

Focus on events and narratives in language, psychology, social and medical practice

edited by

Janusz Badio



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narratives in language,
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and medical practice**

Łódzkie Studia z Językoznawstwa Angielskiego i Ogólnego
Łódź Studies in English and General Linguistics

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Janusz Badio

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Preface

The present volume contains 11 papers. They all concern events and narratives from a variety of theoretical and practical perspectives. The first paper by Janusz Badio deals with fictional dialogue comparing it to characteristics of real life samples of speech. Though characters interact and one has an illusion of real-life talk, fictional dialogues are also a narrative strategy. By the same author, the second paper presents a study into the use of stereotypical gender roles in the construal of a story following the presentation of a joke. Qualitative and quantitative analyses have been performed to demonstrate the role of cultural schemata and bias in narrative construction. The paper by Tomasz Dobrogoszcz analyses the story by A.S. Byatt's "The Djinn in the Nightingale's Eye" against the concepts of narrative framing, stories within stories, fairy tales and realist fiction. Hans Giessen looks at the first European Games held in Baku in 2015 and how the games were (differently) used by media to discuss the politics and the country of Azerbaijan. This text is followed by Aleksandr N. Kornev and Ingrida Balčiūnienė's psycho-linguistically oriented experimental study into the verbalisations of causal relations within a story. Krzysztof Kosecki expertly discusses the coding of event structure in the language of the deaf and provides many illustrations. The study by James Moir analyses career choice narratives to understand how young people decide on a profession. The conclusion this author reaches is that "the responses are considered as themselves being engineered to address the display of rational agency and deliberation in arriving at a career choice." Bartosz Stopel's interesting article explains the role of Turner's double-scope blending theory for cognition and emotional response to narratives. This paper is followed by an article by Jacek Waliński, who writes on verbs of fictive motion, an important topic within Cognitive Linguistics. Paul Wilson's important contribution focuses on human affectivity in conflict scenarios, more precisely on conflict scenario emotion events in reality television from a cross-cultural perspective. The last (but not least) article by Magdalena Zabielska is a must to read, too. It provides an account and analysis of medical records found in medical journals and treats them as a kind of narratives. As she says, "[t]he rationale behind this analysis is that the abstract section is seen not only as the essence of a publication but also as a story in which sequences of events are presented."

A fictional dialogue against selected linguistic outlooks on spoken language and conversation

Janusz Badio

University of Łódź, Poland

Abstract

This work provides an analysis of the fictional dialogue of the first chapter of *Faith*, a novel by the British writer and novelist, Lesley Pearse. The choice of the novel itself is not considered key. It is most important though that it is a recent novel, with up-to-date topics relevant to an ordinary person. The research question that this author attempts to answer is the extent to which the FD (fictional dialogue) of the first chapter of the novel is similar to real talk and conversation. To this end the FD as a mimetic camouflage is discussed against selected cognitive, processing and pragmatic models of speech, talk and discourse. The analysis suggests that in many respects the FD of the first chapter of *Faith* is indeed a gross simplification of the processes that real talk involves. However, this is only to be expected given the contention that it only constitutes the writer's construal of a prison conversation between women inmates. The FD contains only selected features of real talk. These, however, suffice for the reader to mentally simulate an entire scene.

Keywords: fictional dialogue, narrative, strategy, conversational move, intonation unit, episode, topic, mimetic camouflage, mental simulation, banter, style

1. Introduction

Stories¹ tend to be organised by a familiar schema involving: abstract, orientation, complicating action, resolution, evaluation, coda and denouement (Labov & Waletzky, 1967, pp. 12–44). These components are used selectively depending on the

¹ Labov & Waletzky (1967) make a distinction between the two related terms *narrative* and *story*. The meaning and use of the former term is restricted to a sequence of at least two clauses with so-called *narrative juncture*, i.e., a situation when the temporal scope of one clause and event does not overlap fictionalwith the other clause's and event's temporal scope. Moreover, the former clause (event) is construed as the cause of the latter clause (event). For example, *John slipped and he fell down the stairs*. This author, however, will use the terms *story* and *narrative* interchangeably.

occasioning contexts in which they are produced (Ervin-Tripp & Küntay, 1997, pp. 13–166).

Novels provide innumerable numbers of stories that contain both narrators and fictional dialogues. Different functions and features of the latter were discussed by Bronwen (2012), Fludernik (2003). This article has a limited goal to focus on the use of fictional dialogue as a representation of real-life conversation, or a mimetic camouflage in the first chapter of the novel *Faith* (2007) by the contemporary British writer Lesley Pearce. No attempt is undertaken to classify the novel to any of the past or present literary trends. This work remains neutral as regards the possible and potentially interesting question whether *Faith* is in any way characteristic or different than other modern British novels. Thus, section two will provide a brief orientation to the novel, its main characters and the theme followed by section three that will deal with different aspects of fictional dialogue as a representation of real conversations.

2. Orientation and entry point to *Faith*

At the beginning of the first chapter of the novel the reader encounters a few key characters. Laura Branningham is in prison for murder of her best friend, Jackie, but she insists she is not guilty. She has been jailed for two years and is beginning to lose hope whether she will ever be free again. Feeling depressed, she suddenly receives a letter from Stuart, her former friend and lover. The man has faith Laura has not committed the crime and is determined to help find evidence of her innocence.

Already at the beginning the reader is invited to overhear a conversation between Laura Branningham, who is in her late fifties and Donna Fergusson, an overweight young lady who works at the prison canteen.

1) DF: Dried up auld fuckwit!

LB: I may be old and dried-up but broccoli keeps my wits sharp and my body slim, Maybe you should try it.

This scene and the whole chapter one belong somewhere in the middle of the whole story that the novel presents. It is only after Stewart's letter to Laura is delivered at the end of chapter one that the poor woman's memories of what has happened come alive. The first chapter analysed here contains the voices of the narrator and the fictional conversation in the prison for female offenders, Cortnon Vale, near Stirling in Scotland.

3. Fictional dialogue as a representation of reality

As was hinted in the introduction, *conversations* and *fictional dialogue* differ dramatically though authors construe the latter to resemble real speech. *Realism* is defined in the Wikipedia as:

[...] art movement beginning with mid-nineteenth-century French literature (Stendhal), and Russian literature (Alexander Pushkin) and extending to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[...] Literary realism attempts to represent familiar things as they are. Realist authors chose to depict every day and banal activities and experiences, instead of using a romanticized or similarly stylized presentation. [...] Broadly defined as “the faithful representation of reality” or “verisimilitude,” realism is a literary technique practised by many schools of writing. Although strictly speaking, realism is a technique, it also denotes a particular kind of subject matter, especially the representation of middle-class life.

One feature that is most relevant for the discussion of fictional dialogue in this paper is the attempt made by novelists to mimic real life situations.

The following figure presents an intricate network of relations involved in reading a fictional dialogue.

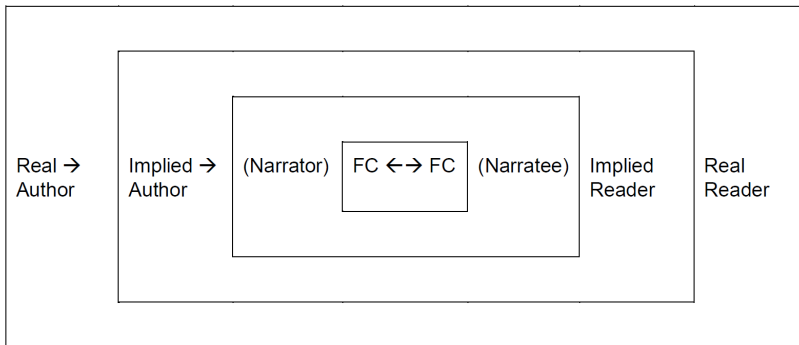


Fig. 1. Levels of narration (Rimmon-Kenan, 1986, p. 86) and (Phelan, 2005, p. 12)

Only the outer rectangle refers to the real world. The voice of the writer is mediated via the *implied author*, i.e. a “version of a writer [...] an official scribe [...] that a reader constructs based on the text in its entirety [...]” (Nordquist, 2010). Similarly, apart from the actual reader of a novel, the construct of the *implied reader* has been proposed by Wolfgang Iser (1974, p. 271) to “cover the

whole range of reading effects, [...] inferred on the basis of textual evidence rather than on an analysis of real reader responses.” Moreover, the next level inside the embedded circles in the diagram above represents the concepts of *narrator* and *narratee*. Proposed by structural narratology, the latter term designates a recipient category not necessarily equivalent to the reader, associated with a kind of narrator’s listener. This concept was omitted in post classical narratology and considered only tangentially important. Finally, one reaches the level of fictional dialogue at which characters’ so-called spoken, imagined interactions are presented. The above characterisation suggests that even when only two characters interact, such communication involves a few real and fictional agents.

3.1. Features of fictional dialogue in chapter one of *Faith*

Fictional dialogues in general exhibit a selection of features of natural dialogues that trigger a reader’s mental simulation (cf. Bergen, 2012) of a natural dialogue or conversation. In other words, various selected features of a fictional dialogue act as entry points to rich conceptualisations of past or imagined experience. For example, it suffices to use one feature of Scottish accent perhaps coupled with a description of a place to enable rich imagery of possible language production.

This section will discuss the following phenomena relevant to the fictional dialogue in chapter one of *Faith*: layout, conversational moves and turn taking, continuity and flow of topics as well as variable numbers and size of intonation units, the use of narrator speech tags and some pragmatic phenomena of FD. Though the analysis focuses on the features one can observe in the data of the fictional dialogue of the relevant chapter, on some occasions commentary will be offered on features of natural speech that the writer of *Faith* did not use.

3.1.1. Layout, conversational moves and perspective taking

To start with, fictional dialogue (FD) and narrator’s voices are clearly marked off by single inverted commas. The narrator’s additional information on the manner, mannerism, facial expressions, gestures, kinesics, proxemics and other non-verbal cues concurrent to a verbal speech act are kept together in the same paragraph. Comprising a portion of a FD, such a paragraph tends to be initiated by a conversational move.

A conversational move is a speech act (Austin, 1963; Searle, 1985) that increments a developing topic. It can add content, in which case it is substantive or has a discourse managing function and can be referred to as *house-keeping*. The latter type is further divided into *genre specific* and *content specific*. Moreover, three

other types of moves were proposed by (Weiner & Goodenough, 1977, p. 218): *passing*, *summarizing* and *topic opening*.

The model briefly summarized above was proposed as an attempt to find a production and comprehension unit of analysing psychological and social dimensions of conversational data. Its authors (Weiner & Goodenough, 1977, pp. 216–218) focused on the house-keeping moves because, as they claimed, “they are more amenable to research analysis than substantive moves.” While topics of verbal conversations are theoretically limitless, the repertoire of the housekeeping (conversation managing) moves is relatively small.

Interestingly, by contrast to Weiner & Goodenough (1977), who notice that speech production models are outnumbered by linguistic outlooks on comprehension, Lambert (1981) observes that fictional dialogues in general tend to assume the producer’s perspective, at least as speech tags go. This preoccupation with speech acts that usually describe what a language producer is doing with language is taken issue with by Sternberg (1986), who recommends directing attention to how a character interlocutor processes language aimed at her/him. Novelists, as if, by default tend to assume the producer’s perspective though some comprehension effects could, in theory, be present in the narrator’s voice. The following example [2] from *Faith*, could be rewritten to include the listener’s perspective. This example shows two women inmates. Maureen looks smart as her daughter is coming to visit her in prison.

- 2) ‘Aye, my Jenny’s coming,’ Maureen replied, her voice lifting from its usual dejected tone. ‘That’s great,’ Laura exclaimed.
- 3) ‘Aye, my Jenny’s coming,’ Maureen replied, her voice lifting from its usual dejected tone *and Laura understood that she was very happy as her voice seemed to be less dull than usual.* ‘That’s great,’ *Laura exclaimed to the effect that it hit home with Maureen that Laura listened and they were connecting.*

Though possible, such a solution seems odd as it takes more time to write and read. Moreover, reading example [3] requires constant switching of perspective between language producer and receiver, which incurs cognitive costs.

As regards the choice of perspective, research on mental simulation during narrative comprehension² (Sato, Sakai, Wu, & Bergen, 2012) suggests that the third person narrator’s commentary can be additionally either *omniscient* or

² One thing that is quite clear from recent work on language processing is that comprehenders construct detailed mental representations of scenes that they read or listen to. These are variously described in different literatures as situation models (Zwaan & Radvansky, 1998) or mental simulations (Barsalou, 1999).

objective, i.e., it either “has access to the mental states of characters [or] only describes how characters would appear to an observer.” In the former case, and despite the 3rd voice of the narrator, readers tend to assume the internal character’s perspectives, as if their own, whereas in the latter one they assume the perspective of a third person.

The experimental task of the study described above (Sato, Sakai, Wu, & Bergen, 2012) asked the participants to read 24 pairs of short narratives that had a key sentence describing a character manipulating the given object with a hand (e.g.: *threw away, grabbed, peeled off, picked up*). Participants took significantly longer to decide that a sentence and a picture matched if the independent variable, i.e., the perspectives that they represented, were different. The following figure demonstrates example images used in this study.

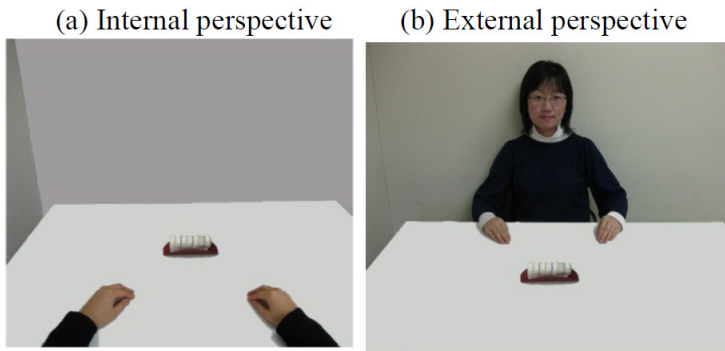


Fig 2. Images used in the study on perspective taking depending on the kind of 3rd person narrator: omniscient or objective (right) (Sato, Sakai, Wu & Bergen, 2012)

Two example narratives are also quoted below after Sato, Sakai, Wu, & Bergen (2012).

4) Third person omniscient narrative

She was very uncomfortable because her hands felt sticky and there was still clay under her nails from her ceramics class. She desperately wanted to wash her hands, but could not see a sink anywhere. She could feel the clay drying even more and eyed the small towel on the table. She picked up the hand towel.

5) Third person objective narrative

She appeared out of breath when she rushed into the room. She looked down at the table, where there was a hand towel. Her hands were covered with clay, and she glanced back and forth between her clay-covered hands and the towel. She picked up the hand towel

Example [4] uses vocabulary referring to the character's subjective mental states: *uncomfortable*, *hands felt sticky*, *desperately wanted*, *could feel*. The reader's (character-internal) viewpoint is instructed by the omniscient construal of the scene.

The language of the FD in the first chapter of *Faith* tends to be matter of fact and mundane.

6) L: Thanks Maureen.

M: Did I commit a cardinal sin by wanting more broccoli?

You're looking very nice today. Expecting a visitor?

7) L: That I am.

M: Just to look at her pretty wee face again will be enough. She's thirty now, with a second wean on the way, and I didnae even know I had a grandson.

Example [6] seems so natural that it is easy to imagine one must engage in similar conversations all the time. Likewise, [7] mimics a natural conversation, but it also helps build a small fragment of the narrative as the reader finds out about Maureen daughter's visit.

In sum, conversational moves in the first chapter of *Faith* are signalled with inverted commas coupled with accompanying speech tags implicitly suggesting to readers which perspective (language producer's or comprehender's, omniscient or objective) to select. Typically, a reader encounters two moves constituting an exchange between conversational participants and such an exchange is framed in a single paragraph. Moreover, mostly substantive moves are used to the almost complete exclusion of the housekeeping moves. The next section will look at the appearance and development of topics as well as the role and use of intonation units in the FD of the first chapter of *Faith*.

3.1.2. Flow of ideas, topics and intonation units

This section analyses the sample of the FD in the 1st chapter of *Faith* against research into how one can look at data of spoken language and learn about thought processes. Chafe (1994, 2000) identifies a unit of thought with a single act of attention/consciousness. Such a single act of attention is in turn coded in the form of the so-called *intonation unit*. Intonation units are identified in data of spoken language by a selection of phonetic and conceptual criteria. Phonetically, every such a unit tends to begin either with or without a pause, has a falling intonation at the end, the last word can be sometimes prolonged (anacrusis), and there is greater stress on it as well. Conceptually, every intonation unit expresses one idea. A focus of thought (attention or consciousness) is constantly moving, engaged on, disengaged, changed and placed on another idea, object or person. Moreover, a focus of experience is

embedded in a semi-active “fringe” and no intonation unit functions alone. Instead, it is “always part of a sequence in which the successive foci can be related to each other in a variety of ways” to form topics (Chafe, 2000, p. 621).

This notion of a “topic or subject about which all the members of the thought revolve” is the key to the movement and direction observable in thought and language. Especially cogent is the statement that introducing a new topic creates an “aching gap” demanding to be filled. A topic is a coherent aggregate of ideas, arising either in silent thought or introduced by some participant in a conversation. In the course of a conversation we find segments of varying length during which one or more individuals “talk about the same thing.” These topics can be identified from their content, but usually there are phonetic cues as well: often a longer than normal pause before a new topic is introduced, often heightened pitch, loudness, acceleration, or a new voice quality at the beginning and a tapering off of these prosodic features at the end. Contributions from interlocutors, too, may signal where topics begin and end.

The development of topics in speech depends on the activation of schemas and interaction (contributions) by participants of conversations.

The fictional dialogue in chapter one of *Faith* can be thought of as an episode (Chafe, 1994) with more than one topic. The novel presents four characters: Laura, Maureen, a prison officer and a person who works at the prison canteen. The following mini-topics can be identified:

- a) Laura is served lunch and is told off for wanting more broccoli →
- b) Laura sits at the same table as Maureen and they comment on what has happened in (a) →
- c) Since Maureen looks unusually nice, the topic of Maureen’s daughter comes up. Laura is told Maureen has written to her daughter from prison to tell her how she feels about her →
- d) Laura says she thinks Jenny (the daughter who is coming to visit) must have learnt how bad Maureen’s husband was to her (she had driven into him and killed). That is why she is in prison now →
- e) At this point another topic, Laura’s innocence, is brought forth, but only for a very brief moment after which both speakers return to topic (d) →
- f) Laura instructs Maureen how she should speak with her daughter Jenny, who is visiting Maureen in prison soon. →
- g) Maureen is surprised why Laura does not have any visitors and adds that she must have had some men who were interested in her. Laura also explains her predicament, reflects on what kind of person she is and that she treated people badly, but she has not killed her best friend, Jackie →
- h) The prison guard announces a man, Laura’s former friend, comes to visit her, but he is not allowed in because he has not booked a visit.

The arrows designate the idea put forward by the cognitive model of speech production presented by Chafe (1994) that topics naturally arise and flow. The first topic [a] is fuelled by the conditions of living in a prison, where good manners and politeness give way to aggression displayed not only between inmates but, as in this case, between prison staff and women prisoners. Next, topic [b] naturally follows as a commentary between Laura and Maureen. Then, topic [c] arises from Maureen's unusually good appearance, which attracts Laura's attention, followed by [d], which consists of a sequence of attentional foci and their correlate intonation units. Similarly, the remaining topics do not appear at random but constitute a predictable trajectory given the context of the entire episode and chapter one.

To illustrate the flow of topics, the actual portion of the FD from topic [a] to [d] is provided below without speech tags.

8) *Topic a*

DF: Dried up auld fuckwit!

LB: I may be old and dried-up but broccoli keeps my wits sharp and my body slim. Maybe you should try it.

Topic b

MC: Come and sit by me, Law. Us auld fuckwits should stick together!

LB: Thanks Maureen. Did I commit a cardinal sin by wanting more broccoli?

Topic c

LB: You're looking very nice today. Expecting a visitor?

MC: Aye, my Jenny's coming.

LB: That's great. What changed her mind?

MC: I done what you said and wrote and told her how I felt about her. Maybe it was that.

Topic d

LB: I expect your husband has shown his true colours to her too. And your younger children will probably have told Jenny things they saw and heard him doing to you in the past. She'll have weighed it all up and realized you were at your wits' end.

As was mentioned before, the lower and less schematic level at which thought operates is a single focus of attention-consciousness. Its linguistic correlate is referred to as the *intonation unit*. The following brief extract of speech occurring while a family are planning a holiday is provided below based on data from the

Birmingham Corpus (cf. McCarthy & Carter, 1997) with divisions into different kinds of intonation units (cf. Badio, 2004; Chafe, 1994).

9) Yeah,	regulatory
^we'll just ^leave the ^car ^^behind,	substantive
... and ^go on the ^^bus.	substantive
Or ^go on the . ^trains.	substantive
... ^^I reckon ^that's what we should do.	substantive
yeah	regulatory
..... the ^only ^^problem that we've	
^got ^then is er ... ^carrying ^luggage.	substantive
Yeah,	regulatory

Weiner and Goodenough's term *house-keeping moves* (1977) is substituted here by Chafe's (1994) term *substantive* intonation units, which are used to code the content of what is said. The *regulatory intonation units* are spurts of language used to make sure that the communication channel is open, that speakers stay focused and there is mutual understanding. They fall under three subcategories of *textual* (*so, so anyway* [when a new topic is begun], *but*), *cognitive* (*believe it or not, I remember, for some reason, I think, I mean it, I suppose, er ... I don't know, Yeah, oh I see, ok, got it, what do you mean*) and *interactional* (*yes, [eye contact, nodding, gestures], cause you know, eh .. so anyway, you know, great, love it, hm, sorry, and as you can see, really, but I tell you what, thank you*).

The FD in chapter one of *Faith* compares unfavourably with real life samples of speech with regard to the amount of intonation units of the regulatory type.³ Research into spoken data (Badio, 2004) suggests that the regulatory units constitute approximately 27% of all intonation units. It should also not be surprising that the actual amount of speech regulation depends on a topic (e.g., well-practised vs. new), speaker's level of stress, complexity of the topic, relation between participants and amount of background knowledge speakers share. These are only some parameters of the variety of contexts in which real speech takes place.

The FD in chapter one of *Faith* contains very few regulatory units and the conversation focuses on the content or substance of talk. The reader as if overhears Laura and Maureen talk; s/he is invited to hear the sometimes intimate exchanges between them, which hugely attracts attention during reading and invites the assumption of the characters' omniscient perspective.

A comparison of descriptive statistics is presented below regarding the use of substantive units in a corpus of spoken data (Badio, 2004) and the FD analysed here.

³ The FD dialogue in *Faith* only imitates speech of course, so this work treats them as if they were said.

Tab. 1. Descriptive statistics comparing real life speech and FD of chapter one in the novel *Faith*

Statistic	Real life conversational data > 2900 units	FD of chapter one in <i>Faith</i> , 46 units
Min.	1	1
Max	20	25
Range	19	24
Mean	5.7	8.7
Median	5	8
Mode	4	4.1
St. dev.	2.99	4.92
Std Error of the mean	0.06	0.72

Before the interpretation of the above descriptive statistics is provided, an explanation is needed of how the substantive units were assessed if a FD is only the writer's intuition of what constitutes real conversations.

The FD in the first chapter of *Faith* involves short phrases and sentences such as:

- 10) Try not to mention her father.
- 11) That I am.
- 12) I was a bad woman.
- 13) It means a lot that you believe in me.

Examples [10–13] can easily be imagined as single intonation units and single foci of consciousness-attention. Some other sentences are complex and long:

- 14) And a good man too, but us women are often guilty of not recognizing a man's true worth until it's too late.
- 15) But now I've been convicted of her murder, the few people I liked to think of as friends vanished, and there's no one left that gives a jot about me.

However, such cases were analysed as two intonation units on account of the observation that a comma was used to separate the superordinate and subordinate clauses. Chafe (1994) used commas in transcription of real-life speech to separate different intonation units, which indicated a suspended intonation contour, when

a certain idea was not terminated and at least another intonation unit and focus to round it up was necessary. By contrast, such examples as (16) were counted as containing one focus and presumably one intonation unit. They are very rare in real speech.

- 16) And your younger children will probably have told Jenny things they saw and heard him doing to you in the past

The comparison of the descriptive statistics regarding the length of intonation units in real life speech samples and the FD leads to the conclusion that intonation units in the FD of chapter one tend to be generally longer ($M_{real-speech}=5.7$; $M_{fict.-dial.}=8.7$). Interestingly, the same is true of the median of the two values, whereas the mode, i.e., the most frequent value was 4 words long for both samples. The inferential statistics t -test indicated that there is a robust difference between the two sets of data ($df=46$; $t=-3.98$; $p=.0001$). In other words, the present analysis highlights a statistically significant difference between the real life speech data and the FD as regards the average length of intonation units.

Two bar graphs are provided below to further illustrate this difference. They present percentages of intonation units of variable lengths in the two data sets of real and FD conversations.

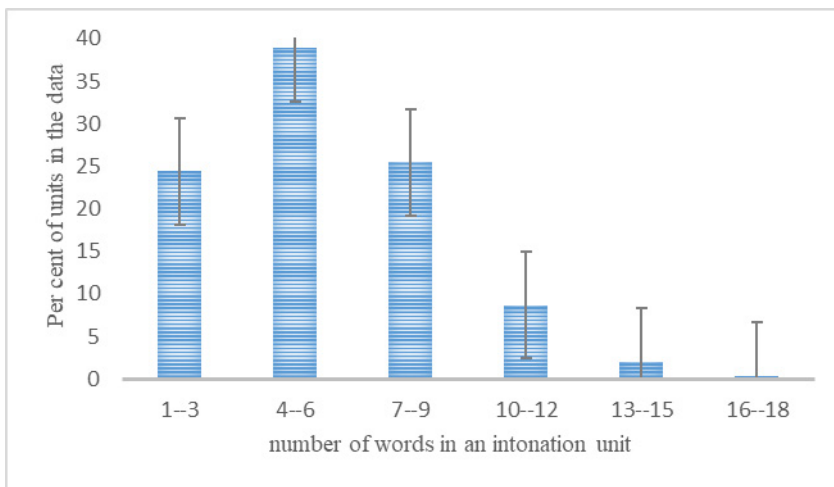


Fig. 3. Percentages of intonation units in the real life sample of speech (based on: Badio, 2004)

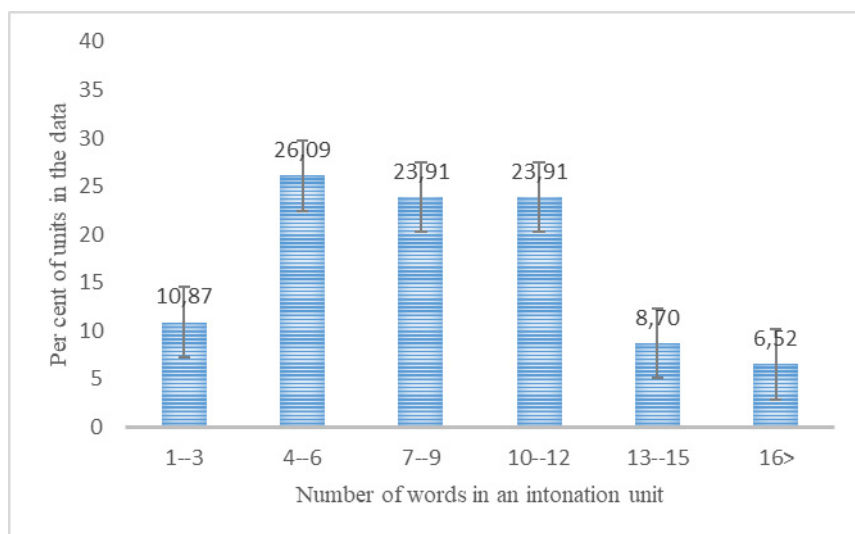


Fig. 4. Percentages of units in the fictional dialogue in chapter one of *Faith*

Some intonation units in the FD are even as long as 16 words, which is very unusual of real samples of speech. Moreover, all intonation units of the FD are substantive, compared to real spoken data in which a large percentage of units perform some (textual, cognitive, interactional) function (cf. Badio, 2004).

4. Speech tags as part of the FD

Speech tags are an inseparable part of the analysed FD. They provide information on various features of context and phonetic qualities accompanying speech. One pattern that can be detected comprises the use of a verb referring to speech followed by a verb that describes accompanying or subsequent action.

- 17) Donna Ferguson said loudly and scathingly as she dolloped broccoli on to Laura Brannigan's plate
- 18) Laura said, taking her up on her offer.
- 19) Laura said as she began to eat.
- 20) Beady said, holding out the sheet of paper.
- 21) Beady said with a wide smile.

In examples [17, 19, 20, 21] speech and accompanying activity are co-temporal. In [18] Laura agreed to join Maureen at the canteen (she said *OK*) and the speech tag informs about the pragmatic force of the utterance.

Narrator's speech tags only commenting on the manner of speaking are illustrated below.

- 22) Laura said thoughtfully
- 23) Maureen replied, her voice lifting from her usual dejected tone
- 24) Laura exclaimed
- 25) Laura said ruefully

In general, speech tags of the FD in the first chapter of *Faith* tend to refer to the activity that characters engage in or code the phonetic quality of speech. These provide extra information about the intended meaning that the narrator knows and communicates.

5. Some pragmatic aspects of speech in FD

Intention and interpretation in context constitute one of the main research agenda of linguistic pragmatics. This outlook is also embraced by the research programme of Cognitive Grammar (Langacker, 1991, 2008), where all meaning is treated as ultimately pragmatic, i.e., arising only in the minds of the people that communicate. Both linguistic pragmatics and Cognitive Linguistics in general place meaning in the centre of attention.

The FD of the first chapter of *Faith* certainly contains some features of a naturally occurring conversation. They are: variable choice of register, personalised style, banter and indirectness. The FD of chapter one of *Faith* begins rather abruptly with an exchange between Laura and Donna Ferguson. The latter works at the prison canteen. The low register of Donna's opening utterance, *Dried-up auld fuckwit*, matches the language one expects to hear in prison. But Laura's response, *I may be old and dried-up but broccoli keeps my wits sharp and my body slim*, suggests she is educated, knows it is good to eat vegetables and can respond to Donna in a manner that is non-confrontational, yet self-aware. Lesley Pearse makes sure that Maureen's, the other character's use of language is stylized and unique, too. She is Laura's companion in prison. The way she 'speaks' points to her lower social position and Scottish accent: *I didnae, you was innocent, I haven't got it in you, an auld pal, Aye, I done what you said, her pretty wee face*,

with a *second wean on the way*. Interestingly, Laura's formal and educated register matches her presumed innocence and good character.

Banter (cf. Leech, 1983) is made use of too, for example:

26) Us auld fuckwits should stick together!

It allows people to validate close relations. Being seemingly very impolite, interlocutors actually point to how good friends they are to allow for behaviour that would otherwise be unacceptable to use with other people.

Indirectness is still another important theme discussed within linguistic pragmatics (Leech, 1983; Tannen, 1977). It refers to such type of hinting that leaves much room for interpretation and is considered polite. As Tannen (1977, p. 7) says, people are more concerned with the effects of what they say than the content of their messages so they tend to avoid saying things directly. Instead of telling the truth, being orderly, precise, relevant and matter-of-fact (cf. Grice, 1975), they tend to focus more on maintaining companionship, avoiding imposing, being tactful, generous or modest (cf. Leech, 1983). Such strategies are face saving, safer and polite but they may lead to communication problems within and across different professions, ages, genders and cultures. An example of such hinting instead of putting across a message directly is provided below:

- 27) a) Let's drop in on Oliver tonight!
b) Why?
a) All right, we don't have to go. (Tannen, 1977, p. 8)

[27a] was a genuine suggestion, but [27b] presumed that her/his interlocutor had some hidden agenda so preferred to request clarification. However, after hearing [27b] the first interlocutor did not accept the utterance at face value either but interpreted it as a refusal of the offer-suggestion.

Any interpretation process takes place against an active frame. The concept of *frame* (Fillmore, 2006) designates the presence of affect, assumptions, script (Shank & Abelson, 2013), background schema (Arbib, 1992), simultaneous activation of and ranking for salience of multiple knowledge domains (Langacker, 1987, 1991, 2008).

The FD of chapter one of *Faith* does not contain examples of language use that would depend on the hinting mentioned above. On the one hand, the situation of prison in-mates Maureen and Laura described in chapter one requires honesty and the meaning needs to be communicated swiftly in order to support camaraderie. On the other hand, the conversation between Laura and Maureen seems to be quite intense, i.e. without much time spent on only maintaining social relations.

The chat they are having seems unnatural in this respect and one possible explanation is that on such and other occasions a FD constitutes a narrative strategy that masquerades a real conversation.

6. Conclusions

The present work has analysed how Lesley Pearce used fictional dialogue to symbolise processes and strategies used in real life conversation. It was demonstrated that the reading of a FD involves fictional agents that mediate between the actual writer and reader in the process of meaning construal. The concept of one paragraph together with inverted commas used around fragments of speech was compared to the idea of a conversational move as discussed by Weiner and Goodenough (1977). A preference to present the language producer's point of view, typically favoured by novelists, was contrasted with an option to represent the listener's reaction to the use of language form. The latter, however, was argued to take too much time. Moreover, focussing on both viewpoints and additionally inviting readers to switch between the speaker's and listener's distinct perspectives constantly would be unfeasible from the processing point of view. The so-called intonation unit as a correlate of a single act of consciousness-attention was demonstrated to be significantly longer in the FD of *Faith* though the mode number of words per utterance (4) testifies to generally good writer's intuition regarding how conversations are structured in this respect. The FD dialogue includes no utterances that are used in real-life conversations to manage the flow of speech. Topics that depend on the activation of schemas and interlocutor's signals tend to flow naturally in the FD of the first chapter of *Faith*. Speech tags add extra information on the quality of speech, accompanied gestures and activity. The analysed FD contains examples of banter and stylised use of language for different characters. Indirectness tends to be avoided, though, for the reason that in this case (prison chat between inmates) it is not indirect hinting of one's intentions but a swift process of communication that matters more. All in all, Lesley Pearce has applied a number of strategies to create an illusion of a real-life conversation. It must be stressed that the particular construal of talk as represented in the FD in the analysed sample depends on the selective use of signals and hints, which in turn have the potential to trigger readers' mental simulations and illusion of real talk. Last, it should be stressed that a FD, also the sample analysed here is not merely constructed as representation of reality. Perhaps even more importantly it constitutes the writer's narrative strategy. Such an outlook on the role of a FD is certainly a topic worth investigating as a follow up of this paper.

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Use of stereotypical social gender roles in an L2 narrative construal task by advanced, Polish learners of English

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Abstract

The article presents a study of the process of comprehension of an input joke and its subsequent retelling in writing by Polish advanced students ($n=36$) of English as a foreign language. The research question was whether people are guided by stereotypical social gender roles and cultural schemata during comprehension and production of a joke involving events that make up a story. The joke included references to female (wife) and male (husband) participants as well as a secretary (gender not specified), names Gloria and Mike and a number of objects such as: violets, chocolates, handbag or laptop. It was predicted that the VM version of the joke (the version with the name Mike, supposedly male secretary) would take the participants more time to interpret as compared to the VF version (with Gloria as a most possible candidate for the secretary role). This hypothesis was indeed confirmed, but the experimental subjects did not take significantly more time to write their versions (VM and VF conditions) of the story. The qualitative analysis demonstrated variable cultural bias during the construction of the participants' roles and relations, often against or in the absence of clear instructions in the input to do so.

Keywords: comprehension, production, cultural schemata, bias, construal, narrative, story, events

1. Introduction

Narratives and stories are complex units of thought and language. Shorter or longer, more or less formal, they are produced and shared in variable contexts for different reasons and effects. Narratives do not exist in some cognitive vacuum but belong to specific cultures and communities, styles of life, religions, communities and economies.

Badio (2019, submitted) has recently argued that they form a *radial category* (Evans & Green, 2006) whose prototype may be a most schematic conception of the so-called *action chain model* (Langacker, 1991, p. 283). The model describes forceful interactions in the physical world with objects analogised to events

and forces to causes. Other, more local prototypes may be types of stories occasioned in a round of stories, jokes, advertisements, poems, imagined scenarios during children's play, narratives presenting problems, narratives as performances, environmentally cued narratives or tactical narratives (Ervin-Tripp & Küntay, 1997, pp. 149–160). In short, narrative has been demonstrated to form a network of related, albeit complex cognitive, communicative, linguistic and cultural units that require effortful mental construal and language coding of perspective, level of schematicity, temporality and causality, to mention only a few parameters.

Influential research into narrative structure, coherence, causality and temporality as well as the use of so-called *ordinary events*, i.e. events seemingly too obvious and mundane for presentation (Labov & Waletzky, 1967; Labov, 1997, 2001, 2004, 2006, 2011) has instructed us to look not only at language meaning but how such construed meaning is coded with language form (Squire, 2005).

The construal of a story involves selection of agents, participants, objects, intentions, temporal scope, orienting commentary, causality links and cultural schemata. This article has a goal of describing an experimental study in which advanced second language Polish learners of English were instructed to write stories on the basis of a joke. The joke presented a list of expenses from a petty cash book of a small business (Misztal, 1990). The sections that follow this brief introduction deal with the research questions, hypotheses, materials, procedures, creation of a mini-corpus (10,000 words) and the presentation of results. These involve both qualitative analysis of how the participants construed their versions of the input story and quantitative outlook on the data involving descriptive and inferential statistics obtained to confront the questions regarding the main variables.

2. General and research questions

Thus, the general question asked in the present study concerns the use of stereotypical and culturally specific (all participants were Polish) gender roles during the process of constructing a story following the presentation of the joke. Such culturally specific stereotypes presumably guide understanding of typical social roles, uses of objects in events or expected temporal scope of event sequences, cause-effect links, consequences of human action and expected behaviour. As an example, Giora (2003) demonstrated how story comprehension can be strongly affected by such top-down processing.

A variety of schematic knowledge structures have been proposed that guide language use, both comprehension and production. Miller et al. (1960, pp. 16–64) discussed the importance of *plans* that: possess hierarchical organization, are co-

gnitive/mental structures, are used to control the order of action and operations, include a goal, are more or less detailed, can be focused on, imagined and learnt. Importantly, new plans arise from plans made in the past. They become conventionalised in the form of schematic *scripts* (Schank & Abelson, 1977) that apart from specifications of participants' social roles also contain information on the sequence of actions to be taken. Another schematic type of knowledge structure, *frame* (cf. Charniak, 1975b; Minsky, 1975; Winograd, 1975 or Metzger, 1979) includes objects, people and places albeit without temporal organisation (e.g. the famous restaurant frame). In the case of such global patterns of knowledge as *schemas*, e.g. the narrative schema, events and states in sequences are arranged by proximity and causality (cf. Bartlett, 1932).

The general question about the use of stereotypical social gender roles in this study was operationalised in terms of the actual task to construct a story on the basis of a joke quoted below from Myszal (1990, p. 74). For lack of space, this author refrains from the presentation of different types of jokes. The important point to make, however, is that many jokes are short and they present selected, crucial events that help make up a story. Readers of these jokes activate necessary background information so the words and phrases only make sense against culturally relevant stereotypes and schemas.

Extract from a petty cash book:

April

1. Advertisement for a secretary	£ 5
3. Violets	£ 1
4. Candy	£ 1.25
8. Secretary's salary	£ 30
10. Flowers	£ 2
11. Candy for wife	£ 1
15. Secretary's salary	£ 60
18. Handbag	£ 18
19. Candy for wife	£ 1.25
22. Gloria's salary	£ 90
24. Theatre and dinner, Gloria and self	£ 55
25. Chocolates for husband	£ 2
28. Fur coat for wife	£ 2,500.00
29. Advertisement for a male secretary	£ 5

The reading of the above list of expenses constituting the joke triggers interpretative processes that relate the items of the list in time, space and causality. Readers construct the list of nominals on the list as important cues to construe a coherent set of events that form a story with the earlier event of employing a new

secretary to the *most reportable event* of, presumably, the wife finding out about the affair and the need to buy her a fur coat. This author's schematic reading of the joke with some predictions regarding the roles of candy, violets, theatre outing, salary rise, change of the referring term from *secretary* to *Gloria* remained to be tested empirically. The numbers on the left show prices in pounds. An argument might be raised that they invoke some aspects of the British culture in the Polish participants of the study. However, despite some obvious cultural differences between Poland and UK, both countries are set in the European tradition in which family, marriage and courtship are understood similarly. Moreover, the study was interested in the way the Polish participants would deal with the input joke and the prices used in the input joke were not a variable across the different study groups.

3. Hypotheses, operationalisations, mini corpus and the design of the experiment

The experimental task involved reading (in two independent groups) two slightly different versions of the same baseline joke presented above. Whereas the VF version was the one in which the name used was Gloria, the VM version contained the name Mike instead of Gloria, new laptop for husband, no information at the end of the list regarding the gender of the secretary, theatre and dinner with Mike and self instead of Gloria and self. The following list summarizes these changes.

Independent variable: agreement or not with cultural schemata and stereotype

Agreement (reference version)

VF (version with the name *Gloria*, presumably the secretary's name)

- 8. Candy for *wife*
- 22. *Gloria's* salary
- 24. Theatre and dinner, Gloria and self
- 28. New *fur coat* for *wife*

Disagreement (changed version)

VM (version with the name *Mike*, presumably the secretary's name)

- 8. Candy for *husband*
- 22. *Mike's* salary
- 24. Theatre and dinner, *Mike* and self
- 28. New *laptop* for husband

Importantly, neither of the two versions of the joke made it clear whether the secretary was male or female. It was predicted that the analysis of the stories written in this task (regardless of which version the participants read) would reveal the tendency to stick to the cultural, stereotypical schemata in construing the role of the story participants (business owner, husband/wife, secretary) though there were no signals in the input to construct these roles in this way.

The second independent variable accounted for in the qualitative analysis only was gender of the participants of the study. Some differences between stories written by female vs. male writers were predicted to appear due to variable gender roles imposed by Polish culture. This observation is also in line with research that demonstrated that people generally tend to assume their own (here either male or female) perspective on the observed events (Tversky & Hard, 2009).

Having read the two different versions of the same joke, the participants wrote their stories. These were recorded in the format of the dBase of Microsoft Access with two tables (SPEAKERS and STORIES). The table containing STORIES ($n=36$) had columns to be filled in with the following information: experimental condition (VM/VF), i.e. female/male, reading time of the input, writing time and length of a story in number of words.

The time the participants took to read and understand the input joke before they were ready to begin writing and the writing time itself were used as an operational definition of processing complexity. The participants who were instructed to read the VF (normal, baseline, reference) version of the joke were hypothesized to have an easier task than the ones whose version was VM (with changed, untypical or less expected) social roles for men and women. The relative ease or difficulty was connected with the joke being either compatible with the cultural schemata (VF condition) or not (VM condition). In sum, the following variables and operationalisations were applied.

- a) Version of the joke, VM vs. VF, as an independent variable hypothesized to influence construal of the written story. It was predicted that the participants in the VM condition would tend to ignore the clues provided in the joke and would supply solutions agreeing with the cultural schemata and stereotypes as regards gender roles (directional hypothesis).
- b) Gender (independent variable); it was hypothesized that there would be some differences in how the stories would be construed depending on whether the writer was male or female (non-directional hypothesis).
- c) Reading and writing times (dependent variable) were hypothesized to be longer in the VM (changed cultural roles) condition.

4. Task instructions and procedures

The participants of this study ($n=36$; Male=18; Female=18, all Polish) were advanced students of the Institute of English Studies at the University of Łódź, Poland and The Angelus Silesius Higher School of Applied Sciences in Wałbrzych, Poland. They agreed to participate in the project for additional credit.

The students wrote the stories after classes in designated rooms. They were sat down and read the following instructions in Polish (here translated into English).

Participation in this study is completely anonymous and safe. The only details you will be asked to provide are whether you are male or female. You will see an extract from a petty cash book (page 2 of this document). Your task is to write a short story in response to the provided clues. The story must use sentences to form a complete text, not single words or phrases.

Stage 1:

When you hear the signal START, read the input joke and press the stopper watch provided. When you finish reading, press the stop button on the stopper that measures your reading time and enter your result onto the provided worksheet. Subsequently, write a story on the basis of the input joke. The teacher will be monitoring your work.

Stage 2:

As you are beginning to write, press the start button on the stopper and start writing. During the actual writing you can look up the list of cues provided. The teacher will be monitoring your work.

The effected stories (Group 1, VM, $n = 18$ and Group 2, VF, $n = 18$)¹ were digitized and recorded. The qualitative analysis of the data followed by the quantitative description and analysis of statistics is presented in sections five and six.

5. Qualitative analysis of data

5.1. Stories written in the VF (version with the name Gloria, presumably the secretary's name)

Stories ($n=18$) written by students in this condition of the experiment were created following the presentation of the joke with unchanged (relative to the original joke) roles of the main participants: business owner, wife, Gloria, secretary. The task involved the interpretation of the roles of these participants and the objects

¹ There were two independent groups of participants selected randomly. Group called VM read the version of the input joke that implied that the secretary was male, whereas the group called VF read the version of the input joke that implied the secretary was female. Both groups consisted of 18 participants, 9 female and 9 male.

listed (e.g.: violets, flowers, candy, handbag, theatre, fur coat). The writers needed to construe and code in language the relations between the participants, the temporal scope of the key events, the most reportable event and how this event related to other events and objects causally.

First, many participants decided to begin their story version with an orienting section including different background parameters of the imagined context. Some expressions in this section, if present, designate time.

- 1) one day, it was a late afternoon in April, a few days ago, April was the month needing some changes

Some other refer to space and location.

- 2) in the park, there I was sitting in my office

Example sentences [3abc] below reflect the Polish cultural, stereotypical bias² that secretaries are usually pretty women, which may then be taken as a reason and/or an excuse for men to flirt with them at work.

- 3) a) hired a secretary and she was very pretty
b) I found a new secretary. In order to make an impression on her I bought her violets and candy. Every woman likes flowers and sweets and I am a gentleman so I did it.
c) April wasn't a good month for John. His beautiful secretary quit her job ...

A few participants decided to include more evocative commentary in the orienting section of their stories.

- 4) a) Wind tugged playfully at leaves ...
b) ... grasses and violets in the park which Pheneas used to cross every day on his way to buy candy for his wife.

The narrator is usually 3rd person, but there are some examples of writing from the point of view of the business owner, his wife or Gloria, the secretary.

Seven out of nine female writers in this condition decided that the secretary was female and that the boss made some advances to her. She received flowers from him as she was pretty or the boss gave violets to Gloria to impress her.

On the other hand, many potentially obvious clues that the joke was about office love affair were not so unambiguously interpreted. For example, one female writer

² The stereotype is well documented on the Internet. Even a random search for a phrase such as *boss flirts with secretary* renders numerous links to the discussion of the stereotype as well as images.

decided it was Gloria who gave candy for the businessman's wife as it was her duty. The boss and Gloria spent time at the theatre in another account of the joke and Gloria felt sorry, which was taken as the reason why she decided to present chocolates for her husband. One female writer construed the role of *candy* in a funny way, namely that the owner of the business organized a competition for secretaries to buy as many sweets for the wife for as little as possible. Another writer said that the boss indeed flirted with the secretary, but he then felt guilty and bought her an expensive fur coat, or that the wife read the petty cash book list of expenses and decided the couple could afford an expensive fur coat without any mention of a possible love affair between the boss and Gloria. Also, interestingly, one female writer said Gloria was not the secretary (which many other writers did) but the wife, and that is why the husband went to the theatre with her, also possibly this choice was dictated by the information in the input story that Gloria's salary was 90 pounds. The wife bought chocolates for the husband in return for spending a nice evening at the theatre. The reason why she received her pay rise was by some attributed to her diligence at work and professional approach, not the love affair between her and the boss.

Similarly to the female writers, stories written by men ($n=9$) construed the role of the secretary as female. Candy, violets and flowers tended in these stories to be for Gloria, and often for the reason she was pretty. Gloria (secretary) bought flowers for her husband when she felt guilty for flirting with the boss. Her husband was also made jealous of Gloria when she was offered the job in the family business, which also agrees with the salient though outdated stereotypical cultural schema in Poland at least, according to which it is men who should be the busy bread winners and women should stay at home.

In sum, there is some data to suggest that both female and male writers in this condition tended to be guided by the cultural schema and stereotype of good family relations, a husband looking after his wife and hard work rather than the schema of office love affair and marital infidelity. However, there is also some indication that unlike female writers, men writers tended to focus more on the schema and stereotype of office love affair and marital infidelity. Not all writers accounted for every clue on the list provided in the joke.

5.2. Stories written in the VM (version with the name Mike, presumably the secretary's name)

Unlike the stories written in the control condition (see section 5.1 above), the ones written in this condition were created following the input joke which mentioned a secretary, Mike, some husband and wife as well as the same objects, i.e., violets, flowers, candy, handbag, but laptop for husband instead of fur coat for wife. These

changes were used to signal to the reader that the wife should be construed as the owner of the business, whereas Mike as her secretary against the cultural expectations discussed above. Additionally, the clue that the husband received some chocolates was used to further counteract the top-down activation of the cultural schema according to which it is men who would be expected to buy chocolates for women rather than the other way round. The same comment applies to the final clue of the input joke, namely that the husband received a laptop and an advertisement was put up in the newspaper for a new secretary (male or female – not clear from the input joke).

Some stories of what happened in this condition included a new character, for example: Jane, Amanda or Sara, who became the bosses of the business. In one of the stories the name Mike was construed as the female boss's nickname. The female boss, however, did not tend to have a male secretary. Instead and against the provided clues, the cultural schema tended to suggest to some writers that they should construe Mike as a *friend from work*, *friend from office*, *instructor* or *assistant* and a new character (Cathy, Annie) needed to be invented to become the secretary in the story.

Even when Mike became a secretary, he was construed as giving advice to the woman-boss, as he seemed to be someone who is more knowledgeable than her. Moreover, when the female boss felt she was flirting with Mike the secretary, she felt guilty and bought her husband some chocolates and tickets to the theatre, where they spent some nice time together. So this outing was not construed as part of the love affair and marital infidelity. Alternatively, the visit to the theatre and the outing was the wife and her husband's and Mike was not involved. In one story from a female participant in this condition, Mike (construed as a young man in all stories) became the secretary, and he was so happy that he decided to buy flowers for the woman-boss. In another story, Mike became a secretary but when the business was good, the objects (handbag, candy, flowers) were what the woman boss bought for herself without hints of some love affair between her and Mike. In still another story Mike became a secretary, but bought flowers and Candy for his mother-in-law. There was also some tendency to construe emotions as typically female and they were presented as causes of the female boss's incapability of deducting some money from Mike's salary after he broke a laptop in one story. Another story admitted the female boss needed time for her husband and the kids.

Indeed, the writers in this condition had a more difficult task to interpret the role of the different clues in their input joke. Many of them ignored the easy option to make Mike the secretary, and if they did, Mike had some of the features stereotypically associated with men as dominating, more skilful and knowledgeable, or he became an assistant in order to avoid the word *secretary*, especially because in the Polish language this word is marked for feminine gender and its masculine counterpart has different connotations. The *sekretarz* 'male secretary' would be

most probably associated with some high-ranking public function within a political party or a local government.

In conclusion, both stories written in the VF (control) and VM (changed) conditions of the experiment tended to be instructed by a cultural schema activated by different writers to attract the readers' attention to selected stereotypes of gender roles in the Polish communities the participants of this study came from. These beliefs and expectations often became more salient and stronger than the clues provided in the input joke. As a result, they guided the process of construing participant roles, objects, and causal relations. The next section six approaches the question whether the differences in the input jokes between the control and experimental groups led to different reading and writing times of the stories.

6. Quantitative analysis

The reading and writing times mentioned in passing earlier were used to operationalise the prediction that a cultural schema would be activated to guide the comprehension of the input joke (the petty cash book). The participants were divided into two independent groups, the VF ($n=18$) (Gloria, control group) and the VM ($n=18$) (Mike, experimental group) with equal number of female and male student participants in each group.

The writing times (controlled for by the experimenter)³ in both groups tended to be shorter when the reading time was shorter though there are also some exceptions. However, it is the differences between VM and VF groups that are more interesting (see Fig. 1 below).

The VF-control group (dark shade) tended to spend less time to read and interpret the input joke in comparison to the VM-experimental group. The reading times in the VF group also look more evenly distributed about the mean as opposed to the reading times in the VM group. These are in fact spread across the whole diagram. The comparison of how the writing times are distributed in the two groups is presented below in figure two.

The writers in the VM-experimental condition seem to have taken more time to construe their stories. Their graph is markedly shifted towards the longer intervals of the reading time. Besides, the results in the VM writing condition also seem to exhibit a larger spectrum of writing times.

³ The individual participants were asked to raise their hands when they completed the reading (and later writing) of their version of the input joke. Computer stopper was used to record individual reading/writing times.

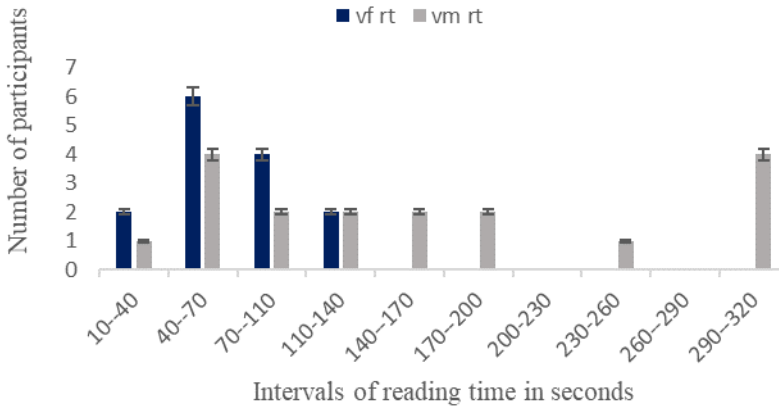


Fig. 1. Distribution of data in the reading task between VF and VM groups with numbers of participants on the vertical and reading time on the horizontal axes

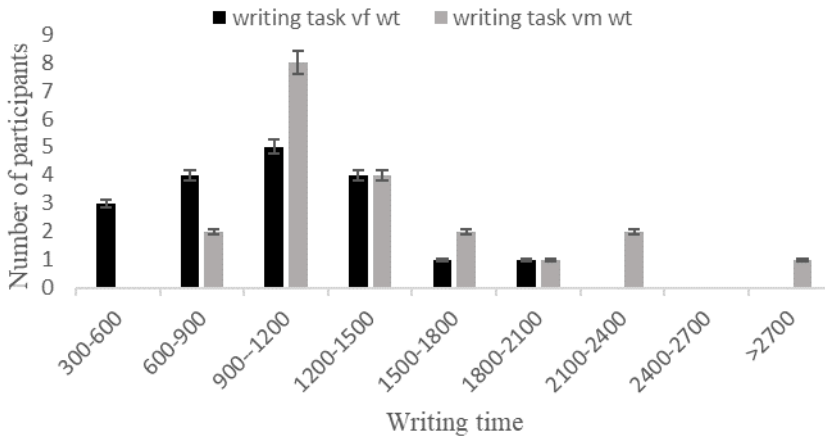


Fig 2. Distribution of data in the writing task between VF and VM groups with numbers of participants on the vertical and time on the horizontal axes

The difference in the reading times of the experimental group VMrt and the control VFrt group turned out to be significant ($M_{firt}=156.7$ sec.; $M_{mrt}=101.5$ sec.; $df=31$; SE -combined = 28.8 sec.), and the value of the one-sided t -test assuming

unequal variances ($t=1.91$; $p=.03$) inclines one to accept the hypothesis that it was the manipulation of content of the input joke, i.e., the independent variable that caused this change in the reading time between the two groups.

However, the writing times between the two groups did not differ in a statistically significant way ($Mmwt=1682.88$; $Mfwt= 1142.2$; $t=-1.5$; $SE-combined=359$ sec.; $p=.073$). This is a little surprising given the way the writing times of the two groups look on the graph (see Fig. 2 above). On reflection, the writing task may also have depended on other variables such as: speed of writing, day-dreaming despite the fact that each participant had the same amount to write. However, the time to interpret the input version of a joke was different in different participants, which is still another argument the writing time in the presented study turned out not to be very informative.

7. Conclusions

In conclusion, the difference in reading times between the experimental conditions turned out to be statistically significant. However, though the participants in the VM group took longer mean time to construct their stories compared with the VF group, the difference was not statistically significant at $\alpha=05$ and also potentially uninformative.

On reflection, the task to write followed the task to read and in order to interpret the roles and relations of the listed participants and objects. Once the plans of what to write had been in place, it may not have made much of a difference in terms of difficulty whether one wrote in the VM or VF condition. Also, one caveat against accepting the hypotheses of the quantitative study is its limited scope and a limited number of stories collected for analysis. Still, one can argue that at least in the reading task the effect of the top-down activation of a cultural schema and use of stereotypical social gender roles was robust. It caused that the readers in the VM condition took significantly more time to read and interpret the input joke. The qualitative analysis of the mini corpus of stories in section five clearly demonstrated that the writers were biased by the top-down activation of Polish cultural schemata and stereotypes of gender during the construction of the participants' roles and relations, often against or in the absence of clear instructions in the input to do so.

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“Beings of secondary order”: Framing and intertextuality as narrative tools in A.S. Byatt’s “The Djinn in the Nightingale’s Eye”

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Abstract

Antonia Susan Byatt’s long-standing concern with the interaction between reality and art manifests in many of her texts. For instance, her most widely acclaimed novel, *Possession*, examines the post-modern preoccupation with the past and history through flagrant use of intertextuality and embedded tales. The story discussed in this paper, “The Djinn in the Nightingale’s Eye,” also employs the device of narrative framing in order to achieve metafictional aims. “The Djinn in the Nightingale’s Eye” is an exhibition of Chinese boxes: it engulfs the reader with stories built upon stories, tales descending into tales. Byatt achieves the effect of ontological flickering, Ingarden’s “iridescence,” by means of highlighting the constructed character of the embedded stories and, at the same time, placing the main plot line on the uncertain ground, as it slides between fairy tale and realist fiction, but does not decidedly advance towards magic realism. The insecurity of generic borders in “The Djinn in the Nightingale’s Eye” seems to illustrate Italo Calvino’s claim that “literature does not recognise Reality as such, but only levels.” Byatt’s protagonist is a narratologist, one of “beings of secondary order” who feed on stories and live by retelling tales. But she is also a self-reliant individual, who understands that the act of retelling “allows the teller to insert him- or herself into the tale.”

Keywords: metafiction, fairy tale, narrative, A.S. Byatt, intertextuality

1. Introduction

From the very opening of her story “The Djinn in the Nightingale’s Eye,” A.S. Byatt establishes in the reader specific narrative expectations and begins to play with them. The title loosely suggests an Oriental fantastic tale and the story commences in the following way:

Once upon a time, when men and women hurtled through the air on metal wings, when they wore webbed feet and walked on the bottom of the sea, learning the speech of whales and the songs of the dolphins, when pearly-fleshed and jewelled apparitions

of Texan herdsmen and houris shimmered in the dusk on Nicaraguan hillsides, when folk in Norway and Tasmania in dead of winter could dream of fresh strawberries, dates, guavas and passion fruits and find them spread next morning on their tables, there was a woman who was largely irrelevant, and therefore happy. (Byatt, 1995, p. 95)

The phrasing used in this passage confounds the reader with the diversity of associations it brings: expressions such as “once upon a time” and “there was a...” direct our expectations towards a fairy tale genre, “songs of dolphins” and “pearly-fleshed and jewelled apparitions” have a supernaturally fantastic undertone, “hurtl[ing] through the air on metal wings” and wearing “webbed feet” are metaphoric signals of a contemporary setting, the juxtaposition of “Texan herdsmen” and “houris,” reinforced by its alliteration, indicates the confrontation of the West and the East, while the irony of the final phrase, “largely irrelevant, and therefore happy,” suggests a possibility of a strong feminist commitment of the ensuing text.

This paper looks upon the issues signalled by the story’s opening sentence, trying to analyse Byatt’s narrative strategies which abuse the generic patterns of storytelling in order to frustrate the reader’s expectations and evoke the impression of the constructed character of her text. Through extensive use of intertextual references and narrative framing of stories within stories, the writer emphasizes the metafictional dimension of her fiction, indicating that literature largely relies on rewriting. This narrative approach also dramatizes the function of the reader in the creation of a literary text.

2. Context

Antonia Susan Byatt started her literary career in the 1960s, and her name was initially associated with realist prose. Her later work, though, decidedly departs from realism and becomes increasingly experimental; for instance, in her most widely acclaimed novel, *Possession: A Romance* (1990), she examines the postmodern preoccupation with history through flagrant use of intertextuality and narrative framing. The author of eleven novels and five collections of short fiction, Byatt remains one of the most eminent British writers of the present day. Meandering between the worlds of the real and the fantastic, her fiction is preoccupied with issues such as literary representation, historiographic metafiction, and empowerment of women.

“The Djinn in the Nightingale’s Eye” is the longest story in the collection of the same title published in 1994; the unifying motif of the collection is that each of the stories is based on rewriting fairy tale motifs. The protagonist of the “The

Djinn in the Nightingale’s Eye” is a British narratologist, Gillian Perholt, who tries to redefine herself after her husband has abandoned her for another woman. She travels to Turkey to give a paper at a conference on “Stories in Women’s Lives.” In Istanbul she buys an old glass bottle; when she wipes it clean, a genie comes out to grant her three wishes. The genie (or actually the djinn, because the story draws the reader into Muslim mythology) is of an unexpectedly peculiar nature, and so are Gillian’s wishes. The story develops in a manner which disrupts established narrative patterns and defies the readers’ usual expectations.

3. Chinese boxes

The Ankara conference in which Gillian participates is devoted to various narrative representations of women’s fates and to different functions that the act of storytelling, or its effects, may fulfil in women’s lives. Gillian’s paper analyses the story of Patient Griselda, which comes from “The Clerk’s Tale” in Chaucer’s *The Canterbury Tales*, a narrative recounted by the “Clerk of Oxford, who took it from Petrarch’s Latin, which was a rendering of Boccaccio’s Italian” (Byatt, 1995, p. 107). This narrative layering, to a large extent, corresponds to the narrative structure of Byatt’s story: “The Djinn in the Nightingale’s Eye” comprises many stories embedded in other stories, on many levels. In fact, the main frame story, summarized above, constitutes only about a quarter of the whole text; most of the narrative consists of interpolated tales and digressions. Choosing Chaucer as a point of reference seems apt: after all, *The Canterbury Tales* is a work which itself employs the pattern of a frame story embedding many tales recounted by many different narrators. Obviously, Byatt is self-consciously aware of the meta-fictional consequences of such a structure and she uses it with a well premeditated intention.

The multi-layered narrative structure which involves stories embedded into other stories is discussed by Gérard Genette in his seminal work *The Narrative Discourse* (1983).¹ Genette (1983, pp. 228–234) distinguishes between three main narrative levels: the extradiegetic level, remaining ontologically above the main storyline, including the teller of the main story; the intradiegetic level, which comprises the world of the main story; and the metadiegetic level, the level of the interpolated stories. The metadiegetic level can break up into various separate layers, varying in degree, and this is what the reader faces in “The Djinn in the

¹ Byatt playfully casts Genette himself as a character in her story; both him and Tzvetan Todorov, another eminent narratologist, attend another conference in which Gillian participates.

Nightingale's Eye." For instance, we can discern four degrees of layering when we register that Byatt's story (level i) quotes from Gillian's conference paper (level ii), which quotes from *The Canterbury Tales* (level iii), which includes "The Clerk's Tale" (level iv).

The textual strategy which utilizes several layers of embedding, in narrative theory often referred to as Chinese box structure, is a major device employed by postmodernist fiction. A special subcategory of this multi-layered embedding technique is *mise-en-abyme*. Brian McHale (1987, p. 124) provides its lucid definition:

A true *mise-en-abyme* is determined by three criteria: first, it is a nested or embedded representation, occupying a narrative level inferior to that of the primary, diegetic narrative world; secondly, this nested representation *resembles* . . . something at the level of the primary, diegetic world; and thirdly, this "something" that it resembles must constitute some salient and continuous aspect of the primary world, salient and continuous enough that we are willing to say the nested representation *reproduces* or *duplicates* the primary representation as a whole. (emphasis original)

A universally recognized literary example of *mise-en-abyme* is *Hamlet*, with its playlet, "The Mousetrap," which parallels the main axis of the tragedy. Byatt self-consciously signals the importance of this narrative strategy to her story, as she places one of its scenes in Istanbul's Hagia Sophia, whose entrance mosaic employs *mise-en-abyme* in form of a visual depiction of the very church, in miniature, offered to Jesus and Mary (the painting dating from the times when it was still a Christian cathedral). Most importantly, though, the story extensively employs *mise-en-abyme* to emphasize its thematic preoccupations: many of the texts embedded in the main narrative – conference papers, stories told by Gillian to the djinn, or by the djinn to Gillian, stories told by other characters, or stories read by them – in some way relate, more or less directly, to the personal situation of the protagonist. Also, Gillian attends the conference entitled "Stories in Women's Lives," and this theme coincides to a significant degree with the theme running through the whole story. She gives a paper on the miserable life of Griselda, unobservant that it clearly reflects several aspects of her own life. In more general terms, one of key issues raised by Byatt in her story, both through Gillian's case and through micro-narratives embedded on lower levels, is that of independence and empowerment of women and of contemporary feminine identity.²

² Feminist readings of "The Djinn in the Nightingale's Eye" can be found in critical texts by Webb (2003), Renk (2006) and, to a certain extent, Bulamur (2011).

4. Metafictional dimension

Underscoring the iconic nature of *mise-en-abyme*, McHale (1987, p. 124) sees it as “one of the most potent devices in the postmodernist repertoire for foregrounding the ontological dimension of recursive structures.” “The Djinn in the Nightingale’s Eye” self-consciously exploits the metafictional potential of this literary strategy, organizing its narrative framework around several emblematic Chinese boxes. For instance, in a patently self-ironical example of *mise-en-abyme*, Byatt’s chooses to examine the issue of literary narrative representation of the world in a story featuring *narratologists*, who during a scientific conference themselves discuss the “construction of reality” performed by “the narrative imagination” (Byatt, 1995, p. 135). As they are situated in a context that emphasizes their self-reflexive relation to the act of storytelling, they are ironically called “being[s] of secondary order” (Byatt, 1995, p. 96), which only reinforces the metafictional status of their presence in the narrative text.

In essence, the metafictionality of multi-layered stories hinges on the foregrounding of the textual dimension of literary narratives over the (traditional) mimetic one. As Patricia Waugh (1996, p. 15) argues, the reader of metafictional narratives which feature several interdependent levels is “presented with embedded strata which contradict the presuppositions of the strata immediately above or below. The fictional *content* of the story is continually reflected by its *formal* existence as text, and the existence of that text within a world viewed in terms of ‘textuality’” (emphasis original). Hence, through pursuing the strategy of narrative framing, Byatt achieves in “The Djinn in the Nightingale’s Eye” what McHale (1987, p. 180) calls an effect of “ontological flickering”, a form of “ontological oscillation” aptly described by Roman Ingarden’s metaphor of the “iridescence” (McHale, 1987, p. 32) effect. Byatt highlights the constructed character of the embedded stories, yet, at the same time, she undermines the reality of the main plot line, which, because of her blatant use of the supernatural, hovers between a realistic story and a fairy tale, but does not entirely advance towards magic realism. Jessica Tiffin (2006, p. 62) notes that by means of embedding fairy tales in her fiction Byatt makes sure the reader can “no longer . . . sink into the comforting mimesis of narrative,” but is instead “forced to confront the tale’s structured status and to acknowledge the reciprocal influences of frame narrative and embedded artefact.”

At the same time, Byatt’s use of the Chinese box structure – practised by her copiously in other works as well: both in her prominent novel *Possession* and in numerous short stories – does not merely indicate metafictionality, but fulfils other functions as well. First, as Alfer and Edwards de Campos (2010, p. 110) point out, it “foregrounds the persistent operations of emplotment as the structural

equivalent of fate.” This is especially true for stories which, like “The Djinn in the Nightingale’s Eye,” rewrite classical fairy tales and utilize their conventional plot patterns: their characters realize that their fate is predetermined just like the plot of their story is “already fixed along predictable narrative lines”. Then, embedding stories within stories also reflects the multi-layered structure of the reality as it is available to human perception and as it transfers into representation. This is clearly expressed in Italo Calvino’s (1997, pp. 120–121) claim: “literature does not recognize Reality as such, but only *levels*. Whether there is such a thing as Reality, of which the various levels are only partial aspects, or whether there are only the levels, is something that literature cannot decide. Literature recognizes *the reality of the levels*.” Thus, by dint of operating the Chinese box narrative structure, Byatt is able, in a clearly postmodernist fashion, to question the existence of a single and unified reality.

5. Intertextuality

A sense of a constructed nature and a multiple, fragmentary character of human reality is also evoked in Byatt’s story through her extensive use of intertextual references. A passage quoted in section 3 above speaks of the story of Griselda, a figure of a maid illustrious for her meekness and patience, who, as Byatt’s protagonist observes, originated in Boccaccio’s *Decameron*. Griselda, or a character based on her, has later frequently reappeared in European cultural folklore: not only in Petrarch’s *Historia Griseldis* and Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*, mentioned in “The Djinn in the Nightingale’s Eye,” but in numerous other literary texts by authors including Shakespeare, Anthony Trollope and Caryl Churchill, or even in operas by Alessandro Scarlatti and Antonio Vivaldi. By means of making her narratologist protagonist discuss the textual position of such a universally recognized character as Griselda, Byatt accentuates the potential of intertextuality in structuring narrative works.

Literary theory owes the term intertextuality to Julia Kristeva, whose late 1960s studies develop upon Mikhail Bakhtin’s theory of dialogism and polyphony. As Hutcheon (2003, p. 126) puts it, Kristeva’s theory of intertextuality emphasizes “the irreducible plurality of texts within and behind any given text” and moves the focus of the literary debate away from the author towards “textual productivity.” Certainly, one of the landmarks of this debate is Roland Barthes’s (1977, pp. 142–148) essay which establishes his influential notion of “the death of the Author.” Barthes negates the assumption of the author’s boundless dominance over the literary text, affirming the “readerly” potential of the recipients.

He locates the origin of the text not in a “unified authorial consciousness,” but in “a plurality of voices, ... other utterances and other texts” (Allen, 2003, p. 72). Certainly, as a late-1990s narratologist, the heroine of Byatt’s story is conscious of the significance of Barthesian theory for her (textual) reality.

In fact, it is not only the woman’s profession, but also her name that automatically situates her within an intertextual frame. Her surname, Perholt, obviously evokes the name of a French fairy tale writer, Charles Perrault, who himself authored a version of Griselda’s story. Moreover, the protagonist’s first name, Gillian, which in the second part of the story is transcribed as Djil-yan, brings to mind a djinn, a supernatural creature from Eastern folk tradition, textualized by *The Arabian Nights*. Such a designation locates the heroine in a fairy tale dimension, which stresses her ontological status as an artifice, an invented character, a “being of secondary order” in another sense. At the same time, though, the name of Gillian Perholt, an amalgam of references to Eastern and Western folk tales, is also one of numerous signifiers which position Byatt’s story in the middle ground between the two cultural traditions. The textual signals of this kind appearing in “The Djinn in the Nightingale’s Eye” are quite bountiful. Part of the story takes place in Istanbul, a place which is geographically spread between two continents and which historically as well as culturally belongs to two realms: Hagia Sophia, a Christian cathedral turned into an Islamic mosque is again emblematic here. Similarly, the name of Gillian’s Turkish scholar friend, Orhan, alludes to Orhan Pamuk, an internationally recognized Turkish novelist whose works often discuss the influence of the conflict between Eastern and Western values on contemporary Turkish identity.³ Overall, Byatt flamboyantly recalls in the story a prodigious number of intertexts, either naming them directly or alluding to them. They represent either the Western – like Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, Dostoevsky’s *Crime and Punishment* or Mann’s *Death in Venice* – or the Eastern cultural tradition – like the Koran, *The Arabian Nights* or *The Epic of Gilgamesh*. One of the intertextual references, *The Thief of Bagdad*, an American silent movie starring Douglas Fairbanks and based on the Arabian Nights tales, has a special position, as it represents a reductive, Orientalist Western gaze. The multiplicity and frequency of intertextual allusions in Byatt’s story, which creates the impression of obtrusiveness, clearly accentuates Barthesian surmise that “a text consists of multiple writings, issuing from several cultures and entering into dialogue with each other” (Barthes, 1977, p. 148).

³ When Byatt’s story was published, in 1994, Pamuk already enjoyed noticeable recognition in the West. Naturally, his popularity was further boosted when he was granted the Nobel Prize in literature in 2006.

6. Repetition with a difference

Aware of the ironic potential of postmodernist intertextuality, Linda Hutcheon (2003, p. 40) recognizes it as an efficient strategy by means of which fiction can foreground the constructed character of the reality. The critic considers the discourse of intertextuality in postmodernist fiction to be “parodically doubled” (Hutcheon, 2003, p. 128), and claims that parody is an essential postmodernist artistic form. Noting that parody “both incorporates and challenges” its object (Hutcheon, 2003, p. 11), she further argues that the manner in which postmodern writers use parody demands that we revise its definition and understand it as “with critical distance that allows ironic signalling of difference at the very heart of similarity” (Hutcheon, 2003, p. 26). In this way, the natural consequence of planting intertextual references in the text is focusing the reader’s attention on how the story relies on previously structured narrative patterns and how it consciously, and meaningfully, departs from them.

A.S. Byatt’s “The Djinn in the Nightingale’s Eye” engages in its narrative structure the patterns of several literary genres, but the one which is most intensively exploited is that of a fairy tale. As the reader of the story can see from its opening sentence, quoted in the introduction to this paper, the narrative endeavours to apply a postmodern strategy of a repetition with a difference, thus conveying its ironic and critical distance to the established model. Technically, the reader is invited into the realm of the fantastic, but most of the expectations established by the usual patterns of the fairy tale genre are frustrated already in this first sentence: (i) it sets the plot in the present day, introducing elements of contemporary technologies, (ii) it juxtaposes the cultural traditions of the East and the West, and (iii) it suggests a possibility of a feminist undertone. Byatt relies here on the fact that the genre of fairy tale, typically patriarchal in its main assumptions and built on flagrant gender stereotypes, is a perfect material for postmodernist ironic rewriting which has a feminist agenda. When the writer revisits traditional folk tale themes with a feminist critical attitude, she follows in the footsteps of her literary predecessors who centred on the issue of female empowerment in their rewritings of fairy tales – one of the most notable examples from British fiction being Angela Carter’s collection *The Bloody Chamber and Other Stories* (1995).

Yet “The Djinn in the Nightingale’s Eye” does not merely *depart* from fairy tale patterns: it is actually a realistic story which only features some motifs typical of this genre. Still, even if it incorporates supernatural elements, they are reverted quite against the reader’s expectations. It is most conspicuously seen in the narrative status of the three wishes granted to the protagonist by the djinn. The choice of the wishes is markedly influenced by the fact that Gillian, as a narratologist, is aware that typically the outcome of the three wishes in fairy tales is not advanta-

geous to the wishers: the wishes “have a habit of twisting the wishers to their own ends” (Byatt, 1995, p. 160) and the autonomy of choice is only illusory, because fairy tale readers realize that “the possible leap of freedom” is inevitably accompanied by “the perverse certainty that this will change nothing; that Fate is fixed” (Byatt, 1995, p. 259). In an feat of self-conscious irony, Gillian undermines the conventional act of making three wishes: only her first wish is centred on herself; in the second one she makes the djinn directly involved, as she asks him to love her; finally, she renounces the last wish, ceding it to the djinn.

7. Conclusions

In “The Djinn in the Nightingale’s Eye” Byatt lavishes the reader with a profusion of intertextual references and multiplicity of narrative levels. Both intertextuality and Chinese box structure function as metafictional strategies, enabling her to achieve the effect of ontological flickering, which highlights the constructed character of the narrative reality. The ontological stability of the story’s world is further problematized by its wavering between the realistic and the supernatural. Byatt also pursues an exemplary postmodernist goal: aware that “intertextuality replaces the challenged author-text relationship with one between reader and text” (Hutcheon, 2003, p. 126), she emphasizes the significance of the reader’s role in creating the meaning of a literary text.

Byatt’s protagonist, Gillian Perholt, is a narratologist; she belongs to the group of “beings of secondary order,” *re*-tellers of tales, who are *indirectly* involved in the narrative process. Narratologists, as Gillian believes, “work by telling and retelling tales. This holds the hearer from sleep and allows the teller to insert him- or herself into the tale” (Byatt, 1995, p. 106). Yet, Byatt’s story suggests that not merely narratologists, but all literary narrators are “beings of secondary order,” inasmuch as literary storytelling quite inevitably, to a significant extent, originates in the act of retelling. The narrative structure of “The Djinn in the Nightingale’s Eye,” through its flagrant, or even obtrusive, use of strategies of embedding and intertextuality, indicates that literature generally relies on retelling and rewriting.

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The first European Games – contrasting narratives

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Abstract

The topic of my paper (i.e. the event I'm referring to) are the first European Games, held in June 2015 in Baku, Azerbaijan. These games, however, were not only the event that was an object of sports reporting but also reason to write and justify a narrative on the country and its political system.

Interestingly, the narratives were indeed quite different, even when using the same terms. I would like to show this in a comparative study, using English language newspapers from the UK and from Ireland, as well as German language newspapers from Germany, Austria, and Luxembourg. Indeed, it seems to be the country of origin that determines how Azerbaijan's political system is characterized, and not so much for example the political stance (for example, whether the very paper is to be found on the right – conservative – or on the left side of the political spectre). Also, the newspaper category does not seem to be decisive, that is, whether the very paper belongs to the group of the quality press or whether it belongs to the tabloids.

Even if all newspapers of my corpus focus on the same event, i.e. the Baku games, and, more so, all of them even use the same linguistic terms and concepts (like Azerbaijan being characterized as "authoritarian"), characterization differs dramatically. The differences correlate only on the paper's country of origin, and thus seem to depend on national narratives. Even in spite of using the same vocabulary, the stories are well opposed. For example, The *Irish Times* used the same (English language) concepts as the *Guardian*, but praised the games, whilst the *Guardian* denounced Azerbaijan's political system to an extent that even its reporter is banned from Azerbaijan. Similarly, German and even more so Austrian papers deplore Azerbaijan's political system, whilst the Luxemburg press praises the system for these well-organized games.

Keywords: Austria, English speaking countries in Europe, European Games, framing, German speaking countries in Europe, Germany, Ireland, Luxembourg, United Kingdom, values

1. Introduction

The first European Games were opened on Friday, 12. June, 2015, in Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan. They lasted until 28. June, 2015. As this was the creation of a new high profile sports event that aimed to unite the continent – of course in

regard of sports, but also as a media event, political discussions were intense and indeed controversial.

The Games thus were not only an event that was an object of sports reporting but also a reason to write and justify a narrative about the host country and its political system. Thus these first European games seem to have the potential for a comparative analysis of the coverage within different European media. It was especially looked for the newspaper coverage in different countries with one and the same language, respectively. Since the pluricentric languages in Europe are German and English, this author decided to use papers from German and English speaking countries as an opportunity for such an analysis.

The focus of this study thus lies not on sports but on the implications of the Games. The corpus consists of three papers from Austria, three quality and three regional papers from Germany, and four papers Luxembourg (for the German language papers), and of three UK and two Ireland papers (for the English language papers). All in all, it includes 18 papers both of national and regional scope, from high quality papers to tabloids, with a minimum circulation of 100 000.

Also, as reporting was thought to shift towards sports in the course of the Games, the corpus was limited to papers from the week of the opening ceremony (Monday, 8. June, 2015, until Saturday, 13. June, 2015).

Interestingly, the narratives about Azerbaijan were quite different. Indeed, it seems to be the country of origin of the respective newspaper that determines how Azerbaijan's political system is characterized, and not so much for example the political stance of the very paper (whether the very paper is to be found on the right – conservative – or on the left side of the political spectrum), nor is the newspaper category decisive, that is, whether the very paper belongs to the group of the quality press or whether it belongs to the tabloids.

Even if all newspapers of my corpus focus on the same event, i.e. the Baku Games, and, more so, all of them even use the same linguistic terms and concepts (like Azerbaijan being characterized as “authoritarian” and “repressive”), characterization differs dramatically. As said, it seems that these differences can only be explained with the paper's country of origin, and thus seem to depend on national narratives. Even in spite of using the same vocabulary, the narratives might even be antagonistic. For example, The *Irish Times* used the same (English language) concepts as the *Guardian*, but praised the games, whilst the *Guardian* denounced Azerbaijan's political system to an extent that even its reporter is banned from Azerbaijan. Similarly, Germany's and even more so Austria's papers deplore Azerbaijan's political system, whilst the Luxembourg press praises the system for these well-organized games.

2. Discourses

In the beginning, a discourse analysis was conducted with the goal to show whether and how much coverage and evaluation of the European Games in Baku differs in the respective countries. In order to do so, we look at linguistic and argumentative schemes that usually tend to derive from specific patterns of argumentation (Carrier, 1998; Sarasin, 2006, p. 24). Argumentation patterns reduce the possibilities of discourse to certain word combinations since lexicalization of communicative concepts is limited (Gibbs & Gonzales, 1985). On the other hand, it is precisely because of the everyday understanding and explanation strategies that such a study can be used in order to work out the patterns that are used in different countries.

2.1. German language papers

The classification of a European media event is ideally met in Luxembourg. In *Luxemburger Wort*, reports about the event appear in advance on the title page. The two sports sites even get their own head design. The coverage is friendly to euphoric. For example, on 12. June, 2015, *Luxemburger Wort* writes: “European Games in Baku. A spectacular opening ceremony.”¹ This kind of reporting is shared by the other papers of the country. The *Tageblatt* of June 13, 2015, for example, dealt with the costs of the opening ceremony, but put it in a rather positive light: “Paddling, not mess.”²

Papers in Germany report significantly different. In general, they have a negative attitude towards the event. In some cases this leads to totally avoiding coverage beyond the sportive aspects. Most regional papers refrain from writing about the European Games on their front pages; in these papers, even the opening ceremony is covered only in the sports section or in sections that refer to human interest stories, in these cases mainly referring to the appearance of ‘Lady Gaga’ at this ceremony. The restraint is indirectly justified in the headlines: it is just a “little Olympics,”³ as the *Rheinpfalz* headlines on 12. June, 2015 on a page entitled *Panorama*, or “Olympic Games light,”⁴ as titled by *Aachener Nachrichten* on 13. June, 2015 on the first page of its sports section, not mentioning the event in other parts of the paper. There are few indications on why this is done; if they appear,

¹ „Europaspiele in Baku. Eine spektakuläre Eröffnungszereemonie“.

² „Klotzen, nicht kleckern“.

³ „Klein Olympia“.

⁴ „Olympische Spiele light“.

however, they indicate a problematic “political scent”⁵ (as with *Rheinpfalz* in the continuation of the article’s title), that seems to be so questionable.

Refraining seems to be what not only most conservative papers did, but also papers that reach far into the liberal and left spectrum, even in the sports section relying only on the news agencies, as applies for *Die Welt* (on the conservative side), but also for *Berliner Zeitung*, or *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (on the left). Other newspapers, however, explicitly address political issues. *Der Tagesspiegel* reported on 9. June, 2015: “Before the European Games in Baku start: Bundestag wants to denounce human rights situation in Azerbaijan.”⁶ The following day, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* reported: “European Games in Baku: The Big Show of the President,”⁷ with several subheadings, including “Increasing Repression in Azerbaijan.”⁸

Neues Deutschland, the socialist paper from the very left, starts coverage the same way. The headline of 8th June, 2015 was: “Exile journalist calls Europe games in Baku a ‘PR show for a totalitarian country’.”⁹

The coverage of the quality newspapers from Austria corresponds to the coverage that has been observed in Germany: It is exclusively critical in regard of the host country as well as the first European Games itself. *Der Standard* wrote on 12th June, 2015: “European Games in Azerbaijan: Negative Advertising for Baku.”¹⁰ The political editors even felt compelled to write a comment whose heading summarizes the tendency: “Azerbaijan has undercut its lousy level of human rights in the past three years.”¹¹ Similarly, *Die Presse* headlined on 12. June, 2015: “European Games: A sporty question of meaning.”¹² No Austrian newspaper was seen to a softening of these negative political positions. Only in the sports section reporting was neutral and informed soberly about sporting events.

2.2. English language papers

In the United Kingdom too, reporting is in line with this pattern. *The Independent* headlined on 12th June, 2015: “Baku European Games 2015: Sport and politics have become a poisonous mix we can no longer ignore.” The background of this

⁵ „politische Note“ („Klein-Olympia mit politischer Note“).

⁶ „Vor den Europaspielen in Baku: Bundestag will Menschenrechtslage in Aserbaidschan anprangern“.

⁷ „Europa-Spiele in Baku: Die große Show des Präsidenten“.

⁸ „Zunehmende Repression in Aserbaidschan“.

⁹ „Exiljournalist nennt Europaspiele in Baku ‚PR-Show für ein totalitäres Land‘“.

¹⁰ „Europaspiele in Aserbaidschan: Negativwerbung für Baku“.

¹¹ „Aserbaidschan hat sein lausiges Niveau an Menschenrechten in den vergangenen drei Jahren noch unterboten“.

¹² „Europaspiele: Eine sportliche Sinnfrage“.

is that a British journalist from the *Guardian* has been deprived of accreditation because of his negative reporting. This led to a solidarizing effect and to a reporting that is by no means less negative to the Austrian one.

On the other hand, Ireland (the home country of the incumbent President of the European Olympic Committee, Pat Hickey (a fact that might be of some importance in this respect) is setting its own priorities. In fact, *The Irish Times* forms with the *Guardian* an editorial working association especially in regard of joint foreign correspondents (*Guardian service*). Since *The Irish Times* now can not rely on the *Guardian's* Azerbaijani reporter any more, reporting is limited. This, on the other hand, seems to give new opportunities to the newspaper, as it obviously seeks a less critical and anti position. First, on 11th June, 2015, the paper explains why it will be difficult to report: “Azerbaijan government ban The Guardian from Baku Games.” Nevertheless, the home office is gathering more reports, and it is noticeable that and how quickly it turns the focus away from the problematic political situation. On 12. June, 2015, *The Irish Times* writes: “European Games kick off in Baku as focus moves to sport,” and analogously in another article: “Let the European Games begin even as controversy looms large.”

3. Linguistic realizations

Expressions like ‘authoritarian’ (or ‘repressive,’ for that matter) are almost schematically linked to certain country names. Collocative are country names like ‘Russia’ – and ‘Azerbaijan.’ A Google search for “Azerbaijan NEAR repressive” leads to half a million hits (7. December, 2018). Almost inevitably, this combination is also found in the newspapers of the corpus.

The Guardian as well as *The Irish Times* report on 11th June, 2015 of the *Guardian* journalist’s accreditation ban in an article (that the Irish newspaper has published in accordance to the sharing contract with the *Guardian*) and in which, on that day, obviously substantiated and quite understandable, the words of “government repression” show up. In the further reporting, the collocating of the political descriptor with the name of the country takes place almost automatically. *The Irish Times* speaks in the text “Let the European Games begin even as controversy looms large” of 12th June, 2015 of “a repressive petro-financed mafia state.” The *Independent* uses the potential of this linguistic and content-related connection on 12th June, 2015, even for a new word creation: “the Repression Games” (instead of “the European Games”).

All German language newspapers of the corpus, too, regularly link the country name Azerbaijan with these political descriptors. Examples are “state

repression”¹³ from *Tagesspiegel* of 9. June, 2015, or “[i]ncreasing repression in Azerbaijan”¹⁴ in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* of 10. June, 2015. Also from *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* are the examples “the repressions of the Azerbaijani regime”¹⁵ or the series “Swank, propaganda, arrests and repressions,”¹⁶ both of 13. June, 2015.

A quote as “President Ilham Aliyev, who, since 2003, rules his country in an authoritarian and increasingly repressive ruled way”¹⁷ from *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* of 11. June, 2015, refers to the second term of this word field. ‘Azerbaijan’ and ‘authoritarian’ seem to collocate just as often as ‘Azerbaijan’ and ‘repressive’. The search for “Azerbaijan NEAR authoritative” yields even more hits than for the descriptor ‘repressive.’ In addition, there is the term “autocratic,” which is used by the *Independent*, for example, on 12. June, 2015, and the *Guardian* speaks on 11th June, 2015 about “the autocratic government of the president, Ilham Aliyev.”

Again, these schematisms can be found literally in all German examples, such as the regional daily *Die Rheinpfalz*, which speaks of a “state organized in an authoritarian way”¹⁸ on 12th June, 2015, or *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, discussing “the authoritarian-led Government of President Ilham Aliyev,”¹⁹ 13. June, 2015. In *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* of 12. June, 2015, we see a variation such as “an autocratic regime,”²⁰ and *Tagesspiegel* speaks on 9. June, 2015 about “Azerbaijan, which is authoritarian ruled by President Ilham Aliyev.”²¹ – The same applies to literally all papers from Austria. *Die Presse*, on 12th June, 2015, has a report on “the authoritarian president, Ilham Aliyev.”²²

Even more so, the link between the political system of Azerbaijan and these terms are also found in newspapers from countries that do not value the Games and the political system of the hosting country as problematic and that tend to report positively. An example from Luxembourg is the article of *Tageblatt* from 12th June, 2015, whose headline “Jeff Henkel is our flag bearer in Baku”²³ already

¹³ „staatliche Repression”.

¹⁴ „Zunehmende Repression in Aserbaidshjan”.

¹⁵ „die Repressionen des aserbaidshjanischen Regimes“.

¹⁶ „der Protz, die Propaganda, die Verhaftungen und Repressionen“.

¹⁷ „Präsident Ilham Aliyev, der sein Land seit 2003 autoritär und zunehmend repressiv regiert“.

¹⁸ „autoritär geführten Staat“.

¹⁹ „die autoritär geführten Regierung von Staatspräsident Ilham Aliyev“.

²⁰ „ein autokratisches Regime“.

²¹ „Aserbaidshjan, das von Präsident Ilham Aliyev autoritär regiert wird“.

²² „vom autoritären Präsidenten, Ilham Aliyev“.

²³ „Jeff Henkels Fahnenträger in Baku“.

demonstrates that a criticism of the Games is certainly not in mind here. Nevertheless, there are statements in this article that use the linguistic schemata mentioned, such as when speaking of “the authoritarian-led government.”²⁴

4. Same expressions, different positions

Still, the Games are covered in a contrasting way, evidently correlated not so much with the respective newspaper’s political stance, but according to the country of origin. As said, in the German-speaking world, the newspapers are always very critical, both in Germany proper, as well as in Austria, where papers are particularly negative towards the hosting country. By contrast, the coverage in the German-speaking Grand Duchy of Luxembourg is extremely positive and approving.

The situation is similar in the English-speaking press. All papers from the United Kingdom, without restriction, report in a decidedly critical way about the Games and the political system of Azerbaijan. There is literally not a single positive article on the European Games to be found in the British newspapers.

The eviction order of the *Guardian* reporter also affected the *Irish Times*, which is supplied by the *Guardian Service*. But here the rejection of the event and the policies of Azerbaijan is not so evident – and then, very fast, turns to be much more positive.

It is important to hint on the fact that all newspapers examined are of West and Central European origin. This means they are read in countries that, at least since the Second World War (i.e. for seventy years, more than two generations) are democratic. Still, in regard of valuing Azerbaijan’s political system, they oppose each other diametrically. While there is a radical rejection of the political system and, as a consequence, the European Games to be found in Austria, the United Kingdom, and in Germany, others welcome the event and even want to ask Azerbaijan to again organize the next games in four year’s time because the organization was so impressive (Ireland and even more clearly Luxembourg). A phrase such as Luxembourg’s *Tageblatt’s* “It is also a fact that Baku sets and will set very high standards. [...] Perhaps the EOC could ask the President of Azerbaijan, Ilhan Aliyev, for the second edition to be held in his country as well ...”²⁵ cannot be imagined in Austria or the UK! – High Standards is, of course, a clear and strong

²⁴ „die autoritär geführten Regierung“.

²⁵ „Fakt ist auch, dass Baku sehr hohe Standards setzt und setzen wird. [...] Vielleicht könnte das EOC den Präsidenten Aserbaidshans, Ilhan Aliyev, darum bitten, auch die zweite Ausgabe in seinem Land stattfinden zu lassen ...“.

positive expression. So there is nothing to be felt here from the criticism of the political system and the president, on the contrary. In Luxembourg you would not oppose another Games in Azerbaijan, you even consider this to be the very best possible option. This is a position diametrically opposed to everything you would read in Britain, Germany or Austria.

Despite these different positions, the linguistic schemes are absolutely comparable. All papers use the same expressions, again regardless of their political position – and even regardless their country of origin. Obviously, it is clear to everyone that Azerbaijan is an autocratic governed country, which contradicts the common political values of all countries included in this survey. Moreover, these common values clearly do lead to a common language. However, this evidently does not lead to a common position, positions being indeed absolutely contrary.

4. Conclusions

Obviously, different positions are possible despite identical linguistic schemes. These observations thus can be seen as a contribution to the debate on the effectiveness of the framing theory.

Framing theorists suggest that words determine the way in which we think, as every word invokes a frame in the recipient's mind and, in turn, guide the perception of whatever is the issue, most time without even being aware of (Goffman, 1974; Lakoff, 2004; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). The question, however, is whether we are able to think beyond frames. Theoretically, this seems to be the case, since without development or progress, no new idea would be possible. In framing theory this is accepted insofar as it might be possible to become conscious of the reasoning and decision-making, but this only happens if one is intensively involved with topics and has background knowledge.

The finding of this study, however, suggest that while linguistic frames are so important that they cannot be avoided, and indeed are used by literally all newspapers of this corpus, they seem to determine at least the paper's stance to a lesser extent than frames of national public opinions.

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Verbal explication of (intra-)interevent causal relations in the story-telling: Comparative study of primary language-impaired and typically-developed pre-schoolers

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Abstract

The current study aimed at evaluating children's ability to explicate verbally the cause-and-effect relations between the events, sequentially organized actions of the characters and their goal-outcome connections. The subjects of our study, i.e. 12 typically-developing (TD) and 12 primarily language-impaired (PLI) Russian preschoolers (mean age 76 months) were asked to tell a story according to a picture sequence. A dual analysis of the verbal explication of causal relations was carried out: 1) during the semantic quantitative analysis of narrative coherence, two types of relations between the events or the characters' actions were estimated: (a) verbally explicated causal relations and (b) semantic relations explicated by sequencing the actions following the "post hoc ergo propter hoc" presupposition (Sanders, 2005); 2) an analysis of the linguistic causal relations was based on a distribution of causal vs. non-causal connectives, such as conjunctions and discourse markers, in the narratives. The statistical analysis revealed significantly infrequent use of causal connectives in the PLI children if compared to the TD peers. As for the semantic relations, the score for the causal relation index was significantly lower in the PLI children than in the TD peers, contrary to the score for the semantic relation index. Among the linguistic devices used for an explication for causal relations, however, only the percentage of causal conjunctions was significant between the groups.

Keywords: language acquisition, language impairment, coherence, discourse markers

1. Introduction

"Narrative imitates life, life imitates narrative," J. Bruner has said, and this profound statement figuratively illustrates the key role of the causality concept in understanding the nature of a true narrative. The early joint attempts of children

and their parents to construct a plausible story about their life events are the first step into the understandable world. To investigate a development of this ability, one of the most relevant methods is a story-telling according to picture sequences which has been traditionally employed as a language and oral discourse assessment tool (Bishop, 2004; Justice et al., 2010; Schneider, Dubé & Hayward, 2006; Stein & Albro, 1997; Stein & Glenn, 1975). A narrative should be treated from the twofold perspective: a) as a text of the given discourse genre and b) as a process of generating a verbal story. The latter is a multistep cognitive and verbal activity. In a fiction narrative production according to pictures, the initial steps are to realize the sense of the whole pictured story, to animate it and to chunk implicitly this initially unstructured image into events. The next and even more challenging steps include a verbalization of these chunks according to the narrative template and a verbal explication of the causal relations between the actions of the characters. This effortful task is closely related to planning, sequencing abilities and verbal reasoning activity that may result in the construction of a sufficiently vs. insufficiently coherent narrative. We term this ‘skills of the coherent narration’ and distinguish it from an ability to produce a grammatically correct cohesive text.

Most studies in narrative development have been devoted to text cohesion (as part of a narrative microstructure), for example, in the language disordered children, there are multiple pieces of evidence of their weakness in the narrative micro- and/or macrostructure (Blom & Boerma, 2016; Boerma, Leseman, Timmermeister, Wijnen, & Blom, 2016; Colozzo, Gillam, Wood, Schnell, & Johnston, 2011; Duinmeijer, de Jong, & Scheper, 2012; Reuterskiöld, Hansson, & Sahlén, 2011; Sheng, Zhang, Jiang, de Villiers, Lee, & Liu, 2017; Squires, Lugo-Neris, Peña, Bedore, Bohman, & Gillam, 2014). In most of the given studies, the content and its structure (story structure, episode structure, etc.) were analyzed. Much less is still known about coherence in narrative production. The recent findings have evidenced that a skilled narrator is usually proficient in establishing the logical relations in his/ her storytelling and in monitoring its appropriateness. One of the main challenges for children acquiring narrative competence is to master the skills to verbalize explicitly logical relations. Hence, we will try to find the developmental changes manifested in storytelling skills of typically-developing (TD) children and their primarily language-impaired (PLI) peers.

Primary language impairment (PLI) is recognized as a developmental language disorder where the levels of phonological, lexical and syntactic development significantly backward from the chronological age, while nonverbal intelligence, vision, and hearing are normal (Kornev, 2006). This term is relevant to the “specific developmental disorders of speech and language” in the ICD-10

(the 10th revision of the International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems, a medical classification list by the World Health Organization).

The current study aimed at evaluating children's ability to verbally explicate cause-and-effect relations between the events, sequentially organized actions of the characters, and their goal-outcome connections. In other words, we studied the learning to construct "a causal chain from the opening to the closing of the story" (Trabasso & Sperry, 1985, p. 595) in TD and clinical population.

2. Materials and methods

2.1. Participants

Participants with the PLI (12 children, mean age 77 months, attending state kindergartens in St. Petersburg, Russia) were selected from a large group of clinically-referred cases investigated in the previous study (Kornev & Balčiūnienė, 2017); the inclusion criterion was a normal non-verbal intelligence *Raven's Colored Progressive Matrices Test* (1998); the exclusion criterion was hearing or/and visual impairment. The PLI children had received a two-year-course of speech therapy (five sessions a week) at a state kindergarten they attended; nevertheless, in their speech data numerous phonetic, lexical, and grammatical errors occurred. The control group included 12 TD peers randomly selected from the same kindergartens.

For all the participants, informed consent was obtained from their parents. An approval from the Ethical Commission of St. Petersburg State Pediatric Medical University was received.

2.2. Procedure

The study employed the *Russian Assessment Instrument for Narratives – RAIN* (Balčiūnienė & Kornev, 2016, 2019; Kornev & Balčiūnienė, 2014, 2015, 2017). The main methodological sources for the elaboration of the RAIN were Stein and Glenn (1975), Stein and Albro (1997), Schneider, Dubé, and Hayward (2006), and Gagarina, Klop, Kunnari, Tantele, Välimaa, Balčiūnienė, Bohnacker and Walters (2012). The picture sets (Fig. 1) have been developed in the framework of the COST Action IS0804 *Language Impairment in a Multilingual Society: Linguistic Patterns and the Road to Assessment* (<http://www.bi-sli.org>).

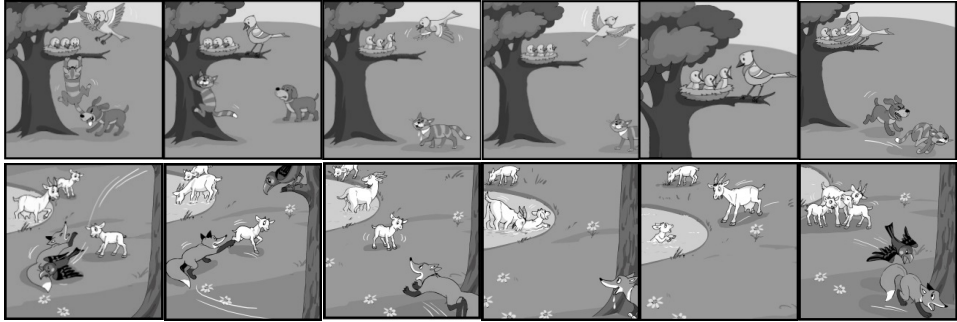


Fig. 1. Visual stimuli. *The Baby-Birds* and *The Baby-Goats*

Each set consisted of six colored wordless pictures (10 x 10 cm). Despite a congruence between the scripts and the pictorial content, *The Baby-Goats* set is considered to be more complex to perceive because of slightly overlapping episodes and an additional subplot (Kornev & Balčiūnienė, 2014). This enabled us to control for story complexity and to evaluate its impact on the narrative production (more on this, see Kornev & Balčiūnienė, 2017).

During an individual assessment, after a short warm-up, participants performed two tasks (story-telling and retelling); both tasks were followed by ten comprehension questions (retelling and comprehension were not included in the current study). The sessions of the 1st and the 2nd task were separated by a few minutes of spontaneous talk between the experimenter and the child. The order of the tasks presented in the 1st and the 2nd sessions was counterbalanced regarding the story complexity (*The Baby-Birds* vs. *The Baby-Goats*) and narrative mode (story-telling vs. retelling). Although the data used for the analysis were collected by different experimenters, they were instructed by the same supervisor (a co-author of the paper) and underwent the same training on the procedures. The sessions were audio-recorded and transcribed for further (pragma-)linguistic analysis.

2.3. Measures analyzed

A dual analysis of the verbal explication of causal relations was carried out, i.e. 1) semantical and 2) causal links within each of the narratives were analyzed.

2.3.1. Semantic quantitative measures of narrative coherence

For the first part of the study (the semantic quantitative analysis of the narrative coherence), two types of relations between the events or the characters' actions were

estimated: i.e. (a) causal relations verbally explicated by using specific content (1) or functional (2) words and (b) semantic relations explicated by sequencing the actions (3) following the “post hoc ergo propter hoc” presupposition (Sanders, 2005).

- 1) *Kozlenok chutj **ne utonul**. Papa ego **vytashchil**.*
‘The baby-goat was almost sunk. [His] father saved him.’
- 2) *I papa byl rad, **chto** kozlenok byl spasen.*
‘And the father was happy that [his] baby-goat was saved.’
- 3) *Prishel kot. I zakhotel pouzhinatj. Zalez na derevo.*
‘A cat came. And [he] decided to have a dinner. [He] climbed up the tree.’

First, the total number of semantically related pairs (SRPs) was estimated in the text-samples, originally elaborated by experts for the retelling task (Gagarina et al., 2012) (Fig. 2).

The SRPs in the text-sample	Events (characters’ actions/ internal states)
	1. Two baby-goats and their mother were walking around.
1	2. The baby-goat-1 started eating grass.
2	3. The baby-goat-2 came to the pond and fell into the water.
3	4. The baby-goat-2 got scared.
4	5. The mother-goat saw the baby-goat-2 scared.
5	6. The mother-goat jumped into the water to help the baby-goat-2.
6	7. The mother-goat pushed the baby-goat-2 out of the water.
7	8. A hungry fox was staying behind a tree.
8	9. The fox saw the baby-goat-1 alone.
9	10. The fox decided to catch the baby-goat-1
10	11. The fox grabbed the baby-goat-1.
11	12. A bird was sitting on the tree.
12	13. The bird saw the baby-goat-1 in danger.
13	14. The bird flew down to help the baby-goat-1.
14	15. The bird bit the fox’s tail.
15	16. The fox got scared.
16	17. The fox ran away.
17	18. The mother-goat saw the baby-goat-1 saved by the bird.
18	

Fig. 2. Semantically related pairs in the text-sample elaborated for retelling *The Baby-Goats*

During the data analysis, the total number of the SRPs produced by the participants was estimated in each of the stories. Then, the individual score of the SRPs produced in the stories (in comparison to the text-samples) was calculated. Finally, two indexes of the semantic relations explication were estimated and compared between the groups. The first one, *the Causal Relation Index (CRI)*, was calculated by dividing the total number of the child's *causal links* (such as those given in Examples 1 and 2) by the total number of SRPs in the text-sample. The second one, the *Sequential Relation Index (SRI)*, was calculated by dividing the total number of the child's *sequential links* (such as those given in Example 3) by the total number of SRPs in the text-sample.

2.3.2. Pragmalinguistic measures of narrative coherence

Following several previous linguistic studies in a discourse coherence acquisition (Cain, 2003; Cain & Oakhill, 1996; Habermas & de Silveira, 2008; Peterson & McCabe, 1991; Pinto, Tarchi, & Bigozzi, 2015, 2016; Sah, 2013; Shapiro & Hudson, 1991), causal connectives were analyzed as pragmalinguistic measure of narrative coherence. First, we classified all the connectives into conjunctions and discourse markers. Both conjunctions and discourse markers were further classified into causal and non-causal. Then, we estimated individual percentages of the (a) causal conjunctions (such as that as in Example 4), (b) non-causal conjunctions (such as that as in Example 5), (c) causal discourse markers (such as those as in Example 6), and non-causal discourse markers (such as that as in Example 7).

- 4) *Mama reshila najti chervjaka i uletela.*
'The mother decided to find a worm and [she] flew away.'
- 5) *Zhili-byli ptenchiki i mama.*
'There were baby-birds and [their] mother.'
- 6) *Kot uzhe na nix smotrit. I uzhe xochet ix sjestj. I polez na derevo.*
'The cat is looking already at them. And [he] wants to eat them. 'And [he] started climbing up the tree.'
- 7) *Zhila-byla mama ptica. I ptenchiki tozhe byli.*
'[There] was a mother-bird. And chicks also were [there].'

3. Results

3.1. The semantic devices for a narrative coherence

Even at first glance, narratives produced by the PLI subjects seem to be much less elaborated in comparison to those produced by the TD peers. For example, the

story produced by the TD subject (1) contains 10 events, three sequential links and four causal links verbalized.

Zhili-byli teljatki. I mama koza. Mama koza uvidela, chto ee yagnenok upal v vodu. I zaprygnula v vodu, chtoby ego vytashchitj. A lisa uvidela kozljatok. Kogda mama ego vytashchila, on vyshel na travu. A mama koza v eto vremja smotrela nazad. Vyprygnula lisa. Skhvatila telenka, poka mama koza pila vodu. A v eto vremja podgljadyval orel... chto lisa trogaet yagnenka. Podletel k lise i vzjal ee za khvost. Potom mama koza... ee teljatki byli spaseny. A orel pognalsja za lisoj.

‘There were calves. And [their] mother-goat. The mother-goat saw her lamb fell into the water. And [she] jumped into the water to pull him out. And the fox saw the baby-goats. When the mother pulled him out, he went out onto the grass. And the mother-goat then was looking backward. The fox jumped out. [She] grabbed the calf while the mother-goat was drinking water. The meantime, the eagle was spying... the fox touched the lamb. [He] flew up to the fox and took her tail. Then, the mother-goat... Her calves were saved. And the eagle chased the fox.’

The story produced by the PLI subject (2) contains six events and two sequential links verbalized.

Kozlenok kupalsja v rechke. Mama ego kushala travku. Papa smotrel za kozlenkom. Kozlenok. Kozlenok, naverno, chutj ne utonul. Papa ego vytashchil... oj, mama. Mama vytashchil. Lisa smotrela za kozlenkom. Vyskochila i pojimala ego. Potom nalletela vorona na lisu. I lisa ne mogla pojmatj ego. Potom kozlenok prishel k mame s papoj, a vorona za lisoj pognalasj.

‘The baby-goat was swimming in the river. His mother was eating grass. The father was looking after the baby-goat. The baby-goat. The baby-goat probably was nearly sunk. The father pulled him out... ups, the mother. The mother pulled [him] out. The fox was spying the baby-goat. [She] jumped out and caught him. Then, a raven flew at the fox. And the fox could not catch him. Then the baby-goat went to the mother and father, and the crow chased the fox.’

In Figure 3, the events and the SRPs verbalized by the TD (1) and the PLI (2) child are presented in comparison to the text sample given in Figure 2.

One can see (Fig. 3) that the PLI child verbalized fewer episodes and SRPs in comparison to the TD peer, and the SRPs were limited to the sequential links. Moreover, the sequential links were explicated by a discourse marker *then*; subordinating temporal clauses (such as *when...*, *after...*, *while...*) were not produced. In the TD child’s narrative, besides the discourse markers, we found one subordinating causal clause and two temporal ones.

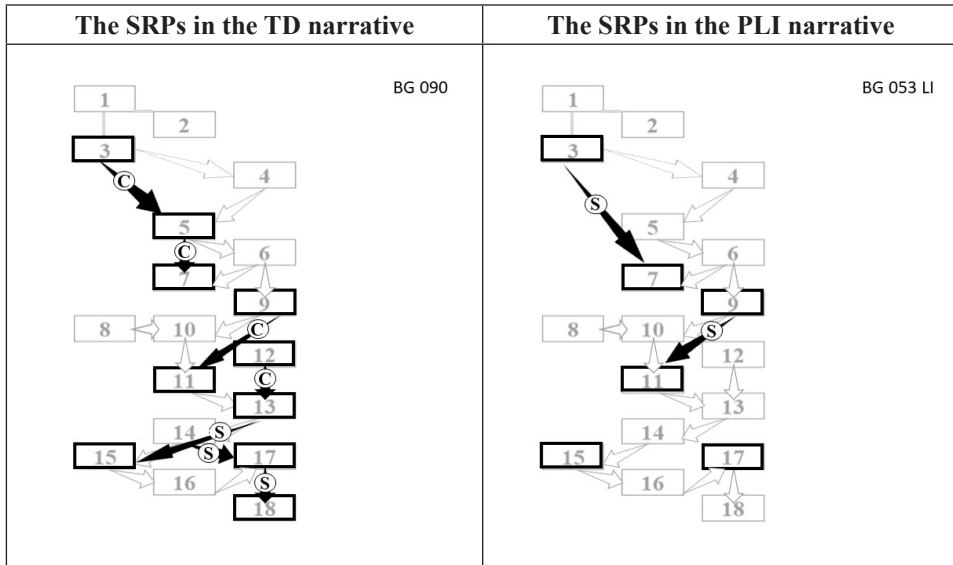


Fig. 3. The SRPs in the TD vs. PLI child’s *The Baby-Goats* narrative (in comparison to the text-sample, see Fig. 2).

In the PLIs, from 0/16 to 7/16 SRPs per story were produced, while in the TDs, this number reached 10/16. However, the *group* and *story complexity* variables had a different impact on the score of the CRI and the SRI (Fig. 4).

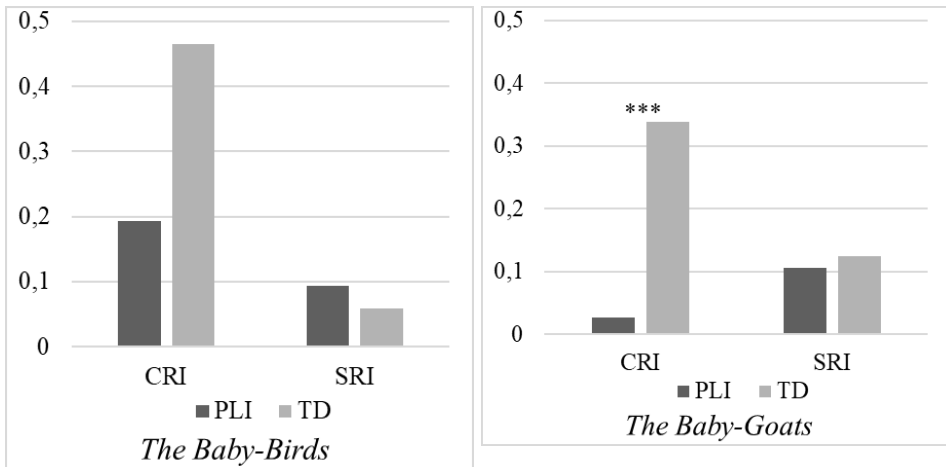


Fig. 4. The CRI and SRI score in the TD and PLI children

When telling a story according to the easier sequence *The Baby-Birds*, both TD and PLI participants used more causal links and fewer semantic links, in comparison to the more complex sequence *The Baby-Goats*. However, from this perspective, *The Baby-Birds* narratives did not reveal any significant differences between the groups. *The Baby-Goats* narratives, to the contrary, significantly ($p \leq 0.001$) differentiated the groups on the CRI score; the SRI score was similar for both the TD and PLI participants.

3.2. The pragma-linguistic devices of a narrative coherence

Among the coherence devices, causal coordinating and causal subordinating conjunctions turned out to be used differently between the TD and PLI children (Fig. 5).

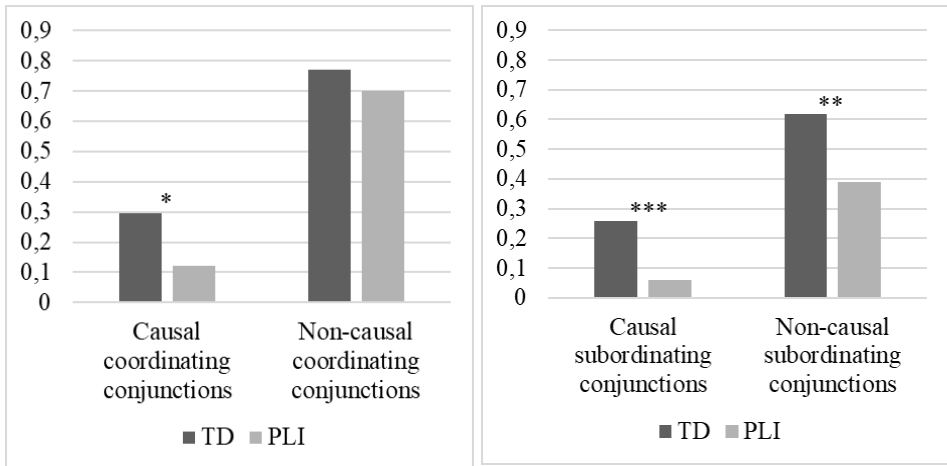


Fig. 5. The distribution of coordinating and subordinating conjunctions in the TD and PLI children

Although the coordinating conjunctions were generally more frequent than the subordinating ones in both the TD and PLI groups, percentage of both coordinating and subordinating causal conjunctions differed between the groups ($p \leq 0.05$ and $p \leq 0.001$, respectively). Percentage of non-causal subordinating conjunctions was also significantly different between the groups ($p \leq 0.01$). This result confirmed the observation that syntactic complexity (e.g. *the Subordination index*, see Newman & McGregor, 2016; Scott, 1988) might be a valid diagnostic measure for the PLI, especially when evaluating causal clauses.

Discourse markers, unexpectedly, did not reveal any statistical differences between the groups (Fig. 6).

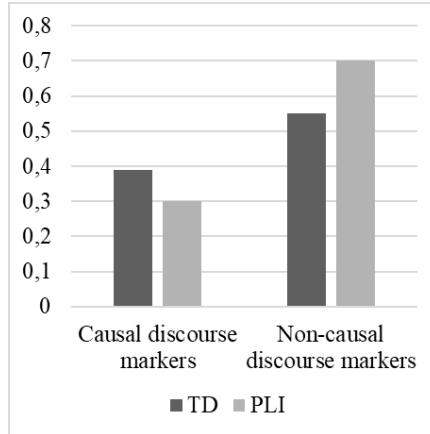


Fig. 6. The distribution of discourse markers in the TD and PLI children

Both TD and PLI participants used more non-causal discourse markers and fewer causal ones. Percentage of causal discourse markers was much lower than that of non-causal ones in the PLI group but the difference was not significant.

3.3. Differences in the narrative coherence between the TD and PLI children

To sum up, the statistical analysis revealed significantly less frequent use of causal connectives in the PLI children, as compared to the TD peers. As for the semantic relations, the CRI score was significantly lower in the PLI children than in the TD peers, contrary to the SRI score (Tab. 1).

Tab. 1. Linguistic and semantic measures in the TD and PLI children's narratives

Variables	TD		PLI		Sig.
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>p</i> value
A percentage of causal coordinating conjunctions among all coordinating conjunctions	0.295	0.31	0.122	0.18	0.05
A percentage of non-causal coordinating conjunctions among all coordinating conjunctions	0.77	0.34	0.70	0.31	ns

Variables	TD		PLI		Sig.
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>p</i> value
A percentage of causal subordinating conjunctions among all subordinating conjunctions	0.26	0.31	0.06	0.17	0.001
A percentage of non-causal subordinating conjunctions among all subordinating conjunctions	0.62	0.31	0.39	0.49	0.01
A percentage of causal discourse markers among all discourse markers	0.39	0.19	0.30	0.33	ns
A percentage of non-causal discourse markers among all discourse markers	0.55	0.22	0.70	0.33	ns
A percentage of CRI in comparison to the text-sample	0.40	0.21	0.16	0.14	0.01
A percentage of SRI in comparison to the text-sample	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.13	ns

4. Discussion

It is common knowledge that text (oral or written) comprehension, besides speech decoding, also involves anticipation and inferences based on individual's knowledge. The same is true for discourse production. In the settings of joint attention, the narrator usually verbalizes his/ her message only partially and relies on the expectation that the remaining part of the content is evident for a listener. In daily written or oral communication, this phenomenon is recognized as the presupposition (Horn, 1997) or the theme-rheme model (Halliday, 1994). Children, additionally, employ implications quite often when they struggle with verbalizing the content. Storytelling according to picture sequence to an adult listener in the settings of joint attention arranges contradictory circumstances. Both the child and adult see the pictures and, thus, the child telling the story may expect the listener to extract some details of the content from the pictures. The more limited the child is in constructing a verbal text, the more he/ she tends to implicate without overt verbalizing. The simplest way to implicate causal relations is to put them sequentially and suppose that *post hoc sed propter hoc*. This strategy is considered to be typical at the very initial stages of narrative development (Hedberg & Stoel-Gammon, 1986). Hence, to assess the child's ability to construct a coherent narrative, we should consider not only explicated causal relations but also the implications. In the few publications devoted to causal relations in the narrative, usually only verbal means of explicated

relations have been discussed. Specifically, a comparison between TD and clinical populations have revealed that specifically language-impaired (SLI) children used causal connectives much less frequently than conjoining and time ones (Epstein & Phillips, 2009), they tended to focus more on story structure than on causal connectivity (Hayward, Gillam, & Lien, 2007) and they more often used connectives in a way that violated causal relations in the story (Tribushinina, Dubinkina, & Sanders, 2015) in comparison to the TD peers. Studies in bilingual clinical populations have evidenced that Russian-Hebrew bilingual SLI children verbalized fewer enabling and physical relations in their narratives in comparison to their bilingual TD peers (Fichman, Altman, Voloskovich, Armon-Lotem, & Walters, 2017).

5. Conclusion

Results of the study shed light on the ability of primarily language-impaired children to explicate verbally causal relations in storytelling and highlighted the main flaws of this skill. Hence, the PLI children tended to avoid an explication and to rely on the context of joint attention. First, semantically related pairs of events (characters' actions and states) were much less numerous in the PLI narratives in comparison to those told by the TD peers. Second, among the semantic links between the events, the sequential ones prevailed, while the causal ones were explicated extremely rarely. Considering the fact that generally story grammar (story structure and episode completeness) rather did not discriminate between the PLI and TD children (Balčiūnienė & Kornev, 2019), analysis of causal relations seems to be a more sensitive and relevant approach to narrative assessment in clinical populations than the traditional story grammar (macrostructural) analysis.

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Event structure as a metonymic target and vehicle in the languages of the deaf

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Abstract

The paper addresses the issue of event structure in the languages of the deaf. Basing on cognitive linguistic view of metonymy as a pervasive and multi-dimensional conceptual mechanism (Blank, 1999; Lakoff, 1987; Radden & Kövecses, 1999), it argues that signed languages employ parts of events to access whole events, and that actions, objects, locations and other elements of event structure also provide mental access to such concepts as animals, food, instruments, locations, professions, and sports.

Keywords: articulation, event, metonymy, profession, signed language

1. Introduction

As living organisms, human beings are continuously active exploring their environment (Jacques, 1982, p. 118). They thus “have purposes and act in the world to achieve those purposes” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 170) engaging in activity which requires the use of instruments so as to affect the environment over extended periods of time. The activity can be described in terms of events of variable duration and complexity. Each such event is “a segment of time at a given location perceived by an observer to have a beginning and end” (Zacks & Tversky, 2001, p. 7). In a prototypical form, it involves the precondition stage, the starting up process, the main process with its central elements and potential disruptions and/or repetitions, and the result of the main process (Comrie, 1976; Narayan, 1997a, 1997b cit. in Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, pp. 41–42, 175–176).

Human conceptualization of event structure takes various forms and frequently involves the mechanism of conceptual metonymy. Based on objective or perceptual contiguity of entities and grounded in human bodily and cultural experience of dealing with part-whole structures, metonymy allows one to access various concepts by means of indexical references to them (Evans & Green,

2006, pp. 310–322; Kalisz, 2001, pp. 103–105; Kövecses, 2002, pp. 143–162; 2006, pp. 97–113; Lakoff, 1987, pp. 77–90; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, pp. 35–40; Langacker, 1993, p. 30; Norrick, 1981, pp. 40–69; Radden & Kövecses, 1999, pp. 18–21). Thus, complex events are often accessed by reference to their salient parts (Lakoff, 1987, p. 78–79; Radden & Kövecses, 1999, pp. 32–34; Seto, 1999, pp. 106–111). For example, the expressions:

- (1) They *went to the altar*
- (2) Mary *speaks Spanish*
- (3) Our teacher had 100 essays *to grade*

represent getting married, using a foreign language, and correcting essays by focusing on their initial, central, and final sub-events respectively (Radden & Kövecses, 1999, pp. 32–33). In such conceptualisations, actors and their activities are frequently co-present with instruments, affected objects, products, and locations (Bonhomme, 1987, pp. 58–65 cit. in Blank, 1999, pp. 178–179), so that it is often difficult to make a clear distinction between the sub-events themselves and other elements of event structure. For example, the expression

- (4) She was *sitting behind the wheel* the whole day

represents the event of driving a car by means of its central part, but also highlights the location of the agent and the instrument used by them. Because actions, instruments, objects, and locations are mutually related elements of event structure, they can also be used to access one another. For example, the understanding of *golfball*, apart from the shape and size of the entity, “requires reference to the set of rules and activities which together constitute the game of golf” (Taylor, 1995, p. 95). In a similar way, it would be difficult to explain the meaning of *food* without referring to the action of eating it.

2. Signed languages

As languages of the deaf operate in the spatial-visual mode, the articulation of the signs involves manual and non-manual parameters. The former include shape, location, motion, and orientation of the hands; the latter include facial expressions and body postures (Taub, 2001, p. 27; Wilcox, 2008, pp. 1114–1115). The use of space and vision as a medium of communication makes numerous signs iconic. Referential iconicity means that a sign is similar to the entity that it represents. For example,

Polish Sign Language (Polski Język Migowy/PJM) represents *circle* by drawing an outline of the figure. Cognitive iconicity, however, is different. It is based on “a relationship between our mental models of image and referent” (Taub, 2001, p. 19) and common in figurative signs, many of which involve conceptual metonymy (Rodríguez-Redondo, 2018; Wilcox, Wilcox, & Jarque, 2003; Wilcox, 2004). Thus, the PJM sign *record-player*, in which the extended index finger of the dominant hand makes a circular movement over the top of the non-dominant hand held palm up, employs the parameters of hand-shape and motion as the vehicle of the metonymy THE MANNER OF OPERATION FOR THE INSTRUMENT. In many languages, the sign *coffee* represents the entity by imitating the use of hand-operated coffee grinder (ESLC, 2019). It is thus based on the metonymy THE MANNER OF PREPARATION FOR THE SUBSTANCE.

3. Event structure in signed languages

Signed languages are capable of representing events with a lot of detail. For example, American Sign Language/ASL represents the event “The car drove by” by means of two separate signs: a non-classifier sign (*car*), itself based on metonymy related to the operation of the steering wheel, is followed by a classifier sign (*vehicle*) and its motion from left to right. The movement of the classifier can be flexible enough to reflect the manner of motion of the entity in the real world: change in the manner of articulation of the sign thus corresponds to the object-related change in the real world (Valli & Lucas, 2000, pp. 79–80 cit. in Zucchi, 2017, pp. 3–4). Though the concept of *car* is accessed metonymically, the event as a whole is represented in a straightforward way.

3.1. Event structure as a metonymic target in signed languages

Other events, however, are represented by means of signs referring to their successive stages. Such articulations also reflect the use of specific instruments or objects affected by the actions of the agents and are based on specific forms of the metonymy SUB-EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT.

The sign *drink* in British Sign Language/BSL and many other languages is articulated with the full C-hand-shape moving towards the mouth and tilting backwards (Smith, 2010, p. 108; ESLC, 2019). The rounded dominant hand-shape also reflects the instrument as a part of the scenario, thus making the representation of the event more detailed. As the initial part of the event, raising a container backgrounds the central and final stages of pouring the contents into the mouth

and swallowing them. The BSL sign *eat* employs the bunched hand moving repeatedly backwards towards the mouth (Smith, 2010, p. 108) to represent putting the food into the mouth, but not chewing it or swallowing it. In the present case, the representation of the event is more skeletal: the configuration of the dominant hand does not provide any clear image of the object consumed. Both these signs are based on the metonymy INITIAL SUB-EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT.

The sign *drive* in ASL, BSL, and other languages is articulated by means of closed hands moving left, right, and forward, which is similar to the turning of the steering wheel (ESLC, 2019; Smith, 2010, p. 87). The turning of the wheel is the central and prototypical activity of the whole scenario; adjusting the rear view mirror, starting the engine, pressing the clutch, or even braking remain in the background (Wilcox, Wilcox, & Jarque, 2003, p. 145). The sign is rich in detail because the parameters of hand-shape and motion are iconic of both the instrument and its use. The PJM sign *wash* is articulated by means of fists rubbing against each other (Kosiba & Grenda, 2011, pp. 208–209). It thus imitates the action of hand-cleaning the dirty clothes, but backgrounds the stages of soaking, wringing, and hanging them up to dry. In PJM and numerous other languages, the sign *build* involves flat hand-shapes held palm down and placed on top of each other (Kosiba & Grenda, 2011, pp. 44–45; ESLC, 2019). The articulation represents laying bricks as a central and prototypical part of the activity, but hides other elements of the process. All these signs are based on the metonymy CENTRAL SUB-EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT.

In the BSL sign *shoot*, the dominant hand, shape-for-shape iconic¹ of a gun, tilts slightly backwards (ESLC, 2019). The motion reflects the recoil of the gun, which usually follows the moment of firing. The initial and central stages of aiming and pulling the trigger both remain in the background.² The underlying metonymy can be called FINAL SUB-EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT.

3.2. Event structure as a metonymic vehicle in signed languages

Prototypical elements of event structure, such as actions and objects, function as vehicles of metonymies providing access to the concepts of animals, food, instruments, locations, professions, and sports. Actions are most commonly used, but many signs also reflect instruments, objects, or even locations. Most of them are thus based on the metonymy PROTOTYPICAL EVENT/ACTION FOR ANIMAL/FOOD/INSTRUMENT/LOCATION/PROFESSION/SPORT.

¹ See Taub (2001, pp. 72–77) for a detailed description of this kind of iconicity.

² For a contrast, the phonic expression *pull the trigger* represents the central part of the activity and thus backgrounds the stages of aiming and firing.

3.2.1. Animals

Signs for animals often imitate their salient parts, such as whiskers or ears. It is, for example, the case of the BSL signs *cat* and *rabbit* (Smith, 2010, pp. 47–48), which are thus based on the metonymy THE PART FOR THE WHOLE. But the sign *frog* reflects the fact that the animal lacks similar salient properties – it is thus articulated by means of the v-shaped hand which points down and hops up on the forearm of the non-dominant hand, its fingers flexing (Smith, 2010, p. 48). The articulation is rich in detail – the flexing fingers closely represent the motion of the animal’s legs as it hops.

3.2.2. Food

The BSL sign *food* and the above-discussed sign *eat* (Smith, 2010, p. 110) are based on polysemy. The relation reflects the fact that food is inextricably linked to the prototypical action of eating it. The BSL signs *dinner* and *meal* are similar in that they also employ the hands moving towards the signer’s mouth (Smith, 2010, p. 110). The BSL signs *bread* and *butter* also reflect prototypical actions related to the entities, but different from eating. The former one imitates the action of cutting or slicing bread by means of the downward movement of the edge of the dominant hand towards the surface of the left palm held up; it is thus iconic of the knife, the slice of bread, and the kitchen board. The latter sign reflects the action of spreading butter by means of scraping movement of the N-shaped hand over the palm of the non-dominant hand held up (Smith, 2010, p. 115). It is thus iconic of the use of the knife over the flat surface of a slice of bread.

3.2.3. Instruments

The BSL sign *car* differs from the sign *drive* discussed above with respect to the parameter of motion: the hands imitating the turning of the steering wheel do not move forward (Smith, 2010, p. 87). However, the similarity is close enough to represent the idea that driving is a prototypical action related to a car. The BSL sign *radio*, in turn, involves two hands. Their shape and motion are iconic of the action of tuning the instrument to a selected station by means of turning the two knobs usually located on its front (ESLC, 2019).

3.2.4. Locations

The BSL sign *Sheffield* is made with the edge of the dominant N-shaped hand making small sawing movements over the edge of the non-dominant N-hand-shape (Smith, 2010, p. 110). The articulation imitates the action of cutting something or

sharpening the knives – the sign thus provides access to the location by reference to the well-known Richardson Sheffield factory producing cutlery and located in the city. In this case, however, the articulation involves two steps which form a simple chain of metonymies (Fass, 1997, p. 73): PROTOTYPICAL EVENT/ACTION FOR THE INSTRUMENT FOR THE LOCATION. In the BSL sign *Carlisle*, the dominant v-shaped hand held palm down hops several times over the left forearm (Smith, 2010, p. 27). The articulation represents the railway bridges located close to the city, which is a big railway junction. The city is thus accessed by the elements of the construction and the railway traffic related to it. The metonymic chain now has the form CONSTRUCTION FOR THE PROTOTYPICAL EVENT/ACTION FOR THE LOCATION.

3.2.5. Professions

Elements of event structure are especially common in signs that represent various professions. That is because performing a profession usually involves prototypical actions, outfits, instruments, and objects.³ As professional activity forms an important part of an individual's life, this section is especially rich in relevant examples.

Professions accessed only by reference to outfit are few. For example, the BSL sign *clergy/minister/priest/vicar* is articulated with index fingers and thumbs of both hands touching and pulling apart at the neck (Smith, 2010, p. 46), which represents the clerical collar. The PJM counterpart is the same (ESLC, 2019). The PJM sign *nurse* draws the u-shaped hand oriented edge down over the forehead in a small arch (Kosiba & Grenda, 2011, pp. 188–189). It thus represents the cap typically worn by nurses. Finally, the Australian Sign Language/Auslan sign *mask* also represents *thief*⁴ (Johnston & Schembri, 2007, p. 126). All these signs are based on the metonymy PROTOTYPICAL OUTFIT FOR THE PROFESSION.⁵

Most signs for professions in diverse languages combine reference to actions, instruments, objects, and even locations that are related to them. Actions, however, are always their most salient parts. Let us consider the following examples:

- (1) The BSL sign *doctor* is made with the right middle finger and thumb tips tapping the left wrist twice (Smith, 2010, p. 46). It represents measuring the

³ Phonic labels for various professions, for example *screw-drivers* for mechanics or *blue collars* for physical workers in general, are based on metonymies that use instruments or parts of outfit as their vehicles.

⁴ *Thief* can be thought of as a profession only on condition that stealing is a repeated activity serving as the source of income.

⁵ Actions being parts of event structure are represented indirectly in those signs. In other languages, for example in PJM and German Sign Language (DGS/Deutsche Gebärdensprache), the sign *thief* highlights the prototypical action of taking objects away.

- patient's heartbeat, which is a prototypical action undertaken by doctors. The PJM counterpart is similar (Kosiba & Grenda, 2011, pp. 128–129).
- (2) In the PJM sign *chemist*, the fist of the dominant hand held edge down twice makes a circular motion over the non-dominant hand held palm up (Kosiba & Grenda, 2011, pp. 32–33). The articulation imitates the action of preparing medicines in a traditional way, that is, by crushing and mixing the ingredients placed on a saucer. The sign thus also represents the instrument.
 - (3) The PJM sign *cloak-room attendant* involves the dominant x-hand-shape held edge down and moving down in front of the chest twice (Kosiba & Grenda, 2011, pp. 264–265). It imitates hanging pieces of dress on coat-hangers and thus highlights the prototypical part of the attendant's activity.
 - (4) The PJM sign *cook* is made with the dominant b-hand-shape held edge down over the non-dominant b-hand-shape and making small movements left and right (Kosiba & Grenda, 2011, pp. 124–125). The articulation, which imitates the action of separating food ingredients, represents the initial stage of the process of preparing food.
 - (5) The PJM sign *cosmetician* is made with the dominant e-hand-shape three times touching the cheek, each time a little lower (Kosiba & Grenda, 2011, pp. 118–119). It represents putting make-up on the face, which is a prototypical action of the profession.
 - (6) The PJM sign *driver*, like its counterparts in most other languages (ESLC, 2019), imitates the action of turning the steering wheel. Because the operation is the central part of the driver's activity, it is regarded as prototypical for the profession.
 - (7) The PJM sign *economist* is articulated by means of e-hand-shapes held up, their edges inwards, and rubbing the thumbs against the other fingers (Kosiba & Grenda, 2011, pp. 74–75). The articulation is similar to the common gesture of counting money. The sign reflects the prototypical aspect of the profession by representing money as the medium of economic value.
 - (8) The PJM sign *fireman* consists of two parts. The first one draws the L-hand-shape backwards over the top of the head, which represents the protective helmet worn by firemen. In the second part, the hands imitate the action of using a fire-hose (Kosiba & Grenda, 2011, pp. 260–261). The sign thus represents the prototypical outfit and action of a fireman.
 - (9) The PJM sign *fisherman* also consists of two parts. The first one is the sign *net* articulated by 5-hand-shapes held at right angles in front of the chest; the second part imitates the motion of the net towards the signer (Kosiba & Grenda, 2011, pp. 236–237). The parameter of movement represents the final and the most important part of the action, that is, collecting the caught fish. Another version of the sign represents the use of the fishing rod (ESLC, 2019).

- (10) In the PJM sign *hair-dresser*, the dominant U-hand-shape twice moves backwards over the right side of the head joining its fingers (Kosiba & Grenda, 2011, pp. 80–81). The parameter of location thus points out to the object affected, that is, hair. The motion represents cutting it. The sign again reflects the central and prototypical part of the agent’s action while trimming or combing the hair both remain in the background.
- (11) The PJM sign *joiner* uses the I-hand-shapes moving forward with the tips of the fingers (Kosiba & Grenda, 2011, pp. 258–259). The articulation imitates the action of planing the wood, so it also reflects the material and the instrument. The sign thus represents the initial stage of the prototypical activity of the profession.
- (12) The PJM sign *laundress*⁶ is articulated by means of the A-hand-shapes rubbing against each other (Kosiba & Grenda, 2011, pp. 208–209). It thus represents hand-washing the dirty clothes, which is the central and prototypical part of the agent’s activity.
- (13) The PJM sign *librarian* consists of two parts. The first one employs two B-hand-shapes to represent a book by means of the action of closing it; the second one employs one B-hand-shape held up with its edge outwards and moving slightly forward and right (Kosiba & Grenda, 2011, pp. 38–40). The sign thus imitates the prototypical action of putting books on the shelves. The DGS sign *librarian* is similar, but it only shows the action of putting the books on the shelves. Like in the PJM sign, the hand-shapes are iconic of books (ESLC, 2019).
- (14) The PJM sign *locksmith* involves the international U-hand-shape moving forward over the non-dominant U-shaped hand (Kosiba & Grenda, 2011, pp. 270–271). As the articulation imitates the action of working metal, the central part of the agent’s activity is highlighted.
- (15) The PJM sign *painter* again uses the international U-hand-shape placed upwards and oriented out. It makes two movements down in the wrist (Kosiba & Grenda, 2011, pp. 138–139). The articulation represents the central and prototypical action of putting paint on some surface by means of strokes of brush. The stages of dipping the brush in the paint and cleaning it are in the background.
- (16) The BSL sign *police officer* is articulated by flexing the tips of the dominant V-shaped hand as they are drawn along the back of the wrist of the non-dominant hand (Smith, 2010, p. 46). The articulation is clearly iconic of putting hand-cuffs on a person’s hand, so it also represents

⁶ It is identical with the PJM sign *wash* discussed in section 3.1 above.

the instrument. The DGS and PJM counterparts of the sign are similar (ESLC, 2019).

- (17) In the PJM sign *printer*, the dominant A-hand-shape held palm down twice hits the palm of the non-dominant B-hand-shape held flat and palm up (Kosiba & Grenda, 2011, pp. 68–69). The sign imitates the downward motion of the printing press. It thus represents the central and prototypical part of the instrument's operation, but backgrounds the agent.
- (18) In the PJM sign *sculptor*, the dominant I-hand-shape “draws” inward three lines on the non-dominant B-hand-shape held up and palm out (Kosiba & Grenda, 2011, pp. 238–239). The articulation imitates the action of cutting and shaping some material, for example wood or stone. The prototypical part of the agent's action is represented also in this case.
- (19) The PJM sign *shop-assistant* employs the A-hand-shapes held edge down and palm in making alternating movements forward in the wrists (Kosiba & Grenda, 2011, pp. 254–255). The articulation imitates giving out the goods to a client. This sign thus highlights the prototypical action of the agent, which, depending on the context, can be the central or the final part of the scenario of selling and buying goods.
- (20) The PJM sign *tailor* is articulated by means of the dominant O-hand-shape rubbing with the tips of the fingers the non-dominant O-hand-shape⁷ (Kosiba & Grenda, 2011, pp. 120–121). It thus imitates sewing, which is the prototypical action of the profession.

Most of the above-described signs represent central stages of actions related to the respective professions. It is centrality that makes these actions prototypical.

It should be added at this stage that the PJM signs for professions are usually preceded by metonymy-based components indicating the sex of the person: shaving as the prototypical male action; wearing earrings as the prototypical property of females. As a result, they could be interpreted in terms of simple metonymic chains (Fass, 1997, p. 73) of the following form: PROTOTYPICAL ACTION OR PROPERTY FOR SEX and PROTOTYPICAL EVENT/ACTION FOR THE PROFESSION.

3.2.6. Sports

In the BSL sign *tennis*, the fist of the dominant hand moves forward as in the striking movement (Smith, 2010, p. 79). The hand-shape points out to the fact the player holds a racket. The articulation reflects the central aspect of playing the

⁷ The sign is similar to the PJM sign *sew* (Kosiba & Grenda, 2011, pp. 268–269).

game, which is striking the ball. The BSL signs *rugby* and *cricket* have a similar structure: the former represents holding the ball under the player's arm by means of cupped hands; the latter employs both hands in a way which is iconic of the action of batting (Smith, 2010, pp. 78–79).

4. Conclusions

As demonstrated in this study, the languages of the deaf employ elements of event structure in two distinct ways. First, signs that access various events focus on their successive stages. Based on the metonymy SUB-EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT, they usually refer to the initial or the central parts of events because these parts reflect actions prototypical for the events more frequently than the final parts. Secondly, signs for such concepts as animals, food, instruments, locations, professions, and sports not only highlight prototypical actions, but also reflect instruments and objects used in them. That most of these signs are based on the metonymy PROTOTYPICAL EVENT/ACTION FOR ANIMAL/FOOD/INSTRUMENT/LOCATION/PROFESSION/SPORT is motivated by the fact that action is an inalienable aspect of the entities that they represent. Both these uses of event structure emphasize the role of activity in human everyday interaction with the surrounding world.

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Career choice narratives: engineering personality types?

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Abstract

Psychological models have portrayed career choice narratives in terms of personality dimensions. In contrast to this approach, the research reported on in this study employs a conversation analytic perspective in order to examine the deployment of career choice narratives in terms of intelligibility and accountability. Engineering students on a degree programme were interviewed about their career choice. The responses given are examined for the display of membership categories in terms of personality characteristics commonly associated with engineering. Rather than revealing a psychological construct of a personality, the responses are considered as themselves being engineered to address the display of rational agency and deliberation in arriving at a career choice.

Keywords: Holland, career, choice, membership, categories

1. Holland's theory of career personalities

Psychological models of career choice have often mirrored lay discourse in terms of a structural or 'personality-matching' approach. Psychometric techniques have been used to predict career choices on the basis of personality assessments. For example, Holland's (1959, 1966, 1973, 1985, 1997) theory had dominated the field amongst structural approaches, in which there are six main personality types along with their corresponding environments. The theory has been refined over a number of years, although its basic principles have remained unaltered. In *Making Vocational Choices*, Holland (1985, pp. 2–4) reiterates the four axioms around which his theory is organised:

1. In westernised culture, most people can be categorised as one of six types: realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising, and conventional.
2. There are six model environments that correspond with the above personality typology.

3. People search for environments that let them express their personality type in terms of attitude and values, as well as adopting agreeable work roles.
4. Behaviour is determined by an interaction between personality and work environment.

Holland derived his career personality typology from the factor analysis of responses to several interest inventories gathered over time. Holland (1985, pp. 19–23) describes the types in terms of interests and aversions as follows:

Realistic types have a preference for activities that entail the explicit ordered, or systematic, manipulation of objects, tools, machines and animals; and an aversion to educational or therapeutic activities (e.g., mechanic, farmer, lorry driver).

Investigative types have a preference for activities that entail observational, symbolic, systematic, and creative investigation of physical, biological, and cultural phenomena in order to understand and control such phenomena; and an aversion to persuasive, social, and repetitive activities (e.g., scientist, designer, engineer).

Artistic types have a preference for ambiguous, free, unsystematised activities that entail the manipulation of physical, verbal, or human materials to create art forms of products; and an aversion to explicit, systematic, and ordered activities (e.g., artist, writer, musician).

Social types have a preference for activities that entail the manipulation of others to inform, train, cure, or enlighten; and an aversion to explicit, ordered, systematic activities involving materials, tools, or machines (e.g., teacher, nurse, counsellor).

Enterprising types have a preference for activities that involve the manipulation of others to attain organisational goals or economic gain; and an aversion to observational, symbolic, and systematic activities (e.g., politician, salesperson, buyer).

Conventional types have a preference for activities that entail the explicit ordered systematic manipulation of data such as keeping records etc.; and an aversion to ambiguous, free, exploratory, or unsystematised activities (e.g., accountant, administrative assistant, statistician).

These descriptions also apply to work environments given the assumption that “the dominant features of an environment reflect the typical characteristics of its members (Holland, 1985, p. 34). Therefore, work environments consist of the distribution of types within them. However, this view is qualified in three ways. First, Holland notes that environments are seldom homogeneous. Second, he argues that sub-units make up an environment (e.g., different departments in an

organisation). Third, he argues that some individuals within an environment will have more influence over others to shape that environment.

Holland's theory can be summed up by the old adage that birds of a feather flock together. However, this apparently simple idea has been refined through correlational research in order to indicate the way in which the types are related to each other in a closed loop in the following order: realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising, and conventional. Adjacent types are said to be more closely related to one another than those more distant. The theory also includes subtypes in terms of particular combinations of the six personality types that are expressed in terms of a two- or three-type code. For example, an individual is said to be 'consistent' if his or her subtype is comprised of elements that are adjacent to each other. For example, a realistic-investigative person is a consistent subtype in terms of the elements sharing features such as unsociability, and orientation towards things, and self-deprecation. On the other hand, a conventional-artistic individual would be 'inconsistent' given the conflicting elements of this subtype: conformity and originality, control and expressiveness, business and art. If a person has one type which is dominant then he or she is said to be 'differentiated'.

Holland's (1985, p. 5) personality-matching approach hinges on the assumption that people possess a set of interests and attitudes which make up distinct personality types. These interests and attitudes predispose individuals in such a way that they choose to work in environments that are congruent with their personality types. The exact nature of the process involved in choosing a career field is left unspecified in the theory. However, a key feature of this approach is its static nature. Individuals are viewed as possessing relatively fixed personality characteristics with identity being seen in terms of the 'possession of a clear and stable picture of one's goals, interests, and talent'.

2. Holland's framework and engineering as a career

Applying Holland's framework to engineering the 'occupation finder' (Holland, 1985) classifies this career area as a 'realistic' occupation. It is therefore said to attract people who primarily perceive themselves as having practical abilities and a preference for working with objects and machines rather than people. The particular sub-type for this occupational group is 'realistic-investigative', with the investigative element being of secondary importance and associated with a preference for problem-solving and an interest in science. There have been a number of studies that have applied Holland's theory of careers to the study of person-vocational career fit in academics. Although a full review of research based on

Holland's model is beyond the scope of this chapter, a brief review provides some context for the investigation that is reported on.

Several studies have examined the role of personality in choices of students in higher education and the importance of person–environment fit (Astin, 1993; Feldman, Smart, & Ethington, 1999; Porter & Umbach, 2006; Su et al., 2009). These studies point to achievement in academic and vocational settings being a function of the congruence or fit between personality and the social and physical environments. Person and thing orientations therefore reflect the degree to which people have an interest in the social and physical aspects of their environment (Graziano, Habashi, & Woodcock, 2011; Little, 1968, 1972). Little (1968) considered people's orientations toward social and physical environments and argued that they differ in how much they are interested in people ('person orientation') or objects in their environment ('thing orientation'). Recent research has indicated that these orientations are not oppositions on a single dimension but rather are independent of one another (Graziano, Habashi, Evangelou, & Ngambeki, 2012). In other words, people can be high in both, low in both, or high in one and low in the other. Woodcock, Graziano, Branch, Habashi, et al. (2012) conducted a review of fifteen studies that examined person and thing orientations and interest and persistence in engineering. Their analysis indicates that 'thing orientation' is directly and positively associated with an interest in science and engineering. This association has also been found in students within the fields of science and engineering, and higher than students not studying in the areas (Graziano et al., 2012). The engineering students' scores on person and thing orientations suggest that they are more oriented toward things and people rather than oriented to things instead of people (Woodcock, Graziano, Branch, Ngambeki, et al., 2012). However, Branch, Woodcock, & Graziano (2015) found that 'thing orientation' directly predicts research career intentions in engineering.

3. Method

Garfinkel (1967) suggests that retrospective accounting for decisions is a common feature of daily life. He argues that decision-making may have little to do with electing a course of action on the basis of available information but rather may be the product of people's ability to define the basis for a decision once made. This type of accounting can therefore be viewed as justifying a course of action and involves "assigning outcomes their legitimate history" (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 114). He therefore poses the counterintuitive notion that "the outcome comes before the decision." The study presented here has adopted this retrospective view of decision-making and in doing so involves two important methodological implications.

First, attention was required to be directed at individuals who had already made a career choice rather than those who had yet to decide. Second, those involved in the study had to be given an adequate opportunity to account for their choices in terms being given an opportunity to talk at length about their reasoning.

The study focused on undergraduate engineering students at a Scottish university taking these two propositions into account. Students were recruited by direct in-class invitation across all stages of the degree programme with twenty taking part in total. The participants were interviewed using a semi-structured format involving general questions about their choice of engineering as a course and career choice. These interview questions were designed to elicit answers that gave the students an opportunity to talk about themselves and their career interests (e.g. “Tell me about what interested you in engineering”), as well as account for their course choice (e.g. “Why did you decide to study for a degree in engineering?”). With regard to these kinds of questions, degree course choice was taken as a proxy for occupational career choice.

The interviews were transcribed on the basis of readability rather than including para-linguistic features. This was done given that the basis of the analysis was to examine the participants’ attempts to produce credible and coherent accounts of their choice of engineering as a career. With regard to the analytic procedure the transcript material was read by taking into account a conversation analytic stance in which both questions and answers were considered in relation to each other as turns at talk. Use was made of Sack’s (1972, 1974) work on membership categories. Sack noted that persons may be described according to certain membership categories, for example, by occupation. These categories can be drawn from certain conventional collections which Sacks referred to as membership categorisation devices. An important feature of these is that they can be used as a means of ascribing to person activities or characteristics they are conventionally associated with. When a certain category is used by a speaker, the hearer is able to make use of a stock of conventional knowledge about the category and make certain inferences. In interviews concerning career choices these stock of conventional knowledge can be used in order to guide interviewers in how they respond to interviewees, and in turn how interviewees produce the kinds of answers expected so as to produce intelligible responses.

4. Analysis and discussion

According to the Holland’s typology, engineering comes under the category of a ‘realistic’ career. It is therefore said to attract people who primarily perceive themselves as having practical abilities and a preference for working with

objects and machines rather than people. It also involves a secondary characteristic of being ‘Investigative’ in terms of a preference for intellectual work, problem-solving and an interest in science. An examination of the engineering students’ interviews revealed that eleven of the twenty explicitly mentioned technical competencies or an interest in working with machines as the basis for their choice of this career. The interview extract below is illustrative of this kind of response:

ENG9

Int: Why did you want to enter the field of mechanical engineering?

Resp: Well, it just started off from being an interest when I was young, making models from Mechano kits and mechanical subjects at school. I enjoyed the physics, maths side of it.

(Int = Interviewer; Resp = Respondent)

This student gives a fairly typical response that appears to be in alignment with Holland’s typology in that he appears to indicate a preference for “mechanical subjects at school” (i.e., ‘realistic’ activities), and then he goes on to mention that he enjoyed ‘investigative’ related academic subjects.

However, although it was possible to select responses which seemed to offer support for Holland’s personality typology it became evident that this could only be achieved by ignoring the complex conversational context of such responses. When this was examined, mismatches between the responses and typology were revealed and categorisation in such a way often became problematic. As the following respondent’s answers show, the conversational context in terms of the question-and-answer turns reveals a much more nuanced and variable account:

ENG10

(1)

Int: Why did you want to enter the field of mechanical engineering?

Resp: Well, it’s a subject, engineering as a whole is a subject that I’ve been interested in since a child; building things, seeing how things work, taking things apart. And also there’s the influence of my parents; my father is an architect and also my grandfather is an engineer, so there’s a sort of family thing. So no matter how much you try to get away from it, you are influenced by what your parents do. But generally from an early age I was interested in machines and it stemmed from there.

(2)

Int: How did you arrive at your particular decision to aim for this occupation?

Resp: Em, well funnily enough, I did a year of architecture before starting here. I was always interested in building something, design, that sort of area, construction. So I tried architecture and discovered that midway through that year that I wasn't interested in it. So I completed the year and came here.

In interview extract (1) the respondent links an interest in the practical activities engaged in as a child (“building things and taking things apart”) with an interest in machines. This appears to be a straightforward instance of a ‘realistic’ personality type. However, in extract (2) the same interest is associated with his earlier choice of architecture. “Building things” and “construction” are now associated with an interest in architecture. Yet, Holland classifies architecture under ‘artistic’ personality type occupations, a type which is unrelated to engineering. In this regard the conversational nature of the interview reveals a much more elaborate account that cannot so easily pigeon-hole the respondent as a particular personality type.

A more serious problem for Holland’s typology is the appearance of responses that are contradictory and so cannot be categorised. The following example illustrates this kind of contradiction.

ENG7

(1)

Int: Why did you want to enter the field of mechanical engineering?

Resp: I didn't fancy doing a desk job, well primarily a desk job like an accountant ... and I liked technical subjects at school and so engineering seemed suitable.

(2)

Int: I'd like you move on to your placements. What sort of expectations did you have about them?

Resp: The first placement was basically maintenance engineering and it was good hand-on experience. The second placement, that was a bit more professional. That was a desk job doing the development of products and that was more my idea of what a professional engineer would do, and that's the kind of thing I see myself doing.

In interview extract (1) the respondent provides an answer that seems to indicate evidence of a dominant ‘realistic’ trait; a preference for technical subjects and an aversion for a “desk job.” However, interview extract (2) while his first pla-

cement is presented as being good “hands on experience,” he clearly expresses a preference for a “desk job” which contradicts what he had said about this type of occupation in extract (1).

In other instances there were more subtle forms of contradiction that can be traced through the interview conversation where providing accountability for career choice is dispersed across several turns.

ENG1

(1)

Int: Why do you want to enter the field of mechanical engineering?

Resp: My dad is a marine engineer and I’ve worked with him during the summer holidays and I enjoyed it, and I’d also like to be sitting at a desk some of the time designing things.

Int: What sort of work were you doing?

Resp: Stripping engines and more heavy work.

Int: And when you say sitting down what sort of work would you be doing?

Resp: Designing mainly.

(2)

Int: When you finish the course what area do you hope to go into?

Resp: Probably design.

(3)

Int: You mentioned design, what’s appealing about design work?

Resp: You’re using your mind to design.

These interview extracts trace a shift in the presentation of the respondent’s occupational interests. In interview extract (1) mention is made of enjoying manual work and an interest in design. This response appears to accord with Holland’s ‘realistic-investigative’ personality type for engineering. However, extracts (2) and (3) indicate preferences for design work which involves “using your mind.” These responses might therefore be interpreted as showing signs of a dominant ‘investigative’ trait. Again, we see that the conversational context is important and that responses cannot be simply taken out of this context and made to fit into Holland’s career personality typology.

Indeed, many of the respondents appeared to provide responses that when taken out of the interview interactional context, could be taken as indicating ‘investigative’ types. The key to understanding these responses is the nature of the questions asked which set up the type of response expected in terms of providing an

intelligible answer that fits. Nine of the twenty participants expressed an interest in physical sciences or mathematics, or spoke in terms of problem solving as the basis for their choice of engineering. The following examples illustrate this kind of response.

ENG 2

Int: Why do you want to enter the field of mechanical engineering?

Resp: Em, I don't know, I just always enjoyed science subject at school. Physics was always my favourite and I wanted something to do with physics.

ENG 8

Int: What is it that draws you to this area, you could say this is what I like doing, this is what mechanical engineering is about?

Resp: Finding out about things.

ENG 5

Int: What was it that drew you to engineering, what was it you liked about it?

Resp: It's not so much I like engineering as I hated the arts subjects more if you understand what I mean. It wasn't a second choice, I do like it but I don't know why. The thought never occurred to me, I just like maths I suppose, I like problem solving.

These responses give prominence to a school subject-based interest as well as problem solving. All are expressed in terms of respondents likes as a baseline level for their career choice. This is interesting from the point of view that, although do not present as a 'realistic' personality type on first sight, the do nonetheless offer accounts that are rooted in a dispositional discourse. It is easy to see why this is the case given that the questions asked are framed in personal terms and therefore demand a corresponding answer that reflexively fits this framing. Moreover, these types of accounts are difficult to challenge given that career choice is expressed in terms of accountability through basically saying "this is how I am."

Despite the problems of categorising responses as fully in accordance with Holland's typology, the transcript material could be argued to lend some degree of support for it. The engineering students did after all refer to interests that offered some support for reading into the data 'realistic' and 'investigative' traits. It could therefore be argued that there are indeed underlying personality traits present. However, it is possible to consider these responses as the articulation of conventional knowledge associated with the membership category of engineer as an occupation, or in Sack's (1972, 1974) terms, membership categorisation devices. It must be stressed that these categories, although stocks of conventional knowledge, are

nevertheless linguistic devices used in the accomplishment of intelligibility and deployed by speakers within the nature of the interactional context. Holland draws attention to the stereotypical nature of people's perception of careers claiming that "our everyday experience has generated a sometimes inaccurate but apparently useful knowledge of what people in various occupations are like" (1985, p. 9). He points out that were this not so, interest inventories which are based on these stereotypes would have little validity.

Undoubtedly, shared bodies of knowledge about different occupations exist. However, we have seen that respondents can package this kind of knowledge in creative ways that cannot be predicted from the knowledge base itself, but only from a detailed examination of the sequential nature of the conversational turns.

The question remains, why do respondents draw upon these membership categorisation devices when talking about their own career choices? An answer to this question can be found by looking at the differences in the sequences of talk between those who use these kind of responses early in the interview and those who do not. Consider the juxtaposition of the following pair of interview extracts from different students on the engineering degree programme. In the case of the first extract, which has already been referred to earlier on, the full conversational turns are now given.

ENG 9

Int: Why did you want to enter the field of mechanical engineering?

Resp: Well, it just started off from being an interest when I was young, making models from Mechano kits and mechanical subjects at school. I quite enjoyed them, I enjoyed the physics, maths side of it. I wasn't certain I wanted to do mechanical engineering, there's civil, electrical and chemical. I had a look around and just decided to come to the mechanical course.

Int: Do you think there are particular qualities required to be a mechanical engineer?

ENG 6

Int: Why did you want to enter the field of mechanical engineer?

Resp: Well, my brothers all did engineering so I was kind of led onto that when I left school. I'd always been interested in engineering, cars and stuff like that so it was just there wasn't any other option and I just went straight into it. I wasn't really thinking career-wise what particular area I wanted to go into, it was more or less it was engineering or nothing else.

Int: When you say there was nothing else, why did that arise then? Did they talk to you, or did you feel that this was the right area for you?

Resp: Well, it was the right area for me anyway and I'd thought of other careers, you know, you go through the range of them, and engineering seemed to be the only reasonable one because I took to it quite naturally.

Int: Did your brothers tell you what it was about?

Resp: Well I had a fair idea. I realise now that I was a bit limited in my knowledge of what it covered, the whole range of subjects it covered, you know, thermodynamics and that sort of stuff. And most of the subjects aren't that interesting, there's only a few specialist subjects that I find interesting. But if I had done something different, say civil or electrical or something like that I knew I wouldn't be happy as I am now because I don't find electrical that interesting and it's difficult to understand, similar with civil.

Int: What is it that draws you to mechanical as opposed to electrical or civil?

The first interview extract is an example of what can be termed a standard membership category account for choosing engineering as a career. The response displays a common sense knowledge of the characteristics associated with engineering; knowledge which Holland has put to use in his occupational personality typology. Respondent ENG 9 mentions the 'realistic' and 'investigative' elements of an engineer: an interest in construction kits and mechanical subjects at school, and an interest in the sciences. Note how once this response is given, the interviewer begins a new line of questioning about the qualities associated with being an engineer. In other words, the line of questioning moved away from the interviewee's choice of career towards talking about the occupation in a general sense. This short conversation in establishing the nature of the interviewee's career choice can be contrasted with the more protracted question and answer turns in the second interview extract. Respondent ENG 6 begins by talking about his brothers doing engineering and how he was "led on to" this field on leaving school. He states that "it was more or less it was engineering or nothing else" and the interviewer subsequently picks up on this remark by asking "When you say there was nothing else, why did that arise then? Did they talk to you, or did you feel that this was the right area for you?" Notice the reference to "they" which is also going back to the interviewee's mention of "all" his brothers doing engineering. This question is, in effect, testing the extent to which the interviewee has been influenced by family members in his choice of engineering. In response, the interviewee attempts to portray his choice of engineering as involving his disposition to it ("it was the right area for me....engineering seemed to be the only reasonable one because I took to it quite naturally"). However, he does not draw upon the standard membership category for this occupation in terms of mentioning an interest in working with machines or science subjects). Given that this kind of account is not forthcoming, the interviewer is more direct in seeking to test the extent to which the interviewee was influenced in his decision ("Did your brothers tell you what

it was about?”). In response the interviewee still does not draw upon the standard membership category account but instead talks about his understanding of engineering sub-areas and what he is not interested in (“I realise now that I was a bit limited in my knowledge of what it covered.....if I had done something different, say civil or electrical or something like that I knew I wouldn’t be happy”). The interviewer picks up on this response and is still pursuing the standard membership category account (“What is it that draws you to mechanical as opposed to electrical or civil?”). The question is posed in terms of personal linkage between the interviewee and mechanical engineering.

What can be seen in this extended question and answer sequence is a reflexive analysis of the researcher’s (interviewer) own pursuance of the standard membership category, or Holland’s terms the ‘realistic’ and ‘investigative’ dimensions. Interviewees who give this kind of account at the outset and not pursued further while those who do not and instead mention family members who are engineers, or who talk in general terms about their interest in engineering, are questioned further in order to establish their ‘personality fit’ with the occupation. Giving the standard membership category account is therefore a foundational type of answer. It acts as a way of displaying an intelligible answer that is not subject to further challenge in that explicitly draws attention to the person-career fit. Therefore, this kind of account in a sense engineers an occupational identity in the there and then of the interaction and in so doing is an effective response.

4. Conclusion

The analysis and discussion of the interview extracts presented above demonstrates the explanatory power of focusing on the ways in which career choice, when asked about as a ‘choice’, is accounted for within conversational turns. As Harper, Randall and Sharrock (2016, pp. 204–209) argue, reasons are not causal in relation to choices but rather are embedded within different language games (Wittgenstein, 1953) and bound up with reasoning as cultural knowledge. Interview participants through their question and answer turns display to one another this cultural reasoning in relation to framing their course of action as a ‘career choice’ bound up with their own disposition.

This understanding of career choice does not seek to remove the nature of a ‘choice’ from the interactional context in terms of being a ‘decision’ linked to a personality type. Holland’s personality matching approach, although derived from psychometric testing, can be considered in another way in the context of talk-in-interaction. Instead of treating responses as revealing something about

respondents' personalities, this study offers an altogether different proposition, one that to use Garfinkel's (1967) term 'sense-able' accounts. This perspective allows the researcher to examine how personality-expressive responses are related to issues of intelligibility and accountability. It also allows the researcher to study whole conversational patterns rather than selected aspects which seem to fit a personality matching model when abstracted out. Holland's approach engineers a personality typology that draws upon common sense reasoning about there being 'right' types and 'wrong' types for career occupations. However, occupational identities are engineered *in situ* by drawing on standard membership categorisations within interactional the context of questions being asked that require a career choice account that displays credible reasoning.

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Double-scope blending of associative and causal event structures in narratives

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Abstract

The article explores the role of Turner's double-scope blending theory for the cognition and emotional response to narratives. I argue that narratives expected to afford aesthetic experience typically have a unified associative event structure, apart from the basic causal event structure, and that the former operates chiefly according to principles of similarity, thus being closer to metaphor than the latter. Double-scope blending seems to be essential to link narrative events associatively and then to blend this structure with the causal one, leading in effect to the complete, unified narrative. Thus, beyond its cognitive utility, it does seem to contain an important affective component which plays a role in aesthetic experience of stories.

Keywords: double-scope blending, narrative, causality, emotion, metaphor

1. Introduction

According to the theoretical framework developed by Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, conceptual integration is a fundamental cognitive operation that underlies the emergence of language and complex thought processes. Turner calls it “a fundamental instrument of the everyday mind, used in our basic construal of all our realities, from the social to the scientific” (1996, p. 93). Simply speaking, conceptual integration, or blending, involves merging data from two separate input sources by means of tracking similarities and analogies in a process of projection (Turner, 2008, pp. 1–2), which are then compressed into one, new emergent structure. This is a process reminiscent of two projectors displaying different images on a wall in a parallel manner which are then brought together producing one image (Turner, 2008, p. 3). Or in a conversational context, to say that one wishes to avoid discussing certain topics as they are minefields is a clear example of a compressed blend emerging out of two inputs: the image of actual minefields and its dangers and a troublesome conversation (Schneider, 2012, pp. 7–8).

Turner sees the basic operation of projection, responsible for “making various kinds of mental connections” (2008, pp. 1–2) as prerequisite for blending, the fully developed conceptual integration, whose most advanced form is double-scope blending, which he considers uniquely human, though widespread and pervasive in language and thought. Double-scope blending involves bringing together two incompatible domains, those which “conflict in radical ways on vital conceptual relations, such as cause-effect, modality, participant structure, role-value, and so on,” (Fauconnier, Turner, 2008, p. 520) such as when we are constructing or constructing a story involving talking animals. The blend is made of human and animal features which are clearly in conflict, yet they pose no cognitive challenge. In fact, Turner claims, such operations are effortless, widespread and fundamental for human cognition.

Quite naturally, blending theory has attracted scholars from areas such as cognitive science and linguistics. In terms of literary studies, meaning construction, metaphor and figurative language, poetics and stylistics have used it quite extensively. Narrative studies have not taken up blending theory in any prominent sense, as observed by Ralph Schneider in the introduction to one of the few works on the topic (Schneider, Hartner, 2012) even though Turner emphasizes the centrality of double-scope blending for narrative cognition from the very beginning of formulating its theory. Given the high level of fragmentation of narratology nowadays and the long struggle to overcome the totalizing tendencies of structuralism, perhaps narrative scholars are distrustful of any approach that makes grand and very general claims about stories. Or perhaps it was the fact that narratology was already an established discipline before the arrival of Turner’s work and many of the sub-fields within it can operate virtually unaffected by the notion of blending. Whatever the answer, rather than exploring Turner’s putative and overarching claims about stories, in what follows I will focus on one issue which I believe has not been adequately named and described by either narratologists, or cognitive scientists, or blending theorists but which I believe is crucial for understanding appreciation of narrative art (apart from making some minor points about stories in general) and which involves double-scope blending. To put it simply, I believe some central aesthetic expectations we routinely have chiefly (but not necessarily exclusively) about the structure of fictional narratives include the assumption that narrative artworks are or should be unified in a way that goes beyond standard cause-effect event chains or their general thematic relevance. Such unity of narrative art involves basic form/content connection, and in terms of event structures, this means deeper, non-causal, associational, metaphorical interconnectedness of whatever happens in a story. But if part of standard aesthetic expectations about stories (and about art in general, as a matter of fact) is that they are associatively unified, this means that they invite readers or audiences to construe them as do-

uble-scope blends where cause-effect event progression blends with their associative connections into a complete artwork. Still simpler, cognition of any kind of art involves constructing an associational double-scope blend, yet I believe this has not been adequately named in terms of event progression in narratives. In what follows, I wish to develop my argument.

2. Conceptual blending

From the very beginning of his research, Turner's focus has been on the cognitive importance of stories. In *The Literary Mind*, he stated that story, or "narrative imagining is the fundamental instrument of thought. Rational capacities depend on it. It is our chief means of looking into the future, of predicting, of planning, and of explaining." (Turner, 1996, pp. 4–5). This basic instrument of thought can be further developed by means of projecting one story onto another, creating an allegorical meta-story that gives us indirect and often more accessible or more imaginative way of conceptualizing a lower level story including the fundamental concept, problem or question which was supposed to be cognized with the help of the latter story. This allegorical meta-story is of course the ancient parable or fable, as illustrated by Turner in the example of a tale of an ox and a donkey told to Scheherazade by her father as piece of advice. Parables are not restricted to literary narratives and thus Turner argues, proverbs are typically compressed narratives which are supposed to be interpreted by means of projection, as in "when the cat's away, the mice will play."

In his discussion of parable, Turner enumerates what he calls mental patterns, the cognitive actions and capacities associated with the projection of the story. They include the simulation-like processes of prediction, evaluation, planning and explanation, where we explore the sources and reasons behind certain actions and events, as well as imagine possible outcomes and assess them, thus helping to shape and specify our own goals and plans. Moreover, stories help us to conceptualize events, actors and objects. They also exploit our tendency to think in terms of emblems (or prototypes) and exempla, metonymies and analogies between the real and the imaginative world. The latter tendency leads to one particularly important process pertaining to human cognitive skills, namely, to conceptual blending, the process of finding connections between seemingly unrelated concepts or events and then producing a new, emergent structure.

Blending is a process composed of three major stages. Its first stage involves mapping: looking for connections in space, time, causality, identity, similarity, etc. between two or more structures. Next, one selectively projects aspects of one

concept/story onto the other and finally, a new emergent structure is created. In his words, “the essence of the operation is to construct a partial match between two inputs, to project selectively from those inputs into a novel ‘blended’ mental space, which then dynamically develops emergent structure” (Fauconnier, Turner, 2003, pp. 57–58). In one famous example Turner and Fauconnier mention a modern catamaran is sailing in 1993 to Boston from San Francisco attempting to move faster than a ship that sailed the same course 150 years earlier. The sailing magazine reporting the “race” commented as if the two were actually competing stating that at one point the catamaran had a “4.5 day lead over the ghost of the clipper” (Fauconnier, Turner, 2003, pp. 58–59). There are, then, two events clearly separated in time, entailing two distinct mental spaces blended together into one race by mapping, selecting some analogies (the voyage, the departure and arrival points, the period and time of travel, the boat, its positions at various times) and projecting them into a new space. Turner calls this type of blend *mirror network* where “two input spaces share topology given by an organizing frame, and the blend inherits that organizing frame” (Turner, 2008, p. 4). The blend in the end is framed as “two boats making ocean voyages and moreover racing as they make them” (Turner, 2008, p. 4). This is one of the simple types of blends, along with the simplex network where, to use Turner’s example, one introduces John as the father of James, which results in a simple blend of two inputs: John and the parent role (Turner, 2008, p. 4).

The use of blends is overwhelmingly vast and might include mundane everyday operations such as drawing analogies between one’s casual bus ride and another one taken some time ago, or everyday use of prevalent metaphorical expressions (e.g. calling someone a bookworm involves mapping analogies between ardent book reading and physically consuming them as an insect, then partially projecting those analogies onto a newly emerging structure containing the bookworm blend), as well as standard operations carried out in experiencing art (reading Joyce’s *Ulysses* and looking for parallels with the mythical story produces a blended space) and in politics, religion and other areas of life.

There is also one particular type of blends that Turner discusses which appears to involve an unusual degree of creativity, that is, the double-scope blend. It is the most advanced type of blending which requires bringing together domains that are radically conflicting in conceptual terms. As Turner puts it, they consist of “integrating two or more conceptual arrays as inputs whose frame structures typically conflict in radical ways on vital conceptual relations, such as cause-effect, modality, participant structure, role-value, and so on” (Turner, 2003, p. 117).

In a crucial essay, Turner elaborates on various applications of double-scope stories, discussing how they can be applied in myth, religion, politics, fictional narratives or everyday conversations, demonstrating their utility in conceptuali-

zing various forms of human experience. One example of double-scope blending embedded in a narrative successfully used in political context which Turner brings forth is that of Seabiscuit, an old, crippled underdog horse that unexpectedly beat the favored War Admiral in a famous race in 1938, just before the beginning of World War II and proved to be a beloved national story, becoming no.1 newsmaker outrunning Hitler or the American president. Turner quotes a scholar commenting on the event over sixty years later who suggests that the lazy, amiable underdog Seabiscuit was much easier to relate to by common Americans than his impertinent and aptly named rival, War Admiral (Turner, 2003, p. 132). The race appeared to turn into a double scope story where the peaceful, underdog American people in the grip of the Great Depression managed to stand up and defeat the stern intimidating war-loving Hitler who at that point already annexed Austria and partitioned Czechoslovakia. The blend was made of two separate stories: the horse race and the political events in Europe at that time. Mapping involved tracing and selecting similarities between the events of both stories and then projecting the complex political story on the easily cognizable race, making up a double-scope blend. In this view of the story, it can clearly be understood as a blend that helps to strengthen the sense of political identity and to fuel nationalist or militarist sentiments.

The story of Christ is another case of an immensely successful double-scope blend, this one indicating the potential of double-scope stories in religious narratives. As Turner suggests, Christ is a hyperblend merging the unsinning divine with the sinful humanity. A carpenter blended with three stories that are itself complicated blends: a sacrificial lamb, bearer of burden and the one punished for sins. Christ's story inspired further blends, as in the Dream of the Rood poem, where the hyperblend Christ is merged with a tree, which thus becomes personified and whose story of being cut down and shaped into a cross mirrors the torments of Christ (Turner, 2003, pp. 128–131).

One literary example of a famous double-scope blend that Turner mentions is the one from Shakespeare's Sonnet 73, where an older man is likened to a tree in autumn that has few yellow leaves left on nearly bare boughs shaking against the cold. Similarly, Turner says, if we see a man dying under a tree in autumn we can treat this image as two separate stories running parallel and then blend it into one, creating a double-scope blend (Turner, 2003, p. 120).

Even though Turner suggests his discussion involves double-scope stories, some of his examples seem to be closer to metaphors than to narratives. Notably the dying man-tree blend and his account of Christ, though the latter clearly functions in a larger context of the biblical narrative. The former involves a comparison of a dying man to a tree in autumn and thus implies a static metaphor, rather than a dynamic narrative. Even if we assumed the blend as composed out of the life

story of the dying man and an account of the growth and death of a tree that would still not count as a blend of two stories for most narratologists, as a description of a dying tree remains a dynamic description rather than a narrative. Such conflation of narrative and metaphor may be natural for Turner as he sees blending as a fundamental operation underlying both figurative language and narrativity. It is not, however, commonly perceived as such among narratologists, nor is it very intuitive. In fact, the tendency in narrative studies has been to keep narrative and metaphor apart and, thus, I wish to now to turn to the relation between the two.

3. Narrative and metaphor

Before the advent of modern narratology, it was perhaps Roman Jakobson who was first to explore the relation between metaphor and metonymy as strictly tied to poetry and prose respectively, noting that the former utilizes the figure of metaphor, which is based on finding similarities and thus the linguistic process of selection, while the latter involves metonymy, which operates along the lines of contiguity, and thus the process of combination (Jakobson, 1956). Jakobson's structuralist approach sees the two as opposing poles of language, tied to completely different thought processes. This line of thought was later developed by David Lodge, who adhered to Jakobson's binary, structuralist distinction, offering a typology of contemporary fiction (Lodge, 1977). Elaborating on the pair, he concluded that poetic metaphor operates according to similarity, selection and substitution, whereas prosaic metonymy is based on contiguity, combination and deletion. For example, the metonymic phrase "keels crossed the deep" involves contiguities between keels and ships and depths of sea which are then deleted (condensed). Lodge also extends the debate by referring to other forms of art. For instance surrealism becomes chiefly metaphoric, whereas cubism metonymic. Drama is overall metaphoric and film metonymic. In spite of this, within a given art, certain techniques may go against the predominant mood: cinematic montage is metaphoric, as it operates on the principle of similarity, while close-up is synecdochic/metonymic. These, however, are seen as localized exceptions to the dominant poles without any significant bearing on the overall relation between metaphor and metonymy.

Apart from the possible reasons for narratology's downplaying of metaphor alluded to earlier, one could also mention the fact that whether that's Jakobson, Lodge or even Turner, they all seem to highlight narrative structure. The heyday of narratological interest in plot and structure ended along with the dying out of purely structuralist paradigm. Since then, narratology has moved to the study of

discourse, rhetoric and embraced cognitive approaches and plot/structure fell out of favour. In the words of Karin Kukkonen “At the core of narrative inquiry since Aristotle, reconceptualised and refined (sometimes beyond recognition) since, it seems that there might not be a lot left to say about plot” (Kukkonen, 2014).

The structuralist insistence on the binary opposition between metaphor and metonymy on the basis of underlying opposing linguistic processes, makes this approach rather unique in comparison to the whole tradition of rhetoric and to cognitive linguistics where metonymy is seen as a type of metaphor. Though one could argue that prose or film and thus very standard cases of narratives operate close to the metonymic pole of language, it would be rather cavalier to claim narrative is equivalent to metonymy and even less, that as a result is closely tied to metaphor in any strong sense.

As I indicated earlier, narratology in general does not see metaphor and narrative as similar in any interesting sense. For instance, Popova (2015) claims openly against Turner that metaphor and narrative are two fundamental, opposing modes of organizing experience, one based on analogies and associations and another on spatio-temporal causalities and succession. Likewise, Fludernik stresses the separateness of narrative and metaphor as two distinct modes of thinking (2009, p. 1), though metaphors undeniably appear within narratives both on a micro and macro level (2009, pp. 73–74), they overall make up an additional discursive level which “can, but need not, be narratologically relevant” (Fludernik, 2009, p. 74). Clearly, metaphor may be local in a narrative or a whole narrative could be a complex metaphor, an allegory, but within narrativity itself, there seems to be no place for metaphor. On the other hand, as she observes certain juxtapositions of scenes and images tend to be metaphorical, as in “a sequence showing workers streaming into the subway followed by another showing images of a flock of sheep being herded along suggests that the workers are sheep” (Fludernik, 2009, pp. 75–76) but sees it something peculiarly cinematic, though it would be “worthwhile investigating whether such strategies are also employed in novels” (Fludernik, 2009, p. 76). All in all, Fludernik claims narrative and metaphor are separate, though she admits in some circumstances narrative events can be linked associatively, thus making up a metaphor, but does not consider it significant. Were we to apply Turner’s theory here, it would occur that the two events are linked via the process of double-scope blending, where radically conflicting domains merge and it is then that a complete blended structure of the work comes into existence. Similar observations were made by Edward Branigan in his *Narrative Comprehension and Film*, where he talks about double causal chains tightly woven together in narratives, yet again effectively leading to a metaphorical blend of parallel plotlines. Elsewhere, he talks about a sequence from Orson Welles’ *The Lady from Shanghai* where three disparate actions are intercut so as to suggest (impossible) causality between a woman

pressing buttons, door opening with a dying man dragging himself inside and a car crash. This a clear case of events linked not in a strictly causal, but associative, metaphorical way. In fact, Branigan describes it as causality established by means of metaphor, which “functions to describe the nature of the causation” (Branigan, 1992). No broader conclusions are drawn out of the cases discussed by either author.

Outside of narratological mainstream and a little earlier in time, one can find accounts of narrativity and metaphor which are not as declaratively clear cut as in Fludernik or Popova. For example, in his 1984 *Reading for the Plot*, Peter Brooks claims beginnings and endings of stories are always linked together metaphorically, that is, by means of similarity. What stretches between the beginning and ending is a chain of metonymies moving towards what is adjacent in space and time. Brooks’ analysis is clearly limited to 19th century realist fiction when “proper” beginnings and endings were necessary parts of the dominant mode of storytelling. However, it adds more cases to the list of stories where at least some crucial events are linked not only causatively, or metonymically, but associatively, metaphorically. Brooks follows the earlier point made by Todorov about plot being a series of transformations of states of affairs on the basis of tension between similarity and difference. This implies, Brooks holds that the totality of a narrative must operate as a metaphor, for it “brings into relation different actions, combines them through perceived similarities... [and] appropriates them to a common plot” (Brooks, 1984, p. 91) excluding contingency, incident or strict causality.

Brooks’ claims are surely too restrictive to serve as a general theory of narrative and plotting. Not all stories are structured this way. In fact, if we were to count ordinary, everyday storytelling in, than most are devoid of a strong, associative link between the inciting event and the resolution. Moreover, many celebrated fictional narratives do not have “proper” endings and resolutions the way 19th century realist fiction does. Still, even though too restrictive for a purely descriptive general theory of a narrative, I believe Brooks’ points could be adapted to talk about aesthetic expectations readers or audiences might have about fictional narratives rather than about the content of the narratives themselves. In other words, we standardly expect most fictional narratives to be unified thematically or associatively, even if they fail to be unified in the fashion of realist fiction: by causal chain of events that lead to a resolution of the initial problem. The causal chain resolution might be there, but what in fact is more important is what I’m willing to call aesthetic resolution, that is a sense that events of a narrative are unified and complete in an associative/affective/emotional way, which I believe is close to metaphorical structure or to Turner’s blending. In order to elaborate on that I point, I am going to first turn to a rather puzzling passage from Aristotle’s *Poetics*.

4. Emotional resolution and associative unity

But again, Tragedy is an imitation not only of a complete action, but of events inspiring fear or pity. Such an effect is best produced when the events come on us by surprise; and the effect is heightened when, at the same time, they follow as cause and effect. The tragic wonder will then be greater than if they happened of themselves or by accident; for even coincidences are most striking when they have an air of design. We may instance the statue of Mityls at Argos, which fell upon his murderer while he was a spectator at a festival, and killed him. Such events seem not to be due to mere chance. Plots, therefore, constructed on these principles are necessarily the best. (Aristotle, *Poetics*, IX)

Though the final remarks about Mityls seem to play a crucial role in Aristotle's theory, he does not elaborate on it beyond the passage given above. The causality chain between Mityls' murder and then the murderer's death is highly unclear. Is it mere ancient poetic justice? Is it supernatural intervention of a god or a ghost? Did the murderer cause it to fall on him out of guilt or unwittingly? These questions must be left unanswered and thus a gap in the narrative causal chain is created. Nevertheless, the gap does not seem to be an obstacle for responding emotionally to the narrative and seeing it as complete, even though it is not completeness of cause-effect chains. Aristotle appears to be suggesting that linking events in a cause-effect or probable sequence is the basis of good storytelling and yet events can also be linked not in a strictly causal way without being random or purely accidental. If such a connection is non-causal or improbable with regard to common sense and not accidental at the same time, it must be associational, based on similarity and consequently leaning towards the metaphorical.

Commenting on Aristotle's passage, Velleman (2003) argued it demonstrates that beneath the surface narrative structure of cause-effect or probabilities lies an emotional structure corresponding with the structure of human emotional experience, that is excitation and resolution. This proves, according to Velleman, that the real condition of narrativity is not the causal sequencing of events but the "emotional cadence," their ability to evoke excitation and a relevant resolution, however causally or probably disconnected they may be. Just as in the case of Brooks, I see this as too restrictive for a general theory of narrative (not to mention that emotional cadence might be produced by almost anything, not just stories), but it is helpful in understanding the aesthetic dimension of experiencing stories. Again, if we have aesthetic expectations about narratives, they include that a story be unified in some thematic and emotional sense. This associative unity often is complementary to the standard cause-effect unity, meaning that they

simultaneously operate together, but there can be cause-effect gaps as in Mitys' story where causal structure is substituted by emotional one, or it can be prominent and foregrounded.

Offering a different, yet complementary to Velleman's approach, response to Mitys' story, Patrick Hogan delves deeper into the associative structure of narratives and formulates theory of aesthetic response to narratives using standard widely accepted cognitive accounts of memory. Specifically, what is germane to the experience of verbal art is the part of long-term memory called semantic memory, or the mental lexicon, which is "a system of circuits that spread throughout long-term memory, encompassing a wide range of information," (Hogan, 1996, pp. 163–194) that includes, apart from definitions, beliefs, attitudes, visual images, memories, ideals, norms, etc. Moreover, just like all other items stored in long-term memory, lexical entries are mainly addressable by means of their content, which means that in order to arrive at them, it is not prerequisite to start with the initial sound of the linguistic representation of a given entry, as in standard dictionaries or encyclopedia. One can access an item through part of the meaning or a referent or through some chain of associations, be it common or highly idiosyncratic.

Various chains and networks of associations and multimodal representations are activated whenever we come across a linguistic utterance, but when experiencing a narrative competently we tend to have some expectations about the richness and depth of the language or images used. As Hogan puts it, we are more inclined towards dallying with the meanings, associations or contexts appearing when in contact with a literary text. It is, then, a form of delectation of suggestions or evocation that are typically linked to a particular theme in an affective way, but this aesthetic suggestiveness is not equivalent to causal unity. Hogan's example of a hamlet on the Ganga is an image that tries to evoke sanctity, peace and purity (Hogan, 1996, pp. 163–194), Turner's double scope-stories also activate various networks of associations that are linked to a particular emotion. The Shakespearean man-tree in autumn blend evokes feeling of sadness over passing and death. Seabiscuit story tries to comfort and motivate, as well as deliver from fear. Christ story attempts at comforting too, along with the feeling of relief, justice and the vision of never-ending well-being. Turner also mentions a double-blend story involving a statue of 16th century Spanish conquistador who had been accused, and perhaps apocryphally, of inflicting severe punishment on rebellious local populations in present day New Mexico, including amputation of right foot. Four centuries later an anonymous groups claiming to be descendants of the harshly punished tribe took credit for cutting off the right foot of the monumental statue of the conquistador in New Mexico (Turner, 2003, p. 128). Just like in Aristotle's example, there is no logical connection between the events in the sense that the

conquistador was not punished by those who suffered due to his deeds, but it was his symbol that was metaphorically punished. The actual deed was not avenged and there was hardly any causal necessity for the 20th century New Mexicans to mutilate the statue but their double-scope imagination produced an emotionally appealing story that has a metaphoric, associative unity foregrounded, just like the story of imaginary revenge on the man that killed Mityts. Narratives that are successful in triggering aesthetic emotions are structured in such a way as to evoke a network of associations related to a particular emotionally salient theme. The type of unity of a literary work or narrative that is crucial for it being aesthetically (affectively) successful is not just the basic causal or logical unity, but it is a unity and interrelation of the internal parts of a work (its aesthetic design) that is, again, the unity of chains of associations linked to particular emotions.

5. Conclusion

All in all, if we have aesthetic expectations about a narrative, then we expect it to be structured in a thematically unified way so as to trigger relevant emotions. There seem to be, thus, two structures pertinent to the narrative sequence of events: the causal or probable structure (roughly, metonymic) and the associative structure (roughly, metaphorical). These can operate in a complementary and simultaneous fashion, though in some stories, the associative link can substitute the causal one in varying degrees. Further, not only can events be linked associatively, by means of tracing similarities between them, but as the above discussion demonstrates, the very act of linking them in such a way is reminiscent of double-scope blending, as one imputes a connection between events where there cannot be any apart from that of likeness. As a result, construing a complete fictional narrative involves double-scope blending, too, since one brings together the causal structure of events with the associative one into a single, unified domain of a work. I should emphasize that I am not making any general points about blending, as in corroborating or questioning if it is a fundamental human thought process. My argument is merely that it appears double-scope blending plays a role in cognizing the associative structure of a narrative and its relation to the causal structure bringing about the complete narrative. Neither am I making a point that can be easily inferred from blending theory that there is a deeper relation (of perhaps reduction or even identity) between metaphor and narrativity in any interesting way. My modest claim is that, perhaps counterintuitively, the process of metaphor can link events strengthening associational dimension to narratives which in turn potentially enhances their affective and aesthetic potential.

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Route verbs in English and Polish expressions of fictive motion

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Abstract

This study discusses the use of route verbs in English and Polish expressions of fictive motion. It demonstrates that while in English the verbs *cross* and *pass*, which are prototypically used to express routing relations, can be used in most scenarios interchangeably, their Polish equivalents used in this context cannot always replace one another. This indicates that, despite sharing certain common properties, fictive motion expressions in English and Polish are highly conventionalized and subject to interactions between conceptual motivations and language specific semantic constraints.

Keywords: motion events, fictive motion, motion verbs, routes, lexical semantics

1. Introduction

This study discusses the use of route verbs for describing spatial relations in the context of fictive motion events. Language abounds in references to fictive entities invoked for describing real-life situations. Langacker (2005, 2008, Ch. 14.2) starts the discussion on linguistic *fictivity*, also referred to as *virtuality* (Langacker, 1999), from the reflection that a lexical noun by itself (e.g. *book*, *air*) merely specifies a type of thing, not any specific instance of that type. Similarly, a lexical verb by itself (e.g. *go*, *love*) merely specifies a type of event or situation, which Langacker terms a *process*, not any particular instance of the process. He points out that the thing or process designated by a *type* specification is fictive in nature as it does not refer to an actual thing or an actual process as such (cf. *sense* and *reference* in Frege, 1892/1960). For example, in the statement “I don’t have a sister,” the type specification *a sister* is conjured up in order to specify what is not the case, i.e. non-existence of any representative instance of this type. Thus, a *type* can be essentially described as a fictive entity that “represents an abstraction

from actuality which captures the commonality inherent across a set of actual instances” (Langacker, 2005, p. 170).

A *type* of thing or process can correspond to any number of instances of that type. While the type projects to all its specific instances, it does not refer to any particular instance. Langacker points out that it is important to keep in mind not only how *types* are connected to *actuality*, but also how they arise from it “as a kind of generalization over actual occurrences, such that sets of occurrences are perceived as being alike in significant respects” (Langacker, 2005, p. 170). He emphasizes that the *type/instance* distinction does not equal the *fictive/actual* distinction. Types are always fictive entities, but instances do not necessarily have to be actual – they can either be actual or fictive. For example, let’s consider the sentence “This road runs to Glasgow,” which refers to an actual road built to provide an easy access to the city of Glasgow. The linguistic reference to motion – namely *runs* – appears to be at the instance level. However, while the sentence is a statement about actuality (both the road and the city are actual instances), the process of motion conjured up to describe the road is fictive in nature because no actual movement occurs. This demonstrates that in order to grasp the expression’s overall meaning, we must apprehend not only what is directly coded linguistically, but also how the fictive entities are connected to actuality (see also Gład, 2014).

2. Fictive motion

A number of linguistic studies discuss expressions like (1.a–d), found in the British National Corpus:

- (1) a. The main *street sweeps* southward up the hill.
- b. The service *pipe runs* underground.
- c. Towering *mountains surround* the village.
- d. This wire *fence goes* all the way down to the wall at the other end.

What is noteworthy about these sentences is that the described object is stationary and there no entity traversing the depicted path, however, it is represented as moving along its spatial configuration. Although the first two sentences (1a–b) refer to spatial objects that serve as media of motion, the other two (1c–d) describe objects that are difficult to associate with movement (Talmy, 2000, p. 104; Matsumoto, 1996, p. 187).

The phenomenon of employing motion verbs to describe spatial configurations that do not involve actual motion or change of state has been discussed in cognitive linguistic studies for over 35 years under a range of different labels.

In 1983, Talmy observed that some apparent linear-locative cases in spatial descriptions can be interpreted more efficiently in terms of reference to a moving point or line, rather than a stationary entity (Talmy, 1983, p. 236). At the same time, Jackendoff (1983) pointed out that sentences such as (1a–d) pass tests for *state* rather than *event* expressions. He termed them *extent sentences*, and categorized verbs used in such sentences as *verbs of extent* (Jackendoff, 1983, p. 173). He emphasized that in his framework “these conceptual structures are organized spatially and nontemporally” (Jackendoff, 1983, p. 169), which denies motion as part of their semantics.

Three years later, Langacker (1986, p. 464–466) discussed *abstract motion* expressions used to refer to stable situations in which nothing is actually moving or otherwise changing. He termed this special kind of motion used to discuss spatial configurations *subjective motion* to emphasize that in this case the motion occurs on the part of the conceptualizer. He pointed out that the temporal component necessary for considering it to be a type of motion can be obtained by taking into account the time of the construal itself. The term *subjective motion* was later adopted by Matsumoto (1996), who demonstrated some intriguing characteristics of fictive motion expressions from the perspective of a cross-linguistic comparison between English and Japanese.

Over the years the phenomenon of fictive motions has been analyzed from the perspective of various cognitive linguistic frameworks. Langacker’s (1986, 2005, 2008, Ch. 14) account assumes that fictive motion involves *mental scanning*, by which the conceptualizer builds up a full conception of an object’s spatial configuration. In Talmy’s (1996, 2000, Ch. 2) framework of *general fictivity*, which takes into account how non-veridical forms of motion are both expressed linguistically and perceived visually, fictive motion is approached in terms of the discrepancy between two cognitive representations of the same entity in which one is assessed as being more veridical than the other. Fictive representations occur naturally due to our kinesthetic inclination to perceive static objects as features of the environment that afford movement.

Although fictive motion is largely reconcilable with *conceptual metaphor theory* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff & Turner, 1989), Kövecses (2015) argues against metaphoric interpretations of coextension path expressions because they would call for a reversal of the typical direction of source-to-target mappings. However, fictive motion can be successfully interpreted in terms of *conceptual integration theory* (Fauconnier, 1997; Fauconnier & Turner, 2002), as a result of blending inputs from the domains of motion and immobility.

Talmy (1996, 2000, Ch. 2, 2011) distinguishes a number of relatively distinct categories of fictive motion, which embrace representations of motion attributed to immobile material objects, states, or abstract concepts. Within this taxonomy,

what was previously discussed in the linguistic literature under the above-mentioned variety of labels was distinguished as the category of *coextension paths* (Talmy, 2011, p. 632). This study focuses specifically on fictive motion in this particular narrow sense. For this reason, throughout this paper, unless otherwise indicated, the terms *coextension paths* and *fictive motion* are used interchangeably.

3. Routing relations in spatial semantics

Discussing the semantics of spatial expressions (Jackendoff, 1983, Ch. 9) argues that spatial prepositional phrases (PP) can function referentially to express both [PLACES] and [PATHS], which he regards as the most important distinction within their senses. While a [PLACE] projects into a point or region, a [PATH] has more varied structure and plays a wider variety of roles both in *events* and *states*. Jackendoff (1983, p. 163) argues that the internal structure of the [PATH] typically consists of a *path-function* coupled with a *reference object*, e.g. “toward the mountain,” “around the tree”, and “to the floor,” or a *reference place*, e.g. “from under the table,” where *from* expresses the path-function and *under the table* expresses the reference [PLACE].

Jackendoff assumes that paths can be divided into three generic categories, stemming from the path’s relationship to the reference object or place. (a) *Bounded paths* include *source-paths*, for which the usual preposition is *from*, and *goal-paths*, for which the preposition is *to*. (b) In *directions*, the reference object or place is not included in the path, but would, if it were extended further. Most common transitive prepositions expressing directions are *toward*, and *away from*; most common intransitive prepositions are *up(ward)*, *down(ward)*, *forward*, *backward*, *homeward*, etc. (c) In *routes*, the reference object or place is related to some point on the path, e.g. “by the house,” “through the tunnel,” etc. (Jackendoff, 1983, pp. 165–166).

Zwarts (2008), after distinguishing two major categories of *locative* and *directional* prepositions, follows Jackendoff (1983) to point out that directional prepositions largely correspond to paths. With reference to spatial and aspectual dimensions expressed by prepositions in spatial expressions, Zwarts (2008, p. 84) proposes to distinguish some basic classes of directional prepositions. For instance, (a) *Source* prepositions impose a locative condition on the initial part of the path, e.g. *from*; (b) *Goal* prepositions indicate the opposite pattern, putting emphasis on the final part of the path, e.g. *into*; (c) *Route* prepositions impose a locative condition on a middle part of the path, e.g. *past*, *through*, *across*, and *over*; (d) *Comparative* prepositions involve a spatial ordering of the extremes of the path,

with *towards* referring to paths that have their endpoint closer to the reference object than their starting point, and *away from* referring to paths going further and further away from the starting point. Zwarts (2008) suggests that the characteristics of paths can be extended to embrace the semantics of dynamic verbs, giving a partial typology of “event shapes” as places and paths in the conceptual space of events (see Zwarts, 2008, pp. 98–103 for a broader discussion).

Following this distinction, Geuder & Weisgerber (2008) propose to divide verbs of motion specifying a particular trajectory or contour in a way parallel to directional prepositions. Their proposal allows to distinguish the following types of directional verbs of motion: (a) *Goal* verbs relate to the end point on the path of motion, e.g. *enter*, *arrive*; (b) *Source* verbs relate to the starting point on the path of motion, e.g. *exit*, *depart*; (c) *Route* verbs relate to intermediate points on the path of motion, e.g. *cross* and *pass*; (d) *Comparative* verbs relate to movement closer to/further from a reference object, e.g. *approach*.

Rappaport, Hovav and Levin (2010, p. 30) point out that although the above-distinguished *route verbs*, like *cross* and *pass*, tend to be ascribed to the category of directional motion verbs (e.g. Levin, 1993; Papafragou & Selimis, 2010; Slobin, 1996), they are not verbs of scalar change (cf. Beavers, 2008). Although they specify motion along a path defined by a particular axis, the direction of motion along the path is not lexicalized by the verb, i.e. they do not impose an ordering relation on the path. For instance, the verb *cross* is equally applicable whether a traversal is from England to France or from France to England. On the other hand, they are neither verbs of motion manner, which suggests that they belong to a separate group.

4. Route verbs in fictive motion

This study approaches the question how route verbs are used in fictive motion expressions from the perspective of cognitive corpus-based linguistics, which combines the descriptive framework of cognitive linguistics (Dancygier, 2017) with the methodological workbench of corpus linguistics (Biber & Reppen, 2015). This approach to language study focuses on examining how linguistic expressions are actually used in natural contexts, rather than on speculating about what is theoretically possible in language (Gries & Divjak, 2010). Coextension path expressions are problematic to single out from corpora because at the syntactic level they are practically indistinguishable from actual motion expressions. For this reason, searching for the use of directionality in coextension paths was implemented by looking for combinations of a broad selection of landmarks that can potentially be described with fictive motion with an array of directional motion verbs.

The choice of suitable landmarks was based on observations that coextension paths typically describe extended or elongated stationary spatial entities (Langacker, 2005; Matlock, 2004). Starting with a few prototypical ones, such as “road,” “wire,” “fence,” “coast,” etc., the online version of *WordNet* (Fellbaum, 2017) was consulted to review hyponyms, meronyms, and sister terms in order to identify other spatially extended objects potentially fit for description with coextension paths. For the purpose of the present study the following four categories of landmarks were selected: (a) *travelable paths*: “alley, artery, avenue, boulevard, bridge, flyover, footpath, highway, lane, motorway, overpass, passage, passageway, path, pathway, pavement, railway, road, roadway, route, street, subway, thoroughfare, track, trail, tunnel, underpass, viaduct, walkway, way.” These spatial entities are distinguished by Matsumoto (1996) as paths intended for traveling by people; (b) *travelable environmental entities*: “beach, canyon, cliff, coast, coastline, crag, desert, escarpment, field, forest, glacier, glen, grassland, gulf, gully, hill, island, land, littoral, meadow, mountain, plateau, ravine, ridge, scarp, seashore, shore, valley, wasteland, wilderness.” These typically extended or elongated landmarks can also be traveled, however, they were not built intentionally for this purpose; (c) *non-travelable connectors*: “cable, conduit, conveyor, duct, hose, line, pipe, pipeline, tube, wire.” These elongated objects, which are typically used for transmitting energy or transporting substances over long distance, are classified by Matsumoto (1996) as *non-travelable paths* because they are normally not traveled by people; (d) *non-travelable barriers*: “barrage, barricade, barrier, dam, fence, hedge, hedgerow, palisade, rampart, wall.” These spatially extended entities are not normally used for traveling, but they often stretch over a relatively substantial distance. Altogether, 80 landmarks were selected for analysis, including 60 items for travelable paths and 20 items for non-travelable paths. This selection seems to be reasonably adequate for the purpose of retrieving a range of coextension path sentences from a corpus. Enumerating all objects that can potentially be described with fictive motion is impossible, if only for the creativity of linguistic expression.

More specifically, the search for the directional expressions of fictive motion was implemented by looking for combinations of the selected landmarks with third-person singular simple present and past forms of the route verbs using the following pattern: LANDMARK (noun sing.) + ROUTE VERB (3rd sing. present/past tense). Following the above-reviewed classifications proposed by Geuder and Weisgerber (2008), Jackendoff (1983); Levin (1993), Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2010), and Zwarts (2008), two prototypical route verbs were selected to analysis, namely *cross* and *pass*.

For English, the results presented in this study are based on searching the British National Corpus (World Edition), which is a 100 million word collection of samples of written and spoken contemporary British English from a wide range of

texts, not limited to any particular subject field, genre, or register (Burnard, 2000).

The search for the route verbs in fictive motion expressions returned 175 sentences from the BNC. The resulting concordance was reviewed to exclude coincidental matches. As a result, 145 sentences were identified as valid examples of coextension paths, including 63 examples for the verb *cross* and 82 examples for the verb *pass* (cf. Waliński, 2017) for a full listing of all sentences retrieved from the corpus for the route verbs.

A selection of examples found for the verb *cross* is presented below.

- (2) a. At one point the path crosses the River Almond
- b. Darlington Railway crosses 100 bridge spans
- c. The road crosses open moorland
- d. The route crosses through agricultural land
- e. From York a bridge crosses into the village
- f. Here the main London Bridge–Brighton railway crossed over the road.

The results of the query indicate that in fictive motion, the verb *cross* is used to indicate that the configuration of a path goes through a specific point, typically belonging to an object oriented perpendicularly to the path, e.g. a river, road, etc., as in (2a), or multiple points, as in (2b). The verb can also refer to crossing an area (2c), which can additionally be emphasized with the proposition *through*, as in (2d). The end point (goal) can be specified with a prepositional phrase, as in (2e), which makes this expression telic. The prepositional phrase can also provide details about a relation between the crossing figure and the ground being crossed on the vertical plane, as in (2f).

A selection of examples found for the verb *pass* is presented below.

- (3) a. The road passes the farm of Braida Garth
- b. After 2 miles road passes three houses
- c. The route passes through spectacular countryside
- d. The Pennine Way passes within ten miles of the village, and the coast to coast path passes right through
- e. A short mile further on, the road passes over the stream
- f. From Castle Cary the Way passes to the left of the George Hotel into Paddock Drain

The examples retrieved from the corpus indicate that in coextension path expressions the verb *pass* specifies that the spatial configuration of a path goes beside a specific point as in (3a), or a series of points, as in (3b). However, when followed by the preposition *through*, the verb can be used to specify that the configuration of a path goes through a point or an area (3c), which approximately

parallels the semantics of crossing. This is particularly visible in the example (3d), which includes both senses. Various relations between the described path and a reference ground can be specified with prepositional phrases, e.g. “along the bottom of a gorge,” “below the shapely peaks,” “behind the youth hostel,” “under the river,” “over the stream.” The unboundedness of a path lexicalized by the verb can be restricted by adpositional phrases providing details about the source and/or the goal of a path, as in (3f).

A parallel examination was conducted for Polish. A selection of equivalent Polish verbs was identified with the help of the *PWN-Oxford English-Polish Dictionary* (2004) and *SłowoSieć* – the online interface to Polish wordnet (Piasecki et al., 2009). The examples cited below come from the National Corpus of Polish (Przepiórkowski, et al., 2012). Finding equivalent motion verbs between English and Polish is not always a straightforward task, despite the fact that both these languages belong to the *Satellite-framed* group (Talmy, 2000). For instance, the verb *walk* is to some extent subsumed in the Polish verb *spacerować*, and is often translated using the more generic verb *iść*, but it can be rendered in the opposite direction by numerous English verbs, such as *amble*, *mosey*, *perambulate*, *promenade*, *saunter*, and *stroll*, depending on the particular context. Verbs *march* (*maszerować*), *fly* (*latać*), and *sail* (*żeglować*), at first glance seem to be largely correspondent between English and Polish, but they also have uses which are not compatible, e.g. *latać po zakupy* – *to run around shopping*, etc. A similar situation occurs for the verbs *cross* and *pass*, which have multiple counterparts in the Polish lexicon.

The relation of crossing can be expressed in Polish, as one option, by using the phrase *iść/przechodzić przez*¹ [go across]. However, this option is based on the generic verb *iść/przechodzić* [go] modified with the appropriate preposition, rather than a specific equivalent. As another option, the verb *przecinać* [cut] can be employed as an equivalent, e.g. “Droga przecina Odrę” [lit. The road cuts the Oder]. When used with the appropriate prepositions, e.g. *przez* [through], *obok* [beside], *ponad* [above], etc. it can express a variety of crossing configurations. However, this verb relates to the semantics of cutting, rather than crossing as such. Probably the closest lexical equivalent that can be found in this context is the verb *krzyżować się z* [cross with, reflexive from]. When modified by the appropriate

¹ The Polish verbal forms *iść/przechodzić*, *mijać/omijać*, etc., reflect different aspectual forms. It must be noted that in Polish the verbal category of aspect cannot be compared on the basis of one-to-one correspondence to aspect in English. As summarized by Fisiak, Lipińska-Grzegorek and Zabrocki (1987, p. 96), “The Polish aspectual forms of verbs distinguish various types of the same activity. The main semantic factors determining the aspectual oppositions are the following ones: completed vs. non-completed action, one occurrence vs. repeated occurrence of the same action, the temporal range of the activity: short vs. long, stress on the initial or final phase of the activity, etc.”

prepositional phrase, it can express both the relation of two paths crossing at a certain point/area in space, e.g. “Skwer leży pośrodku tego kompleksu. Krzyżują się na nim trasy, którymi wędruje młodzież” [lit. The square lies in the middle of this complex. The routes used by young people for wandering cross each other at this point], and the relation of passing, i.e. crossing beside a point/area in space, e.g. “Objazd krzyżuje się z torami kolejowymi obok tamy” [lit. The detour crosses itself with the railway next to the dam].

The relation of passing can also be expressed with a range of Polish equivalents. As a basic option, the relation of passing can be expressed with use of the phrase *iść/przechodzić obok* [go past]. Again, this option employs the generic verb *iść/przechodzić* [go] with the appropriate preposition, rather than a specific equivalent. A more specific equivalent that can be employed in this context is the verb *mijać/omijać* [pass beside/around]. However, the lexical semantics of this Polish verb expresses explicitly the relation of passing at a certain distance, without physical contact. Therefore, modifying it with the preposition *przez* [through] to express the relation of crossing does not appear to be a natural option. In such scenarios, the more generic phrase *iść/przechodzić obok* [go past] is more likely to be used.

5. Conclusions

The verbs *cross* and *pass* frequently feature in expressions of fictive motion. Their high frequency in data found in the BNC (see Waliński, 2018 for a broader corpus-based study of verbs used in fictive motion) indicates that the routing relations are among the most prevalent spatial conceptions expressed with coextension paths. They tend to be used to specify that the spatial configuration of a path goes either through or beside a specific point. What can be observed in the corpus data retrieved from the BNC is that their frequency in coextension paths is relatively proportional (63 valid examples found for the verb *cross* vs. 82 for the verb *pass* in the 100 million language sample). In English, they tend to follow correspondent syntactic patterns in fictive motion expressions, by either taking a direct object as the verb complement or a similar range of prepositions. Moreover, despite the fact that their semantics differs, when modified with the appropriate prepositions, they can replace each other in some contexts to express parallel configurations, e.g. “The path crosses the field” vs. “The path passes through the field” or “The road passes the farm” vs. “The road crosses beside the farm.”

However, in Polish, even if followed by the appropriate prepositional phrase, the prototypical equivalents for the verb *cross* (*krzyżować*) and *pass* (*mijać/omijać*) cannot always function interchangeably in coextension path expressions.

Since it is impossible to find disjunctive and exhaustive one-to-one correspondences between English and Polish verbs of motion, it is plausible to assume that English and Polish route verbs embrace largely overlapping semantic fields in coextension path expressions, but their use is restricted by the language specific conventions. This indicates that while the shared features of fictive motion observed across different languages stem from the universal nature of apprehending spatial relations, the linguistic structuring of fictive motion is mediated by the grammatical and lexical structure of the particular language (see Blomberg, 2015; Stosic, et al., 2015 for broader cross-linguistic studies).

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Conflict scenario emotion events in reality television: a cross-cultural perspective

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Abstract

The present paper provides an analysis of an Indian female contestant and a British female contestant involved in an Emotion Event, conflict scenario in *Celebrity Big Brother*, a British reality television show that was aired by the Channel 4 television company. It was shown that the spoken communication between the two contestants conformed to the low context vs. high context communication cultures that are associated with collectivism and individualism, respectively. More specifically, whereas the more collectivistic Indian participant engaged in a more inferred, contextualised and implicit communication style, the style of communication of the British participant was characterised by a clear, logical, explicit message. Furthermore, in a typical individualistic response to the hurtful threat of shame, the British participant, in contrast to the Indian participant who demonstrated a more socially constructive response, employed a more aggressive, confrontational response strategy that was characterised by *fight* (Wilson, 2017) and relatively uncontrolled anger. This opposes the viewpoint that emotions are discrete entities that function independently of other emotions and supports a conceptual structure of emotions that is based on the proximity of emotion clusters (Wilson & Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 2019).

Key words: anger, collectivism, culture, Emotion Events, high context communication, Hinduism, individualism, low context communication, reality show, shame

1. Introduction

Abundant evidence shows that emotions do not translate well across languages. Many of these studies use different methodologies to provide contrastive analyses of cultural differences between emotion concepts (e.g., Wilson & Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 2017; Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk & Wilson, 2013). Other studies have shown that there are fewer differences in emotional expressions across cultures (e.g., Ekman & Friesen, 1986). However, the inherent problems of objectivity mean that it is relatively more difficult to analyse emotion events from a cultural

viewpoint. Analysing emotion events in television reality shows offers a possible greater approximation towards valid, objective interpersonal interaction within such events.

The present study analyses two female contestants (Jade Goody, a white British reality show celebrity and Shilpa Shetty, an Indian, Hindu Bollywood star) who interact in an Emotion Event, conflict scenario in *Celebrity Big Brother*, a British reality television show that was aired by the Channel 4 television company (2007). Within an Emotion Event scenario structure, the analysis is performed on the basis of two cultural dimensions – low context vs. high context communication (Hall, 1959) and collectivism vs. individualism (Hofstede, 1980). The central emotion in the analysis of the verbal exchange is shame, which is shown to elicit culture-specific instances of *fight* and *flight*, and associated emotions (Wilson, 2017). This is consistent with the viewpoint of a cluster representation of emotions in conceptual space (Wilson & Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 2019).

1.1. Emotion Events

Emotions can be defined in terms of an Emotion Event, arising as a reaction to a stimulus. There are thus prototypical Emotion Event Scenarios and extended event scenarios. These extensions cover either peripheral scenarios or clusters of emotions, which can eventually lead to a blended Event Scenario. Mixed feelings, experiencing more than one emotion at the same time, i.e., *emotion clusters*, and the difficulty in identifying one particular emotion vis-à-vis another and experiencing a *blended type* of emotion instead are frequent departures from a prototype.

Biological, physiological and some psychological/cognitive properties can be identified along with prototypically accompanying scenarios by sophisticated questionnaires, applied to investigate emotions in a variety of languages and cultures (see analyses of English and Polish surprise, fear, joy, and happiness (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk & Wilson, 2010, 2013; Wilson, Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, & Niiya, 2013). On the basis of these variables we can propose a Prototypical Emotion Event Scenario, which covers the following constituents:

Context (Biological predispositions of Experiencer; Social and Cultural conditioning; On-line contextual properties of Event) [**Stimulus** → **Experiencer** {(internally and externally manifested) physiological and physical symptoms; affective state + (internally experienced) Emotion} → possible **external reaction(s)** of Experiencer (blending; **language**: metaphor; emotion and emotional talk; **non-verbal** reactions)]

1.2. Culture: Collectivism versus Individualism

Collectivism

The fundamental feature of collectivism is the closer interpersonal relationships that are present within groups, which result in these groups being more cohesive. Individuals within these groups have a greater obligation to fulfil their responsibilities towards other group members (Oyserman et al., 2002). The social, interconnected ties within the in-group are more important than the individual, autonomous functioning of the person within that group (Triandis, 1995). Consistent with the more social elements of collectivism, self-concept is based on group membership (Hofstede, 1980), and includes characteristics such as the sacrifice of the self for others and common goals, as well as the maintenance of good relations (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Well-being for the collectivist is determined by successful performance in social roles and the completion of duties (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Emphasis is placed on the achievement of in-group harmony by controlling the outward expression of emotions.

Individualism

In individualistic cultures one perceives oneself as an individual, autonomous entity and there is less emphasis placed on one's relationships with others. The various accounts of individualism share the fundamental features of more of an individualised construal of goals, uniqueness and control (Oyserman et al., 2002). Highlighting the personal autonomy associated with individualism, Hofstede (1980) views the inclusion of self-fulfilment and personal accomplishments in one's identity, the importance of rights in comparison with duties, and a focus on oneself and immediate family as central features. In contrast with collectivistic individuals who have relatively more interdependence within their in-groups (e.g., family, nation), individualists show a greater degree of independence from their in-groups, which is evidenced in the importance they place on personal goals in comparison with the goals of their in-groups. Consistent with Schwarz's (1990) emphasis on the importance of individualistic status achievement, Triandis (1995) observes the negotiation of duties within social relationships. Individualists regard the formation of a positive self-concept as a fundamental personal characteristic that they closely associate with personal achievement.

Low Context vs. High Context Communication Cultures

It was the work of Hall (e.g., 1959) that initially highlighted the importance of low context vs. high context communication styles across cultures. Communication style denotes the way in which individuals express themselves when

communicating with others and specific patterns have been observed that are prototypical for certain cultures. With respect to the present study, whereas India has traditionally been identified as a high context culture (Nishimura, Nevgi & Tella, 2008), Britain is regarded as a low context culture.

High Context Communication Cultures

In high context cultures very little information is explicitly conveyed in the coded, verbal part of the message. In contrast, most of the meaning of the message is present in the physical context or internalised in the individual. Self-construals are based on interdependence relationships that place emphasis on connectedness and harmony through the high regard for the actions, feelings and thoughts of others in social relationships. The message recipient is responsible for gaining insight into the contextual or hidden meaning of the message. Less emphasis is placed on direct, explicit messages and the verbal content is deemed an inherent, inseparable part of the whole communication context. Relatively less importance is placed on conveying a clear verbal message. It is important for the recipient of the message to detect implicit and subtle contextual cues when attempting to gain an understanding of the communication. In the absence of such context, the interlocutor's message might be regarded to be pointless and possibly deceitful.

Low Context Communication Cultures

As meaning is expressed in an explicit verbal code in low context cultures, the recipient of the message expects the sender to give a detailed message, be direct, and use language that is not ambiguous. On the basis of the emphasis placed on privacy, autonomy and independence, there is more freedom to express oneself and be direct. It is the sender of the message who is often responsible for misunderstanding or miscommunication as they are expected to present direct, clear, unambiguous information that the recipient can easily decode. Consistent with this, greater value is placed on rational, logical and analytical thinking. In order that the listener can completely understand the meaning of the message the speaker is primarily responsible to express ideas and thoughts with utmost clarity.

1.3. Shame

The Nature of Shame

The features of shame make this self-conscious, moral emotion a key element of human interaction. One of the main reasons for shame being an important self-conscious emotion is that it is characterised by negative criticism of the global

self (Lewis, 1971) and is therefore related to evaluations of self-worth and self-esteem. The central features pertaining to this global self include acceptance or rejection by others, self-regulation and self-evaluation. It is clear that such criticism involving the global self is more likely to be more threatening as damage to the very essence of one's being is at stake. Shame is further characterised by fear of this damage or criticism to the global self (Kam & Bond, 2008). Such involvement of the global self can be seen more clearly when one compares it with guilt, which is another self-conscious emotion, but one that is typically less hurtful than shame as the main focus is on behaviour, not one's core self, and hence one's self-worth and self-esteem are less threatened (Tangney & Tracy, 2012). Ogarkova, Soriano, & Lehr (2012) observe that shame is elicited in response to the violation of an important social standard in which the transgressor is concerned with others' actual or imagined evaluations, which might lead to external sanctions. The feeling of being small and the desire to avoid being seen by others lead to avoidance and withdrawal behaviours. Shame is more of an intense emotion than guilt and is associated with feelings of weakness, powerlessness and helplessness. The tendency to hide, withdraw and disappear, and feelings of powerlessness associated with shame are consistent with two of the four approaches to shame outlined by Fontaine et al. (2006). Shame, unlike guilt, is also not characterised by an emphasis on reparations or penance (Ogarkova, Soriano, & Lehr, 2012). Finally, shame can lead to aggressive behaviour (Scheff, 2014).

Shame the Master Emotion

The prominence of shame as one of the most, if not *the* most, important emotion in our lives can be witnessed in its unique function in social relationships due to its psychological and social importance, which has led to it being labelled a master emotion. This status is warranted on the basis of a number of features, not least on account of its relationship with a wide range of other emotions, including anger and aggression, fear, anxiety, sadness and depression, hurt, and compassion. Poulson (2000) additionally deems envy, jealousy, disgust, happiness, pride, relief, hope and love to be related to shame.

To gain an understanding of the possible mechanisms underlying the influence of shame on emotions in its closest proximity one needs to understand how physical threats and the threat of social exclusion are both associated with affective pain. MacDonald & Leary (2005) argue that "the aversive emotional state of social pain is the same unpleasantness that is experienced in response to physical pain" (p. 203). They further propose that one is motivated to avoid possible situations that threaten social exclusion through the feelings of

pain that they are often coupled with in a similar way in which one learns to avoid physical threats. The role of shame in socially threatening situations is highlighted by Dickerson, Gruenewald & Kemeny (2004), who identify shame and the physiological activity that accompanies it as a fundamental underlying emotional response to such threats in the same way that, for example, fear and its physiological responses occur when one is physically threatened. To summarise, shame can be viewed as an emotional response to social pain that is equivalent to the unpleasant emotional states that are elicited by situations involving physical pain and threat.

The emotions that derive from the affective pain that accompanies threats to the preservation of one's social self, and hence shame, are similar to those emotions that have been widely documented to arise from the affective pain associated with physical threat. Furthermore, the social pain that underlies shame and physical pain elicit the same mechanisms to defend against such threats, namely *fight*, *flight* and *fright* responses (Elison, Garofalo, & Velotti, 2014).¹

Collectivistic vs. Individualistic Shame

As argued by Lewandowsks-Tomaszczyk & Wilson (2014), in collectivistic cultures that place more emphasis on interpersonal harmony, one would expect relatively more withdrawal tendencies associated with shame. Consistent with this, Wallbott & Scherer (1995), in a large-scale cross-cultural study involving participants from 37 countries who were required to describe instances in which they had experienced emotions including shame and guilt, observed that in collectivistic cultures shame adheres more closely to the general shame profile, which includes the feature of withdrawal. With an individualistic-collectivistic score of 48, (Hofstede, <https://www.hofstede-insights.com/product/compare-countries/>), one would expect individuals from India to conform to this pattern relatively more than the British (score 89). However, in terms of the present study it is also pertinent to focus on more specific features of Shilpa Shetty than global collectivism. In this respect, a significant feature is her Hindu faith, particularly as Croucher et al. (2011) observes that Female Indian Hindus are more likely to prefer avoiding, compromising, integrating, and obliging conflict styles than female Indian Muslims.

To sum up, there is evidence to suggest that Shilpa Shetty, on account of both her collectivistic and Hindu background might have a tendency towards avoidance and compromise in situations involving shame and conflict.

¹ Elison, Garofalo, & Velotti (2014) prefer to use the term *freeze* instead of *fright*. However, these are equivalent and the term used in the present paper is *fright*.

A key issue with regard to the present focus of study is the possible greater anger that this emotion appears to generate in individualistic cultures. Scheff (2014) observes that it is the hidden shame that is characterised by elements of anger and violence that is more salient in individualistic cultures. It is the emphasis on achievement in individualistic societies that fosters an element of alienation and because there is an expectation that one will attain a sense of individual completeness, the shame that arises from the failure to meet this expectation is more likely to be hidden. Such instances of hidden, unresolved shame can accumulate and lead to resentment, anger and outbursts of violence. On the basis of this, one would expect Jade Goody to exhibit relatively more anger in response to her possible experiences of shame.

1.4. Aims

A comparative analysis of an Emotion Event scenario involving Jade Goody and Shilpa Shetty is performed to determine whether they conform to expectations based on individualistic/low context communication culture vs. collectivistic/Hindu/high context communication culture, respectively.

2. Analysis of Big Brother Emotion Event Scenario

2.1. Background

The Emotion Event scenario is present in an unedited video excerpt from *Celebrity Big Brother 5* (2007) that lasts for 9 minutes and 24 seconds (published on YouTube on 17th February, 2010, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P7WHd9PUL5w>). At the beginning of the video clip, three housemates, including Jade Goody are sitting on sofas in the lounge, which, in an open-plan design, is attached to the kitchen area. Shilpa Shetty is in the kitchen area and asks the other three housemates where the chicken stock is, to which they answer that there is one left. Shilpa expresses surprise that they had used most of the chicken stock cubes in a previous meal as they had been only supposed to use one of the stock cubes for the meal. In an argument that ensues Jade Goody seems to take offence at the apparent accusation of wasting the chicken stock and retaliates with the accusation that on a previous recent occasion Shilpa cooked chicken that was left uneaten and therefore wasted because it was not cooked properly.

2.2. Collectivistic vs. Individualistic Shame

This part of the analysis of the interaction between Jade and Shilpa identifies possible shame responses and other possible emotions that are elicited as a consequence of this.

Jade – an Individualistic Sense of Shame

Shilpa (1 minute, 7 seconds): “you require one (chicken stock cube) for that much pasta.”

Jade (2 minutes, 22 seconds): “get over it, three cubes, OK Shilpa it was three cubes, but the other day there was a whole chicken that went to waste because it was pink.”

From this response from Jade it can be deduced that she views Shilpa’s comment regarding the excessive use of chicken stock cubes as a personal attack. As outlined above, such a personal attack is central to shame. The response is an attempt to deflect this perceived attack with an accusation of her own directed towards Shilpa. This is consistent with the above discussion regarding the *fight* that characterises individualistic shame.

Later in the Emotion Event scenario, there is much more direct evidence that Jade views Shilpa’s comments as a personal attack:

Jade (3 minutes, 43 seconds): “So what? I ate an OXO cube. Shoot me in my pissing head.”

Jade (4 minutes, 37 seconds): “I’ve ate two fucking OXO cubes. Stab my gut open and pull it out.”

From these comments, it can be understood that Jade feels victimised and punished by Shilpa for using too much chicken stock. However, rather than her reaction remaining within the sphere of her actions, it permeates deeper to the core of her being and is clearly hurtful. In this sense, it is an elicitor of shame. The hurt that Jade appears to feel is in agreement with what one would expect from an individualistic individual.

Consistent with expectations pertaining to the *fight* and anger that can arise especially from an individualistic variant of shame, Jade expresses a clear sense of anger – (4 minutes, 12 seconds): “I feel furious.”

Shilpa – a Collectivistic Sense of Shame

During the confrontational interaction with Jade, Shilpa is the target of a personal attack by Jade.

Jade (5 minutes, 14 seconds): “Shilpa, you didn’t only order OXO cubes, that was really stupid to say.”

Shilpa (5 minute, 30 seconds): “Jade, I don’t want to fight. You want to get argumentative. It’s fun for you, please go on be my guest. I don’t want to do that, it’s not my style.”

In contrast with the *fight* response by Jade to what she perceived to be a hurtful attack by Shilpa, we can see that Shilpa has a different response to what can be deemed an equivalently hurtful attack by Jade. Specifically, consistent with a fundamental principle of collectivism pertaining to the maintenance of interpersonal harmony, Shilpa explicitly expresses a desire to refrain from fighting. Such reticence can also be viewed as withdrawal, which is another characteristic feature of collectivistic shame.

Jade (5 minutes, 44 seconds): “You’re pathetic. You’re pathetic. You’re pathetic. You’re absolutely pathetic.”

.....: “(6 minutes 43 seconds): Shilpa, in all fairness, you said the only thing I ordered off of the whole shopping list was OXO cubes.”

Shilpa (6 minutes, 50 seconds): “I take that back. That was one of the things that I ordered. That is what I meant to say.”

In these verbal exchanges, the intensity of the attack from Jade not only increases but can be deemed more central to the concept of shame as referring to an individual as pathetic is a central attack on one’s core self. Despite this, Shilpa reinforces her withdrawal tendency with the words “I take that back,” which is again consistent with her collectivistic background.

2.3. Low Context vs. High Context Communication

This part of the analysis of the interaction between Jade and Shilpa identifies the possible low context communication of the former and the high context communication of the latter.

Jade – Low Context Communication

There is a great deal of evidence that Jade adopts a low context communication style in her interaction with Shilpa. This is mainly manifested in her accusation that Shilpa is lying. This accusation is based on Shilpa’s initial comment that the only food item that she ordered from the Big Brother authorities in the most recent food order was OXO chicken stock cubes:

Shilpa (1 minute, 13 seconds): “It’s the only thing I had ordered Shilpa (1 minute, 29 seconds): It’s the only thing I ordered the last time.”

Jade (5 minutes, 14 seconds): “Shilpa, you didn’t only order OXO cubes, that was really stupid to say.”

This comment by Jade is typical of low context communication as it focuses on the truth value of Shilpa’s statement. There is more evidence for this later, as she is adamant that Shilpa should admit her falsehood:

Jade (5 minutes, 27 seconds): “You did not say I only ordered OXO cubes ... Did you say that?”

Jade (5 minutes, 39 seconds): “Did you say I only ordered OXO cubes?”

Typical of an individual from a low-context culture, we can later learn from Jade’s direct accusations, which she expresses with unrestrained shouting, how important it is for her to receive a truthful message:

Jade (6 minutes, 24 seconds): “You did not only pick OXO cubes off the shopping list, so you’re a liar. Not only are you a fake, you’re a liar.”

Jade (8 minutes, 01 second): “You’re a liar. You’re a liar and you’re a fake. You’re a liar!”

Shilpa – High Context Communication

In Shilpa’s responses to the accusations that she has been lying, she shows evidence that she is a high context communicator:

Shilpa (5 minutes, 24 seconds): “I didn’t say I ordered them, I only asked if you used them.”

Shilpa (6 minutes, 50 seconds): “I take that back. That was one of the things that I ordered. That is what I meant to say.”

It appears that what Shilpa is saying here is that her earlier statement that she had only ordered OXO chicken stock cubes was not the full intention of her message. With her later response that the intention of this message was that it was one of the things she ordered and that she had only wanted to know if anyone had used them, we can see that she had not initially delivered a direct, explicit message. Consistent with the high context communication style, her initial message implicitly alluded to a hidden meaning, which she expected her interlocutor to decipher from the whole communication context.

3. Discussion and Conclusions

Consistent with predictions, the analysis of the main interactants in an Emotion Event scenario in a Big Brother setting shows that whereas Shilpa Shetty, an Indian Hindu participant, exhibited a withdrawal style that was additionally characterised by high context communication, Jade Goody engaged in a more expressive *fight* strategy and revealed a low context communication style preference.

With respect to shame, the two contestants demonstrated responses that are in agreement with expectations on the basis of their respective cultural identities. The relatively greater withdrawal style adopted by Shilpa in response to the probable shame that she experiences as a consequence of Jade's verbal accusations is consistent with observations of withdrawal in previous studies on shame. Shilpa's apparent concern for social harmony is also consistent with her cultural background. In contrast, the *fight* strategy adopted by Jade as a consequence of her apparent experience of shame is in accordance with an individualistic response. Furthermore, the hurt that she demonstrates points to an autonomous individual whose core self has been criticised. With respect to the cluster approach to emotion concepts outlined above, Jade's anger response confirms the relatively close proximity of the shame and anger in conceptual space, especially in individualistic cultures.

The evidence that the two contestants conformed to expectations with respect to low context and high context culture styles is based on conflicting views of the veracity of Shilpa's statement regarding her food order from the Big Brother authorities. Recall that Shilpa later admitted that her initial statement that the OXO cubes chicken stock was the only item that she had ordered from the Big Brother authorities was not true. Jade, being an individual from a low context communication culture, highlights the lack of truth in Shilpa's statement and demonstrates the value she places on receiving a clear, direct, explicit, truthful message. In contrast, Shilpa conforms to what one would expect from a typical high context communicator as she appears to imply other, indirect, information in her message that she expects her interlocutor to decode and understand. In this respect, the interaction between Jade and Shilpa can be considered a good example of possible misunderstandings that can arise when individuals from low and high context cultures communicate.

The difficulty in gaining objective assessments of emotions via observations of interactants should not be underestimated. A main issue in this respect is observer bias, in which the participants are conscious of being observed and are therefore less likely to behave naturally. It is difficult to imagine a situation in which individuals are observed without their prior knowledge, especially when one must consider the personal rights of those concerned. While Big Brother contestants are

aware that they are being observed and will possibly be conscious that by behaving in certain ways they will lose or gain the support of the audience, it could be argued that over the weeks that they are in the Big Brother environment they will become more accustomed to the environment and behave in a way that is more consistent with their natural behaviour.

The present study should be viewed as an initial attempt to analyse Emotion Event scenarios in a reality show context and as such it offers a limited scope. This notwithstanding, the analyses demonstrate effects that are consistent with those obtained from a number of different paradigms. The methodology has the potential to be expanded to study Emotion Events that centre on different emotions across a wide range of cultures.

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The patient was admitted..., operated... and recovered quickly... – a narrative study of medical events in the abstract section of English case reports from otolaryngology

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Abstract

This article constitutes a study of the narrative included in the abstract section in case reports from a professional medical journal from otolaryngology. The rationale behind this analysis is that the abstract section is seen not only as the essence of a publication but also as a story in which sequences of events are presented. These events constitute part and parcel of a particular medical practice of case reporting, following thus specific ordering and modes of content presentation, i.e. of the patient, the disease and of the treatment process. This way they yield themselves to narrative analysis. The objective of the paper is to determine the narrative properties of their characteristic discourse.

Keywords: narrative analysis, story, event, medical discourse, case report

1. Introduction

Deriving its meaning from the Latin ‘casus’, a case can denote an occurrence, event or happening. A case is also an essential element in medicine – clinical practice is essentially case-based and so is a particular group of subgenres focusing on individual cases of patients with particular diseases. Among them, medical case reports constitute an example of a written genre of medical discourse, typically available as publications in professional journals or part of hospital documentation in medical practice. Yet, from a different angle, they can also be seen as stories, “mini medical tales” (Coker, 2003, p. 907) in which a particular sequence of events, though in the medical context, is presented. This sequence describes the entire path a patient follows from presenting to a medical institution with a particular health problem to the result of one’s treatment. Additionally, if a given case report is a publication in a professional journal, then it will be more structured and very likely will be accompanied by an abstract which is an even more condensed story, this time describing not only the case but also the entire text.

2. Theoretical and methodological framework for the study

In this section, first, the concept of narrative and its importance will be discussed, followed by the presentation of the case report as a genre of written medical discourse and its narrative character. Finally, narrative analysis as an approach to studying discourse will be examined, followed by a review of relevant studies.

2.1. Narrative and its role in human life

Narrative, derived from the Latin word ‘narrare “to relate, explain, account... make acquainted” (Johnstone, 2001, p. 635), points to one of the basic human practices since “[e]verything we know is the result of numerous crosscutting story-lines in which social actors locate themselves” (Somers & Gibson, 1994, p. 41). Following Baker (2005, pp. 4–5), it is an “optional,” but yet “very powerful mode of communication” which gives order to human lives. Narratives may be our own stories or stories we listen to and which may affect our existence. The recognition of this essential role of narrative in human life lies at the heart of the so-called *narrative turn*, which marked a growing interest in stories in the humanities and social sciences, including psychology, politics, economics, etc., where stories began to be treated as research material, political capital or a way to explain financial issues respectively (Barusch, 2012). One more discipline which recognised the role of stories is medicine. In her influential work, Hunter (1989, p. 209) observes that a narrative is “the principle way of knowing in medicine,” since most medical practices – both professional and pedagogical – are narrative in nature. “Much of clinical practice is about telling stories. Case presentations, grands rounds, and seminars are ways in which doctors tell tales to each other. In long winter nights in front of the elders and the wise men, young braves set out their sagas for comment” (Caiman, 1997, p. 1622). Yet, although stories may typically be associated with doctors and patients, sharing their experiences, the story-like character can be found in many medical genres, among them a group of case-based ones and, specifically, the case report.

2.2. Case report and the abstract

The *case report* belongs to the macro-genre of case-reporting under which a number of case-based genres such as case presentation, case record and case notes can be subsumed. Although they differ in the medium, the target audience

and the context of their production, they all focus on a particular case of a patient with a disease. The case report belongs to written medical discourse and usually appears as a publication in a professional medical journal, in which case it will give an account of a new disease or its novel aspect. “Published case reports describe important scientific observations that are missed or undetected in clinical trials, and provide individual clinical insights” (Wáng, 2014, p. 439). If, however, it comes as a part of hospital documentation, then this element of novelty is not necessarily required. Yet, whether a publication or a document, each case report tells a complete story of the patient’s disease from the appearance of symptoms to the recovery or death and it is always a story of a particular case of particular patient/patients. This character of the genre invites a narrative analysis in general, and a genre-specific analysis of particular events presented in such reports.

The abstract, an initial section of the case report, is supposed to offer the essence of a given publication and act as a clue for the reader whether to continue with reading or not. Though a constituent part of a scientific paper, the abstract does not belong to the core structure of the case report, yet with the advent of technology in the context of research and scientific publications, it has proved indispensable in electronic databases and online literature search mechanisms. It appeared in 1960’s and is unfavourably connoted as being often the only part read by the today’s highly competitive academia and as representing the attitude of ‘publish or perish’. Structure-wise, one can differentiate among a conventional (unstructured), structured and narrative abstracts (see section 2.4 below) In structured abstracts, some basic sections are obligatory, such as Background, Methods, Results and Conclusions, depending on the editorial policy of a given journal. The structured nature of this variety has received some criticism for acting as a “strait jacket” around the author (Gustavii, 2003, p. 52). In the analysis, it will be shown that the structure of the abstract of a scientific publication, mirroring the structure of the case report, can be likened to the canonical structure of a story as proposed by Labov & Waletzky (1967) and Labov (1972).

2.2.1. Narrative character of case reporting genres

Case reports usually consist of three parts: “a short Introduction, a more detailed Case Report body, and a brief Comment or Discussion section” (Rowley-Jolivet, 2007, p. 185),¹ which is regarded as the canonical structure of the genre, regardless

¹ This structure can be compared with the arrangement of a narrative as exemplified by Labov & Waletzky (1967) and Labov (1972), which will be discussed in the methodological background for the study in section 2.3 below.

of some journal-specific names of particular parts, their length, or some non-standard formats such as structured reports following the Abstract-Introduction-Case-Report-Discussion format where, additionally, the essence of the article is offered in the Abstract section, typical of research articles.² Regardless of these varieties, they all follow the problem-solution pattern (i.e. situation, problem, solution and evaluation), arranged causally, chronologically (Cohen, 2006; cf. Pujari, 2004) and in a coherent way (Bayoumi & Bravata, 1998), all of which contributes to the story-like character of the genre. In Reiser's words (1991, p. 902): "The clinical case record³ freezes in time that episode in life called illness. It is a story in which patient and family are the main characters, with the doctor serving a dual purpose as both biographer and part of the plot."

2.3. Approaches to narrative analysis

Narrative analysis, the method adopted in the current paper, belongs to the qualitative paradigm of studying discourse, thus "celebrating richness, depth, nuance, context, multi-dimensionality and complexity" (Mason, 2002, p. 2) of particular data. In what follows, an abstract from a case report will be examined closely with respect to the linguistic resources employed therein but also with respect to the specific milieu of its production, i.e. the professional context of scientific publications.

Baynham (2011) distinguishes among three approaches to narrative analysis, i.e. discourse, conversation analytic and ethnographic ones, with the first and the last being particularly relevant for the current paper. The *discourse* approach can be seen here as the pioneer approach and it was explained in by Labov & Waletzky's (1967) and Labov's (1972) observation that "structure and systematicity in the story-telling of ordinary people [is] of a kind that was expected to be found in artful forms of narrative" (Georgakopoulos, 2010, p. 397). This way, the researchers acknowledged narratives as valid data for linguistic examination and proposed guidelines for their analysis. In their approach, Labov & Waletzky (1967) and Labov (1972) established the criteria for narrative analysis stating that a typical narrative consists of a number of elements.

² The specificity of the Abstract section in case reports will be discussed in detail in the description of data for the study in section 3 below.

³ The clinical case record belongs to the group of case-based genres and may be seen as an institutional (clinical) equivalent of a case report, as it prepared for each patient entering hospital as part of hospital documentation. It gives account of the entire therapy the patient undergoes.

Abstract (summary of the substance of the narrative),
Orientation (time, place, situation, participants),
Complicating Action (sequence of events),
Evaluation (significance and meaning of the action, attitude of the narrator),
Resolution (what finally happened), and
Coda (returns the perspective to the present) (Labov, 1972, p. 369)

Additionally, two of the elements may be optional, i.e. Abstract and Coda, and two others can be merged, i.e. Evaluation and Resolution.

The method of analysis as proposed by Labov & Waletzky (1967) and Labov (1972) was generally based upon the premise of structural examination where the presence of particular constituent parts of the story allows researchers to determine whether some verbal or written production can be seen as a narrative. Consequently, the approach can be regarded as both inclusive and exclusive since, on the one hand, by claiming that ordinary people also produce narratives, the volume of data which may yield themselves to studying narratives increases. On the other hand, the list of elements required of a narrative seems exclusive as it still imposes some restrictions as to what can be treated as a narrative. In the *ethnographic* approach, additionally to studying narratives structurally, the role of the context is of utmost importance, since it is the context that may affect the form and function of a narrative and not some predefined model (De Fina, 2003). In the analysis that follows in section 3.3, the structural approach to narrative as proposed by Labov & Waletzky (1967) and Labov (1972) will be adopted to track the occurrence of narrative structures in case report abstracts.

2.4. Narrative angle in the research on medical case reports

Although it is the research article and not the case report that is the primary genre of knowledge dissemination in medicine, there exists a substantial number of studies on case reports, both from the linguistic and other neighbouring perspectives (e.g. sociology of medicine, medical ethics, etc.). Studies with a non-linguistic focus discuss the merits and limitations of case reports (Jackson, Cleary, & Hickman, 2014; Nissen & Wynn, 2014) as well as their evolution (Nissen & Wynn, 2012), oftentimes also from the pedagogic angle. Linguistic studies focus on their structure or language, quantitatively (Morales, Alberto, Marín-Altuve, & González-Peña, 2007) and qualitatively, some adopting a diachronic perspective (Taavitsainen and Pahta, 2000). From the narrative angle, one can enumerate studies without formal linguistic analysis, e.g. of nineteenth century case histories (Hurwitz, 2000; Rylance, 2006), specifically from gynecology (Nowell-Smith, 1995) and recent

developments of the genre (Nissen & Wynn, 2012); or focusing primarily on language – Taavitsainen and Pahta (2000), Salager-Meyer, & Alcaraz Ariza (2013a) and Berkenkotter (2008), with the latter case focusing only on psychiatry and featuring the multimodal approach. Contemporary case reports were studied by Murawska (2012) and Zabielska & Żelazowska (2016). Murawska (2012) demonstrated that case reports are not only narrative structure-wise but also contain the so-called *small stories* (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008), whose fragments are scattered throughout the texts which do not follow a chronological order. While this study focused on English case reports from a variety of medical areas, Zabielska & Żelazowska (2016) examined case reports in Polish from pediatrics and demonstrated a relationship between the discursal representation of particular topics and text coherence (cf. Cohen, 2006).

With reference to the segment of studies focusing on structural properties of case reports, one can enumerate Pujari (2004), Budgell (2008), Kline (2008), Ortega-Loubon & Correa-Márquez (2014), Pramono (2013) and Rison (2016). Many of these articles point to the importance of abstracts (though it is not a canonical part of the case report structure) whose one of the main functions is to explain why the case is reported on (Pujari, 2004; Ortega-Loubon & Correa-Márquez, 2014) and offer some learning points (Budgell, 2008; Kline, 2008; Cianflone, 2011; Rison, 2016). Of interest is also the fact that abstracts can be unstructured, structured or narrative in nature (Budgell, 2008; Pramono, 2013). By narrative abstracts Budgell (2008) means that they do not contain any headings and that they summarize the paper into a story which flows logically (Budgell, 2008, p. 201).⁴ While the aforementioned studies are centred specifically on the structure of the medical case report as a text genre rather than strictly on language, there are studies approaching abstracts from the linguistic perspective. Such studies have been conducted on abstracts of scientific papers in general (their evolution – Li-Juan & Ge-Chun, 2009; the use of verbs in particular sections – Reimerink, 2007; structural evolution of the research paper – Salager-Meyer, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1994), as well as on the specific genre of medical case reports (Salager-Meyer, 1990, 1991, 1992).

2.4.1. Genres of case-reporting and the concept of events

The concept of *event*, literally something that happens to people and what they possibly want to report on in their stories, seems to be present in broadly understood narrative research on healthcare communication, in detail in reference to a number of medical genres, which themselves are defined as “communicative events” (Swales, 1990, p. 58). According to Charon et al. (1995, p. 600), such questions as “What

⁴ In the current study, the abstract which will be examined, will be a structured one.

do sick people worry about? How do they live their lives around their diseases? What sense can they make of the random *events* of illness? How can their physicians help them to find meaning in their experiences of illness and thereby facilitate participation in treatment or acceptance of the inevitability of death?” [emphasis mine, MZ] accompany doctors in broadly understood patient management. For Hurwitz (2000), a medical consultation can be seen an event, which then may be transformed by medical professionals into many different genres, e.g. a case report. Donnelly (1988) mentions the genre of case presentation, an oral presentation of a patient during a ward round performed by a doctor or a student, and observes that it can be compared rather to a chronicle than to a story, as it focuses only on the events ordered sequentially without the discussion of the context, rather than a structured story narrating not only what happened but also what it meant for the participants. Similarly, Atkinson (1999, p. 87) notes with reference to the case presentation that “[it] uses a standardised repertoire of narrative elements, drawing together a temporal sequence, a series of medical *events* (relating to the patient and to the others) and a sequence of interventions by different medical practitioners, services and institutions” emphasis mine, MZ] (cf. Jackson et al., 2014, p. 65). On the other side of the communicative dyad, “[w]hen a physician meets a patient in the office or at the bedside, the patient tells a complex and many-staged story. Using words and gestures, the patient recounts the events and sensations of the illness while his or her body “tells” – in physical findings, images, tracings, laboratory measurements, or biopsies – that which the patient may not yet know” (Charon et al., 1995, p. 601). The theme of an event also appears in publication titles of case reports, e.g. ‘Case reporting of rare adverse events in otolaryngology’: can we defend the case report?’ (Dias, Casserly, & Fenton, 2012) or typical collocations, as used in the very genre: “My patient made an uneventful recovery from surgery” (Parker, 2000, p. 103).

Therefore, it can be seen that the concept of event is inextricably linked to many genres of healthcare communication, studied in the narrative strand in research on medical discourse, either directly referring to events or defining them.

3. Analysis and results

3.1. Data and methods

The data for the analysis include 15 abstracts of English medical case reports derived from the *Journal of Otolaryngology – Head and Neck Surgery*. The reports were published between 2013–2016 and electronic copies were downloaded from

the journal's website. The length of the case reports ranges from three to six pages, and they cover a variety of topics reserved for the journal's area of interest. The titles usually begin with the name of the condition dealt with (the so-called General subject or "topic" titles, Salager-Meyer & Alcaraz Ariza, 2013b, p. 264) or methods used (the so called Research procedure titles, Salager-Meyer & Alcaraz Ariza, 2013b, p. 264), some of them also contain the typical element of the colon (Hartley, 2005) which is followed by a reference to the genre, i.e. case report.

For the purpose of the current study, the abstracts were extracted from the articles and analysed with respect to the presence of particular constituent parts of the canonical structure of a narrative proposed by Labov & Waletzky (1967) and Labov (1972). The results show that the structure of a narrative defined by Labov & Waletzky (1967) and Labov (1972) is typical of all the 15 abstracts analysed. On the basis of this selection, an illustrative example was chosen for presentation. Then some more comments regarding the character of the story included in the abstract will be offered.

3.3. Results and discussion

In the following section, the abstract from a chosen otolaryngological case report under examination will be subject to an analysis at three levels. The structure and content of the abstract (names of abstract sections appear at the beginning of each paragraph) will be scrutinised as a condensed reflection of the structure and content of the case report (cf. the first element in brackets). Moreover, the abstract may be likened to and thus analysed with respect to the presence of the canonical parts of a narrative (cf. the other element in brackets). As a result, the abstract at hand will be approached as a story as well, far more condensed but still functioning as a *discursive* construct of a medical case.

Abstract

Background (Introduction/Orientation): *Head and neck cancer is often managed with a combination of surgery, radiation therapy, and chemotherapy, and skin toxicity is not uncommon. Xanthogranuloma is a pathological finding resulting from an inflammatory reaction that has not been previously reported following head and neck radiation therapy.*

Case presentation (Case Report body/Complication): *A patient with squamous cell carcinoma of the oropharynx, treated with definitive chemoradiation and hyperthermia, presented at eight-month follow-up with an in-field cutaneous lesion in the low neck, initially concerning for recurrent tumor. Biopsy showed xanthogranuloma and*

the patient underwent complete resection with congruent surgical pathology. The patient remained free of malignancy but continued to experience wound healing difficulties at the resection site which resolved with specialized wound care and hyperbaric oxygen.

Conclusions (Comment/Discussion/ Evaluation and Result): *Skin toxicity is not uncommon in patients with head and neck cancer treated with radiation therapy. Awareness of unusual pathologic sequelae, such as xanthogranuloma, is needed to provide patient counseling while continuing appropriate surveillance for recurrent malignancy.*

The structured abstract of the type presented above typically accompanies contemporary case reports appearing in professional medical journals. As has been already mentioned, case reports give accounts of new diseases or novel aspects of their character, i.e. manifestations, diagnosis or treatment. They usually consist of three parts: Introduction, Case Report body and Comment/Discussion. The Case Report body seems to be the most complex and characteristic part of the publication, since it is the very essence of the case, i.e. it constitutes a textual representation of the patient's entire management, being at the same time the most patient-centred part of the report. Thematically, it can be further divided into history, physical examination/tests, diagnosis and treatment, all the elements contributing to the discursive construction of a case. Analogically to the entire publication, the structured abstract preceding it reflects the structure of the report, containing Background (Introduction), Case presentation (Case Report body) and Conclusions (Comment/Discussion). Additionally, the structure of the abstract can be compared with the arrangement of a narrative as exemplified by Labov & Waletzky (1967) and Labov (1972), who divided narratives into Orientation, Complication, Evaluation and Resolution.⁵ Consequently, the abstract above starts with Background (Orientation), which, as the name suggests, orients readers to the particular case that is described. A "case" is meant here as a particular condition/disease entity, which is then exemplified in a particular patient who is described in the next part of the abstract. In the Background above, a particular reaction to the treatment of a given disease is reported, as the authors suggest, for the first time – "that has not been previously reported" – emphasising at the same time the article's niche. What follows is Case presentation (Complication), which, in the abstract above, constitutes a three-sentence essence of the equivalent part of the report. In detail, it briefly explains the reason of the presentation and offers a recapitulation of the

⁵ The present comparison of case reports to a narrative was inspired by Atkinson (1995), who examined case presentations and observed that their structure was similar to a story.

patient's history of illness ("a patient [...] presented [...] with..."), followed by the results of a diagnostic test ("biopsy showed...") and a description of the management administered ("...the patient underwent..."). Finally, the results ("...remained free of...") and a follow-up ("...the [...] site resolved...") are referred to. Lastly, Conclusions (Evaluation and Resolution) summarises key learning points of the case at hand and attempts to present them in a broader context, abstracting from this particular case ("[the case] is not uncommon...", "awareness [...] is needed..."). As has been mentioned in the theoretical part in section 2.3, there are two elements of a canonical narrative that are optional, i.e. Abstract, which summarises the story which is yet to unfold, and a Coda, which changes the perspective from past to present. In the case of the analysed abstracts, these parts are absent, probably because the abstract accompanying the entire case report is already a summary preceding the proper story. What is more, in this case, the parts Evaluation and Resolution are merged, as the model assumes (cf. section 2.3).

With reference to particular discourses operating at the level of the text, juxtaposing the three sections of the abstract, it can be observed that while the Background and Conclusions sections are general in nature and introduce the topic of the report or conclude it respectively, the middle Case presentation is patient-centred in nature, which manifests itself in the presence of direct textual references to the patient in all three sentences in which he/she figures as the primary topic. Therefore, whereas the two framing sections may represent the biomedical discourse centring upon an instance of a given disease, the other part treats specifically about the person involved. It is also the place where particular events, central to the study of narratives, appear. In the case of the genre of the medical case report, these are diagnosis, treatment and a follow-up, presented as a logical sequence of happenings, constituting the discursive construction of a case in medicine. Consequently, size-wise, the story, as presented in the abstract of the case report, can be labeled a small story, analogically to the term introduced by Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008), though small only in the sense of its length; structure-wise, it represents a fully-fledged narrative entity, mirroring the story-like character of the entire report (cf. Zabielska & Żelazowska, 2016).

4. Conclusions

The objective of this paper has been to study narration in abstracts of case reports in a professional medical journal, and to demonstrate how far they yield themselves to interpretation as a narrative genre. Neither the abstract nor the case report as a professional publication represent a typical medium of and context for

telling stories. The study has shown, however, that all the 15 abstracts at hand contain a complete and coherent narrative, conforming to the model of a canonical narrative by Labov & Waletzky (1967) and Labov (1972), yet not of the type readers would find in storybooks. What is more, though relatively short, the abstracts feature a sequence of medical happenings constituting a discursive representation of the case, evidencing the centrality of the concept of event in healthcare communication.

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