Logos & Littera

UCG
Univerzitet Crne Gore
Filološki fakultet - Nikšić

LOGOS & LITTERA
Journal of Interdisciplinary Approaches to Text

CONTENTS

ORIGINAL RESEARCH PAPERS

Lilijana Burcar[1]

WWII AS A US-LED WESTERN IMPERIALIST WAR IN KURT VONNEGUT'S *SLAUGHTERHOUSE-FIVE*

Abstract: *Slaughterhouse-five departs from the Western official history books and romanticized heroic narratives of WWII by openly problematizing WWII as an imperialist war waged on the part of the US-led Allied forces. The novel raises the issue of the firebombing of Dresden and its erasure from official history records as a part of a larger picture, which, as this article argues, has to do with geopolitical agendas pursued on the part of the allied forces during and after WWII. The novel functions as a condemnation of the way expansionist wars are justified and domesticated to the extent they are no longer perceived as problematic and the way their violence is assigned to collective amnesia by means of cover-ups and extensive propaganda. By raising the spectre of Dresden, Slaughterhouse-five aims to provide a set of corrective and magnifying glasses for the understanding of WWII and the role of the US in it, which calls for an interdisciplinary approach based on a systemic geopolitical analysis and meticulous historical input.*

Key words: *WWII, imperialism, the US, Dresden, Kurt Vonnegut, Slaughterhouse-five*

Introduction[2]

Slaughterhouse-five (1969) revolves around the firebombing of the city of Dresden by the American and the British air forces in February 1945, and by extension, focuses on the role the US played (in the re-division of the world) during and after WWII. Vonnegut was an American prisoner of war who survived the firebombing of Dresden and joined the ranks of the few survivors by mere accident. *Slaughterhouse-five*, according to the author, is the result of his twenty-three year recuperation process and part of the attempt to see behind the official stories

---

[1] Associate Professor at the English Department, Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana.

[2] The Introduction to this article is a revised and shortened version of a short explanatory text in my students' script (American literature and its socio-political context, Filozofska fakulteta, Ljubljana, 2014, pp. 105-109), that I have first outlined for the purpose of didactic use in my seminar course on Vonnegut's Slaughterhouse-five and other 20th-century classics of American literature.

glorifying the US involvement in WWII. The novel represents the author's attempt of coming face to face with the real history of the US and its elites against the official wall of silence and censorship. As a result, *Slaughterhouse-five* by necessity ends up problematizing WWII as a "good war" waged on the part of the US-led Western forces by putting it into a broader but so often overlooked or suppressed geopolitical perspective. Consequently, *Slaughterhouse-five* functions as a specific form of a testimonial narrative. To re-adapt Herman's observation, far from carrying only a "private, spiritual dimension" that arises out of an individual's healing process, it also carries a "public" one (qtd. in Vees-Gulani, 2003: 183). It is a testimonial narrative that also stands out for its "political and judicial" dimension (ibid.) which stems from the author's search for systemic truth.[3] This in turn gives rise to the geopolitical understanding of WWII as a global imperialist war (Zinn 2005; Mandel 1986; Heartfield 2012) that put in place American hegemony (Chomsky 2012), and as the mother of all US-led Western wars to follow in the second half of the 20th century (Chomsky 2000).

Mainstream critics have labelled *Slaughterhouse-five* an anti-war novel, reducing and reconfiguring it to an instance of a "moral injunction" against war in general (Rigney, 2009: 21). As a result, literary analyses of *Slaughterhouse-five* are kept within restricted parameters where war gets to be discussed and viewed in terms of its grisliness, imploding bodies and resulting horrors (Matheson, 1984: 230). In this way, the analyses end up being typically restricted to the discussions that revolve around the "crippling nature [of war] and the terrible toll that modern warfare extracts from those forced to live through it" (Vees-Gulani, 2003: 183). This kind of focus leads to a sweeping conclusion that wars are by default simply amoral and unnecessary.[4]   Yet Vonnegut's novel is not so much a moral

---

[3] Not surprisingly, Vonnegut's *Slaughterhouse-five* has received praise for its "meticulously researched and historically accurate treatment of World War II". (Jarvis 104).

[4] The danger associated with such a stance is that if focuses merely on the immediate effects of wars such as dying but not at all on their causes and the agendas pursued. Critical inattention of this kind leads to the lumping of all forms of armed conflict into the same basket, failing, for example, to differentiate between wars of occupation and wars of resistance and liberation. As a result, such critical inattention ends up relativizing all wars as amoral and mindless including those fought out of necessity by resistance

condemnation of WWII as it is an attempt at its contextualization. The novel destroys the official mantra of WWII being a good war waged on the part of the US through the disclosure of what Vonnegut refers to as "the Dresden atrocity, tremendously expensive and meticulously planned" (qtd. in Miller, 2005: 122), which he places side by side with Hiroshima and then the napalm bombing of Vietnam. This in turn helps to put the significance of WWII into a broader historical perspective (Jarvis 2003). Rather than being a protest novel against any kind of war, *Slaughterhouse-five* turns out to be an exemplary form of protest writing against specific kind of wars, that is, imperialist wars waged over the course of the last century by the US and its Western allies under the pretext of democracy and human rights (Chomsky 2012; Chomsky 2000).

For this purpose, *Slaughterhouse-five,* which *was p*ublished at the height of the US occupation war against Vietnam, also uses narrative juxtapositions through which WWII and the Vietnam War of the 1960s become clearly and inextricably interwoven. With the immediate focus placed upon the firebombing of Dresden, the novel thus might be "set during one historical era" but in fact it also "speaks to the political [reality and] concerns of its contemporary audience" (Mustazza, 2011: 3), establishing a structural link between WWII and a seemingly isolated regional war in Vietnam. Literary critics that rely on a psychoanalytic approach understand the fragmentation of the linear time in *Slaughterhouse-Five* to be symbolic of the mental collapse and physical detachment typically suffered by those who have been directly affected and most often psychologically scarred by the horrors of war. However, the narrative technique is not so much dependent on the fragmentation of linear time, which would leave its parts entirely free-floating, as it is on their realignment into meaningful juxtapositions. The point is to make "the parallels and continuities" between WWII and the Vietnam war as one in a series of post-WWII wars waged on the part of the US-led Western forces clearly visible. By constantly oscillating between

---

movements. Furthermore, precisely by pushing aside "the cause and strategic aims of various wars" (Rigney, 2009: 21), such a stance also risks discrediting liberation wars whose protagonists are forced, in the face of repressive measures and other means of violence used by occupational forces or their local proxy governments, to resort to "extraparliamentary activity" and willy-nilly to armed resistance (Petras, 1999: 2).

the chronological present and the past, to the extent that the two not only intermix but merge into a single time unit, the narrative rests on a "circular structure". Circularity, on the basis of which the narrator keeps returning to Dresden and which he also connects to the events beyond WWII, functions as a form of critical investigation. Or, as observed by McGinnis, its cyclical nature enables the novel to address "the large themes" (2011: 151). *Slaughterhouse-Five*, as also pointed out by Jarvis, uses the fracturing of chronological narrative and time travel in order to "simultaneously address World War II and Vietnam [as a part of] an attempt to undermine the privileged space that the [image of WWII as a] good war occupies in America's cultural imagination" (2003: 96). This kind of comparative view is accomplished by the main protagonist becoming "unstuck" or "spastic in [chronological] time" (Vonnegut, 2009: 29). Billy Pilgrim can "walk[] through a door in 1955 and come out another one in 1941 [and then go] back through that door to find himself in 1963" (29). The effect is that of a "cubist painting" (Jarvis, 2003: 101) whereby "all past [WWII] and present [Vietnam war] moments in his life are always simultaneously present" (Rigney, 2009: 14). This kind of montage makes it possible to simultaneously foreground the parallels between the two wars and, more importantly, to point to the continuities in the nature of the two wars. By yanking the two imperialist wars from the deceptively isolationist and atomizing concept of chronological time and by setting them side by side, *Slaughterhouse-Five* can thus offer "a specific re-examination of WWII" (Jarvis, 2003: 104). Because of the continual presence of imperial wars waged by the Western forces, the novel thus demonstrates that any kind of differentiation between "the past, present and future" would be misleading (Rigney, 2009: 14). The continuity of imperial wars in fact means that one lives in a "continual present", which is why the main protagonist alongside the reader is not allowed to and can never fully leave WWII behind (Vees-Gulani, 2003: 177). WWII thus comes to function as the ultimate traumatic experience: it is a ghostly presence and a comparative backdrop to other ensuing imperialist wars of the second half of the 20th century, requiring a broader historical and political contextualization.

WWII as an imperialist war: historical background

As amply documented by historians, the US entry into WWII was the result of its attempt to secure and deepen its grip over the Pacific and South Asian belt rich in natural resources and to establish a firm foothold in Europe's economy and its central markets (Heartfield, 2012: 15-16; Zinn, 2005: 406-442). This strategy was foreshadowed already in the 1920s and the 1930s by the invasion of, for example, the Philippines on the one hand, and, on the other, by the imposition of extremely high reparations on Germany after WWI. Their primary beneficiaries were to be American banks and later American firms, which, in exchange for defaulted reparation debts, were to acquire major shares in the main German companies/cartels at the time (Sutton 2010; Zinn 2005). Japan, an American ally in WWI, became by the early 1930s its major competitor for influence in South Asia, endangering the geopolitical interests of the expanding American empire. As delineated by Zinn, what prompted the US to enter into war against Japan was neither Hitler's invasion of Czechoslovakia and Poland nor the Japanese occupation of Manchuria and the ensuing bloodbath thereafter but "the Japanese attack on [Pearl Harbor,] a [strategic] link in the American Pacific Empire" (Zinn, 2005: 410). As summarized by Zinn (ibid.):

> So long as Japan remained a well-behaved member of that imperial club of Great Powers who – in keeping with the Open Door Policy – were sharing the exploitation of China, the United States did not object. It had exchanged notes with Japan in 1917 saying, "the Government of the United States recognizes that Japan has special interests in China." [...] It was when Japan threatened potential U.S. markets by its attempted takeover of China, but especially as it moved toward the tin, rubber, and oil of Southeast Asia, that the United States became alarmed and took those measures which led to the Japanese attack: a total embargo on scrap iron, a total embargo on oil in the summer of 1941.

In this respect, the so-called "State Department memorandum on Japanese expansion", drawn one year before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, is even more telling:

> [o]ur general diplomatic and strategic position would be considerably weakened – by our loss of Chinese, Indian and South Seas markets (and by our loss of much of the Japanese

market for our goods, as Japan would become more and more self-sufficient) as well as by insurmountable restrictions upon our access to the rubber, tin, jute, and other vital materials of the Asian and Oceanic regions. (Zinn, 2005: 411)

Similarly, in Europe in the 1920s and the 1930s, the US elites sought to ensconce themselves into the central European markets, first via Wall Street financial institutions and later via corporate companies with a specific focus on Germany (Sutton 2010, Chomsky 2012, Zinn 2005). Thus, with "American financiers [even] directly represented on the boards of two of three major German cartels" that went on to finance Hitler (Sutton, 2010: 28), American money poured in to strengthen the industrial sectors centred around war industry. It played a key role in propping up the Nazi war-machinery with the explicit aim of channelling Germany's imperial appetites toward the Soviet Union. The aim was to destroy the Soviet Union as the bedrock of socialism and hence as the common arch enemy of all imperialist capitalist powers, with Nazi Germany, as it was hoped, exhausting and self-destroying itself in the process (Mandel, 1986: 22). This would enable the US to finally install its own economic policy in central Europe to its own advantage by seizing a complete control of German economy, a policy implemented in the aftermath of direct occupation and later expanded through the so-called Marshall Plan or American economic aid to include other Western European states (Chomsky, 2012: 19). While the first part of the strategy collapsed with the Soviet Union emerging out of WWII strengthened rather than weakened and destroyed, the point of the so-called economic aid to Western capitalist states was two-pronged. On the one hand, it was meant to ensure overseas export markets for American products and to establish "a network of American corporate control", and, on the other, to "save capitalism" (Zinn, 2005: 413, 438) by directly influencing political decisions in Europe, that is, by stifling the rising power of socialist parties in order to prevent socialist revolutions in Western European countries (Chomsky, 2012: 19). This was often openly admitted also by a number of American diplomats, including the US ambassador to Moscow: "Economic assistance is one of the most effective weapons at our disposal to

influence European political events in the direction we desire ..."
(Zinn, 2005: 414).

This constellation of forces or rather imperial rivalries and alliances is also poignantly captured in *Slaughterhouse-five*, along with the Nazi promulgation of the racist-nationalistic ideology that constituted Russians and the rest of the Slavs as a dehumanized category of non-people (Gonen, 2000: 184-5). In its so-called Drang nach Osten or the drive toward the (European) East, the Nazi-war machinery declared Slavs fit to be enslaved and worked to death, that is, to be used and treated as yet another natural resource in concentration work camps and/or exterminated in the wake of German occupation to make space for German Lebensraum (Mandel, 1986: 22). This ideology of deserving and non-deserving groups of people along with imperial rivalries, based on the actors' mutual adoration and emulation of each other's imperial prowess (Césaire 2000), constitutes the foundation of the imperial war, which in *Slaughterhouse-five* is symbolically laid bare at the point when the American prisoners of war, including Billy Pilgrim, join the British POWs in a prison complex that turns out to have been "originally constructed as an extermination camp for Russian prisoners of war" (Vonnegut, 2009: 102). While the British and the Americans are kept in a separate section of the camp where they are well fed and "adored by the Germans" (2009: 120), they are surrounded by endless rows of sheds housing "starving Russians" (2009: 104), whose faces, as a result of systemic undernourishment, "glow like radium dials" (2009: 115). The English are not only admired by the Germans, who believe them to "make war look stylish and reasonable, and fun" but also "considered as close friends" (2009: 120). This is a hardly disguised echo of Hitler's admiration of the British empire and its treatment of the native populations, based on the implementation of racist policy worldwide (Buchanan, 2008: 325). Hitler was in awe of the British imperialism and the British empire which he believed Nazi Germany should emulate in its expansion towards the East, that is, in its occupation and destruction of the Soviet Union and the rest of the Slavic countries lying in-between (Keleny, 197, n. pg.; Ferenc, 1968: 11). Poignantly, in the novel, it is the Russian prisoners of war that act as servants to both the Germans and the English prisoners of war, while the two parties are busily engaged in a mutual admiration and recognition of

each other's humanity. In this sense, while the Germans bestow upon the British POWs extra treats like soup and bread which they wheel into the English section of the camp in wagons "pulled by Russians", the English make haste to "send over real coffee and sugar and marmalade and cigarettes and cigars" (Vonnegut, 2009: 187-88).

Slaughterhouse-five's larger picture: The firebombing of Dresden

With at least 3000 tons of explosive and incendiary devices dropped, the air raid, which lasted "14 hours and ten minutes" (Freese, 2009: 17), levelled the residential parts of the largely undefended city to the ground, wiping out most of the population swollen with incoming refugees and prisoners of war including American and British ones. It is estimated that the coordinated attack[5] resulted in the death of 135,000 people by suffocating or burning them alive as a result of the combined use of incendiaries and explosive devices for the very first time in the history of modern military warfare (Greiner, 2011: 116). In one of the interviews, Vonnegut, who comes up with the same information in his novel, refers to the city's wanton destruction on the part of allied forces in point blank terms as "an atrocity", and in the novel as "the greatest massacre in European history" (128) bigger than Hiroshima (12). In another interview, Vonnegut goes on to confess that "when we went to war, we felt our Government was a respecter of life, careful about not injuring civilians and that sort of thing. Well, Dresden had no tactical value; it was a city of civilians. Yet the Allies bombed it until it burned and melted. And then they lied about it. All that was startling to us" (qtd. in Allen, 2011: 253). The main question the novel poses at this point is why the saturation bombing of the city of Dresden was to remain a top secret to the American public and why it was carried out in the first place (Vonnegut, 2009: 14) despite the fact that the city was of no military or industrial significance. By revealing the Dresden bombing to be a part of a bigger scheme that would go on to include the saturation bombing of Tokyo and the dropping of atomic bomb on Hiroshima (and a few days later on Nagasaki too), and as

---

[5] An attack of the same design mounted against the city of Hamburg and coordinated alongside that of Dresden was codenamed Gomorrah (Matheson, 1984: 204)

something standing in stark contrast to the Allied official explanations given for these bombings, the novel helps to dismantle the official mantra of WWII being a noble war, as promulgated in American history books and by the likes of brigadier general Rumford, "the official Airforce historian and a multibillionaire from birth" (Vonnegut, 2009: 236), with whom Billy Pilgrim finds himself in the same hospital room decades after the war.

Dresden was one in a series of the German cities (Frankfurt, Essen, Cologne, and Hamburg) to undergo a complete destruction as a result of indiscriminate saturation bombing, with primary targets being residential areas rather than military installations, war industry and railway infrastructure (Belamy, 2008: 41). Confessions that later surfaced by pilots show that "the crews were given no strategic aiming" (Hari, 2004: n. pag; Pedlow, 2004: n.). Instead, they were under the order that "anywhere within the built-up area of the city would serve" (ibid.). Installations that might be of military significance were in fact to be spared in order to be later taken over by the allied forces, which would aid them in their taking over of the country. In fact, Dresden had no military installations or war industry of any significance, a fact also clearly delineated by Vonnegut's narrator. We get to learn that on top of being "jammed with refugees" (2009: 202), Dresden's "principal enterprises were medicine and food-processing and the making of cigarettes" (2009: 190). Billy Pilgrim and the rest of the American POWs, who end up as "contract labour" (2009: 163) in a factory producing malt syrup rich in vitamins and minerals for pregnant women, are thus put at ease by their English counterparts before leaving the prison camp. The British are of course, tellingly, in the know: "You needn't worry about bombs, by the way. Dresden is an open city. It is undefended, and contains no war industries or troop concentrations of any importance" (2009: 186). According to McKee and other historians, the allied forces were not interested in targeting any of the military and economic infrastructure the city might possess. In fact, the RAF, for example, "even lacked proper maps of the city. What they were looking for was a big built-up area which they could burn, and that Dresden possessed in full measure" (1984: 70). The firebombing that was to wreak utter destruction, and which Vonnegut compares to the scale of destruction described in

biblical texts about Sodom and Gomorra, was the essential part of the strategy agreed on by the American and British allies already at the beginning of 1943 (Zinn, 2005: 421). Namely, blanket bombing raids were to be carried out indiscriminately to bring about "the destruction and dislocation of the German military, industrial and economic system and the undermining of the morale of the German people to the point where their capacity for armed resistance is fatally weakened" (Zinn, 2005: 421). Yet under Churchill's instructions, as pointed out by historians, significant exemptions were to be made: "it seems to me that the moment has come when the question of bombing of German cities simply for the sake of increasing the terror, should be reviewed. Otherwise we shall come into control of an utterly ruined land. We shall not, for instance, be able to get housing material out of Germany for our own needs because some temporary provision would have to be made for the Germans themselves" (qtd. in Plowright, 2007: 91). And, in another revised memo to his chiefs of staff, Churchill goes on to say: "It seems to me that the moment has come when the question of the so called 'area bombing' of German cities should be reviewed from the point of view of our own interests. ... We must see to it that our attacks do not do more harm to ourselves in the long run [...]" (qtd. in Plowright, 2007: 91).

The idea was to sufficiently weaken the country, primarily by destroying the morale of the population, while strategically preserving at least some of its military and industrial infrastructure to help the allies establish its foot in the country and facilitate its restructuration in favour of the design that would benefit the interests of American capital. It was in this context and as a part of this larger plan that detonating bombs, followed by incendiaries, started falling on Dresden. Combined together, they were meant to "produce far greater devastation than either one could have done" (qtd. in Allen, 2011: 253), a horror that Vonnegut describes in one of his interviews in the following way (ibid.):

> They went over with high explosives first to loosen things up, and then scattered incendiaries. When the war started, incendiaries were fairly sizeable, about as long as a shoebox. By the time Dresden got it, they were tiny little things. They burnt the whole damn town down. . . . A fire

storm is an amazing thing. It doesn't occur in nature. It's fed by the tornadoes that occur in the midst of it and there isn't a damned thing to breathe. . . . It was a fancy thing to see, a startling thing. It was a moment of truth, too, because American civilians and ground troops didn't know American bombers were engaged in saturation bombing.

In the novel, Vonnegut records the blanket bombing of the residential areas of Dresden, describing the sounds of explosions, which Billy Pilgrim and the rest of the prisoners hear while sheltering in the basement of a meat locker, as though they resembled "giant footsteps above" (2009: 226) He goes on to explain: "Those were sticks of high-explosive bombs. The giants walked and walked..." (ibid.). And after the dropping of the incendiaries, "Dresden was one big flame. That flame ate everything organic, everything that would burn", so that in the end "Dresden was like the moon [with there] nothing but [molten] minerals" (2009: 227). When the Americans and their guards come out of the shelter a day after the bombing and find themselves stumbling through smouldering ruins still dangerously hot to the touch, they realize their survival was a matter of pure luck or more precisely, a matter of miscalculation. For, as the informed narrator goes on to explain: "one thing was clear: Absolutely everybody in the city was supposed to be dead, regardless of what they were, and that anybody that moved in it represented a flaw in that design. There were to be no moon men after all" (2009: 230). To make this a reality, American fighter planes are sent in once again, this time under the overhanging pall of smoke, "to see if anything is moving [... and to] spray [the remaining civilians] with machine-gun bullets" (ibid.).

The fact that the bombing of Dresden was "a military necessity", as was supposedly also the atom-bombing of Hiroshima, is something, as we are reminded by Vonnegut's narrator quoting Air Marshal Saundby, "few would believe" (2009: 240) even at the time the air raids were launched. In a single concluding sentence that rounds off the devastating description of the firebombing of Dresden, Vonnegut goes on to offer the official reason given for the bombing of the city, a reason also officially put into circulation by President Truman in his radio speeches when "on the March of 9th, 1945, an air attack on

Tokyo by American heavy bombers, using [again] incendiary and high explosive bombs, caused the death of 83,793 people. [And then when] the atom bomb dropped on Hiroshima killed 71,379 people" (240). "The idea" – as Vonnegut reminds us by echoing and at the same time putting under question the official explanation given for the destruction of Dresden (and later Tokyo and Hiroshima) – "was to hasten the end of the war" (2009: 230), supposedly and paradoxically to save human lives. Yet, it was very well known to the intelligence agencies that Nazi Germany was on its hind legs and drawing its last breaths before the saturation bombing of the cities like Dresden took place. And it was also very well known to the American intelligence agency, which broke the Japanese secret code system already back in 1941, that Japan was crumbling and would have surrendered even before the dropping of atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki (Zinn, 2005: 421-424). As pointed out by Vonnegut, and corroborated by declassified archival records, the firebombing and the destruction of Dresden was "kept secret for many years after the war" from the Americans but "[i]t was no secret from the Germans, of course" (2009: 245). And much more importantly and least of all was it meant to be a secret from "the Russians, who occupied Dresden after the war" (ibid.). Here, Vonnegut edges in onto the truth of the matter, finally delivering the point. The reason why the firebombing of Dresden (and some other German cities at the same time) was to be kept a secret long after the war in spite of being "such a howling success" (245) in the eyes of the official multimillionaire historians and generals like Rumford has not so much to do just with the simple "fear that a lot of bleeding hearts … might not think it was such a wonderful thing to do" (2009: 245) on the part of the US. It had to do with something else. It was, as Vonnegut reminds us, primarily part of a larger pattern, that is, a part of a larger geopolitical operation involving the imperial re-devision of the world, of which the crushing of people's morale by means of blanket bombing, a strategy to be repeated later in Vietnam, was only one aspect of the whole story. The real purpose behind the firebombing of Dresden, as for example revealed by an internal Royal Airforce memo, was "to show the Russians when they arrive what Bomber Command can do" and the same went for the atom bombing of Hiroshima (McKee, 1984: 46). The saturation bombing of Tokyo and especially the dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima was

to ensure "the Japanese would surrender to the United States; not the Russians, and the United States would be the occupier of postwar Japan" (Zinn, 2005: 421). Historical records show that the atom-bombing of Hiroshima was "the first major operation of the cold diplomatic war with Russia" (ibid.) for in the end Western capitalist powers with the US now at the helm were united in their stance to neutralize and vanquish the Soviet Union, fearing socialism and its spread across Europe and their colonies.

The spread of socialism was bound to give rise to secessionist movements in the Western Allies' former and new colonies seeking not only political but economic independence from their colonial masters, as proven later in Vietnam (Chomsky, 2012: 14-15). Vonnegut draws attention to this actual geopolitical state of affairs and hence to the actual significance of WWII as an imperialist war in what at first sight seems to be only one of many secondary and fleeting scenes having to do with uncontrolled ramblings of shell-shocked Billy Pilgrim. Prior to the bombing of Dresden, he recalls encountering an American high-ranking Nazi military officer, who is after recruiting American POWs to fight on the Russian front as part of the Nazi military machine. He is the one to remind them: "You're going to have to fight communists sooner or later, [...] why not get it over with now?" (2009: 208). The saturation bombing of the cities like Dresden and Tokyo and the atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, after these imperial centres were virtually already defeated, was part and parcel of the demonstration of the Western capitalist block's power[6] and a testing ground for what was yet to befall the Soviet Union. The atom-bombing of Hiroshima, as recently declassified documents show, was supposedly an overture to a plan that involved dropping 204 atomic bombs on the cities across the Soviet Union, annihilating or "wip[ing] it off the map" completely (Chossudovsky, 2017: n. pag.). In his speech that followed the dropping of the atom bomb on Nagasaki, President Truman declared the development of the bomb by the US a matter of god's providence with God guiding

---

[6] One of the crucial sections of President Truman's speech, which followed the bombing of Hiroshima and which *Slaughter-house-five* carries nearly in full, reads: "With this bomb we have now added a new and revolutionary increase in destruction to supplement the growing power of our armed forces." (Vonnegut, 2009: 237)

the US in its future use and disposal, supposedly as a part of its noble mission to "secure and stabilize world peace" (ibid.). In diplomatic parlance, this of course reads as securing our geopolitical economic interests against other imperial rivals while ensuring the obliteration of social justice movements as the common enemy of all imperial capitalist powers.

Dismantling the mantra of WWII as a good war

Slaughterhouse-five helps to put into perspective that saving lives is way off the agenda despite US-led Western powers' nominal declarations to the contrary. *Slaughterhouse-five* subjects the official justification of the firebombing of Dresden as a way of saving lives to merciless scrutiny, presenting it as a travesty. As history reminds us, even the U. S. Strategic Bombing Survey admitted as much that "Hiroshima and Nagasaki were chosen as targets not as a result of being important military bases" (Zinn, 2005: 424; Vonnegut, 2009: 237), as claimed by President Truman in his public address to the nation and which the novel resurfaces, but "because of their concentration of activities and population" (Zinn, 2005: 424). Blanket bombings of the population rather than the targeting of military installations do not save but deliberately destroy human lives, a pattern that was to be repeated during the napalm bombing of Vietnam as part of the so-called awe and terror campaign in order to undermine people's support for the country's revolutionary independence movement. When this "idea" or official explanation for the bombing of Dresden is introduced for the first time in Vonnegut's *Slaughterhouse*, it is already ironically embedded in order to be further examined and disproven so that by the second time it re-emerges again, this time as a part of Truman's speech, it is undercut completely. The last section of the President's speech which the novel reproduces in full refers directly to Japan while functioning as an undisguised threat to the Soviet Union: "We are now prepared to obliterate more rapidly and completely every productive enterprise that have ... Let there be no mistake; we shall completely destroy Japan's power to make war. It was to spare–" (Vonnegut, 2009: 238). To this abruptly interrupted speech, which should end with the phrase "to spare human lives", Vonnegut goes on to add his own phrase "And so on", which serves both as an ironic dismissal and as a sobering moment. Vonnegut does not allow Truman's speech to end on the note of

saving human lives for this would result in the delivery and reiteration of blatant non-truth. The phrase instead is cut off at the pivotal point, leaving it hanging in the air, which now in turn demands attention and comprehension. With the crucial part of the phrase left suspended in the air and threatening to collapse inward, the talk of just and moral war is disclosed and dismissed as a dangerously misleading propaganda, which should finally arouse suspicion and a dawning comprehension about the real nature of WWII, the role of the US and the geopolitical agenda pursued on the part of the allied forces.

In *Slaughterhouse-five*, the mantra of WWII as a good war waged on the part of US-led Western powers, supposedly out of their concern for the fate of humanity, rather than being in fact an imperial war, is further undermined through constant references to racist policies and evocations of their effects. These are shown to define the social fabric of both Nazi Germany and the US, informing also the latter's policies at home and its treatment of colonial subjects abroad. It is no coincidence that in the novel American race riots of the 1960s, which followed the assassination of Martin Luther King, function as a structural link between Pilgrim's re-living of WWII and his Vietnam-marked current reality as part of the same continuum. Thus once again initially perceiving himself to be "simultaneously on foot in Germany in 1944 and riding his Cadillac in 1967 [while] on his way to a Lions Club luncheon meeting" (Vonnegut, 2009: 74), Billy Pilgrim finds himself "in the middle of Ilium's black ghetto" (2009: 75). Its residents have recently burnt it down out of desperation and as a sign of a helpless protest against racist segregationist policies. Billy goes on to notice that "the neighborhood reminded him of the towns he had seen in the war. The curbs and sidewalks were crushed in many places, showing where the National Guard tanks and half-tracks had been" (2009: 75). This scene of utter devastation and violence visited upon a people to keep them in their allotted, secondary place transplants us to another one Billy Pilgrim witnesses in Dresden where "he saw a Pole hanged in the public. […] The Pole was a farm labourer who was being hanged for having had sexual intercourse with a German woman." (2009: 198). This scene ends up serving also as a sinister reminder of legally sanctioned lynchings of African-Americans for the same racially invented transgressions in the US, a practice that was still in existence in some parts of the US as

late as in the 1960s, and of the eugenics policies the US itself pursued during WWII and well into the 1960s. The latter, for example, led to coerced sterilizations of those the US Anglo-Saxon elites considered racially "unfit", which included not only African-Americans but also a newly racialized group of Latin Americans. The construct or in official terms, the "idea", as the government's naturalization of this ideology went at the time and which Vonnegut exposes and mocks, was "to encourage the reproduction of the "fit" and restricting the procreation of the "unfit." (Stern, 2016: n. pag.). This was a common denominator of the racially motivated eugenics and population programs pursued simultaneously both in Nazi Germany and the US. During WWII, this kind of racial segregation and division of people into the two exclusionary categories of deserving and undeserving ones, humans and non-humans, was also the operating principle of the American "liberating" army (but of course not that of the Soviets). History records show that "Red Cross, with government approval, separated the blood donations of black and white" while African-American soldiers were to be kept separated from white American soldiers on compounds and even on board of combat ships, with the US's "armed forces" thus being effectively "segregated by race" (Zinn, 2005: 415).[7] The hanging of the Polish labourer Billy Pilgrim witnesses – and whom the Nazi racist machinery categorizes as a subhuman and therefore as one with the rest of the natural resources of the Slavic countries to be occupied and made use of – serves as a sinister reminder of the very same racist policies informing Billy Pilgrim's American past as a US civilian and soldier as well as his present reality. WWII thus feeds directly into the Vietnam war and vice versa, which explicitly reinforces its status as an imperialist war rather than a morally driven good war. For the racist degradation and objectification of the Vietnamese as "little yellow people" and

---

[7] This understanding of the actual state of affairs would find its place in a number of protest rallies against the American involvement in WWII staged by African-American local resistance groups. Critiques were damning and minutely precise: "The Army jim-crows us. The Navy lets us serve only as messmen. The Red Cross refuses our blood. Employers and labor unions shut us out. Lynchings continue. We are disenfranchised, jim-crowed, spat upon. What more could Hitler do than that?" (Zinn, 2005: 419). Members of these groups would often rally under the banner first evoked as a part of a poem published in one of their own papers: "I do not fear Germans or Japs; My fears are here. America!" (ibid.).

"Commi Gooks", whom American soldiers were trained to perceive as "subhumans" and as "deserving to be killed" indiscriminately (Kohls, 2018: n. pag.), would serve as a template for exonerating soldiers from mass crimes committed against civilians and as one of the rationales for their participation in the war. After all, as the rationale based on a racial slur went at the time, they were only fighting "Commi Gooks" (ibid.).

By also gradually bringing in the Vietnam war and intertwining it with the bombing of Dresden and Hiroshima, *Slaughterhouse-five* entrenches the devastating critique of WWII as an imperial war rather than a morally driven, good war waged on the part of the Western Allies, thus reinforcing the point that this was the war the US elites entered into in order to establish and secure their global hegemony. Or, as pointed out by Jarvis, WWII "positioned the U. S. as a global superpower" (2003: 96), a fact which eventually also led to the attempted occupation of Vietnam and subjugation of the Vietnamese resistance movement. Thus, by first invoking the firebombing of Dresden, the novel simultaneously draws attention to the blanket bombing of the North Vietnam and the napalm burning of the vast stretches of the Vietnamese countryside, which resulted in the incineration of local inhabitants and their food supplies. In between, it places the American race riots and police raids of the 1960s, foregrounding a specific kind of war complementary to that of the invasion of Vietnam which the US elites at the time conducted on their domestic turf. In both of the latter cases, the protagonist of the novel, along with the reader, cannot help but notice that the nature and scale of destruction is eerily equivalent to the kind Billy Pilgrim has witnessed in Dresden. All three places look, as also noticed by Jarvis, "like the surface of the moon" (2003: 99).

The Vietnam war comes to be depicted as an extension of the US imperialist policies pursued during WWII and part of a scramble for the control and ownership of the natural resources in the South Asian basin. Already back in 1953, a study by the Congress established that Indochina was "immensely wealthy in rice, rubber, coal and iron ore" while "[i]ts position makes it a strategic key to the rest of Southeast Asia" (Zinn, 2005: 269). Later, in 1961, the Kennedy administration was well aware, as put by one of its senior advisers, that "this part of Asia" was "one of the Earth's crucial resource regions" and that "if Vietnam goes,

it will be exceedingly difficult to hold Southeast Asia." (Quinn, 2018: n. pag.). That is why, when the communist-led resistance movement ousted Japanese occupiers in 1945 and the French tried to move back in to reclaim their former colony, France ended up being heavily supported by the US. In order to prevent the advancement of the communist-led resistance movement that was not only about political but also economic independence and self-management of the country, the US, already engaged in the division of Korea, ended up "financing 80% of the French war effort" (Zinn, 2005: 471). But with France finally losing the war, the US moved in. At this historical point, the novel goes on to intertwine the firebombing of Dresden and its crater-like appearance with the very same kind and scale of destruction that was to be wreaked upon the whole of Vietnam should it continue to resist the American occupation. This is a strategy feverishly promoted in a keynote speech by a military officer that Billy Pilgrim hears at his Lions Club: "He said that Americans had no choice but to keep fighting in Vietnam until they achieved victory or until the Communists realized that they could not force their way of life on weak countries […]. He was in favor of increased bombings, of bombing North Vietnam back into the Stone Age, if it refused to see reason." (Vonnegut, 2009: 76). As observed by Jarvis in her own discussion of *Slaughterhouse-five*, the keynote speaker that Billy Pilgrim hears is none other than "a thinly disguised Curtis LeMay, the general and the commander of the Air Force" who actually declared and stood behind the plan that "the US should bomb the North Vietnamese 'back to the Stone Age'" (2003: 99). Moreover, he was one of the highest ranking military figures directly responsible for the introduction of incendiaries and for the firebombing of Dresden and atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and finally for the blanket bombing and napalm bombing of Vietnam. According to Jarvis, "the LeMay figure embodies continuities between World War II and Vietnam" for it was precisely due to the so-called "strategic 'innovations' like Lemay's" that the number of civilian deaths escalated from "forty-four war deaths in World War II " up to mind-blowing "ninety-one percent of war related fatalities in Vietnam" (2003: 100). By bringing together the moon-like surfaces of Dresden and those of the then contemporary Vietnam, the novel helps to put into perspective the socio-political

parallels between WWII and the Vietnam, which attest to a continuing pattern of US-led imperial wars.

Billy Pilgrim, an ophthalmologist by profession who should be in the business of correcting people's vision, fails in his mission to do so. Instead of speaking up against the warmongering he witnesses at the rich men's club, he keeps silent. He is "not moved to protest the bombing of North Vietnam, [and does] not shudder about the hideous things he himself had seen bombing do" (Vonnegut, 2009: 76). Instead, he is "simply having lunch with the Lions Club, of which he [now himself a rich man] was past president" (ibid.). Billy Pilgrim does not protest the firebombing of Vietnam, thus failing also in retrospect to protest the firebombing of Dresden, adopting instead the defeatist "so-it-goes" stance. Vonnegut, however, does not. While Billy Pilgrim endorses the US role in WWII and in the wars to follow by falling silent, Vonnegut refuses to do so. And, in doing so, he refuses to have his authorial voice censured and stifled. The novel he writes does not excel in the glamorization of WWII and the US-led allies' role in it but offers instead its own pair of corrective lenses.

Conclusion

In the first chapter of the novel that functions as an authorial preface, the narrator sees himself as following in the footsteps of Lot's nameless wife. She was the only one who refused to avert her gaze from the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah even though she was explicitly "told not to look back where all those people and their homes had been" prior to their destruction (Vonnegut, 2009: 28). As a punishment for ignoring the orders and daring to look, she is turned into a pillar of salt. Like Lot's anonymous wife, Vonnegut also risks ostracism by daring to look the official history of the US and its role in WWII in the eye and by daring, in the process, to come up with a testimonial novel that is not only written against the grain but is meant to function as "corrective lenses" (McGinnis, 2011: 149). By questioning the official interpretations of the history of the American empire in the 20th century and by inciting the reader to examine closely the role and the interests of the US during WWII, the novel necessarily challenges the canonized narratives that have traditionally glorified or at least romanticized the

involvement of the US in the wars of the 20th century and beyond. In doing so, it exposes WWII as a Western imperialist war. It is for this reason that Vonnegut, as he himself admits, consciously parts with the conventional role of "a trafficker in climaxes and thrills and characterization and wonderful dialogue and suspense and confrontations" 2009: 6), which also require an unproblematic resolution. By adopting the position of Lot's anonymous wife instead, Vonnegut wants us to look back and finally see not only the past but the way it inevitably "coexists with the present instant" (Parshall, 1987: 52). In this way, *Slaughterhouse-five* serves as a "relayer of knowledge" not found in official history books of Western imperial centres. It functions as a set of both corrective and magnifying glasses, as a "catalyst" (Rigney, 2009: 22) that has put Dresden back into historical picture and as a piece of "critical rewriting" (2009: 23) of WWII as the mother of imperial wars that put in place the 20th-century as the century of American hegemony.

Acknowledgements

References

Allen, William Rodney. "*Slaughterhouse-Five.*" *Critical Insights: Slaughterhouse-Five by Kurt Vonnegut.* Ed. Leonard Mustazza. Pasadena, California and Hackensack, New Jersey: Salem Press, 2011: 252-267.

Belamy, J. Alex. "The Ethics of Terror Bombing: Beyond Supreme Emergency." *Journal of Military Ethics* 7.1 (2008): 41-65.

Buchanan, J. Patrick. *Churchill, Hitler, and "The Unnecessary War": How Britain Lost Its Empire and the West Lost its World*. New York: Crown Publishers, 2008.

Césaire, Aimé. *Discourse on Colonialism*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000.

Chomsky, Noam. *How the World Works.* London: Hamilton, 2012.

Chomsky, Noam. *Rogue States: The Rule of Force in World Affairs.* London: Pluto Press, 2000.

Chossudovsky, Michel. "'Wipe the Soviet Union Off the Map', 204 atomic Bombs against Major Cities, US Nuclear Attack against USSR Planned During World War II." Global Research 4 Nov. 2017: n. pag. Web: 21 Feb 2018. https://www.globalresearch.ca/wipe-the-ussr-off-the-map-204-atomic-bombs-against-major-cities-us-nuclear-attack-against-soviet-union-planned-prior-to-end-of-world-war-ii/5616601

Ferenc, Tone. *Nacistička politika denacionalizacije u Sloveniji u godinama od 1941 do 1945*. Ljubljana and Beograd: Partizanska knjiga, 1968.

Freese, Peter. "Kurt Vonnegut's *Slaughterhouse-Five* or, How to Storify an Atrocity." *Bloom's Modern Critical Interpretations: Kurt Vonnegut's Slaughterhouse-Five*. Ed. Harold Bloom. New York: Bloom's Literary Criticism, 2009. 17-32.

Gonen, Jay Y. *The Roots of Nazi Psychology: Hitler's Utopian Barbarism*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2000.

Greiner, Donald J. "Vonnegut's *Slaughterhouse-Five* and the Fiction of Atrocity." *Critical Insights: Slaughterhouse-Five by Kurt Vonnegut*. Ed. Leonard Mustazza. Pasadena, California and Hackensack, New Jersey: Salem Press, 2011: 111-124.

Hari, Johann. "The Queen should apologise to Dresden." *The Independent* 3 Nov. 2004: n. pag. Web. 2 March 2018. https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/commentators/johann-hari/the-queen-should-apologise-to-dresden-531831.html

Hearfield, James. *An Unpatriotic History of the Second World War.* Winchester, UK and Washington, USA: Zero Books, 2012.

Jarvis, Christina. "The Vietnamization of World War II in *Slaughterhouse-Five* and *Gravity's Rainbow*." *War, Literature & the Arts* 15.1/2 (2003): 95-117.

Keleny, Guy. "The Eurosceptic lie about why we fought Hitler." *The Independent* 2 January 1997: n. pag. Web. 14 February 2018. https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/the-eurosceptic-lie-about-why-we-fought-hitler-1281280.html

Kohls, Garry G. "Coverup of Extensive War Crimes: 50th Anniversary of the My Lai Massacre." *Global Research* March 16, 2018: n. pag. Web. 14 March 2018. https://www.globalresearch.ca/coverup-of-extensive-war-crimes-40th-anniversary-of-the-my-lai-massacre/8339

Mandel, Ernest. *The Meaning of the Second World War*. London: Verso, 1986.

Matheson, T. J. "'This Lousy Little Book'": The Genesis and Development of 'Slaughterhouse-Five' as Revealed in Chapter One." *Studies in the novel* 16.2 (1984): 228-240.

McGinnis, Wayne D. "The Arbitrary Cycle of Slaughterhouse-Five: A Relation of Form to Theme." *Critical Insights: Slaughterhouse-Five by Kurt Vonnegut*. Ed. Leonard Mustazza. Pasadena, California and Hackensack, New Jersey: Salem Press, 2011: 148-163.

McKee, Alexander. *The Devil's Tinderbox: Dresden, 1945.* New York: E. P: Dutton, 1984.

Miller, Gavin. *Alasdair Gray: The Fiction of Communion*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2005.

Mustazza, Leonard. "On Slaughterhouse-Five". *Critical Insights: Slaughterhouse-Five by Kurt Vonnegut*. Ed. Leonard Mustazza. Pasadena, California and Hackensack, New Jersey: Salem Press, 2011: 3-7.

Parshall, Peter F. "Meditations on the Philosophy of Tralfamodore: Kurt Vonnegut and George Roy Hill." Literature/Film Quarterly 15.1 (1987): 49-58.

Pedlow, David. "Dresden doubts." *The Guardian* 14 Feb 2014: n. pag. Web. 2 March 2018.

https://www.theguardian.com/books/2004/feb/14/featuresreviews.
guardianreview19

Petras, E. James. *The Left Strikes Back: Class Conflict in Latin America in the Age of Neoliberalism*. Boulder, Colo: Westview Press, 1999.

Plowright, John. *The Causes, Course and Outcome of World War Two*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Quinn, Shane. "JFK's hidden record as president." *Morning Star* 27 Feb. 2018: n. pag. Web. 3 March 2018.
https://morningstaronline.co.uk/article/jfks-hidden-record-president

Rigney, Ann. "All this happened, more or less: what a novelist made of the bombing of Dresden." *History and Theory* 47 (2009): 5-24.

Stern, Alexandra Minna. "That Time The United States Sterilized 60,000 Of Its Citizens." *Huffington Post* 1 June 2016: n. pag. Web. 2 March 2018.
https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/sterilization-united-states_us_568f35f2e4b0c8beacf68713

Sutton, Anthony C. *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler*. Forest Row, England: Clairview, 2010.

Vees-Gulani, Susanne. "Diagnosing Billy Pilgrim: A Psychiatric approach to Kurt Vonnegut's Slaughterhouse-Five." *Critique: Studies in Contemporary Fiction*, 44.2 (2003): 175-184.

Vonnegut, Kurt. *Slaughterhouse-Five*. New York: Dial Press Trade, 2009.

Zinn, Howard. *A People's History of the United States, 1492- Present*. New York: HarperPerennial, 2005. Print.

Slavica Perović[1]

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND THE LITERARY WORK

Abstract: *In this paper we elaborate on Jacobson's allusion to the unsustainability of the mutual disregard between linguists and literary scholars which he labelled a 'flagrant anachronism' at the Indiana Style Conference in 1958. It was only with the development of discourse that the two fields converged in their attitudes and found a common ground, whereas stylistics proliferated into many disciplines. The hierarchy and animosity between these two scientific fields have gradually subsided, while the incommensurability of their scientific apparatus has slowly reduced or been mitigated and they have begun to benefit from each other. At the same time we have witnessed the enrichment of their categorical paradigms and somewhat synchronised development in both areas, where the locus of potential and actual encounter is discourse.*

This paper looks at the creation of an association between the study of language and literature through discourse, whether in considering the possibility of extending the range of the individual disciplines of language and literature simply to discourse (Carter, 2003) or in understanding literature as social discourse (Fowler, 1981). Examples to illustrate the development of discourse analysis are taken from the world literature and from a personal corpus. Recently, the most fruitful, it seems, has been cognitive stylistics, which will be exemplified by the analysis of Joyce's words concerning 'the perfect word order'.

Keywords: *discourse, discourse analysis, linguistics, stylistics, literary linguistics, literary study, Jakobson, cognitive linguistics*

Introduction

The 1958 Indiana Style Conference gathered together linguists, psychologists and literary critics with the intention of investigating the possibilities for finding common ground and establishing the likelihood of a consensus regarding the discussion on style and language in literature. Roman Jakobson said these famous and unforgettable words at that conference:

> "If there are some critics who still doubt the competence of linguistics to embrace the field of poetics, I privately believe that the poetic incompetence of some bigoted linguists has been mistaken for an inadequacy of the linguistic science itself. All of us here, however, definitely realize that a linguist deaf to the poetic function of language and a literary scholar indifferent to

---

[1] Full Professor at the Faculty of Law and Business Studies, Novi Sad, Serbia.

linguistic problems and unconversant with linguistic methods are equally *flagrant anachronisms*" (Jakobson, 1987: 377).

According to Gordon Messing the conference was a total failure. In his mordant review he expressed strong doubt in a possible positive interpretation and the conceivable reconciliation of linguistics and the poetic function of language (Messing, 1961). Yet, in the field of linguistics and stylistics it was Jacobson's words that echoed, not his.

This paper will try to answer the following question: in which sense was the expression 'flagrant anachronisms', a diagnosis of the relationship between linguistics and literary criticism and in which was it a reprimand to those who flagrantly lagged behind linguistic science and literary study. Also, it will try to indicate to what extent it was an individual view and to what degree a widely held opinion of the relationship between the fields of research, and whether the anachronism has gradually diminished as the two fields of study have converged (as a historic response provided by scholars of both provenances).

When Jakobson uttered the phrase 'flagrant anachronism' he was only a few years away from the dissemination of his stylistic analysis of "Baudelaire's 'Cats'" in 1962 (Jakobson, 1987). Rifaterre's "Criteria for Style Analysis" and Warburg's "Some Aspects of Style" also appeared the same year. All of these papers deal with stylistic analysis of text in an attempt to establish the direct liaison between language as a system and the literary work that epitomises that system.

According to Simpson 'stylistics is essentially a bridge discipline between linguistics and literature – the design of the bridge, its purpose, the nature of the materials and about the side it should be built from' (qtd. in Short, 1989: 161). Our conceptualisation of stylistics is of the kind that presupposes greater homogenisation of the discipline and a more compact blend of the component parts because it is the meeting point of linguistics and literature; those two disciplines can be metaphorised as the confluence of two disciplines and the headwaters of one. However, the relationship between linguistics and literature is often presented as a mutual mistrust, sometimes of contempt (van Peer, 1991: 2) or, perhaps more diplomatically put, 'a misunderstanding' (Jakobson, 1987: 55). In actual fact we are closer to the metaphor of Zeno's paradoxes regarding these dichotomies, where achieving real harmony between the two

fields of research resembles the mathematical paradox of walking a path where there always remains one half, no matter how small, that one field of investigation cannot fully traverse. That field is linguistics. The conclusion seems to be that first-class literature is beyond the grasp of linguistic analysis discouraging all those who are committed to linguistic stylistics.

2. Theoretical point counterpoint

'Flagrant anachronism' as a diagnosis is generated (and affirmed) by the insistence on the part of the road which linguistics will never travel, not the shortcomings of its contribution – because its role is beyond doubt. Linguistics has been marginalised because it constituted only part of what was needed for interpretation, given that in Jakobson's time hermeneutics of the literary work was its canonically superior discipline. There was an insistence on dualism, which meant the separation of form and meaning, allowing the isolation of the formal element, on the one hand, and the organic connection between form and meaning, which further allowed the interpretation of the phenomena of style, on the other hand (Kompanjon, 2002: 230). But it was not so unambiguous. Firstly, many theorists have tried to find a unified theory that would be valid for language and literature; secondly, they have sought to separate the notion of literary language from the language of literature and, thirdly, they have tried to establish the method and convention of analysis, which comprises all levels of the language structure, along with function, meaning and use. Lastly, they have operated within the framework of a given culture. So, they have looked at language as a system and its use for certain purposes – and the purposes have varied, literature is just one of them.

The problem of stylistics was its hermeticity: for the interpretation to be detailed, the description needs to be comprehensive, and all this leads to the model of analysis demonstrated by the example of "Baudelaire's 'Cats'" that Jakobson did in collaboration with Claude Levi-Strauss (1987). Although we would be reluctant to exaggerate and favour exclusivity when it comes to the contribution of linguistics in the interpretation of a literary work, we have to agree with those observations that this grammar of poetry is indeed a poetry of grammar. Rarely do we meet such an arsenal of linguistic,

grammatical and semantic tools, not to mention the analysis of metrics and rhyme so thoroughly polished to attain the poetics of an inspired work (Appendix).

Jakobson's definition of literary quality and literature (*literariness* in his terms), as a projection of the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection to the axis of combination (1960) resembles Chomsky's ideal model of perfect syntax in a homogenised environment. Both scholars had aspirations for their theories to be validated in the field of language and literature, but they either wished it a little too early or they developed their respective theories insufficiently. The range of their principles was limited, and the apparatus deficient. At the end of the section in which Jakobson exhausts the grammatical and linguistic categories which demonstrates the poetic reach in "Baudelaire's 'Cats'", we find a passage that reads: 'Now that we have put together the parts of our analysis, we will try to show how these different parts merge, to complement each other, or how they combine to donate the poem the value of *absolute object*' (Jakobson, 1987: 193) (emphasis added).

The existence of the idea and objective of the analysis embodied in the 'absolute object' shows the proportion of importance of such linguistic analysis for literary purposes. The essence of the issues mentioned in the analysis was the mediation between language and literature: is the linguistic description *ipso facto* a literary one? To this question Jakobson and Levi-Strauss did not give a satisfactory response in "Baudelaire's 'Cats'". Neither did the others mentioned: Spitzer (1948) and Riffaterre (1959) through scientific stylistics; Warburg (1959) by adequate choice or F.R. Levis stressing the moral dimension of fiction (1962). The weakness was attributed to the scientific method, not the science, and the inadequacy of the analysis was attributed to the insufficiency of insight, not the shortcomings of the theory.

What is missing from Jakobson and Levi-Strauss's analysis of "Baudelaire's 'Cats'"? We will try to give an answer by way of an example which benefits from the time lapsed and from the comfort of the theory that we have embraced. We shall start with an example from Shakespeare's tragedy, *Julius Caesar,* focusing upon the reaction to the famous speech Mark Antony delivers at Caesar's grave, where he confuses anyone who was prone to confusion. Here is the reaction of the First Citizen:

1. FIRST CITIZEN*: Methinks* there is much reason in his sayings.
(Act III, scene II, p. 99)

The translation into Serbian goes like this:

2. PRVI PLEBEJAC: *Čini mi se* da je mnogo istine u tome što kaže.
(Act III, scene II, p. 617)
(Serbian translation: Živojin Simić and Sima Pandurović)

The linguistic apparatus that Jakobson used in his analysis of "Baudelaire's 'Cats'" included morphology, syntax and semantics. It looked at the metric and stylistic pattern, but it did not study discourse categories like power and hierarchy, i.e. allusion to the unmarked governing elite contrasted with the markedness of lower social classes usually referred to as mob by Shakespeare. The analysis could not depict and reflect the categories of social strata or caste affiliation, and it could not embrace and portray the relationship between such opposites. All this: the hierarchy, class, social stratum, level of education, the degree of gullibility, the possibility of manipulation, Shakespeare achieved by using a single substandard form: *methinks*. What is it that is so linguistically pregnant, and of such literary importance? Why is this particular word form so linguistically and literary viable, that is, poetically relevant for the reader? In the case of *methinks* almost all linguistic levels are present therein: syntax, morphology, semantics and, above all, one layer of analysis that is of crucial importance here, and that is discourse.

Methinks (*me thinks*, *I thinkes* even *meethinkes* in the version of *Hamlet* from 1623) in the language of Shakespeare's age usually means *seem* like in the verse where Hamlet thinks he sees his father's ghost: *O my father, my father, me thinks I see my father* (*Hamlet*, Act I, scene 2). That expression is somewhere between verbs of perception – *have the visual / auditory experience of something* and *think* as a verb of cognition, although morphologically and structurally one of its constituent parts is the verb *to think.* In the play *Julius Caesar, methinks* occurs only once, in the utterance of the First Plebeian. In contrast, the predicative structure *I think,* that has a very similar, if not the same semantics as *methinks*, occurs six times: three times

pronounced by Cassius and three times by Brutus. Viewed from the discourse perspective the use of the structure *methinks* contrasted to the predicative sequence *I think* embodies a striking patrician-plebeian opposition, along with everything that such opposition in the given context means. A brief elaboration follows.

As a multiply irregular form (although accepted as a written and spoken phrase of that time) *methinks* in this drama is a non-standard, vernacular and somewhat distorted variant of the given correct syntactic structure of predication *I think*, and at the same time quite becoming the one (plebeian) who is uttering it. The idiosyncrasy of this structure or expression, because it is not a lexeme, is found at several levels. Firstly, the stem of it is the verb *to think* which is blended to its subject and its flexive extensions. Secondly, it is the use of *me* instead of *I*; thirdly, the verb and pronoun are written jointly; fourthly, the inflectional ending -*s* is added to the first person singular of the verb, which is twice the rule violation and double language creativity. Fifthly, despite all these irregularities the semantics of the utterance is unquestionable. It should be noted that in the above speech of Mark Anthony the proper syntax of the first person singular pronoun and first person singular Present Tense / Past Tense indicative verb exist in cases with other verbs: *I come, I presented, I speak, I do know, I must pause*. The subtle encoding of class, hierarchy, disparagement of the opinion and attitude of the inferior and, above all, the mass manipulation – because it is impossible to be at the same level as the learned Mark Antony – is masterfully achieved with this single form. The official translation of this expression into Serbian has not recorded that. *Methinks* in the interpretation and translation along the lines of regular syntax: *it seems to me,* loses a large proportion of its semantic property, thus minimising the semantics of a cognitive verb of reflection (*to think*) on the account of the verb of perception (*to seem*). Furthermore, the translation did not 'descend' from the syntactic level of a structure, which is syntax, to the morphological or lexical one to reflect the internal structure of the Shakespeare's original.

If Živko Nikolić (Montenegrin film director) were alive and if he had been given the assignment of translation and interpretation of this linguistic chunk, we believe that within his broad intersemiotic approach to translation (see: Eco, 2004) he

would have come up with something similar to the solution he employed in his famous series "Đekna has not died yet, but when she will we do not know". Using the local language of Kolašin, a masterful *meščini* is a possible articulation of it. In contrastive analysis it is a semantic equivalent to *methinks*, and at the level of formal structural characteristics they are almost correspondents. *Methinks* as a separate morphosyntactics, therefore, a distinct stylistic trait, is both a departure from the norm and its *ostranienie* or in Voloshinov's terminology, defamiliarisation, and embodies a highly creative outcome. It encrypts and encodes a meaning that would take pages of explanation – of how the assassin of a tyrant remains an assassin, and how might constitutes a universal category which first comes from authority and then power, any power. Age, history, ideology, mentality, culture, tradition are all comprised, therefore – everything that discourse analysis alone takes as its field of scrutiny: the social, political and psychological components of meanings and interpretations. In Jakobson's time that was not present, nor could it have been.

3. The road to a unified theory

In this paper language and literature are understood as *discourse* in accordance with Carter's idea that the modern notion of discourse and theory of culture has the potential to enrich some typical procedures of interpretation (Carter, 2003: 111). Also, the assumption that discourse has the ability to bridge the narrow notion of literature and establish a connection with language can be seen in Fowler's definition of literature simply as a *social discourse* (Fowler, 1989). He insists on defining language as a system suitable for a variety of purposes, literature being just one of them.

Let us take an example from Italian, overheard in the street. A woman was addressed by a *pancabestia* (*ital*. a (young) homeless with a dog):

3. Signora bella, che ore sono, gentilmente? (Fair lady, what is the time, please?)

The utterance came in the everyday street context, with one person trying to catch the attention of another, yet it was a communicative misfire. No contact was established, the

addressed lady went on in pursuit of her own affairs. Nevertheless, it could serve as the building block for a literary text where the *pancabestia* is the protagonist (or the lady, for that reason), who is unsuccessful in establishing contact with other people under the given circumstances despite her wholehearted efforts. These 'efforts' can be linguistically analysed firstly as a stylistic trait, for she uses the marked form of a noun and the adjective. In Italian it is possible both to prepose and postpose the adjective *bella* (fair, beautiful) in relation to the noun. If it is placed before the noun (*bella signora*) it is not marked, it is regular and standard. But if the position in relation to the noun is inverted (*signora bella*) it is stylistically marked and as such more informative and richer in expression in the literary sense. Secondly, from the discourse point of view, an extra piece of information is added: a person with such everyday rhetoric is quite likely to be from the south of Italy and thus we obtain a geographical coordinate for our protagonist. Thirdly, pragmatically speaking, this utterance is basically attention-catching with the speech act of starting a dialogue or a preparatory speech act for a request. Money, maybe. Maybe this pragmatic aspect would be the most visible in the literary text because the protagonist does not succeed in either of her possible intentions. The broader context of a novel or a short story would clarify the importance of this particular phrasing and the pragmatic execution. Lastly, this utterance under (3) violates Grice's Maxim of Relation. She speaks, no response follows – what she says is not relevant. It is futile.

With the above analysis we see how any piece of spoken or written text can acquire literary prerogatives and can become 'literary language', though only if contextualised in a fictional i.e. literary manner, where there is a story, plot, characters, a particular style of writing and a particular idea behind all these which makes the storytelling convincing as such. Discourse analysis always takes into account all of this interpersonal dynamism; it researches the presuppositions and inferences and reveals some hidden meanings that are not noticed on first sight. Who is *signora bella*? The girl's mother? Is the girl being ironic? Is she anticipating something in the story or disclosing something from their past?

In its purely linguistic sense discourse has gained so much prominence due to several of its features: first, because of the

above the sentence level of analysis, which has, in turn, allowed the emergence of new individual theories of language and literature, but also for the attempted unification of these theories in a macro-theory, although we risk the imminence of what is today sceptically called "the theory of everything" (Spivak, 2003). Furthermore, discourse as a phenomenon is easily combined with other fields of knowledge which results in its proliferating into numerous interdisciplinary fields in order to expand and develop its own domain of investigation. Its latest immersion into cognitive science has enriched it tremendously and brought the reader into the focus of interest, examining their reception from the cognitive point of view.

This paper is based on several assumptions that are the legacy of the theories both from linguistics and literature. Firstly, as we have emphasised, there is no literary language, there is only language for literary purposes; secondly, the analysis is performed on the unit called text; thirdly, we truly believe that "the world is linguistically constituted"; fourthly, context and contexts are crucial for arriving at the meaning. Last but not least, the analysis comprises social, psychological, interpersonal, cultural and other elements.

In the early nineteen-fifties, two major attempts to clarify the rival concepts of what is new and what is general (Quigley, 2004) were undertaken individually by Noam Chomsky and Michael Halliday and their associates. Radical revisions occurred during the nineteen-sixties and seventies and the constantly improving theories offered upgraded variants, yet did not quite eliminate the problems. It is obvious that Jakcobson's "system of systems" (Jakobson, 1987: 79-81) deteriorated in the face of the versatility and richness of sign and richness of the occurrences in life, but a new 'system of systems' was hard to build because new parameters continually came into play.

The knowledge that not everything can be segmented and classified under categories and structures led to the assumption that there was a higher form of order, and this gradually lead to the awareness of a higher level of linguistic analysis contained at the linguistic level of the sentence. But not everything was as perfect as that. Context was virtually lost in the categories of the idealised and the homogenised, which were abolishing or suppressing the social dimension of language as well as the interpersonal aspect of linguistic usage. Chomsky's

transformational generative theory, since this is what we are talking about, insisted on the perfect speaker who speaks an equally perfect language. Semantics was not included, the insistence was upon syntax, mostly upon the sentence, and the levels below that syntactic unit. Creativity was not embraced either – Quigley calls it 'exclusion in theory' and he nicely illustrated it by the example of e. e. Cummings' poem 'he danced his did' (Quigley, 2004: 86) where every imaginable violation of syntactic rules takes place, yet a verse of magnificent beauty and style is created. The transformational generative theory of that time could not account for such flights of creativity.

Over time, the terminology both of linguistic and literary studies is beginning to change. Thus, the expressions 'semiological' or 'semiotic' are slowly being replaced by the terms 'linguistic' and 'language', 'the system of signs' in the theory is gradually becoming the 'language system'. The desire for an increasingly general theory is becoming stronger. The pluralistic tendency in the study of literature to reconcile the competing demands of monists and relativists is directly analogous with the desire of linguists from the nineteen-sixties to resolve the structuralist objectification of Saussurian linguistics with the different reactions of other linguists and their great need for semiotic order (Qigley, 2004: 76). The key to literary theory and, consequently, interpretation, was sought in the linguistic theory. Semiotic order meant that each sign in literature could be interpreted unequivocally. It goes without saying that such a theory could not be sustained because, as will presently be seen, semiotic order of that type excluded context, dialogue, society and culture. It was these elements that created 'disorder in the order of the theories of mostly structuralist provenance and which discourse 'tamed' somewhat by extending the limits of its theory. However, despite the benefit of the proliferation of the fields of research within discourse the lack of clear boundaries between disciplines is obvious.

4. Discourse and discourses

Quigley's "disorder" (2004), Spitzer's "deviation from the norm" (1948), Volosinov's 'defamiliarization' (*ostranenie*) (1973 [1930]) are all linguistic phenomena which are at the same time the building blocks of literature, for which a more comprehensive

theory needed to be conceived. This was discourse analysis. Discourse is chaotic, it overflows the moulds of theories and rules, it is maverick and nonconformist in its attempt to evade the rules that the science from Saussure onwards tried to articulate. Discourse in fact epitomises Jakobson's effort to create a 'system of systems' (1987: 79-81), this time with greater prospects of success. Discourse analysis is an approach in linguistic analysis which focuses on the linguistic patterns in text as well as on the social and cultural contexts in which the text appears. The meaning that *discourse* has in its everyday use in terms of verbal exchanges, in particular kinds of speech, interview, language, discussions, dialogue or conversation (Johansen, 2002; Vuković, 2013; Perović, 2014) should be separated from the meaning pertinent to linguists and philosophers such as Foucault or Habermas. For a moment we will stop at Foucault as the insights into discourse at which he arrived were paramount for linguistics and literary criticism.

Foucault's main thesis is that in every society the production of discourse simultaneously selects, controls, distributes and organises certain processes, the role of which it is to harness the power and danger of discourse, to master its unpredictability and to avoid its difficult and dangerous materiality (Fuko, 2007). Foucault perceives discourse as a collection of different historical circumstances (1972). Our knowledge and beliefs, in this view, are the product of discourse, that is, they are not universal and immutable but are historically and culturally conditioned and shaped. As regards the interpretation of texts, Foucault's position is that language does not process reality in some simple, common-sense and clear way, rather it is the means by which ideologies are fabricated. It cannot be a neutral medium (see: Fowler, 1991; Simpson, 1993; Fairclough, 1992; Griffiths, 1992; Carter, 2003).

From Foucault's learning it is perhaps more discernible than elsewhere that each theory builds on the previous one, and that each and every one is dogmatised. Discourse recognised the ideology in theory, which was reflected in linguistics and literary theory. With this in mind, Lentricchia said: 'Tell me your theory and I'll tell you in advance what you'll say about any work of literature, especially those you haven't read' (Lentricchia, 1996: 64). Just like the genie escaping the lantern. In linguistics it reverberated in the great theoretical legacy of critical discourse

analysis and research that was left by Fairclough (*Discourse and Social Change; Critical Discourse Analysis*), but also by other theorists of discourse attribution (Wodak, 1996; Stubbs, 1983, 1996; Scollon, 1998; Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). In literary theory, structuralism has acquired post-structuralism and the *post* in literary theory has become multifaceted. As ideology is immanent to discourse some literary theories appeared with a smaller or larger range of impacts, such as Marxist, Freudian or Lacanian, depending on which aspect of discourse is brought into focus: policy, ideology, gender, philosophical or religious beliefs, etc. So, depending on the theoretical stand it was possible to assess one single literary work as good, or not so good. The theory was not a straightjacket any more, it was only losing its name.

5. There is no literary language

The idea that literature and language can be considered a discourse meant a rapprochement of these two areas, but it did not erase all the obstacles which Jakobson had angrily reacted to in the late nineteen-sixties. The advantage today is a much greater appreciation of linguistic and literary-linguistic formalism in truly contextualised literary studies which see literature as embedded in social and cultural formation. These new insights in the theory of literature, caused by the emergence of discourse and supplemented by the reader as an important component part, have not completely annihilated intensive formalism, yet they weakened the danger of the same interpretation of texts because completely universal, eternal meaning for texts that people read, as we know, is impossible. Having reached this conclusion Carter notes (2003: 81-82) that language is not neutral and reading cannot be unbiased and disinterested. This assumption was previously reached by others, Willy van Peer, for example, in his 1991 introductory study to *The Taming of the Text* stating that there are as many interpretations as there are readers. Furthermore, the study of language as a variation of functional styles or genres led to the perception that there is a continuum between literature with a small 'l' and literature with a capital 'L', which means that literacy in its many forms can be understood as a wide range of texts. Such literacy is theoretically sustainable for various functional styles (from jokes

to the warnings on cigarette packets, so everything can be analysed alongside Shakespeare's sonnets and the introductory paragraphs of the novel by Jane Austen. Here the term "text" serves as an appropriate inclusive category (McRae, 1991). 'Deviations and playing with the norms is not exclusively limited to what a particular community considers to be literary text' (Carter, 2003: 82). It follows that the theory of reading and writing literary texts should go hand-in-hand with the development of discourse literacy. Carter points out that for this purpose a more socially based, functional linguistics, has potential in a context where linguistic and literary discourse studies are more comprehensively integrated. Such a linguistic paradigm emphasises the "forms, choices and meaning, not only the form" (Carter, 2003: 82). As far as literature itself is concerned, as our concluding words we quote Johansen who connects the categories of literary texts, linguistic expression and context in the following manner:

> (...) Its [literature's] diversity stems from the fact that literary texts are *linguistic expressions* which the author sends to his readership at a given time under certain social and cultural conditions and within, or in connection with, the literary institution (Johansen, 2002: xii-xiii) (emphasis added).

6. The world is linguistically constituted

In the linguistic and discursive approaches to the analysis and interpretation of text the aim is to diagnose the strengths and weaknesses of various approaches – and here two main procedures stand out. One is the deliberate construction of meaning from the language of a text, the other is a less intentional act of interpretation, for example, of the subtext. These subtexts inform our decisions in linguistic analysis, telling us how these meanings are granted and how they can be explained (Carter, 2003: 111-118). It is known that a propositional meaning may be expressed in linguistically different structures and the writer, according to the decisions taken on what they want to convey symbolically to their text, chooses the one that is best suited to their style. This is the essence of their competence as a writer and creativity as an author, and is their pragmatic goal – that which will result in the text of a novel, short story, poem, etc.). Depending on the analytical framework of the interpretation or

exploration of a literary work, the researcher will 'break the code' of the piece through one or the other or, preferably, both procedures to the greatest extent possible. Our belief that linguistics is the (hyperbolised) principle that moves the world is supported by Diedre Barton from her study dedicated to the work of Sylvia Plath called *The Bell Jar*:

> Finally, I would like to join Shapiro (1956), Whorf (1956) and Voloshinov (1973 [1930]) and, along with them say that the world is linguistically constructed (...). Stylistic analysis is not simply a matter of discussion of 'effects' in language and text but it is a powerful method for understanding the ways in which all kinds of 'realities' are constructed through language (qtd. in Simpson, 1993: 187-188).

In this study Plath's poetry served as the basis for analysis in the feminist linguistic key, where three types of text emerged, constructing three images of women: one of women in literature written by men, the second of women created by feminist critics, and the third is a construct of women created by women writers themselves through their work. Sylvia Plath belonged to the third type. Diedre Barton says that it can easily be seen how Sylvia Plath readily used the metaphor of *disabling*, the lexicon of *disenabling*, prevention from actual living, *disempowering* of all kinds. In English, the key word is *disenabling*, which can be comprehended in three ways: *disabling, frustration, inability*. She writes about *dilemmas, contradictions* and *pressure*, which might have led directly to her horrible death (Burton in Simpson, 2004: 187-188). To conclude, the world is to a large extent linguistically constituted: Plath's world was a world of *foiling* and *limitations*. Had it not been, she might not have run up against its boundaries so terribly. What follows in this text is further elaboration and fine-tuning of the same idea.

In the modern stylistic analysis of language a substantial proportion of investigation is dedicated to discourse analysis and the narrative organisation of literary texts. Thus, for example, dramatic text is not treated exclusively as poetic – social and interpersonal factors are also included. The following example from Shakespeare's Hamlet is based on the theory of the speech act.

4. POLONIUS: What do you read, my lord?

HAMLET: Words, words, words. (Act II, scene ii, 190-1)

At first glance, Hamlet states the obvious. However, contextual consideration leads us to an alternative interpretation, and that means discerning the text as a series of communicative acts, not only the configuration of phonetic, lexical or syntactic forms. The answer to Polonius is provided in such a light, as such an act. Hamlet wants to get rid of him, he is on the verge of rudeness, perhaps feigning madness, but respects the cooperative principle of conversation. When somebody has discourse literacy (and we all do) it is easy to interpret this as 'leave me alone'. The performative art has made a huge challenge of this. There is the well-known interpretation of an actor who with each pronunciation of the word 'word' adopts a different hand position. Each of the bodily postures further enhances the speech act of emptiness and intensifies the message of the need for solitude where the prince will be absorbed in 'words' in his own way.

A similar example is analysed as an illustration of Grice's cooperative principles in conversation, which we find in *Romeo and Juliet*:

5. BENVOLIO: Tell me in sadness, who is it that you love?

[...]

ROMEO: In sadness cousin, I do love a woman. (Act I, scene i, 203, 207)

The answer is given, and nothing has been said. Kindness is respected – that is good manners – and the secret is preserved.

The stance of New Criticism that texts are verbal objects could not be completely maintained. In order to understand the meaning of words in a poem, you need to know its normal, usual meaning, the significance of its special place in the syntactic structure etc. In other words, the text can only be understood as an object inserted into a set of linguistic and other conventions, for example, sociological, cultural, literary etc. (Carter and Simpson, 1989: 142-143).

7. Joyce and a "perfect word order"

To illustrate the idea of this paper that discourse with all its advanced theories is a way to reduce the gap between language and literature and provide a more reliable means of interpretation of the text, we will borrow the words of James Joyce:

> Once, after two days of work yielded only two finished sentences, Joyce was asked if he had been seeking the right words. "No," he replied, "I have the words already. What I am seeking is the perfect order of words in the sentences I have" (Currey, 2013: 87).

This formulation of Joyce's resembles the title of Hawking's book, *The Universe in a Nutshell* (2001), which is almost a brief linguistic and literary theory – in a nutshell. At the same time, it is a guide to the perfect literary form. His own, anyway.

If we look at just a few elements of this statement, we will see its polysemic quality. *Firstly*, the lexeme *order*, especially in the context of the *perfect order of words*, could be understood as *syntax*, which is the study of the principles and processes by which sentences in a given language are constructed. *Secondly,* it can mean Jacobson's axis of combinations, i.e. a certain way in which the writer arranges the words obeying the syntax of the English language to obtain an *arrangement* that epitomises peculiarities of his style. And, maybe, *order*, this time in the sense of *organisation,* transcending into a textual harmony, accord and system, which is again in compliance with the *order* as understood by the author. *Thirdly*, he might have had in mind some kind of *sequence* in an idiosyncratic grammar which would be a violation of norms, but, again, his authentic manner, therefore, recognisable for the readers. It is a style, Joyce's style. Fourthly, the question arises whether this calls intertextually for Coleridge's definition of poetry as "the best words in the best *order*" (Simpson, 1993: 153). In her work *Myth, image and metaphor* Patricia Daly-Lipe deposits these words of Joyce's in the context of his overall style and says that he was known for his 'stylistic pastiche'. By that she means his (non)communication, which comprises his coinages, referentiality and crossreferentiality, stream of consciousness, lengthy sentences and the like (2011: 21).

Jakobson and Levi-Strauss were able to perform an analysis of the sentence 'What I am seeking is the perfect order of words in the sentences I have' according to the principles of structuralist grammar. It is possible to identify sentence structure, the parts of the sentence, establish the hierarchical relationships between the parts and draw conclusions about its semantics. It is a pseudo-cleft sentence, which means it has two clauses, and when we analyse its sentential functions we obtain the structure of a simple sentence with the copula *to be* represented in the syntactic basic pattern as Subject-Verb-Complement (SVC) with the adverbial phrase at the end of the sentence. More or less, that is it.

The statement in the first clause is a discursive announcement and the signal of the second statement. The speech act of the first statement is a preparation for what is coming, that is the key information, but it also constitutes the motivation for the pseudo-cleft sentences. If Joyce had said: *I am seeking for the perfect order* we would have a simply structured piece of information, but not the impetus of its use and its pragmatic value. We would get a norm, not a deviation from it. In this syntactic peculiarity, we believe, lies the key to the whole statement.

In the pragmatic analysis according to the model of Ellen Prince (Prince 1978, 1985 and Mišić-Ilić 1999, 2004), *what I am seeking* is given, known and constitutes a presupposition, while "the perfect order of words in the sentences I have" now represents information and establishes the focus of the statement.

Such a pragmatic analysis gives a somewhat more complex picture because the parameters of the analysis are more complex. First of all, this, like all pseudo-cleft sentences, follows the logical presuppositions, and we are interested in the arrangement of the *given* and the *new* information. The most important feature of this presupposition, as a function in discourse, lies in the fact that it does not comprise information which is a part of the entailment. Presuppositions are often used to convey new information in whole or in part. The *given* is explicitly mentioned, it is the context of the verb *to seek*, and *new* is a new piece of information, here it is contrasted, i.e. it is an implicit case. Therefore, according to this interpretation, *a perfect order* is new information.

In contrast to this, according to another possible cognitive interpretation of pseudo-cleft sentences devised by Judy Delin, presuppositions may be *new* information and *given* information (Delin, 1992). Presupposition is taken as a part of the anaphoric environment, which means that the information is marked as anaphoric, i.e. a known fact. A part of the anaphoric relationship is contained in the information of the pseudo-cleft presupposition with the function *to remind* rather than *to inform* (regardless of its objective status in discourse). Therefore, if the presupposition means the *given* information it is possible to understand the *perfect order* as a style accomplished by the moment of utterance, which would comprise *The Dubliners* (1914) and *The Portrait of the Artist in his Youth* (1916). *The perfect order* can then mean the announcement of a unique style of stream of consciousness, new and unseen until then, distinctive to the extent that it can be perfect. The above said about the perfect order can be *new* information, i.e. information on what will be a revolution in literature, because writing will not be the same after *Ulysses*. Also, it can be the self-consciousness of a genius who is revealing a new canon to the world.

'The perfect order of words in the sentence' may be the perfect formulation of the definition of style, and the perfect linguistic embodiment in the use of artistic expression. It could mean a turning point in terms of style, and can mean the announcement of a genius who knows he is creating a revolutionary piece of art. It does not matter. Many will agree that the new era of literature began with Joyce. We experience this information as new. *Joyce was informing us while he was reminding himself.* And this is no small thing. The information released means that Joyce does not have a pronouncement about his writing, but is confirming what is known: his quest for creation is constant, his style is built up constantly, whereas the anaphoric part – *a perfect order* – has the function in discourse to *remind*. To remind whom of what? That Joyce was a genius and he knew that, that he could not be happy with less, that his literary pursuit was serious and the product a new legacy for the world. Also, perfect order means perfect language in Joyce's thinking. The perfect order can mean a metaphor for his peculiar style, and can mean metonymy for his unique style. Also, Joyce, in a certain way, made redundant our reflection on the topic of

language and literature. There is no more anger, neither Jacobsonian nor any other.

6. Conclusion

Stylistics posed a question on the interpretation and meaning of text, and gave an answer. Discourse analysis is a good part of that answer. But just one round has been fought – literature is much older than the science analysing it. Today, literature and linguistics fight (if they fight) on points. The judge is a character from cognitive linguistics. The question at the end of this text reads as at the beginning: can linguistics, using its own theories and apparatus, say what literary worth is? Discourse analysis is on a serious scientific mission, with the aim of getting people to understand each other better (Gee, 2005). This paper is an attempt to help the two fields of research understand each other a little better. There is a much better mutual understanding now than several decades ago when we personally stepped into this thrilling area of research. The metaphor of Zeno's paradox is no longer valid, linguistics and the study of literature have significantly converged.

The aim of discourse analysis, especially cognitive discourse analysis, is to lessen, even annihilate, the opposition between linguistics and literature, and to establish similar if not the same goals: that both disciplines can work towards a single goal, and that is to comprehensively understand and interpret a literary work. And that is good. There is, however, a doubt that still concerns us. What if the pendulum of science goes too much in one direction and goes out of control? What if cognitive science has reached such a level that it really can peer into the brain while a writer writes. It would be very interesting to see the power of such an algorithm, such software, by which the virtual writer could write in a disciplined, dedicated and committed way like, say, Anthony Trollope, who wrote 250 words in a quarter of an hour, three hours per session. And if he completed one novel within the three hours, he would start a new one (Currey, 2013: 25).

The extent to which discourse as a linguistic science has advanced indicates the degree of convergence of linguistics and literature. Or to put it an even better way – the development of science both in linguistics and in literary theory has reduced

misunderstanding, thus eliminating mistrust and contempt between the two fields.

In this brief and modest review and analysis of stylistics and discourse, we tried to follow the thread of their steady development and a fairly solid logic of mutual dependence. We adhered to linguistics while discussing literature in the conviction that literature is an activity that 'has something to do with sentences' (Rushdie, 2013: 105).

Appendix

1. From "Baudelaire's 'Cats'" (*Les Chats*), the linguistic categories are italicised:

Les Chats, who are the *direct object* of the *clause* comprising the first three lines of the sonnet, become the *implicit subject* of the *clauses* in the following three lines (...), revealing the outline of a division of this *quasi-sestet* into two *quasi-tercets*. The middle "*distich*" recapitulates the metamorphosis of the cats: from an *implicit object*(...) into an equally implicit *grammatical subject* (...)*.* In this respect the eighth line coincides with the following *sentence*(...).

In general, the *postpositive subordinate clauses* form a kind of transition between *the subordinating clause* and the *sentence* which follows it. Thus, the *implicit subject* "chats" of the ninth and tenth lines changes into a *reference* to the *metaphor* "sphinx" in the *relative clause* of the eleventh line (...) and, as a result, links this line to the tropes serving as *grammatical subjects* in the final *tercet*. The *indefinite article*, entirely alien to the first ten lines with their fourteen *definite articles*, is the only one admitted in the four concluding lines of the sonnet. (Jakobson, 1987: 188).

References

Carter, Ronald (ed.) *Language and Literature – An Introductory Reader in Stylistics.* London: George Allen & Unwin, 1984.

Carter, R. and Paul Simpson. 1989. *Language, Discourse and Literature.* London: Unwin Hyman.

Carter, Ronald, et al. *Working with Text.* London and New York: Routledge, 2003.

Carter, Ronald. *Investigating English Discourse.* London and New York: Routledge, 2003 [1997].

Chouliaraki, Lilie and Norman Fairclough. *Discourse in Late Modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999.

Currey, Mason. *Daily rituals.* London: Picador, 2013.

Daly-Lipe, Patricia. *Myth, Image and Metaphor: A Journey into the heart of creativity.* United States: Jada Press, 2011.

Fairclough, Norman. Discourse and Social Change. Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press, 1992.

Fairclough, Norman. Critical Discourse Analysis. London and New York: Longman, 1995.

Foucault, Michael. The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language.New York: Pantheon Books, 1972.

Fowler, Roger. Literature as Social Discourse. London: Batsford, 1981.

Fowler, Roger. Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press. London: Routledge, 1991.

Fuko, Mišel. *Poredak diskursa.* Loznica: Karpos, 2007.

Gee, James Paul, "Good video games and good learning." *Phi Kappa Phi Forum*, 85(2) (2005): 34-37.

Hawking, Stephen. *The Universe in a Nutshell.* New York: Bantam Books, 2001.

Jakobson, Roman. "Linguistics and Poetics." *Style in Language.* Ed. T. Sebeok. Cabmridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1960. 350-77.

Jakobson, Roman. *Language in Literature.* Eds. Krystyna Pomorska and Stephen Rudy. London/Cambridge Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1987.

Johansen, Jørgen Dines. *Literary Discourse.*Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.

Johnson, Samuel, and George Steevens. *The Plays of William Shakespeare.* With the Corrections and Illustrations of Various Commentators. Tourneisen, 1765.

Katnić-Bakaršić, Marina. *Lingvistička stilistika.* Budapest: Open Society Institute, 1999.

Kompanjon, Antoan. *Demon teorije.* Novi Sad: Svetovi, 2002.

Leavis, Frank Raymond. *The Great Tradition.* London, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1962.

Lentricchia, Frank. "Last Will and Testament of an Ex-literary Critic", *Lingua Franca,* 6 (6) September/October (1996): 59-67.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *Structural Anthropology.* Translation: Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf. London: Cape, 1981*.*

Messing, Gordon M. "Review of TA Sebeok, Style in language". *Language,* 37 (1961): 256-266.

Mišić-Ilić, Biljana. "Inicijalni indirektni objekti u engleskom jeziku." *Zbornik radova posvećen profesoru Ljubomiru Mihailoviću.* Ed. Ranko Bugarski. Beograd: Filološki fakultet, 1999. 105–115.

Mišić-Ilić, Biljana. "O analizi diskursa iz ugla generativne lingvistike." *Lingvističke analize, Zbornik u čast 25 godina Instituta za strane jezike.* Ed. Slavica Perović and Vesna Bulatović. Podgorica: Institut za strane jezike, 2004. 67-83.

Perović, Slavica. "Diskurs i stilistika – Diskurs kao odgovor na Jakobsonovo 'sramno zaostajanje.' *"Analiza diskursa: teorije i metode.* Ed. Slavica Perović. Podgorica: Institut za strane jezike, Univerzitet Crne Gore, 2014. 11–56.

Prince, Ellen. F. "A comparison of *wh*-clefts and *it*-clefts in discourse". *Language.* 54 (1978): 883-906.

Prince, Ellen F. "Fancy Syntax and 'Shared Knowledge.' *"Journal of Pragmatics,* 9 (1985): 65-81.

Quigley, Austin. *Theoretical Inquiry – Language, Linguistics, and Literature.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004.

Riffaterre, Michael. "Criteria for Style Analysis." *Word,* XV (1959): 154-74.

Ruždi, Salman, *Džozef Anton: Memoari.* Belgrade: Vulkan, 2013.

Sapir, Edward.*. Language: An introduction to the study of speech.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and company, 1921.

Scollon, Ron. *Mediated Discourse as Social Interaction*. London: Longman, 1998.

Šekspir, Viljem [Shakespeare, William]. *Julije Cezar* [Julius Caesar]. Translated by Živojin Simić and Sima Pandurović. Beograd: Kultura, 1963.

Shakespeare, William. *Tragedy of Hamlet.* New York: Hoddler & Stoughton, 1910*.* (Original work published circa 1603).

Short, Mick. H. "Discourse Analysis and Drama." *Language, discourse and Literature.* Ed. Ronald Carter and Paul Simpson. London: Unwin Hyman, 1989. 139-71.

Simpson, Paul. *Language, Ideology, and Point of View.* London: Routledge, 1993.

Simpson, Paul. *Stylistics.* London and New York: Routledge, 2004.

Spitzer, Leo. "Art du langage et linguistique." L. Spitzer (Éd.), *Études de styles,* 1948. 45-78.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. *Death of a discipline*. Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2003.

Stubbs, Michael. *Discourse Analysis: the sociolinguistic analysis of natural language.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983.

Stubbs, Michael. *Text and Corpus Analysis: Corpus-Assisted Studies of Language and Culture.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1996.

Van Peer, Willie. ed. *The Taming of the Text.* London and New York: Routledge, 1991.

Volosinov, V. N. *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language.*New York and London: Seminar Press, 1973.

Vuković, Milica. *Diskurs parlamentarnih debata, doktorska disertacija.* Nikšić: Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet Crne Gore, 2013.

Warburg, Jeremy. "Some Aspects of Style." *The Teaching of English, Studies in Communication* 3. Eds. Randolph Quirk and A. H. Smith. London: Secker and Warburg, (1959): 47-75.

Whorf, Benjamin. *Language, Thought, and Reality.* Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1956.

Wodak, Ruth. *Disorders of Discourse.* London: Longman, 1996.

Fee-Alexandra Haase[1]

'DISCURSIVITY' OF DIGITAL MEDIA: A THEORETICAL CONCEPT OF CONTEMPORARY DIGITAL MEDIA AND ITS TRADITION IN THE HISTORY OF COMMUNICATION

Abstract: *This article approaches the theory of media aiming at the presentation of models for current developments of digital media. The emerging functions of digital media can be described with the concepts 'convergence' and 'discursivity' from the perspective of the history of research of media and recent theories of media with the overarching philosophical concepts that frame models of digital media in the 20th and 21st century. The concept of 'convergence' is considered to be a part of the quality of discursivity of digital media. This concept will be shown in current applications of digital media arguing that 'convergence' is an implicit historical phenomenon of any medium and the concept of communication itself can be traced back to the discipline rhetoric. With the models we will show that 'discursivity' of digital media involves three levels for the digitally encoded communication (contents, user, media) for discourse, which takes place in digital media.*
Keywords: *digital media, discursivity, convergence, rhetoric, communication*

Introduction

The concept of the 'medium' we use today in modern languages is not associated with the Latin term 'medius' in the Roman culture. As a teacher of the oldest discipline of communication, rhetoric, Quintilian mentions in the *Institutio Oratoria* (1.2.18.) that the future orator must live in the middle of the light of the public ('in media rei publicae luce vivendum est'):

Ante omnia futurus orator, cui in maxima celebritate et in media rei publicae luce vivendum est, adsuescat iam a tenero non reformidare homines neque illa solitaria et velut umbratica vita

It is above all things necessary that our future orator, who will have to live in the utmost publicity and in the broad daylight of public life, should become accustomed from his childhood to move in

[1] Associate Professor at the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences of the United International College in Zhuhai, China.

pallescere.

society without fear and habituated to a life far removed from that of the pale student, the solitary and recluse. (Tr. Butler)

The post-classical Latin term *mediator* was used especially in ecclesiastic Latin. It occurs in the *Vulgate* (Gal. 3.20.), in the sentence "Mediator autem unius non est. Deus autem unus est" for the translation of the Greek "ὁ δὲ μεσίτης ἑνὸς οὐκ ἔστιν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἷς ἐστίν.") (*A Latin Dictionary* 2018: n. pag.). For the contemporary use of the word, *media* as plural of *medium* is in the *Dictionary of Media and Communications* defined as 1. any means of transmitting information, and 2. various forms, devices, and systems that make up mass communications considered as a whole, including newspapers, magazines, radio stations, television channels, and websites (2009: 192). In *New Media. A Critical Introduction* the following was stated:

> "For some sixty years the word 'media', the plural of 'medium', has been used as a singular collective term, as in 'the media' (Williams 1976: 169). When we have studied the media we usually, and fairly safely, have had in mind 'communication media' and the specialized and separate institutions and organizations in which people worked: print media and the press, photography, advertising, cinema, broadcasting (radio and television), publishing, and so on. The term also referred to the cultural and material products of those institutions (the distinct forms and genres of news, road movies, soap operas which took the material forms of newspapers, paperback books, films, tapes, discs" (2009: 9).

How do media act as means of communication? Besides the concept of 'convergence', we will use the concept of 'discursivity' as heuristic theoretical tools for digital media. If we follow the main theory of convergence, digital media have the tendency to fuse and merge separated media, while employing digitalization in a process, which also has an impact on the presentation of the contents. We employ here the overarching concept of 'discursivity' for (a.) the general faculty and application of a discourse and for (b.) the specific communicative quality of a potentially in every direction drifting activity and, when not regulated, any undirected movement. While 'discursivity' is a potentially ubiquitous faculty to form

discourses, 'convergence' is a diachronically existing historical phenomenon for the re-formation of media. 'Convergence' can be understood as a selection of movements within the realm of the 'discursivity' of digital media. In contemporary French philosophy, the term 'discursivité' is employed for the comparisons of gestures, spoken and written language. In this vein, in the entry *Philosophies du Langage* in the *Encyclopaedia Universalis*, Cometti and Ricoeur wrote that, in the case of gestural systems, the comparison concerns the character of discursivity common to oral language and written language: "Dans le cas des systèmes gestuels, la comparaison porte sur le caractère de discursivité commun au langage oral et au langage écrit" (2018: 7). The contemporary theory of the convergence of media is most commonly used to describe general features applicable to all media. According to the *Dictionary of Media and Communications*, 'convergence' has two areas of meaning: 'Convergence' is the "erosion of traditional distinctions among media due to concentration of ownership, globalization, and audience fragmentation" and the "process by which formerly separate technologies such as television and the telephone are brought together by a common technological base (digitization) or a common industrial strategy. The Internet is a perfect example of technological convergence" (2009: 77-78). While the first definition refers to economic processes, the second one describes the technological process. In the *Dictionary of Media and Communications*, convergence theory is described as the "view that all media are constantly undergoing convergence" (2009: 78). In the *Introduction* of his book *Convergence Culture Where Old and New Media Collide* (2006), Jenkins stated that 'convergence' applies not only to multimedia technology but also to culture, industry, and socialization:

> "By convergence, I mean the flow of content across multiple media platforms, the cooperation between multiple media industries, and the migratory behavior of media audiences who will go almost anywhere in search of the kinds of entertainment experiences they want. Convergence is a word that manages to describe technological, industrial, cultural, and social changes depending on who's speaking and what they think they are talking about" (2006: 2-3).

Jenkins speaks here about the media audiences, who change their places in order to perceive 'entertainment', and the changes in the technological, industrial, cultural, and social areas as the phenomena of convergence that depend on the speakers and their thinking about the topics of their talks in a discourse about convergence. Jenkins considers convergence to be a phenomenon which is present in the mediated discourse. In the traditional philosophical use of the concept 'discourse', which linguistically is a loanword of the Latin verb *discurrere* for 'to run off in different directions', it refers to all potentially realizable statements about a topic. According to *A Latin Dictionary* by Lewis and Short, *discursus* as a noun derived from *discurrere* mostly occurs in post-classical Latin texts and in Late Latin its meaning changes to 'a conversation' and 'discourse` (2018: n. pag.). In his *Institutio Oratoria* (1.12.10.), the teacher of rhetoric Quintilian employs the term *discursus* for the activity of running around of playing children:

Et patientior est laboris natura pueris quam iuvenibus. videlicet, ut corpora infantium nec casus, quo in terram totiens deferuntur, tam graviter adfligit nec illa per manus et genua reptatio nec post breve tempus continui lusus et totius diei discursus, quia pondus illis abest nec sese ipsi gravant: sic animi quoque, credo, quia minore conatu moventur nec suo nisu studiis insistunt, sed formandos se tantummodo praestant, non similiter fatigantur.	Just as small children suffer less damage from their frequent falls, from their crawling on hands and knees and, a little later, from their incessant play and their running about from morn till eve, because they are so light in weight and have so little to carry, even so their minds are less susceptible of fatigue, because their activity calls for less effort and application to study demands no exertion of their own, since they are merely so much plastic material to be moulded by the teacher. (Tr. Butler)

Cicero employed the term *communicatio* for 'making common', 'imparting', and 'communicating' in public life in expressions like "largitio et communicatio civitatis" (Balb. 13.31.); we can assume that the concept of communication is a rhetorical one. The term *communicatio* is used for a figure of speech equivalent to the Greek term *anacoenosis* (ἀνακοίνωσις) for the appeal to the audience for their opinion (Cicero, *De Oratore* 3.53.204.; Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* 9.1.30.; 9.2.20.

and 23.) (*A Latin Dictionary* 2018*:* n. pag.). This figure of the *communication* is an example of 'convergence' in the medium of the human voice for the spoken and rhetorically formed human language in a speech. This participation of the audience in a speech in the framework of the discipline rhetoric is the first application of the concept of communication in a theoretical context of 'discursivity' of rhetorical speech. It creates a situation of communication from one to many participants comparable to traditional and broadcasting mass media in a single direction of communication from one source to many receivers. The discipline rhetoric was *logos*/speech-centered even after the decline of its classical age, while the concept of 'discourse' developed in Europe in the post-classical time to a scholastic dialectical form and a way of expressing ideas in written and spoken form among philosophers in post-medieval Europe. Most strikingly, Foucault identified discourse as an institutionalized form of power, which allows a person to participate from the inside or from the outside in the French original book *L'Ordre du Discours* (1971) and in the English translation of the lecture *The Discourse on Language* (1972):

Il y a chez beaucoup, je pense, un pareil désir de n'avoir pas à commencer, un pareil désir de se retrouver, l'entrée de jeu, de l'autre côté du discours, sans avoir eu à considérer de l'extérieur ce qu'il pouvait avoir de singulier, de redoutable, de maléfique peut-être. A ce vœu si commun, l'institution répond sur le mode ironique, puisqu'elle rend les co-mmencements solennels, puis-qu'elle les en toure d'un cercle d'attention et de silence, et qu'elle leur impose, comme pour les signaler de plus loin, des formes ritualisées (1971: 8-9).	A good many peope, I imagine, harbour a similar desire to be freed from the obligation to begin, a similar desire to find themselves, right from the outside, on the other side of discourse, without having to strand outside it, pondering its particular, fearsome, and even devilish features. To this all too common feeling, institutions have an ironic reply, for they solemnise beginnings, surround them with a circle of silent attention, in order that they can be distinguished from far off, they impose ritual forms upon them (1972: 215).

The discourse as an abstract form of communicating (and in Foucault's approach also as a form of communicating power) can be considered as an overarching framework of communication. In the discourse, the phenomenon of

convergence is a formal process of the communication. Its opposite direction, divergence, means, in terms of media, that previously merged media are separated and become isolated in different places in this process. As for the theoretical foundations of mediated communication, the concept of the 'discourse' is helpful, since it entails movements like 'convergence'. Discourse is the formal representation of the mediated discourse. Foucault spoke about the institutions, which rule the discourse using *ritualized forms* (*formes ritualisées*). In the *Oxford English Dictionary* the contemporary meaning of 'discourse' is defined as 'written or spoken communication or debate', a 'formal discussion of a topic in speech or writing', and in linguistics as 'connected series of utterances' and 'a text or conversation' in the tradition of the philosophical and rhetorical disciplines (2018: n. pag.).

As for digital media, the conceptual framework of their communication as convergence is based on the linguistic representation of a word for movements: The verb *convergo* has the meaning 'to incline together'. It refers to any process of movement and was used in Late Latin in the expression "*punctus quo cuncta convergunt*" by Isidore (Orig. 3.12.1.) for a movement in one direction in geometry (*A Latin Dictionary*: n. pag.). On the contrary, we have seen that *discurro* is used for a movement in any direction. *Divergere* is a Neolatin term equivalent to the English loanword 'diverge' (*Latdict Dictionary* 2018: n. pag). *Divergere* and *convergere* derive from *vergo*, which is related to the Pokorny *etymon* 1154 *u̯er-*, *u̯er-g-* with the meanings 'to turn' and 'wrench' (*Pokorny's Masterlist* 2018: n. pag). These linguistic meanings demonstrate that the conceptual research framework for communication employs concepts for directed movement. As for the concept of 'discourse', it entails the processes of 'convergence' and 'divergence'. As a practically employed term, only 'convergence' is used as a meta-concept of research about media communication.

The Digital and the Code in the Media Theory before the Emergence of Digital Media

With the occurrence of new mass media in the 20th century, an adequate theory describing how they work was needed for the adaptation to the new media. Shannon and

Weaver's theory of mathematical communication matched this need with a theory for media, which transmit information by electricity and signals. Shannon and Weaver's model of mediated communication entailed basically 'sender', 'receiver', and 'channel'. In *A Mathematical Theory of Communication* (1948), Shannon distinguished 'information', 'source', 'message', 'transmitter', 'signal', 'receiver', 'destination', and 'noise' (1948: 2). The medium as a means of communication from one sending source to many receivers became the topic of research of mass media studies, which not only aimed at the theory of the technical aspects but also focused on the social and cultural impacts of the mass media. In *A Mathematical Theory of Communication,* Shannon employed the concept of the code for 'channel'. As for the 'transmitter', "which operates on the message in some way to produce a signal suitable for transmission over the channel", Shannon mentions the example of telegraphy, where "we have an encoding operation which produces a sequence of dots, dashes and spaces on the channel corresponding to the message" (1948: 2). According to Shannon, the "different speech functions must be sampled, compressed, quantized and encoded, and finally interleaved properly to construct the signal. Vocoder systems, television and frequency modulation are other examples of complex operations applied to the message to obtain the signal" for the digital representation of analog signals in a multiplex PCM system (1948: 2). The digitally encoded information is mentioned by Shannon, when he raised the questions 'How is an information source to be described mathematically, and how much information in bits per second is produced in a given source?':

> "The main point at issue is the effect of statistical knowledge about the source in reducing the required capacity of the channel, by the use of proper encoding of the information. In telegraphy, for example, the messages to be transmitted consist of sequences of letters. These sequences, however, are not completely random. In general, they form sentences and have the statistical structure of, say, English. The letter E occurs more frequently than Q, the sequence TH more frequently than XP, etc. The existence of this structure allows one to make a saving in time (or channel capacity) by properly encoding the message sequences into signal sequences. This is already done to a limited extent in telegraphy by using the shortest channel symbol, a dot, for the most common English letter E; while the

infrequent letters, Q, X, Z are represented by longer sequences of dots and dashes" (1948: 5).

In *Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics* (1960) Jakobson used the concept of the code for linguistic communication. As elements of linguistic communication, Jakobson here mentioned the 'addresser', 'addressee', 'context', 'message', 'contact', and 'code' (1960: 357). In the second half of the 20th century, when digital technology was on the verge to becoming a mass phenomenon, media scientist McLuhan and Fiore in *The Medium is the Massage* (1967) suggested that a medium is an extension of a human faculty:

> "All media work us over completely. They are so pervasive in their personal, political, economic, aesthetic, psychological, moral, ethical, and social consequences that they leave no part of us untouched, unaffected, unaltered. The medium is the massage. Any understanding of social and cultural change is impossible without a knowledge of the way media work as environments. All media are extensions of some human faculty — psychic or physical" (1967: 26).

According to the chronological timeline of communication theories in the *Encyclopedia of Communication Theory* (2009), the media theory expanded in the first half of the 1970s: Noelle-Neumann proposed the approach to understanding public opinion known as the 'spiral of silence' of minorities, McCombs and Shaw's agenda setting theory elicited "a decades-long interest in ways that the media and audiences shape the public agenda of important issues", and Gerbner began research on 'cultural indicators' and investigations of media impacts on culture and the development of 'cultivation theory', while at the same time the U.S. Surgeon General's 1972 reported on television violence (2009: lxiii).

Which is the human faculty we can consider to be an extension of the digital media as stated by McLuhan and Fiore? Is it the memorizing and copying function of the brain as a means storing encoded information with the tendency to have information ubiquitously available? Examples would be the email we send to any receiver or the digital image we take with a digital camera or a mobile device as memorized copies. The creation of virtual digital worlds, the designed interfaces of social media, and

the animation of digital materials are copies without the original, *simulacra* in digital codes without any representative function. In *Simulacres et Simulation* (1981), Baudrillard described simulation as a process opposite to representation:

Telle est la simulation, en ce qu'elle s'oppose à la représentation. Celle-ci part du principe d'équivalence du signe et du réel (même si cette équivalence est utopique, c'est un axiome fondamental). La simulation part à l'inverse de l'utopie du principe d'équivalence, part de la négation radicale du signe comme valeur, part du signe comme réversion et mise à mort de toute référence. Alors que la représentation tente d'absorber la simulation en l'interprétant comme fausse représentation, la simulation enveloppe tout l'édifice de la représentation lui-même comme simulacra (1981:16).

Such is the simulation, inasmuch as it is opposed to representation. This is based on the principle of equivalence between sign and reality (even if this equivalence is utopian, it is a fundamental axiom). The simulation begins with the utopia of the principle of equivalence of the radical negation of the sign as a value and of the sign as a reversion and the killing of all references. While the representation attempts to absorb the simulation by interpreting it as a false representation, the simulation envelops the entire edifice of the representation itself as a simulacrum.

For Baudrillard, a simulation has neither a semiotic reference as a sign with a meaning it signifies as a reference object, nor a reality and truth of its own; the simulacrum is a construct without any reference or the value to be real. The 'simulacrum theory' emerging from Baudrillard's essay represents a view "claiming that the media simulate reality and in so doing impart the sense that they are indistinguishable from reality. In effect, audiences end up not being able to distinguish between reality and media simulations (called *simulacra*)" (Danesi 2009: 271). According to the chronological account of the development of communication theory in the *Encyclopedia of Communication Theory*, in the first half of the 1980s an awareness of the communication theory of a rational discourse in the 'public sphere' presented by the philosopher Habermas emerged among U.S.-American communication scholars (2009: lxvi). Media response theories continued to develop; Donohew and Palmgreen introduced their activation theory of communication

exposure in the early 80s. Fish introduced the idea of 'interpretive communities' of a text in *Is There a Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities* in 1980. During the second half of the 1980s, an increasing attention was given to global communication, and at the end of the decade, Beck proposed a critical paradigm of 'globalization' (2009: lxvi). The emergence of the internet as a means of digital communication for wide distances and the World Wide Web as one of its applications enables an increasing number of users to join the digital media since the middle of the 1990s.

The Digital and the Code in Media Theory after the Emergence of Digital Media

As stated by Dijk, characteristics of the digital media are the digital code, multimediality, and interactivity (2004: 146-148). The question 'What is Digital Media?' the *Centre For Digital Media* in Vancouver answers as follows:

> "Digital Media is a blend of technology and content, and building digital media products requires teams of professionals with diverse skills, including technical skills, artistic skills, analytical and production coordination skills. All of these skills need to be balanced on a team, with all team members focused on creating the best user experience" (2017: n. pag.).

The *Centre For Digital Media* mentions as digital media products applications of eCommerce, games, websites, mobile applications, animations, social media, video, augmented reality, virtual reality, data visualization, location-based services, and interactive storytelling (2017: n. pag.). From the 1990s onwards, media research responded to the increasing number of applications of the digital media with studies about the range of digital applications. When the computer became the central device for the use of communication and opening device for the digital space, the terms 'cyberspace' and 'virtuality' were employed for computer-mediated communication. During the first half of the 1990s new communications technologies gave rise to the study of 'virtual relationships', while the internet was already used by research communities (*Encyclopedia of Communication Theory.* 2009: lxvii). Walther presented the social information processing theory of computer-mediated

communication (CMC) in 1992. Rheingold published his book *The Virtual Community: Homesteading on the Electronic Frontier* (1993), with a focus on the new technologies of digital cultures in the cyberspace. In 1999, Van Dijk published *The Network Society* in Dutch, with the title *De Netwerkmaatschappij*. In 1995, Poster announced the arrival of the 'second media age', arguing that new electronic media like the internet and virtual reality allow calling the contemporary time a 'second media age' in contrast to the 'first media age' with the traditional media and the broadcast media**.** In the second half of the 1990s, new developments in media brought about shifts in the theoretical scholarship (*Encyclopedia of Communication Theory.* 2009: lxvii). Reeves and Nass introduced the media equation theory suggesting that people treat media like persons. After 2000 DeGrazia, Tunstall, and van Elteren raised the awareness of the Americanization of media (*Encyclopedia of Communication Theory.* 2009: lxviii). Van Dijk stated in *The Network Society. Social Aspects of New Media* that "the most recent technical communications revolution is characterized by the introduction of digital artificial memories, and digital transmission and reproduction. The term 'digital revolution' is appropriate in this context" (2005: 6). Van Dijk here also states that the

> "digital code is a technical media characteristic only defining the form of new media operations. However, it has great substantial consequences for communication. Digital code means that in using computer technology, every item of information and communication can be transformed and transmitted in the form of strings of ones and zeros called bytes, with every single 1 and 0 being a bit. This artificial code replaces the natural codes of the analogue creation and transmission of items of information and communication" (2005: 6).

Not only the traditional and the broadcast media can be implemented into the digital media. The oldest medium of communication, the human voice, is a means of digital communication. The practice of the discipline of persuasive communication associated with the human voice as its main medium takes also place as applied rhetoric in the environment of digital media. Eyman in *Digital Rhetoric: Theory, Method, Practice* (2015) in the chapter *Digital Rhetoric and Contemporary*

Rhetorical Theory stated that "the literature that draws on contemporary rhetorical theory—from Foucault, to Derrida, to Covino, to Deleuze and Guattari—to inform digital texts, new media, systems, networks, and digitally mediated organizations is vast" (2015: n. pag.). Eyman uses the concept of the 'rhetorical situation', the *kairos*, which was first described in classical Greek rhetorical treatises. As for the relation between 'digital rhetoric' and 'digital identity', Eyman stated that

> "identity has been a concern for digital rhetoric since the advent of networking technologies, and quite a few scholars have theorized how digital space complicates, facilitates, or subverts the very notion of individual identity. Specifically important to digital rhetoric are 'networks' with nodes and links, protocol, and networked publics: "If the interface is the location and text most often addressed as the focal point of digital rhetoric investigations, it is the access to the network that such interfaces provide that has most fundamentally changed the way that digital texts use and enact digital rhetoric practices and principles" (2015: n. pag.).

Eyman uses the concepts of 'energy flow' referring indirectly to the classical concept of '*enargeia*' ('*ἐνέργεια*') in the Greek terminology of rhetoric, and 'material cycling': "The circulation of materials occurs in the use, remix, and appropriation of digital texts, and the energy that drives this circulation comes from the rhetorical activity of digital bricoleurs, often operating within particular social networks (in ecological terms, these are communities that inhabit specific ecosystems)" (2015: n. pag.).

On the verge of the emergence of the internet as a mass medium, Sloterdijk wrote in the *Critique of Cynical Reason* (1987) that the identity of the human is a Western phenomenon in the chapter *Critique of the Illusion of Privacy*:

> "The mania for "identity" seems to be the deepest of the unconscious programmings, so deeply buried that it evades even attentive reflection for a long time. A formal somebody, as bearer of our social identifications, is, so to speak, programmed into us. It guarantees in almost every aspect the priority of what is alien over what is one's own. Where "I" seem to be, others always went before me in order to automatize me through socialization" (1987: 73).

With the emergence of 'social media' as a special type of the digital media, the borders between the zones of the private and the public sphere become blurred. This is one of the most obvious phenomena of the life in the digital age, which puts an end to the Greek cultural heritage of the value of the distinction between privacy and public life. Habermas, as a contemporary philosopher, represents the tradition of such classical conceptions of the private and the public sphere. In 2014, in the *Feuilleton* of the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, Habermas described the internet as a medium of the 'distraction' and 'dispelling' of the public, while in the time before the emergence of the internet the attention of the public was concentrated on politically important questions in the mass media as regulators:

> "After the inventions of *writing* and *printing*, *digital* communication represents the third great innovation on the media plane. With their introduction, these three media forms have enabled an ever growing number of people to access an ever growing mass of information. These are made to be increasingly lasting, more easily. With the last step represented by Internet we are confronted with a sort of 'activation' in which readers themselves become authors. Yet, this in itself does not automatically result in progress on the level of the public sphere. (...) The classical public sphere stemmed from the fact that the attention of an anonymous public was "concentrated" on a few politically important questions that had to be regulated. This is what the web does *not* know how to produce. On the contrary, the web actually distracts and dispels." (14/15 June 2014: n. pag.)

In Habermas' opinion, the contents of the internet is neither limited to a selection of questions nor able to establish a regulation like the media of the classical 'public sphere', in which the roles of the producing writer/author and the receiving readers are no longer separated, an effect Habermas calls 'activation'. It can be argued that the loss of a strict distinction between author and reader and the merging of the private and the public sphere, which takes place in the social media, is a part of the phenomenon of 'convergence' of digital media. This process blurs the lines between participants of both spheres, for example, a privately using individual person and a user who is actually part of a corporate organization.

Digital Coding and Discursivity: Models of Media and their Technology and Examples in Digital Mass Media

Sharing a common digital code is the specific quality of the digital media. This quality is the condition for their ability to build a common discourse as a media unit and to allow users to participate in discourses, which are technically based on the exchanged code in digital communication. Among the various types of media, digital media share a common coding of the information. After the emergence of the digitalization, which allowed the implementation of digital coding for many digital media devices, the digitalized information can circulate discursively among these devices and even among the non-digital media, which absorb their information. These media have the ability to establish discourses within the range of the digital mode of communication. The intrinsic ability of digital media is that they are able (and we can call this again a phenomenon of 'convergence') to encode more than one medium as a copy or simulate as simulacra more than one medium; they can encode writing, sounds, and voices as well as articulated language, still images, and moving images. The 'discursivity' of digital media depends on the condition of access. Access to digital media is possible via modems of telephone circuits, broadband, Wi-Fi, satellite technology, and cellular telephone technology. The convergence of the digital media allows the implementation of functions of older analog audio, visual, and audiovisual media. Purely digital media like blogs maintained by individual persons, website presentations of organizations, platforms with streaming media, videos, live streaming via cameras and webcams, webcasts reaching multiple viewers simultaneously, and podcasts for music emerged from the tradition of broadcasting media communicating in one direction. Interactive discourses in digital media applications in the tradition of reciprocal communication are discussion forums, chats, social media applications, and media using voice and audiovisual applications as well as digital telephone technology.

'Discursivity' of the digital media relies on the convergence of previously existing media. The process of embedding media can be described as an economic principle, which allows an ongoing process of communication.

Type of Medium	Human → bodily media	Human → craft-supported media	Technical → media / Broadcasting media	New media / Digital media
Function of Media	Communi-cating	Recording	Communi-cating and recording	Communi-cating and recording
Means of Communication	Physical mediated communi-cation	Symbolically mediated communi-cation	Technically mediated communi-cation	Digitally mediated communi-cation
Examples	Sensually perceivable media from human bodily faculties (voice, gestures and mimic expressions)	Writing Graphic forms and images	Photography Film Telegraph Radio Television Fax Video	Internet Digital devices

Table 1 - 'Convergence' as Process of Embedding Media
as a Principle of Communication

The classical sender-receiver model by Shannon and Weaver can be used as the basis for a communication model of the digital media with a sender, a channel, and a receiver. In contrast to models of traditional media with a flow of information in one direction, the digital media allow multiple flows of information in many directions and exchange between the functions of sender and receiver. The *conditio sine qua non* is the digitally encoded format of the contents and its communication in a digital media network, which is discursive, i.e. allows contents to move in various directions. The more intense this discursivity and the ability to communicate contents to a wider audience are, the stronger the tendency of the digital medium to act as a mass medium communicating contents to a mass audience is present (cf. the example of sending a private email and uploading a video to *Youtube*).

Participant(s) of the Discourse as Sender(s) / Receiver(s) (Shannon 'source'; Jakobson 'addresser')	Discursivity of the users
↕	↕
Contents of the Discourse in a Digitally Encoded Format (Shannon 'information'/ 'message', 'transmitter'/ 'signal'; Jakobson 'message')	Discursivity of the contents
Discursive Digital Media Network (Jakobson 'context', 'contact', and 'code')	Discursivity of the media
↕	↕
Participant(s) of the Discourse as Receiver(s) / Sender(s) (in a potentially endless number) (Shannon 'receiver' / 'destination'; Jakobson 'addresser')	Discursivity of the users

Table 2 - Communication Model of Digital Media

'Discursivity' involves three levels of the digitally mediated communication of (1) the digital content, (2) the users who participate in the digitally mediated discourse, and (3) the digital media:

1. The level of the digital contents is equipped with the function to move in different directions within the digitally mediated discourse. At this level, the digital/ digitalized contents are communicated within the framework of digital communication.
2. The level of the users who formulate their discourses is the level of digitally mediated human communication of the user-created and interactively communicated contents.
3. The level of the media as digital means of communication allows the digitally mediated discourse to take place and frame its paths.

What is communicated in digital media as mediated contents? How do digital media communicate their contents? As for the formation of the digital contents in media, we can distinguish as semiotic aspects the 'presentation', the 'representation' and the 'simulation' of contents:

Semiotic Mode of Contents	Description	Example
Presentation	Present existence of contents	Writing in *E-Mail*
Representation	Contents as the meaningful existence of representative carrier(s) of meaning	*Icon*, *Emoji*
Simulation	Presence of not in reality existing and not-representing contents	*Virtual Reality*

Table 3 - 'Presentation', 'Representation', and 'Simulation'
as Semiotic Aspects of Digital Contents

Discourse and Discursivity of Digital Media beyond Interactivity of Digital Media

Dijk defines interactivity as "a sequence of action and reaction" at the most elementary level of the "possibility of establishing two-sided or multilateral communication", the second level of "synchronicity", the third level of the extension of "control exercised by the interacting parties", and the fourth level of "acting and reacting with an understanding of meanings and contexts by all interactors involved" (2004: 147-148). 'Discursivity' serves as a concept, which can support the description of the particular features of digital media in an advanced state of the art, where concepts like 'interactivity' and 'multimediality' refer to the communicative technical capacity of the media, but lack to refer to overarching and general communicative actions. As for the *status quo* of technical applications of digital media, it is possible to have traditional and established format and disciplines of communication implemented in it: Human bodily communication can be

practiced in audio-visual digital media. Providers of mass media communication have websites and online platforms for the presentation of contents in audio-visual formats. Traditional and analog mass media like printed books, journals, other types of documents, and analog recordings of music can be stored in digital media. Broadcasting of TV, radio, and video can be accomplished technically in digital media. The discourse of the digital media entails all potential statements that can be made about the topic. This discourse does not rely on digital media. The 'discursivity' of digital media is their ability to produce a forming discourse.

Coding in digital media concerns not only one medium but a variety of media. Coding a digitalized code is a part of the overarching digital form. The coding is kept in the transmission process. It is not altered as long as the content is digitally circulated. 'Digital content' is the overarching concept of what is communicable in digital media. 'Convergence' is the principle, which allows the embedding of human discourse in all digital media that share the digital code. With the feature of 'multimediality', it enables the users to communicate contents which consist of more than one medium. Interactivity of the participating communicators is not a technical feature but needed for the performance of a discourse, in which more than one person is engaged. Emails, social media like *WhatsApp* and *Facebook*, and instant chats of websites are examples. In *Introduction: Social Media Discourse, (Dis)Identification and Diversities*, Leppanen, Kytola, Westinen, and Peuronen distinguish between asynchronous and synchronous digital discourse – the asynchronous digital discourse is a

> "discourse that is not necessarily produced on the spur of the moment but that can involve different degrees of planning and revising, and that is technically available for later viewing for an undefined period. Its asynchronous nature may lead to more complex rhetorical, stylistic and content crafting than is typical in synchronous digital discourse" (2017: 18).

Discourse as human communication can have both the structure of interpersonal communication or of meditated mass media communication. Discourse as a monologic communication in the digital media is performed with one or many receivers. Discourse as the interactive form of communication in the digital

media can be performed with one participant communicating to many or many participants communicating to one or many participants. The 'discursivity' of the digital media is the underlying function of providing the technical devices for interactive communication across a wide range of digital media with digitally coded contents with multimedia features.

Media convergence is not a phenomenon unique to the digital media emerging in the last decades of the 20th century. In the history of media, convergence as the absorption of an older medium in a newer one is not a phenomenon of the digital media. As an economic principle of efficient communication, it can be traced to the ancient discipline of rhetoric and its figure of 'communication' ('*communicatio*'), which is the appeal to the audience for their opinion as an interactive exchange formulating a dialogue with the audience in the speech. As for the convergence of speech as a dialogue anticipating the interactivity of communicative exchange in the digital media, the written dialogues of Plato can be mentioned as examples, which opened a long tradition of European philosophical writings in a dialectical or discursive format. The Baroque culture with the concept of the '*Gesamtkunstwerk*', a complete work of art consisting of many parts, such as the opera or the emblem books with a composition of written texts and images in one meaningful piece of art, is an example of the époque of modernity. The creation of art objects, which refer to more than one medium of perception, was present after WWII in multimedia installations that implement digital contents of computers in artifices.

Conclusion

In the paper, we presented 'discursivity' as a theoretical concept of contemporary digital media with a tradition in the history of communication in order to describe the specific communicative situation of digital media. While 'discursivity' is a concept which analytically describes the contextual feature of a relatively new media format, the digital media, this theoretical concept stems from a long tradition in the scholarly disciplines of communication. We showed that 'discursivity' of the digital media takes place at the three levels of the digital content, the users participating in the digitally mediated discourse, and the digital media. Any medium has the capacity to function as a

means of 'discursivity', if its content is formal and communicable. The specific medium for communication as means and tool defines and limits the framework of its discourse due to its specific features of 'discursivity'. Writing is limited to written language, a visual medium is limited to visual contents, and a medium for audio formats is limited to the presentation of sound. Multimedia composites fuse contents from different channels, but in a digitalized form such composites share the same basic code. As an addition to Foucault's identification of the discourse as an institutionalized form of power, we can state that 'discursivity' is the specific quality of the digital media to shape a form which expresses power as the relationship between communicating entities in a digital environment.

References

Baudrillard, Jean. *Simulacres et Simulation.* Paris: Galilée, 1981. Monoskop. Web. 19 March 2018.

Cometti, Jean-Pierre; Ricoeur, Paul. "Philosophies du Langage". *Encyclopaedia Universalis.* Encyclopaedia Universalis, 2018: 1-35. Web. 19 March 2018.

"Convergo". *A Latin Dictionary*. Ed. Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879. Perseus Project of Tufts University. Web. 19 March 2018.

Dictionary of Media and Communications. Ed Marcel Danesi. Foreword by Arthur Asa Berger. New York: Sharpe, 2009.

"Discourse". *Oxford English Dictionary.* Oxford Dictionaries, 2018. Web. 19 March 2018.

"Discursus". *A Latin Dictionary*. Ed. Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879. Perseus Project of Tufts University. Web. 19 March 2018.

"Divergeo". *Latin Dictionary*. Latdict. Ed. Kevin D. Mahoney. Latdict. Web. 19 March 2018.

Encyclopedia of Communication Theory. Ed. Stephen W. Littlejohn Karen A. Foss. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi: Sage, 2009.

Eyman, Douglas. *Digital Rhetoric: Theory, Method, Practice.* Series: Digital Humanities. Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan Publishing, 2015. The University of Michigan Library. Web. 19 March 2018.

Fiore, Quentin; McLuhan, Marshall. *The Medium is the Massage*. New York: Bantam Books, 1967.

Foucault, Michel. *L'Ordre du Discours*. Paris: Gallimard, 1971.

Foucault, Michel*. The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*. Tr. A. M. Sheridan-Smith. New York: Pantheon Books, 1972.

Jakobson, Roman. "*Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics." Style in Language*. Ed. Thomas Sebeok. New York: The Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and John Wiley & Sons, 1960: 350-377. Monoskop. Web. 19 March 2018.

Jenkins, Henry. *Convergence Culture Where Old and New Media Collide*. New York and London: New York University Press, 2006.

Kytola, Samu, Sire Leppanen, Saija Peuronen, and Elina Westinen. "Introduction: Social Media Discourse, (Dis)Identification and Diversities". *Social Media Discourse, (Dis)identifications and Diversities.* Ed. Sirpa Leppanen, Elina Westinen, Samu Kytola. New York: Routledge, 2017: 11-40.

New Media. A Critical Introduction. Ed. Martin Lister, Jon Dovey, Seth Giddings, Iain Grant, Kieran Kelly. Second Edition. New York, NY: Routledge, 2009.

"Pokorny *etymon* 1154". *Pokorny's Masterlist*. Indo-European Lexicon. PIE Etymon and IE Reflexes. Linguistics Research Center of the University of Texas at Austin. Web. 19 March 2018 <https://lrc.la.utexas.edu/lex/master/2159>.

Poster, Mark. *The Second Media Age*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press; Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1995.

Quintilian, Marcus Fabius. *Institutio Oratoria.* Tr. Harold Edgeworth Butler. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1920. Perseus Project of Tufts University. Web. 19 March 2018.

Schwering, Markus. "Im Sog der Gedanken". Interview of Markus Schwering with Jürgen Habermas. Frankfurter Rundschau. 14/15 Juni 2014: n. pag. Frankfurter Rundschau. Web. 19 March 2018.

Schwering, Markus. "Internet and Public Sphere. What the Web Can't Do"*.* Jürgen Habermas interviewed by Markus Schwering. Tr. Maria Bottigliero. Interview in the *"Feuilleton"* of the *"Frankfurter Rundschau"* of 14/15 June 2014. Questions by Markus Schwerin. Redetdoc 29 July 2014**:** n. pag. Web. 19 March 2018.

Shannon, Claude E. "A Mathematical Theory of Communication." *The Bell System Technical Journal* 27 (1948): 379–423; 623–656. Department of Mathematics of Harvard University. Web. 19 March 2018.

Sloterdijk, Peter. *Critique of Cynical Reason*. Tr. Michael Eldred. Minneapolis, Minn.; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1987.

Van Dijk, Jan. "Digital Media". In: *The Sage Handbook of Media Studies*. Ed. John D. H. Downing, Denis McQuail, Philip Schlesinger, Ellen Wartella. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2004: 143-163.

 Van Dijk, Jan. *The Network Society. Social Aspects of New Media*. London: Sage, 2005.

"What is Digital Media?" *Program of the Centre for Digital Media Vancouver*. Centre for Digital Media Vancouver. Web. 19 March 2018 <https://thecdm.ca/program/digital-media>.

Azamat Akbarov[1]

BILINGUALISM IN TERMS OF
THE KAZAKH AND RUSSIAN LANGUAGES IN RELATION TO ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Abstract: *In this study, the author tries to to shed light on the specific bilingual context in Kazakhstan. The sample consisted of 148 students (mostly females) from a Kazakh university, whose average age was M = 18.89 (SD = 1.06). The questionnaire designed especially for the purposes of the present study was applied. Results revealed that a greater number of students speak Kazakh more frequently than Russian when they are at home. However, during the school time and time spent interacting with peers, Kazakh and Russian are spoken almost equally. Moreover, a vast majority of the participants reported they liked them both. Other findings pointed to the students' similar levels of Kazakh and Russian proficiency. Russian was perceived as more similar to English than was Kazakh. Lastly, most participants considered bilingual persons more capable of learning another language when compared with monolingual people. The results were discussed in the light of the modern trends in Kazakhstani's language speaking habits and attitudes towards Russian and Kazakh.*

Keywords: *Kazakh, Russian, bilingualism, English as a foreign language.*

Introduction

The phenomenon of diversity has held an important part in the reflection of language for a long time. How there are so many languages in the world is a common question. For centuries, the explanation of linguistic diversity has been looked at in mythology and religion, where it is usually connected to the origin of language and the first common language of humankind (Akbarov, 2018). Bilingualism or bilinguality include proficiency in speaking two languages wherein both of them have a substantial communication function in one's social environment. Bilingualism also means having two linguistic symbols for the same referent/concept (Sugunasiri, 1971). In other words, bilingual persons express a mental representation (i.e. concept)

---

[1] Full-professor, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan.

that they have in mind in two different linguistic codes (i.e. as two words with the same meaning, within the two languages they speak).

There is a large volume of published studies describing and explaining cognitive and social aspects of bilingualism especially in developmental and cognitive psychology as well as in neuroscience. Within these two disciplines, it was found that bilingual children can better adjust to changes in their environments, while bilingual adults are less prone to cognitive decline. In addition, the task-switching, attention and executive control capacities and skills of bilingual persons are better compared to those of monolingual people (Bialystok, Craik, & Luk, 2012; Marian & Shook, 2012; Yow & Li, 2015). Bilingualism was also studied in psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, neuropsychology, anthropology, ethnology, education, as well as in political and economic sciences (Hamers & Blanc, 2000).

Bilingualism is related to biculturalism and the problem of a first language (L1)/second language (L2) cultural identification. Research showed that thereinforcement of L2 usage in family context had a negative effect on an L1 cultural identification, whereas an L1 proficiency level was positively correlated with the cultural identification linked to that L1 (Schroeder, Lam, & Marian, 2017). In the same study, it was also found that participants' fear of being perceived as foreigners because of their L2 accent was negatively linked to the L2 cultural identification.

Various efforts were made to operationalize the hypothetical construct of bilingualism. The most comprehensive one is probably the instrument proposed by Li, Sepanski, and Zhao (2006), which is called L2 language history questionnaire. This tool comprises two parts: the first part includes general questions (participants' age, country of origin and residence, gender, etc.), while the second one encompasses questions on learners' language environment, language use (e.g. the percentage of time communicating in language A and B), and specific bilingual habits/preferences (Li, Sepanski, and Zhao, 2006). Additionally, there is the third part of the electronic (digital) form of this questionnaire, within which researchers can submit their own questions.

Bilingualism can be regarded as a multidimensional construct. The following dimensions of this concept were

identified: L1 and L2 age of acquisition, competence, the social status of the two languages, the cognitive organization that is beyond the usage of a particular pair of languages, group membership and the usage of these two languages in a community (Hamers & Blanc, 1989).

The main objectives of the present study were 1) similarities between the Kazakh and Russian language, as well as 2) students' habits related to these languages (such as the frequency of their usage in various social contexts). Furthermore, it also focused on students' experience with learning English as a second language (ESL).

In Kazakhstan, which is an Eurasian country where our study was conducted, three languages are actively studied at different educational institutions. These are Russian, Kazakh, and English (Zhumanova et al., 2016). Thus, it is a multilingual environment, or a bilingual one when the usage of English is considered to be a consequence of the internationalization and globalization imperative. Moreover, the Kazakh and Russian languages are the two official languages in this country (Zhumanova et al., 2016). Studies showed that 50% of the Kazakhstan population is able to speak Kazakh, 88% of it speaks Russian, and 2% of the people can speak English (Aminov et al., 2010). The authors of the same study recorded that Russian is used more frequently than Kazakh while speaking with friends, family, colleagues at work, watching TV and reading newspapers. On the other hand, Kazakh training courses are delivered for free in all public educational institutions (Aksholakova & Ismailova, 2013). Moreover, contemporary trends include switching from the marginalized role of Kazakh to its revival hand in hand with Kazakh ethnical identity (Smagulova, 2017). Before the independence of Kazakhstan, people rarely admitted speaking Kazakh because of the Soviet Union control and also speaking Kazakh was seen as a non-urban manner (Matuszkiewicz, 2010).

As for English, it is widely taught in Kazakhstan but students face learning obstacles in regard to the English sound structure, stress and intonation (Sultangubiyeva, Avakova, & Kabdrakhmanova, 2013). It was observed that Russian is a mediator language between English and Kazakh when trying to translate from English into Kazakh, and vice versa (Zhumabekova & Mirzoyeva, 2016). Contemporary education has to go hand in hand with the global development in various areas of human

activity (Akbarov, Gönen & Aydoğan, 2018). Hence, there are significant connections between these three languages in Kazakhstan.

The following research questions were listed:

1. What is the predominantly used language by Kazakh families, at schools, and in interactions with peers (Russian, Kazakh, or another language)?

2. What language do students like more, Kazakh or Russian or another language ?

3. What is students' level of proficiency with regard to Kazakh, Russian and English?

4. What is the degree of similarities between Russian and Kazakh, Russian and English, and Kazakh and English?

5. Do students think that bilingualism facilitates the learning of other languages?

Methods

Participants

The study was conducted on Kazakh students who were at the tertiary level of education (N = 148). Their average age was M = 18.88 (SD = 1.06) and there were 113 females (or 76.35% of the total sample) and 16 males (10.81% of the whole sample), whereas 19 (12.84%) participants did not provide information on their gender. Sample structure with regard to the students' mother tongue is shown in Figure 1.
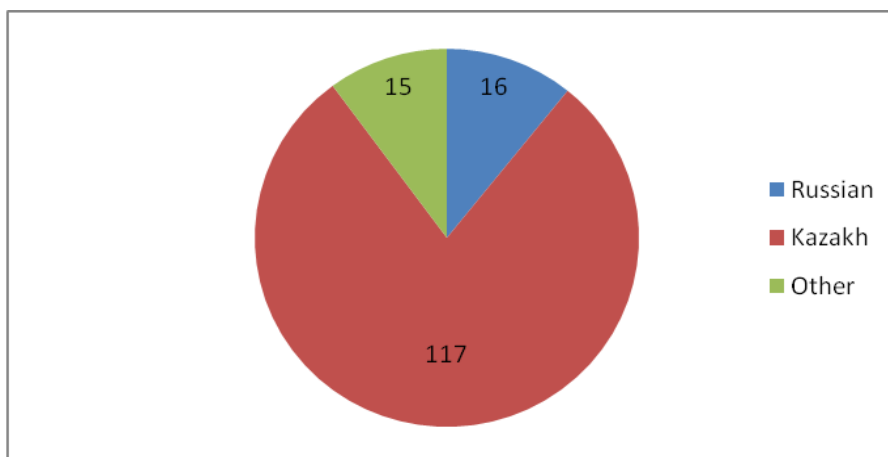
Figure 1. Sample structure by participants' mother tongue

As displayed in Figure 1, the mother tongue of the vast majority of our participants is Kazakh (N = 117, i.e. 79.05%). Russian is the mother tongue of 16 participants (10.81%) whereas 15 participants (10.14%) reported that their mother tongue is neither Kazakh nor Russian.

In addition, the parameter *years of learning* shows that English is the first and most important foreign language in Kazakhstan (Figure 2).
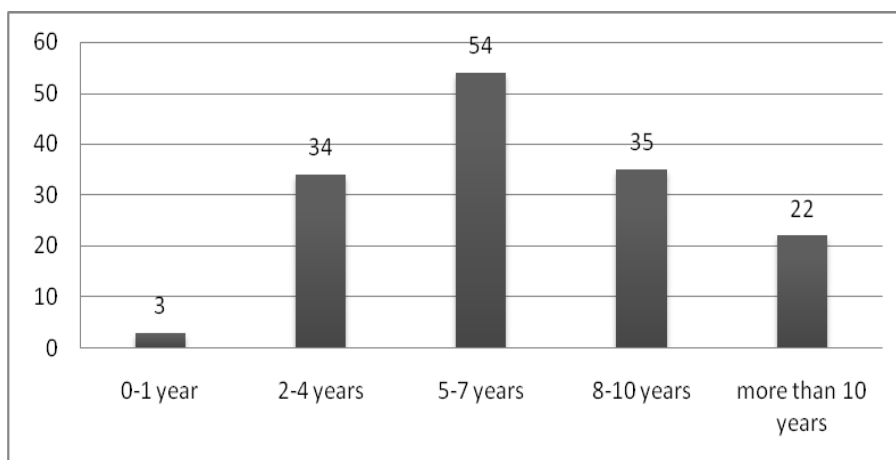
Figure 2. For how many years have students been learning English?

As shown in Figure 2, most participants have been learning English for 5-7 years (N = 54, i.e. 36.49% of the total sample), 35 participants (23.65%) have been learning this language for 8-10 years, and 34 (22.97%) of them for only 2-4 years. There were also 22 students (14.86%) who reported that they have been learning English for even more than 10 years. Finally, only three participants (2.02%) have been learning it for a year or less.

Instruments

Participants were asked to provide answers to 14 questions, which included sociodemographics (age and gender), communication frequency and habits with regard to Russian and Kazakh (e.g. what language(s) participants speak at school, home and with friends), and English as a second language in comparison with Russian and Kazakh (e.g. determining the degree of similarity between Russian/Kazakh and English). The

questionnaire is enclosed at the end of this article (see Appendix).

Research Procedure and Data Processing

It took the participants approximately 20 minutes to answer all the questions from the administered instrument. After the data collection, the participants' results were entered into SPSS for Windows (version 23.0), where the database was created.

The obtained data were summarized in tables and figures (charts). Frequencies and percents were calculated and shown along with the results of the chi-square test conducted multiple times. This test indicated whether or not the differences in the analyzed frequencies were statistically significant.

While carrying out the study and displaying the obtained data, the researchers followed ethical rules established within educational and psychological sciences, i.e. they tried to maintain the standards of the profession as much as possible.

Findings

The findings are displayed in the same order as the research questions. Firstly, the language dominance in the students' families, at school, and during their interaction with other peers was displayed.

As can be noticed in Table 1, more participants said they speak Kazakh at tome (85 of them, which is 57.43% of the whole sample) and 51 participants (34.46%) usually speak Russian at home. The rest of them (12 students, i.e. 8.11%) speak some other language(s).

Language	f	%	χ^2	p
Russian	51	34.46		
Kazakh	85	57.43	8.500	.004
Other	12	8.11		

Table 1. What language do students speak at home?

The difference between the number of those who speak Kazakh and those who speak Russian at home was statistically significant ($\chi2 = 8.500$, p< .01). Hence, Kazakh is spoken more at home compared to Russian.

Language	f	%	χ^2	p
Russian	53	35.81		
Kazakh	82	55.41	6.230	.013
Other	13	8.78		

Table 2. What language do students' parents
usually speak to each other at home?

Similarly (Table 2), Kazakh is the predominant language in communication between the students' parents at home (82 of them, i.e. 55.41% reported Kazakh is usually spoken when their parents want to communicate with each other). Russian is usually spoken at home by the parents of 53 participants (35.81%). As in the previous case, this result was also statistically significant ($\chi2$ = 6.230, p< .05). There are other languages spoken by the parents of our participants as well (13 students or 8.78 reported such habits in their families).

Language	f	%	χ^2	p
Russian	67	45.27		
Kazakh	65	43.92	0.030	.862
Other	16	10.81		

Table 3. What language do students speak at school?

However, as can be noticed from the figures in Table 3, Russian is spoken slightly more at school (67 participants or 45.27% of them indicated it is the most frequently used language at their university), compared with Kazakh (65 participants or 43.92% of them indicated this language was used in their formal teaching and learning environment). The difference between those who speak Russian and Kazakh at school was not statistically significant ($\chi2$ = 0.030, p> .05). On the other hand, 16 participants (10.81%) answered that they spoke some other language(s) at school.

Similar to the case of the language spoken at school, the participants also speak Russian more than Kazakh with their friends and peers (73 vs. 66 students, i.e. 49.32% vs. 44.59%, see Table 4).

Language	f	%	χ^2	p
Russian	73	49.32		
Kazakh	66	44.59	0.353	.553
Other	9	6.08		

Table 4. *What language do students speak with their friends/peers?*

The difference between these numbers was not statistically significant ($\chi2$ = 0.353, p> .05). Nine participants (6.08% of the total sample) reported they speak some other language(s) while interacting with their peers and friends.

Language	f	%	χ^2	p
Russian	19	12.84		
Kazakh	19	12.84	35.027	<.001
Both	110	74.32		

Table 5. Which language do students like more, Russian or Kazakh?

As was shown in Table 5, 110 participants (74.32% of the whole sample) liked both Russian and Kazakh and only 19 of them (12.84%) liked either Russian or Kazakh. Furthermore, the difference between the number of participants who liked both of them and only one of them was statistically significant ($\chi2$ = 35.027, p< .001).

Level of proficiency	Kazakh	Russian	English
Beginner	2 (1.35%)	6 (4.05%)	0 (0%)
Elementary	2 (1.35%)	2 (1.35%)	2 (1.35%)
Pre-intermediate	14 (9.46%)	5 (3.38%)	5 (3.38%)
Intermediate	13 (8.78%)	15 (10.14%)	43 (29.05%)
Upper-intermed.	31 (20.95%)	23 (15.54%)	75 (50.68%)
Advanced	34 (22.97%)	44 (29.73%)	20 (13.51%)
Proficient	52 (35.14%)	53 (35.81%)	3 (2.03%)

Table 6. Participants' levels of proficiency of Kazakh, Russian, and English

Taking into account the levels of proficiency of these three languages, a similar trend was observed in speaking Kazakh and Russian languages (e.g. similar percentage of those who proficiently spoke Kazakh and Russian, 35.14% and 35.81%, respectively). However, it seemed that the students from our

sample were slightly better Russian speakers (despite the fact that the obtained difference is very small). To test this notion, they were divided into two groups (from beginner to intermediate and from upper-intermediate to proficient) – the difference between Kazakh and Russian proficiency was not statistically significant ($\chi2 = 0.190$, p> .05).

On the other hand, they are less proficient regarding their English speaking skills (e.g. only 2.03% reported they spoke it proficiently). Accordingly, the results of the chi-square test revealed that the differences between the participants' Kazakh and English proficiency as well as their Russian and English proficiency were statistically significant ($\chi2 = 6.136$, p< .05 and $\chi2 = 8.426$, p< .01, respectively).

Similarity between...	The degree of similarity				
	0-20%	*21-40%*	*41-60%*	*61-80%*	*81-100%*
Russian and Kazakh	68 (45.95%)	28 (18.92%)	20 (13.51%)	12 (8.11%)	20 (13.51%)
Russian and English	79 (53.38%)	30 (20.27%)	21 (14.19%)	11 (7.43%)	7 (4.73%)
Kazakh and English	108 (72.97%)	23 (15.54%)	8 (5.41%)	3 (2.03%)	6 (4.05%)

Table 7. The degree of similarity (in %) between Russian, Kazakh, and English, according to students

Looking at the figures shown in Table 7, it seems that Russian and English are more alike compared to Kazakh and English. Of course, these were students' estimates. With the help of the chi-square test, it was determined that this difference in the similarity between the two languages was statistically significant ($\chi2 = 15.898$, p< .01). When participants compared the similarity degree of Russian and Kazakh and the similarity of Russian and English, statistically significant difference was not reached ($\chi2 = 7.220$, p> .05). Unlike this case, Kazakh and Russian were, in the participants' opinion, significantly more alike than Kazakh and English ($\chi2 = 27.662$ p< .001). For example, 13.51% of the participants thought the similarity between Russian and Kazakh was 81-100%, whereas only 4.05% participants indicated this degree of similarity between Kazakh and Russian.

The students' opinions about the benefits of bilingualism were clear. They looked at those who successfully mastered the

two languages as having a better chances to learn a new language (122 participants or 82.43% of them picked this answering option, see Table 8). On the conterary, 23 participants (15.54%) thought bilingual persons were equally able to learn a new language similar to those who were monolingual.

Answers	f	%	χ^2	p
Yes, they are more successful than those who have acquired only one language.	122	82.43		
No, they are less successful than those who have acquired only one language.	3	2.03	62.270	< .001
No, they are as successful as those who have acquired only one language.	23	15.54		

Table 8. Are people who since their early age have acquired two languages better and more successful in learning a new language(s) later (students' opinions)?

In addition, there were three participants (2.03%) who considered bilingual people being less able to learn a third language, compared to monolingual people.

Discussion

Despite the increasing number of students speaking Kazakh within their families (and who report their parents also speak it when interacting with each other), they somehow hesitate to use this language at school or with their peers/friends. This is probably due to the social status dimension of bilingualism, as pointed out by Hamers and Blanc (1989). Kazakh has been seen as a less rustic language, unlike Russian, which has been considered as more urban (Matuszkiewicz, 2010). Our results went in the same direction with those obtained by Aminov and his colleagues (2010) when taking into account the prevalence of the Russian language at schools (universities) and in students' conversations with their peers/friends. These authors highlighted a frequent usage of Russian in families; however, our study did not yield such a result. We obtained the opposite result, which indicated some changes in cultural identification within the specific bilingual context in Kazakhstan. This finding was in line with Smagulova's (2017) notion about

the revival of Kazakh in modern times. In addition, younger people (i.e. adolescents/students) reported they speak Kazakh more frequently than was the case when Aminov and his colleagues conducted their study (2010).

Our participants usually like both languages. A minority reported likeness of either Kazakh or Russian. Hence, the emotional component of their attitudes toward the two languages is developed to its positive pole. Indirectly, this indicated the students' satisfaction with the bilingual aspect of the Kazakh socio-cultural environment.

The research revealed that the levels of Kazakh and Russian proficiency were similar to each other. Therefore, there is no such a thing as a significant predominance of Russian among Kazakh students. Both of these languages are spoken with almost equal levels of proficiency.

As English is widely taught at educational institutions in Kazakhstan (Sultangubiyeva et al., 2013), the students' English proficiency, as revealed by our study, was satisfactory and comparable to the English competencies of students in other developing countries.

Participants perceived Russian (compared with Kazakh) as more similar to English. This is not surprising because Russian usually serves as a mediator between Kazakh and English in the process of translation (Zhumabekova & Mirzoyeva, 2016).

Finally, the vast majority of the participants mentioned that bilingualism was a facilitator to learn other languages. Learning another language is a cognitive, social and cultural activity. Bilingualism's beneficial role in improving and maintaining cognitive abilities was mentioned in lots of previous studies (e.g. Marian & Shook, 2012; Yow & Li, 2015). Hence, the students' subjective opinions and estimates were in accordance with the relevant research findings in cognitive psychology and psycholinguistics. Apart from it, social and cultural factors determine one's adaptation to social norms and cultural attitudes of a particular society.

The main practical implication of our findings was the idea that Kazakh is becoming more popular than it was in the past. The second implication and insight was the growing popularity of English, indicated by the high levels of its proficiency among Kazakh students. English skills and knowledge are considered

one of the essential preconditions of socioeconomic development of countries where this language is not the mother tongue.

This research has its limitations as well, such as the small number of the students who speak Russian in our sample, the self-reported estimates of Kazakh, Russian, and English proficiency and the issue of generalization, typical for studies conducted in social sciences – that is, the participants belonged to the specific age group and all of them went to the same university.

Some recommendations are listed below for the benfit of future research that might be interested in the same topic. These were beyond the scope of the present study; however, they can be regarded as a benchmark and initial points for future research. The first is determining age and gender-specific differences in speaking Kazakh and Russian. The next is an investigation on how Kazakhstanis perceive language-related questions: as relatively neutral or socially sensitive. The last recommendation encompassed refers to carrying out a study into the relationships between the students' intercultural sensitivity, their cultural identity and bilingualism.

Conclusion

The interaction of lots of internal (cognition, personality, and motivation) and external (culture, economy, politics and society) factors tailors a complex context of learning two or more languages. These languages are in mutual interaction and can undergo some changes (especially when there is an impact of another important international language, that is, English).

In view of all that has been mentioned, some rational and evidence-based predictions can be drawn. Kazakh is more likely to become present at educational institutions and in peer-to-peer communication. It probably is not going to be associated with a lower social status anymore. Despite its growing presence, Kazakh will presumably be followed and accompanied by Russian because bilingualism is one of the most common cultural features of Kazakhstan. The importance of English as a second language (ESL) learning should be accentuated as well.

Indeed, these sociolinguistic patterns and phenomena need to be explored further, not only within the quantitative context but also within the qualitative studies (e.g. conducting interviews with Kazakhstan, organizing focus groups, and

carrying out observational studies of the interaction between people who speak Kazah, Russian or both of them).

References

Akbarov, Azamat. "Linguistic Explorations of Multilingualism". *Applied Linguistics Papers*, Faculty of Applied Linguistics, University of Warsaw, Volume 25/2, Warsaw, Poland (2018): 1-10.

Akbarov, Azamat, Gönen, Kemal, Aydoğan, Hakan. "Students' Attitudes towards Blended Learning in EFL Context", *Acta Didactica Napocensia*, Vol.11 No: 1, (2018): 61-62

Aksholakova, Assem and Ismailova, Nurgul. "The language policy of Kazakhstan and the state language in government service."*Procedia: Social and Behavioral Sciences* 93 (2013): 1580-1586.

Aminov, Khalil, Jensen, Vilhelm, Juraev, Sherali, Overland, Indra, Tyan, Damir, and Uulu, Yamin. "Language use and language policy in Central Asia". *Central Asia Regional Data Review* 2(1) (2010):1-29.

Bialystok, Ellen, Craik, Fergus, and Luk, Gigi. "Bilingualism: Consequences for Mind and Brain". *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, 16(4) (2010):240-250.

Hamers, Josiane, and Blanc, Michel. Bilinguality and bilingualism (2nd edition). *New York: Cambridge University Press*, 2000.

Hamers, Josiane, and Blanc, Michel. Bilinguality and bilingualism(1st edition). *New York: Cambridge University Press*, 1989.

Li, Ping, Sepanski, Sara and Zhao, Xiaowei. "Language history questionnaire: A Web-based interface for bilingual research". *Behavior Research Methods* 38(2) (2006):202-210.

Marian, Viorica and Shook, Anthony. "The cognitive benefits of being bilingual". *Cerebrum: The Dana Forum of Brain Science* 5(2012):13.

Matuszkiewicz, Renata. "The language issue in Kazakhstan – institutionalizing new ethnic relations after independence". Economic and Environmental Studies 10(2) (2010): 211-227.

Schroeder, Scott, Lam, Tuan, and Marian, Viorica. "Linguistic Predictors of Cultural Identification in Bilinguals". *Applied Linguistics* 38(4) (2017):463-488.

Smagulova, Juldyz. Ideologies of language revival: Kazakh as school talk. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 1, (2017) 1-17.

Sugunasiri, Suwanda ."Bilingualism and second language learning". *Vldyodaya J. Arts, Sci., Lett.,* 4(1&2) (1971):105-117.

Sultangubiyeva, Aigul, Avakova, Raushan & Kabdrakhmanova, Gulnar. "Learning English pronunciation in comparison with Kazakh language". *American Journal of Linguistics* 2(3) (2013): 33-36.

Yow, Quin and Li, Xiaoqian. "Balanced bilingualism and early age of second language acquisition as the underlying mechanisms of a bilingual executive control advantage": why variations in bilingual experiences matter.Frontiers in Psychology 26(6) (2015): 164.

Zhumabekova, Aigul and Mirzoyeva, Leila. "Peculiarities of indirect translation from English into Kazakh via Russian language". *The Turkish Online Journal of Educational Technology* 15(4)(2016):189-194.

Zhumanova, Aiman , Dosova, Bibigul, Imanbetov, Amanbek, and Zhumashev, Rymbek. "Language politics in the Republic of Kazakhstan": History,

problems, and prospect. *International Journal of Environmental and Science Education* 11(11)(2016): 4241-4253.

Appendix
Questionnaire onthe Russian/Kazakh bilingualism

Your gender: male/female
Your age: _____

1. *What is your mother tongue?*
a) *Russian*
b) *Kazakh*
c) *Other (please specify) _____*

2. *What language do you usually speak with your friends/peers?*
a) *Russian*
b) *Kazakh*
c) *Other (please specify) _____*

3. *What language do you usually speak at school?*
a) *Russian*
b) *Kazakh*
c) *Other (please specify) _____*

4. *What language do you usually speak at home?*
a) *Russian*
b) *Kazakh*
c) *Other (please specify) _____*

5. *What language do your parents usually speak to each other at home?*
a) *Russian*
b) *Kazakh*
c) *Other (please specify) _____*

6. *What language do you like more?*
a) *Russian*
b) *Kazakh*
c) *I like both of them equally*

7. *What is your level of proficiency with regard to Russian:*
a) *Beginner*
b) *Elementary*
c) *Pre-intermediate*
d) *Intermediate*
e) *Upper intermediate*
f) *Advanced*
g) *Proficient*

8. *What is your level of proficience regarding Kazakh?*

a) Beginner
b) Elementary
c) Pre-intermediate
d) Intermediate
e) Upper intermediate
f) Advanced
g) Proficient

9. In your opinion, what is the degree of similarity between Russian and Kazakh (please, enter percentage, where 0% means ''totally different'' and 100% - ''identical''):
_____ %

10. What is the degree of similarity between Russian and English (please, express it as a percentage): _____ %

11. What is the degree of similarity between Kazakh and English (please, express it as a percentage): _____ %

12. What is the level of your English proficiency?
a) Beginner
b) Elementary
c) Pre-intermediate
d) Intermediate
e) Upper intermediate
f) Advanced
g) Proficient

13. How many years have you been learning English?
a) 0 – 1 year
b) 2 – 4 years
c) 5 – 7 years
d) 8 – 10 years
e) More than 10 years

14. In your opinion, are people who since their early age have acquired two languages better and more successful in learning new language(s) later (compared to those who have acquired only one language)?
a) Yes, they are more successful than those who have acquired only one language.
b) No, they are less successful than those who have acquired only one language.
c) No, they are as successful as those who have acquired only one language.

Mohammed Sani Abdullahi-Idiagbon[1]
Oluwadamilare Daniel Atolagbe[2]

LANGUAGE METAFUNCTIONS AND PRAGMATIC ACTS IN ICT-TURNED SLANGY EXPRESSIONS AMONG KWARA STATE POLYTECHNIC STUDENTS

Abstract: *Information and communication technology (ICT) now permeates every aspect of human life and turns the world into a global village. Not only the young but also the old are motivated to learn and use it. Specifically, in Nigeria, students rely on it so much that the undergraduates are found of deploying the ICT-related expressions to create meanings that were hitherto not associated with those ICT-expressions, and thus pass across messages. Language metafunctions in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Pragmatic Acts are used as the theoretical framework for the analysis. Using the strategic sampling method of data collection, samples were taken from six departments, one from each Institute in Kwara State Polytechnic, Nigeria. The study found that the students use ICT-related expressions to convey ideational experiences from the fields of academics, affection, etc. Similarly, textual resources in the data show that there is close social distance between the speaker and the listener, which gives room for immediate feedback. In addition, the data show different pragmatic acts like informing, questioning, abusing, cultural knowledge, shared situational knowledge, etc. The paper concludes that studying ICT-turned slangy expressions among tertiary institution students highlights the functional nature of language and sheds more light on how context rather than textual properties of language determines meaning.*

Key words: *ICT, SFL, language metafunctions, pragmatic acts, context*

Introduction

This paper discusses the use of the ICT-turned slangy expressions among tertiary institution students to convey meanings that are completely unrelated to ICT. Since Systemic Functional Linguistics, henceforth SFL, and pragmatic acts serve as the theoretical framework for data analysis, the work starts by briefly discussing the two concepts. These are followed by the theoretical framework, methodology, data analysis and

---

[1] Reader at the Department of Art and Social Science, Federal University, Kashere, Gombe, Nigeria.
[2] Lecturer at Kwara State Polytechnic, Ilorin, Nigeria, and a PhD student at the University of Ilorin, Department of English, Nigeria.

conclusion, in this order. The paper further underlines the undisputable centrality of context as key to the understanding of linguistic meaning.

Literature Review

Systemic Functional Linguistics

SFL considers language as constituting a network of systems which make choices possible at all levels of language description (Bloor & Bloor, 1995). It suggests that when people use language to express meanings, they do so in specific contexts and the form the language they use takes is determined by complex elements of those situations (Adegbite, 2006: 143). SFL identifies three metafunctions of language – the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions (cf. Eggins, 2004 & de Oliveira, 2015). These functions are realized at the three mutually inclusive phono-lexico-grammatical levels, which are in the form of various grammatical systems such as transitivity, mood, modality, theme, person, tense, aspect, etc. "The interpretations of semiotic systems are organized with respect to (these) metafunctions-highly generalized semantic components which shape paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations" (Martin, 1997: 37).

The Ideational metafunction: This "is concerned with 'ideation', grammatical resources for construing our experience of the world around and inside us" (Sadighi & Bavali, 2008: 15). The ideational metafunction has been divided into the logical and the experiential metafunctions (Halliday & Mathiessen, 1997). While the logical metafunction refers to the grammatical resources for building up grammatical units into complexes, the experiential function refers to the grammatical resources involved in construing the flux of experience through the unit of the clause (Halliday & Mathiessen, 1997). "Ideational meanings correspond to the register variable *field*" (de Olveira, 2015: 213), and they are realised through the transitivity system. The transitivity system involves the types of process as well as participants in the process and circumstances associated with the process.

The Interpersonal metafunction: This resource construes social relations, used to negotiate tenor (the role structure). According to Sadighi & Bavali (2008: 15), the

interpersonal metafunction "is concerned with the interaction between speaker and addressee, the grammatical resources for enacting social roles in general, and speech roles in particular, in dialogic interaction". This corresponds "to the register variable *tenor*" (de Olveira, 2015: 213), as it encompasses the speaker/writer persona, social distance, and relative social status of the participants. It also deals with how discourse participants establish, change, and maintain interpersonal relations in any communicative transaction.

The Textual metafunction: This is used to develop symbolic organization by way of construing ideational and interpersonal meanings (Halliday & Mathiessen, 2004: 12 – 13). The textual metafunction corresponds to the register variable mode. Thus, according to Odebunmi (2007), it covers Hyme's channel, key and genre, i.e. the message being passed across by the speaker may be through speech, writing, signing, smoke signal, etc. In short, the textual metafunction deals with the medium of communication chosen, e.g. written or spoken, telephone conversation, etc.

According to Bakare (2011: 37), "there is a systemic relationship between the way language is organized and the context of situation in which it is used". This entails that there is a difference between the organization of language and the context of situation. However, a recognizable link bridges the space. Insofar as language is deemed to be dependent on its context since it (context) determines the functionality of the language, it then means that "context is the spine of meaning" (Odebunmi, 2006: 25). This is because "context comprises not only the larger verbal environment in which the utterance or word occurs, but also its wider surroundings, in particular, the condition under which the utterance or word was generated in the first place" (Mey, 2001: 7). This is more explicit in Odebunmi (2006: 25), who argues that context subsumes "the social and physiological reality in which the users of a language operate at any point in time".

Transitivity: It studies sentential structures which are represented by "*processes, participants* and *circumstances*" (de Olveira, 2015: 213)*.* Processes are realised by types of verbs; participants are a part of the nominal group, while circumstances (in which both the participants and processes are involved) are

realised by adverbial and prepositional groups (Bloor & Bloor, 1995).

According to Halliday & Mathiessen (2004), the transitivity system consists of six processes. These are: *(a) material process* or the process of doing, which include actions, activities, and events. The participant associated with material processing is the *actor*, and sometimes, the *goal*. If the process is benefactive, then the participant is a *beneficiary*. Basically, material process indicates physical actions. (b) *Mental process*: it deals with psychological actions like perception, cognition, intention, etc. The mental process can be realised through verbs such as *think*, *know*, *feel*, *smell*, *see*, *hear* etc. (c) *Relational process*: this relates the material process to the mental process. It serves to characterize and to identify as a way of being or having rather that doing or sensing. (d) Behavioral process: it has a mixed attributes of material processes and mental processes. (e) *Verbal process*: it is the process of 'saying' of any kind, and the participant usually associated with this process is the *sayer.* Similarly, the participant to whom the utterance in the clause is directed is the *receive*r. (f) *Existential process:* this shows that something exists or happens. It is the representation of something that exists. This process is similar to the relational process in that copula verb 'to be' is prevalent in the clause.

Theme: Theme is the system whose domain of functionality is subsumed under the textual metafunction of language. Textual metafunction engenders resources for presenting interpersonal and ideational meanings as information organized into text that can be ongoing exchanged between speaker and listener (Halliday & Mathiessen, 2004). Theme deals with the organisation of interpersonal and ideational components of each clause into a message. With this system, the speaker specifies the place in the listener's network of meanings where the message is to be incorporated as relevant. The local environment, serving as point of departure, is the Theme; what is presented in this local environment is the Rheme. The clause as a message is thus a configuration of two thematic statuses, Theme + Rheme.

Pragmatics

Pragmatics studies meanings in different contexts. Yule (1996: 3) asserts that it is concerned with "meaning as

communicated by a speaker (or writer) and interpreted by a listener (or reader)". Thus, its focus is on meaning as perceived from two directions, i.e. from the directions of both the speaker/writer and the listener/reader. Hence, what the listener/reader perceives as the utterance meaning has to tally with what the speaker/writer intends before there will be meaning negotiation between the two people.

Speech Act: The notion of speech act is central to pragmatics. First used by J. L. Austin (1962) in his lectures titled "How to Do Things with Words", speech act means performing actions with speech. According to Bloomer, Griffths and Merrison (2005: 85), "when our words perform some action", whether in speech, or in writing, "we say that they are performing a *speech act*". Similarly, Black (2006: 17) says that whenever the expression 'speech act' is used, it does not only mean the act of speaking, "but to the whole communicative situation, including the context of the utterance… and paralinguistic features which may contribute to the meaning of the interaction." This implies that speech acts cannot be considered in isolation but have to be related to all other things that surround the way someone speaks as well as how meaning transpires between the speaker/writer and the hearer/reader. Also, the important thing is whether the speaker/writer achieves his/her communicative purpose.

Verbs in Speech Act: Scholars in pragmatics (e.g. Leech, 1983; Yule, 1996; Grundy, 2000; Osisanwo, 2003; Bloomer, Griffths and Merrison, 2005, etc.) hold that verbs play very important roles in speech acts. Such verbs are divided into performative and constative verbs. Performative verbs are special verbs which can make the utterance of a sentence performative, "and many sentences use these performative verbs as an essential part of some act such that *without* them being uttered the act *cannot* be performed" (Bloomer, Griffths & Merrison, 2005: 85). Performative verbs also spell out the illocutionary force of the utterances in which they are used, and the clause that contains a performative verb is called a performative clause. Examples of performative clauses with the performative verbs put in bold are as follows: "*I hereby **donate** this library complex too the University of Ilorin; I hereby **recommend** the applicant to your good office; We hereby **declare** war on Iraq; etc.*"

As opposed to performative verbs, constative verbs are verbs that do not ***directly*** perform any action. Rather, constative verbs are used in "making statements, describing situations, events, state of affairs, observing phenomena and asserting their truth or otherwise" (Osisanwo, 2003: 57). Constative verbs can function as ascriptive, assentive, descriptive, disputative, etc.

A distinction has been drawn between explicit performative and implicit performative. An explicit performative utterance is an utterance that uses a performative verb in the performance of an act but an implicit performative utterance does not have a performative verb (Yule, 1996; Bloomer, Griffths and Merrison, 2005; Black, 2006; etc.).

Types of Speech Acts: Three types of speech acts have been identified. They are locution, illocution and perlocution (see Schiffrin, 1994; Yule, 1996; Christie, 2000; Sbisa, 2009; etc.). According to Schiffrin (1994), locutionary act is the act of uttering or producing a meaningful word, phrase or sentence with a certain sense and reference. It has three components, which are the phonic substance or the phonological rendition of the utterance, the phatic component or the syntactic arrangement of the utterance and the rhetic component or the meaning of what has been said (ibid). Illocutionary act is referred to as the illocutionary force behind the utterance, that is, the actual action the utterance performs. This may be advising, warning, apologizing, congratulating, baptizing, sentencing, naming, appointing**,** commanding, etc. (cf. Christie, 2000). The third speech act is referred to as perlocutionary act**.** This is also called the perlocutionary effect. It deals with the effect or consequence of the utterance on the hearer. The perlocutionary effect is not dependent on the satisfaction of certain conventional conditions but it deals with the extralinguistic consequences of what has been said (Sbisa, 2009: 233).

Context and Text

The idea of context and text is quite relevant to pragmatics. Schiffrin (1996) identifies context and texts as two aspects of the conditions underlying speech acts. Context can be referred to as the conditions that make an utterance 'true' and 'appropriate' while text refers to "how what is said conveys what is done" (Schiffrin, 1996: 51). In this study, we will refer to text simply as an aspect dealing with the use of either explicit or

implicit performatives by the speaker but we shall discuss briefly the idea of context and its types because of its importance to this study. Osisawo's (2003) classification or division will be used. This division gives us physical, socio-cultural, psychological, and linguistic contexts.

Physical context is concerned with the environment within which the utterance is uttered. Physical context includes participants, the environment, the time as well as the activities taking place there. **Socio-cultural context** considers the speech community which the speaker and hearer belong to. It covers the people's cultural backgrounds, belief system, habits, religion, values system, etc. The idea of **psychological context** describes the state of mind of the speaker and the hearer. If either of them is not in a good state of mind, different meanings from what the other intends may be read or given to the utterances produced. The co-occurrence of linguistic items used in the utterance as well as the meaning of individual lexical item is the focus of **linguistic context**. All of these often come to bear on the meanings of utterances, and the speaker should be mindful of them while the hearer should have adequate knowledge of them.

Theoretical Framework

This paper adopts analytical resources from two different sub-fields of linguistic analysis. These sub-fields are SFL and pragmatics. As mentioned earlier, SFL considers language as constituting a network of systems which make choices possible at all levels of language description (Bloor & Bloor, 1995). It is both formal and functional. One of the most important things about SFL is that it possesses what Fawcett (2008) refers to as multifunctional principle. This principle states that "every clause serves several different functions at the same time" (Fawcett, 2008: 9). Thus, a clause that is asking a question may be informing at the same time. For instance, a question like: "Have you heard that the National Assembly just passed the 2016 budget today?" may not just be asking a question but may also be informing the listener.

As discussed above also, SFL perceives language as performing three metafunctions, which are ideational, interpersonal and textual functions. While each function is different from the others, all of them are interrelated. As a result, the function a language performs is more important than the

structure of the language. In addition, SFL perceives context to be central to language, and context determines the function of language as well as whether language is appropriate or not.

On the other hand, the pragmatic approach is narrowed to pragmatic acts and shared knowledge in this paper. Pragmatic act focuses on the importance of the overall situation on meaning conveyance and interpretation. Shared knowledge is closely linked to context, and since both SFL and pragmatics consider context to be important to meaning negotiation, it means that resources from the two subfields can be combined for analysis.

Methodology

The authors of this paper have opted for Kwara State Polytechnic as an example of tertiary institutions in Nigeria. There are six institutes in the polytechnic, and a department was randomly sampled from each. The random sampling technique was adopted because it gives every member of the population the opportunity of being selected (cf. Kothari, 2014). In gathering the data, the students were asked to list the ICT terms or expressions which they use for non-ICT related purposes and the meanings of such expressions. Most of the ICT-turned slangy expressions given by the students were presented in sentences. The students were asked to present the expressions in tables, the same way the expressions have been presented in the appendix. Fifty-eight expressions were collected but only forty-seven of them were chosen for analysis because the remaining ones were either too obscene or too unclear for the work at hand. The paper, thus, makes use of the qualitative approach to explore the language metafunctions as well as pragmatic acts and shared knowledge in the expressions. However, a simple percentage calculation for the language metafunctions as well as the pragmatic acts is also given to indicate the occurrence of the identified resources and pragmatic acts in the data.

Data Analysis

Two different approaches are adopted for the data analysis. The two approaches are the SFL approach and the pragmatic approach. Language metafunctions or registers is the focus of the systemic approach, which is discussed first.

Language Metafunctions or Register Analysis

Martin (1996) explains that SFL holds that language performs three metafunctions, which are ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions. These three coincide with field, tenor and mode of discourse, respectively, when one perceives them from the angle of register (de Oliveira, 2015: 213). According to Taiwo (2006: 160), "register is variety that is determined according to the use the language is put to". As for Halliday, "register is a semantic phenomenon in the sense that register is the clustering of semantic features according to situation type" (Lukin et al., 2011: 190).

From the data received for this study, language metafunction or register analysis will be explored along the lines of ideational resources or field of discourse, interpersonal resources or tenor of discourse and textual resources or mode of discourse.

Ideational Resources/Field: According to de Oliveira (2015: 228), "ideational metaphor refers to the transference of meaning from one kind of element to another kind." As such, speakers of a language recognise typical ways of saying things or expressing ideas as well as other possibilities which can be employed by speaker or writer (Halliday, 1994). All the expressions in the data belong to the field of Information and Communication Technology. However, the use of the expressions has been extended to other fields of human endeavor. In fact, each of the expressions, as deployed by the students, is used for a different field entirely.

Examples of such fields include:

a. **Academics:** Many of the expressions are used in relation to studying, learning or knowing. For instance, the expression "Your *RAM* is bad" means the listener is dull. RAM means Random Access Memory, and it is a place where data are kept so that they can be quickly retrieved or reached. It makes accessibility easy so, if it is bad, accessibility becomes difficult. Another expression in this category is "My *hard disk* is full", to mean that the speaker has read or learnt so much that their brains are full to the brim. This indirectly means that the person cannot add any more material to their 'storage unit'. Another expression is *"Copy and paste"*, which means "to copy somebody else's work in an examination, test or assignment with the

person's approval or consent". In this example, one is exposed to the issue of examination or academic malpractice.

b. **Health**: One of the expressions in the data also indicates the use of the ICT terms to express health-related information. This is found in the expression: "The lady has *virus*", which means "The lady has a disease". In the field of computers, virus is a programme installed on someone's computer without the person's knowledge. It replicates itself, takes space and disallows the computer user from using the computer system properly. Just as virus prevents a computer user from having maximum use of the system, a disease also prevents a human being from functioning properly or living a healthy life.

c. **Affection**: A lot of expressions in the data are used to pass and/or exchange information about affection or love and relationship between the opposite sexes. Examples of such expressions are "*The wire is disconnected from the system*", "*Operate the system carefully*", "*I can't share my data with you*", "*I'm ready to subscribe for the channel*", etc. For instance, the expression "Operate the system carefully", meaning "Handle the girl with care" is a piece of advice concerning the relationship between a male student and a female student. Thus, the male is advised to handle the female carefully since the latter is considered fragile.

It should be noted that expressions in this category are either positive or negative. While the advice in datum 15 (Operate the system carefully) is positive, the meaning embedded in datum 13 (The wire is disconnected from the system) is negative. Instead of saying that a couple has divorced or separated, the speaker simply says: "The wire is disconnected from the system". In analysing the expression, it means that one of the couple could be seen as the 'wire' while the other is simply the 'system', and the lack of synthesis between them is a negative issue which can prevent a computer system from functioning.

d. **Others**: Apart from the field identified above, the ICT expressions are also used by the students for other things, e.g., casual conversation. Examples of this can be found in expressions like "He has *shut down*" to mean that the person has slept; "Your *keyboard* is not good", to mean that the person does not have an attractive body structure; "*Switch on the network first*" to mean one should first get a lady's attention before trying to get anything else from her, especially a romantic relationship.

Some of the expressions are also used to cement social relationships, e.g., "How is your *system*" to ask after somebody's wellbeing; "Sign in/log in" means to go into a place. Asking after somebody's wellbeing is a sign of interest in the person's affairs, and it is mainly a means of cementing social relationship.

Interpersonal Resources/Tenor: According to de Oliveira (2015: 231), "interpersonal meanings express the ways of instituting relationships with others", and this coincides with tenor in register. Since the expressions in the data are used among students, who can be considered as mates, there is no social distance between/or among the users of the expressions. Thus, power relation is equal in the interactions from which the expressions are derived, and the participants have or enjoy the liberty to express themselves as freely as possible.

Another thing that should be noted under tenor is that the expressions are not uttered in official situations, and this makes the tenor to be least frozen. For instance, the students would not have used such expressions to answer a lecturer's question, either in the class or an examination hall, or used them to ask questions from a lecturer in the class.

The expressions reveal a speaker/listener relationship as well as the physical contact between the discourse participants. More so, affective involvement in the expressions is high. The speaker has a sentiment to sell to the listener, many of whom he doesn't want a third party to be involved in, so slangy expressions are used.

Because the expressions are slangy expressions and they are extracts from different discourses, it is difficult to pinpoint the cohesive devises in them. However, there are few instances of reference as a cohesive devise, e.g., exophoric reference in "that girl", as in "Do you want to keep subscribing for that girl?" In this example, the context provides the clue for the girl in question.

Textual Resources/Mode: The mode of discourse is the spoken medium. Therefore, there is close social distance which gives room for immediate feedback from the listener. The proximity between the interlocutors, as well as the immediate response, will go a long way in allowing the speaker to understand the listener's feeling. In addition to the aforementioned, the mode also gives room for colloquial usages as the expressions themselves are slangy expressions. For instance, the expression: "I can't *share my data* with you"

indicates that there has been at least a statement preceding it, to which the listener has given that response. Unlike the expression that receives an answer, there is another one which does not receive a direct answer and, instead, the response given was an insulting way of avoiding the question, i.e., "*Ask Google*". Other expressions which indicate that immediate responses are elicited from the listener include: "*I'm ready to subscribe for the channel*", "*I have deleted your file from my system*", "*Open new document*", etc.

Pragmatic Approach

In this pragmatic approach, the analysis is based on Mey (2001) and Odebumi's (2008) identification of pragmatic acts and shared knowledge. According to Mey (2001) in Odebunmi (2008: 76), "the pragmatic act theory focuses on the environment in which both speaker and hearer find their affordances, such that the entire situation is brought to bear on what can be said in the situation, as well as what is actually being said". This expression points to the fact that pragmatic acts, as opposed to speech acts, focus on the prevailing situation. The following are identified in the data:

a. **Pragmatic Acts**: There are different pragmatic acts in the expressions. However, none of the expressions is a direct speech act. The acts are as follows:

i. **Questioning**: Examples of pragmatic acts of questioning include: "Have you been given the *output*"? "How is your system"? and "Do you want to keep *subscribing* to her"? In the first example, 'output' simply refers to 'result' while 'system' in the second example means 'body' or 'health'. In the third example, a girl is likened to mobile service provider from whom a service can be subscribed.

ii. **Abusing/Insulting**: There are some examples of abusing or insulting in the data. They include "Your *RAM* is bad", "Your keyboard is not good", and "You look like a *mouse*." The first example is used to mean that the listener is dull, while the second one means that the person is not beautiful or attractive. The last one is a pointer to the listener's physical appearance, being small in stature.

iii. **Complimenting**: Some of the expressions are used to praise the listener. Examples include "I love your *graphic design*", and "This girl is *well-packaged*." In the first example, make up has

been referred to as 'graphic design' and the expression is a compliment. Similarly, the 'girl' dresses quite well such that the speaker admires her.

iv. **Advising/Encouraging**: Students also use ICT-turned slangy expressions to advise or encourage one another. Examples of such in the data include *"Operate the system carefully", "Switch on the network first", and "Close the/your windows"*. None of these expressions give a command but they are used to advise the listeners on certain things.

v. **Requesting/Proposing**: The expression corresponding to requesting or proposing is "Be my preferable *operating windows*". While this can be used by a female to get a male's attention, it is not culturally polite for a female to do so. Thus, this is used to mean "Be my lover girl/be my love", which performs the act of proposing to a lady.

vi. **Rejecting**: Examples that border on rejection are "Delete yourself", *"I have deleted your file from my system", "Sign out/log out"*. In the first example, the listener is asked to leave or go away from the place. Similarly, the speaker informs the listener, in the second example, that the listener is no longer needed. Thus, he or she has been deleted.

vii. **Asserting/Informing**: Numerous examples of this pragmatic act can be found in the data. Examples include, "*He has shut down", "My hard disk is full", "The keyboard is wide", "I can't share my data with you",* etc. The first example means that the person being talked about has slept. The second example means that the speaker is tired of reading, while the third example indirectly compares the 'keyboard' to a mattress. In all of these, the expressions are simply used to inform the listeners about certain things.

a. **Shared Cultural Knowledge (SCK)**: shared cultural knowledge accounts for the belief that explicit mention of taboo concepts is regarded as immoral in mainstream Nigerian culture. Thus, language users do not mention certain concepts directly but indirectly so as not to sound immoral. Examples of this can be seen in "*Close the/your windows", "Format your memory*", etc. While the first expression is used to caution a lady who is sitting carelessly and thereby exposing some delicate parts of her body, the second one is used to advise a lady to abort an unwanted pregnancy and forget whatever trauma such memory can cause her.

b. **Shared Situational Knowledge (SSK)**: Closely associated with the SCK is SSK. The interpretation of the ICT expressions used by the students depends on the situation in which the interlocutors find themselves. For instance, expressions like "*Switch on the network first", "I can't share my data with you", "Have you been given the output?*" and many more are interpreted based on the shared knowledge of situation. The situation, thus, makes their interpretation different from that of the core ICT interpretation.

c. **Shared Linguistic Knowledge**: This permits the interlocutors to use expressions belonging to a particular field to express meanings in other fields without losing the sense of the target field. All the expressions in the data relate to ICT. However, they have been used for other purposes because of the shared linguistic knowledge between the participants.

Statistical Presentation of the Analysis

This section presents the analysis in simple percentage. Two aspects of the analysis are analysed in this way. The two aspects are the ideational resources under language metafunctions, and pragmatic acts under the pragmatic approach. Two tables are used to present the statistical analysis, with each table representing each aspect. The tables are presented below:

Ideational Resource	Frequency	Percentage [%]
Academics	10	21.28 %
Health	01	2.13 %
Affection	12	25.53 %
Others	24	51.06 %
Total	**47**	**100 %**

Table 1 – Ideational Resources in Percentage [%]

Pragmatic Act	Frequency	Percentage [%]
Questioning	03	6.38 %
Abusing	08	17.02 %
Complimenting	03	6.38 %
Advising	10	21.28 %
Requesting	02	4.26 %
Rejecting	04	8.51 %
Asserting/Informing	17	36.17 %
Total	**47**	**100 %**

Table 2 – Pragmatic Acts in Percentage [%]

The tables above show the statistical presentation of the analysis. The first table shows that the ideational resource "others" has the highest percentage, i.e. 51.06% while the ideational resource "health" has the lowest occurrence. In a similar way, the second table indicates that the pragmatic act with the highest frequency is "asserting/informing". It features a frequency of 36.17%, while "requesting" has the least frequency – that of 4.26%.

Findings

This study has revealed that there is flexibility of linguistic elements in meaning conveyance. This is because there is no domain of language use which is an island to itself. This is due to the fact that linguistic resources in a particular domain can be effectively deployed to convey meaning in a different domain entirely. This is seen in how the ICT-related expressions in the data have been used to convey meanings in other fields.

The paper has also emphasised the importance of context on meaning negotiation. In this regard, there are instances of shared cultural knowledge (SCK), shared situational knowledge (SSK), and shared situational knowledge (SLK) determining how meanings are conveyed or negotiated.

Conclusion

This paper has examined language metafunctions and pragmatic acts in the ICT-turned slangy expressions among Kwara State Polytechnic students. The analysis has shown that the ICT expressions have been turned to slangy expressions by the students and such expressions are now used to convey meanings different from ICT. The study has also shown that context is quite important to meaning negotiation, as the context determines how the students generate and attribute meanings, using the ICT-turned slangy expressions. However, it is not clear if virtually all speakers of English as a language worldwide can make similar meanings out of these ICT-turned slangy expressions as Nigerians do. If this doubt is confirmed, it does no damage to our postulation still. Rather, it only goes a step further to confirm the indispensability of context to meaning making.

References

Adegbite, Wale. A stylistic analysis of conflict mediation discourse in a literary text. *Ife studies in English language*, 6:1. Ile-Ife: The Department of English, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria. 2006: 89 – 96.

Austin, John. *How to do things with words.* 2nd ed. Massachusetts: MIT Press. 1962.

Bakare, Abidemi Tonye. *Language and racial ideology in African American rap music*. Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Ibadan, Ibadan**.** 2006.

Black, Elizabeth. *Pragmatic stylistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd. 2005.

Merrison, Andrew John, et al. *Introducing language in use: A course book*. Routledge, 2013.

Bloor, Meriel, and Thomas Bloor. *The functional analysis of English: a Hallidayan approach*. London: Arnold. 1995.

Christie, Christine. *Gender and language: towards a feminist pragmatics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd. 2000.

de Oliveira, Luclana. A Systemic-Functional Analysis of English Language Learners' Writing. D.E.L.T.A., 31-1, 2015: 207-237.

Eggins, Suzanne. *An introduction to systemic functional linguistics*. (2nd ed.). London: Continuum. 2004.

Fawcett, Robin.. *Invitation to Systemic Functional Linguistics: The Cardiff Grammar as an extension and simplification of Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar* (2nd ed.). United Kingdom: Equinox. 2008.

Grundy, Peter. *Doing Pragmatics.* USA: Oxford University Press Inc. 2000.

Halliday Michael et al. *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman. 1976.

Halliday, Michael et al. *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 3rd edition, London: Edward Arnold. 2004.

Kothari, Craig. *Research methodology: methods and techniques.* 3rd edition. New Delhi: New Age International Limited Publishers. 2014.

Leech, Geoffrey. *Principles of Pragmatics.* USA: Longman. 1983.

Lukin, Annabelle et al. Halliday's model of register revisited and explored. In *Linguistics and the Human Sciences*, vol. 4, no. 2, 2011: 187-213.

Martin, James. Analysing Genre: Functional Parameters. In F. Christie and J.R. Martin (eds) *Genre and institutions: social processes in the workplace and school*, London: Continuum. 1997: 3-39.

Mey, Jacob. *Pragmatics: An introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell. 2001.

Odebunmi, Akin. Meaning expressions of some English registers. In *The International Journal of Language Society and Culture.* 2007.

Odebunmi, Akin. Pragmatic Functions of Crisis-motivated Proverbs in Ola Rotimi's *The God's are not to Blame. Linguistik Online*, 33. 2008.

Osisanwo, Wale. *Introduction to Discuss Analysis and Pragmatics.* Lagos: Femolus-Fetop Publishers. 2003.

Sadighi, Firouz, and Mohammed Bavali. Chomsky's Universal Grammar and Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics: An appraisal and a compromise. *Journal of Pan-Pacific Association of Applied Linguistics,* 12(1), 2008: 11-28.

Sbisa, Marina. Speech act theory. In Jef Verschueren & Jan-Oia Ostman (eds.). *Key notions for pragmatics*. Vol. 1 Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company. 2009: 229-344.

Schiffrin, Deborah. *Approaches to Discourse*. USA: Blackwell Publishers. 1994.

Taiwo, Rotimi. Hallidayan Linguistics. In *An encyclopaedia of the arts*, Vol. 4 (3) 2006: 157-163.

Yule, George. *Pragmatics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1996.

Appendix – Data Table

S/N	Slangy Expressions	Meanings
1	He has shut down	He has slept
2	Delete or delete yourself	Leave this place/go away from here
3	Your RAM is bad	Dull
4	Your keyboard is not good	Body structure is not attractive
5	I love your graphic design	I love your make-up
6	My scanner is 70 mega pixel	My eyes are very sharp
7	He is cold booting	He is sleeping
8	My hard disk is full	My brain is full
9	Close the/your windows	Sit up/Close your lap
10	Format your memory	Abort the pregnancy
11	My stomach has crashed	Stomach ache
12	The lady has virus	The lady has diseases
13	The wire is disconnected from the system	The couple has separated
14	The keyboard is wide	The mattress is big
15	Operate the system carefully	Handle the girl with care
16	I can't share my data with you	I can't share my lady with you
17	I'm ready to subscribe for the channel	I am ready to pay the girl
18	I can/can't operate the system	I can/can't cope with the relationship
19	Switch on the network first	Try getting her attention first
20	Re-start the system	To try one more time
21	Finding the network	Searching for available partner
22	I have deleted your file from my system	I'm no longer in love with you
23	Input yourself	Compose yourself
24	I cannot boot my system unless you help me out	I am nothing without you
25	Your Bluetooth is down	No sense
26	You look like a mouse	You look small
27	I pity your file	I pity your education
28	Close your Bluetooth or Turn off your Bluetooth	To close his/her back or Sit properly (to a lady)
29	This girl is well packaged	She dresses well
30	Open new document	To start afresh
31	Have you been given the output?	Have you been given the result?

32	How is your system	How is your body
33	Be my preferable operating windows	Be my lover girl/be my love
34	Reboot your brain	Be careful or think straight
35	Copy and paste	To copy somebody else in the exam with the person's approval/consent
36	Shut down	Shut up
37	Memory full	Has read too much and tired
38	Sign in/out; log in/out	Get into or out of a place
39	Ask Google	An insulting way of responding to a question when one doesn't want to answer it.
40	I have his/her data	I know him/her quite well
41	Do you want to keep on subscribing to her?	Do you want to keep on spending your money on the girl (that always requests)
42	I know your password	I know how to get hold of you
43	No server	Lacks idea, knowledge/basic intelligence
44	No network coverage	No idea/knowledge about something
45	I'm booting	Trying to recollect something or answer to a question
46	Hibernating	Resting or no ability to do something
47	Just press his/her keyboard	Just ask him/her a question, he/she'll keep talking like a talkative

Dayo Akanmu[1]

THE PHENOMENON OF NEW YORÙBÁ IDIOMS AND IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS IN FOOTBALL MATCH: COMMUNICATIVE AND STYLISTIC APPROACH

Abstract: *New Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expressions are contemporaneous stock expressions whose meanings are deviant and complex. Existing studies on them have established their scope of usage in Yorùbá music, films, transportation and politics, but have hardly addressed their communicative and stylistic adaptability in football. The investigation into the use of new Yorùbá idioms in football matches at the various viewing centers in Nigeria is the main concern of this paper. The paper adopted Mukarovsky's theory of standard language for its capability to explain 'differentia specifica' between the language of everyday conversation and literary language. Two viewing centers were purposively selected for exemplifying sufficient use of the Yorùbá idioms by the spectators and also for their large sizes. These include the Òjóò, Ìbàdàn viewing center in Òyó State, where the concentration of commercial bus drivers, bus conductors, commercial motorcycle riders and artisans are on the high side, and the popular Toyin Street, Ikeja viewing center in Lagos State, which is frequented by civil servants, students, graduates and some elites. In order to strike a balance, four (4) new Yorùbá idioms from each of the viewing centers were subjected to pragmatic and stylistic analysis. It was revealed that football fans at the two centers are fond of using new Yorùbá idioms to discuss, educate, entertain and describe football scenarios such as: 'gúnwà sójú ilé' (sit majestically in the opponent territory, for: offside), 'fàwọn ya' (tear the net, for: hit the net with a hot strike), 'jẹ lọ' (eat on/eat away, for: escaped being punished for an offence committed while the match is on), 'laná' (catch fire, for: no longer skilful or potent on the pitch), Balógun (war leader, for: a football captain), etc. Only the metaphorisation linguistic strategy, differentially derived from nominalisations and phonaesthetic coinages, was used for their formations.*
*   **Key words:** New Yorùbá, Idioms & Idiomatic expressions, Football, Linguistic strategy, viewing centers, stylistics*

Introduction

This paper is motivated by the reality of the saying 'the world is a global village' (globalisation), which imposes new global communicative challenges on the users of the Yorùbá language. As other people in the Third World countries, the users

---

[1] Professor at the School of Languages, Adeniran Ogunsanya College of Education, Oto/Ijanikin, Lagos State, Nigeria.

of this language are not only faced with the challenges of how to express their experiences originating from globalization, but they also seek to have a sense of belonging, share information, educate others, entertain and enjoy themselves in a relaxed atmosphere watching the latest football developments.

Another motivation for this paper is the impact it will have on those who think that the Yorùbá language, as other indigenous languages, is restricted to certain domains of usage. This paper aims not only to debunk such an erroneous claim, but also to put the record straight and show that, even in the pedagogical process, new words are coined to solve linguistic challenges, as was the case in the experiment of 'Ife six', carried out by the late Professor Babátúndé Fáfunwá, where it was determined that an indigenous language like Yorùbá can be used for teaching mathematics and other science subjects even better than the English language (Hadejana, A. et al., 1993).

The paper also focuses on the new Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expressions as tools in the hands of users who entertain and enjoy themselves watching football. Admittedly, at times, people may experience certain linguistic constraints imposed on them by their language, especially when facing the difficulty of retrieving the lexical items and terms needed to express their ideas appropriately, bearing in mind that football is alien to their culture as the language of football is English. However, according to Babalọlá (1972), Awóbùlúyì (1992: 26), Ọlátéjú (2005: 2016) and Àkànmú (2015 and 2014), the key to overcoming these linguistic constraints lies in the use of new idioms and idiomatic expressions which can be derived by coining new words or idioms and by attaching new meanings to the existing ones.

Method of data collection

The data for this study were collected from two prominent viewing centers: one in Ọ̀jóọ̀, Ibadan in the Oyo State, and the other one in Tóyìn Street, Ìkẹjà in the Lagos State. These two viewing centers were purposely selected because of their size and the dense concentration of football fans who always use the new Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expressions to discuss, describe and communicate the football issues. The Ọ̀jóọ̀ viewing center is very close to a major motor park, which explains why the center is constantly crowded by commercial drivers, bus

conductors, trailer and truck drivers, the Okada riders (commercial motorcyclists) and other artisans who are football fans of some prominent football clubs from Europe. The popular Tóyìn Street center is always teeming with civil servants, undergraduates, graduates and elites who are also fans of the Football Clubs such as Arsenal, Chelsea, Manchester United, PSG, Real Madrid and some other prominent clubs from Europe.

Several new Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expressions were collected during the football matches but only eight were purposefully selected for our analysis. In order to strike a balance, four idioms were picked and analysed from each of the centers. The data were subjected to a pragmatic and stylistic analysis.

Views on communication and the new Yorùbá idioms

According the Genesis chapter of the Holy Bible, 'communication' began with the creation processes, particularly when God commanded the 'world', which was without shape and life, to be inhabited by His creatures. That 'command' or 'order' from God was 'communication', as all the creatures listened and obeyed. (Oṣúnbòtè 2009:7). This view is corroborated by Àkànmú (2013), Venderberk S. and R. F. (2001), Russell (1993) and Bittner (1989), who state that communication is the sharing of words, views, thoughts, knowledge and wisdom with an individual or a group of individuals, or a manner of expression with the use of language or a sign meaningful to the addressees. The above implies that the God's command is the first form of communication where He commanded some creatures to do something. They listened, understood and obeyed completely. This same form of communication is now metamorphosed and developed into modern systems such as the DSTV, cable TV, Star times, Darsat and all the products of the internet used to project football matches globally. This form of communication also gives room for the emergence of the new Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expressions used to discuss, describe, present and communicate football, which was alien to the Yorùbá culture not long ago.

Only a few scholars have turned their attention to the study of new idioms and idiomatic expressions in Yorùbá. These scholars include Ọlátéjú (2005; 2016) and Àkànmú (2014; 2015). On the other hand, Bámgbósé (1992), Babalọlá (1972), Ọlátéju (2008: 2012) and Yusuff (2008), devoted their efforts to the old

or traditional idioms, in the sense of discussing the use of coinages, but no direct or specific study of the Yorùbá traditional idiom has been carried out in the Yorùbá studies apart from a compilation of the old Yorùbá idioms. Some of these scholars are of the view that idioms are items whose co-occurrences are permanent and whose meanings cannot be readily predicted or understood from the meaning of the individual collocates, and that they, as such, are to be learnt as a whole.

While discussing neologisms (coinages), Babalọlá (1972), Bámgbósé (1992) and Ọlátẹ́jú (2008; 2012) state that neologisms are used to mark and express new items and ideas brought into the Yorùba culture by foreigners. Their views are of direct relevance to this paper as they argue that forming neologisms is one of the linguistic strategies employed in the formation of the new Yorùbá idioms.

Ọlátẹ́jú (2005; 2016) and Àkànmú (2014; 2015) are remarkable contributors to the study of the new Yorubá idioms, their formation and interpretations. They examined the new Yorùbá idioms from both the linguistic and literary points of view. Moreover, in their papers, stylistic and some sociolinguistic variables are used to bring out the aesthetic. For instance, an expression such as 'Oṣòdì Òkè' (a particular bus stop or location in the Lagos State) is used to express a new meaning (a busty lady). Examples of this nature can be brought into connection with some of the new idioms and idiomatic expressions discussed in this paper.

New Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expressions

The new Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expressions, which are the focus of this paper, constitute another distinctive and vital aspect of language use. A new Yorùbá idiom is a modern stock expression, formed in response to the needs of the moment and arising from the linguistic challenges of the users which consequently necessitate the creation of new words and expressions, as well as assigning new meanings to the existing ones. The new Yoruba idioms and idiomatic expressions are so called not only because of their complexity, bearing in mind the overlapping tendencies of their semantic realisations, but also because they are uniquely different from the old, traditional idioms. Indeed, they straddle metaphor and euphemism and also serve as a replication of the established traditional Yorùbá

idioms, both in form and meaning. They exist in both spoken and written forms, and mainly operate at the lexical and phrasal levels. They are multi-functional because of their semantic unity. They may equally function as nouns, verbs and adjectives. At the lexical level, new idioms are referred to as 'one word idioms', while the phrasal or sentential ones, which exceed one-word expressions, are called 'idiomatic expressions'.

The new Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expressions are created by members of the society or language community either through coining (creating and recreating new words and expressions) or by investing new meanings into the old words and expressions. The new Yorùbá idioms are new, fresh, strange and creative by nature. They are not vague expressions and their origins are also known to the users who are always dazzled whenever when they come across them in context like the ones discussed in this paper.

Theory of standard language

The theory of standard language, proposed by Jan Mukarovsky (1970), is adopted in this paper due to the fact that it can be used to explain the 'differentia specifica' between the language of ordinary usage and literary expressions, as well as using it to explain and interpret the deviant and inventive nature of new idioms and idiomatic expressions.

Standard language vs literary language

According to Mukarovsky (1970), standard language is the language of everyday conversation. Its main task is the understanding between the speaker and the audience, with the aim of facilitating effective communication (Crystal, 1997: 68). Language of ordinary discourse is casual and devoid of any artistic input. It is not prone to examination and it is uncritical. It does not call attention to itself or open up provocative questions to the nature of its coding. It is often used in schools, on the radio, during political campaigns and preaching. Its priority is effective communication which calls for employment of the words and phrases that can be fully comprehended. Therefore, to enhance undistorted communication in standard language, language must entirely conform to the linguistic norms. Concepts crucial to the standard language are 'backgrounding and automatization', illustrated by the example below:

Tàríbò West ń fi bọ́ọ̀lù ṣeré
Lójú ilé ara rẹ̀

Tàríbò West is dribbling with
the ball in his territory

Looking at the example given above, it is clear that no single element needs further explanation as regards the meaning, because the expression is in standard Yorùbá. On the other hand, literary language (LL) is the language of literature. It is also referred to as poetic language because of its special nature; it is remarkably different from standard language (SL). It cannot be called a type of the standard language on account of the fact that it has at its disposal all the forms of the given language from the point of view of lexicon, syntax and so on. It is rather 'a stylistic variation of standard language', as confirmed by Olateju (1998). In literary language, the intentional violation of the norms of the standard language (SL) is what makes possible the poetic utilization of language. Concepts crucial to the literary language are foregrounding and de-automatization, also illustrated by the example below:

Tàríbò West ń fi pẹntiróòlù
dín dòdò lójú ilé ara rẹ̀

Tàríbò West is frying plantain
with fuel in his territory

Unlike the previous example under SL, here, the expression 'fi bọ́ọ̀lù ṣeré', used in the first example, was replaced by "fi pẹntiróòlù dín dòdò" or de-automatized and foregrounded in order to have a new meaning connotatively different from the mere literary meaning of 'playing with the ball' in the earlier example. The idiomatic meaning is to 'embark on a dangerous mission'. In a football match, it is highly dangerous for a defender to start dribbling with the ball in his eighteen yard box because the consequence may lead to the opponent snatching the ball from him and scoring in a manner comparable to the fuel catching fire instantaneously when used to fry plantain.

Linguistic strategies for the formation of the new Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expressions

The study of word formation is a universal linguistic study, mainly concerned with the examining the patterns used by a language to form new lexical item (Bamgbose, 1975). The linguistic strategies involved in the formation of the new Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expressions under investigation in this paper include the following:

(i) Nominalisation

Nominalisation is universally described as one of the most common tools for generating new words in virtually every language. According to Ruvet (1973), nominalisation is the derivation of a noun phrase from an underlying clause or sentence; or the process of forming a noun from other word classes. Below are some examples of the new Yorùbá idioms formed through nominalisation:

Idioms	Formation	Literal meaning	Idiomatic meaning
Elébòlò	Oní + ebòlò Pre + n (owner-of-Ebòlò)	Elébòlò Seller of ebòlò Vegetable	a prostitute
Olóṣekóṣe	oní + ọṣẹ + kí + ọṣẹ Pre + n + neg. mrk. +n (owner-of-bad-soap)	Ọlóṣekóṣe possessor of bad soap	Olóríburúkú (an unfortunate person)

(ii) Compounding

Scholars such as Ògúnbòwálé (1967), Rowland (1969) and Owólabí (1976) maintain that compounding is a very productive word-formation strategy which entails the combination of two or more independent words to form another word with an entirely different meaning. The new Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expressions formed through compounding are mostly in the form of verb plus noun structure – [vb+N] or [N1+N2] structure. For example:

Vb+N

Idioms	Formation	Literal meaning	Idiomatic meaning
Jọta	Jẹ + ọta (eat + bullet)	Jọta Eat bullet	Lówó (be rich)
Gbéborùn	Gbé + ìborùn carry + neck band	Gbéborùn carry a neckband	Ṣòfófó/tojúbọlé an interloper

N₁ + N₂

Idioms	Formation	Literal meaning	Idiomatic meaning
Oṣòdì Òkè	Oṣòdì + Òkè Oṣòdì + hill	Oṣòdì Òkè Oṣòdì on the hill (a bus stop in Lagos)	Ọyàn ńlá big breasts
Àtíkè Ọlà	Àtíkè + Ọlà powder + wealth	Àtíkè Ọlà (powder of wealth)	illicit drug such as cocaine

(iii) Phonaesthetic coinages

According to Olateju (1989: 132), these are idioms evolving from phonaesthetic coinages. Phonaesthetic coinages refer to the words or expressions which by virtue of their sound composition imitate or suggest their meaning. By nature, they are idiophonic or onomatopoeic and they exhibit close relationship between sound component of the word and its meaning and they consist mostly of one word. For example:

Idioms	Formation	Literal meaning	Idiomatic meaning
Pálasà	Coined phonaesthetically	light and made in china product	fake/inferior/substandard
Òròbò	Coined from its big heavy sound	big thing	obese/large size

Analysis of the new Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expressions collected from the viewing centers

As discussed earlier, the eight selected new Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expressions subjected to the stylistic analysis in this paper are: 'Gúnwà', 'já lẹ́ta,' 'fàwòn ya,' 'jẹ lọ,' 'laná', 'tẹ̀ ẹ́ sójú ẹ̀,' 'Awó lọ', 'fi pẹntróòlù dín dòdò', and 'sọjú nù'. They are used in the following contexts:

'Gúnwà'   Literal meaning: sit majestically
            Idiomatic meaning: offside

The above is an existing Yorùbá word used mainly for royal fathers or kings to describe their majestic manner of sitting in their various palaces. The same expression is used idiomatically by one of the viewers, an Arsernal fan, at the Òjóọ̀ viewing center while watching one of the 2015 English premiership matches between Arsernal and Chelsea, the football clubs from England:

> … ẹ tún wo Giround bó ṣe gúnwà
> sójú ilé Chelsea

> … look at Giroud sitting majestically
> in the Chelsea's territory

The expression 'gúnwà' is used by the frustrated Arsenal fans to describe the disappointing manner in which Giroud, the Arsenal's main striker, who is expected to be familiar with the rules of the game (offside) and to equalize the one goal deficit against his club in the match, is continually getting caught in the offside tactics set for him by the Chelsea defenders. The literal meaning of the expression 'gunwa' is 'to sit majestically', while the connotative meaning is 'offside', one of the rules in a football match where a player finds himself in the opponent's eighteen yard box behind the defenders. The new idiom 'gunwa' is used deliberately, out of frustration, to criticise Giroud. It is also an exaggeration because Giroud is not found sitting in the opponent eighteen yard box as there is no room for any player to either sit comfortably in the opponent's eighteen yard box or on the pitch while the game is ongoing except in case the player is injured.

> 'Já lẹ́tà'   Literal meaning: tear the letter
>   Idiomatic meaning: intercept the pass /
>   dash someone's hope

The above was used by a Chelsea fan at the Tóyìn Street, Ìkẹjà viewing center in the Lagos State, in January, 2016 while watching an English premiership match between Chelsea and Crystal Palace. This particular fan expressed her shock when a goal-bound pass given to Fabrigas by Mikel Obi was surprisingly intercepted by the Crystal Palace's defender:

Whao! Ó já lẹ́tà yẹn sá
Whao! Eventually, he tore that letter

In the example above, the new idiom contains a metaphor inspired by the culture of letter writing among the Yoruba. Letter writing includes the 'sender' and the 'receiver'. A letter is sent to a precise address and in hope that it will get to its final destination. The analogy is found in the situation when Mikel Obi, a Chelsea midfielder (the sender) passed the ball (the letter) from the back with precision and in hope that it will get to Fabregas (the receiver), a Chelsea attacker, but to the utmost surprise of Mikel Obi and the viewers, a Crystal Palace defender came from nowhere to intercept the pass, in a manner comparable to an unknown person intercepting and tearing a letter sent to somebody from a faraway place. The literal meaning of the expression is to 'tear the letter', while the connotative meaning is 'to intercept a telegraphic goal-bound pass' or 'to dash someone's hope'.

'Fàwòn ya'   Literal meaning: tear the net
               Idiomatic meaning: hit the net/score a
               goal

The above expression was used at the Ọjọ́ọ̀ viewing center, when a fan of the young Nigerian striker Iheanacho screamed and shouted over Iheanacho's hot strike towards the Tanzanian goalkeeper during 2017 African Cup of Nation's qualifier between Nigeria and Tanzania in Calabar:

Goooo! Goooo! Goooo!
Iheanacho ti fàwòn ya

Gooool! Gooool! Gooool!
Iheanacho has tore the net.

The above new idiom 'fàwòn ya' (tear the net) is a metaphorical and hyperbolical expression used to describe a bullet-like strike by Iheanacho, which eventually resulted into the only goal of the match. The goal net, of course, was not visibly torn, as if by a blade or knife; it is a kind of an exaggeration which rests on the veracity of the bullet-like nature of Iheanacho's

strike. The new idiom 'fàwòn ya' can thus be interpreted to mean 'score a goal', 'hit the net' or 'hot strike'.

'Laná'   Literal meaning: catch fire/explode
              Idiomatic meaning: unskillful / expire /
              impotent / inactive

The above was used by a Chelsea fan at the Ìkẹjà viewing center in one of the 2015 EPL matches between Chelsea and Arsenal, to ridicule the Arsenal fans:

...Morinho ni ọkọ Wenger àti pé
Petr Cech tí a tà fún èyin Arsenal ti laná

...Morinho is Wenger's husband
 Moreso, Petr Cech that we have sold to the Arsenals has caught fire.

The expression 'laná' is a new Yorùbá idiom literally meaning to 'catch fire' or 'explode'. Here, Petr Cech, a former player of Chelsea, who had been named the best EPL goalkeeper before he was sold to Arsenal, did not catch fire or explode – he suffered a serious head injury while playing for Chelsea, which is why the Chelsea coach substituted him. This eventually affected his competence and he was later sold to Arsenal. However, to the Chelsea fans, Petr Cech is a second-hand product and over-used material that is no longer active. By and large, the expression 'Laná', can be interpreted idiomatically as 'inactiveness,' 'incompetence,' expired and unskilful player or person.

'Tè ẹ́ sójú è'   Literal meaning: print on its face
                    Idiomatic meaning: precision

The expression 'tè ẹ́ sójú è (print on its face) was used by a Barcelona's fan at the Òjóò viewing center in Oyo State, Nigeria, during 2016 La liga, Spanish League's match between the Barcelona Football Club of Spain and its counterpart, Celta Vigo, also of Spain when Lionel Messi and Suarez unexpectedly took a penalty together. As Lionel Messi was going for the penalty kick, this particular fan remarked:

Ó yá, tẹ̀ ẹ́ sójú ẹ̀!
Ó máa tẹ̀ ẹ́ sójú ẹ̀ ni!

Now, print on its face!
He will print on its face!

Surprisingly, Messi did not kick the ball directly to the goalkeeper, instead he passed it to his righthand side where Suarez was waiting. Literally, the expression 'tẹ̀ ẹ́ sójú ẹ̀' means 'print on its face'. while the idiomatic meaning is 'precision' or 'putting something in the expected or intended position', especially when such a position is very close. Closeness of this nature is comparable to 'thumb printing.' In thumb printing, the finger must be very close to the thumb printing material, in a manner that is likened to a penalty kick, which is always very close to the goalkeeper in the eighteen yard box.

'jẹ lọ'   Literally meaning: eat on/eat over
               Idiomatic meaning: escaped being punished
               for an offence

The idiom above was used by a supporter of the Manchester City Football Club from England at the Tóyìn Street, Ìkẹjà viewing center, during the 2015 EPL match between Manchester City Football Club and Everton Football Club, also from England, when jubilating over the situation in which Mangala, one of the Manchester City players, inflicted a serious injury to Eliaquim, an Everton player without being punished:

Opé o !
Mangala ti jẹ lọ

Thank God!
Mangala has eaten over

The literal meaning of the expression jẹ lọ is to 'eat on/eat over' (it would refer to a goat or any domestic pet eating beyond the owner's perimeter of vicinity). On the other hand, its idiomatic meaning is to 'escape being punished for an offence'. In the match concerned, Mangala, a Manchester City player, stretched his leg and hit the head of an Everton player in motion.

An offence of this magnitude warrants the issuance of a red card in a football match, but, to the surprise of the viewers, the referee did not issue any card to the offender – hence the expression 'Ọpẹ́ o, Mangala ti jẹ lọ', meaning that Mangala has escaped being punished for the offence.

'Sọjú nù'   Literal meaning: throw away the eyes
               Idiomatic meaning: loss of reflexes /
               ingenious strike which caught
               the goalkeeper unaware

In another instance at the Ọ̀jọ́ọ̀, Ìbàdàn viewing centre a fan of the Bayern Munich Football Club from Germany reacted to the superb free kick performed by the Bayern striker Lewandowski in a match against the Humberg Football Club, also from Germany, during the 2017 Bundesliga's league, in the following manner:

Whao! Sọjú nù ni sọ́ọ̀tì Lewandowski yìí o, goalkeeper
Kò ti ẹ̀ mọ ibi tí bọ́ọ̀lù gba wọlé rárá.

Whao! This Lewandowski's strike 'threw away the eyes', the goalkeeper was not even aware of the direction in which the ball went into.

The expression 'sọjú nù', (throw away the eyes) is a clear manifestation of the metaphorical formation of the new Yorùbá idioms addressed in this paper. It is used to describe the hot-like and ingenious nature of Lewandowski's strike which resulted into the goalkeeper's loss of reflexes. As said earlier, literally, 'sọjú nù' (throw away the eyes) means 'to ignore' or 'to pay no attention'. In this context, it was not deliberate of the goalkeeper to ignore the ball, it was just that the strike was unexpected. The expression is nominalised to portray the idiomatic nature of the expression which can be interpreted connotatively as 'an unexpected strike', 'a loss of reflexes' or 'an ingenious kick which resulted into a goal without any attempt of preventing it from entering the net by the goalkeeper.'

'Gbéjà lọ'   Literal Meaning: take/carry fight to
                Idiomatic Meaning: away match

The above was used by a fan of the France national team at the Ìkẹjà viewing center during the 2017 World Cup qualifying match between France and Luxembourg, played on Saturday 26th, 2017. In an attempt to satisfy his curiosity regarding the nation playing at home he remarks:

Ṣé àwa (France) ni a gbéjà lọ bá Luxembourg nílé?
Are we the one (France) that has taken the fight to Luxembourg's home?

Here, the expression 'gbéjà lọ' (take the fight to) can be interpreted literally to mean 'take the fight to', while the idiomatic meaning is 'an away match' (take the fight to the opponent's home stadium). In football, it is believed that the home team enjoys the home advantage (support from its fans, who may aid the home team to achieve success), while the visiting team suffers. It should be stressed that 'ìjà' (fight), in 'gbéjà lọ' (take the fight to) is a metaphorical coinage of the context, passion, struggle and physicality involved in the game of football and not the fight in the real sense of it. However, apart from the entertainment, many things such as pride, honour, prestige, glory, patriotism and money are at stake in football, and so the new idiom 'gbéjà lọ' cannot but be appropriate.

Inferences

It can be seen from our discussion so far that new Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expressions can be used to describe or express fresh ideas, views and opinions, as suggested in the analysis of the selected data. It is also evident that the use of new Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expressions naturally occurs in communication and entertainment. Some of these idioms induce laughter. From the analysis of data it can also be deduced that the metaphorisation linguistic strategy is employed and differently derived from nominalisation and phonaesthetic coinages to present, entertain, discuss, capture and describe football scenarios in the same manner that the English language will do. Expressions like these have gradually crept into the lexicon to such an extent that they are often used in the football commentaries, discussions and news on the radio, television, and other media. Example of idioms in this category commonly used

in Yoruba print and electronic media include: 'gbé ìjà lọ sílé onílé' (take the fight to another person's house, for 'an away match,'), 'kọjú sími ń gbá a sí ọ' (face me and kick it to you' for a penalty kick'), 'dágbólu' (create opening in the forest, for a free kick which entered the net in between the legs of the players who formed the wall), 'orí inú' (inner head, for a brilliant or ingenious heading which resulted into a goal,), 'ré ibi dànù' (push evil away, for a goal bound kick parried away/over the goal post by the goalkeeper,), 'Arúgbó ojọ́' (ancient elder, for an extremely old player), and 'sọjú nù' (throw away the eyes, for a pass sent by a player to his team mate without looking in the direction of the person before sending the pass).

Conclusion

This paper presented tangible instances or examples of the communicative and stylistic potentials of new Yoruba idioms and idiomatic expressions used in football matches. Also, in this paper attention was focused mainly on the new Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expressions used by the football fans at the various viewing centers in the South West Nigeria, with a view to establish and highlight their communicative and stylistic characteristics. The scenario expressed by these idioms, structures, formations and their interpretations were critically analysed. The standard language (SL) model, known for its ability to explain the complex and deviant nature of the new Yorùbá idioms and the ''differentia specifica' between the language of ordinary conversation and language of literature, was adopted as a thereotical framework for this paper. The few existing works on the subject matter were reviewed and discussed, and were used as a starting point for this study. The eight pieces of data were obtained from two viewing centers and were later subjected to critical analysis and interpretation. It was revealed that the Yoruba language possesses the essential apparatus, as any other language of the world, to survive the linguistic restrictions imposed by the principles of global communicative economy. The coping techniques were found in the word-formation processes of the Yoruba language, in which the new idioms and idiomatic expressions constitute a vital and critical aspect of the techniques. It is therefore recommended that Yorùbá language, as any other indigenous language, be protected and revalorized in

order to increase its usage in more domains, such as governance, business and even in our homes.

References

Àkànmú, Oladayo. "Language and Culture Among the Yorùbá: A study of Argot, Cant, Jargons and Slang as Forerunners of New Idioms and Idiomatic Expressions in the 12st Century" an International Journal of Innovation and Applied Studies 13(3) 2015.

Àkànmú, Oladayo. New Idioms and Idiomatic Expressions in Yorùbá Literary and Routine Communication, PhD Dessertation,University of Ìbàdàn 2014.

Àkànmú, Oladayo. Yorùbá Nínú Ọnà Ìbánisọ̀rọ̀ tí ó Gbòòrò, Ìbàdàn: Joytal Prints 2013.

Aladejana, Adeyemi et al Aliu Babatunde Fafunwa: his Education Philosophy and Contribution to Nigerian Education, Lagos, Academy Press1993.

Babalọlá, Adeboye. "The Growth of the Yorùbá Language: Problems Encountered and Solutions". Essayed Staff Seminar Papers and Subsequent Discussions. 1972.

Bámgbóṣé, Ayo. "Relative Clauses and Nominalised Sentences in Yorùbá" in Proceedings of the Sixth Conference on African Linguistics ed, Robert, K. Herbert: 1975, OSU WPL 20. 202-209.

Bámgbóṣé, Ayo. ''Corpus Planning in Yorùbá: Technicians of the Sacred" Research in Yorùbá Language and Literature, pp. 1-13, 1992.

Bittner, John. Mass Communication: An introduction, New Jersey, Englewood Clifs. 1989

Ògúnbòwálé, Roland, Essentials of the Yoruba Language, Ìbàdàn: Ìbàdàn University Press 1967.

Mukarovsky, Jan. "Standard Language and Poetic Language" in Freeman, D.C (ed), Linguistics and Literary Style, Massachusett, H.R.W 1970.

Ọlátẹ́jú, Adesola. Language and Style (-Listics) in Literary and Routine Communication: The Yorùbá Example. Inaugural Lecture University of Ibadan, 2016.

Ọlátẹ́jú, Adesola. Current Issues and Trends in African Verbal Stylistics: the Yorùbá Example" in Style in African Literature(eds) Makokha, J.K.S Obiero, O.J and West Pavlov .R. Amsterdam - New York: Radopi 2012: pp. 59-70.

Ọlátẹ́jú, Adesola. "Jẹ̀dí Ò Makọ̀wé'': A Socio-Linguistic Analysis of the Language Style of the Yorùbá Herbal Medicine Practitioners", Proceedings Linguistics (ACAL), University of Georgia, Athens, U.S.A 2008.

Ọlátẹ́jú, Adesola. "The Phenomenon of New Idioms in Yorùbá Literary and Routine Communication" in Yorùbá Creativity, Fiction, Language, Life and Songs, Fálọlá, T. and Ann Jenova, P.C (eds): 2005 pp. 273-287.

Ọlátẹ́jú, Adesola. "A Structuralist Study of the Sound Pattern in Yorùbá Poetric Discourse"PhD Dissertation, University of Ìbàdàn, 1989.

Rowland, Jhon. Teach Yourself Yorùbá, London: English University Press.1969

Russell, Cornnel. Interpersonal is Between Consideration and Application of Interpersonal Communication, U.S.A: Bugress Publishers. 1993.

Ruwet, Charlse. An Introduction to Generative Grammar, Amsterdam, North
        Holland. 1973.
Verderber, Kathleen et al Inter-Act Interpersonal Communication Concepts,
        Skills and Contexts; U.K Wadsworth 2001.

Online Sources
Daven, History. Origin of the World Soccer Web. 06 October, 2012
        www.todayifoundout.com
Daven Hiskey, Origin of the world Soccer,Web. July 10, 2010
www.todayifoundout.com
Sharin, Gabriel. Nigerian Football History,Web. September 21, 2016
        www.livestrong.com

Milan Barac[1]

LES MATRICES SEMANTIQUES DANS LA CREATION ARGOTIQUE FRANÇAISE

Résumé : *Dans ce texte l'auteur donne un aperçu de l'histoire de l'argot français. Après, il se penche sur la question de l'analyse sémantique des matrices servant de modèle pour la création argotique française. La partie finale présente un parallèle entre deux sociolectes mis en contact de manière indirecte.*
Key words: *sémantique, lexicologie, linguistique française*

ÉTYMOL. ET HIST. – 1. 1628 « communauté des Gueux » (Jargon de l'argot réformé, chap. 1, titre ds Sain. Sources t. 1, p. 353 : Ordre ou hiérarchie de l'argot; Op. cit. ds Sain. Sources Arg. t. 1, p. 190 : Ha! vive l'Argot et tous les Gueux!); 2. a) 1701 (Fur. : Argot est aussi le nom que les Gueux donnent à la langue ou au jargon dont ils se servent, et qui n'est intelligible qu'à ceux de leur cabale); [la date de Fur. 1690 donnée par Sain. Sources t. 1, p. 353 pour ce sens est erronée]; b) xviiies. p. ext. « locutions particulières à une profession » (Voltaire ds Dict. hist. Ac. fr. : Les Jansénistes appellent leur union l'ordre. C'est leur argot, chaque communauté, chaque société a le sien). Orig. obscure. Parmi les hyp. proposées, les plus autorisées sont les suivantes : 1. Le rapprochement avec ergot (v. argot2) (Sain. Sources t. 1, p. 353 : l'argot serait la confrérie de la griffe, l'art du croc) se heurte à des difficultés d'ordre sémantique (l'ergot du du coq n'a pas l'aspect d'un crochet) et historique (l'argotier est un mendiant professionnel et non un voleur). 2. Dans le même ordre d'idées : le rapprochement avec harigoter « déchirer », dial. haricoter « chicaner, filouter », haricotier « marchand besogneux » (v. arcanderie) (EWFS2, Dauzat, Études de ling. fr., 1946, p. 306), acceptable du point de vue sémantique, fait difficulté du point de vue chronol., haricoter, haricotier n'étant pas attestés avant le xixes. 3. Au rattachement à argoter, ergoter* (Bl.-W.5, FEW t. 16, p. 157, note 7) s'oppose la chronol., l'accep. sociol. Il faut remarquer que le rattachement à l'a. prov. argaut « mauvais vêtement » (Lévy Prov.)

---

[1] Assistant Professor at the University of Montenegro.

proposé par Dauzat, Romania t. 43, p. 403, est repoussé par lui-même ds Études de ling. fr., loc. cit., le sens de « guenille » lui semblant postérieur au xviies. Enfin le rapprochement de argoter* et de arguer* « tirer l'or et l'argent à la filière, dite argue » (Esn., s.v. argoter : les mendiants sont des tire-sous) ne semble pas solidement fondé et fait en outre difficulté du point de vue chronol., argue* et arguer* (v. arguemine) étant postérieurs à argot et argoter. Les diverses hyp. antérieurement proposées et ne reposant sur aucune base solide ont été recensées par P. Guiraud, L'Étymologie,1964, pp. 47-55.[2]

Introduction

L'argot peut se définir comme un langage imaginé par les voleurs, les vagabonds et les diverses classes de gens hors de la société ou de la loi, pour communiquer entre eux sans être compris par ceux qui n'y sont pas initiés. L'essence de l'argot réside dans le fait qu'une initiation soit nécessaire pour être compris et que son lexique obtienne souvent une acception nouvelle.L'argot est une forme de langage aussi ancienne que la société qu'il représentepuisque les hommes sont en permanence en lutte avec la loiet ils ont eu besoind' un langage conventionnel destiné à soustraire la complicité de leurs tentatives ou de leurs actes au reste des hommes. Chaque langue possèdent ces mots qui font partie du lexique argotique. Chez les Allemands ce langage reçoit le nom de rothwaelsch ou de rottwaelsch, qui signifient « l'étranger rouge», chez les Anglais il est désigné par le mot de cant, chez les Espagnols il équivaut au nom de germania, chez il porte le nom de jergo, chez les Portugais celui de calao, chez les Hollandais, bargoens etc.Le mot français argot est d'origine relativement récente,il apparaît au XVIIe siècle.On pense que c'est une variente du mot jargon ou bien de l'italien gergo.Certains évoquent d'autres origines : Ragot, argu dont le sens est querelle et qui a donné argoter et arguer. Quoi qu'il en soit l'argot existe et on s'occupe beaucoup de lui en le pratiquant et en l'étudiant.Des philologues se sont penchés sur cette question d'une autre manière par rapport à celle des écrivains dont on va parler plus loin. L'argot possède des qualités dans son expressivité malgré un lexique plutôt horrible et déplaisant. Sa syntaxe est parfois déformée outre les mots qui le sont aussi dans

---

[2] CNRTL.

une mesure plus au moins importante.Ces qualités dont dispose l'argot frappent surtout dans les expressions ou locutions argotiques qui ont une connotation différente par rapport à leur valeur sémantique dénotative de la langue commune.

Mis à part ce lexique résultant d'un emploi détourné de mots français, l'argot en emprunte d'autres qu'il forme, en les abrégeant ou en les allongeant, en changeant de place des syllabes, en affixant les mots etc. Toute une classe de mots d'invention originale et de provenance incertaine se trouve ainsi dans l'argot. En voici quelques exemples :

> *abouler* – donner
> *arpions* - doigts
> *caroube* - fausse clef
> *chourin* - couteau, le radical de *chouriner* et *chourineur*
> *escarpe*-assassin
> *filoche* - bourse
> *frangine* - sœur
> *grinche* et *pègre* - voleur
> *largue* - femme de mauvaise vie
> *môme* - enfant
> *picton* - vin
> *rupin* - bourgeois
> *trimard* - chemin.

L'ensemble des mots mélengés de ces diverses classes fait de l'argot une sorte de langage composite où se heurtent le connu et l'inconnu et qui prend tour à tour la physionomie d'un français mal parlé voire d'une langue étrangère.

Quoique l'argot désigne à ces début particulièrement le langage des voleurs, on l'emploie aujourd'hui dans des expressions ou des locutions propres à une classe particulière de la société ou à une profession.On pourrait affirmer que chaque métier et chaque profession ont leur propre argot. Il y a alors l'argot de l'atelier, des collègiens, des coulisses, des militaires, du faubourg, des halles, des lieux de plaisir, des policiersetc.

Dans chacun de ces milieux, l'argot s'établit par une convention expresse ou tacite, qui en constitue le caractère original et qui le distingue des autres formes particulières de langage, jargons ou patois.

En ce qui concerne la langue française on peut constater de nouveau qu'au début l'argot fut réservé à la pègre et aux marginaux de la société. Aujourd'hui on parle d'un sociolecte qui s'est immiscé aussi bien dans la communication écrite que dans l'orale. Cela signifie-t-il que notre société est devenue moins rigide, plus ouverte, plus vulgaire ? Sans doute, mais notre étude voudrait surtout relever et analyser le sémantisme du procédé de la création argotique sur lequel se fonde les matrices, c'est à dire comment un lexème de langue commune passe dans un autre registre et pourquoi.

Il existe beaucoup d'expressions en français qui veulent dire *parler argot*. Une des plus intéressentes et qui illustre en plus très bien nos propos qui vont suivre est *rouscailler bigorne*. Afin d'expliquer cette expression nous commençons par le verbe *rouscailler* qui est un vieux verbe français issu de *rousser* qui voulait dire *grogner*, *protester*. A ce verbe on a ajouté le suffixe *caille* qui est d'ailleurs assez répandu dans l'argot : *la mouscaille – la misère*. Ce mot vient du breton *mous*, qui désignait *l'excrément*. Un autre exemple avec le même suffixe *la blanchecaille* qui signifie *la blanchisseuse*. La seconde partie du syntagme *la bigorne*, mot qui désigne au XIVè siècle *une enclume à deux pointes*, d'où l'idée de contrefait ou bancal. *Rouscailler bigorne* voulait donc dire *parler argot*. Une autre expression très proche de celle-ci fut *jaspiner la bigorne* ou *jaspiner en bigorne*. *Jaspiner* venait de *jaser* et signifie *parler.* Aujourd'hui nous rencontrons le verbe *jacter* qui dérive du nom *jaquette* qui désignait au XVIè*une pie*. Donc, *bavarder comme une pie*.

Lorsqu'on parle de l'argot il est indispenssable de mentionner quelques faits historiques qui aideront la compréhension de nos propos.

L'argot a d'abord désigné une communauté, la pègre ou le Milieu. Parmi les premiers termes servant à le désigner on retrouve *le jargon* et *le jobelin*. Plus tard on rencontre la désignation *langue verte* pour finir avec celle d'*argot*. De nos jours, l'argot n'est plus une langue secrète qu'il fut jadis et il connaît beaucoup de variétés. L'évocation de l'histoire de l'argot français suppose qu'on mentionne quelques noms qui ont marqué cette histoire.

Les Coquillards sont arrêtés et jugés à Dijon en 1455. Grâce à ce procès nous avons environ 70 mots ou expressions argotiques. En voici quelques uns :

un crocheteur – celui qui sait ouvrir les serrures
un vendegeur – un coppeur de bourse
un befleur – un larron aui attire les simplets à jouer

François Villon a sans doute eu des contacts et des relations avec les Coquillards. On retrouve dans son oeuvre des lexèmes qui existent déjà chez les Coquillards. En plus, dans ses poèmes Villon a parfois encodé quelques niveaux de significations destinés au public différent et il s'avère que son oeuvre est bien plus complexe qu'on n'a pu croire.

Le jargon de l'argot réformé fut publié par Olivier Chéreau en 1628. Dans cet ouvrage il y des mots anciens (propres ou figurés), des mots métaphoriques, des emprunts, des dérivés, des inconnus, des composés etc.

artye – pain
ambier – fuir
amadou – onguent, pommade

Louis-Dominique Cartouche fut chef de bande célèbre. Grâce à lui nous connaissons les tremes argotiques :

trimer – marcher
trimard – chemin
mioche – garçon
ratichon – prêtre
etc.

Les Chauffeurs d'Orgères. Leur argot nous est connu par un procès de justice aussi. Ils brûlaient la plante des pieds de leurs victimes pour leur faire dire où elles cachaient leurs biens, d'où leur nom. Voici quelques lexèmes de leur argot :

une tournante – une clef
un combre – un chapeau
sciager la gourgane – couper la gorge
un lingre – un couteau

Vidocq fut voleur puis policier. Dans ses publications *Mémoires* et *les Voleurs* il fournit un vocabulare très important de l'argot du XIXè siècle. Certains de ces mots sont toujours d'usage :

mac – maquereau
pioncer – dormir
môme – enfant
papelard – papier
pieu – lit
pingre – avare
pogne – main
mézique – moi
tézique – toi
toc – faux bijoux

Il faut aussi mentionner les noms de **Victor Hugo** qui s'est beaucoup inspiré de **Vidocq, Céline** dont le style se caractérise par l'absence de *ne* dans la négation, par des constructions fautives, par des onomatopées...ou encore **Boudard, San Antonio, Léo Ferré, Pierre Perret et Renaud** qui ont tous contibué à la vivacité de l'argot dans la littérature et dans la chanson.

Les procédés de création argotique

Pour élaborer un sociolecte qui lui est propre, un groupe social a recours à différents moyens. Le plus important est lexical. Mais ce n'est pas le seul recours et on rencontre souvent dans l'argot des modifications syntaxiques qui restent moindres et elle correspond en gros à la syntaxe de la langue standard.

En fait, l'argot est toujours connu pour son vocabulaire, mais il ne suit pas toujours cela ne signifie les règles syntaxiques, grammaticales, phonétiques, pragmatiques... de la langue standard. La formation des phrases, la prononciation, l'intonation, la gestuelle... sont très différentes de la norme officielle et participent donc à la distinction du groupe. Seulement les procédés lexicaux utilisés par l'argot le carractrisent véritablement. D'autres modifications sont plutot particularité du lanagage familier.

Les procédés d'élaboration lexicale peuvent être regroupés en deux types :

- sémantiques (il s'agit de la modification et d'un jeu sur les sens des mots)
- formels (il est question de la création ou de la modification des mots).

Lorsque l'élaboration lexicale est formelle, on assiste souvent à une déconstruction du langage courant : l'argot déforme, mélange, déstructure, découpe… les mots et enfreint les règles. Cette déconstruction laisse transparaître la volonté du groupe social de se démarquer en rejetant la société établie.

Les procédés que nous décrivons concernent surtout l'argot français actuel, et plus particulièrement le français contemporain des cités.

Le procédé syntaxique se résume en ceci : on change de classe lexicale des mots. Dans la plupart des cas nous rencontrons des modèles de phrases dans lesquels utilise par exemple un adjectif à la place d'un adverbe.

Exemple : il assure *grave* pour « il est vraiment très bon ».

Les procédés lexicaux et sémantiques qu'on utilise pour la création argotique sont :

La métaphore : expression imagée qui désigne une chose.

La métonymie (y compris synecdoque) : désignation d'une chose par un de ses composants.

La polysémie et la synonymie : jeux sur les multiples sens des mots.

La dérivation ou la resuffixation de mots existants au moyen de suffixes populaires (-ard, -asse, -oque, -ax, -ouille…).

Exemples : connard et connasse dérivés, de con,
pourravedérivé,de pourri, matos dérivé de matériel.

L'apocope : troncation d'une ou plusieurs syllabes finales d'un mot.

Exemples : pèt pour pétard (joint), tox pour toxicomane.

L'aphérèse: troncation d'une ou plusieurs syllabes initiales d'un mot. L'aphérèse, très rare jusqu'à présent en français, est particulièrement présente en français contemporain des cités.

Exemples : blème pour problème, zik pour musique (après un passage par le verlan zikmu).

Le redoublement, éventuellement après troncation, d'une syllabe.

Exemple : zonzon pour prison.

Lors de la création argotique on a recours aussi à la néologie. Il s'agit de systèmes codés pour lesquels il faut avoir une clé pour les déchifrer. Parmi les plus connus nous citons :Le verlan, procédé très utilisé depuis 1980.

Exemples : keuf verlan de flic (via le passage par un stade disyllabique hypothétique keufli)

Le javanais, consistant à rajouter le son av (ou tout autre son) entre les consonnes et les voyelles.

Par exemple Marcel → Mavarçavel.

Le louchébem (ou largonji), consistant à remplacer la consonne initiale par un L, et la reporter à la fin du mot avec une terminaison (initialement créé par les louchébems de Laripette).

Boucher → loucherbem ; À poil → à loilpé.

Le mot loufoque est entré dans le vocabulaire courant.

Fou → loufoque

Siglaison : dénomination d'une réalité par un sigle, et éventuellement création de dérivés à partir de ce sigle.

Exemples : LBV pour Libreville, TDC pour tombé du camion(volé).

Emprunts à d'autres langues. Exemples : maboul de l'arabe mahbûl « fou », bédo (joint) du tzigane, go (fille) du wolof.

En résumant cette partie disons que les procédés de création argotique peuvent se résumer en ces quatre points :

- la périphrase
- l'emprunt à des langues étrangères
- les archaïsmes
- les modifications : métathèse, incorporation ou redoublement de sons ou de syllabes.

Nous allons montrer quelques matrices carractéristiques pour le français mais qui peuvent décrire les matrices dans d'autres langues certainement.

Le soleil est souvent désigné par *le brillant* et *l'argent* par *le pain*. *Le soleil* est considéré comme un objet qui brille d'où l'appellation *le brillant*. Quant au mot *argent*, celui-ci qui nous sert à acheter du pain. Au fur et à mesure que les modes de vie évoluent et s'améliorent *le pain* est remplacé par *le bifteck* ; *gagner son pain*, *gagner son bifteck* pour *gagner de l'argent*. Par ailleurs, *l'argent* est remplacé par beaucoup d'autres noms désignant la nourriture et notamment *le pain* : *blé*, *galette*, *biscuit,michon...*

Il faut souligner qu'une matrice s'appuie toujours sur une image. C'est bien visible dans les exemples avec le mot *tête.* Lorsque celui-ci est perçu comme un récipient nous obtenons : *bouille,cafetière* ; en revanche lorsque *la tête* est perçue comme un fruit nous avons : *fraise, pêche,citrouille...*

Cette image qui est indispensable au processus de création argotique n'est autre chose que le référent secondaire auquel nous avons recours afin de se créer une image de l'objet dans notre tête. Ce référent secondaire n'est pas forcement identique pour tous et il dépend du vécu du sujet c'est à dire de son héritage culturel, intellectuel et civilisateur. Allons-nous nommer un objet ayant une forme ronde ou ovale d'une manière ou d'une autre dépend exclusivement de notre vécu mais souvent aussi des circonstances dans lesquelles nous nous trouvons et celles-ci peuvent influencer notre façon de parler. D'abord parce que dans notre société actuelle il existe toujours des contraintes qui font qu'on est souvent obligés à s'autocensurer. Certains appellent cette autocensure l'art de penser mais en réalité il s'agit d'un mode d'emploi ou plutôt d'un mode de création que nous devons suivre et appliquer. Ce qui serait intéressent c'est de pouvoir

accéder aux écrits non censurés ou encore mieux aux pensées non censurées puis de les analyser dans leur états frais. Je doute fort qu'on obtienne les mêmes appellations que celles lorsque nos pensées sont censurées.

Le premier dessein de toute création argotique est de ne pas être compris par les non-initiés. Au moins c'était le cas dans les époques un peu plus lointaines dans le temps. Mais aujourd'hui ce n'est plus le cas. Un chanteur ou un écrivain n'a pas obligatoirement besoin de ne pas être compris par son public. L'emploi de l'argot chez les écrivains et les chanteurs populaires aujourd'hui ne se justifie que par des effets stylistiques.

Les matrices sémantiques universelles a priori fonctionnent dans toutes les langues. Il faut néanmoins dire que d'une langue à l'autre il existe certaines singularités qui indiquent que le mode de vie n'est pas le même et que les différences dans la langue le montrent si bien. La suite française : *gagner son argent, gagner son pain, gagner son bifteck* n'a en monténégrin que la suite suivante : *zaraditinovac, zaraditizahljeb*, - c'est à dire la suite contient seulement *gagner son argent et gagner son pain.* Bien que le mode de vie des Monténégrins ait bien évolué et se soit amélioré par rapport à celui d'il y a deux siècles, la langue n'a pas suivi cette évolution comme en français. A moins que ce ne soit pas par pure modestie qu'on gagne seulement son pain en monténégrin et pas encore son bifteck.

Les images métaphoriques et méthonymiques sont très souvent présentes dans l'argot. Il s'agit d'un pur processus de création littéraire ou orale contrainte par les tabous d'une sociétés. Ces figures de style contibuent à la richesse expressive des énoncés. Ce sont les points communs de beaucoup de langues mais ce qui est intéressent et révélateur c'est le choix des figures de style dans une langue donnée. Par ce choix nous voyons comment se manifestent les tabous d'une société. Pour revenir à l'exemple déjà cité plus haut la société française est plutôt *bifteck* tandis que la société monténégrine est plutôt *pain.*

Voici quelques termes d'argot français désignant certains lexèmes bien connus :

Argent
artiche, avoine, balles, beurre, biftons, blé, boules, chou, galette, galtouse, ganot, genhar (verlan), graisse, lard, love, os,

oseille, patate, pâte, pélauds, pépètes, pèse, picaillons, pimpions, plaque, plâtre, pognon, radis, sauce, soudure, sousetc.

Nous remarquons que la quasi totalité des termes sont relatifs à la nourriture, sous et genhar se rapportent à l'argent,et c'est la chose essentielle qu'on achète pour l'argent.

Manger
bâfrer, becqueter, bouffer, boulotter, cartoucher, casser la croûte, casser la dalle, casser la graine, claper, croûter, damer, galimafrer, gamelle, grailler, jaffer, mastéguer, morfiller, tortorer, morganer, etc.

Ici des métaphores et surtut des onomatopés sont les images qui dominent dans l'appellation de l'acte de manger en argot.

Policier
archer, bœuf, bignolon, bleu, bourdille, cochon, cogne, condé, coyotte, flic, keuf, pandore, perdreau (→ drauper), popo, poulet (→ poulagas, poulardin, pouleman),roussin, schmidt ripou (pourri), etc.

Pour le policier nous nous rendons compte que les termes motivés remplacent ce mot en argot et ces termes sont tous en lien étroit avec le métier de policier mais aussi avec notre manière, ou plutôt la manière des usagers d'argot, de voir, comprendre et interpréter ce métier.

Pour terminer, signalons que les matrices peuvent être formées sur la forme, sur la quantité, sur le volume du terme qui sera référent de l'image argotique.

Nous donnons quelques exemples d'expressions argotiques qui montrent bien quel mot est le centre de la matrice sémantique et par là porteur de sens.

La Mouche
La mouche est un diptère qui nous tourmente souvent et dont les piques et les bourdonnements nous sont insupportables. Tout cela a donné des expressions *quelle moche te pique* qui veut dire *qu'est-cequi te prend ?* ou bien *prendre la mouche* qui signifie *s'irriter, s'énerver*. Toutefois, la patience et la bonté qui exsistent

chez l'homme se traduisent à travers l'expression *il ne ferait pas mal à une mouche.*

Un naze

Cela désigne un individu médiocre et sans qualités. Très utilisé aujourd'hui, ce mot désignait autrefois, au XIXè siècle plus précisemment, les maladies vénériennes telle que syphilis par exemple. Donc il s'agissait de quelqu'un de malade et de potentiellement dangereuse dont il faut se méfier ou bien d'un individu tellement stupide qui n'était même pas capable de prendre des précautions pour éviter de tomber malade.

Conclusion

L'argot est une langue puisqu' il allimente la langue standard de mots, d'expressions etc. L'argot utilise les mêmes procédés de création que la langue standard et les matrices sémantiques dont nous avons parlé ne sont aucunement le propre de l'argot. L'argot utilise les mêmes procédés que la langue dont il dérive sauf que l'argot met ces procédés au service de fonctions différentes.

La langue dans son ensemble est une énorme variable et ses différentes formes, dont l'argot, sont ses variantes. Cela revient à conclure que l'argot n'existe pas comme une forme isolée mais qu'il est simplement une réalisation d'une forme générale. L'utilisation de formes argotiques est une façon de se situer par rapport au pouvoir et l'argot est une forme linguistique spécifique qui manifeste une fonction identitaire bien marquée. Comme la langue connâit des variations diastratiques, diatopiques et diachroniques, l'utilisation de la langue est une façon de revendiquer son appartence à un milieu, à un groupe social, à un lieu ou à un âge.

Une langue, de manière générale, assure son avenir par l'innovation, la variation et l'acceptabilité. C'est le cas de l'argot aussi et ces trois phénomènes expliques la disparition de certains argots. Ils n'ont pa su s'adapter. Pour Pierre Guiraud par exemple, l'argot est un signe social " Tout langage est signe ; comme le vêtement ou la coiffure, comme les formules de politesse ou les

rites familiaux, il nous identifie : bourgeois ou ouvrier, médecin ou soldat, paysan ou commerçant, etc"[3].

L'argot continue de vivre malgré tout, il change, obtient de nouvelles formes, acquiert un nouveau lexique en abandonant l'ancien et de manière générale se comporte comme un être vivant. C'est en analysant l'argot que nous nous sommes rendu compte de la richesse imaginative que possèdent les locuteurs français. A travers l'usage d'une langue, et a fortiori, de l'argot se manifestent les spécifités non seulement des individus qui l'habitent mais aussi de la société elle-même. L'argot nous en dit beaucoup sur les moeurs, sur les modes de vie, sur les tabous, tout simplement sur les particularités d'une société. L'argot, va-t-il ou peut-il mourir ? Difficilement, comme une langue d'ailleurs, c'est la forme qui change puisqu'elle est soumise au changement. Il faut également ajouter l'apport de l'argot à la langue standard. Certains mots typiquement argotiques à force d'être employés de manière très fréquente font partie maintenant du lexique du français standard. Nous prenons par exemple les verbes *craindre* et *assurer* qui s'utilisent autrement par rapport au français standard et c'est cet emploi argotique qui s'est ajouté à l'emploi standardisé de ces deux verbes : *ça craint* et *il assure.*

Comme toutes les formes linguistiques, l'argot est soumise à ces normes. Le fait d'utiliser l'argot signifie en réalité une prise de position sociale. Un utilisateur d'argot peut maîtriser seulement cette sorte de langue ou bien choisir cette forme de langue. Dans les deux cas cet individu nous montre sa position face à la langue standard c'est à dire la langue légitime. Tout compte fait, les utilisateurs d'argot sont rebelles, parfois sans le savoir ou sans le revendiquer. Ils expriment à travers leur langage leur attitude face à la société dans laquelle ils vivent. Cultivons nos argots!

Bibliographie

Jean-Louis Calvet, *L'argot*, Paris, PUF, 2007.
Françoise Gadet, *Le français populaire*, Paris, PUF, 1992.
Jacques Cellard et Alain Rey, *Dictionnaire du français non conventionnel*, Paris, Hachette,1980.
Gaston Esnault, *Dictionnaire historique des argots français*, Paris, Larousse, 1965.

---

[3] Pierre Guiraud, *L'argot*, Paris, PUF, 1956, p. 97.

Pierre Guiraud, *L'argot*, Paris, PUF, 1956.

Alfred Delveau, *Dictionnaire de la langue verte*, Paris, Flammarion, 1883.

Marc Sourdot, L'argotologie : entre forme et fonction, La linguistique, 38, 1, Paris, 2002.