

A large, stylized blue butterfly graphic serves as a background for the title. The wings are spread wide, with a light blue gradient and darker blue outlines. The body is a small, dark blue circle.

(INTER)FACES OF DIALOGUE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE IADA WORKSHOP

BRAȘOV, 5-7 JUNE 2014

EDITED BY
RĂZVAN SĂFTOIU
TRANSILVANIA UNIVERSITY OF BRAȘOV

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2015

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Political correctness and the rationale behind it

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Abstract

Political correctness represents an aspect of present time language mostly used by journalists and politicians to avoid offending interlocutors and members of the general public. At the same time, it became a means of protecting oneself from face threatening acts in social interaction. In our opinion, *Political correct* language and *Wooden language* are two aspects of natural languages which developed under specific social and political circumstances. Sometimes, the two terms are used as synonyms though they recover and reflect different realities, an opinion we are defending in this paper. Besides social approach, a linguistic one should reveal differences and similarities between these two aspects, as well as their effect on human relationship. We intend to pursue this matter mostly in present day France, with all its implications.

Key-words: political correctness, wooden language, stereotype, cliché

Political correctness, an ambiguous term

No doubt, *Political correctness* is an ambiguous term, having known quite a few interpretations ever since it appeared. It is not a mere case of polysemy, as in happens with the French word *cartouche*, which can mean: cartridge, scroll, banner, microphone cartridge, filter cartridge, card, carton of cigarettes. As for *Political correctness*, it has become a chameleon, a magic word as F. Atlani called the French pronoun *on*: *on l'illusionniste* “the chameleon it” (Atlani 1984, 13), due to the pronoun capacity to change its meaning according to social or linguistic context. Originated from the United States, *Political correctness* first served to criticize racist and sexist

attitudes by the end of 1960 (Larrazet 2010, 111) then it has become an expression that qualified freedom of speech in connection with topics considered delicate by politicians, such as race, social class, gender or religion. This term has crossed centuries and continents and has become, in our opinion, a kind of language register, compulsory in specific social environment or particular circumstances.

Currently, *Political correctness* is treated with a certain amount of tolerance by linguists, who rank it with the phrases and deal with it making inventories and identifying fields, contexts of use or term forming mechanisms. As for its users, the most diligent and conscientious ones are to be found among politicians and journalists.

“Politically correct” language as a synonym of “Wooden language”

Politically correct language and *Wooden language* overlapping is due to their frequent and wide use mostly in politics. Politicians and ideologists relied on *Politically correct* language to reinforce or to undermine an ideology, a conviction, an idea. As for *Wooden language*, it is reputed for its great success in imposing ideologies, especially those of totalitarian governments or repressive ones. Its bad reputation is equally due to meaningless words and phrases and to extremely ample and generous clauses. *Politically correct* language has been known in France beginning with 1990, when it was imported from the United States of America, while *Wooden language* is of European origin, being in use in Russia from the 19th century, describing the heavy and obscure style of the administrative language in the tsar’s epoch. Later on, the Soviet communist authorities began building their own jargon, an unnatural and heavy language appreciated for its form, deprived of any meaning, suitable to disguise reality and manipulate masses. It served the purposes of communist

ideology, which were persuasion of the crowds as for the legitimacy of their totalitarian regime and its reinforcement.

So, chronologically speaking, *Wooden language*, of European origin, preceded *Politically correct* language in Europe. The latest, with its American origins, needed some time adjusting to new circumstances and new cultures and mentalities and becoming a part of political and media world. From the beginning, *politically correct* language was seen as artificial, deprived of substance, insincere and meaningless. Surprisingly, these characteristics normally seen as weaknesses, imperfections or shortcomings became the very outstanding force of this new aspect of language. It was the perfect tool for anyone wanting to conceal his or her intentions and real thoughts and wishing to say half-truths or distorted truths or no truth at all. This way of reporting reality so inaccurately may become useful in certain circumstances and in some social, cultural, business, political groups. Diplomats, politicians, businessmen, journalists are often compelled to do so.

An important thing should be noted: both the *Wooden language* and the *Politically correct* language use mostly the same linguistic means and processes to be put into place: abstract nouns, a lot of superlatives, abstract verbs, stereotypes, clichés, metaphors, euphemisms. Here is an example of such Wooden language, used by Ceaușescu, the Romanian dictator:

(1)

«Nous sommes fortement décidés à militer sans relâche pour le renforcement de l'unité et de la solidarité de toutes les forces progressistes et anti-impérialistes du monde entier, à coopérer étroitement avec tous les peuples.» (cité d'après Luciana Radut-Gaghi, 2010)

“We are strongly determined to fight tirelessly to reinforce unity and solidarity of all progressive and anti-imperialist forces from all-over the world, in close cooperation with all peoples.”

We have not heard the last from the *Wooden language*, even if the majority of communist regimes have collapsed; it has only grown and beautified, extending to new situational contexts, and receiving a helping hand from the latest technology, the digital one. Computer programmers have developed a soft to generate Wooden language and the results are remarkable:

(2)

«Mesdames, Messieurs,

Je tiens à vous dire ici ma détermination sans faille pour clamer haut et fort l'effort prioritaire en faveur du statut précaire des exclus qui doit nous amener au choix réellement impératif de solutions rapides correspondant aux grands axes sociaux prioritaires.»

(www.presidentielle-2007.net/generateur-de-langue-de-bois.php)

“Ladies and Gentlemen,

I do want to express in front of you my strong determination to promote the absolute priority to regulate the precarious status of socially excluded people, which must direct us imperatively to find rapid solutions corresponding to the most important social priorities.”

The software called in French *générateur de langue de bois* “wooden language generator” is supposed to elaborate, on demand, by typing on the keyboard, an appropriate discourse for circumstances such as: elections, local or presidential; the discourse of a city councillor, of the Mayor of a city, a manager of a public institution, and so on. Abstract terms, multiple meanings, multiple contexts of use of the terms, emptiness of the phrases and clauses became outstanding characteristics that could give any discourse multiple directions according to the speaker's wish. Leucassin (2010, 141) being aware of this important feature of Wooden language, suggested, by the end of his article, in an Annex, a *Cours de langue de bois* (“A Practical Course of Wooden language”) which inevitably opens on a set of quite remarkable instructions which run as follows:

(3)

«Commencez par la case en haut à gauche, puis enchaînez avec n'importe quelle case en colonne 2, puis avec n'importe laquelle en 3, puis n'importe laquelle en 4 et revenez ensuite où bon vous semble en colonne 1 pour enchaîner au hasard.»

“Start at the top by the left case, then keep going with any other case of column two of the table, then with any case of column three of the case, then with any case of column four, come back wherever you want in column one and keep doing it at random.”

(Leucassin 2010, 141)

Such a discourse is hardly credible, useful or even listened to. It may be written according to instructions but hazard is too much involved.

“Politically correct” language as a synonym of language of international organizations

European organizations, such as the European Commission, or international organizations, such as UN, UNESCO, The Court of Justice of the European Union and many others are supposed to issue decisions, judgments, recommendations, notices, in a word, many official documents.

The language of these documents is quite abstract, with rigid language structures, with a lot of specialized collocations and even with a level of simplified grammar structure. At the same time, it is intended for professionals, for the principal actors in this abstract world of law, justice and diplomatic relationship. Even in a press release published by such an organization, strong words are avoided and everything is kept within the limits of diplomacy. The media keeps its discourse within the same limits, or at least they try, and sometimes they go even further as in this press release of the European Commission commented and interpreted for the public by the journalists from *Libération*:

(4)

«La Commission européenne a été prise à partie par la gauche et les libéraux pour sa *passivité*. Viviane Reding s'est défendue en se déclarant satisfaite des *garanties* que Paris lui a fournies pour justifier sa politique de reconduite: *La France a bien expliqué qu'il n'y avait pas d'action ciblée contre les Roms*. Néanmoins, elle ne s'est pas prononcée sur le respect par Paris du droit européen: l'étude juridique de la Commission ne sera prête que la semaine prochaine. José Manuel Barroso, son président, a expliqué devant le Parlement qu'il fallait toujours trouver l'équilibre *entre la liberté de circulation et la sécurité*. Sinon, nous aurons un danger d'exploitation de ces questions par des forces extrémistes.»

www.liberation.fr (9.09.2010)

“European Commission was criticized by the left wing parties and by liberals for its *passive attitude*. Viviane Reding defends herself by saying she is satisfied by the assurances that were given to her by Paris in order to justify its policy of escorting persons to the border. *France has explained that there was not any targeted action against Roma people*. Nevertheless, France has not given any comment on the observance by Paris of the Chart of Citizens' rights: the Commission legal study will not be available before the following week. Jose Manuel Barroso, its President, explained before the Parliament that they *need to find a balance between the freedom of movement and complete safety*. If not, we will have to face the danger of these questions being exploited by extremist forces.”

This press release is a remarkable product of Political correctness. Between direct and indirect speech, we need to read between lines to understand that the European Commission is not exactly in favour of this policy of escorting European citizens to the border practised by France against Roma people and other undesirable categories of migrants. At the same time, they do not condemn it completely. There is no mention in this press release about the fact that the undesirable persons are the Roma people, no representative of the European Commission or of the media said that explicitly. The only discussion is about European citizens' safety and about the danger coming

from extremist forces, which are not nominated either. So, no one can insurgé against such a text nor can anyone complain about discrimination.

Jacques Chirac, former President of the fifth Republic of France, while still in office, gave an example of how it is politically correct to speak about the minorities living on the French territory. He referred to them as *les minorités visibles*, “visible minority groups” (Clouzet 2008, 47). There is no mention in the cited document of those visible minorities’ reaction. Now it becomes obvious why Father Maladrige, a Jesuit from the 18th century said: *La parole a été donnée à l’homme pour cacher sa pensée* – “Word was given to man to conceal his thoughts.” (Motto of a chapter from Stendhal’s *Le Rouge et le Noir*). In our opinion, Chirac’s words were nothing else but a means of underlying the differences between minorities, more or less visible, and the majority, offending those designed as such rather than protecting them.

“Politically correct” language as language of the media

This phrase, *politically correct language*, is often used to describe media discourse in dealing with sensitive issues. This is one interpretation of the term which describes a discourse abounding in clichés, stereotypes, metaphors or unusual turns of phrase.

To be more explicit, they often speak about the fact *that il y a eu un bras de fer entre le syndicat et le patronat*, “management and labour have been at loggerheads over several matters”; by acting in a specific manner ils essaient de *redorer le blason d’une institution* “they have been trying to improve the reputation of an institution”; a political movement or a fight in favour of a human right or against a critical situation *fait vite tâche d’huile* “has a ripple effect”; after weak results in elections, a party or its members or its followers are *au pied du mur* “they had their back against the wall”; after a government reshuffle everybody speaks about *a coup de balai* “a

sweep”; a country, a government, a movement or a party undertake actions *en franchissant la ligne rouge* “they crossed a red line/the red lines”; a new government taking office in a country *prend les freins en main* “the government reasserts power”; when someone tells someone else what he/she really thinks about him/her *on lui dit les quatre vérités*, “we tell someone a few home truths”; “in a zone where the situation is becoming more and more dangerous and explosive we talk about *une vraie poudrière*” “a powder keg”; when a most powerful party tries to set somebody or some party straight *on lui tape sur les doigts* “we give somebody a rap on the knuckles”; if somebody or some institution or an organization persists in his/her/its decisions or beliefs, *il/elle persiste et signe*, “I am sticking to my guns”: two opposite parties, entities or forces that continuously fight and never give up it means that *ils se renvoient la balle*, “they pass the buck”; a peace call launched by an international organization and still ignored becomes *a lettre morte*, “dead letter/ they fall into deaf ears”: a team or a party that does not win *éprouve du vague à l’ame*, “they have that feeling of longing”; a politician who does not change his opinion, his conviction or his attitude is someone who *se tient droit dans ses bottes* “who stands/stays on one’s feet”. (TV 5 Monde, www.tv5.org)

Public sphere represents the most exposed part of visual and audible communication and this is the reason why whatever fault it is committed, whatever skidding behaviour is noted should be openly and severely criticised. It was to the unpleasant surprise of Eric Zemmour, a journalist for RTL (Radio Télévision de Luxembourg) to be no more and no less accused of racist proposals because he stated that:

(5)

«Seules les sociétés homogènes comme le Japon, ayant refusé de longue date l’immigration de masse, et protégées par des barrières naturelles, si elles n’ignorent nullement les trafics de mafia, échappent à cette violence de la rue. Notre territoire, privé de la protection de ses anciennes frontières, renoue dans les villes, mais aussi

dans les campagnes, avec les grandes razzias, les pillages d'autrefois, les Normands, les Huns, les Arabes. Les grandes invasions d'après la chute de Rome sont désormais remplacées par des bandes de Tchétchènes, de Roms, de Kosovars, de Maghrébins, d'Africains, qui dévalisent, violentent ou dépouillent. Une population française sidérée et prostrée crie sa fureur, mais celle-ci se perd dans le vide intersidéral des statistiques.»

(www.gentside.com)

“Only homogeneous societies such as Japan, having long refused mass immigration and protected by natural barriers, even if they are aware of Mafia Traffic, are not hit by street violence. Our territory, deprived from the protection of our ancient borders, has become the object, in towns as well as in villages, of robberies like those in ancient times, of great raids, you know, ancient robberies, of Normands, Huns, Arabs. The big invasions after the fall of Rome are replaced by hordes of Chechens, Roma people, Kosovar Roma Gypsies, Maghreb people, African people who steal, attack or despoiled people. A French people astounded and frozen crying out its anger, but this is lost among numerous statistics.”

This is just one example of how public opinion punishes the most insignificant deviation from what is considered to be the right thing to say or to write. Freedom of speech has long been forgotten.

“Politically correct” language as management language

Managers have to be very able and ingenious communicators and they must have acquired „specific competences in interaction and persuasion” (D’Almeida and Avissau 2010, 124). Despite mastering those competences, the manager finds himself in the position of using stereotyped formulas while trying to establish a climate of respect of the principle of hierarchy but at the same time making efforts to mobilize everyone involved in the firm activity.

There are many studies on business communication in enterprises, companies, agencies and other organizations. Corporate executives have to

find a way to manage internal and external communication, to establish and reinforce communication strategy to be used in corporate communication, in advertising, in sales promotions and also in multimedia interactive communication and public relations. Within these various kinds of communication, we deal with agents and intermediates who communicate with the customers to whom they must provide information services or technical support. They are aware that, among other things, their mission is to trigger satisfaction and trust among customers. In their communication of any kind, and they have to be careful not to affect the image of the company. Here is an example of such written corporate communication:

(6)

«Rationalisation par le sentiment d'identité professionnelle et d'utilité sociale. Le contrôle idéologique consiste également à renforcer l'idée chez les opérateurs que leur rôle est utile pour la société. [...] Particulièrement dans ce secteur, les managers veillent à contrecarrer cette image négative en soulignant l'importance des conseillers commerciaux pour l'entreprise, en insistant sur leurs compétences, leur rôle de garde-fou contre les excès des clients. Face à cette image impopulaire auprès du grand public, les opérateurs ont tendance de la même façon à valoriser leur propres compétences et personnalité, ainsi que des membres de leur groupe d'appartenance.» (Grosjean, Ribert-Van De Veerd 2005, 21)

“Rationalization by the feeling of professional identity and social usefulness. Ideological supervision equally consists of reinforcing the idea that operators are useful in society. [...] In this field of activity, managers ensure that the negative image of operators should disappear and they also stress the importance of commercial advisors for their enterprise based on their competences and their important protective role as safeguards against clients' excesses. Faced with this negative image, operators tend to overvalue their own competences and personalities, as well as those of their fellows.”

One of the strategies of management communication consists of oral presentations, for which there are three golden rules: 5 slides, 5 lines per

slide, 5 words per line. In management communication, a lot of documents are being issued: advertising flyers: *Managers, soyez humains... pour inspirer!* “Managers, try and be human... and inspire!” (<http://www.kolibricoaching.com/management-durable/managers-vocabulaire-sens>), brochures, web sites meant to guide the managers (<http://www.kolibricoaching.com/management-durable/manager-par-le-silence>). Studies are done in universities, there are even a lot of doctoral theses (*„L’impact du perfectionnisme sur le coping chez les prestataires de services d’une rencontre toxique avec un client”* www.hec.ca/profs/sylvain.senecal.html).

Despite all efforts, the language is heavy, quite difficult to understand for an outsider. Sometimes even the persons involved in management activities try hard to figure out the meaning of all those beautifully aligned sentences made up of so many abstract nouns and verbs.

“Politically correct” language – fresh and neat aspect of contemporary language?

For the general public, *politically correct* language is the language of official documents, of interviews with political actors such as prime-ministers, foreign ministers, presidents in office or even out of office, government officials, official publications, official documents. Being perceived as such, *politically correct* language serves to accommodate needs and sensitivities of various kinds of minorities, the visible minorities mentioned by Jacques Chirac among others, but also those of religious minorities, minorities with different sexual orientation or the vast category of disabled people. *Politically correct* language aims to avoid offending or upsetting anyone concerned, be it a member of such a minority or a member of the general public. Strong and direct words are to be avoided and

replaced by paraphrases, collocations or even better, by scientific terms which become official terms widely circulated.

Thus, instead of calling a spade a spade, “appeler un chat un chat” (Fr.), people prefer using paraphrases, euphemisms and even turns of phrase difficult to understand. This does not minimize a handicap; it simply means that the user of this type of language intends to avoid vexing people who might be concerned. The users of this variety of language put in place quite a large vocabulary and various linguistic means in order to protect any human being who might suffer of any kind of infirmity, any sensitivity concerning race, illnesses. This vocabulary even protects legal offences and offenders, inequities or failure in education, demeaning jobs and occupations. The terms might seem exaggerated and sometimes we wonder if they are really necessary or if the proper term would not be more appropriate. We are going to give the French correspondant of the Politically correct term concerned between simple quotation marks. We speak about job applicant “demandeur d’emploi” instead of unemployed “chômeur”; about seniors “chronologiquement avantagés” instead of old people “vieux”; about disabled persons “personnes handicapées” instead of invalids “infirmes”; about partially sighted persons “malvoyants” instead of short-sighted persons “borgne”; a street cleaner “balayeur des rues” is a sanitation worker/officer/engineer “technicien de surface” in *politically correct* language; we call a stupid/slow man “un crétin” a mentally/ intellectually challenged “personne à mobilité cérébrale réduite”; to encourage customers to buy even when prices go up, we speak of readjustment of prices “réajustement des prix” instead of price increase “hausse des prix”; we try to speak of psychiatric disorder “trouble psychiatrique” instead of madness “folie”; we call obesity “obésité” overweight “surpoids” to avoid vexing fat people; instead of speaking about poor people “les pauvres” we call them economically vulnerable “économiquement faibles”; we call a lie “un mensonge” an untruth “une contre vérité”; we hesitate to speak about failure

“un échec”, but we call it a setback “une contre réussite”; it is not polite to speak about an underdeveloped country “un pays sous-développé”, instead we have to call it a developing country “un pays en voie de développement”. All these are paraphrases meant to hide the hideous truth under the pretext of not shaking, offending or vexing any sensitivity. This is the politically correct language we are dealing with in this article, trying to describe and analyze it.

Drawing a parallel between “politically correct” language and “wooden language”

In our opinion, the two aspects of language are not synonyms, yet they share common features. More than that, they may appear in the same discourse. We will try to highlight their common characteristics.

Hiding reality

The two aspects of the language we are dealing with aim to hide reality, or at least to cover up a part of it, the ugly part. Reality is not always beautiful, it may be horrible, appalling, awful, cruel, frightful, grim, hideous, scandalous, shameful, detestable or only disagreeable or unkind. There can be something untoward about it, something that may bring about an inconvenience or other, something that may shock sensitive people, something that may harm communication and understanding between entities that got on together. It can distance you from an ally or a support group, it may cause you prejudice, it may harm your interests... Any participant to an important language exchange would want to conceal or diminish any harmful aspects, any annoying words, any offending phrases.

Everything must be done in order to keep your allies and to preserve their confidence and their support (of any kind, be it moral or material).

In nowadays France, the situation is far from what the elected president would have wanted or expected it to be. It is not just because France has been an + AAA rating country, but lately some rating agency withdrew this country rating from France. It immediately affected political life: left wing parties in France (the Socialist Party) and even right parties (such UMP) have lost many votes in national and European elections in favour of The National Front led by Marine Le Pen, the daughter of Jean-Marie Le Pen, the traditional ruler of the national movement in France. It calls for a mobilizing discourse on behalf of the French Prime minister. He is more than willing to deliver it, as he feels that his recent nomination must be challenged:

(7)

«La France doit se réformer», dans le sens qu' «il faut aller plus vite». „Nous devons faire preuve de courage car la France doit se réformer, a déclaré Manuel Valls. Cela fait trop longtemps, gauche et droite confondues, que l'on évite de traiter les choses en profondeur.»

(<http://www.lefigaro.fr/flash-actu/2014/05/25>)

“France must reform”, meaning that “we must hurry our reforms”. “We have to prove our courage, as France must really reform” said Manuel Valls.” It has been long since both left and right parties avoided dealing with the situation as it really is.”

The discourse is deliberately vague and unclear as to the direction of the reform(s) and as to its/their speed. It is a mere statement on behalf of a politician as regards to some necessary changes without a definite plan or programme. As a matter of fact, who would want to go into details and why?

In another comment to the media on the same topic, the Prime minister tries to explain why the left party obtained such weak results, which is obviously a euphemism, in the elections for the European Parliament:

(8)

«Le premier ministre a pointé un “score médiocre des partis de gouvernement, tout particulièrement de la majorité et de la gauche”. “Vous avez exprimé un profond scepticisme”, a-t-il affirmé dans un discours à l’attention des Français, estimant qu’après la défaite de la gauche aux municipales ce vote confirmait “une crise de confiance, une colère qui rejaillit aussi sur l’adhésion au projet européen».

(<http://www.lefigaro.fr/flash-actu/2014/05/25>)

“The Prime minister indicated a poor result of the government parties and especially of the representatives of the majority and the left wing parties. “You expressed your deep skepticism”, he stated, in a speech addressed to French people, considering that after the defeat of the left wing in local elections this vote confirms “a profound crisis of consciousness, your deep anger and you voiced your dissatisfaction regarding the European project.”

Even when they try to give up using the Wooden language (J.-Fr. Copé, the author of “Promis, j’arrête la langue de bois, 2006), they realize that they are unable to do so. J.-Fr. Copé himself had to backtrack after the book has appeared and to redefine his position, which he did in an interview for *Le Figaro* (www.lefigaro.fr/lefigaromagazine):

(9)

«*La langue de bois est parfois inévitable.*»

“Wooden language is sometimes inevitable.”

In order to illustrate the *Politically correct* language in action, we will closely examine a news brief which became quite a solid investigation largely debated on by Belgian and European media. It is an incident media presented as *La fusillade au musée juif de Bruxelles*, (leparisien.fr/faits-

divers, liberation.fr) “Shooting at Jewish Museum in Brussels”, *L’attaque du Musée juif de Bruxelles* (liberation.fr) “Armed attack at the Jewish Museum in Brussels”, *Attentat meurtrier au Musée juif de Belgique* (tvanouvelles.ca) “Murderous attack at Jewish Museum in Belgium”, *Tuerie au Musée Juif* (lalibre.be) “Killing at the Jewish Museum”. When the murderer’s identity was known, the media, trying to avoid agitating xenophobic and racist feelings, named him „the Franco-Algerian Mehdi Nemmouche” (liberation.fr) and created him an aura of *solitary wolf*. No need to specify that this is one of the numerous clichés largely used by the media to characterize a person who acts by himself, trying to harm as many people as he can, perpetrating violent actions. In the same article the journalist prepares to change his attitude towards so solitary wolf.

(10)

«Deux semaines après l’attaque, l’Union européenne a décidé jeudi de resserrer les mailles du filet face à la menace jihadiste, en préparant une série de mesures pour identifier les jeunes Européens partis combattre en Syrie et les empêcher de commettre des tueries à leur retour. Mehdi Nemmouche avait passé plus d’un an en Syrie, d’où il était rentré en mars.»

“Two weeks after the attack, the European Union decided on Thursday to intensify its efforts to combat the jihadist threat, putting in place a series of measures in order to identify young Europeans who left to fight in Syria and to prevent them from committing violent acts themselves. Mehdi Nemmouche spent more than a year in Syria from where he returned in March.”

The journalists from www.nicematin.com are not so reluctant to share information and they speak freely about a “French citizen fighting for Jihad, radicalized in prison and with time spent in Syria. The prosecutor of Paris cannot but use *Politically correct* language himself when he speaks about “sufficient reliable and consistent evidence” against the attacker. Soon after, the attacker is presented as a fierce terrorist and the same Prosecutor from

Paris, in the same politically correct language, says that “there he seems to have joined the ranks of the most violent and radical Islamists, founders of the Khalifat or the Islamist State of Iraq and the Levant.”

So far, the description contains no qualification, no offending designation of the killer, which can easily be explained by the fact that the description is made by a representative of the government, compelled by his position to be cautious. The situation repeats itself when other details of the life of the jihadist militant are revealed by the Federal Prosecutor of the Belgian Kingdom, Frederic Van Leeuw, who speaks about a “prolific offender” (nicematin.com) who spent some time in prison where “he made himself known for his religious radicalism”. It is important to say that the Federal Prosecutor of the Belgian Kingdom quotes “information from the secret services”. Here is another prosecutor who cannot afford any deviation in language.

On the site www.lacapitale.be, the Minister of Home Affairs of Belgium, Joëlle Milquet, stated: “*Tout porte à croire qu’il s’agit d’un attentat antisémite.*” “We have every reason to believe that it was an antisemitic attack.” The terms used to present the attacker are accurate and do not lead to any other interpretation. Media and politicians cite information shared by the security services, any statement is checked and double checked, no one takes any risk of being prosecuted for any of his/her statements. This kind of polyphony is a classic means used by journalists to protect themselves against possible criticism or attack. As for the politicians, they must be masters of *Politically correct* language, which they try hard to acquire. Everybody mentions not the actual killer but the “presumed killer”, “l’assassin présumé”.

Common areas of use for “Politically correct” language and “Wooden language”

In all spheres of social, political and economic life, the main actors, politicians, statesmen and heads of state, journalists and, generally speaking every person addressing the general public must follow the norms of politeness, according to Brown and Levinson (1987). In other words, they must adopt face saving acts in language interaction (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2001). All kinds of strategies can be useful: they may try to minimize the effect of some words or to mitigate the effects of some actions. Let us illustrate some of these strategies in the same case of the attack at the Jewish Museum in Brussels.

Expressing his opinion about young Europeans who go to Syria to join the jihadists, Maurice Sosnowski, president of the Coordinating Jewish from Belgium Committee, said: “There is no surprise to see that dogmatics left for Syria and came back here in order to commit murders.” (www.lacapitale.be). He uses an introductive sentence: “There is no surprise to see that...” in order to prepare the audience to the terrible announcement he is about to make.

Yvan Mayeur, the Mayor of Brussels, speaking to the community of Brussels, to the Belgian people and to the whole world, says that “*Un tel acte, en plein cœur de Bruxelles, au musée juif, c’est extrêmement grave!*” (www.lacapitale.be). “Such an act, in the very heart of Brussels, at the Jewish Museum, is an extremely serious matter!” He was aware that his words would be repeated in all media and in order to protect the sensibility of the families of the victims, he avoided naming the act. More than that, he uses an adverbial modifier, “extrêmement”, “extremely” in order to quantify the seriousness of the offence which will lead to various actions on behalf of the law enforcement authorities.

As for the wooden language, it is very present in the discourse of politicians who, using it, feel protected against criticism and avoid

diplomatic incidents taking one side or the other. The ministers of foreign affairs from France, Great Britain and Germany issue a statement that goes like this:

(11)

«Nous sommes très inquiets de la reprise des hostilités dans la bande de Gaza. Nous appelons les deux parties à revenir immédiatement à un cessez-le-feu» [...] “Nous apportons notre plein soutien aux efforts engagés par l’Egypte à cet effet» (<http://tempsreel.nouvelobs.com>).

“We are very concerned about the resumption of hostilities in Gaza Strip. We appeal to both parties to conclude an immediate ceasefire. [...] We strongly support the efforts made by Egypt to this effect.”

We note here the use of superlatives to stress the gravity of the situation, but apart from that, there is no engagement of taking any steps to stop the attacks.

Linguistic means shared: stereotypes, clichés et les figurative devices

Sharing linguistic means like stereotypes, clichés and figurative devices may deepen the confusion between *politically correct* language and *wooden language*. Nevertheless, it is a fact. Each and every of these linguistic and rhetoric means exist in any language, so they should appear in public discourse.

Let us begin with the stereotype, which is a fixed representation, a common cultural pattern which helps a person represent reality (Amossy and Herschberg-Pierrot 2005, 26). Speaking about the United States, knowing that they were involved in many conflicts all around the world, they are considered „the world’s policeman”; nevertheless, the same can be said about France which has lately militarily intervened in Mali or Central African Republic and becoming “Africa’s policeman”; Russian people are perceived by others as being able to drink huge quantities of vodka; Italian people eat a

lot of pasta. As for physical appearance, there is a cultural pattern according to which blond women are stupid, red-haired men or women are not to be trusted, fat people are mild and good-hearted... Stereotypes are useful, but they are not so accurate, even if they are sometimes associated with categories and categorization. Some linguists consider that stereotypes represent the product of defective thinking because they are too rigid and they generalize too much, but usually are incorrectly learned because they do not coincide with the facts they describe. Obviously, there is also another category of linguists that thinks exactly the opposite (Mohamed Kamel Dorai 1988).

Stereotypes do not seem to be widely appreciated and they seem to become useful mostly to highlight negative characteristics. They usually serve as arguments and journalists and politicians are the first beneficiaries of this cultural and sometimes multicultural treasure. *Politically correct* language finds here resources which seem unlimited:

(12)

«Le premier ministre a affirmé aujourd’hui que la France, engagée dans une opération militaire en *Centrafrique*, n’agissait pas en “gendarme de l’Afrique” mais répondait à “l’appel de ses partenaires africains”, lors du débat sans vote au Parlement sur cette opération.» (www.lefigaro.fr)

“The Prime minister said today that France, involved in a military operation in Central Africa, was not acting as “Africa’s policeman”, but “in response to African partners demand”, while addressing the Parliament during the debate on the matter.”

Laurent Fabius, the French Foreign affairs minister, was also challenged by journalists to explain the position of France:

(13)

«La France n'est pas le gendarme de l'Afrique, mais il se trouve que pour le moment-et nous travaillons à ce que ça change-, la France est le seul pays qui a des forces capables d'aller là-bas en nombre.»

“France is not Africa’s policeman, nevertheless it so happened that for the time being – and we work hard to change it- France is the only country that has the military force ready to intervene there in great number.”

Wooden language makes also an extensive use of stereotypes, to argue in favour of or against an idea. As *wooden language* was largely used in communist countries to reinforce totalitarian regime, most of the stereotypes were inspired from everyday life. There was the stereotype of the hard working farmer cultivating the rich soil of the country and gathering rich crops; there was the stereotype of the worker, dressed in his dark blue overall and wearing a white or blue helmet, always ready to work in order to fulfil the plan ahead schedule; the soldiers, devoted to their country and ready to sacrifice their life to protect the homeland (despite the fact that they were poorly equipped, poorly fed, poorly cared for and their so called instruction was quite challenging because of the living conditions). Indeed, these are multicultural stereotypes, as each and every totalitarian regime from the communist block tried to cultivate these common stereotypes. At least this was what they intended to achieve, to impose a stereotype, or more, even if they did not have substantial support. This is a *politically correct* way to say that each and every stereotype forged by communist ideology had no material support, it was based on ideas and ideals. Such an idea and at the same time ideal was the *new man*. This *new man* was the golden idea of communist ideology, an abstraction, a prototype of a man, built gradually, by common efforts made by a society driven by a common purpose: to build, to support, to reinforce the communist society based on equal work, equal chances and equal rewarding. Reinforcing national states and communist ideology was not the only target in the totalitarian

communist states. On a larger scale, they tried to convince themselves that, as socialist and communist countries, they were as developed as the capitalist countries and they wanted to have their say in international politics, on the international level. So, every country from the communist block had their idea of the new order on the international scene: every country had to have the right to self-determination and self-governing. So, this was the stereotype of state imagined by ideologists devoted to socialism and communism.

We must mention that during the communist regime, there were some negative stereotypes, those to be removed from everyone's consciousness and destroyed: the stereotype of capitalists, rich people who became rich exploiting other people are making economic schemes, who live a happy but depraved life, living in the most extreme degradation. To achieve its purpose, the communist propaganda let Romanian people watch the degrading capitalist film „Dallas. The Ewing Family”. Each and every character of the movie incarnated the horrors of capitalism: the depraved businessman; the depraved rich woman; the depraved and spoiled rich youth, etc.

Now, as we come to speak about clichés, the first thing to say is his common belonging to both variety of language: *politically correct* language and *wooden language*. The explanation is quite simple: the cliché is widely known and it is recurrent in people's discourse.

The cliché is defined as “an expression or phrase that is constitutes a growing gap between usage and norm and which has become common place by being frequently used.” (Dubois et al. 2007, 89) Clichés are mostly overused epithets such as: stormy life, devouring remorse (Amossy and Herschberg 2005, 9) or linguistic patterns used by journalists of written or spoken media.

Let us give some examples: two opposite parties are at loggerheads over something; somebody becomes a stone around somebody else's neck; we speak about the straw that broke the camel's back; a discussion is heated;

somebody fights something or somebody tooth and nail; when we speak, we state something loud and clear; some provinces were hard hit by the crisis; the team (a football team for instance) has the wind in its sails; we cannot throw up hands; Recep Erdogan was elected with flying colours; the Kurds regained strength when supported by Americans; something very much discussed is the talk of the town; speaking about a difficult situation we may say that this is no place for a faint heart; images are aired again and again; harsh austerity policy of the government is vividly criticized.

Despite their bad reputation, clichés will have had the great merit of rendering *wooden language* more accessible and easier to understand. Especially to large masses of people who needed badly to learn and master it. The Romanian dictator Ceaușescu was the “genius of the Carpathians”, he was the “beloved leader”, while his wife – otherwise detested and hated more than the dictator himself – was a “world-wide known scholar”; the country was supposed to be taken towards the highest peaks (no mention of the kind of peaks!); the people was fighting for the new order (even though little was known about it!).

Obviously, this language was a code used between “worshippers” to make them known to each other but also by people aspiring to join the movement and later on, to be promoted.

Mastering the *wooden language*, with all its figures of speech, all its turn of phrases, the abstract nouns and verbs put together and making no sense were worth more than any scientific title awarded by the most reputed university.

Valade (2010, 37) stresses the great number of empty words of propaganda, of frozen phrases, metaphors deprived of any meaning, all these were the inexhaustible resource of *Wooden language*.

Tension between “wooden language/ politically correct” language vs. natural language

Wooden language and *politically correct* language may well be two different aspects of language, nonetheless they both have in common the constant and unbreakable opposition to natural language. Having stated that *wooden language* “sert aujourd’hui à désigner une diversité de fonctionnements verbaux” (“serves today to name diverse verbal functions”) (Dufays 2010, 41) also notices that *wooden language* has three enunciation modes (which, in our opinion apply also to *politically correct* language): first degree enunciation, where the locutor believes in what he enunciates; a second degree enunciation, where we deal with a polemist criticizing his opponent or the humourist parodying a discourse he disapproves); a third degree enunciation, that of the politician or scholar who mocks his own actions or deeds. It became obvious that *wooden language* and *politically correct* language largely contribute to the impoverishment of language, of any natural language. Devite (2010, 50) notes on this that we witness some kind of reduction of vocabulary of a language by repeated usage of the same term to designate reality, thus damaging the language sources which became useless. And the great difference between *wooden language* and *politically correct* language on one side a natural language on the other side is that the first two may lead to a discourse without a transmitter, which seems to come from nowhere, to be originated by an abstract, inhuman source. This form of language is more like an idiom intended for a technical audience as anyone else could consider it abstract “hermetically closed, inaccessible to outsiders” and aiming at “forging concepts and naming certain aspects of reality” (Devite 2010, 52).

In our opinion, to expand the range of languages for special purposes in order to include *politically correct* language would be a huge offence to languages for special purposes and a huge mistake. Even though languages for special purposes are not readily accessible to non-specialists, their use and usefulness is undisputed, they are characterized by a visible and

continuous evolution and a rapid diffusion rate. As for *wooden language* and *politically correct* language, they also have rapidly spread, covering various and numerous fields of social, economic and political life. They even seem to have reached their climax, if such a climax can be taken into consideration! In accordance to the natural laws of logic, any climax is followed, sooner or later, by a fall.

The fall will come for these two aspects of the natural language naturally and gradually. Totalitarian communist parties have disappeared, most of them, and still there is some room left for *wooden language*. Smaller scale communities ready to adopt the indicated behaviour, language and mentality are to be found in companies, national or multinational, in organizations or institutions. Nobody wastes too much time scratching below the surface in these companies, but should they do it, they would discover some disagreeable things. Many such companies impose a certain behaviour and language to be used with customers, they also impose rules and limits among the co-workers as regards to the vocabulary and behaviour they are allowed to use. There are a lot of “do’s” and “don’ts”, weird impositions that complicate everyone’s life but which are presented as rules that contribute to build the company uniqueness and personality.

“Wooden language” and “Politically correct” language vs. outspokenness and frank talk

Wooden language, as well as *Politically correct* language are quite opposed to outspokenness and frank talk merely because of their false nature, because of their being an intellectual snobbery (Rouleau 2010, 119-120) and because they virtually contradict any normal, human and open language.

Frank talk represents an aspect of the language not so cultivated but at the same time free of any concern of vexing, harming or offending someone. Moreover, sincerity and truthfulness may not be appreciated in some

communities or circles. It may sometimes bring about serious trouble if it is not well balanced, sensible and used within reasonable limits.

It was what a member of the National Front (le Front National), Anne-Sophie Leclère experienced because she posted on her Facebook page a photo with the French Minister of justice, Christiane Taubira, and the photo of a monkey, with the legend “Christiane Taubira at 18 months”. The person in question was charged, brought to court and convicted to 9 months in prison and she was fined by a French tribunal. Of course, this attitude was criticised even by her own party, which did not impress the convicted lady, who defended herself saying that it was a joke. Knowing the party’s background, nobody gave her much credit for this explanation.

This is an example of frank talk that brings about trouble, but sometimes politicians use it to their advantage. It so happened when a young and promising politician published a book “*Promis, j’arrête la langue de bois*” (Copé 2006), even if the promise remained dead letter.

Legrand (2010, 151-155) thinks that Nicolas Sarkozy and Ségolène Royal are “the popes of this method” (Legrand 2010, 152), each of them using it to reinforce the electors’ confidence in their promises and to convince people to vote for him/her. Segolène Royal, representing the socialists, tried to conquer her audience saying that she would try to improve people’s life conditions because they suffer from “*la vie chère*”, “hard life”, while Nicolas Sarkozy, representing the right wing, tried to convince those who had already elected him that he would work tirelessly to put in place his promises. Being on a construction site, he said: “*Mon bureau, c’est ici!*” (“My office is right here!”).

The same author shows no appreciation for the language used by politicians, calling it “la langue du robinet” (“tap language”) or “parler cash” (“cash talk”) perhaps because of its lack of consistency. He even tries to give a definition of “parler cash” (cash talk):

(14)

«Le parler cash est une façon de faire mine de rejeter la langue de bois, c'est-à-dire la phraséologie politique destinée à tourner autour du pot.»

“Cash talk is a way of pretending to reject wooden language, that is the political phraseology meant to beat about the bush.”

Attempted definitions and differences between “Wooden language” and “Politically correct” language

Although they have much in common, *wooden language* and *politically correct* language are two different entities. Not to mention that they appeared on different continents and at different times.

Françoise Thom uses the term “pensée automatique” (automatic thinking) (1987) or “prêt-à-parler” (“ready to use”) to characterize *wooden language* while Pascale Rouleau (2010) thinks it is a jargon. These terms are not very distant from those used by Thomas Legrand (2010) and that is because all these authors showed little appreciation toward the reality in question.

The dictionaries or rather their authors, astute linguists, have a different approach. Thus, in 1988, Larousse classifies it as a set of phraseological units; the Nouveau Petit Robert (2010) defines *Wooden language* as “a frozen language used by political propaganda” and by extension of meaning, it is “a language which is rich in frozen sequences and stereotypes”. For this meaning, Nouveau Petit Robert gives as a synonym “novlangue” (“newspeak”) and as an antonym “franc-parler” (“frank-talk”).

Françoise Thom (1987) as well as Patrick Charaudeau and Dominique Maingueneau (2002, 335-337) identify a series of characteristic features of *Wooden language*, such as:

the lack of identified agent, depersonalization, the use of abstract nouns, of attributive adjectives, a limited vocabulary, limited phraseology and the lack of transparency as regards the referent. This type of language was used to impose and then to reinforce a certain ideology, that of totalitarian regimes.

Politically correct language is known in France since 1990 and in contrast with the Wooden language, is not characteristic to an ideology but to a specific category of people, namely the politicians. Lebouc (2007) tries to summarize the definitions given to that phrase:

(15)

«Politiquement correct se dit d'un discours, d'un comportement visant à bannir tout ce qui pourrait blesser les membres d'une catégorie ou de groupes minoritaires en leur faisant sentir leur différence comme une infériorité ou un motif d'exclusion.»

“Politically correct is said about a discourse or an attitude aimed to banish everything that could hurt members of a category or group of minorities, making them aware of their difference from others and ranking them as inferior to others.”

Politically correct language is often associated to public discourse of politicians and journalists, as they are continuously exposed to public attention. Lebouc (2007) makes an inventory of terms associated to this phrase and to its semantic field, an inventory of the various fields where it appears.

This aspect of language spread everywhere and conquered all aspects of life and human activity: economy, industry, education, justice, public health. Its users must have the strong conviction that it became indispensable and it is the only way to avoid sensitive issues.

Perhaps a woman feels better if they say she is chronologically challenged (“chronologiquement avantagée”) and not old (“vieille”); an invalid (“un infirme”) becomes a person of reduced mobility (“personne à mobilité réduite”); a dwarf (“un nain”) is a vertically challenged man (“une

personne à verticalité défiée/contrariée”); a strike (“une grève”) is a work stoppage or an interruption in employment (“arrêt/cessation volontaire du travail”); an unemployment office (“un bureau de chômage”) is a an employment hub/node/center (“un pôle emploi”); we dare not speak about warfare “état de guerre” instead we call it pacification “maintien de la paix”, while a country is occupied by a foreign force “occupé” we cannot speak about foreign occupation, but we notice a presence in the country “une présence militaire; when police intervene or respond in a brutal manner “intervention brutale des forces de l’ordre” we can only mention police action “intervention musclée de la police”; when a public person appears in public drunk “dans un état avancé d’ivresse” he appeared tired and emotional “il était mal assuré”; racism “le racisme” has lately become Humanbiodiversity (in short HBD) un syndrome sécuritaire”; gypsies “les tziganes” are very much offended if they are not called Roma people “des Roms” and in some countries they have originated from, such as Romania, they expect to be called Roms and not gypsies; black people “les noirs” want to be called of Afro-American origin “des afro-américains”; an arrest “une arrestation” is an apprehension une mise en examen”; a stripper “une stripteaseuse” is an exotic dancer “une gogo danseuse” or “une animatrice”; a person is not dead “morte” but he/ she is departed/ deceased/ late/ lost/ gone/ passed “parti(e)”; death “la mort” is a demise/ an end/ the final destination “la disparition”, whereas euthanasia “l’euthanasie” is aid in dying “accélération de fin de vie”; genocide “le génocide” became ethnic cleansing “épuration ethnique”.

Linguistic means for term formation in high demand for Politically correct language are those used in word formation: composition, abbreviations or acronyms, eponymous words, borrowings. For instance in French a male homosexual is “gay”; a voluntary termination of a pregnancy is an IVG (Interruption volontaire de grossesse); there are some participles used as nouns (malvoyant, malentendant “partially sighted, hearing

impaired); mad people are “aliénés”; most terms are formed with a negative prefix –*non*: non voyant, non belligérant (visually handicapped, militarily not engaged) or with the prefix *contre-*: a lie is a *contre-vérité* and a failure is *une contre-réussite* (Lebouc 2007, 69-79).

This distinct aspect of language has developed into real art for some actors of media, who do not hesitate to use the forms already in use but they also create new ones. We shall give a fragment of the corpus we have from TV5Monde (January 2012-January 2014):

(16)

«On se perd dans le mille-feuille de l’administration française.»

We become very much confused in the interstices of French administration.

(17)

«Le conflit entre la Seleka et les anti-balaka fait tâche d’huile.»

The conflict between Seleka and anti-balaka is rapidly spreading out.

(18)

«25mai: l’heure des gueules de bois»

25 May: hangover time has come!

(19)

«Les grands partis européens ont perdu des plumes dans ces élections.»

Some of the great European parties have lost lose some feathers

(20)

«La vague bleu-marine...»

The blue-marine wave...

(21)

«Pour éviter à la SNCF de rire jaune ce matin...»

To protect SNCF from laughing on the other side of its face this morning...

(22)

«Obama va muscler la présence militaire américaine en Europe.»

Obama will strengthen American military presence in Europe.

Conclusion

These two aspects of language are characterized by figurative language, the use of euphemisms, the use of stereotypes and clichés. This does not mean that they are to replace literary language or the use of general vocabulary.

The users of these two aspects of the language are sometimes compelled to use either of them because they are public persons and they are very much exposed to face threatening acts. Daily language exchange is more than that and it allows natural language to make use of all its resources.

Politically correct language and Wooden language appeared in specific circumstances, which changed in time. The two aspects of language also changed, enriched and developed, under the influence of society and following its direction. We may say that the spread of these two aspects of natural language is due, nowadays, to globalization and to the free movement of persons, goods and services. And of course thanks to technical progress which allows information to be available in short time and almost everywhere.

Although Politically correct language and Wooden language have almost become two language registers, their importance must not be exaggerated and their use should not be encouraged. As they are a product of human society, or merely a product we can but recommend a moderate use of it, or, as they say in advertising: *A consommer avec modération!*

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Self-reference and reference to the other in the speech of two children and their parents

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Abstract

Our aim is to deal with the acquisition of self-reference by a bilingual child in French and Portuguese from Brazil and a monolingual child who speaks Portuguese. This research is based on a dialogic approach which considers that the child acquires and enters in the language through different genres. In Portuguese, the verbs can be used without the personal pronouns as the verbal endings make reference to the person. Our question is: Does the acquisition of self-reference and reference to the other happen similarly when the child is acquiring two languages at once? Moreover, the purpose is to spot how the interlocutors interact. The utterances were analyzed according to the presence of personal pronouns, proper nouns and null subject.

Key-words: language acquisition, bilingualism, dialogic approach

Introduction

This work¹ will discuss the usage of personal pronouns referring to the first and second person in a Brazilian monolingual child (GUS.) and a French-Brazilian bilingual child (MAR.)

¹ This study is part of a collaborative project between the groups NALíngua (Centre of Language Acquisition Studies, CNPq, Brazil) and DIAREF, which is coordinated by Professor Anne Salazar-Orvig (Sorbonne Nouvelle University).

We start from a dialogical approach for language acquisition, which considers that the child acquires language usage through their language practices and through their entrance into different genres. In the same way, we assume it is impossible to dissociate the dialogue's linguistic, cognitive (Bruner 1975), role of speech directed to the child (Bakhtin 1988), the process of language socialization (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1999) in the construction of a "grammar", which will gradually come closer to the adult's language (Tomasello 1992) and, at the same time, in the development of the child's discursive identity (Bakhtin 1984, 1991, 1992). We have therefore placed Bakhtin and the Circle (Del Ré et al. 2014a, 2014b) in a dialog with other authors who study the language acquisition process – since children's language was not a concern for Bakhtin – such as Bruner (2004a, 2004b), Anne Salazar-Orvig (2010a, 2010b, 1999) and François (1994, 2004, 2006).

This perspective makes us take into consideration, in the analysis, aspects in the data, which are intimately connected to language production, such as enunciation; social and historical formation of language; the sequence of utterances and the discursive movement; verbal and non-verbal elements; the situation of communication; the subject; the genres of discourse; alterity. In order to make it possible to reflect upon these issues, it is necessary to start from a non-static notion of language, as conceived here: live material, vehicle of ideological significations, socially and historically constituted.

In previous research (Del Ré 2010), it was observed that when A. (20-33 months) took part in interaction situations, which required a child's positioning in relation to others, there was an oscillation in the person marks. A. sometimes used the pronoun in the first person singular and sometimes in the third person singular; sometimes A. even produced sentences with a null subject.

This observation together with the studies of Morgenstern (2006) and Salazar- Orvig (2010) about the acquisition of pronouns in French made us question the way a bilingual child (MAR.), who speaks Portuguese from Brazil (PB) and French would use “eu/ você” and “je/ tu”² in her utterances. The acquisition of pronouns happens at around 3 years of age, when the child has already acquired a huge part of the grammar in her language. This could be explained by the underlying cognitive work, required for the child to use the pronouns. However, what is the relation between the appearance of these forms and the self-consciousness correlated to an explicit relation to others? “This usage of pronouns by the child also requires an ability of abstraction, representation, (self) designation. It is a complex system for a child as the pronouns change according to the condition of enunciation” (Morgenstern 2006, 10). Therefore, the question at stake is whether the acquisition of self-reference and reference to the other happens in the same way in the case of a bilingual child. Moreover, would it therefore be a relation between the child’s usage of pronouns (or not) and the constitution of her subjectivity?

Studies made about the acquisition of English as a First Language show that children omit the subject less than Italian, Portuguese and Brazilian children do. This could be explained, maybe, by the input from adults, providing a kind of model to these children. The input could explain part of what happens, but it is known that the acquisition process is much more complex than that, as there are many productions from children that are opposite to this explanation. For example, the fact that children in the process of acquisition of PB mark the plural in the noun instead of marking it in the definite article – form used by their parents and considered recurrent in the adults’ speech, in general (Hilário 2013).³

² “I” and “you” in Portuguese and French respectively.

³ In PB the mark of plural works differently from English because we mark it with “s” in both the article (definite or indefinite) and in the noun, for example “as bolas” (= the(s))

Some theories try to relate the fact that children produce non-grammatical utterances due to a limitation in *performance* and also to sensitivity to the characteristics of the *output*. Nevertheless, if all children are born with the same cognitive and memory ability, how can we explain the fact they do not treat some issues in the same way (the plural, for example)? Extending this thought to what particularly interests us in this work, to what extent is the explanation using the limitation of *performance* enough to explain what happens with the expression – oscillatory – of the subject? It seems that as in the case of the explanation about the input, it is one of the parameters that should be considered, among others. Thus, we intend to verify what the role of the input to the child represents in this process.

To answer these questions, we analyzed utterances from a bilingual child (MAR., 2;5.09 to 2;8.12) and from a monolingual child (GUS., 2;0.12 to 2;11.14) as well as the parents' and observers' utterances who interacted with these children. Personal pronouns, proper nouns and null subjects were observed.

First steps

In order to understand this process we initially investigated some works about pronouns in French (Black 1982, Tamba 1994, Morgenstern 2006, Brigaudiot, Morgenstern 2003), in English (Chiat 1986, Cooley 1908), in Italian (Serratrice 2005, Grinstead 2000), in Spanish (Valian, Eisenberg 1996) and in Portuguese (De Lemos 2004, Duarte 1995, Guedes 2007,

balls), form which is considered grammatically correct. However, it was observed that adults sometimes produce statements such as “as bola” (= the(s) ball), omitting the plural from the noun. On the other hand, it was equally observed that children have a tendency to mark the plural in the noun, omitting it from the article as in: “a bolas” (= the balls), probably because they consider that, the most important “plural” is in the noun.

Magalhães 2007, Roberts, Kato 1993, Kato 2003). Grinstead (2000) tries to explain what happens in the process involving pronominal usage claiming that usage of the subject function demands the control of verbal and case morphology. In this way, in the beginning of the acquisition process, a child does not understand that the grammatical function exists and that it is possible to find an explanation from Latin (the subject-argument can receive a nominative case). According to the author, it is only after the morphological acquisition of number and tense that the nominative position can be acquired. In addition, once more, it is not difficult to find counterexamples in the child's speech, which indicates that there is something in this process, which is not being taken into consideration.

In view of this, Serratrice (2005) did some research with 6 children between 1;07 and 3;03 years of age about the role of the pragmatic component in the pronoun acquisition process. As from the analyses of 15.928 utterances taken from available data in the website CHILDES and divided in MLU stages, Serratrice (2005) starts from a conception of discourse that unites the verbal content (word order, morphemes, prosodic information) to extra linguistic factors (shared knowledge, culture, cognitive aspects, memory). Considering that the subject (personal pronoun) is not mandatory in Italian, the speaker's decision to use the pronoun depends on the knowledge that he attributes to the other (shared knowledge) and the access to information within the context (linguistic and extra linguistic). The results show, different from previous work (Bates 1976) that even in MLU level 1, children produce between 16 and 23% of utterances with personal pronouns (subject function). The higher the MLU, the greater the number of personal pronouns used and they are, mainly, personal pronouns of the third person. However, when there is a high MLU, these pronouns are less used. In general, the lack of pronoun (or null subject) is associated with a known situation, implicit to the context and its usage is linked to situations in which there are several possible antecedents, in which there is ambiguity. This

indicates that Italian children go in the opposite direction “null subject/expressed subject” in a pragmatically pertinent manner, in this way, becoming sensitive to pragmatic-discursive impositions.

Although the works mentioned, among others, have raised relevant questions to the understanding of the pronominal acquisition process, it seems that the pragmatic aspect did not receive sufficient attention, which makes us believe, in agreement with Serratrice (2005) that this is a fundamental element in this process.

In relation to Portuguese from Brazil (PB) and from Portugal (PE), as well as to Spanish and Italian – contrary to French or English, for example, but similar to Latin; these languages permit the omission of the subject mark in the production of utterances (null subject), considering that in these cases, the person is usually marked in the verb ending. In other words, the pronoun, in the case of these languages is optional because the verb ending would be sufficient to indicate the reference, different from French, for example, in which the pronoun or noun is necessary and can even be combined in utterances like “moi, je veux”, “mon papa, il veut” (“I, I want”, “my father, he wants”).

However, contrary to PE, PB has recently presented a significant change in oral productions used to refer to people, which implies in the activation of the third person singular (Duarte 1995, Guedes 2007, Magalhães 2007, Roberts and Kato 1993, Kato 2003, among others). It seems we are seeing a return in the usage of personal pronouns and a decrease in the null subjects. Taking the verb *eat* as an example:

BEFORE	AFTER	ENGLISH ⁴
Eu <u>como</u>	Eu <u>como</u>	I eat
Tu <u>comes</u>	Você <u>come</u>	You eat

⁴ In English, as the only difference is in the third person of the singular, with the addition of “s”, it is not possible to translate these differences we have in Portuguese from Brazil to English.

Ele <u>come</u>	Ele <u>come</u>	He eats
Nós <u>comemos</u>	A gente (Nós <u>comemos</u> *) <u>come</u>	We eat
Vós <u>comeis</u>	Vocês <u>comem</u>	You eat (plural)
Eles <u>comem</u>	Eles <u>comem</u>	They eat

This phenomenon – that does not exist in PE – is apparently due to the reduction of the second person in the singular – followed by the reduction of the second person in the plural and both would have led to a third in the paradigm of verbal flexion of PB: a reduction of the first person in the plural. Here there are some of the reductions:

- disappearance of “tu” (you/singular), “vós” (you/plural), “nós” (we), especially in the oral language (in the written language it is possible to find them);
- appearance of “você/vocês” (you for singular and plural) instead of “tu” (you for singular) and “vós” (you for plural) and “a gente” (we) in the place of “nós” (we);
- reduction from 6 verbal forms to 3 forms.

Therefore, it seems we are facing a new panorama in PB: a slight decrease in the production of null subjects. With the reduction of marks, which distinguished the people in the verbs, pronouns have had to reappear in the production (particularly in the oral production) and they seem to have become more stable. What we see in adults’ language is thus a production, which is somehow “chaotic” because of lots of individual differences and these changes are not found in older children whose grammar has already been “fixed” in childhood – period when the reduction in verbal paradigms was in process.

The most recent studies about pronoun acquisition and null subject in PB by children show that the production is equally “chaotic” (Magalhães 2007), but with an increase in the production of pronouns and a decrease in null subjects, which would make PB become detached from the PE, Spanish

and Italian. This could indicate that the “new generation” had a different input and this could be used as a clarification for the observed changes. However, would it be the case?

This “chaos” also seems to reflect in some of the uses: for example, in reference to the first person singular, we still see the null subject together with verbs in the past and some of them in the present; however, we believe that it is necessary to study this issue further.

Theoretical perspective

Research interested in bilingual acquisition has been occupying a significant space. The concept of bilingualism, itself, is already controversial as there is a huge number of studies about this issue in different areas (such as Education, Applied Linguistics, Neurolinguistics, and Psycholinguistics, among others). For each of them it is possible to find a different definition for the term, as well as for what would be investigated when we talk about bilingualism.

There is an agreement that bilingual acquisition refers to the acquisition of two or more languages during childhood, but there is no consensus about the various situations in which it can happen or how we could categorize them. We are going to list some examples: McLaughlin (1978) is usually a reference when we discuss the simultaneous or successive acquisition: the first is characterized by the input of two languages at the same time before the age of three and the second is characterized by the input of the second language after the age of three. Houwer (1995), realizing that the first category created by McLaughlin was too broad, distinguished its delimitation claiming that when a child is exposed to two languages since birth, she would have two first languages. Whereas the situation in which regular exposure to a second language happened after the first month of being born, but before two

years of age, would be called second language bilingual acquisition. Nevertheless, it is really necessary to specify when the exposure to these two languages happened.

According to Houwer (1990), in the field of language acquisition studies, emphasis has been given, especially, to monolingual children's language development and, in the search for answers, there is a lot of research comparing children in this acquisition process in different languages – commonly called comparative research in order to find specific factors, which are different or similar in the acquisition of different languages (Slobin 1995, Berman 1986, and Mills 1986). However, in this kind of comparison, most psychological and social variables cannot be considered and, thus, it is not possible to be sure of the precise reasons for any differences or similarities found to be “patterns”. This is because they can be purely linguistic factors, but they can also be other factors, such as cognitive development, cultural or social environment, among others.

For these reasons, the bilingual child offers us a wide range of investigation possibilities. Still, it is essential to remember that we cannot extend our considerations about the bilingual child as adequate to the monolingual ones and vice-versa.

We understand that bilingualism in childhood usually happens, because the child has a necessity to communicate with people who have a very important role in their lives – parents, siblings, relatives, friends and teachers. While communication is effective and these people are important for the child, she will carry on being bilingual; when these factors become less important or are removed, the child will naturally become monolingual (Grosjean 1982).

There is much research, mainly in the psycholinguistic area that attempts to understand how the bilingual person's brain works: which side the languages are located and which areas are activated when one or another language is spoken and/or heard. Other research also attempts to answer the

question about a bilingual person's proficiency (how much is required in order to have productions, which define if a child is a “*real*” or “*ideal*” bilingual speaker).

In our work, these points are irrelevant as our interest is to know how the bilingual child deals with the two languages she is exposed to and our questions would not be answered considering the aspects mentioned before. This is because we understand the language as being social, part of the subject and the culture, always in social interactions. Therefore, for us, what matters is to know in which socio-cultural conditions bilingual interactions happen – those which help to constitute the child's subjectivity, seen as an active subject in the language acquisition process – and what kind of interaction encourages bilingualism production.

We also take into consideration the assertions made by Grosjean (2001, 4) who believes that bilingual people have two ways of communicating, depending on their need. This means that they use the monolingual mode and the bilingual one, depending on the participants, the situation, the kind of language, etc. In fact, they adapt to the situation they are in. When they interact in monolingual situations (for example, when somebody does not speak both languages), the tendency is that they communicate in only one language; if they are among other bilingual people, they will probably mix their two languages. Reaffirming the position we have already called attention to previously, it is possible to explain these communication situations considering, in Bakhtinian studies, that the subject is constituted by the other and his utterance is responsive and thus, to assure the interaction, the child (considered the subject “I”, in this case) answers to the “other” with whom he speaks, as it is constituted by this “other” person. According to Grosjean (2010, 125):

Bilinguals use their languages for different purposes, in different domains of life, with different people. Different aspects of life often require different languages. Contexts and domains trigger different attitudes, impressions, and behaviors, and

what is seen as a personality change due to language shift may have nothing to do with the language itself.

At this point it is worth thinking that bilingualism in its communicative instances in which heterogeneous discourses are employed even if without any apparent combinatory rule. After all, language was not born ready. On the contrary, it continues its construction process since its appearance through the dynamics of discursive genres. Bakhtin (2000, 251 and 254) claims that:

[...] the language participates in life through concrete utterances that make it true, in the same way as the life participates in life through the utterances. [...] the utterances configure types of discursive genres and they work in relation to the others, as “chains of transmission” between the history of society and the history of language.

The narrow bond that Bakhtin verifies between discourse and utterance shows the need to think about the discourse in the utterance context of communication and not as units of linguistic structure. “*Utterance*” and “*discourse*” assume the dialogical dynamics in the exchange among discursive subjects in the process of communication. Hence, the importance of the communicative context to assimilate this repertoire.

Talking about culture inevitably means discussing the issue of genres and in their cronotopic relation because the interaction always occurs between subjects in a specific space and time. The acquisition of one language, from this point of view, means to enter in a sociocultural universe. In the case of bilingual subjects, they enter, at least, two universes (two languages, two different cultures, which cohabit in constant dialog – in the ample sense given by Bakhtin – constant).

Considering the fact that two cultures are mobilized by the bilingual subject, it interests us to observe, as mentioned, how a child deals with them

also in terms of the constitution of their subjectivity by the language, more specifically in the usage and/or absence of pronouns in their speech (Bakhtin 1993, 1997, Bakhtin/ Voloshinov 2006, Voloshinov 1973).

When referring to the modifications of the cited discourse, Voloshinov (1973) indicates that subject individuality can be expressed objectively or subjectively. The author names them *content-analyzing modification* and *texture-analyzing modification* and explains the differences:

For the first modification, the speaker's individuality is a factor only as it occupies some specific ideational position (epistemological, ethical, existential or behavioral), and beyond that position (which is transmitted in strictly referential terms) it has no existence for the reporter. There is no wherewithal here for the speaker's individuality to congeal into an image. The opposite is true of the second modification, in which the speaker's individuality is presented as subjective manner (individual or typological, as manner of thinking and speaking, involving the author's evaluation of that manner as well. Here the speaker's individuality congeals to the point of forming an image (Voloshinov 1973, 132-133).

In relation to the texture-analyzing modification, Voloshinov (1973, 128) emphasizes that subjectivity can be learned in the words and in the manner of speaking of the other, which, introduced specifically in the indirect construction, suffers an “estrangement”, being, oftentimes, placed within quotation marks. The indirect discourse modifications contemplate, the issue of the subject – one giving importance to “what” the other person says, the other revealing, yet, “how” someone says something.

Nevertheless, the two meanings of the word individuality have to be emphasized:

To avoid misunderstandings, a rigorous distinction must always be made between the concept of the individual as natural specimen without reference to the social world (i.e., the individual as object of the biologist's knowledge and study), and the concept of individuality, which has the status of an ideological-semiotic superstructure over the natural individual and which, therefore, is a social concept. These two meanings of the word “individual” (the natural specimen and the person)

are commonly confused, with the result that the arguments of most philosophers and psychologists constantly exhibit *quaternion terminorum*: now one concept is in force, now the other takes its place (Voloshinov 1973, 34).

Based on Bakhtin's ideas, we consider that the subjectivity is what differentiates one from the other, it means taking what pleases one in the other's discourse, which I have contact with, reformulating the necessary to make possible the world I take for me. It is from the awareness start through the entrance in the First Language and the subjectivity constitution in this language, which is possible to search other "doors" and meanings. One of the possibilities that we believe is opened with this subjectivity, is the development of different identities, according to the various relations established by the subject. The identity is intrinsically connected to the subjectivity as the first comes from the second; it is what identifies the subject with the other, it is what brings them closer to one another in a relation of the subject's search for something that captivates him and approximates him, in some way, from the other.

Let us say then that each "singular act" – each manifestation in the form of language, of dialogue, of discourse – is marked by the speaker's subjectivity, revealing a subject who enunciates himself/herself, who manifests himself/herself, who takes a stand with regard to other discourses. We believe the manifestation of subjectivity happens, thus, in the singularity of the act (Del R  et al. 2012). Nevertheless, the traces left by the speaker in his/her discourse do not reveal all that constitutes him/her as a subject – they could not do it, due to the fact that the utterance is inserted in a determined space and time, as an answer to another utterance.

Thinking about bilingual children, due to the fact bilingualism is a controversial concept, and because of the subject from this research, we understand that a child is bilingual when she was exposed to two languages at the same time since her birth in the familiar environment (Houwer 1990).

Talking about culture inevitably means discussing the issue of genres and in their cronotopic relation because the interaction always occurs between subjects in a specific space and time. The acquisition of one language, from this point of view, means to enter in a sociocultural universe. In the case of bilingual subjects, they enter, at least, two universes.

Considering the fact that two cultures are mobilized by the bilingual subject, it interests us to observe, as mentioned, how a child deals with them also in terms of the constitution of their subjectivity by the language, more specifically in the usage and/or absence of pronouns in their speech.

Methodological issues

In this work, we bring the data from GUS. (monolingual, Brazilian), from 2;0.12 to 2;11.14 years of age, who was recorded once a month during one hour in situations of natural interaction with his parents. This data will be used to discuss the data of MAR. (bilingual, French-Brazilian, from 2;5.09 to 2;8.12, who was equally recorded in daily life's interactions with the father (in French) and with the mother (in Portuguese). MAR. lives in France and speaks Portuguese at home with her mother, her sister and her babysitter; French is used with the father and at school.

Both corpus were totally transcribed in the CLAN/CHAT, a program freely provided by the database CHILDES. It is necessary to claim that our aim is to do qualitative research, based on the data of two children and a quantitative part will be included to understand the results better.

Therefore, for each recorded section, we searched for elements which we would like to observe about the child's language to address the other: the reference to the person, the pronouns, the verbs, the positioning in relation to the other.

Utterances in which the first and second person pronouns expected, a potential function of the subject, were analyzed – i.e., when these pronouns could appear in this function but did not, considering:

- the speaker
- the referent
- the expected pronoun / possible: I (je/eu)/ you (tu/você)
- the produced form: a pronoun (PRO), another form, such as their own name, (OUT) or the omission of the expected/ possible element in the function of the subject (ZERO)
- the produced pronoun

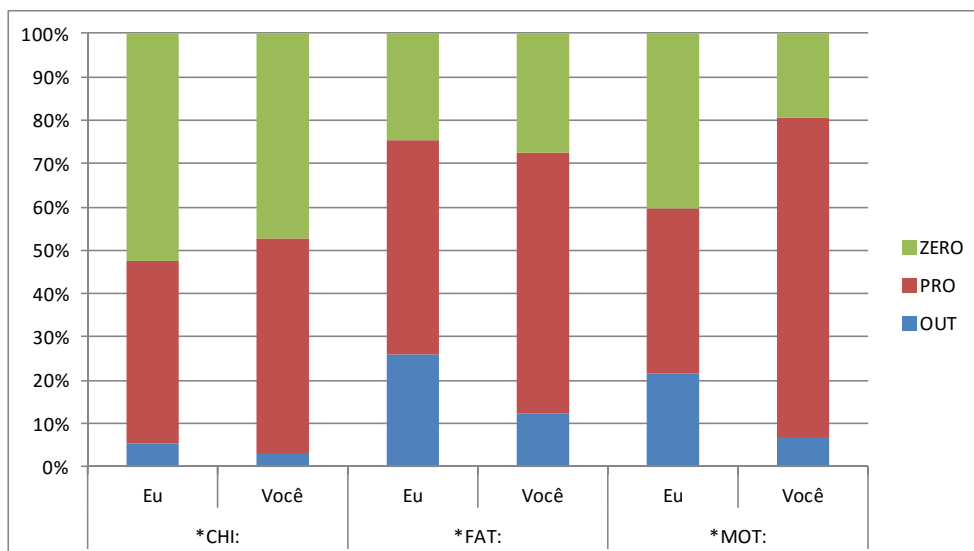
Data⁵ and discussion

We analyzed all GUS.'s utterances as well as those of his parents, in a total of 3.329 utterances from the child (CHI), 3080 from the father (FAT) and 1217 from the mother (MOT). Out of this total, 1215 utterances were analyzed using the categories mentioned above: 357 from CHI, 567 from FAT and 291 from MOT. A total of 9856 utterances were analyzed from MAR. and her parents: 2995 from CHI, 2413 from FAT and 2802 from MOT. Using the categories, we analyzed 370 from CHI, 598 from FAT and 594 from MOT.

⁵ We would like to thank a lot Rosângela Nogarini Hilário for her help with GUS's analysis and the production of the graphs to a better view of the results.

Our first results can be seen below:

I. (Figure 1) – GUS.’s data



As can be seen, GUS. uses the mark of person in the verb in 50% of his utterances and, the use of other forms, such as his own name or “daddy” and “mommy” are used very little. It is also possible to verify that the parents use the pronoun “you” to refer to the child most of the time.

Now, let us look at the table with the productions that called our attention the most, which are in red and blue:

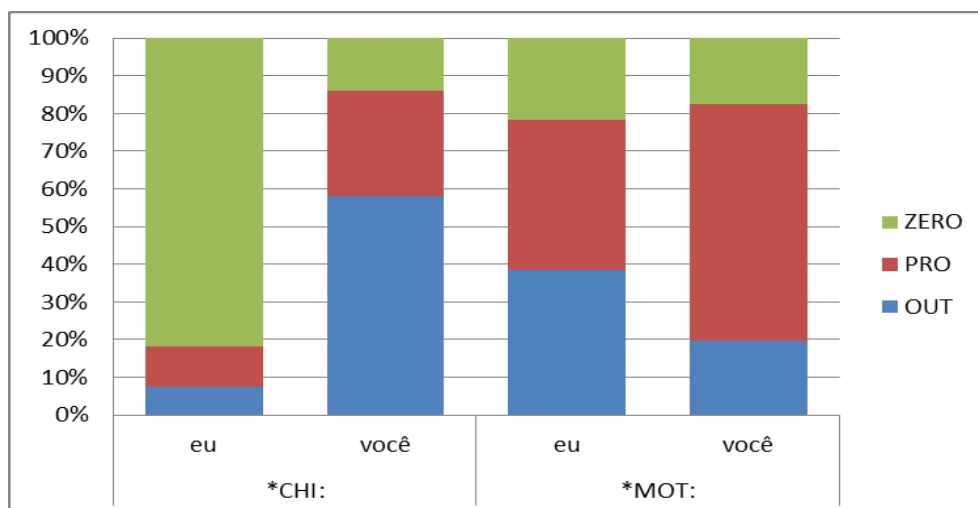
Table 1

Possible pronoun	Produced form		
	OUT	PRO	ZERO
*CHI:	15	157	185
Eu/Je (I)	13	128	157
Você/Tu (YOU)	2	29	28
*FAT:	100	317	150
Eu/Je (I)	56	107	53
Você/Tu (YOU)	44	210	97
*MOT:	36	176	79
Eu/Je (I)	23	41	43
Você/Tu (YOU)	13	135	36

We can notice that the parents use the personal pronoun almost exclusively to refer to the child, with the second person, while the child varies almost in the same way, using utterances with the pronoun and without it. In relation to the first person, the child uses the verb ending to mark the person more, i.e. without the pronoun, although there is a significant number of utterances using the pronoun of the first person. It can mean that he is already the author of his speech; he is able to mark the differences between him and the object of discourse, as well as him and his interlocutor.

At this moment, we can see the same figure about MAR.'s data:

II. Figure 2 – MAR.'s data with her mother



We can notice how different MAR.'s linguistic behavior is in comparison with GUS.'s, especially by the usage of only 10% of the utterances using the pronoun "I" and because she uses other forms (different from "you") in more than 50% of the utterances to refer to her mother, such as "mommy" for example. However, we can observe a possible influence from the input, as her mother uses other forms to make reference to herself in 40% of the utterances; contrary to GUS.'s parents, she used the pronoun more only to

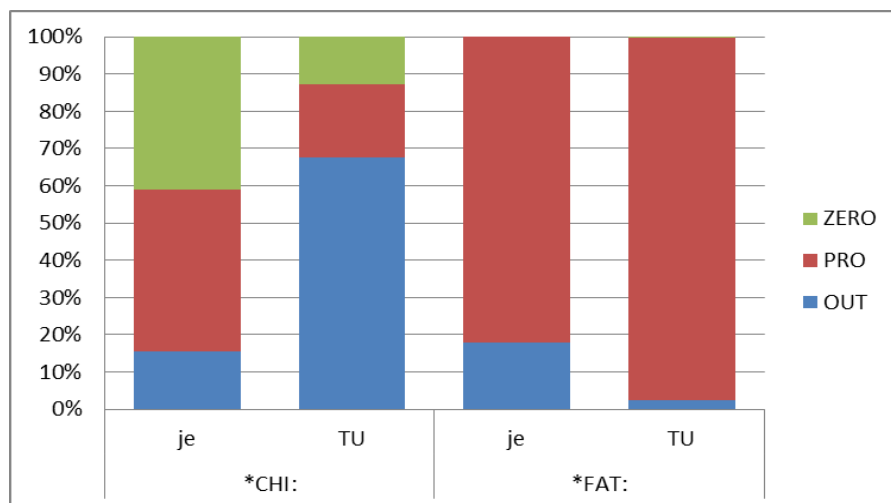
refer to the second person when she refers to MAR. We can see it in the table:

Table 2

Possible pronoun	Produced form		
	OUT	PRO	ZERO
*CHI:	38	31	149
Eu (<i>I</i>)	13	19	143
Você (<i>YOU</i>)	25	12	6
*MOT:	109	230	79
Eu (<i>I</i>)	55	57	31
Você (<i>YOU</i>)	54	173	48

At this instant, we will see MAR.'s data with her father:

III. Figure 3 – MAR.'s data with her father:



There is a clear change when MAR. is with her father. As expected, he does not use the null subject, as it is a demand from the language, although he uses the form “papa, je” (daddy, I) in more than 10% of the utterances, which is common in French. MAR. makes use of the verb ending to mark the person in more than 40% of her statements, a fact that is decisive in

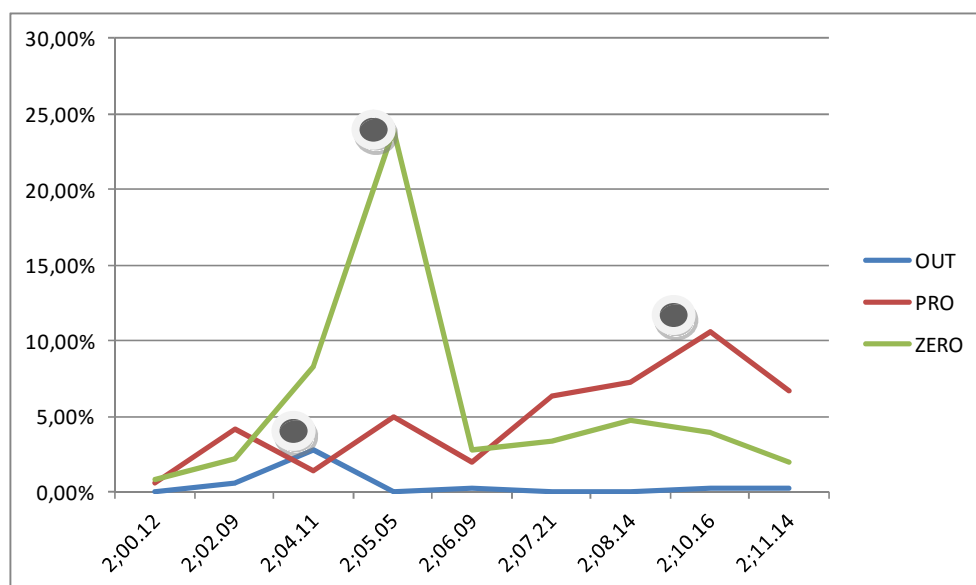
terms of input for the children's production. It also shows a child's independence about the linguistic choice and usage made at that moment. It is interesting to notice that MAR.'s behavior in both languages changes but these variations can only be clear when we make a qualitative analyzes. This is why the graph shows a similarity, although her parents's usage is different.

Table 3

Possible pronoun	Produced form		
	OUT	PRO	ZERO
*CHI:	35	45	41
Je (<i>I</i>)	14	39	37
TU (<i>YOU</i>)	21	6	4
*FAT:	36	445	1
Je (<i>I</i>)	28	128	
TU (<i>YOU</i>)	8	317	1

Now, coming back to Gus. In figure 4 and then again to Marina in figure 5 and 6, we have in all the cases spikes of the use or the non use of pronouns and other forms chose by the child in each section. Because MAR was recorded either with her mother or her father, we decided to put the data in two different figures to make it clear her linguistic changes/choices when she was speaking with her parents. We chose one example from GUS and two examples from MAR to illustrate it in different interactional situations)

IV - Figure 4 (GUS.'s data.):



In this case, we can detect that GUS.'s productions vary according to the discursive situation in which he is in, with more or less use of pronouns at different times. We highlight the section in which GUS. is 2;05 when there is greater incidence of marking the person in the verb. In this section the interactions between father and son about a film he likes very much and which he is watching, while his father is insisting that he drink some juice. It seems to us that, in this case, when there is a negotiation, a regulation in the activity through the interlocutors, there is a smaller production of pronouns.

To start with, we are going to see an example in which GUS. is 2;04:11 when there are more instances of other forms referring to the first person:

Table 4

*FAT:	da onde é isso aqui # o(lha) ?	*FAT:	Where is it from # look ?
*CHI:	é do Gu(s)tavinho .	*CHI:	It is Gu(s)tavinho's .
*FAT:	tira o pé daí .	*FAT:	Take your foot off from there.
*OBS:	do Gu(s)tavinho ?	*OBS:	Is it Gu(s)tavinho's ?
*FAT:	vamo(s) ve(r) # o(lha) .	*FAT:	Let's see # look
%act:	a criança quer pegar o álbum de foto.	%act:	The child wants to get the photo album.
*CHI:	não # o Gu(s)tavo .	*CHI:	No # Gustavo .
*FAT:	de(i)xa o papai mostra.	*FAT:	Let daddy show.
%com:	a criança quer pegar o álbum e ver sozinho.	%com:	The child wants to get the album and see it alone.
*CHI:	<não::> [>] .	*CHI:	<no::> [>] .
*FAT:	<se não> [<] .	*FAT:	<if not> [<] .
*FAT:	o(lha) o papai mostra filhinho .	*FAT:	Look daddy shows little son .
*FAT:	(vo)cê que(r) ve(r) ou não ?	*FAT:	Do you want to see it or not .
*CHI:	que(ro)	*CHI:	(I) want .
*FAT:	então pronto .	*FAT:	So, that is it .
*FAT:	o papai vai virando .	*FAT:	The father goes on turning .
*FAT:	yy o Gustavo vê .	*FAT:	yy Gustavo sees it .
*CHI:	não .	*CHI:	No .
*CHI:	o Gu(s)tavo fai@c [: faz] .	*CHI:	Gustavo does it .
*FAT:	o(lha) Gustavo # ou o papai mostra ou eu vou guarda(r) .	*FAT:	Look Gustavo # either daddy shows or I'll put it away .
*FAT:	que que (vo)cê que(r) ?	*FAT:	What do you want ?
*FAT:	hum@i ?	*FAT:	hum@i ?
*CHI:	Gu(s)tavo .	*CHI:	Gustavo .
*FAT:	o Gustavo vai ve(r) só que o papai que vai mostra(r) .	*FAT:	Gustavo is going to see what the father is going to show .

Let's look at a second example in which GUS is 2;05.05 years old when there is more verb ending marks for the first person:

Table 5

*OBS:	você (es)tá bebendo suco ?	*OBS:	Are you drinking juice?
*CHI:	não .	*CHI:	No.
*OBS:	não é suco esse ?	*OBS:	Isn't it juice?
*OBS:	que que é isso que você (es)tá bebendo ?	*OBS:	What is this that you are drinking?
*CHI:	é do Mickey .	*CHI:	It is from Mickey.
*OBS:	a@i # é do Mickey .	*OBS:	a@i # it is from Mickey.
*CHI:	não é do Carros .	*CHI:	It is not from Cars.
*CHI:	não é do Carros .	*CHI:	It is not from Cars.
*OBS:	que que aconteceu com o copo do Carros ?	*OBS:	What happened to the glass from Cars?
*OBS:	onde que (es)tá o copo do Carros ?	*OBS:	Where is the glass from Cars?
*CHI:	ele (es)tá aí na casa da vovó .	*CHI:	It is in Grandma's house.
*OBS:	ah # ele (es)tá na casa da vovó .	*OBS:	Ah# it is in Grandma's house.
*CHI:	o copo .	*CHI:	The glass.
*FAT:	tem que ir buscar na casa da vovó n(ão) é#Gustavo ?	*FAT:	We have to get it in Grandma's, don't we # Gustavo?
*FAT:	você tomou todo o suco ?	*FAT:	Did you drink all the juice?
%act:	CHI sai correndo em direção aos quartos	%act:	CHI starts running in the direction of the bedrooms.
*CHI:	papai # que(r) Macqueen .	*CHI:	Father # (I) want Macqueen.
*FAT:	que(r) Macqueen ?	*FAT:	(Do you) want Macqueen?
*CHI:	que(r) Macqueen .	*CHI:	(I) want Macqueen.
*FAT:	você tomou todo o suco ?	*FAT:	Did you drink all the juice?
*OBS:	ainda não#n(ão) é ?	*OBS:	Not yet # right?
*CHI:	que(r) Macqueen .	*CHI:	(I) want Macqueen.

Now we have the last example in which GUS is 2;10.16 (two years, ten months and sixteen days of age) and there is more usage of pronouns with reference to the first person. He's in front of the washing machine watching the clothes being washed, he just loves it.

Table 6

<p>*OBS: i::@i # a máquina paro(u) agora .</p> <p>*CHI:a:@i .</p> <p>*OBS: a:: # começo(u) .</p> <p>%act: CHI volta para frente da máquina de lavar roupas e começa a pular.</p> <p>*OBS: 0 [=! risos] .</p> <p>*CHI:<esse não quero> [?] # xx # é rápido.</p> <p>%act: CHI fala e pula em frente à máquina.</p> <p>*OBS: agora é rápido ?</p> <p>*CHI:é rápido .</p> <p>*CHI:eu não quero # não que(r)o Nanci .</p> <p>*OBS: e ali <o(lha)> [>] # eu vi uma cuequinha do Mickey ali # de quem que é aquilo?</p> <p>*HOU: <oi> [<] .</p> <p>*CHI:é meu .</p> <p>*OBS: a:::@i ## achei que fosse do papai.</p> <p>*CHI:é .</p> <p>*OBS: não é do papai ?</p> <p>*CHI:não # é meu .</p> <p>*OBS: a:::@i .</p> <p>%act: CHI continua pulando na frente da máquina.</p> <p>*CHI:deixa eu segu(r)a(r) a máquina # deixa eu segu(r)a(r) a máquina mamãe # deixa eu segu(r)a(r) a máquina .</p> <p>%sit: CHI volta para a sala pedindo a máquina de brinquedo.</p> <p>*MOT: o(lha) # desenhei você dentro da máquina # (o) que que (vo)cê acha?</p> <p>*OBS: 0 [=! risos] .</p> <p>*CHI:eu quero a máquina # onde <a máquina (es)tá> [>] ?</p>	<p>*OBS: i::@i # the machine stopped now .</p> <p>*CHI:a:@i .</p> <p>*OBS: a:: # (it) started .</p> <p>%act: CHI goes back to the front of the washing machine and starts to jump .</p> <p>*OBS: 0 [=! laugh] .</p> <p>*CHI:<this (I) don't want> [?] # xx # it is fast .</p> <p>%act: CHI speaks and jumps in front of the washing machine.</p> <p>*OBS: is it fast now ?</p> <p>*CHI:it is fast .</p> <p>*CHI:I don't want # (I) don't want Nanci .</p> <p>*OBS: and look # I saw a piece of underwear from Mickey there # whose is that?</p> <p>*HOU: <yes> [<] .</p> <p>*CHI:it is mine .</p> <p>*OBS: a:::@i ## I thought it was daddy's.</p> <p>*CHI:yes .</p> <p>*OBS: isn't it daddy's ?</p> <p>*CHI:no # it is mine .</p> <p>*OBS: a:::@i .</p> <p>%act: CHI carries on jumping in front of the washing machine.</p> <p>*CHI:let me hold the washing machine # let me hold the washing machine mommy # let me hold the washing machine .</p> <p>%sit: CHI goes back to the living room asking for the toy.</p> <p>*MOT: look # I drew you inside the washing machine # what do you think?</p> <p>*OBS: 0 [=! laugh] .</p> <p>*CHI:I want the washing machine # where is the machine ?</p>
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As you can see in the transcription, there are lot of “eus” / “I” and it is an evidence that GUS has already been through the three phases, according to Morgenstern (2006) going from an objective phase where the first name is more used up to the usage of “I”, which constitutes a subjective phase. GUS marks himself as the subject of his own speech.

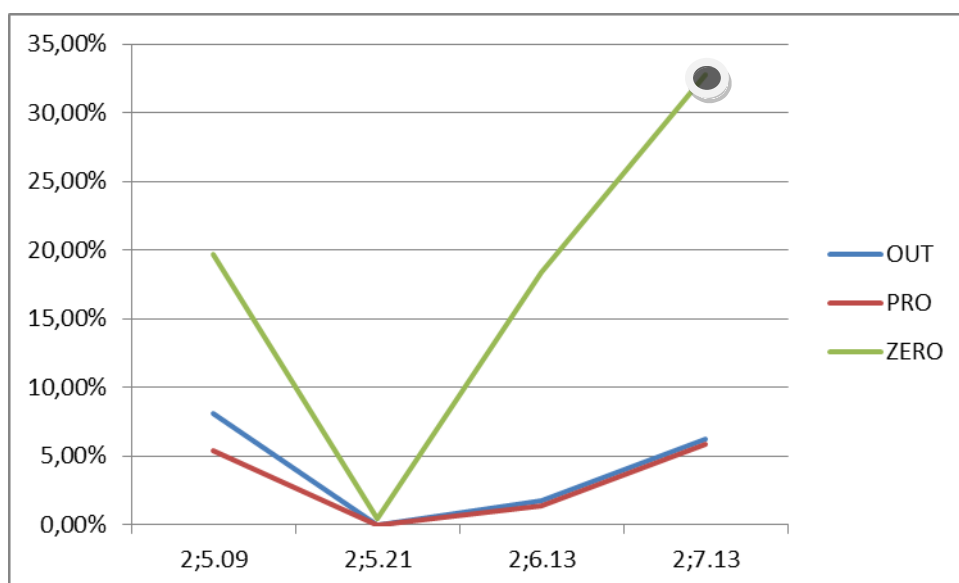
With MAR. and her father, whenever there is a negotiation, it seems to us that there is more usage of pronouns, confirming that she is assuming a subject's position. Let's see one example:

Table 7

*FAT: papa va te préparer à manger#ok ?	*FAT: Daddy will prepare you to eat #ok?
*FAT: hein@i ?	*FAT: hein@i?
*CHI: oui.	*CHI: Yes .
*FAT: ouais.	*FAT: Yes .
*FAT: qu'est-ce que tu veux manger ?	*FAT: What do you want to eat ?
*CHI: des pâtes#queijo#ketchup#<tout ça>[/]<tout ça>.	*CHI: Pasta # cheese # ketchup # <everything>[/]<everything >.
*FAT: <tout ça>[/]<tout ça>.	*FAT: <everything>[/]<everything >.
*OBS: [=! risos]	*OBS: [=! Laugh]
*FAT: des pâtes#du queijo#du ketchup#des pâtes#du fromage ?	*FAT: Pasta # cheese # ketchup # pasta # fromage ?
*FAT: tu veux mettre du fromage sur les pâtes ?	*FAT: Do you want to put cheese on the pasta?
*FAT: non# papa va faire de la purée avec des saucisses.	*FAT: Não # daddy will make purée with sausages.
*CHI: xxx	*CHI: Xxx
*FAT: hein@i ?	*FAT: Hein@i ?
*CHI: xxx	*CHI: Xxx
*FAT: d'accord ?	*FAT: Is it ok ?
*FAT: je vais faire de la purée.	*FAT: I am going to make purée.
*FAT: tu veux +/.	*FAT: Do you want +/ .
*CHI: Xxx	*CHI: Xxx
*FAT: hein@i ?	*FAT: hein@i ?
*CHI: Xxx	*CHI: Xxx
*FAT: du fromage aussi ?	*FAT: Cheese as well?
*CHI: hum@i.	*CHI: hum@i ?
*FAT: et pas#euh@i.	*FAT: And no # euh@i .
*FAT: non# on va pas manger ici .	*FAT: No # we are not going to eat here .
*FAT: on va manger dans la cuisine#hein@i?	*FAT: We are going to eat in the kitchen #hein@i ?
*FAT: d'accord ?	*FAT: Is it ok ?
*CHI: eu como aqui.	*CHI: I'll eat here.
*FAT: non # dans la +/.	*FAT: No # in the +/.

At this moment, we are going to see the same kind of data with MAR.

V. Figure 5 (MAR.'s data with her mother)



We can verify that in MAR's sessions with her mother, there is also a spike in the non-use of pronouns at the age of 2;7. In this section, mother and daughter play with plasticine making animal figures. The whole time, there are questions from the mother about the child's day, which animal to make and instructions of how to make it. Thus, it is possible to observe, in this case that the symbolic game (and not the negotiation as in the case of GUS.) influences the smaller production of pronouns.

Here is an example of this spike (with non pronouns):

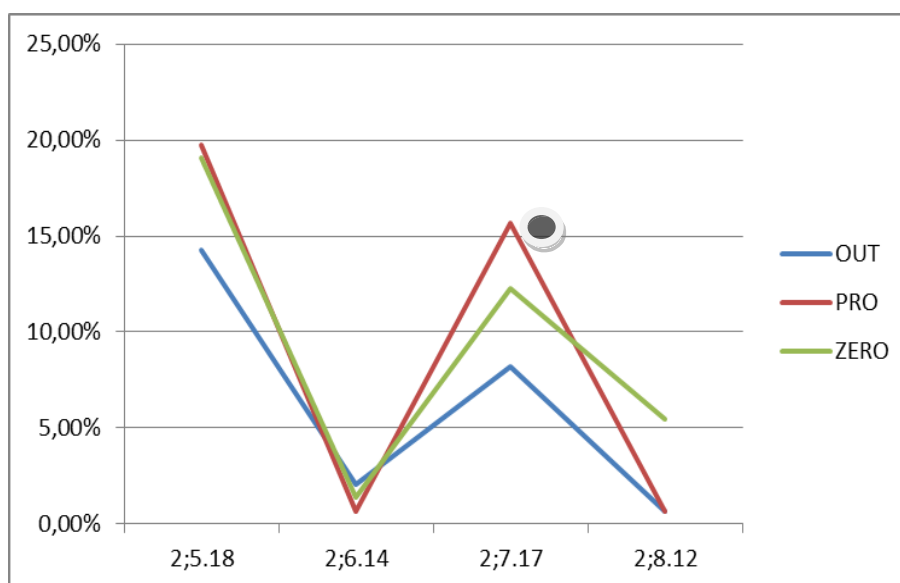
Table 8

*MOT:	a Marina vai dize(r) o que p(a)r(a) o lobisomem ?	*MOT:	What will Marina tell the werewolf?
*CHI:	xxx .	*CHI:	xxx .
*CHI:	malvado ele .	*CHI:	He is bad.
*MOT:	malvado ?	*MOT:	Bad?
*MOT:	porque que ele é malvado ?	*MOT:	Why is he bad?
*CHI:	vo(u) bate(r) (n)ele .	*CHI:	(I) will hit him.
*CHI:	vai cai(r) lá o fundo e a b(r)uxa <vup@o> [?] .	*CHI:	(he) will fall down there and the witch <vup@o> .
*CHI:	pega(r) lobisomem	*CHI:	(I will) catch the werewolf.
*MOT:	a bruxa vai pega(r) o lobisomem ? %act:CHI faz que sim com a cabeça	*MOT:	Will the witch catch the werewolf? %act: CHI nods.
*MOT:	e vai faze(r) o quê ?	*MOT:	and what will happen?
*CHI:	vai cai(r) lá (n)o fundo .	*CHI:	(?) will fall down there.
*MOT:	vai cai(r) lá no fundo ?	*MOT:	(?) will fall down there.
*MOT:	e morre(r) afogada ?	*MOT:	And will she drown?
*CHI:	é .	*CHI:	Yes.
*MOT:	do poço ?	*MOT:	In the well?
*CHI:	é .	*CHI:	Yes.
*MOT:	é uma boa idéia .	*MOT:	It is a good idea.
*CHI:	Marina é medo a b(r)uxa .	*CHI:	Marina is afraid of the witch.
*MOT:	Marina tem medo da bruxa ?	*MOT:	Is Marina afraid of the witch?
*CHI:	é .	*CHI:	Yes.
*MOT:	não#mas tem bruxa que é gentil .	*MOT:	No # but there witches who are kind.
*CHI:	a b(r)uxa <lá>[/]<lá> cima a(l)to .	*CHI:	The witch up there.
*CHI:	Marina que(r) vê cima e n(a) a(l)to .	*CHI:	Marina wants to see up there.

As you can see she refers to herself the whole time as “Marina” and considering the three phases we mentioned before, she would be in the first, using her own name, not marking herself as the subject of discourse.

Now, we are going to observe the same graph with the father:

VI. Figure 6 (MAR.'s data with the father)



It is clear that there are more variations in the uses when MAR. is with her father and there are two moments when the child makes more usage of all forms analyzed with small distinctions. In the section in which the child is 2;5 there is a situation during the meal; the child is having dinner with her sister and her father. There is a negotiation about what they will do after dinner; differently from what happened with GUS., the negotiation provides a larger use of pronouns and other forms. In section 2;7, there is nearly a sequence of negotiations, which would confirm the fact that, with the father, the activity regulation makes the usage of pronouns higher.

Let us look at the example below:

Table 9

*SIS:	c'est très dur#hein@i#papa ?	*SIS:	Is it hard #hein@i # daddy?
*FAT:	c'est pas facile hein@i ?	*FAT:	It is not easy hein@i?
*CHI:	c'est pas facile.	*CHI:	It is not easy.
*FAT:	ben oui c'est pas facile.	*FAT:	Well, it is not easy.
*FAT:	et toi tu y arrives Marina ?	*FAT:	And you Marina # do you come?
*SIS:	moi#j'arrive.	*SIS:	I # I come.
*CHI:	eu non.	*CHI:	I don't.
*FAT:	non ?	*FAT:	No?

And, in another moment of the same section:

Table 10

*FAT:	bon alors Marina.	*FAT:	Well # Marina.
*SIS:	<ouah@i>[/]<ouah@i> !	*SIS:	Yes # yes.
*FAT:	qu'est-ce qu'on fait maintenant ?	*FAT:	What are we going to do now?
*CHI:	j'veux jouer.	*CHI:	I want to play.
*FAT:	tu as été dans des jeux aussi à Disney.	*FAT:	You have already played games at Disney.
*CHI:	oui.	*CHI:	Yes.
*FAT:	t'as fait quoi comme jeux ?	*FAT:	What did you do as a game?

It is possible to notice, not only in this section but also in all of the interactions with the father, that MAR. uses, for the first time, the personal pronoun together with the code-switching, marking her identity and showing us clues of the constitution of her subjectivity.

Final considerations

Our initial hypothesis was that the speech directed to the child would have a crucial function in this process. However, we managed to notice some important differences: the bilingual child uses verb endings (without pronouns) in 85% of her utterances to refer to herself, while her mother uses the personal pronoun “I” in 40% of the utterances to refer to herself. Her father uses the pronoun “je” (I) in French 80% of the time. GUS.’s data (monolingual) shows that 55% of the utterances are produced without pronouns, but his parents use pronouns more (50% and 40% respectively).

Looking at the interlocutor, the bilingual child uses both in Portuguese (60%) and in French (70%) forms such as “mommy” and “daddy” to refer to her parents, while her father uses the pronoun “you” 95% of the time and her mother uses it 60% of the time. Therefore, there is an apparent contradiction that still needs to be explored in a more detailed qualitative analysis.

The most important consideration that we are able to make so far is that the bilingual child is truly different in her linguistic behavior and, actually, it is not suitable to make any kind of comparison between bilingual and monolingual children. We can verify how differently MAR. uses the subjectivity manifestations, her singularity through the uses of pronouns and that, for her, language is not only a way of communication, but also a tool of power, as Bakhtin claims. She has diverse behavior in relation to the father’s language (French) and to the mother’s language (Portuguese). Moreover, it was possible, reading the literature about the issue, to observe that PB has distinct particularities and that we must analyze this language taking these peculiarities into consideration.

It is also conceivable to detect that the usage of certain linguistic elements occurs in some discursive situations. MAR. uses code-switching with her father in statements, in the here/now discourse and this “resource” seems to be more used as “coping” or “arguing” with the father, together with the person mark in the pronoun not in the verb, as she does most of the time.

Therefore, we have a qualitative analysis initially trying to find heterogeneity in the data and making an analytic generalization that is built when new cases are studied and revised. It means looking for some quantitative data in the qualitative data, as in this case, we make usage of linguistic elements that allow for this search.

This kind of data makes us think that biological prerequisites can explain many aspects in language acquisition by children and, thus, they should be taken into consideration. However, children’s data shows that to

actually comprehend this process, it is necessary to consider, above all, a set of capabilities that are put into practice in the dialogical interaction i.e., the cognitive, sociopragmatic, and linguistic interaction.

To conclude, studying this acquisition process does not mean observing the grammatical categories produced by the child, as this reflection is not enough to explain, for example, what she wants to say when she enunciates a term - if it is about a verb, a noun, etc. In this case, a solution for this impasse, which we believe in, would be to consider the context in which the “word” was produced, who participates in this dialog and sometimes, it is also necessary to verify the intonation, pauses, gestures, at last, the multimodality (it is part of future research). Thereby, analyzing language acquisition by the child requires that the researcher pay attention to the relation between extralinguistic, suprasegmental, gestures, linguistic and cognitive aspects. The debate nature versus culture is, therefore, far from over.

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Names and naming practices. A case study of Romanian and Chinese personal names

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Abstract

How did people get their names in the first place? One can only guess. We believe that it is acceptable to assume that, at the very beginning, proper names were in fact common nouns identifying a person through his/her physical (both positive or negative) particularities that singled them out within the group, or through extraordinary events that occurred to them at a certain point in their existence. As time went by, names and naming practices became more and more complex and diverse in terms of criteria of name selection as well. In Romania some of the naming criteria are the day of birth, the names of parents, ancestors or the names of the child's godmother or godfather. For a Chinese, a name is more than a note to differentiate one person from the others. People can extract information of time and culture, family generation and parents' hopes or hobbies from a Chinese personal name. There are certain principles behind the Chinese naming practices such as the positive meanings of the characters, pronunciation or appearance. Our paper will try to answer the following research questions: What are the most popular naming practices and criteria in China and Romania nowadays? Which are some of the most popular Romanian and Chinese names at present? Can we identify new tendencies in the criteria for naming people?

Key-words: naming practices, identity construction, China, Romanias

Introduction

The topic of names is a multidisciplinary field that has drawn the attention of philosophers of language, anthropologists and linguists. Preoccupations

for the theory of personal names can be traced back into the past. They can be found in *Cratylus*, Plato's famous dialogue (Ignat 2009, 9). Linguists and philosophers such John Wilkins, John Stuart Mill Gottlob Frege and Bertrand Russell also dealt with this topic.

Sir Allan H. Gardiner defines proper names as "a word or a group of words which is recognized as having identification as its specific purpose, and which achieves, or tends to achieve that purpose by means of its distinctive sound alone, without regard to any meaning possessed by that sound from the start, or acquired by it through association with the object or objects thereby identified" (Gardiner 1957, 43).

A name refers to an individual or a collective entity which it designates or denotes, thus, names, can be considered purely referential. In this respect, "as arbitrary labels that refer to certain signified entries, therefore the signifier and the signified may not share certain intrinsic qualities" (Agyekum 2006, 207).

Personal names represent the largest class of proper names (Gardiner 1957, 47). Even if, as contemporary semantics recognizes as well, "it was precisely meaning that was essential in the primary origins of many personal names" (Dobric 2010, 139).

General naming practices through space and time

Sources of names and criteria of naming newborns seem very divers. According to Graur (1967), the most frequent can be considered the following:

- superstition: Eskimo people believed that the soul of the last who died in the family will live again in the body of the newborn, so they name the child after the deceased;

- the Christian calendar: the newborn receives the name of the saint celebrated the day he was born or the day he was baptized;
- humility before God (usually protestant names): *Praise-God*, *Sin-Denie*, *The Lord is Near*;
- the name of the godfather/godmother;
- names that symbolize the political and philosophical concepts of the parents: names of Latin or Greek philosophers;
- political beliefs and orientations may also constitute a source for naming. For instance, a father named his boy after the German general *Rommel* during the Second World War, another one, in Italy, who wanted his country to be neutral, gave his daughter the name *Neutralità*;
- hazard (but in our opinion is a rare case): an English pastor gave his child the first name he read while opening the Bible: *Belzebut*;
- History: names like *Joffre* and *Joffrette* were very frequent in France during the First World War (after the General Joffre which was the commander of the French army at the time);
- Geography: *Florence Nightingale* got her name from the city of Florence, Italy, where she was born;
- Literature: *Laura* (Petrarca), *Romeo* (Shakespeare), *Virginia* (Bernardin de Saint Pierre);
- Cinema: in 1930, were very frequent in London names like *Gary* (Gary Cooper) and *Shirley* (Shirley Temple);
- Inventions: the German emperor Frederick III named his son *Maximilian* (*Maximus* + *Aemilianus*), the name *Pamela* was invented by the writer Philip Sidney (1590), *Thelma* is the invention of the writer Marie Corelli (1897) (Whithycombe, cited by Alexandru Graur);

Romanian naming practices

In Romania, there is no surprise that the same general naming criteria apply. However, the most common sources of given names are, according to Graur (1967):

- botanical and zoological origin names: *Crina* (> *crin*, noun, masculine = *lily*), *Trandafir* (> *trandafir*, noun, masculine = *rose*), *Brăduț* (> *brad*, noun, masculine = *fir-tree*, *brăduț* is the diminutive form), *Mugur* (> *mugur*, noun, masculine = *bud*), *Ghiocel* (> *ghiocel*, noun, masculine = *snowdrop*), *Brândușa* (> *brândușă*, noun, feminine = *primula*), *Floarea* (> *floare*, noun, feminine = *flower*), *Bujor* (> *bujor*, noun, masculine = *peony*), *Cireașa* (> *cireașă*, noun, feminine = *cherry*), *Viorica* (> *viorea*, noun, feminine = *lady's delight*), *Sânziana* (> *sânziană*, noun, feminine = *bedstraw*), *Gherghina* (> *gherghină*, noun, feminine = *dahlia*), *Dalia* (> *dalie*, noun, feminine = *dahlia*), *Busuioc* (> *busuioc*, noun, masculine = *sweet basil*), *Mioara* (> *mioară*, noun, feminine = *sheep*), *Păun* (> *păun*, noun, masculine = *peacock*), *Albina* (> *albină*, noun, feminine = *bee*), *Lupu* (> *lup*, noun, masculine = *wolf*), *Ursu* (> *urs*, noun, masculine = *bear*).
- common words (verbs and nouns): *Alin* (masculin), *Alina* (feminin) (> *a alina* = *to soothe*), *Barbu* (> *barbă*, noun, feminine = *beard*), *Codrin*, *Codrea* (> *codru*, noun, masculine = *forest*), *Doina* (> *doină*, noun, feminine = Romanian popular song), *Domnica* (> *domnică*, noun, feminin = *lady*), *Doru* (*dor*, common noun, difficult to translate, it means the state of missing someone), *Luminița* (> *lumină*, noun, feminine = *light*, *luminiță* is the diminutive form), *Norocel* (> *noroc*, noun, masculine = *luck*, *norocel* is the diminutive form);

These names, depending on their gender as common nouns, became boys' or girls' names. An exception constitutes the name *Crina* (> *crin*, noun, masculine = lily), used as a female name. This, probably because the generic noun *flower* is feminine and lily is a flower. It is interesting to notice the fact that a common noun which becomes a feminine given name takes, in all the cases we investigated, the articulate form of the noun. In Romanian, the definite article is part of the noun. For the feminine nouns, the definite article singular is *-a* (Gramatica limbii române, 2008). This does not occur for the masculine names derived from the names of plants but seems valid for those originated from nouns referring to wild and feared animals: *Lupu* (wolf), *Ursu* (bear). The correct forms of these two nouns with the definite article are “lupul” and “ursul”, while the proper names stemming from them lose the final consonant. Why? One can only guess... Romanians are also a people of shepherds. Sometimes, their flocks were attacked by wild animals during the night. The shepherds would shout to let each other know they were in danger: *Lupu'!* (*The wolf!*) *Ursu'!* (*The bear!*) Other common nouns that generate masculine names having a definite articulate form are those derived from feminine common nouns (*Barbu* from “barba” = beard) or abstract nouns (*Doru* from “dor” = longing). However, the masculine names originated from diminutives or collective names do not seem to have an articulate form (*Norocel*, *Codrin*, *Codrea*).

- Christian holidays: *Crăciun* (> *Crăciun* = *Christmas*), *Pascu* (> *Paști* = *Easter*);
- many Romanian names are, like everywhere in the world, names of Christian saints: *Ion*, *Maria*, *Gheorghe*, *Andrei*, *Vasile*, *Nicolae*, *Nicoleta* etc.
- some given names are those of gods and heroes from the Latin-Greek mythology: *Minerva*, *Aurora*, *Diana*, *Hector*, *Lavinia*, *Venera*, *Afrodita*.

There are, of course, Romanians that have names of different origins: Greek: *Stamate, Vanghele*, Slavic: *Vladimir, Natașa*, German: *Robert, Liana*, French: *Jean, Marie-Jeanne, Nicolas*.

We might add that during the 19th century, during the Austro-Hungarian empire, the Romanians in Transylvania chose Latin names for their children, in order not to let them be translated into Hungarian: *Romulus, Remus, Traian, Victoria, Decebal*.

Current naming practices in Romania. The most popular given names

Statistics show that, in general, the naming criteria have not changed significantly. In 2013, according to the Directorate for Persons Record and Databases Management from the Ministry of Administration and Interior (http://depabd.mai.gov.ro/index_eng.html), on a national scale, the first masculine given name was *Andrei* (12,736 male newborns) while the first female given name was *Maria* (21,817). On the second place, we can find *David* (7,724) and *Elena* (5,635), while on third come *Alexandru* (7,424) and *Ioana* (5,545). The Top 10 of Romanian gives names in 2013, both masculine and feminine, continues as following: 4th place: *Gabriel* (5,787) and *Andreea* (5,502); 5th place: *Ștefan* (5,236) and *Alexandra* (3,950); 6th place: *Ionuț* (4,689) and *Antonia* (3,875); 7th place: *Mihai* (4,047) and *Daria* (3,009); 8th place: *Daniel* (2,724) and *Ana* (2,854); 9th place: *Darius* (2,682) and *Gabriela* (2,829); and 10th place: *Luca* (2,600) and *Sofia* (2,418). In Iași (in the historical region of Moldova), the first most frequently chosen names for boys and girls in 2013 were *Maria* and *Ionuț*, while in Brașov, the first most frequent names are *Ana* and *David*. In Iași, the most popular names are typically Romanian but in Brașov, a multicultural region, where Romanians, Hungarians and Germans live

together, it is only natural that the most common names are the ones that best suit each of these nationalities.

However, during the last 25 years, some different sources of given names appeared. In the '90, when Romanians were allowed again to travel abroad, a lot of them went to find a job and a better life in other European countries. The two most wanted destinations were Italy and Spain, fact that is reflected in some of the names they gave to their children. It is interesting to notice the fact that, very often, the foreign name was chosen as the second given name, resulting thus in compound given names: *Alexandru-Mario*, *Mihai-Robert*, *Nicolae-Roberto*, *Petre-Orlando*, *Ana-Miruna*, *Ioana-Carla*, *Maria-Mirabela*. Sometimes, though, the association with their family names, typically Romanian ones, result in some strange sounding combinations in Romanian like *Antonio Brânză* (= cheese) or *Mirabela Cioară* (= crow) (Mihăilescu 2011).

The South American soap operas broadcast on Romanian television constituted another source for the names given to children, especially little girls and boys such as *Isaura*, *Rosalinda*, *Mercedes* (<http://www.gandul.info/magazin/romania-generatia-2010-cele-mai-frecvente-cinci-nume-de-baieti-si-fete-5764951>), *Cassandra*, *Jose Armando*, *Carlos* or *Juan Alberto* (Pețu, Torja 2011). The last name was modified to sound like a Romanian name, taking into account the fact that Romanian girls name usually end in *-a*, except of some borrowed names like *Carmen*.

The role of a given name is to identify the individual as unique (Pețu, Torja, 2011), however, some people may push this to the extreme, at the expense of their children. This criterion generated very unusual names, to say the least. Some of these names are very rare, for instance there is only one person called *Expertiza* (= expertise), two *Justiția* (= justice), three *Poliția* (= police), two *Facultatea* (= faculty, as in Faculty of Languages and Literatures!), one *Farmacia* (= pharmacy) and even someone called *Hitler*. Some other unusual names are more used than one might think. It is the case

of 581 individuals named *Mortu* (= the dead one) and 276 people called *Găleată* (= bucket). Beside those, one can find 22 *Ministru* (Minister) and 10 *Președinte* (= president)! (Pețu, Torja, 2011). These are a few of the weirdest given names in Romania. We did not give any examples of indecent names which, believe it or not, are used as given names as well.

We must also mention *Miss-America* (family name *Dinu*), *Superman* (family name *Sava*), *Sentiment-Brusli* (the “Romanized” form of *Bruce Lee*) (family name *Ipsilanti*), *Becham-Figo-Zidane* (family name *Poenaru*).

Can we identify new tendencies in the criteria for naming people?

So far, we did not seem to have found new tendencies in the criteria for naming people. The fact that new names appeared does not mean that new criteria have been come into being. Even if the name practicing is fashion related, it seems, in the end, that people did not change so much as generations passed by.

Names and naming practices in China

In China, Han nationality is the main one with a long history of the naming system in the 56 nationalities. People also like to be named by nick name. Some poets or writers would like to have one or two pseudonyms. In this paper we will only discuss official names of people from Han nationalities.

For a Chinese, a name is composed of family name at the beginning followed by a given name. For example, 贾代善 (JIA DAISHAN), 贾 (JIA) is the family name and 代善 (DAISHAN) is the given name. The name is not only a note to differentiate one person from another one, but also a mark of kinship and generation in the huge population. For example, all the people of the following form are from the famous Chinese novel *The Dream in Red Mansions*. They are three generations of the same big family 贾 (JIA) .

Relationship	Names			Symbol of generation
Grandfather	贾代善 JIA DAISHAN			代 DAI
Fathers	贾赦 JIA SHE	贾政 JIA ZHENG		父
Sisters	贾迎春 JIA YINGCHUN	贾元春 JIA YUANCHUN	贾探春 JIA TANCHUN	春 CHUN
Brothers	贾琏 JIA LIAN	贾环 JIA HUAN	贾珠 JIA ZHU	王

The fathers 贾赦 (JIA SHE) and 贾政 (JIA ZHENG) are brothers with the same part 父 in their given names. And they have the same father 贾代善 (JIA DAISHAN) .

The sisters 贾迎春 (JIA YINGCHUN), 贾元春 (JIA YUANCHUN) and 贾探春 (JIA TANCHUN) are sisters with the same 春 (CHUN) in their given names. Even if they have different fathers, they are part of the same generation in the big family.

The brothers 贾琏 (JIA LIAN), 贾环 (JIA HUAN) and 贾珠 (JIA ZHU) are brothers with the same part 王 in their given names. They are brothers of the three sisters and have different symbols of the same generation. But sometimes boys and girls in the same generation will be given the same symbol of generation.

People can also extract information of time and culture from given names. The naming system will also be changed after important historical events, so it reflects social change. For example, more people who were born just after 1949, the year in which the People's Republic of China was created, were given the name of 建军 (JIANJUN), 建国 (JIANGUO), 卫国 (WEIGUO), 卫华 (WEIHUA), etc. They have the meanings of building and protect the new country and army. But they are not popular names nowadays.

The basic principle of naming is that the characters should convey positive meanings. The parents always hope their child will be a person of

virtue, knowledgeable, healthy and pretty. For example, 仁义诚清道正直贤良 (REN,YI, CHENG, QING, DAO, ZHENG, ZHI,XIAN, LIANG) for virtue and 聪颖灵慧明晰思维勤书迪文 (CONG, YING, LING, HUI, MING, XI, SI, WEI, QIN, SHU, DI, WEN) for knowledge and 英俊伟建壮挺雄松柏山石 (YING, JUN, WEI, JIAN, ZHUANG, TING, XIONG, SONG, BO, SHAN, SHI) will become a better choice for boys and 婉婷娟媚美丽清兰 (WAN, TING, CHAN, JUAN, WU, MEI, MEI ,LI, QIAN, LAN) for girls, which means healthy and pretty. People will usually choose one or two of them as the given names of their children.

It is also very important to choose names made up of characters which are easy to be pronounced. The same final and the same initial characters should not be used in one name. As in 林民因 (LIN MINYIN) and 王文伟 (WANG WENWEI). The names which are pronounced the same as the ones with bad meanings should be avoided even if they have different characters. Such as 魏宝珠 (WEI BAOZHU) has the same pronunciation as 喂饱猪 which means “feeding the pig well”.

The third principle of naming is to be sure that all the characters of the name have different structures that will make the whole name look beautiful and easy to be recognized, without unusual characters. Some Chinese characters are not commonly used and difficult for normal people to recognize. Such as 李白 (LI BAI), one of the most famous poets in China, has the simple characters in his name. The famous movie stars such as 李小龙 Bruce Lee (LI XIAOLONG), 成龙 Jackie Chan (CHENG LONG) and 刘玉玲 Lucy Liu (LIU YULING) have also good names.

While the fourth principle is not to give the exact same names as those of one's family or relatives in order to show respect to one's elders. However, someone may be given one of the characters from a relative's name to help memorization or to signal the fact that they belong to the same generations. For example, 李诚 (LI CHENG) is the father's name and

李忆诚(LI YICHENG) was given the same 诚 (CHENG) as his father's. It means "memorizing his father" because 忆(YI) means "memorizing".

The twelve Zodiac signs traditionally influenced naming practices and are still used today. Here is an example for the people born in the year of the horse. As we know the horses are hard working and feed on grass. So it is a good choice to name people who were born in the year of the horse with characters that mean "grass" or "grain", such as 艺 (YI, 芸 (YUN), 颖 (YING), 秋 (QIU), 穆 (MU).

It is possible to choose names which are neutral. This is why, sometimes, it is not easy to guess the gender of a Chinese person only by hearing their name or just seeing the characters. For example, 刘波 (Liu Bo, which is the most popular name in China is now given to both men and women. All the above methods are popular naming practices and criteria in China nowadays.

Which are some of the most popular Chinese names at present? The top five Chinese names are: 刘波 (LIU BO), 李刚 (LI GANG), 李海 (LI HAI), 张勇 (ZHANG YONG) and 王军 (WANG JUN). These names are given only one character after their family names, so it is easy to choose the same one.

Can we identify new tendencies in the criteria for naming people?

More and more people in China choose both family names of the parents for their children's family name. Such as 何华德龙 (HEHUA DELONG) and 张杨舒仪 (ZHANGYANG SHUYI). Some parents give 3 characters as name to their child, such as 方勇正则 (FANG YONGZHENGZE) and 齐家若楠 (QI JIARUONAN). It will be difficult to find the exact same names in this way. It means that more people will get a name made up of 4 characters. And the Internet will also influence the new given names in Chinese, such as numbers, notes or alphabets.

In conclusion, names will really influence people's life. It is important for the parents to give good names to their children. The study of how

people can get good names should go further. It is easy to find from the Internet a website to help you give good names to children. We do not know how much we can believe in it and which way it should be applied in the real naming system. Some of them are also related to old and complicated Chinese characters which we should learn more widely and deeply not only for giving names but also to keep the long historical fortunes of traditional culture in China.

Conclusions

Naming practices and criteria have not change much over the time, neither in Romania, nor in China. Traditional names are still very much in use. In Romania, however, one might find names of foreign origin (Spanish, Italian, German), while in Chinese people seems not to use foreign names. This is not due to conservatism but to the fact that Chinese have to adapt borrowed words to their pronunciation first and then find the appropriate characters to write them. Therefore, finally, a name of a foreign origin will eventually become a Chinese name.

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Forms of metatextual dialogism in the work of I. L. Caragiale

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Abstract

This paper examines ways of converting various stylistic procedures into forms of metatextual dialogism. It mainly details the analysis of a text that is amenable to the aforementioned framework: *Moşii (Tablă de materii)*¹ – short prose published by Ion Luca Caragiale in 1901. Therefore, the aims of the research reported in this paper are: (1) to thoroughly examine the individual narrative text mechanisms which convert into metatextual dialogism and (2) to highlight the role of these mechanisms in the process of translation. The achievement of these aims requires both the use of pragma-stylistic analysis instruments and those of the theory of literary translation.

Keywords: metatextual dialogism, peritextual dialog, ellipsis, principles of equivalence.

Introduction

The text analysed in the paper is a fresco of the author's contemporary society which is, however, extremely present-time despite the minimal artistic means Caragiale employs to depict it. This piece of fiction, although published at the beginning of the 20th century, is a perfect example of the modern literary techniques used in the writings of the time. The maximum conciseness of the text is based on stylistic *ellipsis*, a figure of speech belonging to the metataxe Group μ realised by complete suppression. The distribution of the text matter according to lexical micro-fields is the second procedure with dialogical facets.

¹ *The Forefathers (Table of contents)*

If in other works of Caragiale ellipsis is present at the syntactic level (e.g. predicative or qualifying elliptical sentences in the short story *Două loturi*¹), it is here a stylistic procedure at a metatextual level: ellipsis is converted into discourse and narrative technique at the same time. *Moșii* is a sentence-text out of which all elements except for noun phrases/nominal lexical units have been suppressed. This is the main reason for which I consider this text to be representative from the perspective of metatextual dialogism, ellipsis thus being more of a figure of content than a figure of speech.

The immediate effects of the use of these procedures are: directing the reader's imagination towards multiple 'narrative gates' on the one hand, and improving text translatability from the perspective of the various aspects pertaining to cultural differences between source language and target language, on the other hand.

In my paper, *Peritextual dialogue in the dynamics of poetry translatability* (Ene 2012), I proposed a peritextual dialogue project meant to improve the translatability of literary texts. Consequently, the *peritext*² could be a *diary of the act of translation* and of the dialogue among the translator, the pragma-stylistician and the "lector fabulator" (Eco 1979), the latter becoming eventually "lector in fabula" (idem).

The dialogue-peritext should investigate the assumptions of the reader (as the beneficiary of the translation), with respect to the translated text which should preserve as many of the features of the source text as possible. The pragma-stylistician, together with the translator, has the task to explain figurative mechanisms underlying the original text and, at the same time, to analyse the cultural differences which sometimes make impossible, for example, the translation without the loss of idiomatic expressions. (Ene 2012, 192)

¹ *Two lottery tickets*

² The *peritext*, according to Genette (1987, 10-11), consists of all the elements placed in the nearest proximity of the text (title, inter-title, preface, postface, notes, etc.).

The peritextual project was then exemplified by means of a pragma-stylistic analysis of a poem by Nina Cassian and an analysis of several translations of the poem. These analyses confirmed the hypothesis that translation difficulties reside in the poem's *metabola* mechanism.

Pragma-stylistic analysis

In the text under analysis in the present paper, despite some equivalence difficulties, the *metabola* mechanism is the one which contributes, to a certain extent, to the improvement of translatability. Ene (2012, 196) put forth “a possible display of this translation diary in the peritext” whose sections might be: *Who is the author?* (“author bio-data”), *What does the text say?* (“the suggesting of one or more ways of interpreting the central message”) and *How does the text say it?* (“the explanation of the way in which the discourse is structured and the description of the mechanism of the main metabola”). These sections will be present, therefore, in the analysis that follows, precisely in order to prove their necessity.

In this profile of the peritextual dialogue, the translator's explanations or comments “could be placed as footnotes, which should be *circular*, namely, they should permanently refer to the other sections of the peritextual dialogue for details or clarification [...]” (ibidem).

Who is I. L. Caragiale?

Ion Luca Caragiale (born on 1 Febr. 1852, in Haimanale, Prahova county – died on 9 June 1912 in Berlin) is considered to be one of the greatest Romanian writers and the greatest Romanian playwright.

I. L. Caragiale approached many literary genres and was involved in various cultural areas – he was a playwright, a short story writer, a

pamphleteer, a poet, a theatre director, a political analyst and a journalist; after his death he was elected member of the Romanian Academy.

Also, he was a harsh critic of the politically powerful of his time and a controversial figure in the literary field. His remarkable talent to capture in caustic formulas and in memorable scenes all the shortcomings of his contemporary society made him an uncomfortable character not only for the potentates of his time but also for some of his fellow writers. In the issuance year of *Moșii* (1901) he has been accused in a literary publication of plagiarising the drama *Năpasta* by an obscure writer hidden under the pseudonym Caion. Caragiale sued him and won the trial without difficulties. Disgusted by this event (too), he leaves to Berlin in 1904 together with his family in voluntary exile.

If there are few controversial issues about the biographic data of the author, many had been said and written about his inner beliefs and mostly about his personality.

Caragiale was a histrionic character, extremely versatile in his intelligence, temperament, and in his behaviour. This versatility together with his inclination to continually improvise his own role – always different – among others has deepened the contradiction of a sinuous being, challenged by an opposing destiny.

Some saw in him the godless cynic, spineless, others declared him emotive, sensitive, of a special gentleness heart; they have claimed his maliciousness as they have praised his lucidity; he has been cast aside for his cabotinage and admired for his sincerity; he has been labelled as a frivolous and superficial spirit or admired as a profound, vulnerable and fundamentally tragic consciousness.

The antinomies of his individuality – *homo duplex*, according to Șerban Cioculescu – have merged together with the antum and even with the posthumous perceived contradictions of the writer's work. (Papadima 1996, 13-14)

However, literary criticism generally considers him a genius impossible to constrain within a formula. In time, many literary critics discussed his novel procedures in the domain of theatre and the *modernity of classical Caragiale*. Moreover, although the world he described seems to belong to a

well defined time and space, the transhistorical character of his work was also commented on. An aesthetic formula, most difficult to define, and the acuity of this author who *felt enormously and saw monstrously* are the two aspects that keep his world alive over time.

What does the Moşii say?

Moşii (Tablă de materii) – full text (see in Appendix) was published (first publication) in *Moftul român*¹, in 1901, May 18.

Moşii (Forefathers) is the name of a celebration in the Christian Orthodox calendar: a day of commemoration of the dead. A fun-fair is held on this Orthodox celebration – therefore, the astute combination of terms apparently randomly enumerated represents both the diversity of objects that can be sold/bought on such an occasion and the human diversity present in such a place.

Moşii is a fresco of the author's contemporary society which he depicts with a minimum of artistic devices. The ellipsis, here brought to the degree of metatextual procedure, creates, even before the avangardist experiments, hard to imagine effects for the 20'st century European literature thus awakening admiration in us, contemporaneous with the yet stylistically unaccomplished postmodernism.

Beyond being only a literary experiment, which is certainly ahead of its time in terms of type of discourse, *Moşii* is a significance-laden text demonstrating that there can be no arbitrary sign in Caragiale's work. The profound significance of the text – the lack of substance of a world – is unveiled in the pragma-stylistic analysis.

¹ *The Romanian Fad*

How does the Moşii say it?

Two of Caragiale's famous statements define his work: (1) "I feel enormously and I see monstrously"¹ and (2) "... not at all is unnecessary in art when there is enough"².

The statement (1) is the sign of Caragiale's accuracy of observation which highlights detail from reality thus taking it to almost expressionist dimensions in some of his work and surrealist dimensions in other. The statement (2) is the expression of the maximum conciseness of his creative genius which can spotlight profound significance in memorable formulas.

Caragiale's magnifying glass

Michael J. Toolan brings back to discussion the problem of the relation between *teller*, *tale* and *addressee*, this relation being the expression of the way of telling narratives.

Narrative typically is a recounting of things spatiotemporally distant: here's the present teller, there's the distant topic – hence the sense of gap. [...] But since the present teller is the access to the distant topic, there is the sense, too, in which narrative entails making what is distant and absent uncommonly present: a merging rather than a division. (1995, 1-2)

The 'classic' relation *teller-tale-addressee* imposes a triangle of the narration. At the top of this triangle sits *teller*, found at equal distances to the angles of the triangle basis – *tale* and *addressee*. The changes in the author's vision regarding to the way of telling narratives can be embodied in two others narrative types: a *merging-cum-immediacy* and a *merging-cum-withdrawal* (Toolan 1995, 2).

¹ in *Grand Hôtel 'Victoria Română'* [*Grand Hôtel 'Romanian Victory'*], a short story

² in his letters from Berlin

The *merging-cum-immediacy* type keeps the distance from *addressee* precisely by a bigger involvement in *tale*.

The *merging-cum-withdrawal* type is more complex: “[...] addressees sometimes have the impression that the teller has withdrawn from them, has taken leave, so as to be more fully involved in the removed scene” (ibidem).

Caragiale’s way of telling narratives is closer to the last type: the author puts the story’s world under a magnifying glass through which he distances himself and “sees monstrously”. Nevertheless all the he sees involves him thus he “feels enormously”.

By distancing himself, the author retreats from the world he describes, thus he becomes objective – so, the ellipsis serves him perfectly in the text analysed here. Meanwhile, he is involved, one can perceive him through his free indirect discourse in *fibula*; if not, “Who speaks, who thinks?” – we ask ourselves with Toolan (1995, 125): the ending *Terrible crisis, mon cher!* (see in Appendix) could not belong but to an ironic author-teller, bound to the described world by invisible threads. Also, the narrative order (see below about arranging lexical fields) – apparently an automatic dictation (*dictée automatique*) – is subtly defined by a Caragiale extremely attentive to details and suggestions. So it is more of an author’s merging by retirement with and through the world of the tale. In this way, the invisible but not absent teller permanently brings along and draws back the addressee in and out of the *fabula*.

It resembles with looking at a painting in a gallery: without distancing oneself you can not understand the world of the painting nor can you resonate with her.

So, what kind of a teller is Caragiale? Toolan also sets a teller’s typology.

We can summarize the differences between the four types of telling as follows:

A: intrusive, limited, character-based and hence mimetic

B: intrusive, unlimited, omniscient

C: detached, limited, impersonal, ‘Hemingwayan’

D: detached, limited, estranged. (Toolan 1995, 83)

Obviously, Toolan admits to the possibility of interweaving or types alternation but, in our case, there are few nuances to be considered. Caragiale the teller is *detached* and apparently *impersonal*, but not estranged, *unlimited*, but not necessarily omniscient, but moreover *invisible* and *emphatic* in a *discreet* way.

Order and text duration or the narrative 'crisis'

Order and duration are temporal features of narrative text. The aforementioned author says:

Narratives typically seem to have a 'trajectory'. They usually go somewhere, and are expected to go somewhere, with some sort of development and even a resolution, or conclusion, provided. We expect them to have beginnings, middles, and ends (as Aristotle stipulated in his *Art of Poetry*). (Toolan 1995, 4)

In the analyzed text, this narrative frame is consciously disrupted: the sequence of words (nouns and expressions with nominal value) creates the impression of an almost Brownian movement.

On the other hand, it is known that "Maximum speed is said to constitute *ellipsis*, where no text space is spent on a piece of story duration [...]" (Toolan 1995, 56).

Indeed, the maximum conciseness is stylistically supported by *ellipsis*, a figure included by the μ Group in the category of *metataxes* achieved by *complete suppression*. The *ellipsis* is sometimes related to *reluctance*; usually, even though the sentence is partially deprived of her meaning, the elliptic term is inherited.

In *Moșii*, the text duration seems abolished, because the *ellipsis* is used as an absolute catalyser of the narration – it seems to generate a lack of focalization. There are no *deixis* (*here, there, this* and *that*), no verbs, so no tense choices. Thus, not only the order but also the narrative time seems to

come to a crisis. But this ‘lack’ of artistic devices has an effect contrary to the expected one: a strong feeling of movement and a vivid array of images. Once pierced in the text where the ellipsis seems to undermined the narration by voiding all types of connectors and verbs as motors of a narrative thread, the imagination’s ‘air’ of the reader generates an implosion of multiple and divers potential narratives.

In other works by Caragiale, the *ellipsis* involves surface level syntax; see, for example (in comedies, novellas and short stories):

- a. sentences lacking predicative and/or qualifying elements (in: *Două loturi*¹, *În vreme de război*², *Inspecțiune*³, *La hanul lui Mânjoală*⁴, *Telegrame*⁵, *Urgent*⁶, *Proces-verbal*⁷ etc.);
- b. suspension points (in: *Două loturi*, *În vreme de război*, *Inspecțiune*, *La hanul lui Mânjoală* etc.);
- c. concise, telegraphic sentences (in: *Conul Leonida față cu Reacțiunea*⁸, *La hanul lui Mânjoală*, *Telegrame*, *Urgent*, *Proces-verbal* etc.);
- d. the empty *topoi* technique (in: *Două loturi*, *În vreme de război*, *La hanul lui Mânjoală*, *Telegrame*, *Urgent*, *Proces-verbal* etc.);
- e. the open end technique (in: *Două loturi*, *Inspecțiune*, *La hanul lui Mânjoală* etc.).

In *Moșii*, *ellipsis* is a stylistic procedure at the *metatextual level*: the ellipsis is both *discourse* and *narrative technique*. Here, ellipsis is not a simple expressive figure, but one of content: *Moșii* is *sentence-text* in which all elements, except

¹ Two lottery tickets

² At war time

³ An inspection

⁴ At Manjoala's Inn

⁵ Telegrams

⁶ Urgent

⁷ Report

⁸ Mr. Leonida facing the opposition

the nominal one, were suppressed; moreover, all the elements in between quotation marks are also nouns, at a syntactic level (in metalanguage).

The text is therefore, more than a ‘balkanian’ atmosphere text, a *denomination text* which, although non-paradoxical, makes up for the lack of substance of a world. Instead of a conventional description of a fun-fair atmosphere at the Moși, the author combines the „objects” populating this universe by both assigning them to certain *lexical fields* and mixing them in different lexical fields. The only clues given to the reader for ease of reference in this plethora of objects are word order (transition to another lexical field not being marked) and the dash, used as a demarcation sign among the enumerated “objects”. The mere juxtaposition of these lexical fields is a departure point for a wide range of images and sounds.

Here is a set of *lexical microfields*, randomly extracted from the text (see in Appendix, the fragment in dark grey); the sign [/] marks the text „breaks” which isolate the lexical units or the phrases showing transition to a different lexical field – sometimes, there is a direct transition:

Ro: [...] *orice obiect 30 de bani // –certuri –chefuri –aldămașuri [*] –tâmbălăuri // – «Numai 40 de bani ocaua [**] de Drăgășani, vechi veritabil!» – «5 bani cafea gingirle [***]!» // – nuci – sare – salam de Sibiu // – «Hop și eu cu Țața Lina! adevărata plăcintă română și cozonaci moldovinești» // – prafuri de pureci // – covrigi – roșcove // –frânghii [...].*

En: [...] *30 pence any object // – squabbles – boozes – aldămașuri [*]¹ – hullabaloo // – «Only 40 pence an oca [**]² of Drăgășani [wine], old genuine!» – «5 pence [a] gingirle [***] coffee³!» // – nuts – salt – Sibiu salami // – «Here I come with tannie Lina! Real Romanian pie and Moldavian Easter cakes!» // – flea powders // – bagels – carob beans // –ropes [...].*

¹ drink offered on completion of a transaction (rom. *aldămaș* < magh. *áldomás*)

² old unit of measurement for capacity and weight, equal to about a quart (or a pound) and a quarter (rom. *oca* < tc. *okka*)

³ Turkish coffee (rom. *gingirle* < tc. *cicili*, namely „cute”)

We can identify lexical microfields with the following semantic features:

- lexical microfield 1 (*30 pence any object // [...] – flea powders // [...] – ropes*): /tradable object/, /-eatable/, /for various uses/;
- lexical microfield 2 (*[...] squabbles – boozes – aldămaşuri – hullabaloo // [...]*), which is related to microfield 4: /human relationships/, /temporary (relationships)/, /heated discussion/;
- lexical microfield 3 (*«Only 40 pence an oca [**] of Drăgăşani [wine], old genuine!» – «5 pence [a] gingirlie [***] coffee!» // [...] – «Here I come with tannie Lina! Real Romanian pie and Moldavian Easter cakes!» // [...]*): /shouted announcement/, /advertising (announcement)/, /meant to sell a product/;
- lexical microfield 4 (*[...] nuts – salt – Sibiu salami // [...] – bagels – carob beans // [...]*): /tradable object/, /natural (or processed) product/, /+eatable/.

A lexical field extremely well represented (65 words of a total of 366 – an approximate 20% of the text) is the one characterised by the following semantic features (see in Appendix, the words in light grey): /+ human/, /± adult/, /with different social statuses/, /± found in a particular circumstance/ (ex., *lost children* and *drunken parents*).

[...] – soldaţi – mahalagioaice [...] – decoraţi [...] – provinciali [...] – cerşetori [...] – copii – miniştri – pungaşi de buzunare [...] – bone – doici [...] – jandarmi [...] – telegrafişti – nepoate – mătuşi – ţaţe – neni – unchi – veri – văduve – orfani [...] – măcelari [...] – beţivi [...] – turci [...] – căluşari [...] – călăreţi – orbeţi [...] – schilozi [...] – zamparagii – guvernamentali – opozanţi [...] – popi – cocoane – mateloţi – impiegaţi – pensionari – suprimaţi – popor – seniori – dame – MM. LL. (Maiestăţile-lor – n. a.) – A.A. L.L. (Alteţele-lor – n. a.) – târgoveţi – târgoveţe – ţărani – ţărance – intelectuali – artişti – poeţi – prozatori – critici – burgheji [...] – copii pierduţi – părinţi beţi – mame prăpădite – guri căscate [...] – lume, lume, lume [...].

[...] – *soldiers* – *slum women* [...] – *decorated people* [...] – *provincials* [...] – *beggars* [...] – *kids* – *ministers* – *pickpockets* [...] – *babysitters* – *nannies* [...] – *gendarmes* [...] – *telegraphers* – *nieces* – *aunts* – *tannies* – *Uncles* – *uncles* – *cousins* – *widows* – *orphans* [...] – *butchers* [...] – *drunkards* [...] – *Turks* [...] – *gag dancers* [...] – *riders* – *punks* [...] – *cripples* [...] – *scamps* – *governmental men* – *opponents* [...] – *priests* – *ladies* – *mariners* – *clerks* – *pensioners* – *dismissed persons* – *people* – *seniors* – *women* – *T.M. (Their Majesties* – author's note) – *T.H. (Their Highnesses* – author's note) – *townsmen* – *townsladies* – *countrymen* – *countrywomen* – *intellectuals* – *artists* – *poets* – *prose writers* – *critics* – *bourgeois* [...] – *lost children* – *drunken parents* – *poor mothers* – *gaping mouths* [...] – *people, people, people* [...].

This is the most divers lexical field, joined only by the *sema* /+ human/ and the attraction for the multitude objects and distractions. Shortly said, as the author does: “people, people, people”.

In the same time, this lexical field seems to have an implosive potential: although concentrated to the maximum, almost every element or fragment of this lexical field can be a point of departure for a narrative scenario: one can be tempted to imagine the faith of the forsaken [*lost*] *children* by *poor mothers* or by *drunken parents*; one can try to knit a story that would explain what are the *intellectuals*, *artists*, *poets*, *prose writers* and *critics* do in here beside raw material for their reflections and their works; one can think of a story in which the *pickpockets* quietly operate over *ministers*, *bourgeois*, and other large pocket owners, whose attention is concentrated on fleeing of the *beggar's* insistence, etc., etc. So, this concentrated to the maximum text contains many narrative embryos and their upbringing depends only upon the reader's imagination.

All these lexical fields are present as compact groups or, on the contrary, intentionally displaced and thus they become narrative gates. The reader therefore dives into a general “hullabaloo” by:

- *auditory images* – the reader’s hearing is hurt by the sharp tones of people who have a bone of contention and, at the same time, by the diverse noises of other people having a party; the reader then breathes a sigh of relief waking past two individuals whose moderate announces the closing of a deal; later on the reader comes across other hullabaloo enhanced by the sharp ton of the merchants creatively advertising their goods;
- *visual images* – in the meantime, the reader takes a peak at the stands displaying anything one can think of: if you want *carob beans, reach out and grab them*, if insects bother you, here is plenty of flea powder and so on; now and then, the reader can see in his mind the tempting add which he has already waked past, „ *30 pence any object*”, even if he knows it is a trick.

Unlike the crowds at the Moși – were the kitsch, filth, even the infection, live together with more or less useful objects –, the reader can at any moment step back and consider the „terrible crisis” of the world he has just left; nonetheless, he can enjoy the aesthetic pleasures the text offers. Thus the greatest aesthetic pleasure is, maybe, precisely the reader’s transformation in ‘co-author’ through the ingenious intuition of the invisible author-teller to not say *anything* over *enough*, and by leaving the reader to enter in dialogue with the text.

Conclusions of pragma-stylistic analysis

In other works of Caragiale ellipsis is present at the syntactic level but this figure does not reach total suppression of the *deixis* elements, neither does it reach the elimination of any verbal form without, apparently, narration can not be possible. Here ellipsis is a stylistic procedure at a metatextual level, is converted into discourse and narrative technique at the same time. *Moșii* is a

sentence-text out of which all elements except for noun phrases/nominal lexical units have been suppressed, a text of denomination. I consider this text to be representative from the perspective of metatextual dialogism, ellipsis thus being more of a figure of content than a figure of speech. The reader is subtly guided by the author towards a world and which invited him to meditate.

Ellipsis – here, a content figure – shows the lack of content itself. Ellipsis becomes the carrier of ‘the blueprint metaphor of discourse’:

In this view, the speaker holds a conceptual representation of events or ideas which he intends should be replicated in the mind of the listener. The listener is neither helpless nor passive in this endeavour but actively engages in constructing her own conceptual representation of the matters at hand. The speaker behaves as a sort of architect and his linguistic output, the text, can be viewed as a blueprint to aid the listener during the construction of a conceptual representation. Just as a true blueprint contains no actual building materials but depicts by convention how existing materials should be employed in constructing a given edifice, so the text itself contains little or no meaning per se but serves by convention to guide the listener in constructing a conceptual representation. (Tomlin et al. 2011, 38)

The world of *Moşii* – namely Caragiale’s epoch, but also that of any time marked by unconsciousness – is under the sign of a “terrible crisis” (see the end of the text, in Appendix) the crisis of a lack of profound significance.

This crisis is the one of a world governed by an *inflation of “objects”*. People themselves become objects which, irresponsibly, ignore everything not belonging to matter in its most unrefined form. And then: where is *the crisis, mon cher?* on such... *lovely weather*, as the author says.

How to translate *Moşii*?

It is well known that the first step towards the access to universality is a good translation, as faithful to the form and spirit of the text as possible. As I pointed in my aforementioned paper (Ene 2012, 189), obtaining harmony between the form and the content of the source text involves a real “art of compromise” (Jones 1989, 197).

Strategies

The strategies, traditionally employed for the translation of poetic forms (Holmes 1988, 25) are:

- *mimetic* – the original form is retained;
- *analogical* – the correlation of the cultural forms is used;
- *organic* – the semantic material is allowed to ‘take on its own unique poetic shape as the translation develops’;
- *deviant* or *extraneous* – the form adopted is in no way implicit in either the form or content of the original.

The translation (my own, with the help of a proficient non-native speaker of English) is based on the first two strategies. It also applies the last two strategies in some instances.

The principles of equivalence

The principles of equivalence could not strictly be followed because of lexical or syntactic elements:

- a. *slightly archaic forms* (see, for example, *artifiții* translated as *fireworks*, without a possible rendering of the archaic sound of the Romanian word);
- b. *folk forms* (*scrânciob: cele din urmă invenție care era și la expoziția americană* translated as *swing: the final inventions which was at the American exhibition too*, without fully rendering the grammatical disagreement of casual speech, because of the differences between the two languages at the syntactic level);
- c. *(quasi) untranslatable, in terms of form and content* – for example, *bragă* (translated as *millet beer*), *călușari* (translated as *gag dancers*), *madipolon* (untranslated), *Marsilieza* (untranslated), *altițe* (translated as *traditional blouses*), *fote* (translated as *traditional skirts*) – I attempted to translate these elements, and also to explain them; however, I sometime preferred to keep the original terms and gloss them in the footnotes.

Also, in some situations, I appealed to a ‘creative transposition’ (according to R. Jakobson 1959, 238), as the example for folk forms shows.

As I already said, in Caragiale’s stories, the ellipsis is a dialogic metatextual procedure that allows the reader to enter/exit through various narrative gates. Yes, but one can enter through these gates with the condition to make certain presuppositions. The pragmatic dimension of the text derives from within the text’s ‘offer’ to the reader, namely regarding data belonging to one’s experience or, in the words of Plett, “premises of cultural determined communication” (1983, 156).

Sometimes though, depending on how far in time the reader is regarding to the text, or on the lakes of the *cultural¹ encyclopaedia*, according to Eco (1996, 166 and *passim*), some discrepancies or even

¹ *cultural encyclopaedia* – the sum of all knowledge, of the collective and personal experiences, cultural clichés of an epoch, inner to one’s self

reception blockages appear and the dialogue interrupts itself. For an adequate and pragmatic understanding of the text, in other words, so that it can be set up what Plett calls the “actionable communicative game” (1983, 105), one also needs the re-enactment of the situational context. In other words, one has to know some elements connected to the genesis and/or to the issuing of the text, needs to know the fulfilment of one’s own cultural encyclopaedia with some linguistic and cultural characteristics, general or connected to the described epoch etc. Only then can all these be projected over the text.

In such situations it is healthy that the rendered text in source language (namely, in monolingual edition) be accompanied by various glosses. So, it is strongly recommended a minimum of critical apparatus for bi- or plurilingual editions.

The application of the *peritextual dialogue* (Ene 2012), submitted to improving the translatability of literary texts, would create premises to an adequate understanding of a text analysed by a foreign reader, whom is less likely to be acquainted with the cultural issues implied by the text.

Conclusions of translation analysis

I have, therefore, gone through all the three stages involved in literary translation (Jones 1989): (1) *the understanding stage* (which implies close analysis of the source text); (2) *the interpretation stage* (which implies item by item work); (3) *the creation stage* (which implies a target text as an artefact that can be valid in target-culture text). So, the pragma-stylistic analysis does not only help, but it also becomes compulsory.

Conclusions

As I hypothesised, despite some equivalence difficulties, in the text examined here it is the *metabola* mechanism which contributes to the improvement of translatability:

- *ellipsis* – as an *expressive figure* – turns *Moşii* into a denomination text, thus making the task of the translator easier;
- *ellipsis* – as a *content figure* – becomes a *form of metatextual dialogism* by the multiple narrative gates it opens;
- *ellipsis* – as a *content figure* – can also become a *form of cross-cultural dialogism* in a possible bilingual edition structured on the peritextual dialogue project.

The sections of the peritextual dialogue (Who is the I. L. Caragiale?, What the *Moşii* says? and How the *Moşii* says it?), in a possible bilingual edition, may help the reader overcome the various difficulties created by linguistic and cultural differences and understand the significances suggested by the author/text (Ene 2012, 196). That is because:

Today, [...], the study of languages use is no longer limited to an analysis of abstract structures of worlds, clauses, sentences or propositions, but is part of an integrated account of a socially and culturally situated and cognitively based multimodal discourse as interaction and human communication. (Dijk 2012, 3)

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Appendix

Translation of *Moşii* (*Tablă de materii*)

<p>Turtă dulce – panorame – tricoloruri – bragă – baloane – soldaţi – mahalagioaice – lampioane – limonadă – fracuri – decoraţiuni – decoraţi – doniţe – menajerii – provinciali – fluiere – cerşetori – ciubere – cimpoaie – copii – miniştri – pungaşi de buzunare – hărdaie – bone – doici – trăsuri – muzici – artiştii – fotografii la minut – comedii – tombole – <i>Moftul român</i> nr. 8 – oale – steaguri – flaşnete – îngheţată de vanilie – fleici – stambă – câni – pelin – căluşei – scrânciob: <i>cele din urmă invenţie care era şi la expoziţia americană</i> – pinteni – biciclete – cai – vite – jandarmi – basmale – telegrafişti – nepoate – mătuşi – taţe – neni – unchi – veri – văduve – orfani – portretul ţarului – «Moartea vânătorului» – icoane – bricege – săpun – lumânări – panglici – prescuri – măcelari – grâu – cofeturi pentru colivă – beţivi – căciuli – cojoace – căpestre – boi – hârâitori – Prima societate de bazalt şi teracotă – <i>Stella</i> – sticle – fân – cercuri – doage – buţi – plăpumi – saltele – perne – flori – scaune – paturi – mese – betea – oglinzi – cercei – inele – ibrice – turci – lighene – doftorii de bătăture – săpun de pete – madipolon – ace englezeşti – mere – portocale – năut – floricele – şerbet – răcoreală – <i>Marsilieza</i> – lulele – luleaua neamţului – <i>Deşteaptă-te, române!</i> – sacăz – sifoane – ciucalată – acadele – plesnitori – tunuri – căluşari – smochine – păpuşi – poame – capul vorbitor – Leul de mare –</p>	<p>Gingerbread – panoramas – tricolours – millet beer¹ – balloons – soldiers – slum women – paper lanterns – lemonade – tails – decorations – decorated people – wooden buckets – menageries – provincials – flutes – beggars – wooden pails – bagpipes – kids – ministers – pickpockets – tubs – babysitters – nannies – carriages – music bands – fireworks – snapshots – fun fairs – tombola – <i>The Romanian Fad</i> no. 8 – pots – flags – barrel organs – vanilla ice cream – pork steak – floral fabric – mugs – wormwood – merry-go-rounds – swing: <i>the final inventions which was at the American exhibition too</i> – spurs – bicycles – horses – cattle – gendarmes – headscarves – telegraphers – nieces – aunts – tannies – Uncles – uncles – cousins – widows – orphans – the portrait of the Tsar – «Death of the hunter» – icons – penknives – soap – candles – ribbons – holy wafers – butchers – wheat – koliva decorations – drunkards – hats – sheepskin coats – bridles – oxen – rattles – The first basalt and terracotta company – <i>Stella</i>² – bottles – hay – circles – barrels – casks – duvets – mattresses – pillows – flowers – chairs – beds – tables – tinsel – mirrors – earrings – rings – coffee pots – Turks – wash basins – corns – soap stain remover – madipolon³ – English needles – apples – oranges – chickpeas – popcorn – sherbet – refreshing drinks – <i>The Marsilieza</i>⁴ – tobacco pipes – German's pipe⁵ – <i>Wake up, Romanian!</i>⁶ – rosin – soda siphons – jocolatte⁷ – lollipops – squibs – cannons – gag dancers⁸ – figs – dolls – dried fruits –</p>
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¹ bragă – soft drink and a sour taste and odor, prepared from millet, corn or boiled rye and fermented, or from fermented bread pieces in water (rom. bragă < rus. braga)

² probably, the name of a drink

³ obsolete word: (rom.) madipolon < (fr.) madapolan, soft cotton cloth for bed linen (from Madapolan, a town in India)

⁴ Marseillaise

⁵ pipe < fife < germ. Pfeife

⁶ Romanian anthem

⁷ in en., an archaic form for chocolate

⁸ group of dancers who performs (in villages, in the week of Pentecost) traditional dance called *The gag*

<p>«Vasilache» – copilul cu trei picioare – încercarea puterii – distracția americană – belciuge – fonografe – războiul român pentru țesut – mingi – urcioare – bere – cruci – Dumnezeu – fluier – alune prăjite – Bragadir – fisticuri – Luther – betea – Opler – călăreți – orbeți – birji – schilozi – automobile – zamparagii – guvernamentali – opozanți – <i>Visul Maichii Precistii</i> – <i>Minunile lui sf. Sisoe</i> – <i>Alexe, omul lui Dumnezeu</i> – borangic – țări – sardele – lămâi – brânză – urdă – cașcaval – slănină – roabe – velințe – alțițe – bibiluri – fote – perdele – ștergare – marame – furci – căldări – pirostirii – lopeți – albi – copăi – fedeleșuri – porci – mătănii – paiațe – rogojini – parfumuri – ciorapi – iminei – ghete – cizme – papuci – mătăsării – piepteni – drâmburi – darace – cobze – pomadă – clarinete – maimuțe – <i>price obiect 30 de bani</i> – certuri – chefuri – aldămașuri – tămbălăuri – «<i>Numai 40 de bani ocaua de Drăgășani, vechi veritabil!</i>» – «<i>5 bani cafea gingirle!</i>» – nuci – sare – salam de Sibiu – «<i>Hop și eu cu Țața Lina! Adevărata plăcintă română și cozonaci moldovinești!</i>» – prafuri de pureci – covrigi – roșcove – frânghii – stafide – curele – șei – hamuri – clopote – căruțe – coșuri – bomboane – rahat – muzici – gogoși – pălării – testemele – muște – popi – cocoane – mateloți – impiegați – pensionari – suprimați – popor – seniori – dame – <i>MM. LL. (Maiestățile-lor – n. a.) – A.A. L.L. (Altețele-lor – n. a.)</i> – târgoveți – târgovețe – țărani – țărance – intelectuali</p>	<p>talking head – The Sea Lion – «Vasilache»¹ – the three-legged child – body strength testing – American fun – hoops – phonographs – the Romanian loom – balls – jugs – beer – crosses – Gods – flutes – roasted peanuts – Bragadir² – pistachios – Luther – tinsel – Opler – riders – punks – hansom cabs – cripples – cars – scamps – governmental men – opponents – <i>Holy Mother's dream</i> – <i>The miracles of St. Sisoe</i> – <i>Alexe, the man of God</i> – borangic³ – bloaters – sardines – lemons – feta cheese – ricotta – cheese – fat bacon – wheelbarrows – rustic woollen bedspreads – traditional blouses – embroideries – traditional skirts – curtains – woven towels – traditional silk scarves – pitchforks – buckets – trivets – shovels – bathtubs – troughs – barrels – pigs – rosaries – clowns – matting – perfumes – stockings – iminei⁴ – jackboots – boots – slippers – silks – combs – Jew's harps⁵ – carding combs – kobzas⁶ – pomade – clarinets – monkeys – <i>30 pence any object</i> – squabbles – boozes – aldămașuri⁷ – hullabaloo – «<i>Only 40 pence an oca⁸ of Drăgășani [wine]⁹, old genuine!</i>» – «<i>5 pence [a]¹⁰ gingirle!¹¹ coffee!</i>» – nuts – salt – Sibiu salami – «<i>Here I come with tannie Lina! Real Romanian pie and Moldavian Easter cakes!</i>» – flea powders – bagels – carob beans – ropes – raisins – belts – saddles – harnesses – church bells – carts – baskets – candies – Turkish delight – music bands – donuts – hats – handkerchiefs – flies – priests – ladies – mariners – clerks – pensioners – dismissed persons – people – seniors – women – <i>T.M. (Their Majesties – author's note)</i> – <i>T.H. (Their Highnesses – author's note)</i> – townsmen – townsladies –</p>
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¹ a puppet at a fun-fair

² a sort of beer

³ natural silk (rom. *borangic* < tc. *bürüncük*)

⁴ Turkish fashion shoes (rom. *iminei* < tc. *yemeni*)

⁵ a small folk musical instrument, consisting a flexible metal or bamboo tongue attached to a frame; the tongue is placed in the performer's mouth and plucked with the finger to produce a sound (rom. *drâmbă* < ucr. *drymba*)

⁶ stringed, musical instrument similar to the guitar, which has a resonance very convex box, used especially in accompaniment, by pinching the strings (rom. *cobză* < ucr. *kobza*)

⁷ drink offered on completion of a transaction (rom. *aldămaș* < magh. *áldomás*)

⁸ old unit of measurement for capacity and weight, equal to about a quart (or a pound) and a quarter (rom. *oca* < tc. *okka*)

⁹ my note

¹⁰ idem

¹¹ Turkish coffee (rom. *gingirle* < tc. *cicili*, namely „cute”)

<p>– artiști – poeți – prozatori – critici – burgheji – tramcare – tramvaiuri – capele pârlite – jupe călcate – bătăături strivite – copii pierduți – părinți beți – mame prăpădite – guri căscate – praf – noroii – murdărie – infecție – lume, lume, lume – vreme frumoasă – dever slab... – <i>Criză teribilă, monșer!</i></p> <p>[I. L. Caragiale, <i>Moșii (Tablă de materii)</i> – text integral; prima apariție în <i>Moftul</i> <i>român</i>, 1901, 18 mai]</p>	<p>countrymen – countrywomen – intellectuals – artists – poets – prose writers – critics – bourgeois – tramcars – tramways – singed military caps – ironed petticoats – crushed calluses – lost children – drunken parents – poor mothers – gaping mouths – dust – mud – dirt – infection – people, people, people – lovely weather – low sales... – <i>Terrible</i> <i>crisis, mon cher!</i></p> <p>[I. L. Caragiale, <i>The Forefathers</i>² (<i>Table of</i> <i>contents</i>) – full text; the first publication in <i>Moftul român</i>³, 1901, May 18]</p>
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¹ *my dear* (in French)

² *Forefathers* is the name of celebrating the Orthodox Christian calendar: the day of commemoration of the dead. A fun-fair is held on this Orthodox celebration.

³ *The Romanian Fad*

Between discourse and memory: dialogism in Romanian oral texts

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Abstract

Starting from the bakhtinian concept of “dialogism” and from the precepts of French school’s discourse analysis, this paper places *enunciation* in the center of discourse, in relation to others’ discourse and previous discourses, attempting to interconnect the concept of “interdiscourse” to the one of “interdiscursive memory.” Concretely, the article sets to investigate the relationships that exist between the discourses that are interwoven in oral texts that focus on “history experienced” by speakers belonging to various Romanian traditional linguistic communities. The *corpus* used by the author consists of narrative oral texts that were transcribed and published in Romania.

Key-words: dialogism, narrative Romanian oral texts, collective imaginary, identity, interdiscursive memory, metadiscourse.

Preliminaries

The present paper pertains to recent research into the sociolinguistic dimension of *interdiscourse* in different types of texts. Concretely, the article sets to investigate the relationships that exist between the discourses that are interwoven in oral texts that focus on “history experienced” by speakers belonging to various traditional linguistic communities in Romania. Attention will be paid to the articulation, in the texts studied, of diverse utterances with dialogic potential and with discourse semantics that

observes the meaning of the words and their use in contexts (which are, in their turn, part of other locutors' speech).

The *corpus* used by the author consists of *narrative oral texts* that were transcribed and published in Romania.¹

Theoretical and methodological aspects

Corpus linguistics

The direction of research called *corpus linguistics* has gained enormous ground in the last decades. *General* corpora have been compiled for a series of languages, depicting spontaneous current speech. *Special*, reference corpora have also been gathered, which serve as working bases in various specific fields of activity (history, ethnology, or sociology) and, as a whole, in computational linguistics.²

Until not very long ago, the only resources available in Romanian to illustrate the complex issues implied by corpus linguistics used to be either literary texts written in a mainly oral style or dialectal texts. The latter display several peculiarities on the level of communication situation: conversations are included in informers' narratives and the types of verbal interaction are limited, due to the specific nature of rural life (*cf.* Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu 2002, 9–10).

After the fall of communism in Romania (in 1989), some document-texts (shorthand texts, telephone recordings from the archives of the *Securitate*, the Romanian secret police, and so on) were published. Moreover, *corpora of oral memory* (predominantly monologic and narrative) were of particular interest.

¹ See References: Sources, Bibliography.

² In this respect, see Ghido 2004.

In order to gain insight into real communication, which is integrated in its situational context, and the phenomena of orality, several volumes have recently been put together. They comprise³ authentic material consisting of spontaneous, current, non-dialectal speech from the past decade. These texts refer to *colloquial Romanian*, which is the most neglected variety of the language precisely because it is unmarked.

The characteristics of the material from volumes of oral texts

In general, apart from existing differences regarding their organisation, system of transcription, the textual typology adopted and the dominant type of text (texts with a more significant degree of narrative and argumentative coherence, dialogic and/or monologic texts, or ones pertaining to direct/face-to-face communication or mediate communication – via telephone, radio, or television), the materials that make up the volumes of Romanian oral texts display the following features:

- a. External (relating to the type of research approach):
 - the materials are the result of a type of private interviews that, depending on the aim pursued, affect the nature of the texts produced;⁴
 - they are the written variants of spoken sequences, which were selected (by the authors of the anthology) from a larger data base of materials recorded on magnetic tape;
- b. Internal:

³ For this, see Dascălu Jinga 2002, 2011 and Ionescu Ruxăndoiu 2002.

⁴ There exists asymmetry in interactional roles: interviewers (surveyors) are outsiders, members of a team, and specialists acting according to a norm / strategy (but relying on spontaneity) and having a greater influence on interaction organisation, whereas interviewees (informers) are subjects of study, whose influence is the greatest in relation to the content of the information provided.

- they have a specific content, as certain topics are preferably discussed and, therefore,
- they are responsible for a certain discourse typology.

The qualities of oral texts: discursiveness and dialogism

Discursiveness as subjectivity

As long as we affect our direct and indirect interlocutors by using a certain language and certain language varieties, we may state that every act of communication has got a *discursive dimension*.⁵

By means of discourse, a speaker disseminates his/her *subjectivity* in a given situation. When they comment on facts that they communicate, speakers may take a particular stand in a specific context and, at the same time, assign a certain role to their interlocutors (which the latter may accept or reject).

Discourses may also be defined as *projects of social interaction* that individuals employ in specific situations. Depending on the different representations that we may have about our interlocutor and, implicitly, about the situation in which we may find ourselves (representations that may multiply as the discursive exchange unfolds), we apply specific *strategies of interaction*.

Dialogism as pluralism

Even if, by nature, actualities are difficult to organise, one can note the persistence of the philosophical topicalisation of *communication*, *signification*, and *language*.

⁵ Discourse is a *means of using* language and language varieties (non-verbal languages, specialised languages, various lexicons), based on which a social actor presents his/her interlocutors the *interpretation* of certain facts. Therefore, discourse is a *means of organising* communicated facts (selecting certain facts and exploiting them based on their importance).

In this respect, the term *linguistic heterogeneity*⁶ proved to be efficient in contemporary linguistics. *Linguistic heterogeneity* may be considered on various levels – heterogeneity as *diversity*: in *language history* and *comparative linguistics*; heterogeneity as *variation*: *diatopic*, *diastratic*, *diaphasic*, and *diamesic*; heterogeneity as *pluralism*: *pragmatic heterogeneity* (*dialogism*).

The most recent use of the term *heterogeneous* refers to the *pluralism* of linguistic phenomena.

On the level of language theory, pluralism is translated into concepts like *dialogism*, *polyphony*, or *linguistic heterogeneity*.⁷

Besides a speaker's relationship with an interlocutor, interaction also includes *third-party interlocutors*. Thus, in order to legitimise the stand we make at a certain point, we invoke (by means of *citation*, *paraphrase*, *presupposition*, *metadiscourse*, and others) different “voices” – certain circumstances, actions, arguments, in short, other discourses that may grant us credibility. We are never the sole author or permanent author of a

⁶ In *La condition postmoderne* (1979), Jean François Lyotard, one of the theoreticians of French postmodernism, criticises the paradigm of modern knowledge, which, along with generalisation and isolation from multiplicity, depreciates *heterogeneity*. What he criticises is not reason in general, but only that form of reason which is founded on the *exclusion of the heterogeneous*. Therefore, what he proposes for postmodernity is to make *heterogeneity* discursively available again, by means of *analytical philosophy of language*.

⁷ As regards the matter of the “discourse author”, specialised bibliography records concepts such as: “dialogism” (Bakhtin 1970), “polyphonic utterance” (Ducrot 1991), “discourse heterogeneity” (Authier-Revuz 1982), discourse as “archive reading” (Maingueneau 1987), and “sources of heterogeneous utterance” (Vion 1992). The term *linguistic heterogeneity* was introduced in the literature by Jacqueline Authier-Revuz (1982) and refers to various types of texts, language registers, genres or modalisations that appear in a discourse. The author mentions there are two kinds of heterogeneity: *manifest* and *constitutive*.

- *Manifest heterogeneity* consists of marked forms (quotation marks, direct speech, indirect speech, glosses) and non-marked ones (free indirect speech, allusions, irony, pastiche). In the latter case, the utterer negotiates with the addressee, underlining what does not belong to him/her in his/her own discourse.

- *Constitutive heterogeneity* coincides with Bakhtin's dialogism and refers to the inseparable pair *intradiscourse* – *interdiscourse*. Authier-Revuz (1995) classifies the addresser's comments (called “non-coincidences of what is being told”) about his/her own utterance into the following categories, which are identified based on the semantics of the forms of autonymic connotation: *interlocutive non-coincidence* (*interlocutive dialogism*), *non-coincidence of discourses with themselves* (*interdiscursive dialogism*), *non-coincidence between words and things*, and *non-coincidence of words with themselves*.

discourse; we are always limited by the embedding of what could irrefutably be called “*social polyphony*”, which we employ in accordance with the addressee’s identity.

One may also distinguish discourses in relation to the (more or less explicit) way in which they signal the taking of turns in interaction. In this respect, linguists’ attention is focused on the *utterance dimension* of *texts*. One starts from the premise that a *text* is, most often, a *heterogeneous construction*, comprising several elements or different micro-texts.⁸

Discourse and memory: interdiscursive memory

In the opinion of the school of discourse analysis, *utterance* is at the centre of discourse, on the one hand, in relation to others’ discourse and, on the other, in relation to previous discourses, trying to interconnect the concept of “interdiscourse” with that of “*interdiscursive memory*”. Thus, when describing dialogue “genres”, one cannot leave out the diachronic dimension (“conversational history”),⁹ which refers to shared strategic experience acquired by dialogue partners over assumed dialogic episodes that occurred before the moment of speech.

Thus, the study of the linguistic material from this viewpoint foregrounds a series of issues, such as:

- a. The type of text discussed¹⁰;

⁸ The problematic aspects of linguistic polyphony essentially refer to the relationship between the informative component and the persuasive one, dominant discourse modality (usually argumentative), variations related to the register in which a public text is written, linguistic markers of polyphony (such as negation, concession and causal structures, various linkers, theme – rheme structure, focalisation, presupposition, metadiscourse, reported speech, the playfulness of pronominal deixis, and so on).

⁹ Term introduced by Golopenția 1985.

¹⁰ In the past years, there was the attempt to formulate a textual typology starting from the criterion “degree of polyphony”. According to this dimension of utterance, one may discriminate between *polyphonic utterances* and *non-polyphonic utterances*, and *polyphonic / non-polyphonic texts* respectively (with regard to this matter, see Flottum 1992).

- b. The degree of heterogeneity of different types of texts;
- c. The existence or absence of specificity (the preference for certain markers and their contextual distribution) in the realisation of heterogeneity in speech, in general, and in Romanian discourse, in particular (with reference to certain discourse genres);
- d. The means (strategies) of representing interdiscursive memory.¹¹

Regardless of whether the corpora belong to one or the other of the aforementioned categories, one must note the quality of any linguistic corpus to serve as a basis for *interdisciplinary research*:

The analysis of verbal interaction goes beyond the strict framework of linguistics and should rather be defined as an interdisciplinary research, which involves various types of considerations (cognitive, psychological, sociological, and others), as every communicative activity facilitates the transmission of information whose interpretation involves cognitive processes (the cognitive component), but, at the same time, allows participants to express their personality (the psychological component) and define their relative social identity (the sociological component). (Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, “Introduction” to IVRLA 2002, 9; orig. Romanian)¹²

In this respect, an aspect involved in the research into most types of texts from oral corpora is the study of the *imaginary*.¹³ In the past years, the

¹¹ Interdiscursiveness is ubiquitous in every act of communication, but it does not always take the shape of quotations. It consists of several discourse layers that are potentially present, some of which are activated in each situation of communication depending on the discourse markers they contain, whereas others are activated by the interpreting subject depending on his/her own references (see Moirand 2006).

¹² Throughout this article, the quotations indicated as being originally in Romanian or French (marked by “orig. Romanian” and “orig. French” respectively) were translated by the author.

¹³ “To begin with, Jean-Jacques Wunenburger offers a broad definition of this concept, which also reveals his outlook on the functionality of the term as such: ‘We shall agree (...) to give the name *imaginary* to a system of creations, be they mental or materialised in various works, based on visual images – paintings, drawings, photographs – or linguistic ones – metaphors, symbols, stories – that make up coherent and dynamic structures related to a symbolic function, in the sense that there is a combination of proper and figurative meanings’ [4, 35]. (...) In general, the methods used in approaching the imaginary vary from structural semiotics, developed by linguistics and literary criticism (R. Barthes, G.

exploration of the imaginary was established as a top discipline in psychology, anthropology, and the humanities, as a result of the creation of methods of investigation of the *collective imaginary*, a concept that is directly related to the notion of *identity* (with which it shares several identifying features, such as *language, religion, race, culture, and/or territory*).¹⁴

Forms of memorial discourse

Of the various types of memorial sources, one may note *monographs, memoires and journals, correspondence and oral sources*; each of these represents a certain kind of memorial practice.

Three broad categories of *oral sources* were taken into account for the present research: *oral sources functioning as ethnographic documents* (memorial stories told by interviewed subjects or actual ethnographic documents about certain practices, rituals, or customs), *sources of oral history* (by means of which “narration” acquires the status of main category in the methodology of a “new” outlook on history, as a result of introducing “multiplicity” in reconsidering the past), *oral sources focused on* (dialectal or pragmatic) *linguistic research*.

To a great extent, all the aforementioned types of texts include *narratives*. Whether fictional or nonfictional, the narrative text is used as a basis for the study of the imaginary (of various kinds: linguistic, historical, and so on), due to the fact that it is a text with a high degree of *subjectivity*.

Genette, A. Greimas, and others), to symbolic hermeneutics (G. Bachelard, G. Durand, P. Ricoeur, and others); between the two orientations there exists a trend inspired by psychoanalysis (especially by C. G. Jung’s works)” (Vrabie 2010, orig. Romanian).

¹⁴ Every discourse builds an image of the interaction in which it is involved: a *mise-en-scène* of its author (his/her ethos) and of the target audience, who create what one could call an ethos of the addressee, or a *mise-en-scène* of its objects. These imagery strategies depend on the image genres and generic roles that are attached to them. (see Ch. Plantin 2002)

In this respect, one of the discourse strategies pertaining to interdiscursive and interlocutive dialogism is *storytelling*. Through *storytelling*, “another individual” is expressed by means of the discourse uttered by the addresser as a physical being; this discourse has got a specific aim and is steered towards the audience, consolidating the credibility of the utterer.¹⁵

For *Romanian space*, many of the above-mentioned sources are interviews that contain *life histories*, which unfold in parallel with major social and historical events such as world wars, deportations to the Bărăgan Plain, the USSR or Transnistria, collectivisation, the memory of urban life during communism, the Revolution of 1989, and so on.¹⁶ The use of the various thematic indices noted allows one to correlate different types of sources employed in data bases to which each of the sources belong.

Every life story contains *discursive units* and a certain *linguistic structure that is useful in interpreting the relationship between oneself and the others, as well as in understanding the way in which social identity is created*. The revelation of beliefs, values, customs, and traditions by means of life stories leads to the apprehension of cultural significances and the dynamic of cultural transformations.

¹⁵ Storytelling is a broadly used technique that consists of the narration of a personal, individual history or the history of a given group of individuals. Storytelling allows for the establishment of a connection between the locutor and the addressee, the former proving to be sensible of general human problems. This side of the locutor’s personality corresponds to the collective representations and expectations as regards a community’s language and history.

¹⁶ In this respect, see Vultur 2000 a, b and 2002.

Aspects of metapragmatic discourse in narrative oral texts: a case study

On the level of sociolinguistics, the identity¹⁷ of an ethnic group is best defined by *pragmatic conscience*, which refers to the individuals' ability to delineate different pragmatic competences (and, therefore, to notice the behavioural differences between various social groups). In the first stage of the individuals' use of pragmatic conscience, this ability is manifested in a *metapragmatic discourse* on values that determine a certain linguistic behaviour in speakers belonging to the same group.

By *metadiscourse*, one generally understands (in agreement with Vandle Kopple 1997, 2, *apud* Camiciottoli 2003, 28) the discourse used by an author to help his/her receiver organise, interpret, assess, and delineate his/her attitudes towards the topic discussed. According to the functions fulfilled in the discourse, two types of metadiscourse may be distinguished: *informational*, or *textual* (whose role is to support the receiver in understanding the primary message, by referring to its content and structure or to the author's illocutionary objectives), and *attitudinal*, or *interpersonal* (whose aim is to guide the receiver towards understanding the author's perspective on the content or structure of the primary discourse).

Of the metadiscursive markers, one can note:

- *Markers of textual metadiscourse: glosses; discursive and logical linkers; endophoric, evidential markers.*

¹⁷ The linguistic identity of an ethnic group is defined by several aspects: (a) *a language* (the way in which a national group makes its distinct voice known) for which a prestigious status is sought (the sole official language or one of the several national languages of a multinational state); (b) *a conversational history* that is specific to the ethnic group, namely the set of conversational interactions that took place between the members of a group at a certain time; (c) *a pragmatic conscience* that is strongly developed on the group level, referring to the individuals' ability to delineate different pragmatic competences (and, therefore, to notice the differences in linguistic behaviour between various ethnic groups); (d) *a heritage of a group's own* (specific) *illocutionary resources*, which express the group's cultural values (an important role in dialogic activity is played by stereotypes and metaphors).

- *Markers of interpersonal metadiscourse: modalisers, intensifiers, allocutives, attitudinal markers.*

In what follows, some aspects of pragmatic conscience will be considered in relation to the *plurality of memorial discourses*, which can be identified in metapragmatic discourses from the category of *texts as sources of oral history* included in the book compiled by Vultur (1997, IT-IP).

The *thematic organisation* of the material from the volume edited by Vultur (1997) allows for the inclusion in the presentation of facts of some *comments* and *interpretations* aimed at underpinning the debate about *good and evil*, which takes the shape of *stories about survival and overcoming the evil with which one had been faced*. “From this point of view, stories are built around several more important discourses, which are correlated with specific points in the thematic repertoire, points that facilitate, by means of logical or structural activities, the appearance of these discourses and of the correlations between them” (Vultur 1997, 31, orig. Romanian):

- a. A discourse on *identity – otherness (about selfhood, the others and “us”)*;
- b. A discourse on *solidarity (in relation to one’s family, community or region)*;
- c. A discourse on *responsibility and justice (the theme of guilt and innocence; the theme of revenge and justice; the theme of moral or material reward)*;
- d. d. A discourse on *memory and forgetting*.

Dialogic orientation of explanations

Some texts whose content is saliently informative display a particular intertextual configuration, which may result, for instance, from the use of certain words that pertain to different speech communities and/or various social environments. This configuration offers the text a complex

communicative functionality, which is relevant to the events that concern the society as a whole.

Comments on the route of deportation

One of the first levels in the narrative structure of the investigated texts refers to the *route of deportation*: as it becomes clear from nearly every story, deportation was preceded by a series of events that were part of a pre-established plan to destroy any form of resistance to the institution of the communist regime. “The *expression*, which is *stereotyped* today as a result of usage, has got the value of poignant reality and experienced truth for the peasants” (Vultur 1997, 20, orig. Romanian):

- *deprivation of inherited possessions:*

(1)

“Cum ar putea, doamnă, să fie, când, o dată te-a luat de la casa ta ai lăsat absolut tot ce-or strâns bunicii și strabunicii, tot!” (DT, IT-IP: 20)

‘How could it have felt, madam, when, all of a sudden, you were taken from your home and you left behind absolutely everything that your grandparents and great-grandparents had gathered, everything!’

(2)

Ne-o fost mai greu c-am lăsat tot, toată munca din moși-strămoși. (MP, IT-IP: 20)

‘It was harder for us because we had to leave everything behind, all the work of our ancestors.’

- *arrest:*

(3)

În 51 vara, eram ridicați crema Banatului, adică oamenii îi mai înstăriți, ai mai buni de pe sate. (IM, IT-IP: 202)

‘In the summer of ’51, the crème of the Banat were arrested, namely the wealthiest people, the most prosperous in every village.’

- *displacement to hostile lands:*

(4)

Adăpostu! Până l-am făcut! Colibă o fost, nu casă. Pă-i ce, aia o fost casă? Fire-afurisită de casă! Colibă! (EB, IT-IP: 22)

‘The shelter! How long it took to make it! It was a hut, not a house. What, would you call that a house? Damn that house! A hut!’

(5)

Și ne-au pus la un par, mai rău ca un animal. (MM, IT-IP: 23)

‘And they tied us to a pole, worse than you would treat an animal.’

(6)

Era un vânt, o prăfărie, mizerie nemaipomenită, ce să vă spun!...Așa o fost, trai mizerabil! (VM, IT-IP: 209)

‘It was extremely windy and dusty, and horribly dirty, and what not! ... That’s how it was, an awful life!’

- *group solidarity in times of grief:*

(7)

Oamenii s-au chinuit, Dar erau foarte uniți, indiferent c-a fost neamț, c-a fost sârb, c-a fost român... toți am fost de-aceeași suferință, nevinovați. (AD, IT-IP: 225)

‘People were afflicted, but they were very united, irrespective of their being German, Serbian, or Romanian... We shared the same anguish, all innocent.’

Metadiscourse on identity – otherness. Often associated with the method of storytelling, another discourse strategy relevant to the construction of positive ethos surfaces in the type of texts under discussion: the introduction of different social categories into the discourse. This refers to taking into account what Goffman called *stigmas of individuals* and defined as follows: “An individual’s situation, which is disgraced by something and prevented from being entirely accepted by the society” (1975: 16, orig. French). Stigmas are linked to statuses and attributes that discredit and disgrace individuals on the level of the society, but also bring about social reactions such as rejection, exclusion, and deeming people inferior. This refers to a social identity that is both devalued and devaluing. Some examples of stigmas are disabilities, one’s appurtenance to a certain sociocultural group, or one’s past.

“The deportees’ considerations on the reasons that they find for their being included on deportation lists are explicit comments on the way in which *otherness is depicted as being negative...*” This is how that “us” (or “we”) is born, in the name of which witnesses often tell their stories, especially when they talk about their common fate, controlled by a hostile and impersonal force that represents “them” (or “they”) (IT-IP: 33).

(8)

*Noi eram socotiți **chiaburi**, că el era preot și era considerat chiabur, nu eram moșieri dar eram **deochiați**.... ei făceau listele și ei te treceau pe listă.* (AC, IT-IP: 33)

‘We were considered *kulaks*, as he was a priest and was regarded as a kulak, we were not landowners, but we were *cursed...* *they made the lists* and *they put you on the list.*’

(9) *Cum eram noi **socotiți** pe vremea aia, contra nu știu cui, cred că **politici** am fost **socotiți**.* (AM, IT-IP: 33)

‘What they *considered us* to be then, against I-don’t-know-who, I think we were *considered politically biased*.’

As a reaction to how the people in the Banat were seen by the authorities, there appeared counteractive discourses, which highlighted the positive values of personal or group identity:

(10)

“*Bănăţeanu-i om – zicea un basarabean – şi la masă-i domn!*” *Faţă de oamenii de acolo, ai noştri au fost mai ceva!* (MM, IT-IP: 53)

‘The Banat local is quite a person – a Bessarabia native used to say – and well-mannered at the table!’ As opposed to the people they found there, *our people were something else!*’

Relationships with the others were good; nevertheless, discourses foreground differences regarding customs, language, and dress code between various ethnic groups:

(11)

La început or crezut că suntem coreeni. P-ormă orvăzut că nu sîntem. Ei (localnicii) vorbesc mai mult ca moldovenii. În loc să zică mic, zic mnic, multe vorbe așa. Oltenii vorbeau mai corect românește și oameni înstăriți de-acasă. M-am prietenit cu ei, oameni harnici. Și ăștia din parte locului n-or fost oameni puturoși... și curați. (MM, IT-IP: 53)

‘At first, they thought we were Koreans. Then they saw that we weren’t. They (the locals) speak more like the Moldavians. Instead of saying “mic” (‘small’), they say “mnic”, and there are many such examples. The people in Oltenia spoke Romanian more properly and they were wealthy people. I befriended them, they were hardworking people. And the locals were not lazy people... and they were clean.’

The mise-en-scène of suffering

Emotion is a *universal constant* of signification. Directly expressed emotion is conveyed by means of *referential descriptions of affections*, in other words, by means of *verbs and names* that denote certain feelings. Directly expressed emotions are constitutive parts of the propositional meaning of an utterance. There exist convergent means that contribute to the development of “emotional texture” (see Plantin 1997 *apud* Ștefănescu 2010: 75). One of these means is *spontaneous emotional assessment*, which occurs at the same time as the experience of a real event; the memory of this emotional assessment is conserved and may become more intense in time through the narration of the event. Another means is the *formation of a conceptual rhetoric*, in which the archive of the event’s representation – literature, memoirs, historical documents, official speeches, academic and folk artistic representations, and present-day means of relating an event – play a decisive role in the legitimisation of a certain range of emotions that are associated with a notion.

Confessions as stories about ruined lives. Texts contain more than remembrances of trauma (the trauma of deportation). They are also attempts at reintegrating one’s personal biography by means of spontaneous emotional assessments:

(12)

Nu poți să spui că ai avut acolo copilărie! (RA, IT-IP: 180)

‘You cannot say you were able to experience childhood there!’

(13)

Cel mai greu a fost că, în plină viață, la 22, 24, 35 de ani, am petrecut acolo. Asta a fost cel mai greu! (I SCH, IT-IP: 2.14)

‘The hardest thing was that I spent the prime of my life there, my 22s through my 24s and 35s. This was the hardest thing!’

(14)

Dar cum timpul o trecut/ ce-am pierdut am refăcut,/ numai tinerețea mea /n-am de unde-o cumpăra. (GT, IT-IP: 239)

‘As the time moved on/ I rebuilt what was gone,/ only the years of my youth/ I cannot buy, forsooth.’

(15)

Tinerețea toată ne-am petrecut-o între așa chinuri! (VSA, IT-IP: 341)

‘We spent our entire youth in such torment!’

The memory of words. In this systematic manner, one can notice – in relation to a recurring event or in the relation between two events or families of events – the frequency of words, phrases, and syntactic constructions that carry different meanings and representations that they acquire gradually, as a result of their travels in different language communities.

Qualifying designations

- the use of terms evoking emotions: *sadness, torment, humiliation, pity, cry, pain*, and so on:

(16)

*Despre întâmplările care nu se prea uită și îs așa **cu durere în suflet**. (AM, IT-IP: 79)*

‘About the events that one rarely forgets and that cause so much *grief in one’s soul*.’

(17)

*Uite-așa am dus-o, **am plâns** zi la zi, cât am stat cinci ani în Bărăgan, acolo n-o existat zi **să nu plângem**. (BM, IT-IP: 63)*

‘This is the life I led, *I cried* every day, in all the five years I spent in the Bărăgan Plain, there was not a single day in which *we did not cry*.’

(18)

Dup-atâția ani și dup-atâta suferință, știși cum... (VH, IT-IP: 92)

‘After so many years and after so much *suffering*, you know how...’

(19)

Nici nu poți să descrii treaba asta, în momentele alea atât de grele! (DT, IT-IP: 135)

‘You cannot even describe this thing, in *those extremely difficult times!*’

(20)

Ș-acuma mă întristez, când povestesc. (AB, IT-IP: 341)

‘It *saddens me* even now, when I recount it.’

(21)

Suferințele nu le poți spune toate zide zi, cum s-au petrecut acolo! (ST, IT-IP: 175)

‘You cannot recount the *sufferings* that happened every single day, exactly in the way they happened there!’

(22)

Că tare nu ne plac ororile și nici răzbunările de nici un fel. (SG, IT-IP: 191)

‘We truly dislike every kind of *horror and revenge*.’

“Event-words”

At the end of the events investigated, “event-words” (Moirand 2004) develop memorial connections between previous events and a current event (see *deportation, arrest, expropriation, collectivisation, the Tito diversion and Titoism, calamities/the blizzard of 1953, stabilisation, Stalin’s death*).

Conclusion

In summary, it needs to be underlined in what point *the role of the dialogic dimension* is important in the argumentation of the analysed texts.

What results from this analysis of certain aspects is the fact that language contains manifold discourse mechanisms, some more subtle than others, which are distinct from the evidential mechanisms based on rhetoric language.

Interdiscursiveness is omnipresent in every act of communication. It consists of multiple *discourse layers* that are potentially present, some of which are activated in each situation of communication depending on the discursive cues that it conveys, whereas others are triggered by the interpreting subject based on his/her own references.¹⁸

In order to recover discourses formed on the level of *collective conscience*, the viewpoints, representations and deported citizens attempt at building an appropriate discourse ethos and become closer to the audience. The seduction of the audience eludes conclusions and arguments, proofs and justifications, logical argumentation in the strict sense of the term, evidence and logic. The ethos has got a crucial role in every argumentative discourse.

The legitimisation of a discourse is achieved by logical arguments, but not solely by these. One also needs to take into consideration the psychological dimension of pleasure, and the strategies by means of which it becomes manifest are different from those used by language.

The numerous, varied, and subtle argumentative strategies are applied in the elaboration of a person's self-image, which is put on display in front of the audience. One mainly counts on convincing and seducing the audience by using strategies such as those noted above as regards the investigated material: storytelling and the *mise-en-scène* of the suffering of

¹⁸ See Moirand 2006: 55.

others, which consist of introducing in the discourse examples that trigger pity, with the aim of emphasising moral qualities and humanism, the concern for others' problems and suffering, as well as kindness. These discourse mechanisms, which refer to sensitivity and not to reason, occupy a significant position in the texts analysed within the framework of this paper.

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The display of English in public space in Tel Aviv

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Abstract

The term linguistic landscape refers to the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). The display of languages in the public spaces of Tel Aviv reflects the issues regarding the city's identity. During the early decades of the establishment of Tel Aviv (1912), there are evidences of existence of methods to ensure that Hebrew was displayed and used in public spaces. In last decades is a huge representation of English in all signs such as street signs, storefronts, names on buildings, etc. During the British Mandate (1917-1948) the languages of the public spaces were in the three official languages (English, Hebrew and Arabic) recognized by the British authorities in 1923. The official laws were changed once Israel gained its independence in 1948, when the official status of English was removed, while Hebrew and Arabic remained official, a situation that continues today. Yet, the official status of the two languages is not reflected in de-facto practice, which is mostly Hebrew and English with only marginal representation of Arabic. The use of English around the world is a mark of globalization defined in economic terms of markets, production, and consumption. By using English businesses aim at increasing their sales and thus its presence is motivated by economic reasons. In this paper, we will focus on both languages: Hebrew and English on public signs in the commercial sector, like marketing and advertising. Methodologically, LL analysis relies on photography and visual analysis. The data were collected in 2012 and 2013 in 23 Shopping Malls in Israel by 200 students from Or Yehuda Academic College (Kristal, Ynet, 2012). In the analysis, we will check for the presence of English and the language distribution on signs of 2141 shops. Will be analyzed the placement of languages, examples with whole English borrowing, with the borrowing of single letters from the English alphabet, some English verbs assimilated into Hebrew, and some words that have been adapted or loan translated into Hebrew.

Key-words: Hebrew language, linguistic landscape, public signs, Tel Aviv, Israel

Linguistic landscape

“Language in the public space refers” to all language items that are displayed to transmit symbolic messages as to the legitimacy, relevance, priority and standards of languages and the people and groups they represent. The public space as a focus of attention in language policy as well in language use is a relatively new area of attention, as most research on language use tends to focus primarily on speakers and not on their environments (Shohamy, 2006). The definition given by Landry and Bourhis (1997) is the following: "The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration."

Thus, they are concerned with the use of language in its written form in the public sphere. It refers to language that is visible in a specified area (Bourhis & Landry, 2002). The study of the linguistic landscape is a relatively new development. It enjoys a growing interest in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics.

Of the endless and unlimited number of language items to be found in the public space, this paper will focus on one type of mechanism displayed in the public space. The notion of public space refers areas that are open and accessible to the 'crowd', i.e. the public in large. In this paper will be examined one specific language object that marks the public sphere: Hebrew and English on store signs in commercial zones in the city of Tel Aviv, the biggest commercial, financial and cultural center in Israel, and its suburb.

The founding of Tel Aviv in 1909

In the spring of 1909, when Palestine was still under Ottoman rule, sixty-six Jewish families took possession of lots on the northern outskirts of the ancient port city of Jaffa near the Mediterranean coast amidst dunes, vineyards, and orchards. There they established a "garden suburb" called *Ahuzat Bayit* (Homestead), which was soon renamed Tel Aviv, or Hill of Spring, a Hebrew city. This was a scriptural allusion – the prophet Ezekiel [3:15] mentions his town in Babylonia called Tel Aviv – and it also possessed a contemporary political resonance: Tel Aviv was the Hebrew title of the book *Altneuland* (Old-New Land), in which the Zionist leader Theodor Herzl outlined his utopian vision for the Holy Land. The time was at a peak wave of Jewish immigration – the Second Aliya. Neighborhoods in the ancient port city of Jaffa were becoming overpopulated and crowded. Many of the newcomers were Europeans of middle-class origin. They wanted to build a modern suburb of Jaffa. The true development of Tel Aviv took off after 1925. In the 1930s, Tel Aviv became the country's largest economic center and had the highest concentration of social and cultural institutions. Tel Aviv was the center of the emergence of Hebrew culture and remains so to this very day.

At present, Tel Aviv is a city that includes both national and global symbols, as can be deduced from various sources such as its bilingual, Hebrew and English signs on most shops, street writings as well as the names of buildings. However, the current flavor often meets criticism and controversies, especially in relation to its 'global flavor', which is viewed by many as symbolizing distance and detachment from the national Israeli ideology. The local diversity of the city reveals great diversity, consisting of multiple groups of distinct 'others'. The main aspect of diversity is the relation with the Arab population of Jaffa, as Tel Aviv is considered a 'mixed city', along with Jaffa. Other groups are a small minority of ultra-religious

Jews and a big number of foreign workers, refugees and asylum seekers, residing mostly in the south of the city.

Hebrew language status

The display of languages in the public spaces of Tel Aviv reflects many of the issues and debates mentioned above regarding the city's identity. During the first years of the establishment of Tel Aviv, with its strong Zionist and Hebrew ideologies, fierce campaigns for the revival of Hebrew took place. There is ample evidence of militant organizations employing an aggressive and oppressive method to ensure that Hebrew was displayed and used in public spaces. During the period of the British Mandate (1917-1948), Hebrew, Arabic, and English have a status of official language based on Article 82 of the Palestine Order in Council 1922. The state of Israel has never enacted a statute, which clearly established its official languages. The main change to Article 82 was enacted by the Israeli Parliament in a law and a Government Ordinance-1948, which eliminates English as an official language, leaving two official languages – Arabic and Hebrew (Shafrir, 2012). However, the official status of the two languages is not reflected in *de-facto* practice, which is mostly Hebrew and English with only marginal representation of Arabic, even in Jaffa (Ben Rafael et al., 2006). One exception was in 2006 the initiative of Zohar Shavit, a council member of the municipality of Tel Aviv. She requested that all store signs should include Hebrew, symbolizing a need to reinforce the value of the language as a symbol of national identity. This campaign targeted mostly the dominance of English.

Over the years, various patterns of the linguistic landscape emerged – in some periods shop signs were displayed in 'Hebrew only', at others these were accompanied by English and lately many of them have been in English

only. In a bylaw from 1992 carried the following instruction, a veritable graphic instruction of the hegemony of the Hebrew: "A person will not publish a notice or present a sign unless the notice or sign is written in Hebrew, or written partly in a foreign tongue and the Hebrew takes up at least a half of their area." The municipality started to implement the bylaw in 2006 only on small stores by removing signs in English only and replacing into signs, which include Hebrew letters. Sometimes the business receives a penalty with threats to remove the English sign. They argue that new stores are opened in Hebrew, despite many shops were opened in recent time in English language.

English language status

The use of English around the world is a mark of globalization defined in economic terms of markets, production, and consumption. By using English businesses aim at increasing their sales and thus its presence is motivated by economic reasons. The use of English also raises the issue of identity, power and status, and thus can have consequences for the balance between the different languages in multilingual situations. The use of English identifies the speakers with upper layers of the society, and at the same time is associated with values such as international orientation, modernity, success and sophistication.

The exposure to English in Israel in last years is on the rise. The Israeli does not seem opposed to this, for Hebrew, the national language, retains undisputed prominence of conversational, educational and government purposes on the domestic level. Israelis frequently make a distinction between internal and external use of language; hence, Hebrew is without rival on the local scene while English is used increasingly for international communication in various fields. The use of English within Israel is also

often legitimized on this same basis: tourists from English speaking countries, and Israelis traveling all over the world are the ultimate target. Use of English for commerce in addition to use of Hebrew is shown in this paper. The busier the focus on communication, the more likely we are to find more use of English; in many cases, this is at the expense of the Hebrew.

Language and identity

Language is not only an instrument for communication but also related to a set of behavioral norms and cultural values of which one's self-identity is constructed. Tabouret-Keller (1997, cited in Kamwangamalu, 2007, p.263) says that the link between language and identity is so strong that a single feature of language use suffices to identify someone's membership in a given group. It is explained that linguistic items are not only the characteristics of groups or communities; they are themselves the means by which individuals both identify themselves or identify with others. Even it is possible for a language to carry multiple identities, especially in context where people have social and cultural values they themselves create and at the same time are exposed to those social and cultural values they have no choice to avoid and consequently become part of their identity (Dastgoshadeh and Jalilzadeh, 2011).

Kramsch (2006, cited in Fuller, 2009) clarifies the relationship between language and culture using three verbs expresses, embodies, symbolizes, that is language express, embody, and symbolize cultural realities. It became obvious that a language carries the cultural values and realities of a nation which in turn they construct the identity or even multiple identities of that nation. And also was mentioned that identity is a dynamic process that is shaped and reshaped across time and space.

Quantitative analysis

In 2012, a group of 200 students from the Academic Center of Or Yehuda made a country survey on display of English on stores signs in 23 malls and shopping centers. They scanned 2.141 stores and the results were expectable: on 1.304 signs, which constitute approximately 61% of the corpus, the written language was English. The highest percentage of shops with only English signs was in the Ramat Aviv Mall in Northern Tel Aviv – 79%. The lowest percentage was in Pisgat Zeev Mall in a religious character neighborhood in Jerusalem – 39%. The actual enforcement of the municipal bylaw was in Mamilla Avenue Mall in Jerusalem where all shops were forced to add Hebrew to their names. The results in Tel Aviv area are (Crystal, 2012):

Location	English	Hebrew	English+Hebrew
Ramat Aviv Mall	79,56%	14,6%	5,84%
Ness Ziona Mall	57,14%	40,82%	2,04%
Givattaim Mall	76,55%	0%	23,45%
Seven Stars Mall	75,38%	20,77%	3,85%
Kfar Ganim Mall	44,19%	55,81%	0%
Ayalon Mall	61,8%	31,46%	6,74%

In order to find out why one language but not another appears on the sign of the shop we will introduce the preference model of Spolsky and Cooper (1991, 81-5) based on three components: (1) a 'sign-writer's skill' condition; (2) a 'presumed reader' condition; and (3) a 'symbolic value' condition. The 'sign-writer's skill' condition refers to the necessity of the one who produces a sign to know the language chosen. It simply says, "Write signs in a language you know." The 'presumed reader' condition demands that the language to be used to be intelligible to those the message is intended to address. Especially if a sign is put up for commercial reasons, the sign

writer may prefer a language understood by potential customers even in cases where the sign writer's skill condition is only partially met. While the first two conditions are practically motivated, the 'symbolic value' condition has a political or social-psychological background. The underlying aim is a desire to assert power or to claim solidarity or identity. The 'symbolic value' condition says, "Prefer to write signs in your own language or in a language with which you wish to be identified." Rather than a content to be transferred by means of a sign, it is a choice of the language itself that becomes the message.

Spolsky and Cooper observed in their study that in almost 60% of the cases condition (1) applied. Adversatively, in our study in all cases applied conditions (2) and (3). This may appear self-evident was it not for any grammatical or orthographic errors in our sample.

Signs classification in different categories

In order to receive as much information as possible from a given LL and to make the right interpretations, the collected data must first be classified into certain categories. Barni and Bagna (2009, 132-3) suggested six classifications to decide upon for each sign: (1) *textual genre*, namely what kind of sign it is; (2) *position*: where is the sign located and is it accessible to anyone; (3) *location*: where in a city was the sign found; (4) *domain*: for example, public or work-related; (5) *context*: as a subcategory of a particular domain, for example, catering or health as subcategories of the public domain; (6) *places*: Barni and Bagna define them as yet again very concrete subcategories of contexts like bakeries, practices, and restaurants.

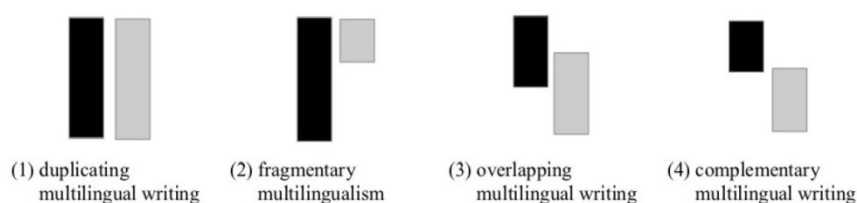
The suggested method has until now been one of the most thorough attempts of defining mandatory guidelines for the classification of LL signage. Having thus provided a mode for preparing the material, Barni and

Bagna offer three levels of analysis: (1) Semiotic analysis; the semiotic function of a sign is examined through its relation to time and space, applying the six classifications mentioned above; (2) Macro-linguistic analysis; this level of analysis sheds light upon a sign's internal functions such as special organization (next chapter) or the dichotomy authorship and readership; (3) Micro-linguistic analysis; the level, on which so-called "occurrences" are in the focus, that is a qualitative evaluation of the text displayed on a particular sign.

Spatial organization of a sign

When there is more than one code used on a sign, there must naturally be a special order. This is what is called spatial organization. The arrangement of codes on a multilingual sign tells us much about the given power relations between languages: languages on signs might (Hebrew) or might not (English) have official status. Still is had to be regarded how the prevailing languages are represented on signs: is one language more visible than the other is; it is written in bigger letters; are both languages written from left to right; do the different languages give a translation of each other or give different contents? (Finzel, 2012). Scalton and Wong Scalton (2003) present a key for the decoding of the special order: the emphasized language is on top (when vertically arranged), on the left or right (when horizontally arranged) or in the center. As a further response to the question about the connection between the languages present and their meaning, Kallen and Ní Dhonnacha (2010) use four categories: (1) *duplicating multilingual writing* – same information in both languages; (2) *fragmentary multilingualism* – all information given in one language, only some are translated into another language; (3) *overlapping multilingual writing* – only some information is

given in two languages, other is given in one language only; and (4) *complementary multilingual writing* – different information in each language.



Model – Four categories of language representation on signs

Additionally, the nature of the displayed languages must be taken into consideration: are both written from left to right; do both use Roman script; if so is it only a transcription (Finzel, 2012), as for example Hebrew characters can be transcribed in Roman script or the contrary.

This kind of research was conducted by Spolsky and Cooper (1991), who collected data about language use on the signs in the Old City of Jerusalem. A first methodological problem was how to determine the languages of the signs. The authors did not classify the signs assuming the scripts they contained. A helpful distinction in this respect is that between transliteration and translation. Transliteration refers to the conversion of the graphemes of one writing system into those of another, for instance, from Hebrew script into Roman script. Translation is the result of transferring a text from a source language into a target language, for instance, Hebrew into English. Sometimes they found a mixture of both strategies, for instance, a Roman transliteration of the Arabic terms is combined with an English abbreviation for the place to be designated (Backhaus, 2007).

Case study

The majority of the encountered signs during the fieldwork for this study are those placed on the façade of a shop. The shops are from different malls in Tel Aviv area, including Ramat Aviv Mall. The pictures were taken in 2014, besides picture 9.

English and Hebrew



Picture 1



Picture 2



Picture 3



Picture 4

At first sight, it seems clear which language is the dominant one as the company's names are displayed in English. In picture 1 English is dominant and in Hebrew are only two words: the name of the shop *Roladin* and the fact that the bakery has only Kosher food. Apart from this English is used to inform the audience what the shop has to offer, namely *bakery & café*. The noun *café* is written in a form in which the Hebrew term coffee is

pronounced. This sign belongs to third category of Kallen and Ní Dhonnacha (only some information is given in two languages, other is given in one language only – English).

In pictures 2 and 3 the companies names are displayed in English *ISpa express* and *Sunway*, and the Hebrew is used to inform the audience about what the shop has to offer: manicure, pedicure, cosmetics and so on, in picture 2, and "sunglasses center" in picture 3. Those signs are arranged vertically, and the dominant language is on top. They belong as well to third category: the name of the business is in English, and the information is in Hebrew.

In picture 4 *Super Pharm* English is by far the dominant language and uses in addition to English writing a Hebrew transliteration. This sign is arranged horizontally and belongs to Kallen and Ní Dhonnacha's category 1. In addition to genuine American Businesses that have become global and have branches in Israel (e.g. Mc Donald's, Best Buy, Toys r us, etc.), many Israeli business bears English names (next chapter). The words *Super*, *Center* and *Big* are very common in Israeli businesses, e.g. *Super Center*, a chain of shops (Machauf, 2002). The definition for the word pharm in Oxford Dictionary is "abbreviation of pharmaceutical" and in Webster's dictionary is "a portmanteau of pharmaceutical and farm."

Hebrew and English



Picture 5



Picture 6

In pictures 5 and 6 the dominant language is Hebrew and English is secondary. Both are names: *Kravitz* is a Jewish family name from Slavic origin. *Emanuel* is a personal name and a surname in many languages in different variants deriving from Biblical Hebrew name *Immanuel* "God is with us," a prophetic name used in Isaiah 7:14. In the Jewish interpretation is a nickname for the tribe of Judas; in the Christian tradition in the light of Gospel of Matthew 1:23 is a name relating to Jesus. Both signs are arranged vertically and belong to category 1.

Whole English words in Hebrew transliteration



Picture 7



Picture 8

This category contains whole English or foreign words written in Hebrew transliteration. In picture 7 the name of the business is in English *Zaban*. The shop offers a campaign of trade in. The word is written in Hebrew transliteration, probably to make it easily understood by Israeli audience. The trade is to pay with gold and to get a new jewel. This advertisement is on the center and belongs to category 4: different information in each language. In picture 8 the name of the shop is *Ricochet* displayed in Hebrew transliteration. This English word from French origin exists in Hebrew as a loan word. This sign is very interesting because this category is missing in

Kallen and Ní Dhonnacha's method. In this category is all the information in one language only. There are many examples in English not analyzed in this paper.

Hebrew in English transliteration



Picture 9



Picture 10

In picture 9 *Kippa Man* is a code-switch between the Hebrew term *kippa*, meaning, "cap" and the English *man*. Although it is not uncommon that Israelis do not necessarily understand English terms with rather symbolic value, *man* is certainly an exception. In chapter 5 are examples of language combination, which raises questions about the 'salience of language boundaries or identities' (McCormick & Agnihotri, 2009). Certainly sign producers are often aware of their target readers and know, if and to what extents such as alternations are at least accessible if not even attractive to the reader. McCormick & Agnihotri (2009) identify two main strategies for language combination: alternation of phrases from different languages as well as incorporation of 'elements from two languages into one phrasal structure'. Of the two possibilities, the latter strategy is used here, and it seems that this practice is commonly used on a commercial signs.

In picture 10 the name of the chain is *Sabon*, meaning in Hebrew "soap" is written in transliteration. This Modern Hebrew word was created

in the beginning of the 20th century from the French term *savon*. In the left part of the picture is written in Hebrew "soap of once."

Both signs belong to the missing category in Kallen and Ní Dhonnacha's method: in this category, all the information is written in one language only.

Mixture of strategies




Picture 11



Picture 12

The examples in this category are the most sophisticated combinations of the two languages. In picture 11 is a big shopping mall in a Tel Aviv suburb named *kanyon* (Hebrew letters) + M (English letter) + *haderech* (Hebrew letters). This means "the crossroad shopping mall" (lit. 'mother' of the road shopping mall). This name goes far beyond the geographical name it denotes. The ingenuity of the name stems from the fact that the Hebrew word for a shopping mall, *kanyon*, is a homograph of the English word *Canyon*. The Hebrew word for a shopping mall is made up of the Hebrew root meaning "to buy" KNH and the affix *-on* formatting the pattern CVCVVN. The third consonant H in those roots is not spelled. Moreover, because the Hebrew and English words are homographs, many Israelis actually pronounce the word *kanyon* (a shopping mall) in the same way they pronounce the word for *canyon* (Machauf, 2002).

Em Haderech is a Biblical idiom (Ezekiel 21:26) meaning "crossroads, parting of the ways". In the name is used an Alphabet letter to replace a whole English word. It is a common practice in commercial contexts to replace whole words by single letters. We got used to seeing 4 replacing *for*, or U replacing *you*. This practice becomes much more fascinating when there is a blend of two languages. For example,  the name of a chain of flower shops. Here the letters ZER sounds like the Hebrew word for *wreath* or *bouquet* of flowers. Certain English names of letters happen to be homophonous with Hebrew words. The world of advertising takes advantage of this fact (Machauf, 2002). The use of M is very clever because in addition to being homophonous with the Hebrew *em* for "mother," its collocation as a compound with the word for road creates an analogy with a much known ancient idiom. In picture 12 is a chain of supermarkets named *Supersal* + *deal* (in Hebrew letters) + *extra* (in English). The name *super* is the first part of *supermarket*, which is a loan word in Hebrew. *Super* + *sal* is a compound from English word *super* and the Biblical Hebrew word *sal*, meaning 'basket'. This name is a succession of E + H + E + E. A Hebrew reader will read normally *extra* after *supersal* because in Hebrew, the reading is from right to left.

Conclusions

The analysis of linguistic landscape offers the opportunity of outlining how well-known principles of social life mould together a specific scene of major importance (Shohamy, 2010). The representation of different languages in multilingual urban environments is a phenomenon that has emerged in linguistic landscape research in recent years. By analyzing a specimen of written language assumptions about the functional domains, prestige and spread of languages in bilingual settings can be made (Muth,

2010). For the study of multilingualism and cultural identity in urban settings, the distribution of English and local official language on signs and other specimen of written language are obvious indicators on the language situation within an urban area. In the same time, they are also part of a wider picture that relates to aspects of political and cultural representation and status of the national official languages.

Another aspect is that language is inextricably linked with identity, and in order to save our identity, we need to attempt to save our language – Hebrew. The spread of English as an international language all across the globe has raised issues that need to be taken into account seriously, as they affect all aspects of human activity from language in education to linguistic landscape. To most, using English as an international language for fulfilling communicative needs is a big threat to national, cultural and even religious identities as using an international language causes people to lose their own language, which is the carrier of all their cultural values – identity.

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Dialogue in their language: Cultural aspect in managing a mediation process

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Abstract

This article discusses traditional mediators (*shmaglotz*) of Ethiopian immigrants in Israel, who have been included in the public mechanism in Israel. The main advantage of the *shmaglotz* in resolving disputes in their community is their new cultural “toolbox”. It contains traditional experience, knowledge and work methods, including the use of proverbs which enables the parties to connect to community values and expectations of them regarding the desired solution. The toolbox also contains modern knowledge, means and tools which they received from professionals. The syncretism created in the mediation model of the *shmaglotz* and in their identity enables them to handle new disputes which stem from immigration and exposes the absorbed to a dialogue with the culture of the absorbing.

Key-words: mediators, Ethiopian, immigrants, tradition, language

Introduction: “Our food and water have run out”

Different cultures have different perceptions on how to manage a dispute, and the process is shaped by the cultural identity of the community (Naget 2006, 12-13, Ting-Toomey and Oetzel 2001). This article discusses a unique dispute resolution process that is conducted by traditional mediators (called *shmaglotz*, in Amharic – the elders, in the singular - *shmagle*) of Ethiopian Jews after their immigration to Israel.

The *shmaglotz* were respectable and influential people with life experience and wisdom. They were known for their ability to persuade and

resolve disputes (Budowski et al. 1989, 5). In Ethiopia, they resolved disputes in the family and in the community in matters of matrimony, property, capital offenses and in times of need mediated between the community and the regime (Kaplan 2008, 47). The status of the *shmaglotz* was secondary to that of the religious priests (*kessoch*) who headed the communities and served as spiritual leaders. These two types of leaders fulfilled a role of social control, intended to ensure the conformity of the community to accepted values and norms (Warren 1979, Sadan 2009) .

In the 1970s, the political conditions in Israel and in Ethiopia enabled the immigration of the Jews of Ethiopia to Israel (Ben-Ezer 2010). Since the 1980s, they arrived in two main waves: “Operation Moses” in 1985 and “Operation Solomon” in 1995 (Spector 2005). The Ethiopian immigrants in Israel encounter absorption problems which originate in the intercultural transition from a traditional society to a modern society and from stereotypic perceptions which originate from their skin color and cultural difference (Anteby-Yemini 2010).

Similarly to immigration processes in other societies (for example Jin and Keat 2010, Morash et al. 2007), the women and children adjusted to Israeli society with greater ease than the men, whose status weakened (Weil 2004). Opportunities opened for the women from Ethiopia which stemmed from the more liberal worldview of the new society and from the existence of a services system in Israel, and they became more independent. These changes led to increased disputes within the immigrant families and cases of divorce became more prevalent (Kaplan and Salamon 2004).

Ethiopian women in Israel, similarly to other women from patriarchic societies who immigrate to modern societies (Shoham 2012), are at especially high risk for violence and murder at the hands of their spouse, compared to their proportion in Israeli society (Edelstein 2012, 149). Explanations for this phenomenon emphasize the unique role of a cultural conflict, acculturation and the stress of acculturation, which place immigrant

couples at different levels of acculturation and assimilation in the absorbing society.

The *kessoch* lost their authority because they were not recognized by the religious establishment and because of the distancing of the younger members of the community who underwent modernization processes. The leadership crisis did not skip over the *shmaglotz*, and their status weakened (Kogan and Mula 2005, 37-38). However, during the past decade, the State authorities recognized the *shmaglotz* as a formal authority for dispute resolution among the immigrant community, because they encountered difficulties in effectively handling problems of Ethiopian immigrants due to language and culture differences.

The intercultural gap that was created is illustrated by the following story (Budowski et al. 1989, 8-9). A couple of elderly immigrants turned to the social worker and informed him that “our food and water have run out”. The social worker thought that they were complaining about their financial situation. Following the frustration felt by the two parties from not solving the problem, it turned out, after turning to the *shmaglotz*, that the couple mean that they want to divorce. They expressed this in a known proverb in Amharic, which means: we have run out of the basic things that are common to us as a couple –food which symbolizes the material side, and water which symbolizes the emotional side.

The difficulties encountered by the welfare authorities in solving the problems of the immigrant families led them in the past decade to develop a culture-sensitive approach (Eyal Assael 2012), including a decision to include *shmaglotz* in urban mediation centers. Today it is clear that a successful welfare program is adapted to the values of the immigrants (Cox and Ephross 1998, Cox 2001). Integrating elements from their culture and consulting with professionals from their community are therefore important (Bustin 2004).

Dialogue at the mediation centers

Since the 1970s, and especially during the past decade, a mediation method known by the name “Alternative Dispute Resolution” or the “Integrative Approach” has become prevalent around the world and in Israel (Shemer and Bar-Guy 2001). This approach became established as an alternative legal procedure for dispute resolution or as a service to the community in different fields.

The common model in the practice of mediation is the dispute resolution model proposed by Fisher and Ury (1981[1991]), which is called the pragmatic model. This model focuses on interests that motivate the dispute, and not on attitudes, and its goal is to end the dispute with an immediate agreement. The mediator focuses on solvable consensus issues, avoids controversial areas, and moves the parties towards an agreement.

The transformative model presented by Bush and Folger (2005) does not strive to an immediate end of the controversy, but rather to a change in the attitudes of the litigants. Transformative mediation perceives the conflict as a positive concept. It suggests referring to the controversy not as a problem, but rather as an opportunity for growth in two critical human dimensions: strengthening of the self and recognizing the other. The mediation process therefore often ends not only in resolution of the dispute, but also in a renewal of the relations between the parties based on mutual trust, which was lost due to the conflict.

Intercultural mediation in the community is a comprehensive practice that deals, to a great extent, in the relations between an immigrant community and an absorbing society and its institutions. The goal of the mediator is to mediate between two cultures that represent different ways and viewpoints for achieving the same end – advancement of personal and social welfare in the community (Shemer and Bar-Guy 2001). In a divided

society such as exists in Israel, where conflict between cultures is an essential part of social reality, the role of the mediator in the community and the systems that operate around him are extremely crucial.

In the past decade, the need was raised for using models of mediation, due to violence as an increasing social phenomenon in Israel (Israel and Meir 2006). The Israeli government established an inter-ministerial committee in 2003 for fighting violence, the “Committee for Advancing Dialogue, Dispute Resolution and Mediation in the Community”. Representatives of the Israel Police – the Community and Civil Guard Division, the Ministry of Labor and Welfare, the Ministry of Housing, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, Joint Israel, the Service for the Citizen and the Society for Community Clubhouses participated in the committee, out of an understanding that coping with violence in society necessitates a systemic approach on all levels (Development of Strategies for Promoting Communication, Dispute Resolution and Mediation in the Community 2003).

An inter-ministerial team which the committee established developed a comprehensive program whose super-goal is to advance multicultural negotiation and turn society into more communicative and tolerant, which knows how to handle foci of conflict. At the local level, the inter-ministerial team emphasized the need for defining action targets on two levels: preventing conflicts and advancing dialogue between different groups of origin or culture; resolving disputes through a mediation process. For this purpose, the committee recommended the establishment of urban mediation centers, especially in settlements where there is a large concentration of new immigrants.

The mediation centers are operated by the welfare sections of the local authorities out of the thought that a program for the absorption of immigrants from minority groups may be effective if it is connected to the local social services department which has an integrative view of local

needs. Since the mediation process is community-systemic, public bodies which are represented in the inter-ministerial committee are active in it. Such cooperation is essential for the successful operation of an immigrant absorption program in the local authority, and is especially effective during times of scarcity of resources (Bustin 2004).

The administrative staff of the urban mediation center are, by training, social workers and mediators. The staff includes the manager and several workers. The team is responsible for dozens of certified mediators, including *shmaglotz*, from different ethnic groups, who work as volunteers. This certainly reflects – detrimentally – on their position and status. The State thus activates the traditional mediation institution of the *shmaglotz* so that it will assist in the absorption of immigrants. However, it does not formally recognize them as workers with rights in the government mechanism, and they are not rewarded financially for their contribution to the community and to the Israeli system (see also Naget 2006, 82).

All mediators undergo a course at the center which trains them for “cultural sensitivity,” i.e. training of the professionals with reference to cultural differences and adaptation of mediation to cultural codes of unique groups, such as the ultraorthodox, minorities and immigrants from different countries (Israel and Meir 2006, 12-14). The mediation process is conducted according to the principles of transformative mediation, with the development of dialogue, respect, agreement and reference to the unique needs of the parties. The process stresses the importance of understanding the cultural codes, and is therefore conducted in different languages.

The *shmaglotz* receive clients once or twice a week at the community center for immigrants from Ethiopia, and not at the mediation center. Having the *shmaglotz* work in a separate mediation place reflects sensitivity to the culture of the immigrants from Ethiopia, as explained by the director of a mediation center:

We carried out the separation because it is very important that the immigrants from Ethiopia be connected to the community and to members of the community. The unique thing about the Ethiopians is the secrecy within the community. In the traditional community of immigrants from Ethiopia, everything comes out and remains in the community. People turn to the *shmaglotz* directly on different issues. The community knows where they sit and come to consult with them.

All factors involved in the operation of the *shmaglotz* model undergo training (Community Mediation and Dispute Resolution 2005, Israel and Meir 2006, Kogan and Mula 2005). The community policemen and the welfare workers learn the cultural characteristics of the Ethiopian Jews, for example behavior patterns, family relations, social perceptions on religion and tradition. The professional team also acquires knowledge on the *shmaglotz*' method of mediation in the past and in the present and on how to cooperate with them. The criteria for choosing the *shmaglotz* are similar to those used in the past. They undergo a training course in management of welfare factors, and acquire knowledge on the law-enforcement system, the care and welfare system, state laws, democracy in Israel, conflict resolution in court, etc.

The present article will discuss mediation via the *shmaglotz* which is offered to Ethiopian immigrants in urban mediation centers as an alternative for dispute resolution. It will deal with the legal and procedural aspects of the work of the *shmaglotz*, but will focus on the accompanying cultural aspect. It will examine the manner in which combinations of traditional and modern elements are created in the mediation work of the *shmaglotz* and in the *shmaglotz*' identity.

Theoretical framework: Identity and immigration

The sociological discussion on identities is relatively new and is related to the rise of individualism in the 19th century and to the usurpation of nationalism as a 'natural' identity in the mid 20th century (Shavit et al. 2013). Hall (1996) claimed that a new perception evolved, according to which identities of individuals are not inborn or essential, but are rather a product of social structurations which are shaped through interrelations between the state and the social institutions within whose framework the individual acts. According to Weeks (1991), current perceptions which are influenced by postmodern discourse do not assume that a stable and uniform nucleus of the self exists, since identity is shaped within different fields of discourse and it is therefore often divided and transient in nature.

Thus, identities are not given entities, but are rather 'invented categories', products of cultural meanings which evolve under given historical circumstances. Identities are shaped by exclusion to the margins of opposing elements and their definition as 'others'. Postmodernism pertains to a recognition of pragmatic, non-cohesive identities, or to fragments of identities which are a product of representation crises and loss of big narratives (Hazan 2002, 32).

The challenge and the degradation of existing conformations of identity have led to the formation of new identities which are composed of different parts of identity and are sometimes opposed in the social and cultural space, into a new identity (Axford 1995). Today, immigrants find ways to contain their diverse identities in parallel, making educated use of each one in changing social contexts, due to adoption of a multicultural policy in most Western countries (Levitt and Glick-Schiller 2004, Vertovec 2001).

Most theoreticians have stressed that individuals who belong to a minority feel connected to each other not only by race, nationality, culture

and common history, but also by shared fate and experiences of discrimination and social inferiority (Romanucc-Ross and De Vos 1995). According to Hutnik (1991), an ethnic identity is a sense of personal identification with a group and identification of the individual by others as belonging to this group. Nash (1989) claimed that ethnicity is a product of social perception, a process of labeling the individual and others.

Berry (1992, 1997, 2004) presented four known strategies of intercultural relations from the point of view of non-dominant groups: assimilation, segregation, inclusion and marginality. Each of the approaches indicates the extent of the immigrants' commitment and identification with the culture of origin on the one hand and with the culture of the majority on the other hand. The strategies that pertain to marginality and inclusion are especially relevant for the issue at hand.

Mirsky (2005) wrote that immigrants are torn between old attachments to their homeland and new attachments to the immigration country. Such a situation creates prolonged and painful internal and interpersonal negotiation, and the conflict is resolved by the immigrants' inclusion of elements that were preserved from their country of origin and elements that were adopted in the new country in their identity.

As will be shown in this paper, the identity of the traditional mediators who immigrated from Ethiopia is also shaped within different fields of discourse which conduct dialogue with each other. I claim that a complex pattern of syncretism is created in the behavior of the *shmaglotz*' work in Israel. Syncretism means a mixing of religious and cultural elements, and the creation of a new tradition (Juergensmeyer and Wade 2012, Stewart and Shaw 1994, 1-26). Syncretism indicates a process of change in the personal and group identity, as well as the configurations of this process (Leopold and Jensen 2004b). It evolves consciously, but unintentionally (Leopold and Jensen 2004a, 3). This process takes place mainly among minority groups,

and variations of tradition and modernity are created within the group (Shils 1981, 240-246).

By adopting the syncretism approach, we join criticisms of the classical assimilation model, claiming that different ethnic identities may serve as a resource for immigrants, and can exist alongside cultural absorption (Bakalian 1992, Shoshana 2013, 248). This viewpoint emphasizes the multiplicity of social statuses and adjustment paths of immigrants.

Methodology

This study was carried out using a qualitative research method, and is unique in the understanding of the meaning which the interviewee gives to social reality (Shlasky and Alpert 2007). The research is based on in-depth interviews with two groups. One group consisted of 15 *shmaglotz* who work at community mediation centers and agreed to participate in this study. Some of the interviews with them were conducted in their homes, and the majority were conducted in the community centers of Ethiopian immigrants. They live in settlements where there is a large concentration of immigrants from Ethiopia, most of which are in peripheral areas.

The *shmaglotz* who were interviewed immigrated to Israel in the 1980s and early 1990s, and were 60-80 years old at the time of the interview. Some are retired, some are employed in low-income jobs, and a few also serve as *kessoch* of the community. All were prominent *shmaglotz* in Ethiopia, where they did not undergo any “specialization” for their role. In Israel they all participated in a training course for their role within the framework of the mediation center.

The community of immigrants from Ethiopia is a closed community, and such interviews are perceived as an invasion of privacy. The issues

which need to be mediated are also sensitive both personally and for the family. Due to their sensitivity to the individual's right for privacy, it is not possible to participate in mediation events. However, I received much information from the *shmaglotz* and from those who give professional services. I reached the first *shmaglotz* via external agents, the social workers. I presented myself to the *shmaglotz* as a researcher who studies traditional society in an intercultural transition, and after I promised confidentiality, they opened to me and referred me to additional *shmaglotz*, in the snowball method. My acquaintance with several well-known *kessoch* from previous studies which I performed among immigrants from Ethiopia opened more doors for me.

The cooperation I was awarded by the *shmaglotz* and the *kessoch* stems, in my opinion, from the sincere concern of the leaders of the Ethiopian immigrants in Israel for the members of their community who experience severe absorption crises. It appears to me that they wanted to use me for publicizing the essential work of the *shmaglotz* in the mediation centers and to encourage immigrants from Ethiopia to turn to them for solving problems. In this they also wanted to ensure the continued activity of the traditional mediation model within the framework of the public service.

I was conscious of the possibility that the *shmaglotz* would present the mediation process they lead and the extent of its effectiveness from their point of view. I therefore supplemented my understanding of this issue by interviewing another group, agents from outside this community. This group included 15 professional workers, who participate in the operation of the *shmaglotz* model in urban mediation centers: the director of a mediation center, community social workers, policemen and community police centers.

Information brochures in the different languages that were published by the urban mediation centers afforded extensive information on the urban and government authorities which participate in their operation, as well as on conflict issues that are dealt with at the mediation centers, advantages of

the mediation process and the manner in which it is carried out, the role of the *shmagnet* and the contents of the training course in which they participate and the manner in which the inhabitants refer to role holders and to *shmagnet*. Standard forms in Amharic, translated into Hebrew, which are found in the offices of the *shmagnet*, also helped me understand the manner in which they operate.

Findings: Tradition and modernity in the mediation process of the *shmagnet*

In Israel, changes took place in the dispute resolution process headed by the *shmagnet*, which is called *shimgalena*, due to its transcription into a new social context. However, similarly to Ethiopia, the process is carried out in several stages that will be described henceforth, and the descriptions will be based on the narratives of the *shmagnet* and the professionals. In contradistinction to Ethiopia, the entire mediation process is formal and is documented by the *shmagnet* on special forms.

The *shmagnet* mediate in the community of immigrants from Ethiopia in diverse disputes, between individuals and between groups. However, due to the increase in cases of domestic violence, the *shmagnet* devote a major part of their efforts, in collaboration with additional community agents, to handling the issue of divorce and family. I shall stress that the *shmagnet* model operates alongside the criminal process and does not comprise an alternative for this process.

Turning to the *shmagnet*: “They have the advantage of a common language”

At the first stage, application to the *shmaglotz* is made in cases of disputes between neighbors, members of the community, groups, siblings, parents and children, and especially spouses. In some disputes the immigrants from Ethiopia apply to the *shmaglotz* directly. A veteran immigrant from Ethiopia, who coordinates a group of *shmaglotz* at one of the urban mediation centers, explained why disputing couples prefer to turn to the *shmaglotz*:

When disagreements between spouses occur, they go to the *shmaglotz* because they are familiar with the cultural code. The *shmaglotz* ask very cutting questions and put pressure on the couple in order to see the real picture. They talk to the couple in the same language. When there is tension between them, it is possible to understand the real picture through their language. However, if they would go to a social worker, where there is a cultural gap and the stress and fear of a white social worker (i.e., she is not Ethiopian and a stranger) who will go and tell everyone. The *shmaglotz* first summon the husband and hear his side and then summon the wife. The ritual where the spouses sit opposite the *shmaglotz* who try to resolve the problems puts pressure on them to cooperate.

An immigrant from Ethiopia who serves as a coordinator of a group of *shmaglotz* at a different mediation center indicated that:

The *shmaglotz* are a group of older people from the community, very well-known and learned people who are familiar with the culture in Ethiopia and know the problems in Israel and how to bridge between them. The Ethiopian community is very stressed by the social workers, and before turning to them they meet with the *shmaglotz*, tell the *shmaglotz* their problems and try to resolve the problem.

Another community policeman said:

The two parties feel more comfortable resolving the dispute through the *shmaglotz* and they also have the advantage of a common language. There is no need for bureaucracy, they are all acquainted with each other. There are no winners or losers and both parties reach a compromise.

This statement by the community policeman indicates identification of the *shmaglotz*' mediation method with the pragmatic model.

Contrary to the situation in Ethiopia, the *shmaglotz* are not authorized to deal in criminal disputes such as rape and murder, and when immigrants turn to them on these issues, they must hand the case over to the police and the courts. Most of the applications to the *shmaglotz* come from social workers and community policemen.

When disputing neighbors or spouses turn to the community policeman, he deliberates whether to apply the regular treatment of the police with a complaint or to refer them to the services of a *shmaglotz*. After he decided on the intervention of a *shmaglotz* and has the agreement of the parties, he refers them to the *shmaglotz* via an intermediary at the police station, and informs the welfare authorities. A community policeman told me:

I explain to the parties that violence is not the solution in this case or that divorce is not the solution, and that there are problems that can be solved, because sometimes these are small problems that were caused because they came to a new more Western culture, and this apparently causes them frustration. In such cases I refer them to the *shmaglotz*, who resolve the domestic disputes, instead of our handling of the problem, the police.

Another community policeman added:

The police encourages the handling by the *shmaglotz*, because this means that police intervention does not take place for every complaint, and a criminal file is not opened for every complaint, because not every complaint has a criminal nature. Sometimes the problem is that they do not understand the language, and there are absorption problems even though several years have passed since they immigrated to Israel, and there are things that the police cannot really solve. This is why the intervention of the *shmaglotz* is important, because they come from within the community, they understand the problem and can explain to the members of their community how to adjust to all kinds of difficulties which they encounter here in Israel.

The police and welfare factors who are partners to the implementation of the *shmaglotz* model thus encourage the parties to resolve the dispute by means of the *shmaglotz*. They also act to create awareness among the different caregiving agents and the immigrants community on the importance of getting assistance from the *shmaglotz*. They publicize the model and the names of the *shmaglotz*, and hold community congresses, in collaboration with *shmaglotz*, on the issue of preventing violence in the community and in the family and the contribution of the *shmaglotz* to the community (see also Israel and Meir 2006). These actions contribute to a strengthening of the status of the traditional model in the immigrants community and in the State mechanisms.

Shmaglotz and workers at the mediation center with whom I talked indicated that it is usually the older people who turn to traditional mediation, since it is familiar to them from Ethiopia. *Shmaglotz* complained that the young Ethiopians turn to them less because they aspire to be “like the Israelis”, and do not want to get help from old Ethiopian customs and “remain behind”. One of them connected between the decline in the status of the *shmaglotz* and the issue of the generation gap and said:

I see that the young today are more stubborn. Everything is different, the attire, the behavior, their speech and their attitude towards the community. Often they do not get along with their parents and the parents do not understand them. I as a *shmagle* think that there is less understanding on the part of the children to our role as mediators. Some give less respect than was customary to give to the *shmaglotz* in the past. This is because they are a different generation, they did not immigrate from Ethiopia and because of this they have less understanding, or do not want to understand.

The interviewees with whom I spoke also indicated that in domestic disputes it is usually the men who turn to the *shmaglotz*, whereas the women prefer to turn to the social workers (see also Budowski et al. 1989). The

unwillingness of the women to turn to the *shmaglotz* was explained to me by the director of an urban mediation center, who attributed it to the significant change that has taken place in the status of the Ethiopian woman, which leads to domestic conflicts. For example, young women who were married to an older man according to the custom in Ethiopia, but after their immigration to Israel feel free of the rigid family customs and want to divorce. According to the manager:

Ethiopian women regard the *shmaglotz* as a regression (cultural, relative to their status). They think that by turning to the *shmaglotz* they relinquish their new status, since the *shmaglotz* will prefer the status of the man (as in Ethiopia). They think that the justice of the *shmaglotz* is justice that favors the men.

Workers of the mediation center told me that often they try to persuade the women to use the services of the *shmaglotz*, because the men usually prefer this and without the cooperation of the husbands, the domestic dispute may not be resolved. With the goal of showing that they are not partial to the men and do not afford them an advantage when choosing the mediators, the professionals stressed that they care for the women's rights. They claim that they explain to the women that if the handling by the *shmaglotz* does not succeed, the option of a regular mediation at the urban mediation center is open to them, or they can turn to the court. Such situations do indeed occur, according to them, and then a complex process is created where the first part is conducted with the *shmaglotz* and it ends in the court, such that the two models, the traditional and the modern, are included in one process.

Mediation tactics: "The fire is put out while still small"

During the second stage the dispute is resolved by the *shmaglotz*, through a mediation process in which it can be clearly discerned how they combine traditional and modern methods:

- (1) The process is voluntary, and each or both of the parties can withdraw at any time. In cases where only one of the disputing partners is willing to use the help of the *shmaglotz*, the social worker tries to persuade the other (usually the wife) to agree. If this is successful, the social worker is present in the first meeting of the couple with the *shmaglotz* and if necessary also in additional meetings, with the participation of a translator.
- (2) The *shmaglotz* stressed that discretion in their handling of the dispute is absolute. This approach is important because keeping a secret was a cultural code in Ethiopia which shows respect for the other (Budowski et al. 1989, 19-20).
- (3) It is important to the *shmaglotz* to summon the parties immediately, as in Ethiopia, in order to prevent exacerbation of the dispute. *Shmagle* Garma demonstrated this symbolically by saying: "The fire was put out immediately while still small."
- (4) Similarly to Ethiopia, the *shmaglotz* hear the claims of both parties during the first meetings, with in-depth clarification of the problem. During the following discussions, each party is questioned separately, and if necessary the *shmaglotz* invite additional people who are involved in the conflict. The *shmaglotz* indicated that they regard their role in resolution of the conflict by listening to the litigants, and refer to aspects which are not necessarily directly related to the cause of the dispute, but rather to its consequences. Sometimes the *shmaglotz* go to the litigants' homes in order to investigate and understand the root of the problem, as they did in Ethiopia. This action, contrary to the customary mediation (and judicial) process in Israel, reflects the *shmaglotz*' great involvement in their community and their care for preserving its unity. After the *shmaglotz* identify the source

of the problem they conduct a negotiation between the parties in order to help them reach an agreement.

In Israel there exist different options, in addition to the traditional one, for dispute resolution, and the traditional process is also undergoing transformation. Thus, contrary to the situation in Ethiopia, the *shmaglotz* sometimes turn to only one party for consultation, and a mediation process with participation of the two parties does not take place and the sessions are shorter. However, in most cases both parties turn to the *shmaglotz* for a mediation process, and long sessions take place. The *shmaglotz* indicate that use of the traditional method, which affords a long period of time for each session, is effective in resolving disputes in Ethiopia as well as in Israel, since it enables the litigants to raise their feelings, soften their positions and internalize the solution proposed by the *shmaglotz*.

Understanding the importance of allowing time during mediation is essential, according to the *shmaglotz*, especially for the Ethiopian immigrants, who are characterized by reticent behavior. In my opinion, the need for a prolonged process also reflects the transformative value which the *shmaglotz* attribute to the mediation process. Within the more general cultural aspect, allocating a longer period of time, patience, listening to the other without interrupting him, is regarded by most Ethiopian immigrants as demonstrating respect for them and deliberation. They come from a culture in which concepts of time are more flexible and do not hurry people to finish their sayings. The Ethiopian immigrants therefore feel that in Israel everyone is in a hurry, and they have difficulties accepting the rigid and impatient time table towards others and towards the immigrants (Budowski et al. 1989).

- (5) One of the main tactics of the *shmaglotz* in managing mediation in Israel is the use of stories, proverbs and allegories in Amharic, which have a moral in the cultural tradition of the Ethiopian

Jews. In this tradition, communication is often metaphoric, indirect and ambiguous, out of respect for the other. This discourse culture is different from the direct Israeli discourse, which the immigrants regard as impolite, and sometimes even cheeky and offensive (Budowski et al. 1989, 8-9). The *shmaglotz* use stories in order to transmit their intention regarding the suitable solution to the given dispute. In using stories of heroism, bravery and myths, the *shmaglotz* lead the litigants to identify with the heroes and enable the parties to connect to community values and to expectations of them on the manner of the proper solution (Naget 2006, 37). The *shmaglotz* also use proverbs that have been passed orally from generation to generation in Ethiopia, which enable a glimpse into the wisdom and cultural world from which they came. In this society, the proverb is used to outline the essence of the message which the person wants to transmit to the other following a conversation on a particular issue or following a problem that arose. The main values that the culture of the Ethiopian Jews aspired to cultivate arise from these proverbs: faith, patience, moderation, restraint, learning from experience, importance of integration and cooperation, the family as a strong source for strength and support. The images on which the proverbs are based are taken from the familiar world of the Ethiopian Jews in the country of origin: the domestic life which is unique to their non-industrial world, agricultural work in the fields and closeness to animals (Belete 2012, 2013, Rachamim 1999).

Examples of proverbs in the field of a person with himself, which the *shmaglotz* used during the mediation process, include the proverbs: “A person constructs his doorsill according to his height”, i.e. other people can

give you advice, but you are the one who in the end makes the decision; “Do not complain that you have no shoes, there are people who have no leg”, i.e. we should be thankful for what we have instead of complaining of what is missing; “A person in his land is an olive tree”, i.e. when a person is found in his own land, he knows the language and the culture, therefore he feels strong and can give plenty of oil (i.e., his financial situation is good), and also gives shade, but when he does not know the language and the customs he feels weak, disoriented and destitute.

Some examples for the use of proverbs with the aim of mediating between people are: “A person who does not own a donkey – disparages the horse of others”, meaning a person who scrutinizes the lives of others instead of focusing on his life and affairs may find many faults with them, but if he scrutinizes himself, he will find that he has even more faults; “A person who comes to fight, does not need an excuse”, meaning that a person who wants a confrontation, will do this regardless of the behavior of the other party, and will always be able to find a reason for a quarrel; “A good reputation remains also on the tombstone”, which gives a message that it is worthwhile to clean yourself of evil deeds, so that you will have a good reputation in the community also after your death; “A person who pretends to be asleep, even a siren will not wake him”, meaning that when a person is not willing to cooperate, no method will help and there is no point in investing an effort in it.

Examples of proverbs between a person and his family, which express the importance of the family and its values in the culture of Ethiopian Jewry are: “A house without a woman lacks the central pillar”, which emphasizes the importance of the wife in the family; “A son without a father is like a house without a door”, i.e. life without a father is more difficult, since the father affords confidence, power, a good education, a personal example and other essential factors; “A tree that grows beautiful and tall can be recognized while it is still short”, meaning that a youth who grows in a good

environment and receives a good education will be successful in adulthood; “There is no cure for jealousy”, meaning that just as a doctor cannot cure jealousy, so we (the *shmaglotz*) cannot treat jealousy, whereas the *shmaglotz* indicated that disputes between a husband and a wife over money are easy to resolve; “Family and painting are preferable from afar”, is a message that when you look at a painting from close up, it does not look pretty, but from afar you see the entire picture. This is the same with family: when you are close to the family on a daily basis, you see mainly the problems and many disputes arise, however when you distance yourself somewhat, you understand the strength and power of being part of a loving and supportive family.

- (6) The *shmaglotz* adopted an ancient proverb of the Ethiopian Jews which says: “One finger does not kill a flea”, i.e. a person cannot do everything on his own, and in order to succeed one must join forces with other people. Therefore, another traditional tactic employed by the *shmaglotz* in some of the mediation cases is the recruitment of the religious priests (the *kessoch*) of the community. The *shmaglotz* also involve relatives in the dispute resolution, mainly in disputes between spouses. Involvement of the parents was effective in Ethiopia since married couples were subservient to their authority. As indicated by one *shmagle*: “In Ethiopia, in the village, the entire extended family lived together. If there was a problem between the spouses, it would be solved within the family. If you needed something, the family around you would help”.

Collaboration between family and community factors in Israel demonstrates that the *shmaglotz* believe, also today, in the effectiveness of resolving disputes in a holistic manner, since the immigrants from Ethiopia still

attribute importance to traditional social structures, such as the extended family and the community.

- (7) The *shmaglotz* explain the values of the new society to the litigants. The *shmaglotz* painfully speak about the increasing difficulties of the Ethiopian family today: violence, murder and suicide. They explained that the main cause for disputes between partners is the change in the structure of the Ethiopian family in Israel, and especially the changing roles. According to the *shmaglotz*, the husbands want to control their wives as they did in Ethiopia, which leads to arguments about the management of their finances and about the wife going out to work.

Shmagle Tasima told:

Many people turn to us because of problems between the husband and the wife, who cannot manage, where the husband thinks as in Ethiopia and does not give his wife money and manages it all himself, or the husband is jealous and does not allow her to go out to work. Many men think that the women should stay at home as in Ethiopia and not go out to work, but to be housewives. Therefore a problem arises between them and this often leads to divorce.

The *shmaglotz* also criticize the Ethiopian women, who in their opinion are influenced by the liberal atmosphere in Israel and hurry to demand a divorce from their husbands, as expressed by *shmagle* Yalo:

I am worried about the situation here in Israel in everything related to marital conciliation. A woman whose husband said a word (of threat) immediately complains to the police, and the police remove the husband from the house without clarifying the situation. This encourages many women to act in this manner.

The *shmaglotz* indicated that they help the couple, and especially the husband, understand the mentality of the new society and the changes that took place in the family and reach an agreement with them. The *shmaglotz* claim that handling a crisis between spouses in the modern judicial system in Israel is formal and slow. This leads to the accumulation of great anger and frustration, which in extreme cases lead to murder of the wife. The *shmaglotz* emphasized the advantage of their work which affords the couple personal attention within a short time, in a language and method that are familiar to them and view their work as: “Holy work, saving lives among the community”. *Shmagle* Boruk said:

Our mediation gives fruit and prevents many dangers to life and much violence, stress in the family and breaking up of the family which causes families and their children to deteriorate in life and makes it difficult for them to become absorbed in Israel. We therefore try to save these lives and help resolve disputes by mediation and peace.

Shmagle Mangisto said:

Our power is in the desire to help and from what we learned from our parents, how to behave and how to explain. We speak with the couple and try to help them see the good there is in the family. We ask: Why don't you make up? And many times we succeed, and then you feel happiness in your heart.

The *shmaglotz* reported that their on-the-job training helped them acquire the rules of the new society and handle the immigrants' problems, as explained by *shmagle* Ethnog:

A person who does not understand life in Israel finds it very difficult. Everything is strange, different from what it was in Ethiopia. We help in the manner that was customary in Ethiopia. The course gave us more tools for understanding and becoming familiar with different factors, how they work and how to use them. Our

goal is for the home to remain intact, not to break up the family. And if there is no choice, then to do this in a proper and nice manner.

The quotes express the *shmaglotz*'s care and responsibility for preserving the stability of the family in Israel. Their understanding, together with criticism of all parties: the men, the women and the judicial system in Israel, position the *shmaglotz* as a cultural factor that is found in the middle. They draw from tradition but also recognize the more egalitarian laws and values of the new society.

The mediation agreement: "They should at least divorce in peace"

In the third stage the *shmaglotz* formulate a mediation agreement with the consent of the parties. *Shmaglotz* indicated that most disputes referred to them are resolved, and this is reinforced by testimonies of workers in the municipal mediation centers. When mediation between spouses fails, the *shmaglotz* try to reach an agreement on how to divide the property and alimony payments, with the help of the couple's parents. The *shmaglotz* consider it important to help the couple separate out of agreement, mutual respect and by a short procedure, as explained by *shmagle* Samo:

The goal of the *shmaglotz* in cases where matrimonial reconciliation cannot be achieved is that they should at least divorce in peace. When they separate by agreement and in peace we prevent disasters (violence and murder). This also saves the couple from going to lawyers. The file is closed. Our mediation led to a significant shortening of the discussions in the rabbinical court.

From the interviewees it can be concluded that the *shmaglotz* in Israel are indeed greatly respected in their community, but have lost of their status and power. The impression is gained that the sanctions that were placed in

Ethiopia for carrying out the agreements are not relevant today, and fewer obey their decisions than in the past.

One explanation lies in a decline in the sense of belonging and commitment of the young Ethiopians to the community. We saw this also in the description of the first stage of the mediation process via the *shmaglotz*, which was reviewed above. This decline is explained by the desire of the young people who were educated in the Israeli education system and who served in the Israeli Defense Force to become integrated in Israeli society. The changes that took place in the immigrants' families also contribute to this decline. As mentioned, the Ethiopian family underwent changes and severe shocks following their immigration to Israel. The children and the mother adjusted more easily to the new life, whereas the father's authority declined. Due to the crisis of immigration, the status of the traditional leadership also decreased, and the sensitive relations between members of the community and their leadership was disrupted (Shalom 2012, 64).

Another explanation lies in the low status of the *shmaglotz* in light of the patronizing attitude of the Israeli system. The *shmaglotz* do not receive payment for their work, and are not an independent legal body as they were in Ethiopia. Their agreements are subordinate to authorization by the State authorities, although *shmaglotz* and public servants testified that the court and the rabbinical court tend to adopt the *shmaglotz*' agreements.

Discussion and conclusions: "The weeds of the land should be ploughed with an ox of that land"

Dispute management is derived from values, traditions and norms of the community, and emphasis in dispute resolution should therefore be placed on the cultural aspect from which the process and its decision are influenced (Naget 2006, 12-13, Ting-Toomey and Oetzel 2001), as is the case in the

present article. The article discusses the work of traditional mediators (*shmaglotz*) of Ethiopian immigrants in Israel, who are included in urban mediation centers established by the State. They are run by the welfare divisions with collaboration of community policing and other factors.

The research findings indicate a significant change in the process of referring to the *shmaglotz* and in their status in Israel, compared to the past. In Ethiopia, the *shmaglotz* served as the sole address for mediation of disputes in the family and in the Jewish community. Members of the community applied to them directly and the mediation agreements were awarded legal validity from the government. In Israel, involvement of the *shmaglotz* in the process of managing disputes usually begins when the State authorities refer litigants to them. It should be mentioned that the *shmaglotz* model operates alongside the criminal process and does not comprise an alternative to this process, and that the *shmaglotz*' decisions obligate approval by the courts. Contrary to Ethiopia, the *shmaglotz* do not have authority to hold hearings on criminal disputes, such as rape and murder, and when immigrants turn to them on such issues, they must transfer the case to the police and the court.

The *shmaglotz* in Israel have lost of their status, and members of the community obey their decisions to a lesser extent. However, they are still respected and esteemed by the Ethiopian community, especially by the older members who remember and appreciate this institution from Ethiopia. The *shmaglotz* and public servants indicated that the immigrants prefer a mediation process via the *shmaglotz* because it is rapid, easy, and more economic and efficient than the Israeli judiciary system.

The main advantage of the work of the *shmaglotz* in Israel is cultural. A famous Ethiopian saying says that "The weeds of the land should be plowed with an ox of that land". This means that problems should be solved with tools appropriate for them. According to this saying, I conclude from my study that the traditional mediators of the immigrants from Ethiopia are

an appropriate tool for handling disputes within their community. They speak the language of the immigrants, are familiar with their cultural codes and use familiar methods.

From the findings I also conclude that the cooperation that was created between the *shmaglotz* and the community policemen and social workers serves both the absorbers and the absorbed. A good mediator should be found in the right place, be accepted by both parties and know enough about the two cultures (McLeod 1981), and the *shmaglotz* fulfill these conditions rather effectively.

In terms of the absorbers, the shared work patterns with the *shmaglotz* which were formulated at the urban mediation centers, and the training undergone by the professionals contributed to their exposure to the culture of the immigrants from Ethiopia. The government initiative to include *shmaglotz* in its mechanisms reflects the adoption of a more pluralistic viewpoint. It stemmed mainly from interests, i.e. from helplessness in the absorption of immigrants from Ethiopia due to cultural differences.

However, the *shmaglotz* model has remained a unique model intended solely for the specific community of Ethiopian immigrants. For the absorbers, the purpose of adopting the *shmaglotz* was therefore functional. They did not view the *shmaglotz* as equal partners, and did not internalize values and knowledge from them which may serve them in their work with other communities (for example, adoption of a prolonged period of time for each meeting, which is a unique strategy of the *shmaglotz* and is worthy of consideration for adoption in Israel). I therefore concluded that the multicultural approach adopted by the absorbing mechanism in the inclusion of *shmaglotz* for dispute resolution is not interactive multiculturalism, where mutual interactions and influences develop between the different cultural groups. Rather, it is closer to particular federative pluralism where each group maintains its cultural characteristics, without mutual influences (for more on these models, see Sever 2001).

The particular multicultural approach can be clearly inferred from the sayings of Shlomit, the director of one of the mediation centers:

Today cultural codes are allowed to influence the conduct of the conflict. Inclusion can lead to success. The *shmaglotz* change our approach. There is mediation, arbitration, a court, and there is the way of the *shmaglotz* which is familiar here. The absorbing society enables using this tool of the *shmaglotz*. We preserve the model for the Ethiopian community. My perception as the absorber has changed. Before I thought that everyone needs to be like me. Now I accept the different as equal. A different approach evolved out of the model of the melting pot, from a model of coercion, where you are required to relinquish your culture and your identity. In the absorber see that he is different and I enable him to be different. Each remains as he was, we are different but equal, accept the difference, and this is a multicultural approach.

Thus, recognition of the importance of the *shmaglotz* grew among the welfare and law enforcement authorities, and they even encourage the immigrants to apply to them. The result is a combination of a traditional and a modern mediation model in the public services system in Israel which are intended for a specific community. In this manner the State authorities contribute to the continuity of the traditional mediation within the mechanisms of the absorbing society and to its strengthening among the immigrant community.

In terms of the absorbed, the initiative to include the *shmaglotz* in the urban mediation centers enables them to preserve values and customs from their culture of origin in the new society, and even to use them in their absorption process. Nonetheless, the immigrants are exposed to a dialogue with the culture of the absorbing, and new cultural characteristics are added to their identity, such as awareness of values and laws in Israel, without a demand to neglect their culture of origin.

The *shmaglotz*, who in Ethiopia served as legal mediators but in Israel serve also as intercultural mediators, help in the immigrants' dialogue with

their identity. Their advantage is their new “toolbox” (Swidler 1986), which contains traditional experience, knowledge and work methods (for example immediate handling, use of proverbs that enables the parties to connect to community values and expectations regarding the worthy solution, transformative mediation and involvement of parents and spiritual leaders), but also modern knowledge, means and tools which they received from professionals (for example knowledge of State laws, familiarity with the care system, conducting a formal mediation process, and teamwork with government agents).

The connected vessels demonstrate that syncretism, which means the mixing of different traditions and the creation of a new cultural tradition (Stewart and Shaw 1994, 1-26, Sharaby 2002, 17-22), was created in the mediation model of the *shmaglotz* and in their identity. The old-new model of mediation helps the *shmaglotz* handle new occurrences of conflict which stem from immigration.

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The construction of an anti-hero. Identity through media filters

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Abstract

Fashion magazines combine images with narrative to construct overt and subtle messages conveyed to the readership. While these messages often are predictable, some are contradictory and counterintuitive, yet they still provide examples of gendered performances negotiated as constructed by media filters. This multimodal analysis examines the narrative, photos, and video of Vogue's February 2013 feature article with actress Rooney Mara to decipher which aspects of Ms. Mara's identity are self-constructed, which are media-constructed, and possible reasons for media filtering.

Key words: identity construction, gender, media filters, performativity

Introduction

In the last decade, the fashion industry has come under fire several times for depicted extremely thin models, either with severely underweight women or with Photoshop manipulation (Daily Mail 2009; CNN 2006). Images of models clearly bear overt messages of ideal beauty, but image is not the only semiotic resource that bears messages to consumers. Images are interwoven with language, gesture, and other semiotic resources that create more subtle, possibly unnoticed messages. That is not to say they are not important; in fact, those subtle messages help support and maintain expectations and assumptions we have that are culturally bound. Language, gesture, and body positioning create and reinforce stereotypes, the effects of which are deeply

entrenched in society. In the fashion magazines, features and non-sponsored photo spreads bear such messages and can reveal the hopes, expectations, and insecurities of the readership.

This study stems from a survey of feature interviews in *Vogue* magazine from October 2012 to April 2013 that I was working on with colleague Dr. So-Yeon Ahn. Our interest came from the obvious incongruity between what was advertised and what most readers could ever afford. To start, we focused solely on the featured interviews and we noticed that all of the superstars interview gushed about husbands or boyfriends, talked of being hands-on moms, and shrugged off the trappings of fame with casual nonchalance.

All, that is, except for one. In the February 2013 issues, actress Rooney Mara was interviewed for the feature story. Ms. Mara is a relatively young actress who rose to fame as Lisbeth Salander in *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo*, a film based on the highly popular novel by Stieg Larsson with the same title. Featuring an actress so early in her career was slightly unusual for *Vogue*, but Ms. Mara had already been gaining attention in the press for her unusual fashion choices and her understated beauty. Coincidentally, the themes within Ms. Mara's interview were just as unusual.

To follow, I review literature relevant to media representations of women, gendered language use, and gendered aspects of identity construction. Then, I detail the theoretical framework through which this study was performed. Finally, I will analyze Ms. Mara's interview and accompanying photos through a multimodal lens to determine what messages are being more overtly conveyed, and which culturally-bound assumptions are maintained and supported.

Literature review

Our understandings of the world around us – including our understandings of gender and associated behaviors - are shaped from birth. Studies on gender-specific language use in early childhood provide evidence that very young children already ascribe certain characteristics to men or to women. Urberg (1982) surveyed children ages 3 to 7 and found that they differentiated which characteristics were male and which were female. Girls with working mothers, however, ascribed more overlap to both genders than other children, an indication that their mothers' roles helped bridge cultural gender gap representations.

However, the differentiation remains, and begins very early in life. Children as young as two and three in Japanese pre-schools already use the adjective of *kawaii* ("cute") far more often towards girls than towards boys (Burdelski and Mitsuhashi 2010). While the study focused mainly on the glossing effect of adjectives and emotional response from caregivers to children, it highlights how our expectations of gendered behaviors develop and are reinforced by members of our local communities.

In addition to local communities, media perpetuates such gendered stereotyping. But is it a leap to consider media outlets as having strong influence over the formative understandings that children are still in the process of developing? In a food marketing study, Baxter (1991) found that children are influenced by advertisements directed towards them, at least when it comes to fruit roll-up choices that were featured in the study. While we can certainly make the case that fruit roll-up preferences are hardly as far-reaching as gender-based behavioral expectations, the implication is important: if a child can be influenced through direct marketing to voice preference of one brand over another, it is likely that s/he is even more susceptible to deeply-rooted assumptions that are conveyed by community

and supported through media. In other words, gendered images are more prevalent than fruit roll-up ads.

Pike and Jennings (2005) explored the ways in which advertising affects children's views of gender and toy choice. Commercials on television certainly affect the demands of children, and toys have been historically depicted as being for one gender or the other but rarely both. Certainly, Pike and Jennings found that children exposed to gender-specific ads were more likely to associate those toys – and indeed the personality traits exhibited in the ad – with the advertised gender. It's important to note that the participants in the study were only 6 and 7 years old because they were young enough to have been exposed to gendered stereotypes while still formulating their own worldviews. In other words, although advertising could challenge assumptions of gendered toy selection, it was more likely to support and reinforce existing assumptions. This is key to understanding how we both come to our assumptions about gendered identities and develop expectations for what is normal and provides a bit of insight into how easily advertisers can tap into our deeply-rooted assumptions, and therefore, insecurities.

Despite these culturally-routed biases, Bakir, Blodgett, and Rose (2008) found that older girls expressed negative attitudes towards “communal” images in magazine advertisements, which was markedly different than those expressed by younger girls. This indicates that as girls progress through adolescence, they may come to reject traditional gender-role stereotypes. It's also worth noting that Bakir, Blodgett, and Rose's study was conducted more than fifteen years after Urberg's, and those fifteen years encompassed major developments in gender-equality: the domination of female entertainers like Beyonce and Jennifer Lopez throughout the 1990s and 2000s, the prevalence of female-lead media empires by Oprah Winfrey, Martha Stewart, and the presence of powerful female politicians like Madeleine Albright, Condoleezza Rice, and Hilary Clinton. The traditional gendered stereotypes were finally

beginning to shift to allow more room for a multiplicity of identities that were still linked to femininity.

Despite these gains, stereotypes run too deeply to eradicate within a decade or two, and the media bears at least partial responsibility for perpetuating oppressive stereotypes. Lafky et al (1996) performed a study of gendered lens and magazine ads in a Midwestern high school that included 125 participants between the ages of 14 and 18 from mixed socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds enrolled in sociology classes. The students were shown a variety of ads and were asked to respond to certain statements about gender roles. Perhaps the most significant finding was that even short exposure to an ad depicting traditionally stereotypical gender roles affected the ways in which students reacted, most likely reinforcing already-held beliefs about gender roles.

We understand and accept, then, that gendered stereotypes permeate our culture and are reinforced from childhood. Perhaps we need to ask ourselves why it is that the images of women consistently are negative? Since women make up a little more than half of the general population, it's rather surprising that they (we) have allowed and even participated in the perpetuation of negative stereotyping. One of the most exhaustive studies about media imaging was performed by Lindner for which she analyzed the images of women in both fashion and general interest magazines from 1955 to 2002. Across genres and decades, the types of imaging shift but women were consistently depicted negatively. Categories such as relative size (showing women physically smaller than male counterparts) declined over time, but overt sexualization rose. What's important here is that the range of genres ensured a variety of intended readership demographics, and the subtle and encoded messages being conveyed were consistently negative.

At this point, it is crucial to state that all of the aforementioned studies related specifically to advertising. Advertising is, after all, a tool for persuasion and needs to be understood as such. It is propaganda, and

although it can tap in to our profoundly held beliefs and insecurities, we do know that the role of advertising is to sell. Why, then, do women continue to buy in? Wouldn't it be easy to boycott magazines in order to reduce the negative images that prevail?

Friede (2001), Crane (1999), and Barker (1995) have all explored the increasing backlash of negative images of women in fashion magazines, and it seems that some magazines are listening. It is with this understanding that I turned to analyze *Vogue's* feature article about Rooney Mara, best known for portraying dark and disturbed characters and not at all who one would expect to emerge as a fashionable starlet.

Theoretical framework

Before beginning the analysis for this study, I looked to components of feminist, constructivist, ecological, and embodiment theories. Since the data is specific to representations of a female movie star in a fashion magazine, I drew from feminist theory of performativity. Tukhanen (2009), Bell (1999), Allen (1998), and Butler (1990) all posit that gender is a socially constructed condition, various aspects of which are acted out continuously throughout our lives. Butler (2006) states "... performativity is not a singular act, but a repetition and a ritual, which achieves its effects through its naturalization in the context of a body..." (p xv). For the purposes of this analysis, I examined which parts of the narrative, imagery, and video could be considered acts of gendered performance.

Because of the ways in which Ms. Mara's interview was reframed into narrative by Hamish Bowles, I drew from Bucholtz & Hall's principles of identity construction (2005). Specifically, the partialness principle (605) is crucial to analyzing the ways chasm between how she performed aspects of identity and how the media edited and renegotiated it. The partialness

principle provides the catalyst for reaction because it affects how one assesses interactions, and alternatively, other's partial views will affect their assessments of those same interactions. This conceptual multiplicity is crucial to the data analysis performed here.

I also draw from the Bucholtz & Hall's indexicality principle (2005, 594) because it states that speakers provide cues, or indexes, within an interaction context to be understood by a listener. This is helpful for analyzing the language usage by Ms. Mara because they provide linguistic cues related to identity that are either understood or overlooked by both media filters and readers. Indexicality and partialness align with etic and emic tensions that emerge through multimodal analysis.

It is therefore perhaps obvious to summarize the previous theories within ecological discourse (Erickson 2004). It is understood that the unseen interactions between Ms. Mara and Mr. Bowles, Ms. Mara and the photographer, Ms. Mara and the director, and even Ms. Mara and her fans, are interdependent and transactional because each turn in the interaction is contingent upon both what preceded and what is expected to occur after. Indexicality and partialness connect within ecological theory because indexes are provided within a transaction, and partial understanding results. Further, performativity occurs within the ecology because the participants perform aspects of gendered identity during transactions. All of the performances are interdependent; some indexes within the performances are understood as the actors intend them to be and others are not, but all are equally valid and influential within the transaction.

For this study, all of the aforementioned theoretical threads are interwoven and situated within Johnson's theory of embodiment (2007). Since embodiment encompasses far too many aspects to explore in detail here, the components relevant to this study include to the interwoven – and inextricability – of mind and body. In other words, cognition is completely tied to bodied experiences. When analyzing data, this means that Ms. Mara's

words and bodied positioning are reflections of her lived experiences. More importantly, the media filters edit Ms. Mara's words and images to create messages to connect with the embodied experiences of their readership. For example, depicting Ms. Mara as the anti-hero or the reluctant starlet is a very clever marketing strategy that aligns with not only the roles she had recently starred in, but it also connects with readers who do not necessarily understand the other messages that permeate through out the magazine (glamour, luxury, beauty, wealth). Readers are therefore more able to connect with Ms. Mara on a more visceral level – a more bodied connection – because they understand the indexes that she provides and that are perpetuated through the editing process.

Methodology and Data analysis

To best understand the various aspects of identity constructed within the feature article, I approached this study as a multimodal analysis. I drew from Kress (2010, 2009) to tease apart modes that convey meaning, and *Vogue* offered a variety of modes for analysis: narrative, image, and video.

Narrative allowed for analysis of words or phrases seen as indexes, or conveyors of cues to identity, and since it is one of the most common modes utilized by magazines, I drew from works by Herman and Page (2010) and Clandinin and Rosiek (2007) in an attempt to be thorough. As I read through Rooney Mara's interview, I noted themes that emerged within the narrative. It is important to note that the feature article was not presented as a straight interview; rather, author Hamish Bowles developed his interview with her into a fuller article with his own narrative wrapped around her words.

The images offered either support or contradiction to the identity constructed with the narrative, so I turned to the images of Ms. Mara

included as part of the feature and analyzed body language, gaze, position, style, clothing, and expression.

Video offered yet another layer because it allowed Ms. Mara to be seen in action. Her body movements could again either confirm or contradict aspects of identity conveyed through narrative and images. Therefore, I compared the photographed images and the identity constructed within the feature with an online video posted by *Vogue* of the photo sessions with Ms. Mara for the article. After themes were developed and coded for the article, photos, and video, I compared the themes for commonalities and differences and analyzed the meanings constructed therein. To follow, I detail data analysis for narrative, images, and video.

Narrative

Before I coded the interview, I made a language rubric for notation. Below is a truncated version of the rubric.

Table 1

Theme	Key words	Line/ Column/ Page
Craziness	Schizophrenic	1/1/242
	Strange	
Emotional	Anxiety	18/2/242
	Exhausted	1/2/244
Reluctance	“Never studied-studied”	45/1/242
	Hypercritical	27/1/242

As indicated by the rubric above, the most prevalent themes throughout the feature article were those of craziness, emotions, and reluctance. In fact, the article begins with “I feel a little, like... schizophrenic” (242), referring to the number of vastly different roles she had taken on in the previous year.

“... I really feel sometimes like those things are happening to me. Obviously they are not. But it’s hard going from one to the next.” (242). Although these sentiments could be expressed by any hard working actor, it’s interesting that author Hamish Bowles front-loads the article with these quotes. The indexes of “schizophrenic” and “feel” immediately depict a woman who is deeply emotional and perhaps not completely comfortable with that. Tension is created between the famous ingénue that she has become and the uncomfortable “weird, dark kid” depicted in Mr. Bowles’s narrative.

This off-center sense is reinforced throughout the article, as Ms. Mara describes red carpet appearances as “a nightmare! It’s a panic attack waiting to happen.” (244). As the narrative develops, Mr. Bowles presents reluctance as a partial aspect of identity that is aligned with but separate from the “craziness.” He tells readers that Ms. Mara claims to have never “study-studied” acting and that, even at her current level of fame, she was hesitant to meet up at a hotel bar in Brooklyn’s ultra-hip Williamsburg neighborhood, saying “I don’t think I’m cool enough to hang out here.” (244). Although Mr. Bowles noted that she was laughing as she spoke, his decision to include it within his narrative indicates that, for him, her insecurity and reluctance are important aspects of her identity.

Again supporting this weird, dark kid identity is the continual reference to emotions. Ms. Mara claims her acting is “all intuition.” She notes “I had a lot of anxiety growing up...” (242). and her lingering shyness is what drew her to acting. “I can be someone else. I get to express a lot of things that maybe are hard for me to express in my normal life.” (244). Here, Mr. Bowles depicts a woman who is not completely comfortable in her own skin, relying on feelings and being able to disappear into her work. Mr. Bowles reinforces this wish to “disappear” when he describes her insecurities about her work. When discussing Ms. Mara’s most famous role as Lisbeth Salander, Mr. Bowles writes “She couldn’t bear to see herself on-screen in *Dragon Tattoo* and famously resisted until she went

to a theater near Manhattan's Union Square and bought a ticket with the general public." (242). Such feelings are likely well-understood by at least part of the readership.

Oddly, Mr. Bowles includes snippets of Ms. Mara's "bucolic Bedford childhood" (244), which is in direct contrast with the identity that otherwise dominates the narrative. He also writes of Ms. Mara's close group of high school friends and her solo trekking endeavors around the world, which are rather curious because they contrast with the angst-ridden identity initially constructed and supported. It is also probably not coincidental that these descriptions come in the sixteenth of twenty-seven paragraphs, after pictures are featured. This is a point that will be revisited when analyzing the pictures.

Indeed, the final paragraphs of the narrative provide hints of a much more grounded and comfortable person than that which was initially depicted. Bowles described Ms. Mara's trip to Africa and creation of a non-profit called the Uweza Aid Foundation. "I knew I wasn't going to be able to change the way things were [in Nairobi]... but at least I could help the few kids that I grew to love and care about." (282). This self-assurance and realistic assessment of her non-profit's potential provides a layer of identity previously unseen within the narrative, but it is not expanded upon. It does, however, create a tension that muddles the image of Ms. Mara: is she the reluctant starlet who suffers panic attacks? Is she the privileged debutante from Westchester? Is she the worldly philanthropist? Likely, she is all three, but the latter two are by far subordinate to the reluctant antihero image Mr. Bowles details.

Images

To analyze the images published of Ms. Mara, I adapted the categories developed by Goffman (1979) and Kang (1997). Goffman's original categories were developed for advertising analysis, but they can be applied appropriately to magazine feature images because, ultimately, the magazine

is selling the image that it constructs of the interviewee. The images must therefore support the interview data as well as be interpretable within cultural parameters of the readers.

Goffman's original categories were *relative size*, which refers to the size of women in relation to men; *feminine touch*, which refers to the ways in which women are depicted touching themselves; *function ranking*, which refers occupations of women in advertisements; *ritualization of subordination*, which refers to positioning the infers submissiveness; and *licensed withdrawal*, which refers to the ways in which women are not completely part of the scene (1979). Kang added two more categories to reflect updated advertising: *body display*, which refers to how much of the model's body is either overtly or subtly on display compared to what is necessary for the advertisement, and *independence/self-assertiveness*, which refers to the broader message being conveyed in the ad (1997).

For this analysis, *size order* and *function ranking* were not applicable because those categories require more than one model within the image and all the images contained only Ms. Mara's. I therefore analyzed for *ritualization of subordination*, which refers to the postures used that indicate submissiveness; *licensed withdrawal*, which refers to lack of direct gaze; *body display*, which is the degree of nudity or exposure; and *independence/self-assertiveness*, which is indication of self-assurance. I also looked at color scheme with the images and considered how the selected colors supported the identity constructed by *Vogue*.

Since there were only two photos in the feature spread, it was essential to focus on them in detail. The first photo was a full-page close up of Ms. Mara's face:



The caption in the top left reads “BEYOND THE PALE” and includes a quote from Ms. Mara about hopping from one role to the next as well as fashion details, both of which are fairly standard for such articles. Here, Ms. Mara’s body language is an example of Goffman’s ritualization of subordination. Her shoulders are hunched forward, a position typical of insecurity or lack of confidence. Although her gaze is focused on the camera, her body is positioned away, which could be considered an example of licensed withdrawal.

However, what is most intriguing about this photo is the styling. The steely grey backdrop is not particularly unusual in fashion, but the starkness of props and adornment to Ms. Mara is. Her make-up appears bare, her hair dark, her skin pale. Even her dress is white, which only emphasizes the severity of the image. Oddly, her hair is disheveled, something unusual when one considers the team of stylists on-set for a photo shoot.

The second image is another full-pager and appears on page 245.

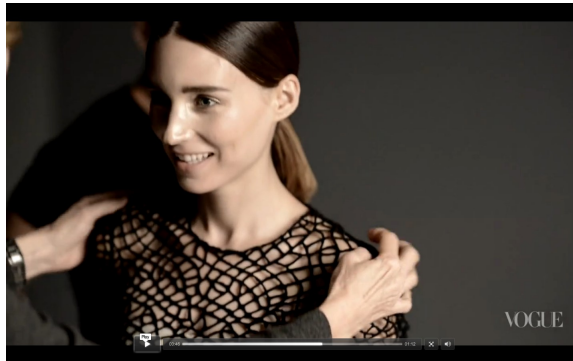


The caption in the top left corner reads “OUT OF THE SHADOWS” and includes the requisite fashion information and a quote about her beauty from director Steven Soderbergh. Both the words and image align her with the “weird, dark kid” persona described in the narrative: while she stands facing the camera, which could be an example of Goffman’s assertiveness/self-assurance, her hands are behind her back which provides a contradiction of the self-assurance. Her gaze is expressionless. Again, the styling is the most intriguing aspect because it remains stark. Her hair, naturally medium brown, appears darker in contrast to her very pale skin, and is severely parted at the crown of her head. Her dress is black and white and appears to consist of spidery webbing, again supporting the “weird, dark kid” persona.

Neither of the two images provides any evidence of the bucolic Westchester childhood or the capable philanthropist identities that Ms. Mara clearly discussed with Mr. Bowles. It’s also worth noting that the images were immediately before or after the paragraphs describing her “schizophrenic” nature and anxiety. No images appeared near the narrative that included her capabilities and philanthropy, thereby supporting the previous aspect of identity much more than the latter. I will return to this point in the Discussion section by contextualizing this feature article within the stage of Ms. Mara’s career and *Vogue*’s readership.

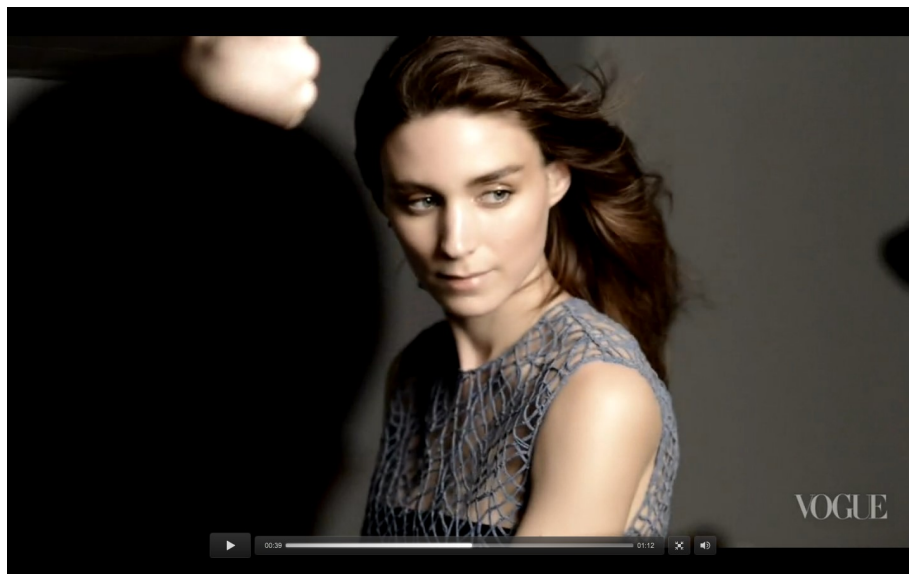
Video

Seeking more information about the feature, I searched Vogue's homepage on the internet because there will often be snippets or extras of the monthly features. The video was strikingly different from both the narrative and the images in the magazine. There is no audio other than music, and the music is up-tempo, surfer-style pop, which is not a likely connection to the identities constructed in the magazine. Further, Ms. Mara is smiling and laughing at several points.



The video does not show a reluctant starlet who is uncomfortable before the camera at all; in fact, Ms. Mara appears happy and completely at ease through the photo session. It is significant that none of these smiling images appear on the magazine pages and it seems that the editors specifically chose the most severe images instead.

Another significant point is the contradiction presented with this image:



Note that Ms. Mara is wearing a dress that, although made of the same webbing as the black and white dress, is a much softer periwinkle blue. Her hair is softer and lighter than the images that appear in the magazine. Despite having possible stills from this version of the photo shoot, the editors chose the starker image that included the black webbed dress and severely parted hairstyle. The smiles, the ease, and the confidence portrayed in the video directly contradict the identity built within the narrative and supported by the images, both of which were filtered by the editors.

In the following section, I will explore possible messages conveyed through the multiple identities constructed here, and contextualize them within the theoretical framework previously explained.

Discussion

Perhaps the most important point to be made is that although Ms. Mara provided material for author Bowles, she was not the source of identity construction for this piece. Mr. Bowles extracted snippets of the interview and embedded them with his own narrative. He therefore provides a clear example of the partialness principle because he utilizes some indexes provided by Ms. Mara and reworks them to create an image based on the partial view he wants readers to understand. Similarly, *Vogue* editors carefully selected images from a huge range to support that identity, which becomes obvious after viewing the photo session video. Although these points may seem simple, they would be useful if *Vogue* (and other fashion magazines) readers understood the implications: what we see and read has been heavily manipulated to support *Vogue*'s idealized version of women, a version that is limited at best because it excludes other aspects of identity constructed by the interviewees themselves.

However, what role do we have in maintaining this? Here I argue that we, the readers, are active participants because we are part of the ecological system. We buy the magazines, we support Ms. Mara's film career, we adopt similar styles to those presented by the media. Simply put, we hold the capital power to change what appears but we do not use it. Our active engagement determines the choices made by editors, and as we see with Ms. Mara's interview, those choices can take surprising directions.

To start, why is Ms. Mara depicted as the reluctant starlet when the video provides ample evidence to the contrary? The primary reason is, of course, where Ms. Mara is in her career: she is most famously known as Lisbeth Salander in "The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo," a very dark and disturbed character. Ms. Mara also appears in "Side Effects" as a young woman whose world unravels due to prescription drugs. Therefore, it is perhaps predictable that *Vogue* capitalizes on the roles for which she is

known and constructs an identity for her, the real person, that supports the identities of her characters. In other words, *Vogue* is simply giving the people what they want. As I began analyzing the feature for this paper, I searched the internet for more images of Ms. Mara, and several pages contained features about her style evolution. Allure magazine's online platform featured Ms. Mara's "evolving style," and there are photos taken just two years ago that show a young woman in pastels and smiling, a much softer presence than that which currently appears (Allure.com). Again, we can understand this as support for her current media identity.

There is, however, something deeper to the identity constructed by *Vogue*, and I believe it is due to the readership. According to the Condé Nast website, *Vogue*'s readership demographics are as follows:

Table 2

Average Age	40
Average House Hold Income (HHI)	\$73,373
Gender – Female/ Male	76%/24%
Education – Any College	85%
Employment – Full time or Part time	69%

Understanding that readership is part of the system of consumer ecology and that *Vogue* therefore creates appealing features accordingly, we can assume that most readers buy *Vogue* to experience the idealized version of female perfection, as is prevalent in the features of Michelle Obama, Gwen Stefani, and Anne Hathaway that Dr. Ahn and I reviewed. However, the demographics indicate a much broader readership. Significantly, almost a full quarter identifies as male, and only 69% reports any sort of employment. A median household income of \$73,373 is certainly nothing to shrug away, but "median" is the key word because it means that half are

firmly below. There is therefore a very broad range of possible identities for *Vogue* to construct to appeal to the readership.

Similarly, the demographics indicate the average age of a *Vogue* reader is 40. If we consider the aforementioned study by Bakir et al, some girls reject traditional gender role stereotypes as they age. It is reasonable to believe that the editors at *Vogue* understand this and build an identity outside of the expected gender role boundaries. While Rooney Mara's feature does not outright reject traditional gender stereotypes of superstars, it certainly depicts her as an "other than." She's not comfortable with the fame, she hates the red carpet, she's "schizophrenic." This identity could be much more appealing to girls and women like those reported by Bakir et al.

I propose that Ms. Mara's feature was constructed for that very reason: to connect with readers who don't identify with the übersuccessful women typically constructed. Ms. Mara's feature presents an alternative of gendered performance to draw in those readers who may be otherwise disconnected. Her body language in particular – the hunched shoulders, the appearance of discomfort – connect with the embodied emotion of insecurity, withdrawal, or shyness, all of which may resonate with readership more deeply than images of overt confidence. Bucholtz (1999) and Cotter (1999) both explored the link between purchasing power and identity within the media, and this is precisely what *Vogue* understands. Capitalizing upon Ms. Mara's quirky characters and aspects of reluctance is an intelligent marketing strategy to capture a portion of the readership it may otherwise lose.

Of course, it's necessary to ask if the identity constructed can even be considered negative. After all, isn't everyone quirky in his or her own way? Shouldn't *Vogue* then be applauded for presenting that side of someone who is so successful? I certainly don't make claims that this feature can be considered a negative gendered stereotype, but it's curious that such features do not provide multiplicities. In other words, features such as are one-dimensionally constructed and neglect to explore the multiple aspects of the

subjects' identities. The brief mentioning of Ms. Mara's philanthropic efforts and her tightknit group of high school friends are evidence of the one-dimensionality because fully developing those aspects within the narrative would alter the identity being sold. The danger lies in the lack of multiple facets and presents very one-dimensional women to the readership: she's successful and has it all, or she does not. Full stop.

Conclusions

Even though this was one article in one magazine, we can ask what overall effect can such features have on the readership. The previously mentioned studies by Urberg, Pike and Jennings, and more indicate that they can be more profound than we realize. The aforementioned studies were performed with advertisements, which are overtly selling something. We realize magazines are as well, but the sales pitch is much more subtle. Surely editors don't expect readers to rush out to pre-order featured Chanel. Even with the negative case of Rooney Mara – or rather, especially with Rooney Mara's feature – *Vogue* is selling the fantasy of unachievable success. Most features depict the woman who has it all – fame, beauty, professional and personal success. Rooney Mara presents a different aspect of the same because she's famous *despite* the identity depicted.

For now, it's important to acknowledge that this study is very limited because it focuses on one feature article only, but I believe that the multimodal approach to analysis can help yield more insight to marketing techniques developed by the media. Considering the backlash against media images, multimodal analysis helps readers understand that pictures are not the only modes conveying messages. Indeed, the combination of narrative, video, and images can be used to build such paradoxically strong and subtle messages that capitalize on consumer insecurities. And, more important,

there is the potential to help readers better analyze what they are reading and viewing and the messages being conveyed.

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Negotiating contested identities in *Carmen Miranda's* biographical film

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Abstract

This article examines how speakers negotiate contested identities in mediated interviews for biographical documentary films. In order to understand the complex integration of participants' speaking abilities (i.e. competence-in-performance) and cinematic technology (i.e. sound, image, movement) to construct cultural identity of the 'Other' on the screen, this study draws on theories of dialogism such as "mixed game model" (Weigand, 2010), of performance (Bauman 1992) and of contextualization (Gumperz, 1982; 1992). The corpus is from a bio-documentary film about Carmen Miranda, a Hollywood Star during the Second World War, who has been an example of transnational memory and cultural appropriation in Portugal and Brazil.

Key-words: dialogic action or mixed game model; performance; contextualization cues; cultural identity; memory; auto/biographical film.

Holistic View of Language

Émile Benveniste's article "Subjectivity in Language" is well-known among post-structuralists, inspiring many to examine questions of identity in language. Despite the fact that his writing holds a philosophical value that contributes to post-Saussurean studies, Benveniste's ideas are still entangled in the dichotomy of *langue* and *parole*. He calls "language" and "speech" respectively, and he privileges the former over the latter, as he remarks, "in order for speech to be the vehicle of communication, it must be so enabled by language" (1971, 224). Moreover, it is within language capabilities that

one's identity can be conveyed, as he continues, "it is in and through language that man constitutes himself as a subject, because language alone establishes the concept of ego in reality" (1971, 224). The sovereignty of language as a sign to establish the Self may rule out possibilities of identity construction through dialogic relations that would involve real speakers. In this sense, Benveniste's work does not focus on concepts of speech, performance and context, and therefore cannot cater for the needs of language in use when in dialogic relations.

Hence, contrary to a post-structuralist view, this article approaches language within a humanized perspective that understands language not as a sign, but as one of human beings' socio-cognitive abilities, in which linguistic competence is embedded in the act of language performance that is framed in contextualization. Hence, this article attempts to explore a holistic view of language situated in the realms of dialogic relations involving real speakers in mediatised contexts such as documentary films in order to examine how cultural identity can be negotiated and performed.

Therefore, the theoretical support that guides this study is based on theories of language as dialogue, for instance, the "Mixed Game Model" developed by the linguist Edda Weigand (2010) that takes a holistic approach. Moreover, this article is also inspired by an anthropological view of performance understood as communication (cf. Bauman & Briggs, 1990), and by social interactional studies on contextualization (Gumperz, 1982; 1992) in order to examine mediatised human relations in recorded interviews used in bio-documentary films. Yet, questions of ethnic identity and belonging are discussed under Brubaker and Cooper's article "Beyond Identity" (2000). The corpus for analysis consists of a bio-documentary film about a performer, Carmen Miranda, who became a Hollywood star during the Second World War. She was famous for wearing a stylized African-

Brazilian dress (i.e. a costume of the *baianas*¹) and an extravagant tutti-frutti hat while performing with her accented English in American films.

Dialogic Relations

Carmen Miranda: Banana is my business is the title for the biographical film on Carmen Miranda released in 1995 under the direction of a filmmaker Helena Solberg. Carmen Miranda started her career as a singer of Brazilian popular music in the city of Rio de Janeiro, and later gained international projection when invited to perform in the ‘1939 World’s Fair’ in New York. Her subsequent participation in Hollywood musicals in roles of stereotyped *Latina* made her the highest paid artist of the time. Helena Solberg, a Brazilian filmmaker, who directed the documentary together with her husband David Meyer, was herself Carmen Miranda’s fan during her childhood years in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Therefore, her documentary style is a combination of personal reveries, in which she combines childhood dreams to encounter with the Hollywood star, archival documents and footage (i.e. photographs and original films) and interviews with Carmen Miranda’s family members and artists.

A recent review of the documentary film written by a Latin American scholar, David W. Foster (2014), focuses on Carmen Miranda’s cultural identity as *Baiana* and *The Lady in the Tutti Frutti Hat*. Nevertheless, these two Miranda’s representations of *Latina* have already been discussed in biographies and scholarly work such as Gil-Montero’s life-writing about

¹ The ‘*baiana*’ refers to “female figures dressed in white who sell ritual African foods [...] in the streets of Salvador” (Stam 1997, 85), the capital city of Bahia State.

Carmen Miranda (*Brazilian Bombshell*, 1989) and Cynthia Enloe's feminist critique on the instrumentalisation of *Latina* in international politics².

David W. Foster's main disagreement in Solberg's documentary is in relation to a long segment at the beginning of the film that debates Carmen Miranda's national and ethnic identities. He comments that the documentary "devote[s] a disproportionate (and dangerously dull) long opening segment [...] to showing how Miranda was not really or not completely Brazilian" (2014, 118). Instead, Foster points out that Carmen Miranda's gender identity as a "camp figure" is completely underrepresented in the documentary film. However, he is not the only scholar to bring up questions of queer identity into discussion in Carmen Miranda's life writing. Similarly, Lisa Shaw, a British film scholar, also explores gender identity in her book (*Carmen Miranda*, 2013) by discussing how Miranda's exotic image impacts her homosexual audience and fans.

Despite queer identity being a current theme in cultural studies, the topic is neither approached in the documentary film, nor referred as a potential subject to be explored in Carmen Miranda's life story. Moreover, none of the aforementioned work has contributed so far with a film analysis that deals with Carmen Miranda's national or ethnic identity, and neither has examined a religious subtext that draws upon intertextual signs and intercultural communication (Lüsebrink, 2012) at the opening segment. A close examination of the opening fragment shows that the scenes may foreshadow Carmen Miranda's cultural identity as a 'secular saint' through elements of religious syncretism familiar to a Brazilian audience; however, it can be subtle and easily invisible if one is not acquainted with such cultural specificities and regionalism. For this reason and contrary to Foster, this article considers the "dangerous dull" segment worth examining in order to understand how Carmen Miranda's cultural identities (i.e. national,

² See Enloe's books, *Banana, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (2000) and *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives* (2000).

ethnic, and religious) are negotiated through the integration of language use and cinematic technology that combines image, sound and movement. Thus, I argue that a ‘dialogic relation’ between speakers (i.e. participants) during recorded interviews in association with cinematic technology should be recognized as part of an interactional pattern specific to film montage (cf. Vertov, 1984), which becomes paramount in the construction of characters’ cultural identity on the screen.

Negotiating Identity: Dialogue, Performance and Context

Studies within the field of Discourse Analyses that deal with real speakers interacting in social contexts tend to take Bakhtin’s concept of dialogism as a starting point to examine identity construction in conversational patterns between participants. In other words, the construction of subjectivity happens during an interaction with the other; that is, the ‘I’ reveals itself against the ‘You’ during a dialogic relation, marking a speaker’s identity. In this view, human interactions create possibilities for having the ‘I’ as a complex and diverse entity with multifaceted meanings. For this reason, dialogue is understood as a dynamic game, in which the ‘I’ is in constant activity with the ‘You’ allowing it to redefine itself as an event (Holquist 2002, 25) within a time and spatial frame. Based on Bakhtin’s work, Holquist remarks that, “existence is not only an event, it is an utterance. The event of existence has the nature of dialogue in this sense” (2002, 26); in this view utterance becomes dependable on speakers’ existence. The matter with Holquist’s proposition and Bakhtin’s language theory is that both authors consider “utterance” the main unit in dialogism, and consequently, they ignore human beings as ‘real’ actors capable of emitting utterances (i.e. speech) as part of one’s cultural-biological abilities necessary to sustain social interactions.

Following this train of thought, this article turns to Weigand's theory of competence-in-performance that recognizes "dialogic action game" or "mixed game" as a minimal autonomous unit, which can be further argued in this article that such unit is influenced by culture. According to Weigand, the theory of competence-in-performance "is based on the integration and interaction of human abilities" (2010, 4), in which speaking is not seen as an independent activity, but it "is integrated with thinking and perceiving" abilities (2010, 2). The focus on dialogue as a minimal unit instead of signs or utterances can create conditions to tie culture closely to language, since human beings take the role of actors during a dialogic action game according to socio-cultural norms. Thus, similar to memory, which underwrites a humanistic approach (cf. Assmann & Czaplicka, 1995; Assmann, 2011), identity can also be understood as pertaining to individual, social, collective and cultural realms. In this sense the minimal unit (i.e. the dialogic unit) is culturally oriented, which creates conditions to bind identity to language in use.

Furthermore, the mixed game model can serve as a methodological tool for analyzing the interviews in this study, since interviews are one of the most common examples of dialogue. Weigand defines dialogue as an act of "negotiating different positions and [it] aims at coming to an understanding or agreement about these positions, be it in dialogue sequences of speech acts or in our minds" (2010, 59). Her definition mostly accounts for face-to-face interactions, in which participants share the context of the event (i.e. time and space). However, dialogue cannot be understood as being just a series of turn-taking game with speakers eager to take the floor. For this reason, Weigand remarks that the "dialogic principle provides a definition of dialogue as a sequence of action and reaction" (2010, 80), in which a speaker takes a position (i.e. action) in the expectation of an interlocutor to react. This dialogic action game is actualized by taking the other's turn through a speech act sequence (i.e.

practical action) or by having a mental response as in a reflexive mode (Weigand 2010, 59).

Nevertheless, the interviews analyzed in this study are mediated. Interaction between interviewer and interviewee in a staged context such as a documentary film involves a complex relation due to the presence of technology (e.g. camera) mediating human beings' interactions. The interviews recorded in Carmen Miranda's film are edited, which means that the scenes shown on the screen are the ones with only the interviewees speaking. In this case, interviewer's questions (i.e. by the director Helena Solberg) are not available on the screen for the audience; however, the viewer can infer them according to interviewees' given responses. In this case, it means that the actualization of the interaction pattern 'interviewer-interviewee' (e.g. adjacency pair) has been cut during the film editing in favour of a 'monologue', in which only the interviewee is seen on the screen.

Mediated interviews are not a new mode of interaction. More than ever, human beings are interacting with each other through media and computer in order to take part in a variety of social events such as online conference, e-mail interviews, and internet dating. In this sense, technology challenges traditional socio-interactional theories whose focus lies only on face to face relations and overlooks interface, simulation or virtual interactions (cf. Turkle 1995). In other words, mediated human interaction requests a rethink of dialogic theories due to the degree of complexities it imposes simultaneously between participants and technology. In this instance, negotiations to construct a character's identity are not only based on speakers' abilities (i.e. thinking, perceiving and feeling), but also on technology integration of image, sound and movement – an important combination to understand the field of mediatised performance. Instead of seeing human beings and technology as opponents to each other, this article attempts to unite both through a dialogic approach.

To better understand mediated interactional patterns in human communication, language studies should take advantage of interdisciplinary perspectives in order to articulate with other fields such as anthropology, media and cultural studies. For example, anthropological research has greatly contributed to language and communication studies. The American scholar Richard Bauman, known for his work on folklore, argues that artistic performance and human communication share similarities since “all performance, like all communication, is situated, enacted, and rendered meaningful within socially defined situational contexts” (1992, 46). By the same token, we claim that mediated communication is also situated, enacted and bound to contextualization due to actors’ abilities (i.e. speaking, thinking and perceiving) that are part of their competence-in-performance. In both Weigand’s and Bauman’s studies, the notion of performance is highlighted in human communication; the former sees performance in and through speaker’s verbal actions, whereas the latter understands it through contextualization (Bauman and Briggs, 1990).

For Bauman and Briggs, performance is a contextualized action (equivalent to Gumperz’s contextualization cues) that transcends artistic manifestations while it “emerges in negotiations between participants in social interactions” (1990, 68). Similarly, Gumperz uses the term ‘contextualization’ to “refer to speaker’s and listener’s uses of verbal and nonverbal signs to relate what is said at any one time and in any one place” (1992, 230). In this sense, performance is tied to speakers’ (i.e. actors) negotiations in social interactions. Moreover, Bauman (1992) associates performance to one’s sense of being, or better, to one’s existence; hence, identity is constructed when doing something in a social context. He metaphorically describes “communicative performance” as if one were “doing something for the camera in the course of the ongoing social actions” (1992:48). His statement might remotely echo Austin’s pragmatic views (i.e. performative utterance), in which to “say something is to do

something” (1962, 12). In other words, ‘the doing’ is understood as performance; therefore, to say something is to perform (i.e. illocutionary act/force). The problem observed in Austin’s work and to some extension to Searle’s *Speech Acts Theory* is that the focus lies on utterance level, and it does not take into account performative features (i.e. contextualization cues) that accompany a speaker’s talk. Moreover, their examples are purely illustrative of linguistic rules that exclude real speakers during a certain event. Last but not least, their examples also exclude paralinguistic features or contextualization cues such as speaker’s intonation, accent and gestures which are key elements to accompany the act of performance in socio-cultural events (Bauman & Briggs, 1990; Gumperz 1982).

In mediatised interviews, in which speech is scripted, framed and susceptible to montage techniques, speakers interact not only among themselves, but also with the camera and director. When recorded interviews are on the screen to an audience, the interactional pattern switches from the interviewee-interviewer/camera to the viewer who establishes a mental dialogue with the interviewee. Although mediatised, interviewees may be aware of the impact that their performances might have on the viewer. Hence, interviewees have to rely on their competence-in-performance such as perlocutionary acts to sustain a mediatised relation with the virtual viewer. One of the most common perlocutionary acts observed in media context to address viewers is *persuasion*. According to Weigand, persuasion is understood as a perlocutionary act that belongs to the sphere of rhetoric (2010, 63) and represents an integrated part of competence-in-performance (2010, 54). In this sense, the analysis of the interview segments in Solberg’s documentary aims to describe how speakers (i.e. narrator and interviewee) attempt to persuade viewers to reconsider Carmen Miranda’s national and ethnic identity as either Portuguese or Brazilian. In other words, what arguments and

performative/contextualized cues speakers can make use of in order to convince viewer of her social belonging and cultural identity.

The concept of identity has attracted scholars in humanities and social sciences for past decades. Most recently, post-modernist views have described identity as being fragmented, fluid, fluctuated, unstable, multiple and contested, among others, as a result of the “evanescent product of multiple and competing discourses”, as Brubaker and Cooper observe (2000, 8). However, the multifaceted understanding of identity is also found in “contextualist or situationalist” studies as seen in Richard Werbner’s work on ethnicity (as described in Brubaker and Cooper 2000). Hence, this article situates identity within a contextualization approach as developed in Gumperz’s and Bauman’s works since both understand contextualization as a process in which language and performance can be negotiated. Moreover, due to the biographical nature of the documentary film, this article uses the term ‘cultural identity’ to designate how family members and filmmaker construct Carmen Miranda’s image on the screen. According to Brubaker and Cooper, identity “may vary greatly from context to context; [since] self- and other- identifications are fundamentally situational or contextual” (10). As part of contextualization, one’s cultural identity is socially remembered and negotiated according to how participants relate themselves with the one they identify. Brubaker and Cooper remark that

one may identify oneself (or another person) by position in a relational web (a web of kinship, for example, or of friendship, patron-client ties), [or] one may identify oneself (or another person) by membership in a class of persons sharing some categorical attribute such as race, ethnicity, language, nationality, citizenship, gender sexual orientation (2000, 15).

Hence, relational and membership are important categories to be recognized in cultural identity. In this view, identity is linked to collective and is dependent on a group’s acceptance level of the sameness, which can include

or exclude oneself through the feeling of belonging together, as in Max Weber's term, *Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl* (2002: 528).

Carmen Miranda: A Film Analysis

The biographical documentary film *Carmen Miranda: Banana is my Business* directed by Helena Solberg has been recently rediscovered in Latin American studies. It was released in 1995 to pay tribute to Carmen Miranda's 50th death anniversary. Although the director's mother tongue is Brazilian Portuguese, the language chosen to narrate Carmen Miranda's life story is English. Yet, the scenes with Carmen Miranda's family members giving interviews are in Continental and Brazilian Portuguese with the accompaniment of subtitles in English on the screen. In some cases, the translations into English are simplified with sentence omissions differing from the original which limit viewer's access to some details and information.

Because Solberg chooses English to be the language for the voice over *Carmen Miranda* documentary can be classified as a foreign film for the general Brazilian audience that is basically monolingual. In this case, the film might appeal to a wider audience that goes beyond the borders of the Portuguese language. Perhaps the language choice is a result of historical changes that marked the 1990s such as the globalization phenomenon with its emergence of the Internet into the public domain in western countries. Since then, English has been used as a *lingua franca* in order to facilitate global communication, despite of its political and cultural implications upon non-English speaking societies (Pennycook, 1994). Following an internationalization trend, Solberg's documentary film in English can travel easily by crossing borders without a need of a visa, that is, with no need of subtitles for the voice over.

The biographical features in the documentary film follow genre conventions specific to auto/biographical writings. In other words, it draws upon documentary sources such as photographs, archival footage and interviews, which hold intertextual elements (cf. Feigel and Saunders, 2012) from other verbal and non-verbal texts that are put into dialogue in the biographical film. The body segment of the documentary film takes a 3rd person narrative with a voice over from the director who accounts for Carmen Miranda's life story in a chronological sequence; in other words, from her family immigration to Brazil as an infant until her career in Hollywood as a bombshell.

Opening Sequence: Death and Resurrection

The opening sequence is far from a *carnavalesque* scene one would expect when hearing the name 'Carmen Miranda'. The camera eye focuses on platform shoes as Carmen enters a dimmed bedroom, where her silhouette can be tracked. Suddenly a mirror cracks against the floor as Carmen's body falls down as a result of a fatal heart attack. Then, the view can hear an ominous song with its lyrics to honour the Hollywood star while the camera slowly scrolls horizontally a newspaper headline with a close up at the words "Star dies heart attack, Carmen Miranda". Next, Solberg (i.e. the narrator with its voice over) takes the floor by telling the viewer about her own childhood memories of Carmen's funeral in Rio de Janeiro in 1955, while scenes of crowded fans hysterically paying their last tribute to the star unfold on the screen. As Solberg mixes it with personal narratives of her childhood recurrent dreams about Carmen, the camera travels inside *Carmen Miranda Museum* in Rio de Janeiro city. Surrealistically, a dummy wearing Carmen's *Baiana* and a *Tutti Frutti Hat* suddenly gains life (i.e. resurrects) and gets out of the museum furtively. A background music

accompanies the dreamlike images as Solberg prepares the audience for the following scenes set in Portugal by telling the viewer that Carmen “escapes from the museum that made her prisoner and goes back to the hills of Aliviada in Portugal, where she was born”.

Going Back to Aliviada

The camera zooming in Carmen’s platform shoe and some bananas are seen as metonym for *Brasilianness*, which can identify the ‘Hollywood Bombshell’ as a South American figure, who ironically rides on a donkey going uphill towards her hometown. The camera zooms out and gives the viewer a wider picture of the outdoor region with the woman on a donkey. The paradox observed in this scene, in which an urban glamorous figure contrasts against a pastoral landscape, is dependent on film composition aesthetics. The scene is further enhanced with a folkloric Portuguese tune led by a female singer that reminds the viewer that “we will never forget she was born in Canaveses”, as per subtitle.

Hence, this article claims that the composition of this scene (i.e. an integration of Portuguese song and image) can be interpreted as a first attempt to persuade the viewer of Carmen’s cultural identity and ethnic belonging. The persuasion is highlighted in the song lyrics that carries the name of her hometown (*Canaveses*) and her ethnic group (Portuguese). However the translation subtitle plays a trick on the viewer. It does not offer a literal translation for the lyrics [*“e foi a voz dos Portugueses”*], as for example, “she was a voice of the Portuguese” that could reinforce Carmen’s ethnic belonging. Instead a subtitle with the English translation “sprouting from out mountains, she was our voice in the world” is shown on the screen. The English translation tends to globalize Carmen’s presence in the public domain as the word ‘Portuguese’ is omitted and replaced by “in the world”; in other words, a local (i.e. regional) belonging yields to a global one. In this

sense, a dialogic action game through image, sound and text (i.e. pastoral scene, singer's voice, and subtitles) is marked by a conflict of ideologies on the screen.

Religious Identity

Arriving at her village, Carmen comes across a Catholic procession in which a statue of *Our Lady of Fatima* is carried by devotees. The scene signals Carmen's religious affiliation, and it is accompanied by a voice of a female singer who leads a hymn, with its translation on the screen as, "To the Kingdom of God we beg with love, that our Carmen Miranda will have the blessing of the Lord". The scenes represent a typical religious event conducted in rural communities which makes the allusion that Carmen Miranda was brought up as an observant Catholic in a small Portuguese village. The emphasis on the picture of a village (i.e. villages are usually translated as *aldeias* in Portuguese and hold negative connotation among Brazilian speakers) signalizes the hardships of life that have driven its inhabitants to emigrate.

In contrast to previous scenes, the following shots are taken at night. An image of a local chapel becomes the spotlight stage where Carmen's ghost shadow (in a *Baiana* dress and *Tutti Frutti Hat*) is to appear. Meanwhile the narrator comments to the viewer, "A shadow was seen on a little church where she had been given her name". The phantasmagorical scene is accompanied by a background chant as the camera moves around the faces of a group of children sitting in contemplation of the apparition, as the narrator resumes, "that night a light was seen on the top of the hill and she appeared, almost like the Virgin of Fatima". The camera focuses on Carmen's stylized silhouette with her arms in an arabesque pose and her body surrounded by misty. The scene might be seen as an attempt to canonize Carmen not only in front of her community, but also in front of the

viewer or fan audience. The identity construction of a secular saint might not be very compelling to her fans; however, the montage techniques become quite convincing.

The following scenes are shot inside the local chapel. They deal with a fictionalization of Carmen's baptism which is narrativised rather than performed. As the camera travels around the interior of the church with close ups of statues and relics, a voice from a supposed priest is heard as if he were simulating a baptism. The scene does not offer the viewer the access to the credential of the religious authority (i.e. usually led by a priest), as he does not appear on the screen. The scene of the baptism becomes less convincing as the religious authority breaks the "frame" (Goffman 1974) of the event to narrativise it as opposed to act it out.

As baptism practice consists of performative acts (i.e. illocutionary acts) that employ contextualized language with verbal formulae conducted by a religious authority, the one in Solberg's documentary subverts the performative activity due to its narrative format. The narrativised baptism changes the usual language formulae by switching verb tenses such as the use of simple past instead of simple present, and by annihilating religious words from the baptism ritual. Therefore, what the viewer hears is:

On the 14th day of February of the year of 1909 in the *Paroquia* Church of São Martinho da Aliviada, Municipality of Marco Canaveses, in the diocese of Porto, I solemnly baptised an individual of the feminine sex whom I gave the name of Maria do Carmo who was born at 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon on the 9th day of February, the legitimate daughter of Jose Maria Pinto da Cunha, barber, and Maria Emilia de Miranda, seamstress.

The priest's narrative of Carmen's baptism not only tries to convince the viewer that she was born in an observant catholic family, but also confirms factual information about her biography such as details of time, date and local where she was born along with her parents' names and professions.

Moreover it officialises publically her sexual identity as female. Hence, the narrativised version breaks the formulaic frame by adding and omitting words that do not belong to the contextualization of a real baptism.

Interview with Carmen's Cousin

The following scenes are shot inside Carmen's cousin's house, which is assumed to be located somewhere around the village. The interviewee, an elder lady named Maria José Queiroz Miranda, holds an old family photograph and explains to the inter/viewer how she is blood-related to the Hollywood star. The elder lady's speech emphasizes Carmen's Portuguese identity through genealogical roots as she shows to the camera Carmen's grandparents' photograph. She introduces her family to the inter/viewer by saying, "*Este era José de Barros, e da minha mãe, a minha avozinha, Maria da Conceição Miranda*", and as seen in the subtitle [These are our grandparents, José de Barros and Maria da Conceição Miranda]. The integration of her speech and use of *realia* (i.e. picture) is to convince the inter/viewer of Carmen's ethnic identity through a sharing of common genealogy and blood relation in order to legitimise the family narrative. Carmen's ethnic identity construction is not only part of a negotiation in language (i.e. cousin's speech) and cinematic technology, but also of a social class belonging, which is explored in the following scenes. The camera leaves the indoor; scenes of female peasants working on a field unfold on the screen while the elder lady's voice reminds the viewer about Carmen's mother's hardships as a poor peasant in the village:

Era ela prima direta, porque a minha mãe era irmã dela. A coitadinha, ah, o povo ali, e minha avó, vivia com muita dificuldade, muita dificuldade, foi por isso que ela imigrou. [Carmen was my first cousin. My mother and her mother were sisters. Poor thing, her family was very poor. That's why they emigrated].

By mentioning her mother's peasantry background one can correlate it with the concept of the German word *Volk* as developed by the 18th century philosopher Johan G. von Herder (1744-1803). Bauman and Briggs review the term *Volk* in their work *Voices of Modernity* (2003) and observe that

In its most general sense, Volk designates a nation, a people, but it may also designate that portion of a more complex, stratified society that remains mostly firmly grounded in its inherited language and traditions and still open to feelings, as distinct from those who have been distanced from their roots and feelings by over rational refinement or the cosmopolitan adoption of foreign languages and alien ways (2003,183).

The term *Volk* can be translated into Portuguese as *cria da terra*, an idiomatic expression that usually refers to ideas of root, authenticity and heritage. In this sense, being a peasant means to belong to the most genuine section of a people and a nation; as observed so far, the notion of *Volk* is reinforced in the film through the integration of language and cinematic montage. As the elder lady resumes her speech, she highlights that Carmen cannot be identified as Brazilian:

E depois é que disseram que ela era brasileira, mas não é. Mas eles afirmavam muito. E uma vez veio aqui uns que [fartavam] a teimar comigo: “Não os Srs. não tem nada de teimar comigo, porque eu é que sou da família dela” . A Carmem é Portuguesa de gema e filha de gente portuguesa. Por todos os portais, filha de gente portuguesa, filha dos avós portugueses e tem os portugueses, toda a família aqui é portuguesa. Não tem nenhum brasileiro. [They said she was Brazilian, but she wasn't. I told a reporter once: “I know, I'm part of the family”. Carmen was Portuguese through and through. Her parents were Portuguese, her grandparents were Portuguese. All her family is Portuguese. There's not one Brazilian].

This is a very straightforward speech sequence that the interviewee clearly states that Carmen is Portuguese and there is no counter-argument to what she says. Her performance is marked by hand gestures and voice intonation

that increases the pace as a result of emotional responses to the theme. Moreover, she acts out an embedded dialogue she had once with a reporter, which takes the form of a direct speech, as seen: “I told a reporter once: ‘I know, I’m part of the family’”. She takes the issue very seriously and sees herself in the role of defending Carmen’s genealogy and Portuguese identity which is being jeopardized by journalists that insist on Carmen’s *Brazilianess*. Thus, from a ‘mixed game model’ perspective, her speech is seen as a reaction to media insistence (i.e. action), and for this reason she uses an assertive intonation and voice tone that leave no room for inter/viewer to question about Carmen’s *Portugueseness*. She persuades inter/viewer to not believe in what media say about Carmen’s Brazilian origins, since she is blood-related to the star, and therefore, she has the authority to legitimize Carmen’s national and ethnic identities more than any institution or any other person.

In sum, she is not willing to negotiate with the interviewer any cultural possibility of a hybrid identity and intercultural memory as seen in her repetitive speech: “her parents were Portuguese, her grandparents were Portuguese. All her family is Portuguese”. Thus, repetition, facial expression, intonation, pace and tone of voice are part of her contextualization cues and competence-in-performance to persuade the audience not to dare question Carmen’s national origin. She emphasises it with the following utterance, “*Não tem nenhum Brasileiro*” [“There is not one Brazilian”], as the conversation ends with the interviewer. She implies that the subject matter is done, and there is no room for further negotiations (at least with her) concerning Carmen’s national belonging and ethnicity.

Without alternative for a counter-argument, the camera is switched to the outdoor, as it moves across a river, and then fixes its focus on three elder women wearing traditional black dress and scarf in front of a church. One of them is singing in a heavy accented regional Portuguese about the sea, as if it were a farewell to Carmen who left for Brazil with her family for good.

African-Brazilian Identity

An aerial shot of Rio de Janeiro Bay takes place on the screen as Solberg resumes Carmen Miranda's life story, as she reports: "A woman carrying fruits in her arms and with a turban on her head was one of the first images of America to spring from the European imagination". Then a close up of a statue of an African-Brazilian female deity from *Candomblé* (i.e. *Orixá*) gets zoomed in on the screen as the narrator tells the viewer that "maybe it was predestine that she would surface again one day in our lives". The use of the personal pronoun 'she' becomes an ambiguous referential point for the viewer who might not be sure if 'she' refers to the deity or to Carmen or even to both. Somehow, Carmen can be understood as an *Orixá* protégé. While the camera focuses on the statue, a voice of a soprano is heard in the background. To associate Carmen Miranda with an image of an African-Brazilian deity can be seen as a persuasive strategy to convince the viewer of Carmen's Brazilian origins, or even better, of Carmen's adoption of African-Brazilian traditions such as her *Baiana* costume and samba music. In the following scenes a clip from an old promotional film about the city of Rio de Janeiro to an American audience is embedded into Solberg's documentary as a mark of intertextual element. Through the narrative, the male reporter reminds the viewer about Brazil's colonial past and subaltern status in relation to Portugal as he uses words such as "Portuguese explorers", "discovered", and "claimed Brazil for the crown of Portugal over 400 years ago". Simultaneously, pictures of the city's touristic attractions such as 'Sugar Loaf' and 'Guanabara Bay' appear on the screen. The intertextual material in Solberg's documentary is a mode of mocking the sovereignty of Portugal over colonial Brazil, which is a common habit among Brazilian speakers. Next, the director's voice takes the floor and replaces the male voice over as Solberg emphasises her belonging to the city

in her own speech: “a splendid city, MY city”. Her highlights on the possessive pronoun ‘my’ marks a shared belonging, that she proudly shares with the Hollywood star, by saying: “and Carmen city, of course”. Her speech attempts to persuade the viewer that Carmen is Brazilian and natural from Rio de Janeiro. The narrator digresses to remind the viewer that the music in the background (i.e. sang by a soprano) does not belong to Brazil’s cultural heritage, as she comments, “Do I have to tell you that the music in the background has nothing to do with us?” Her rhetorical question sharply cuts Brazilian umbilical cord from Mother Europe.

Interview with Carmen’s Sister

The scene that Solberg herself strolls at a beach in Rio de Janeiro can be seen as a visual form of negotiating the director’s own national and ethnic identity with the viewer, that is, being a Brazilian from Rio de Janeiro City. This is a commonality that the director proudly shares with Carmen Miranda. Then Aurora Miranda’s voice (i.e. Carmen’s younger sister) overlaps with the beach scene as she tells the viewer about the family saga as part of an informal interview. Her speech is as follow with the subtitle in brackets:

Papai imigrou pra cá... no final de 1909. No tempo ai em que era uma imigração danada, de portugueses, italianos, e tudo mais. E logo em seguida, mandou buscar mamãe, e veio Carmen. A Carmen era praticamente Brasileira, né? Nasceu lá por acaso.... Podia ter nascido aqui como todos os outros nasceram. [Our father came here in 1909. At that time, many Italians and Portuguese immigrated to Brazil. Soon after, he sent for my mother and Carmen...Carmen was almost Brazilian.]

When she speaks, “Carmen was almost Brazilian” the camera moves to a close up of Aurora Miranda in her house, where she comfortably asserts her

sister's Brazilian identity. In her speech, Portugal is minimized as an insignificant geographical reference that plays no cultural influence upon Carmen's life. However, the translation on the screen cannot convey a persuasive tone that the original language carries with the word "*praticamente*", which is highlighted in the interview. The English word 'almost' loses its perlocutionary force, and to a foreign audience, such persuasive tone is lost in translation as well as the speaker's implication. The speech, "*Podia ter nascido aqui, como todos os outros nasceram*", [She could have been born here, as the others were]³, is not translated in the film, which weakens the interviewee's intentions to persuade a non-Portuguese speaker of Carmen's Brazilian belonging. For the sister, Portugal is merely an accidental landmark in Carmen's birth certificate. Hence, she negotiates Carmen's identity based on cultural values rather than on territory. Last, the close up of a school class photograph with a zooming in a little girl ends the interview as Solberg's voice takes over with the following speech: "A little Brazilian girl she was now". In this context, Carmen's class photograph at a catholic school in Rio de Janeiro metaphorically replaces her Portuguese birth certificate, which becomes a testimony of her becoming 'Brazilian' at an early age outside the family boundaries.

From this scene on, the documentary film takes a chronological sequence to tell the viewer about Carmen Miranda's story within the conventions of an auto/biographical genre.

Final Remarks

Carmen Miranda: Banana is my Business is a bio-documentary film that projects some of the concerns that marked the decade of 1990 such as the emergence of globalization in contrast to local discourses. This is indirectly

³Author's translation.

transferred into the scenes in which Carmen Miranda's national, ethnic and religious identities are centralized and contested in the narrator's and interviewees' speeches with the addition of the cinematic language.

The push and pull forces observed in participants' speeches along with cinematic montage in order to persuade the viewer to either consider Carmen's identities as either European or Latin American, Portuguese or Brazilian, Catholic or African-Brazilian, rural (i.e. from *aldeia* Aliviada) or urban (i.e. from Rio de Janeiro City) can create tensions and leave no room to reach consensus. In this sense, the director frames Carmen's images within fixed labels that do not allow negotiations for intercultural communication and memory that can open up for diversity and border-crossing in the construction of Carmen's identity .

In short, in a time when national identity has been carefully debated in western countries and been frowned upon among some groups, Solberg's opening scenes on claiming Carmen's national and ethnic identities might be seen as misplaced or even retrograde. Despite this fact, this article aimed to focus on such scenes because they offer relevant combination of language in use and cinematic material to be examined under a dialogic approach. Moreover, it aimed to examine how speakers' competence-in-performance can construct Carmen's contested identities within the challenges of mediated contexts. Lastly, since the Hollywood Star is usually remembered in a decontextualized *Baiana* dress and *Tutti Frutti Hat*, this contribution attempted to 'undress' the stereotyped *Latina* outfit and to re-negotiate Carmen Miranda's cultural identity and memory before her fan community.

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