfully survive and adapt in a world full of unexpected journeys and traumatic experiences. Given that both of them can be regarded as Middle Eastern displaced figures, the former is situated within a mythical and peculiar world and the latter is located within the context of the USA – in an early twenty-first century socio-cultural realm. In fact, the journey of Han from Iraq to the USA may sound as mythical as Abdelrahman's does. The narrator in *Crescent* depicts Han's escape from Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq as adventurous and Hollywoodish: "through the desert into Jordan […] first in an open Jeep crowded with other refugees, and then on horseback with a group of Bedu, and then finally on foot for two days escaping Saddam's

guards, mercenaries, Kurdish guerrillas" (Abu-Jaber, 2003, p. 160). The uncle puts both figures – Han and Abdelrahman – in parallel in terms of heroism. He says, referring to Han, "he is like a hero. Like Ulysses" (Abu-Jaber, 2003, p. 18). Furthermore, the stages of displacement that Han goes through are, to a remarkable extent, similar to Abdelrahman's wanderings to understand his destiny and purpose in life. The latter, like Han, undergoes an identity crisis when he reaches Hollywood and becomes a famous actor, holding the name of Omar Sharif:

> In his left ear was the soft inhalation and exhalation of the desert and the susurration of the ocean winds. In his right ear was the sharp metallic din of America […] In his right eye there were parties and girls, directors and scripts, money and fast cars. But in his left eye there was a sort of absence, a nothingness, that he couldn't quite identify. (Abu-Jaber, 2003, pp. 366-367)

The experience of Abdelrahman Salahadin might be seen as a reflection of Han's statement that people of his type – those exiled and displaced – "live in between worlds so they're not really anywhere" (Abu-Jaber, 2003, p. 183). The state of in-betweenness, as seen through Han and Abdelrahman's experiences, is symptomatic of the Arab American diasporic condition and reality. For example, in his research on second-generation Palestinian-Americans, Tom Brocket asserts that their life is framed by the sense of in-betweenness. One of his Palestinian-American participants, named Nadia, validates this hypothesis when she expresses her opinion: "when you are in America, you feel like you want to go back – you want to be in Palestine – like you can't relate to everybody, but when you are in Palestine you also can't relate to everybody. So you are stuck in this weird space in-between" (2018, p. 9). The uncle's storytelling and overall plot in *Crescent* as such are interwoven into each other to strategically mirror the life of Arab Americans as lived in reality.

Equally importantly, the uncle's storytelling projects the Orient as exotic and mysterious, full of adventures as described by early Orientalists, especially "Europeans" (Said, 1995). He can be viewed as a person who is well-acquainted with the geography of the Orient and its civilizations – a Historian. He outlines Orientalist image in his storytelling by recounting exotic adventures in the Orient from an instructive standpoint. This, to a great extent, may reflect Edward Said's definition of Orientalism as an academic tradition as well as "an area of concern defined by travellers, commercial enterprises, government, military expeditions, readers of novels and accounts of exotic

adventure, natural historians, and pilgrims to whom the Orient is a specific kind of knowledge about specific places, peoples, and civilizations" (1995, p. 203). For instance, the primary setting of the events in the uncle's storytelling is the Arabian Sahara where Abdelrahman Salahadin and his mother Camille encounter mythical creatures in enchanting places, such as genies and mermaids (Abu-Jaber, 2003, pp. 73-74-101-102-112). Abdelrahman was abducted by a mermaid who "amuses herself by pretending to be a grieving widow in search of her lost husband and luring innocent Bedouins out to the Ocean and other such places where they have no business being" (Abu-Jaber, 2003, p. 206). This Orientalist portrayal of the Arabian Sahara in Abu-Jaber's novel might be relevant to Graham Huggan's concept of "strategic exoticism" (2001). It refers to "the means by which postcolonial writers/thinkers, working from within exoticist codes of representation, either manage to subvert those codes […], or succeed in redeploying them for the purpose of uncovering differential relations of power (2001, p. 32). In this context, it is possible to argue that Abu-Jaber strategically exoticizes the Arab Sahara to shine a light on some themes that confirm her identity as an Arab American writer – this includes marginality, resistance, and authenticity. By this, Abu-Jaber seems to successfully endorse the cultural and historical differences between the Orient and other parts of the world, particularly the Western one, through the Orientalist agenda in her narrator's storytelling. Such an Orientalist agenda is well apparent through introducing the famous *One Thousand and One Nights* which is representative of the Orient and accommodative of exotic imaginations that consequently reflect the discourse of Orientalism. Sirine's uncle, for instance, in his storytelling mentions the British explorer Sir Richard Burton who was amongst the first translators of *One Thousand and One Nights* – its translation pinpoints an introduction of the Orient to the West. Sirine's uncle says: "He had begun his famous, criminal, suggestive, imperial version of Victorian madness dissolved in the sky over the Middle East – his translation of *The Thousand and One Nights*" (Abu-Jaber, 2003, p. 123). This translation can be regarded as a contribution to the creation of a bridge between two distinct cultures: the imperial and the colonized.

The overall structure of *The Thousand and One Nights* relies on the tales that Scheherazade recounts to King Shahriyar to save her life and other virgin women from his vengeance. This happens when the king finds out that his wife is unfaithful. He swears to marry different virgin women every night and kill them before dawn. His

vengeance, however, comes to its end after he marries his vizier's daughter Scheherazade who aims to cleverly change his mind through episodic stories over a course of a thousand and one nights. This collection of interconnected stories was reshaped and retold throughout the medieval Islamic world.

The personification of Scheherazade in Abu-Jaber's novel is apparent through its narrator and storyteller, the uncle, and also through the character of Aunt Camille, the mother of Abdalrahman Salahadin in the uncle's storytelling. This reflects Sabry's statement that "Arab-American women writers and performers revive and re-sound the voice of Scheherazade in myriad tones" (2011, p. 12). For instance, the method that Aunt Camille uses to appeal to the jinn and secure her way to the mother of all fish in her search of her son is similar to the method that Scheherazade uses to save her life from King Shahriyar – the former uses food and the latter uses storytelling. Knowing that the Jinn is hungry, Aunt Camille cooks a delicious dish of eggplant to wittily seduce him to provide her with directions of how to reach the location of her missing son and continue her journey (Abu-Jaber, 2003, pp. 194-195). By this, Diana Abu-Jaber denotes that food is as important as storytelling to the Arab culture. In fact, Aunt Camille can be regarded as a contemporary revival of Scheherazade and a literary device used by Abu-Jaberto resist, subvert, and correct the reductionist Orientalist views towards women in the Orient, the Arab world particularly, and stereotypical depiction of them as helpless and oppressed. This particular character is a reflection of women figures in *The Thousand and One Nights* who, as Somaya Sami Sabry argues, "were not helpless victims of their circumstances, but were rather active participants in the unfolding of events around them" (2011, p. 10). In this context, Sabry further argues that storytelling, or Shahrazadian narrative, in Arab American contemporary literature "becomes a narrative of resistance to persistent Orientalist representations which portray these women as silent, oppressed or exotic sexual objects of desire. This resistance is also cultural, since it questions representations of their culture as temporally static" (2011, p. 12). In this context, Abu-Jaber herself comments on the necessity of examining and subverting Orientalist stereotypes. She says: "I push on stereotypes. I will deliberately press on those long-held clichés as a way of testing them" (Field, 2011, p. 211). Both the uncle's storytelling and Aunt Camille's astuteness, as such, refashion the tradition of *The Thousand and One Nights.* In other words, through these Sheherazadian narratives, Abu-

Jaber re-appropriates the storytelling's empowered status in Arab culture as well as politicizes its image in the mind of her readers.

In addition, the uncle's implementation of Oriental and exotic elements within his storytelling as well as historical information about the Orient ascribes to him the trait of an "Orientalist translator", as Edward Said puts it. In other words, he positions himself as an agent who introduces the Orient to the West better than Western Orientalists *per se* because he is equipped with his oriental Arab-Iraqi origin. Even though he is based in the USA, the uncle can critically be regarded on this basis as a typical Orientalist translator who remains outside the Orient and portrays it from a distance – in the US diaspora. In this context, Edward Said states:

> The relation between the Orientalist and the Orient was essentially hermeneutical: standing before a distant, barely intelligible civilization or cultural monument, the Orientalist scholar reduced the obscurity by translating, sympathetically portraying, inwardly grasping the hard-to-reach object. Yet the Orientalist remained outside the Orient, which, however much was made to appear intelligible, remained beyond the Occident. (1978, p. 222)

The uncle, in this case, can be seen as reflection of early Arab American writers such as Ameen Rihani and Khalil Gibran whose knowledge of the Orient was remarkable. Their attempt to replace the Orientalist as interpreter or translator of the Orient, as Wail Hassan argues, "was a way of claiming cultural space and voice, countering the negativity associated with the Orient, and mediating between it and the West for the sake of greater cross-cultural understanding" (2013, pp. 43-44). Such cross-cultural understanding in Abu-Jaber's novel is reflected in the connection that occurs between the uncle's storytelling and his audience of different cultural backgrounds.

The process of translating the Orient, and Arab culture in particular, can be supported by the issue of the 'evil eye' in the novel. As is traditionally known, it taints beautiful things and has supernatural and spiritual connotations. It is arguably an old part of the Arab culture and belief related to spirituality and metaphysics. The evil eye, as Arab Bedouins say, "can bring a man to his grave, and a camel to a cooking pot" (Abu-Rabia, 2005, p.241). It, in fact, has an impact on Diana Abu-Jaber herself. Given that she comes from an Arab family of Bedouin origin, she states that it is something unexplainable: "the evil eye has always been a part of my life, in a way. There is a danger

in the world that can't always be explained. There's almost a kind of magical element to it; it inserts itself from the cosmos maybe" (Field, 2006, p. 218). The narrator in *Crescent* refers to this kind of belief when a bird flies into a butcher shop to which Sirine and Aziz go to buy a piece of meat for Um-Nadia. When this happens all the clients rush to leave the shop because they think it is a sign of a 'bad omen' – an evil eye. Odah, the owner of the shop, stressfully comments that ""something or someone –" he eyes Aziz – "has allowed the Evil Eye to enter my shop. Everything is tainted"" (Abu-Jaber, 2003, p. 170). It also appears in the novel when Aziz, an Arab poet and a teacher of poetry, brings a lamb pie – bought from the same butcher where the evil eye first appeared – to the Thanksgiving celebration (Abu-Jaber, 2003, p.217). And since then, the events in the story escalated into problematic scenes, such as the breakup of the relationship between Han and Sirine, the loss of Han's sister's scarf, and Han's decision to go back to Iraq – where he could be severely persecuted.

Equally important, Diana Abu-Jaber employs the uncle's storytelling as intervals in her novel – an episodic storytelling style by which the uncle continues his stories at the beginning of every chapter. Abu-Jaber makes the readers delve into two different-but-related stories under one form of literary creation – a novel. Both the uncle's oral storytelling and *Crescent*'s novelistic narratives are complementary and echo each other. This projects a complex union between orality and writing. This hybrid formation may be regarded as a strategy to supplement the reader with various imaginations and dynamic interpretations of the plot and events. This supports the idea that "a hybrid text has spaces within it to be filled in a process of dynamic supplementation and it opens up spaces within the reader" (Hayward, 2015, p. 321). Abu-Jaber mixes the narratives of her novel between the Scheherazadian orality and the Western form of the fictional text – a novel. She transits between the classic narration of oral Arabic tradition and modern Western fiction. She puts herself in parallel with the famous Egyptian writer Naguib Mahfouz whose style, according to Han in his lecture on Arab literature, "is very Western, very accessible to American readers […] his writing has reflected the social spectrum of his country – he's been part of creating an existing new national identity" (Abu-Jaber, 2003, p. 108). This applies to Diana's attempts to introduce, through her writings, Arab culture and society on the one hand and the lives of Arab American diasporic figures in the USA on the other.

Diana Abu-Jaber in this regard follows in the steps of the early Arab immigrant intellectuals who conveyed the idea that East and West complete each other. This is apparent in *Crescent* where the Western form of narrative (novelistic) contributes to the makeup of the Arab tradition of narration (storytelling) and vice versa. She seems to confirm Abraham Rihbany's assertion that "the world needs a characteristic Oriental civilization as it needs a characteristic Occidental civilization" (1922, p. 159). In other words, Abu-Jaber's use of both genres – folkloric and novelistic – can be viewed as, borrowing Wail Hassan's words, a "sort of metaphysical equilibrium and reciprocity: East and West complement, need, and have something to teach each other" (2015, p.45). This process may also evoke what Geoffrey Nash terms 'Anglo-Arab encounter' (2007). Such an encounter is evident through the use of both storytelling as a traditional Arab narration and the Western novel as a modern form of literary production which might signal the intersection of Diana Abu-Jaber's identities. She strategically employs two signifiers of different artistic productions to champion her hybrid form of identity that brings together her Arab-Jordanian roots and American affiliation. This discrepancy between cultures on the basis of artistic productions is further expressed by Han in his conversation with Sirine about her uncle's storytelling. Han asserts that narrating fables and jokes are a means of communication and one of the aspects that differentiates American culture from Iraqi one: "In Iraq, everyone tells jokes and fables. It's too difficult to say anything directly […] In America, you say 'secret code,' but in Iraq, that's just the way things are" (Abu-Jaber, 2003, p. 52).

The use of the storytelling tradition in Diana Abu-Jaber's novel adds more traits and features to Arab American fiction, or in other words, it changes the outlook of Arab American writers in the contemporary era through recasting such old conventional methods of narration. The significance of this collection of stories, as manifested in the novel by the uncle, can be little more than a footnote or anecdote. It can rather be seen as a map or manner of instruction for both the readers, as explained before, and the characters. In this context, Abu-Jaber comments on the essential purpose behind implementing the tradition of storytelling in her novel:

> I wanted it to function as a kind of looking glass for the characters, that would in some way reflect upon the motifs of their reality in an indirect way. I feel that fables have a way of digging deeper; they cut to these verities that are very powerful. For the characters in *Crescent*, the story of Abdelrahman Salahadin is meant to be a kind of code. If they'd just

> pay attention to the story, it would help them; it gives them a kind of treasure map. (Field, 2006, p. 221)

The art of storytelling furthermore positions *Crescent* beyond its boundaries and transforms the act of reading, borrowing Madhu Krishnan's words, "from a detached and individualistic mode of communication into a collective encounter with cultural history articulated in the shifting, communal, and multifunctional idiom of orality" (2014, p. 30). For instance, in his Arab literature class that he monitors, Han draws attention to a question: What does it mean to call oneself an 'Egyptian writer' or even a 'Middle Eastern writer' anymore? He continues to explain that "the media is saturated with the imagery of the West. Is it even possible – or desirable – to have an identity apart from this?" (Abu-Jaber, 2003, p. 110). Han's question can be applicable to Diana Abu-Jaber in terms of how she can call herself an Arab American writer, or at least, to be perceived as one. One possible answer to this is that her Arab-Americanness is negotiated through the way she implements the art of storytelling in her novel. Somaya Sami Sabry, for instance, in the context of analysing Arab American women's writing, states that storytelling and orality "are central because they become the means through which our identities and affiliations are framed, defining how we are known and how we know ourselves" (2011, p. 5).

Remarkably, the use of storytelling in this way is not unique or even new – other prominent Arab Anglophone writers such as Fadia Faqir and Rabih Alameddine[2] implement the art of storytelling in their narratives for many reasons, but mainly to project a hybrid identity of their own. The former, for instance, claims that one of the essential purposes behind writing up her novel *Pillars of Salt* (1996) was to offer a new vision to English literature, and introduce it as hybrid, by Arabizing it through the insertion of Arabic folkloric tradition of storytelling. In this context, in an interview with Lyndsey Moore, Faqir says:

> One of the things I wanted to do with *Pillars* was to push the narrative and the English as far as possible, to Arabize it […] to create […] a hybrid English. Therefore I used the oral tradition and the Qur'an and the *Arabian Nights* in the storyteller's section. An injection of Arab sensibility, if you like. (2011, p. 7)

[2] One of his works that perpetuates the art of storytelling is *The Hakawati*. Alameddine, R. (2008). *The Hakawati.* Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

What Faqir may refer to in this passage is that storytelling is an act of postcolonial resistance and personal cultural triumph. In other words, in employing the Arab tradition of orality in their writings, both Diana Abu-Jaber and Fadia Faqir emphasize their racial origin, cultural affiliation, and ethnic identity – in this case, an Arab. This, in effect, decolonizes their literature.

The practice of orality in a written context, like the case of *Crescent*, functions systematically to delineate the hybridity of the text which leads to a conclusion that "orality is not merely the antithesis of writing, and that both modes of communication are entwined rather than separate" (Gibert, 2016, p. 2). In other words, Abu-Jaber's novel can be regarded as an example of written orality that sets up a constant dialogue between textual and oral traditions. Such constant dialogue is a type of deliberate narrative technique that has an impact upon the reader in that it promotes more active engagement with the text.

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TRAUMAS OF ROOTS AND EXTINCTION IN THE 20TH CENTURY LITERATURE OF EMPIRE: THE MIRROR PRINCIPLE IN MARGUERITE DURAS' *INDIA CYCLE* (1964-71) AND AHMED ALI'S *TWILIGHT IN DELHI* (1940)

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Abstract

This article comparatively analyses Marguerite Duras' *India Cycle* and Ahmed Ali's *Twilight in Delhi*. A Mirror Principle centres on 'emptiness', synthesising elements of Marxism and Buddhism. A new optic is created for understanding 1930s Indian nationalism, including Dalit and national leader Ambedkar, Tagorian "composite culture", Mohammed Iqbal, and Islam and gender in northern India. The Mirror Principle juxtaposes Heideggerian 'repetition' and Marxian 'dialectics' as divergent anti-colonial paths. Duras and Ali are linked by a common Proustian problematic of memory and ephemerality. They revolutionize the Proustian tradition to create a new literary genre in oneiric socialism. The article analyses trauma, in the French Resistance and the 1857 rebellion, and literary reconstructions of traditional roots in their wake, with differing nation-making ramifications.

Keywords: Marguerite Duras, Ahmed Ali, Indian nationalism, Islam, Marxism, Heideggerianism, Buddhism, Ambedkar, Tagore, French Resistance, colonialism, Proust

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Indian Nationalism meets the French Resistance

Marguerite Duras' (1914-1996) *India Cycle* comprises three novels, *Le Ravissement de Lol V. Stein* (1964), *Le Vice-Consul* (1966), and *L'Amour* (1971). Across the world, characters recur, emanating from the founding event opening *Ravissement* (alternately "abduction" and "holy rapture", a double meaning). At a French seaside ball, Michael Richardson publicly abandons his fiancée Lol, a nineteen-year-old bourgeois, for Anne-Marie Stretter, the wife of the French Ambassador to India. This scene of banality has the strangeness of an alien abduction. Traumatized, Lol later marries an airplane factory owner, John Bedford, to forget. After ten years of obsessive compulsive disorder, Lol starts a secret life of voyeurism. The narrator, Doctor Jacques Hold, sees an elevating emptiness: "She seemed to expect nothing. She became a desert. A nomad. Homeless. She silently listens" (Duras, 1964, pp. 24-25). Lol's voyeurism reflects the social relations of a one-way mirror. God watches without being watched. Duras' aesthetic of ubiquitous spying echoes her experience under Nazi occupation. It similarly echoes the Vietnamese plight of 1931, with thousands of ICP members incarcerated following the Nghe An peasant insurrection, when seventeen year old Duras left Vietnam for France for the first time.

A Mirror Principle links *Cycle* to Ahmed Ali's (1910-1994) *Twilight in Delhi* (1940) through 'emptiness'. Elites confront a future which has ceased to exist. In *Cycle*, the European colonial elite in 1930s British India revel on the eve of imperial collapse. *Twilight* traces the surviving vestiges of a Delhi Muslim feudal elite, from the 1911 Coronation to the outbreak of World War I. Their cultural existence fades in the bloody aftermath of the 1857 Uprising and the destruction of the Mughal Empire. The Mughal dynasty have become beggars:

> A beggar emerged from a by-lane, lifting himself up on his hands and dragging his legs along the floor … There was a look of nobility on his bearded face, and his features unmistakably proclaimed that he was a descendent of Changez. … Time has upturned the glass (Ali, 2010, pp. 149-150)

Every ruling elite in world history, seeking its own image, eventually encounters only a mirror of nothingness. "Nothingness" is the first Mirror Principle. Ali juxtaposes the post-1857 decline of the Mughal lifeworld with a premonition of imminent Raj collapse. His text thus accompanies Duras'. The "eventful year" of the 1911 Coronation marked "the height of British splendour in India", but from then "its downfall began"

(Ali, 2010, p. 44). *Twilight* recounts: "night came striding fast, bringing silence in its train, and covered up the empires of the world in its blanket of darkness and gloom" (Ali, 2010, p. 275). This echoes Karl Marx: "entire sections of the ruling classes are, by the advance of industry, precipitated into the proletariat, or are at least threatened in their conditions of existence" (Marx, 2009, p. 33). "Night" implies natural forces beyond the structural transformations marking regimes of capitalism. This 'extinction' theme similarly pervades *Cycle*. Images of destructive ocean tides, dating from *The Sea Wall* (1950), reoccur menacingly.

Nothingness corresponds to irreversible World War II destruction. *Twilight* was deemed subversive by Empire. Ali recalls:

> I received a letter from the Publishers one morning … regretting that the printers found some portions of the book 'subversive' … [These included] historical portions dealing with the War of Independence of 1857 … [The] prospects of publication became as bleak as the wartime blackout … most of its stock was destroyed in the Blitz… (Ali, 2010, pp. xvii-xviii).

This literary bombshell was among the first English language novels by an Indian Muslim. *Twilight* anticipates *Cycle*: the presence/absence dialectic, hidden linkages, polyphonic deconstruction of narrative omniscience, and socially transmitted memory in crisis. The patriarch Mir Nihal, while mourning the death of his secret concubine Babban Jaan from typhoid, provides the rule of interpretation:

> This world is a house of many mirrors. Wherever you turn, you see your own images in the glass. They multiply and become innumerable until you begin to feel frightened of your own self (Ali, 2010, p. 118).

The second Mirror Principle is identity. The "world-house" suggests universal identity in existential dislocation. Similarly, in *Lol*, Jacques Hold invokes a "mirror of nothingness" to describe the triangle uniting himself, Lol, and Tatiana. Lol lies in a rye field observing them through a hotel window in the throes of love making:

> The three of us must have been there already for over one hour, as she watched us coming and going within the frame of the window, this mirror of nothingness before which she sumptuously felt her desired exile (Duras, 1964, p. 124).

Lucy Stone Mcneece's *Art and Politics in Duras' India Cycle* describes *Cycle* as analysing declining 1930s colonial structures (Mcneece, 1996). Sirkka Knuuttila

identifies trauma as driving *Cycle* (Knuuttila, 2011). Neither saga nor series, Florence de Chalonge argues, *Cycle* spirals recurrently around 'emptiness' (Chalonge, 2005). Rodolphe Kobuszewski sees Durasian themes (violence, pain and madness) indicating not pessimism but happiness in the 'non-self' (Kobuszewski, 2004). 'Emptiness' and 'non-self' equally characterize *Twilight*. The Mirror Principle undoes selfhood boundaries. Mir Nihal would protect family "purity". Losing control over family affairs with age, and facing imminent death, he becomes indifferent:

> It mattered little whether Asghar married a low-born or a girl with blue blood in her veins. He would not be in [the world] anyway. He had lived his life, good or bad, done all he could for the children and the purity of his stock. Now it was their lookout whether they flourished or decayed (Ali, 2010, p.119).

Breaking caste laws, modernism is change and transgression. Aligarh Muslim University (founded 1920) wants to "make atheists of us all", he tells his sons (Ali, 2010, p. 50). The Mirror Principle deconstructs "purity" in a Buddhist view of non-identity: "There is no term in Buddhist terminology wider than *dhamma* … 'All *dhammas* are without Self'" (Rahula, p. 58). It is equally a Marxist view, where, upon removing all social relations, nothing remains: "All that is solid melts into air" (Marx, 2009, p. 25). The French Resistance meets post-1920 Indian nationalism in dialectical thought. Both Ali and Duras struggled with the 20th century Left. Ali's 1932 *Angaaray* Collective included Communist Party activists. Yet Ali left the Left-oriented All-India Progressive Writers' Association (founded 1935) because of "differences over the meaning of 'progressive'" (Ali, 2018, p. xxxiii):

> […] a rift started [over] a disagreement on the function of art and the artist in society. [Ali], unwilling to define the word progressive as 'communist,' 'proletarian,' or 'socialist realist,' went his own way. But he viewed the term as a mean trying for the betterment of our social life (Kumar, p. 57).

Duras similarly mistrusted the top-down Resistance-era *Parti Communiste Français* (PCF):

> For her, little distinguished Stalinian and Nazi power, while loving the fraternity provided by the PCF. Yet she chafed against doctrinal conformism … Duras believed literature a sacred space that ideology should not penetrate (Vircondelet, p. 54).

The texts concern breaking free from cycles of abuse triggered by trauma. "Repetition" is the Kierkegaardian opposite to "dialectical" resolution. A Marxist vision of the triangular relations of exploitation, alienation, and exchange combines with an ontological concern with repetition and transgression for the stability of the social self.

The third Mirror Principle is empathy. *Cycle* depicts children undermining established racial dividing practices that protect colonial order (Duras, 1966, p. 56). Characters in *Twilight* discover and lose themselves in others. Empathetic flashes are socially revolutionary. To Mir Nihal, "it seemed that it was not the child but he himself who was crying" (Ali, 2010, p. 118). Asghar and Hameed love lower caste girls, pursuing self-destruction of caste identity against family and community wishes. A goat becomes a displaced object of sexual desire ("she would begin to caress the goat, then she would throw a glance at him"), collapsing human-animal identity boundaries. The fourth Mirror Principle is Memory. Memory triggers Asghar's association of an attractive "Chamar" girl (i.e. "Untouchable") with his childhood house in a cemetery, where his mother went insane, suggesting erotism conditioned by forgotten trauma (Ali, 2010, pp. 52-53).

The mirror moments – nothingness, identity, empathy and memory - trigger disorder. Asghar's mother urges: "Not so much should one go beyond his limit" (Ali, 2010, p. 56). There is a cultural Mirror Principle: the snake reflects ruptured social norms, of a son to secure the family name, of arranged child marriages, of obsessive caste boundaries ("We and they can't mix well") (Ali, 2010, pp. 57-59). No snake appears in the Qur'anic Eden. The Pharaoh's snake hallucination is eaten by Moses' staff become a real snake (Amir-Moezzi, p. 509). The snake in *Twilight* likely mirrors the Hindu snake-rope conundrum: "Something like a black rope creeps behind a wooden pigeon box. 'It's a snake. Bring my stick, Dilchain…" (Ali, 2010, p. 11). The Advaita analogy explains *turiyam* (absolute reality) and *viswa* (worldly experience), attesting to Buddhist influence:

> The first non-Buddhist occurrence of the [snake-rope] analogy is present in Gaudapāda's *Māndūkyakārikā* … This fact supports the hypothesis of Buddhist influence on the Advaita school. … the analogy gained widespread popularity in Hindu philosophical texts as an expression of the misperceived metaphysical reality (Aklan, p. 20).

Just as in the *Mahabharata*, the "snake is struck with a stick" to suppress uncontrolled lust and to punish the rapist (The Mahabharata, p. 266). The servant Dilchain was the likely victim (Ali, 2010, p. 45). This perhaps explains Dilchain appearing intoxicated, mad, crossing boundaries, laughing, and crying, i.e. traumatized, when beyond her master's sight (Ali, 2010, p. 157).

Ali's publications sought "reform":

> […] it made us famous overnight, the government banned the book as subversive, and our names were listed in the Intelligence Bureau as communists … The mirror had warped our own image in reverse. The social order we had set out to reform, pronounced us West-Stricken devils! (Ali, 2010, p. 14).

Ali's term "West-stricken" reveals disdain for allegations of cultural inauthenticity. He upheld Indian "composite culture". Dilchain is a Hindu convert to Islam (Ali, 2010, p. 266). *Twilight* recurrently invokes "composite culture": "Though Islam permitted [Begam Waheed] to marry again, the social code, derived mostly from prevailing Hindu practice, did not favour a second marriage" (Ali, 2010, p. 36). Duras, too, celebrates "composite culture" through the Beggar of Bengal. A pregnant teenager, exiled from community, she walks several thousand miles from Cambodia to Calcutta seeking work, embodying India's internal mass labour migration. Driven by survival pressures, a multi-cultural universe of rich languages and customs simultaneously partakes of and is excluded from Indian national belonging. The Beggar must sell her baby before it starves or is eaten: "I would run away and leave her here to sleep … but the dogs will come at the end of the market" (Duras, 1966, pp. 52-53). Her story mirrors the grinding poverty of those selling themselves at any price, or global capitalism. The Mirror Principle reflects the geography of power.

From stolen lilacs in a French garden to the padlocked grating of an impeccably ordered Calcutta enclosure, inclusion and exclusion express capitalist power. *Vice-Consul* describes a "small house in Paris considered a mansion, surrounded by a garden, [which] has been closed up for years on end because its owner is in the consulate, this time in India: the police know who to warn in case of a fire" (Duras, 1966, pp. 33-34). The image of fire suggests the anger of the excluded. The iconic Beggar selling her baby in the open market suggests India forced to yield its future:

> This beautiful child is free to anybody who wants her … look at my foot and you will understand why' … inside, worms turn unceasingly … She has no idea how much her foot stinks (Duras, 1966, p. 54).

The visceral depiction affirms Marx's account: "the worker sinks to the level of a commodity, and moreover the most wretched commodity of all" (Marx, 1984, p. 322). Land and labour reduce nature and human beings to commodities. The Beggar reflects a backdrop of manmade famines, a chain of crises created and exacerbated by colonial policy and culminating in the 1943 Bengal famine (estimated 2.1-3 million dead). The body horror scenes contrast with French colonial elites residing within a bubble, disturbed less by famine than by one colleague (the Vice-Consul) losing self-control and revealing the violent undercurrents puncturing their perfect world: "we are far more disoriented by the Vice-Consul than by the famine that is currently taking its toll on the Malabar coast" (Duras, 1966, p 157). The European compound is encircled by "metal fencing against sharks", and "metal fencing against beggars". One newly arrived colonial official naively ventures "outside" (Duras, 1966, pp. 101-102). Terrorized, he shows the stomach to rule has gone. In their ghost world, time is running out.

Twilight depicts Delhi where "the minarets point to heaven, indicating, as it were, that God is all-high and one." This hesitant monotheism introduces a multi-cultural city "built after the great battle of Mahabharat", mixing Hindu and Muslim kings, where "[d]estruction is in its foundations". Delhi has "now been ruined by the hand of Time" (Ali, 2010, pp. 4-5). This all-destructive force (i.e. "night") reoccurs: "What is the shadow hidden in the light which accompanies Anne Marie Stretter wherever she appears?" (Duras, 1966, p. 109). The shadow metaphor indicates an expiring social formation. A feudal patriarch adapts to capitalist conditions:

> [Mir Nihal] flew his pigeons in the morning, then went out to work. He had a share in a shop of lace dealers. He had some property, no doubt, a bit of land in a village nearby and some houses in Delhi; but his growing family … had necessitated some kind of business to increase his income. He was an aristocrat in his habits, no doubt, a typical feudal gentleman (Ali, 2010, p. 38).

Despite hating Empire, Mir Nihal's sons – upon whom he depends - extract wealth from it. Hence, "the shadows deepened and gradually the darkness increased around them." A family of collaborators, his youngest son, Asghar, rejects government

service, preferring the upward mobility of business (Ali, 2010, p. 185). The recurrent dried husk of a dead date palm tree (a Qur'anic image) symbolizes hopelessness. The sons bear their father's name while betraying his 'outmoded' principles, suggesting his extinction. The natural environment declines simultaneously:

> The sun was setting and the western horizon was dyed a dirty red for the atmosphere was not clear and the dust and the smoke of engines far away had made the air dirty and black. Flocks of pigeons rose from the house tops and were lost in the toneless colours of the darkening sky (Ali, 2010, p. 30).

The sons like English shoes and furniture. Certain traditional customs persist: "The girls were never consented about their own marriages". The birth of a girl means disappointment (Ali, 2010, p. 187, 190). Even so, traditional Islamic customs are marginalized by imposed celebrations of Empire:

> [Mir Nihal's son Asghar's marriage] had originally been fixed for the month of Eed, but had to be postponed till December as Mir Nihal's elder sons could not get long leave. They were busy making preparations for the coronation of George V, which was to take place in December, and they had to send things and men for the event from their various districts to Delhi (Ali, 2010, p. 128).

Fatima Mernissi wrote: "The most horrible colonization is that which instils itself in your time, for there the wounds are to your dignity, and the resulting confusion borders on the pathological" (Mernissi, p. 141). Sugata Bose sees the "enigma of feeling in time [as] neither sufficiently theorized nor historicized" (Bose, p. 132). These texts suggest Wittgensteinian time: "if everything that we call 'being' and 'non-being' consists in the existence and non-existence of connections between elements, it makes no sense to speak of an element's being (non-being)" (Wittgenstein, p. 21).

The Critical Literature: Mirror Principle as Repetition

Alex Padamsee innovatively locates *Twilight* "within an evolving Urdu literary modernity since the late nineteenth century" (Padamsee, p. 30). His analysis identifies a mirror principle manifested in repetition:

> If there is a victor here … it is not so much modernity as the very principle of repetition, [amounting] to a narrative aesthetic … By literally turning the plot into a 'house of many mirrors', estranging one experience in the reflection of another, Ali not only subverts the teleology of originality and decline, he

> questions the notion of a communal self that can be fully known to itself (Padamsee, p. 38).

Padamsee identifies parallels between characters who, superficially, might be antithetical. He questions the:

> opposition between the originally coherent and static traditional model of Mir Nihal and the insistent and increasing Englishness of his son, Asghar. Mir Nihal himself represents the aspect of change he so deplores in his son. Ali chooses clothing to first delineate parallels rather than oppositions between them, illustrating the importance it had for conscious communal self-fashioning in the wider nation in the early twentieth century (Padamsee, p. 37).

Identity comes from a fashion industry. Difference conceals a hidden material unity. Mir Nihal wears an "embroidered round cap" at "rakish angle"; Asghar wears the "red Turkish cap cocked at a smart angle" (of the Caliphate movement) (Ali, 2010, pp. 9, 12). These existential modes (nature or nurture?) constitute "repetition". Power abuse occurs in generational repetitions:

> The story that follows of Asghar's courtship and marriage presents striking parallels with that of his parents. Where Mir Nihal's neglect and abandonment had made Asghar's mother mentally ill, we witness Asghar's wife Bilqeece succumb to a mentally debilitating condition brought on by the same treatment by her husband (Padamsee, p. 37).

Despite repetition, paradoxically, nothing returns to an original order. Chalonge has summarized *Cycle* similarly: "the anticipated closure or happy ending, as the return to an initial order, does not occur in *Ravissement*" (Chalonge, p. 241). No dialectical resolution produces comfortable closure. Lol's rupture with her fiancée, and subsequent mental breakdown, produces no new couple with Jacques Hold (as he conventionally desires). The structure is circular, but Lol is whirlpool rather than resolution: a "Night", a "black emptiness", or "never ending space" (Duras, 1964, pp 112-116). Her voyeurism undermines a delicately balanced hospital power system. The head doctor's wife, Tatiana, has required the junior doctor Hold to keep their perfect marriage (and the hospital) functional. It is the "absence" in Lol which "interests Jacques Hold" (Duras, 1964, pp.155-156), like the impulse to jump from a ledge.

Chalonge observes that Lol and the Beggar remain haunted by memory (each for ten years) but without making whole what was broken. Their madness distantly mirrors the other. The exhaustion of wandering results in the Beggar's hallucination:

> She had already waited at the end of markets. Today, she saw what she had waited to see: her parents' arrival at the base of the square. Unable to withstand their gaze, she respectfully prostrates herself. Upon rising from the ground, she sees her mother, at the opposite end of the market, smiling at her … The Beggar falls asleep. When she awakens, a dazzling light fills the empty square where the market has vanished. (Duras, 1966, p. 27)

The Beggar never returns: "I will escape from my habit of following the waterline", she says. She becomes "irreversibly lost", resolving to go "where God passes for something better" (Duras, 1966, pp. 12, 16). This rejection of accumulated value, or 'emptiness', mirrors Lol's identical obsession. Lol is a "hurricane of the night", "driving all habit from their lives" (Duras, 1964, p. 135). At the "Plain of Birds", transposed to the colonial settlement where her baby is finally exchanged for a coin, the Beggar abandons security for the open road:

> The young girl has reached the Plain of Birds … She will also abandon the Plain of Birds … Her periodic pauses assure her survival, with men, on the edges of villages… (Duras, 1966, p. 59).

Duras was an anarchist. Why change things into something else? Emancipation is unbridled becoming. Padamsee's analysis of *Twilight* – that it "subverts the teleology of originality and decline, [while questioning] the notion of a communal self that can be fully known to itself" – applies equally to *Cycle*. No ending meets a beginning in harmony, as in Hegel's *Phenomenology of the Spirit*. How is pure irreversibility political? Overcoming "modernity" through "repetition" as an "aesthetic" recalls Antonin Artaud's anarchic "plague". Its proliferation disintegrates normal order, its multiplying selves transcend reason (Artaud, pp. 15-16). Heideggerian "repetition" indicates more "authentic" temporality than "objective" history, a "reverence for the sole authority that a free existence can have" (Heidegger, pp. 353,357). Both anarchist and reactionary embrace Nietzschean anti-epistemology.

Defending Islamism, Talal Asad theorized "complex space": the "tradition-rooted practice required to complete and perfect [oneself]" is incommensurable with modern

"homogenous time" (i.e. secularism) (Asad, p. 179). Padamsee similarly sees Ali's "time as a matter of multiple transitions or 'passing'", as "[challenging] the linearity of an Enlightenment narrative of modernity" (Padamsee, p. 35). These 'repetition' variants derive from Nietzschean "Eternal Return", a "world affirming" perspective "[wanting] to have *what was* and *is* repeated into all eternity" (Nietzsche, 1989, p. 68). Eternal Return bolsters existing injustice: "life itself is essentially appropriation, injury, overpowering of what is alien and weaker … at least, at its mildest, exploitation" (p.203). It sees "dialectics is a case of decadence". Against "equal rights", Nietzscheanism sees not "consequences", but "an instinct for cleanliness" (Nietzsche, 1992, pp. 9, 82, 14-18). Marxian universalism, by contrast, emphasises contradictions and consequences. In Marx's concern for the millions who earn little, and remain one illness away from losing their homes, their families, and their lives, epistemology underpins a practice for reordering the world. In *Cycle* and *Twilight*, is the Mirror Principle a rejection of epistemology?

The Enlightenment Horizon: Mirror Principle as Activism

This is unlikely. True, Duras and Ali rejected socialist realism, therefore rejecting "fixing time within a single trajectory" (Padamsee, p. 35). *Twilight* and *Cycle*, however, partake of the oneiric socialism of Mac Orlan's 1927 *Le Quai des Brumes* (*Port of Shadows*). Michel Kraus is a "police painter" who sees "things hidden behind things". He says, "I would see a crime in a rose" (Orlan, p. 40). Exchange value, a universal identity in global capitalism, is tainted by hidden violence. As technology changes, exchange modes change, while the predatory logic of capitalism persists.

Ali embraced equality, revealing convictions about "linear" (i.e. "dialectical") historical change. His 1932 publication of *Angaaray* ('burning coals' in Urdu), with a collective, was called "piety destroying" by orthodox north Indian Muslims (Ali, 2018, p. vii). Fatwas incited execution, while gynaecologist Rashid Jahan (the only woman) was threatened with an acid attack. *Angaaray* was banned in 1933, citing protection of the "religious feeling of any class of His Majesty's subjects" (Ali, 2018, p. ix). Ali's "The Clouds Aren't Coming" critiqued gender oppression:

> Don't tell me that God is a collection of merciful actions … what kind of wretched existence is life as a woman: worse than being a tick. She works, she labours, sewing clothes, cooking meals, from morning till night … she has the privilege of producing children. Whether she wants to or not, when her husband wants to, he

> just grabs her by the hand and drags her … May he die an early death … Why are we powerless? If we had our own money, we wouldn't have to endure this humiliation. We could do whatever we wanted whenever we wanted (Ali, 2018, pp. 81-83).

This "dialectically" identifies structures of gender oppression, then projects their negation through power redistribution. Ali recalls:

> A few of us, filled with dreams of freedom and independence, made bold to publish in 1932 a collection of our short stories … to show a mirror to society (Ali, 2010, p. XIV).

The Mirror Principle was, then, a device for social reconstruction. Nothingness, identity, empathy, memory, and geography were incidental to this teleological purpose. Teleology is epistemological: we have to move forward to learn cause-consequence lessons. Legally instituted gender equality overcomes the "repetition" of tradition. The *Angaaray* manifesto described the:

> duty of Indian writers [as assisting] the spirit of progress in the country by introducing scientific rationalism in literature … [It must deal with] … problems of poverty, social backwardness and political subjugation. All that arouses in us the critical spirit, which examines customs and institutions in the light of reason, which helps us to act, to organize ourselves, to transform, we accept as progressive (Ali, 2018, pp. x-xi).

Progressive temporality is not "repetition". Ali questions the very concept (rather than the existence) of God: "What bad fortune to have been born into a Muslim family. Let this religion burn! … Comfort for the soul? It's only a comfort for men. What good is it to a woman?" (Ali, 2018, p. 84). However shocking, Ali was no atheist. In 1988, his esteemed if controversial *Al-Qur'an. A Contemporary Translation* was a landmark (Robinson, p. 73). Ali saw God mediated through power relations. *Angaaray* progressively broached marital rape, birth control, education, and women's right to work, following the radical Enlightenment tradition of building new egalitarian social orders. In *Cycle* and *Twilight*, women's bodies perpetuate property and the male line – in bourgeois 1930s France and the Raj.

The Mirror Principle critiques violence. Anne Marie Stretter is the Vice-Consul's double. The Vice-Consul shoots a revolver randomly "at night upon the Gardens of

Shalimar where lepers and dogs had taken refuge". This murder is a mirror moment. Someone notes: "bullets were also found in the mirror inside his residence" (Duras, 1966, p. 95). Killing others was killing himself. If Stretter represents "perfection" concealing ugly colonial realities, the Vice-Consul exposes those realities. Stretter therefore urges that unless the Vice-Consul is "forgotten", it is "impossible to recognize her" (Duras, 1966, pp. 137-138). This reflects an ethical interrogation. Someone asks: "Is this really killing to kill lepers or dogs?" (Duras, 1966, p. 95).

These texts therefore transcend a "narrative aesthetic" (Padamsee) or "repetitive character" (Chalonge, p. 252). An ethical question in the Utilitarian tradition addresses the limits of a *circle of moral consideration* in self-other relations. Power unconsciously constructs conventional limits through 'repetition'. When is killing right or wrong? How to decide who falls inside or outside of a shifting – and historically arbitrary - conceptual boundary? This is neither the Hegelian "absolute" nor Engels' Dialectical Materialism (i.e. "a single trajectory"). Existing Soviet socialism ignored the communicative principle, citing "inevitability". Authoritarian epistemology corresponded to political violence: 1930s show trials and purges, enforced collectivization and labour camps. Duras and Ali shared the Enlightenment outlook of Gaston Bachelard, of "keeping the dialectic open" (Bachelard, p. 24).

Twilight and *Cycle* depict women as oppressed worldwide. An unspoken act of male violence likely resulted in the tragic pregnancy that shattered the family in *Twilight*. The brother and sister recall their childhood, isolated in a deserted house with their mentally ill mother, surrounded by graves, while carefully refraining from uttering the memory:

> 'Mother had lost her reason … she would tear her clothes and wander about the house … 'You were too small to remember it. Mother's illness started when Dilchain [the servant] had a son who died later…' 'Oh, yes I have heard that father and Dilchain….' Asghar put in, but Begam Waheed quickly hushed him into silence… (Ali, 2010, p. 47)

> *Twilight* shows women buried alive through the Zenana system:
> Walls stood surrounding them on all sides, shutting the women in from the prying eyes of men, guarding their beauty and virtue with the millions of their bricks … The day dawned, the evening came, and life passed them by (Ali, 2010, p. 39).

'Repetitions' refer to the traumas that triggered them. They provoke the quest for what Sugata Bose has called "a different universalism", rejecting Eurocentric universalism tainted by imperialism. Involving "human agency, imagination and action", a rational quest involves changing people's views (Bose, pp. 233, 268, 4). Duras' first 1940 publication supported Empire (Vircondelet, p. 38). Family milieu, upbringing, and traumatic abandonment by her mother provide explanations. Why Duras then renounced childhood indoctrination, embracing universal humanism under Nazi occupation, requires deeper reflection. Having constructed Anne Marie Stretter from an idolized childhood colonialist, Duras deconstructively juxtaposed her with the Vice-Consul. Duras thereby opened the empathetic horizon for the Beggar, embodying the wretched of the earth.

Trauma and Roots: Imagining the Human Condition

Paul Ricoeur's *Memory, History and Forgetting* (2000) analyses how objectively documented official history intersects with human memory. Both, he argues, are partial creations of a deeper public forgetting which fashions 'official' history. The three constructs are triangular. The existential trauma centring *Twilight* is empirical 'history', in the organized obliteration of the Mughal Empire, and replacement of the East India Company with the Raj State in 1857-8.

The 1857 Uprising saw three hundred mounted Meerut sepoys entering Delhi and forcing the imprisoned Emperor Zafar (1775-1862) to leadership. An unpaid peasant army fought the British army, which, with Sikh and Pathan levees, sacked the capital. A nineteen-year-old British officer recalled "orders to shoot every soul". Food prices inflicted starvation. Zafar was displayed "like a beast in a cage", silently writing poetry on the wall with a burned stick (Dalrymple, pp. 1-8). The "Muslim conspiracy" rumour, meanwhile, triggered the North Indian campaign of extra-judicial killings and dispossession. Muslims, expelled from Delhi, were required to pay 25 per cent of the value of their property prior to return (Padamsee, p. 32). A traumatic memory, literary critic Closepet Dasappa Narasimhaiah explains that "first-hand knowledge of the depths of degradation of a whole people" was a cornerstone of English language literary production in colonial India (Narasimhaiah, p. 4).

Ricoeur's 'memory' is less straightforward. *Twilight* broaches the lost Indian roots inflicted by the 1857 trauma. Ainslie Embree's 1958 *Sources of Indian Tradition* showed how, for every element of Indian tradition, multiple and conflicting currents

exist. Understanding Ali's lost roots requires hermeneutical reconstruction of "sources", revealing the charged politics of memory. A clash between 'official history' and memory plagues Ali's family recollections:

> My grandmother was five and my grandfather eleven when the *ghadar* of 1857, the blind persecution and massacre of the citizens of Delhi, took place. The triumphant British held an orgy of blood and terror, all mention of which has been dropped by their historians (Ali, 2010, p. xiv).

Ali invokes a global trauma of violent uprooting, repetitions implying abstract fraternity among colonized populations beyond Delhi Muslims:

> wandering from jungle to jungle, village to village, in search of food and shelter, they trudged back from exile … they had to restart life as paupers and vanquished people, like the Aztecs and Incas of Mexico and Peru three hundred years before them… (Ali, 2010, p. xv)

Ali voices a larger principle in calling for "India free of the Fascist Jan Sangh movement which is blotting out the image of the real and traditional India" (Ali, 1968, p. 19). Indian ethnic and civic nationalisms followed the 1857 carnage. Ali conflicted with Indian contemporaries who rejected a multi-cultural "composite India" to 'retrieve' a 'pure' Hinduism or Islam, or revivalist 'repetition'.

Ali's mirror was the world. He embraced transnational communication, presupposing empathy and reason, using multiple languages in a cosmopolitan spirit, promoting translation as solidarity:

> In 1949, Ali published *The Flaming Earth: Poems from Indonesia* (1949), possibly the first anthology of modern Indonesian poetry in English translation, and *Muslim China* (1949), a study of China's Muslim populations, an outgrowth of his interest in China [and mastery of Mandarin] (Kumar, p. 57).

Ali's English writing was political:

> This cause [of Indian independence] deserved a worldwide audience. If presented in Urdu, it would lie down within a narrow belt rimmed by Northwest India … (Ali, 2010, p. xvi).

Ali used Aldous Huxley's concept of the "Isness" (1954 *Doors of Perception*) in a 1968 article defending Indian "composite culture". Celebrating novelist Raja Rao, Ali

described "two lads of sixteen [who] met for the first time. One was a Muslim and a student of Aligarh, the other was a Brahmin from Mysore" (Ali, 1968, p. 16). *Twilight* depicted Delhi Muslim identity metamorphosing through distant events like the 1915-16 Battle of Gallipoli (Ali, 2010, p. 175). The call to "drive them out of the country" did not correspond to a closed society (Ali, 2010, p. 241, 148).

Cycle reflected Duras' traumatic Occupation days. Embree's insights on Indian pluralism apply equally to other societies. Duras' own account declares her "birth [as a writer occurring] with the revelation of Auschwitz" (Vircondelet, p. 48). Duras joined the PCF to save her husband, Robert Antelme, a Dachau prisoner. In the Resistance, Duras used the lure of seduction to entrap the Gestapo agent who had arrested her husband (Duras, 1985, pp. 91-135). Upon returning from Dachau, Antelme wrote *L'espèce Humaine*, questioning a possible universal humanity following the Holocaust. Duras' *Cycle*, as explained in *La Douleur*, followed this endeavour.

The PCF was the major organized force driving the French Resistance (Arnaud, p. 147). Its secular and republican principles dated from the 1848 revolution, fusing political and social revolution. Between the 1873 National Assembly re-embrace of theocratic, monarchic, and authoritarian politics, under Colonel de Broglie's "Moral Order", and the 1894 Dreyfus Affair onset, a French proto-Fascism emerged around the invented facts in Edouard Drumont's 1888 anti-Semitic *La France Juive* (Duclert, p. 241). This tradition foreshadowed the Vichy collaboration.

In 1945, a skeletal Antelme returned to France from the forbidden section of Dachau for "the dead and hopeless cases". Larger principles defined Duras' personal tragedy. Antelme's refusal to blame his tormenters upon ethnic grounds moved Duras. She notes: "Robert accused no one. No race. No people. He accused humankind. ... He accused no one except the governments which are a fleeting presence in the history of peoples" (Duras, 1985, pp. 65-67). This contrasted with Duras' intimate feelings: "I could have hated them … to the point of massacring them all, until the entire German population was wiped from the earth. Today, however, between hating them, and loving [Antelme], I can barely distinguish the two emotions". Trauma is this thin line:

> I screamed out that no, I did not want to see him. I headed away, climbing the staircase. … The war shot out of me in screams. Six years without screaming (Duras, 1985, p. 38).

During Duras' subsequent alcoholism, she meditated upon God:

> [Alcohol] is reason seeking understanding to the point of madness … why this Reign of Injustice … We lack God. This emptiness discovered in adolescence remains permanently. Alcohol was invented to withstand the emptiness of the universe, the rocking of the planets, their imperturbable rotation in space, their silent indifference to our pain (Duras, 1987, p. 25).

In a sanitorium, Duras undertook *Ravissement* suffering delirium tremens, seeking to dispel illusions of 'real' identity (Vircondelet, p. 22). Lol overcomes God. God is "dazzled and wearied by the sight of [her as] a naked woman". Ultimately, after "long waiting in vain", "one day a weak body stirs in the belly of God" (Duras, 1964, pp. 50-51). Lol impregnates God with 'emptiness". Recurrently, we hear that "Lol is not God, she is no one" (Duras, 1964, pp. 47, 49). Lol destroys what Jorge Louis Borges called "the Library of Babel", the "power of the Word" (Borges, pp. 78-87). Lol is "silent", experiencing a "word-absence, a word-hole, a deep hole where all of the other words had been buried" (Duras, 1964, pp. 47-48).

Lol's martyr's smile echoes Antelme:

> I do not recognize him. He looks at me. He smiles … A supernatural exhaustion shows in his smile, from having managed to survive until this moment (Duras, 1985, p. 69).

The Beggar's visceral hunger also echoes Antelme:

> [T]here have already been accidents here in Paris from letting concentration camp survivors start eating solids too quickly … If he had eaten upon his return from the camp, his stomach would have ripped open under the weight of the food. … No, he could not eat without dying. And he could not remain any longer without eating without dying (Duras, 1985, pp. 70-71).

Durasian "emptiness" is invoked as a "memory in tatters":

> He has disappeared, hunger has taken his place. The emptiness has taken his place. He is giving to the pit, he fills what was empty… (Duras, 1985, p. 77).

Like Ali, Duras condemned the 'oblivion' (in Ricoeur's sense) perpetrated by official discourses. Charles de Gaulle, discussing the 1870 Sedan defeat, silently passed over the Paris Commune:

> De Gaulle does not speak of the Commune … for De Gaulle, [it] is a consecration of the perverted propensity of peoples to believe in their own existence and their own strength (Duras, 1985, p. 45).

Duras' vision of the French revolutionary future was identified with the aims of the 1871 Paris Commune. Emptiness is hunger, not a metaphysical abstraction. Duras described herself as from "nowhere" and a "foreigner" (Vircondelet, p. 38). Duras and Ali pursued socially egalitarian commitments while rejecting Soviet dogma and repressive practices. Both were obsessed with a non-traditional idea of "God". The "human condition" was predicated upon 'emptiness', a variant of Ricoeur's 'oblivion'. The Mirror Principle combined socialist revolutionary commitment with religious fervour.

Revolutionizing the Proustian tradition: nothingness and emptiness

Duras and Ali break from Mac Orlan in centring memory. The Beggar hallucinates her mother: "It is not yet madness. It is hunger, hidden by a resurgence of fear, the asthenia of seeing the lard and smelling the soups. It is her mother's love expressing itself by chance …" (Duras, 1966, p. 27). The Proustian past rematerializes through random material triggers. Both Duras and Ali read Marcel Proust. Duras sought childhood memories from Vietnam. For Ali, not Mughal politics but the old Delhi lifeworld mattered: "my purpose in writing [*Twilight*] was to depict a phase of our national life, …, values now dead and gone" (Ali, 2010, p. xxi)..

Duras and Ali affirmed radical democratic elements within their own cultures, while spurning authoritarian elements. The Indian "composite" tradition and the French republican tradition meet, through them, in the Proustian imagination. On February 23, 1941, Ali wrote from Lucknow University to his London publisher:

> I can, at least so long as I do not see it again, think of the old London, and of you and other dear friends walking its old streets, living and talking and meeting at parties in its warm and pleasant houses. Most of those restaurants and pubs we frequented must have all gone now. But for me they still exist as they did. (Ali, 1941).

Ali viewed the "damage done by colonial powers to the heritage of conquered peoples [as] irreversible". However, "memory is a collective storehouse that time and history cannot eradicate" (Ali, 2010, p. ix). Proust saw "the only real universe [as] that of

art, and the only real paradise [as] lost" (Maurois, pp. 17-23). Proust's madeleine triggered retrieval of lost time. He distinguished voluntary from involuntary memory:

> […] my memories were provided uniquely by voluntary memory, the memory of intelligence, [and] the information it gives retains nothing of the past … an entire reality remained dead for me. … Dead forever? It is possible. There is a great deal of chance in these matters .. All efforts by our intelligence are useless. The past is hidden outside of its domain and its reach, inside of some unsuspected material object. This object depends upon the random possibility that we encounter it before we die (Proust, pp. 57-58).

Genuine past knowledge is without relation to intellect or will. It is a chance 'repetition'. Consciousness is minor in forming ourselves. Action follows not thoughts, but something unknown. The past, awaited like God, may never happen. Duras and Ali revolutionized the Proustian tradition. The hungry cannot wait.

Duras complained that "Marxism stops at inner life." Seeing life as a "search for God", she esteemed "the void over politics" (Vircondelet, p. 104). Duras' reflections on God correspond to, possibly, Simone Weil's (1909-1943) 1947 *Pesanteur de la Grace*. Weil, a 1933 French general strike organizer, Spanish Civil War republican, and French Resister, wrote:

> Supernatural love touches only creatures while uniquely reaching God. It is only creatures which it loves (what else have we to love?), but it loves them as intermediaries. For this reason it loves all creatures equally, itself included. To love a stranger as oneself implies the reverse: to love oneself as a stranger (Weil, p. 43).

Weil's Mirror Principle of God borrows from Hindu-Buddhist non-attachment: "the real presence of God is in everything not veiled by imagination" (Weil, p. 45). The imagination implies desire and hence attachment. Universal identity is 'emptiness'. When the Beggar, expelled from community, must seek the mythic "plane of birds", it is a world "so distant that it becomes impossible to have even the slightest imagining of your surroundings" (Duras, 1966, p. 11).

Duras explained the opening trauma in *Cycle*, giving the key to its interpretation:

> To write is not to tell stories … It's telling everything at once … It's to tell a story which occurs through its absence. Lol V. Stein is destroyed by the ball of S. Thala. She is created by the ball of S. Thala. … at the moment of the ball, Lol is so swept

> away by the spectacle of her fiancée and this stranger in black, that she forgets to suffer. … It is this suppressed pain that eventually drives her insane (Duras, 1987, p. 35).

This presence/absence creation/destruction dialectic suggests the revisiting powers of the unconscious. The question remains: what gave Stretter so mesmerizing an aura? Lol becomes entranced by a sight which should appal her. The *Vice-Consul* explains Stretter's almost supernatural power over others. Edward Said identified an intersection of "power, scholarship and imagination", where "to reside in the Orient is to live a privileged life, not of an ordinary citizen, but of a representative European whose empire (French or British) *contains* the Orient in its military, economic, and above all, cultural arms" (Said, pp. 329, 156). For the whites in *Vice-Consul*, a fabulous life of open space, mobility and beautiful possibility exists connected merely to skin colour, birthplace, and a power construct providing identity. The Indian masses, meanwhile, starve in the textile mills. A dialectical or revolutionary obsession drives Duras' encounter with memory, in remembering events anew from the perspective of the most oppressed. This activism is alien to Proust.

The Beggar equates the "plane of birds" with escaping habits and attaining "emptiness" (Duras, 1966, p. 16). Stretter, meanwhile, embodies 'nothingness', invoking George Orwell's question in *1984*: "Does the past exist concretely, in space? Is there somewhere or other a place, a world of solid objects, where the past is still happening?" (Orwell, p. 282). Stretter inspires "forgetting", making frightened men love her (Duras, 1966, pp. 104-106, 158-9). Memories of oppression become beautiful dreams of "enduring perfection" in a "smooth pink woman", occluding the unspoken reality of a growing Indian insurgency (Duras, 1966, pp. 46-47).

Two distinct concepts emerge, Dalit and Indian national leader Bhim Rao Ambedkar's Buddhist-inspired 'emptiness' and Edgar Allen Poe's 'nothingness'. Ambedkar's 'emptiness', opposing Untouchability, Empire, and Soviet orthodoxy, differs from the Western concept "nothingness" expressing remorse over an absent God associated with a justificatory Theodicy. In Poe's "materialism of decay", there is no "saving the mind from nothingness" (Poulet, p. 301). Jean Paul Sartre echoed this: "Nothingness lies coiled in the heart of being – like a worm" (Sartre, pp. 16-21). Nagarjuna, by contrast, sees not "intrinsic" but "relational" identity. Like Wittgenstein,

cited earlier, "a phenomenon not antecedently existent comes to be" (Nagarjuna, pp. 138, 111). There is neither enduring identity nor being, in contrast with "the God of Eternity who pervading all sustains all" (*Krishna's Dialogue on the Soul*, p. 33). Ambedkar linked Buddhism and Marxism, seeing the world as multiple relations, in his 1936 "network" theory of society:

> Nowhere is human society one single whole. It is always plural. In the world of action, the individual is one limit and society the other. Between them lie all sorts of associative arrangements of larger and lesser scope- families, friendships, cooperative associations, business combines, political parties, bands of thieves and robbers (Ambedkar, p. 278).

This approximates how Ali and Duras imagined 'emptiness' in the national constructions of the French Resistance to the Indian freedom struggle. The Buddhist traces in Durasian thought needn't surprise us. Duras acquired her 'Indian' worldview in childhood from mixing with Vietnamese children in a bilingual world, having been relegated to the 'native' level by wealthier white people because of family poverty (Vircondelet, 19).

Nation and Teleology

Padamsee critiques a "teleology of extinction" (Padamsee, p. 29). The argument relies excessively upon Partha Chatterjee's 1986 *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World. A Derivative Discourse.* Indian nationalism is enslaved within the "ambit of bourgeois-rationalist thought", producing the "lack of autonomy of nationalist discourse itself". The "universal ideal" of the "Enlightenment" is the "implantation into new cultures of an alien framework" (Chatterjee, pp. 10-11, 27). It is the Evil Mirror argument.

Splicing Marx with Heideggerian anti-epistemology, Chatterjee targets the "bourgeois-rationalist conception of knowledge, established in the post-Enlightenment period of European intellectual history." It is "the moral and epistemic foundation for a supposedly universal framework of thought which perpetuates, in a real and not merely metaphorical sense, a colonial domination" (Chatterjee, p. 52). Following *Being and Time*, "the problem of knowledge is annihilated" because "being" has deeper importance (Heidegger, p. 57). Marx the sociologist, and Heidegger the hermeneutician, cannot cohabitate within one theoretical optic. One must die. Chatterjee makes his choice. Marx the sociologist dies.

For Padamsee, "extinction [in *Twilight*] effectively becomes a means of passage". If no original self exists, then existential dissolution is a new becoming. This open-endedness conceivably invokes Mohammed Arkoun's call for "the deconstruction of every form of orthodoxy falsely rendered sacred by historical figures who happened to succeed politically", citing "an abundance of meanings" that "may yet experience more historical growth" (Arkoun, p. 47). However, Heideggerianism reduces 1930s Indian nationalism to a "politics of communal grievance and political isolation". While certainly troubled, 1930s nationalism, in its pathbreaking complexity, is irreducible to a "normative and singular teleology of the nation" (Padamsee, p. 42, 29).

Mahatma Gandhi's 1930 Civil Disobedience Movement invoked "the starving millions, the sick, the maimed, and the utterly helpless". Sarojini Naidu became the first woman Congress President. The 1931 Karachi resolution introduced socialism into Indian nationalism, declaring that "to end the exploitation of the masses, political freedom must include real economic freedom of the starving millions" (Chandra, pp. 270-274, 284). Ambedkar's landmark 1936 *Annihilation of Caste* appeared. True, "communalist" parties surged especially after 1937: the paramilitary RSS (founded 1925) represented "Hindu nationhood", *Punyabhu* (Holy Land), claiming immutable religious roots (Sharma, 2007, p. 58). Its one-party politics, echoing European Fascism, turned Indian Muslims and Christians into "aliens" overnight. These multiple paths are irreducible to "nationalist tropes of temporal disjunction and extinction", or the 18th century Enlightenment modernity/tradition dichotomy (Padamsee, p. 28).

Padamsee invokes "Heidegger's insight that being in time … is a matter of 'passing' or travel" (Padamsee, p. 41). This mistakenly sees Heidegger giving genuine value to unreproducible moments. This characterized Nagarjuna, for whom perpetual "forgetting/remembering" is intrinsically human (Vivenza, pp. 212-213). Politics cannot salvage it. For Heidegger, during the Nazi era, the "forgetting" of "being" required a revivalist state to restore public recollection. Such organicism is misleading for understanding Duras or Ali, neither of whom gave retrieval of "being" political priority.

The Heideggerian nation

Twilight juxtaposed with the spiritual father of Pakistan, Mohammad Iqbal, reveals Ali's national ideal. The 1930s Pakistan movement was minimal in 1921. Indian Muslims were diverse in language, caste, and ethnicity, lacking common political

organization, or territory (Wolpert, p. 75). Empire backed Muslim communalists against multi-cultural Congress nationalism, manipulating false hopes through divide/rule strategies. Viceroy George Curzon promised East Bengal Muslims a "unity which they have not enjoyed since the days of the old Mussulman Viceroys and Kings" (Chandra, p. 125). The Pakistan dream materialized later, in Iqbal's vision of a loose North-West Indian configuration (Wolpert, p. 75).

Iqbal was indebted to German Orientalist Friedrich Hommel, his teacher in Munich. The *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (1930) advanced Heideggerian anti-epistemology, with "modern man robbed of faith in his own future", as his "secret despair hides behind the screen of scientific terminology". Modern man, "absorbed in fact", is "cut off from the unplumbed depths of his own being". "Modern materialism" produces "despair and anxiety" (Iqbal, pp. 73-74). Scarcely traditional Islam, it anticipated Taliban graffiti on the Kabul Ministry for the Prevention of Vice and the Promotion of Virtue: "Throw reason to the dogs. It stinks of corruption" (Burke, p. 122). Hailing the "remarkable homogeneity" of the "culture of Islam", Iqbal reduced linguistic and cultural diversity to inauthenticity. Islamic authenticity, Iqbal argued, required removal of a "magian crust":

> […] a Magian crust has grown over Islam … Indeed, my main purpose in these lectures has been to secure a vision of the spirit of Islam as emancipated from its Magian overlayings (Iqbal, pp. 60-63).

Heideggerian utopia is absent in *Twilight*. In a superstitious world of hybrid cultures, metaphorical animal attacks and musical intoxication, caste and gender govern conduct in complex relation to colonial power. Between new middle-class government service, grave robbery amongst the immiserated masses, and the deadly global 1919 epidemic, "a death in life" is sociological (Ali, 2010, p. 70). Youth pursue terrorist violence to overthrow an Empire which, for their parents, meant the extinction of a world the youth can never know.

The nation as "composite culture"

Ali promoted "composite culture". It has four defining moments:

(1) *The Akbarian precedent*: in the 16th century Mughal state under the Emperor Akbar, a dialogical "public sphere" defined the composite nobility. The *Ibkahat* (House

of Worship) became an open symposium for all religions – Sunnis, Shi'as, Hindus, Jains, Zoroastrians and Christians – to conduct dialogues non-violently. Akbar argued that with "reflection", people "shake off the prejudices of their education, the threads of the web of religious blindness break" (Abul-Fazl, p. 171). The *Ibkahat* was preceded by popular Hindu-Muslim unity in Bhakti and Sufi movements, united in yogic practices and tolerance. This was "a force of social energy greater than the state" (Mukhia, p. 33).

(2) *The Sufi legacy*: Amir Khusrau (1253- 1325), a popular court poet, articulated India as a universal home: "If a Khurasani, Greek or Arab comes here/He will not face any problems/For they will treat him kindly, as their own" (Sharma, 2006, p. 88). His father had fled Central Asia following the Mongol invasions, arriving in India as a refugee (Rizvi, p. 168). Khusrau evoked the "pain of the mother" in children lost to war, called the slave the "child of a man", and beseeched Hindu-Muslim unity: a "needle is better than a (cutting) sword" because it "binds" (Khusrau, 2010).

(3) *The Gandhian National Movement*: The Gandhian strategy "did not require any particular political or ideological commitment from its activists", only "commitment to democratic and secular nationalism" (Chandra, p. 79). This permitted wide public inclusion, with "many more women in positions of importance than in the Russian and Chinese revolutionary movements put together" (Chandra, pp. 46-47). Gandhi said: "We were able to enlist as soldiers, millions of men, women and children, because we were pledged to non-violence" (Tendulkar, pp. 3, 78). The core was Hindu-Muslim unity. The Non-Cooperation Movement (1919-22) expanded beyond cities to workers, peasants and the villages, appealing to all religions and classes: "Muslim participation [gave] the movement its truly mass character"; "at some places two thirds of those arrested were Muslims" (Chandra, p. 196).

(4) *The Tagorian literary revolution*: Rabindranath Tagore's core insight was non-coercive "development". A Zamindar, Tagore had Muslim tenants whose daily religious boundary crossings fostered his conviction of Hindu-Muslim syncretism. Tagore said: "If we could free even one village from the shackles of ignorance and helplessness, an ideal for the whole of India would be established." Tagore rejected state-centred politics for grassroots institution-building (Bhattacharya, 2017, p. 7). His World War I novel, *Home and the World* (1916) confronted horror: Hindu-Muslim riots, demagogic and identity-based violence, terrorist strikes, and colonial violence. Tagore conceived cultural identity

as "flowing currents", not a "fixed or stable object" (Sharma, 2007, p. 12). The complexities of modernization, *Home and the World* suggests, require sincerely listening, or empathically sharing incommensurable experience. Tagore urged that "freedom" be rooted in "small things" (Tagore, pp. 30, 202-203). Tagore emphasised storytelling as one need of masses in the modern world. No single voice suffices.

The spirit of Indian tradition is similarly evoked by Ali. Duras, whose identity was plural and messy, rebelled against the homogeneity of the French national tradition, aspiring to a similar multi-culturalism.

Conclusion

Divide/rule was Empire's legacy. Journalist M. J. Akbar described the tragic 1947 Partition:

> trains coming from Pakistan full not of refugees but of corpses and scattered, barely stirring bodies of survivors … trains going towards Pakistan had their own horror stories to tell.

Partition violence left 14 million people displaced in the largest population movements in recorded history. Over one million Sikhs, Hindus, and Muslims were killed in widespread organized violence (riots, massacres, rape) (Akbar, pp. 424-425, 415). Ali was Visiting Professor in Nanking. Indian authorities in 1948 refused his re-entry, calling it "a question of Hindu and Muslim'" (Ali, 2010, p. xix). Duras, at this time, saw her childhood experiences of colonialism "reflected" back in the horrors of Hiroshima and Auschwitz (Vircondelet, p. 24). Both used a Mirror Principle, much as Proust's *roman onirique* was an "allegory for the creation of the world" (Tadié, p. 114). It is a world of walls: "the walls increase in number, multiply, cut … make the eyes bleed" (Duras, 1971, p. 110). Both recurrently depict walls and exclusions echoing Orwell's *1984*:

> everywhere, all over the world, hundreds of millions of people just like this, people ignorant of one another's existence, held apart by walls of hatred and lies (Orwell, p. 209).

The politics of 'emptiness' and the 'non-self', paradoxically, require protection of the person: "after the death of the moral person and annihilation of the juridical person, the destruction of the individual is nearly always crowned with success" (Arendt, p. 271). It requires, not as Kierkegaard thought, eternal habit linked to God, but the revolutionization of habit to eliminate systemic and avoidable suffering.

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THE 23RD LANGUAGE: OFFICIAL EU STATUS FOR IRISH AS PORTRAYED IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND'S ENGLISH-LANGUAGE PRESS

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Abstract

Irish became the 23rd official language of the European Union (EU) in 2007. Due to a lack of qualified translators and interpreters, it is currently subject to a derogation which restricts its use in the EU institutions, a situation which aims to be remedied by 2022. Yet the Irish language represents a unique case even within the Republic of Ireland itself. Under British rule, centuries of repression confined its usage to the rural fringes of society, a state of affairs that an independent Ireland has attempted to improve with limited success. This article analyses how recognition of official EU status for Irish has been depicted in the Republic of Ireland's English-language print media. By performing a qualitative content analysis of the online archives of the country's three major English-language newspapers, the aim is to illustrate how official EU status for Irish has been portrayed, paying specific attention to political, cultural and economic factors.

Keywords: Irish language, European Union, Republic of Ireland, print media, newspapers, media portrayal, qualitative content analysis

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Although the Republic of Ireland has been a member of the European Union (EU) since 1973, it was to be more than four decades until the country's first official language, Irish, was accorded the status of an official and working language of the organisation. As the Republic of Ireland is a bilingual polity, English had previously sufficed at the European level. Yet, following the Maltese government's successful attempt to gain official EU status for the Maltese language on Malta's accession to the organisation in 2004, similar moves were put into motion to give Irish the same prominence (Murphy, 2008; Hoyte-West, 2019). These initiatives were ultimately successful, with Irish becoming the 23rd official language of the EU on 1 January 2007, the first Celtic language and the first minority language to achieve this distinction.

The current study is part of a wider research project examining the translation and interpreting professions in the Republic of Ireland, paying special attention to the unique role played by the Irish language. As outlined in Hoyte-West (2020), which involved a series of interviews conducted with practising conference interpreters active in the Republic of Ireland, it was noted that participants stated that official EU status for Irish had led to favourable media coverage, and greater general awareness of the interpreting profession, with the language being portrayed in a positive light. Given the importance that media can play in setting specific sociocultural and linguistic agendas (McCombs & Shaw, 1972, pp. 171-172), it was decided to conduct a small-scale exploratory study to provide some basic empirical data regarding the latter assertion. This contribution, therefore, aims to analyse how official EU status for Irish has been depicted in the Republic of Ireland's three major English-language newspapers.

The European Union and the Irish language

Closely related to Scots Gaelic and more distantly to Welsh and Breton, *Gaeilge*, the Irish language, is an ancient tongue with a long literary history (Stevenson, 1989, p. 127). Yet, the story of the language is intricately intertwined with the tumultuous history of Ireland itself. Despite attempts to promote it in the years after the country gained its independence as the Irish Free State in 1922, prior events in Irish history such as the Norman invasion (1167), English annexation (1536), the horrors of the Great Famine (1840s), subsequent emigration and population loss – combined with numerous attempts to denigrate and outlaw the use of Irish – have all left their mark on the contemporary use of the language (Carnie, 1996, pp. 99-102). Although the language

was previously spoken across the whole island of Ireland, day-to-day use of Irish outside of the Republic of Ireland's education system is now largely centred on the *Gaeltachtaí*. In these rural Irish-speaking areas, the language has special status and its development is fostered by *Údarás na Gaeltachta*, (Gaeltacht Authority), the regional body tasked with fostering the Gaeltacht's cultural and socioeconomic development (Údarás na Gaeltachta, 2020). With regard to the present number of native speakers, the situation is not straightforward to define as all L1 speakers of Irish are also L1 speakers of English; indeed, as Ó Riain (2009, p. 47) states, no exact figures on the number of 'native' Irish speakers are maintained.

Taking into account the complex sociolinguistic and historical context outlined previously, the decision to make Irish an official language of the EU may seem challenging. Yet, as illustrated by the abovementioned case of Maltese, since the enlargement of 2004 the EU has gained experience with languages that were not traditionally viewed as international conference languages (Hoyte-West, 2019, p. 103). As a pan-European organisation with twenty-seven member states, the EU currently boasts twenty-four official languages, representing seven different language families (Baltic, Celtic, Finno-Ugric, Germanic, Hellenic, Romance, and Slavonic) (European Union, 2020). Translation and conference interpreting services are provided from and into all of these official languages by the relevant linguistic directorates, which consist of highly trained in-house and freelance professionals (European Personnel Selection Office, 2020).

However, despite the EU's wide-ranging linguistic expertise, and notwithstanding the fact that Irish has been nominally an official language of the EU since 2007, it has proven – due in part to the factors outlined above – somewhat challenging to incorporate Irish fully into the EU's linguistic framework. Although the language had been used in highly formal situations as a treaty language ever since the Republic of Ireland's accession to EU in 1973 (Truchot, 2003, p. 103), a dearth of qualified professional linguists has meant that implementing the day-to-day use of Irish in the EU's institutions has been more problematic (Diño, 2017). As such, these limitations have meant that there is currently a derogation in place regarding its full use in the EU institutions, which is due to be lifted at the beginning of 2022 (European

Parliament, 2018). Consequently, full translation and interpreting provision both from and into Irish will need to be in place as of 1 January of that year.

Research question and methodology

Building on the overview of the Irish language and its intersection with EU institutional linguistic policy, it was decided to conduct a small-scale exploratory study focusing on the following research question:

- How has EU official status for Irish been portrayed in the Republic of Ireland's English-language print media, with specific regard to political, cultural, and economic aspects?

As previously mentioned, the Republic of Ireland is a bilingual nation, but given the researcher's knowledge of Irish was only at the basic level, it was decided to limit the scope of the analysis to the country's English-language press. With the increasing shift to internet-based content, the print media landscape of the Republic of Ireland has changed noticeably in recent years. Although circulations have declined, the country still boasts a range of English-language national and local newspapers, both tabloids and broadsheets (Burke-Kennedy, 2019). In the interests of ensuring a useful source of research data, it was decided to focus on the three main national quality broadsheet newspapers: the *Irish Independent*, *The Irish Times*, and the *Irish Examiner*. The three newspapers all have long pedigrees. The oldest of the three, the *Irish Examiner*, was founded in Cork in 1841, and the first copy of *The Irish Times* was printed in Dublin in 1859. The youngest, the *Irish Independent*, first appeared in the newsstands in 1905. In terms of daily circulation, according to figures released by the Audit Bureau of Circulation, during the second half of 2018 (the most recent figures available for all three of the newspapers) the *Irish Independent* was the leader with 83,900 print copies, followed by *The Irish Times* (58,131 copies), with the *Irish Examiner* averaging daily sales of 25,419 copies (NewsBrands Ireland, 2020).

Building on a research report carried out by Dublin City University (DCU) on behalf of the development education agency Connect World, (DCU School of Communications, 2009), which included a comprehensive qualitative content analysis of the coverage of developing countries in Irish print media, it was decided to utilise a similar approach but on a smaller scale. As a thorough and positivist-based data

extraction method (Gheyle & Jacobs, 2017), it was felt that opting for a qualitative content analysis would generate data that was valid, reliable and replicable in line with Krippendorff's (2018) assertion. Despite potential criticism as overly basic, this approach has long been utilised when examining different forms of written and other communication (Elo & Kyngäs (2008, p. 107), citing Cole (1988)). It was determined that this would thereby provide a basis for general conclusions to be drawn as well as providing material for further research. Although it could be argued that, given the focus on print media, such an approach was limited by focusing solely on aspects of the printed text rather than including paratextual features such as photographs (Patterson et al., 2016), it was felt that this method of enquiry was appropriate given the study's exploratory nature.

In addition to the aforementioned research project conducted by DCU School of Communications (2009), it was also noted that qualitative-based content analyses have been utilised in a variety of similar projects from a range of disciplines. To note a couple, these have included Patterson et al. (2016), which examined online representations of binge drinking in British newspapers, as well as Kleinschnitger et al. (2019), whose study analysed German and Russian media portrayals of relations between the EU and Ukraine.

Having selected the method, it was decided to obtain the necessary data by performing a qualitative content analysis of the online archives of these three major quality newspapers. Powered by Google, the search involved the following four keywords: "Irish", "official", "language", and "EU". The timeframe for the search parameters was set from 1 January 2007, the date that Irish became an official EU language, up until 1 May 2019.

Results of the analysis

Using the four keywords ("Irish", "official", "language", "EU"), the search of the three online newspaper archives returned over 2,000 results. Of these, a dataset of 88 articles was judged relevant to the research question and thus to the topic under discussion. Within this number, the articles were then divided into three broad thematic categories based on their general content: political (n = 45), cultural (n = 22) and economic (n = 21). Subsequently, within these categories, they were assessed for an overall "positive" or "negative" focus and tone.

The largest group of articles was those deemed to be "political" in their general content; that is, those documents determined as having a focus largely on domestic political topics, relevant language policies, and the EU itself. Of the forty-five articles framed in this category, nineteen (42%), could be shown as demonstrating a favourable focus. In addition to those articles that were informative in nature, a common theme was also the increased visibility for the Irish language at European level ("Historic day for the EU… as gaeilge" (*Irish Independent*, 23 January 2007); "Irish is our bridge to Europe" (*Irish Examiner*, 6 December 2013). However, the majority of articles in the political category (*n* = 26, 58%) were classed as being negative in tone. The lack of success of various domestic initiatives to promote Irish was highlighted ("Lip service can't save Irish" (*Irish Independent,* 9 December 2007); "Irish language policy is deluded" (*Irish Examiner*, 10 December 2013); "What Cromwell couldn't kill, we will" (*Irish Independent*, 2 December 2007)). In addition, the derogation on Irish in the EU institutions was also portrayed unfavourably, ("European Parliament must end second-class status of Irish" (*The Irish Times*, 5 May 2014); "EU respects Irish language more than our leaders do" (*Irish Examiner*, 18 February 2014)). Particular attention was also paid to the so-called language strike by Liadh Ní Riada ("On strike: Sinn Fein MEP will only speak Irish in Brussels" (*Irish Examiner*, 8 February 2015)), who protested about the lack of full linguistic provision for Irish in the European Parliament by speaking Irish even when interpretation services for the language were not provided.

Twenty-two of the articles analysed were categorised as having a primarily cultural focus. Of this number, thirteen (59%) were generally positive, showcasing the general benefits of EU status for Irish language and culture ("These are exciting times for Irish language studies" (*The Irish Times*, 6 June 2007); "Ó Cuív [the then Minister for Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs] to promote Irish on US visit" (*The Irish Times*, 20 February 2008)). On the other hand, nine articles (41%) highlighted negative aspects, such as unfairness and discrimination towards native Irish speakers ("Irish speakers 'discriminated against'" (*The Irish Times*, 15 November 2007); "Irish-speaking children don't get a fair deal" (*Irish Examiner*, 7 September 2010)).

Fifteen (71%) of the twenty-one articles deemed to have an economic focus portrayed official EU status for Irish positively. Here, the overwhelming theme was based largely on the strong employment prospects for Irish speakers in the EU

institutions, given recruitment needs ("Fluent in Irish? You could be in line for an EU job" (*The Irish Times*, 9 June 2016); "Irish speakers can benefit from EU official status" (*Irish Examiner*, 7 February 2008); "Lucrative EU jobs beckon graduates" (*Irish Examiner*, 12 March 2010)). Of the six articles (29%) judged as being negative in tone, these mainly focused on complaints about the high cost of providing Irish language translation services, in part due to the shortage of available personnel ("Irish the most expensive EU language to translate" (*Irish Independent*, 31 August 2017); "Irish spoken nine times at EU meetings" (*The Irish Times*, 9 January 2013); "Irish translation of European Parliament documents costing €43 per page" (*The Irish Times*, 30 August 2017)).

In terms of general positive or negative approaches, it was noted that of the 88 articles, just over half (n = 47, 53%) could be said to have a positive tone towards official EU status for Irish, whereas 47% (n = 41) generally sought to portray the initiative or its ramifications in a negative light. Thus, the findings illustrate that the slight majority of articles are indeed positive in their focus, although it is important to note that the results remain relatively evenly weighted between the two poles.

Conclusions and suggestions for further research

This small-scale exploratory study has demonstrated that, in accordance with the views expressed by the conference interpreters interviewed in Hoyte-West (2020), official EU status for Irish has generally been portrayed positively in the Republic of Ireland's English-language print media, although not overwhelmingly so. Favourable aspects of the initiative were noted in the economic and cultural domains, such as the increased visibility of the Republic of Ireland on the international stage and, by extension, increased interest in Irish language and culture. The economic benefits were strongly underlined, with particular attention paid to the possibilities of Irish speakers receiving highly-paid jobs in the European institutions. On the other hand – and especially so in the political sphere – some of the negative aspects highlighted included shortcomings regarding domestic Irish language policy when compared to EU status. Furthermore, the cost of providing linguistic provision for Irish in the EU institutions also was the subject of criticism, as was the derogation on the use of the Irish language in the EU institutions.

In terms of further research, it would be useful to balance these exploratory findings with a more wide-ranging analysis, allowing these preliminary conclusions to be contrasted with different narratives from other areas of the media, such as television and radio, as well as from online sources. In addition, it could also prove valuable to compare these findings on the English-language press with data on how the Republic of Ireland's Irish-language print and other media has depicted official EU status for the Irish language. According to the European Commission (2020), although some progress has been made in implementing measures towards ensuring adequate future provision for Irish in the EU institutions, a recent report highlights that significant difficulties still remain regarding the recruitment of sufficient numbers of translators and interpreters (European Commission 2019, pp. 3-6). To this end, the European Commission will provide a further report in 2021 to inform whether the necessary personnel-related requirements have been fulfilled. With the derogation due to expire on 1 January 2022, the future still remains uncertain. Therefore, it remains to be seen if the full implementation of Irish, the EU's 23rd official and working language, is to be assured or not.

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