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APOLOGISING AND THE MONTENEGRIN CULTURAL SCRIPT

Abstract: *The paper deals with the representation of the speech act of apology through cultural scripts. The research has been done on a corpus of students' responses gathered through an interview of the Discourse Completion Task (DCT) type. The speech act of apology is analysed within the politeness theory originated by Brown and Levinson (1987) and the category of 'face'. The complexity and specificity of this speech act in Montenegrin led us to establish six semantic components of apologizing for which we devised cultural scripts. Furthermore, two broad categories of apologies were identified: non-verbal and verbal which we labelled 'to do is to say' and 'to say is to do' respectively, which further resulted in the creation of two master scripts. The analysis in this paper relies heavily on the idea of cultural scripts developed by Anna Wierzbicka and Cliff Goddard, executed through the semantic primes of Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM).*

Key words: *NSM, cultural script, apologies, Montenegro, speech act, verbal, non-verbal*

1. The Speech act of apology

In this paper we deal with the speech act of apology within the theory of cultural scripts and the focus of our attention is the interlocutor who commits the verbal offence and does the harm to the other person. This kind of behaviour normally requires a compensatory phrase of apology to "grease the social wheel" (Lakoff 2003) and the acceptance of responsibility for it.

In his ground-breaking work on speech acts Searle classified apologies as expressive illocutionary acts, along with thanking, congratulating, condoling, deploring, and welcoming (1976). Norrick further elaborated on Searle's expressive illocutionary acts analysing apologies through various parameters like the factive, value judgement and role identification conditions which enabled him to discuss the social and, in particular, the emotional component of these acts (1978).

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In the field of pragmatics, Blum-Kulka and Olshtin devised a powerful methodology for the analysis of the speech act of apology in their seminal paper from 1984 introducing the category of IFID (Illocutionary Force Indicating Device), which many subsequent researchers have adopted. Holmes' 1990 paper on apologies in New Zealand English offered a slightly different methodology, having established a corpus of 183 remedial exchanges. Holmes emphasises the function of apologies in interpersonal communication as a remedy for an offense and the restoration of social equilibrium or harmony, an idea also found in Edmondson (1981, 280) and Leech (1983, 125). She defines apologies as primarily social acts conveying affective meaning and her definition (1990, 159) recognises the restriction of the term *apology* to an expression such as *sorry* and *apologise*, and takes into account Goffman's reference to *remedy* (1971, 140) pointing out the one essential element – *remedial interchange*. Owen (1983) also selected both *sorry* and *apologise* as IFIDs of apology. Unlike the above-mentioned proponents of pragmatic theory, Spencer-Oatey, in accordance with her interpretation of apologies as rapport management strategy, qualifies them as “typically post-event speech acts”, in the sense that some kind of offence or violation of social norms has taken place (Spencer-Oatey 2008, 19). The focus of her analysis is not upon remedy, it is upon *rapport* (Spencer-Oatey 2002).

Apologies constitute highly face threatening acts. Issues of controversy in politeness theory never really brought into negligence of Brown and Levinson's theory on politeness, rather, they built on it. 'Politeness' can be explained in terms of conversational maxims (Leech 1983) and it can be accounted for through Grice's Cooperative Principle (Grice 1975, 1978, 1981). In spite of the criticism that Brown and Levinson's theory has received over the years, their theory still serves as a theoretical framework for research into cross cultural pragmatics (Ogiermann 2009, 20; O'Driscoll 2007, 464).

According to the politeness theory of Brown and Levinson (1987) the key concept is that of 'face', which is also a strong motivation for those politeness strategies which fall within the domain of facework. They suggest that each person has a “public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself” (Brown and Levinson 1987, 61). 'Face' is of great importance because it

can be lost, maintained and enhanced, that is why some communicative, i.e. speech acts can be face threatening (FTA).

2. Cultural scripts and the NSM

To be able to execute our analysis we have relied on the postulates of Wierzbicka's (1992, 1999a, 1999b, 2003,), Goddard's (1994, 1996, 2003, 2004) and Goddard and Wierzbicka (1995) research into Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) and cultural scripts. In their research they closely relate linguistic forms on the one hand and the cultural milieu in which these linguistic forms are used and which condition them on the other. Wierzbicka's cultural script known as 'compelling' and 'non-compelling', whose opposite category is 'personal autonomy', will serve as the wider theoretical framework within which we will explain the speech act of apology. This basic scenario is founded primarily on the mental primitive expressed by the verb *think* (Goddard and Karlsson 2004), from which are derived the mental predicates *feel* and *expect*, which further suggests that the apology is cognitively based on the mental process of thought and expectation, as well as cognitively-based emotions, since our findings also indicate a direct connection between the verbal act of apology and the affective aspects of the human being. It has allowed us to acquire the perspective of a cultural insider (Wierzbicka 2003, 402), a scope of utmost generality of approach and a focus on actual norms and practices of the speech act in question. In Wierzbicka's terminology, cultural scripts are "self-explanatory semantic formulae couched in terms of universal semantic primitives" (2003, 108) and interpretative backdrop for social action in Goddard's (2002).

The cultural script model serves as a naïve axiology of what is permitted in speech and what is not and also articulates this perspective in a non-technical way. In pragmatic theory cultural script "refers to a powerful new technique for articulating cultural norms, values and practices in terms which are clear, precise, and accessible to cultural insiders and to cultural outsiders alike" (Goddard and Wierzbicka 2004, 153). It is turned into a hermetic, yet flexible metalanguage which comprises simple words and grammatical patterns that can be found in all languages. It consists of an exhaustive list of words, semantic primitives, but also allows a grammar of somewhat limited scope which at the most basic level allows the description

of the universal nature of cross-cultural phenomena (Goddard and Wierzbicka 1995).

Substantives:	I, YOU, SOMEONE, PEOPLE, SOMETHING/THING, BODY
Determiners:	THIS, THE SAME, OTHER
Quantifiers:	ONE, TWO, SOME, ALL, MUCH, MANY
Evaluators:	GOOD, BAD
Descriptors:	BIG, SMALL
Mental predicates:	THINK, KNOW, WANT, FEEL, SEE, HEAR
Speech:	SAY, WORDS, TRUE
Actions, events, movement:	DO, HAPPEN, MOVE
Existence and possession:	THERE IS, HAVE
Life and death:	LIVE, DIE
Time:	WHEN/TIME, NOW, BEFORE, AFTER, A LONG TIME, A SHORT TIME, FOR SOME TIME, MOMENT
Space:	WHERE/PLACE, HERE, ABOVE, BELOW, FAR, NEAR, SIDE, INSIDE, TOUCHING (CONTACT)
Logical concepts:	NOT, MAYBE, CAN, BECAUSE, IF
Intensifier, augmentor:	VERY, MORE
Taxonomy, partonomy:	KIND OF, PART OF
Similarity:	LIKE

Table 1. Table of semantic primes (Wierzbicka, 2003: 8)

3. Data and methodology

The paper is based on a corpus of responses to questions given by around 600 students of the University of Montenegro who were surveyed and whose ages ranged approximately between 19 and 21 years. The responses were elicited on the basis of the Discourse Completion Task (DCT) questionnaire which was devised after Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984). It comprised six structured questions divided into two sets. The first set elicited responses to questions of a multiple choice type by circling the correct answer, while the second set was a discourse completion test where interviewees supplied a written answer. Three precisely outlined situations required one of the performative verbs of apology which would constitute the compensatory phrase of apology (IFID). Two such items in the test dealt with informal situations where emotional bonds were

dominant (mother and girlfriend/boyfriend), the third being entirely formal and hierarchical. We also included some control interviews which served as a tool for random checking of the obtained results.

Various types and kinds of IFIDs have best been obtained through the DCT, also called 'production questionnaire' (Ogiermann 2009, 67) which has been best put to use in large projects like CCSARP (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989; Kasper 2000, 325; Barron 2003, 84). Despite some limitations of DTC, for example, the absence of prosodic features like pitch or intonation, or kinesic features e.g. facial expressions, posture, gestures, "data elicited with DCTs are consistent with naturally occurring data, at least in the main patterns and formulas" (Billmyer and Varghese 2000, 518).

The discourse perspective of Lakoff (2003) best complements the definitions of Holmes (1990), Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) and others from the pragmatic theory. The speech act of apology is *face threatening* because of some *harm* or *wrongdoing* performed in naturally occurring interaction which leads to *admittance* of and taking *responsibility* for it. The logical consequence is *abasement* (*mortification*) produced in the form of a *compensatory phrase* (*of an apology*) usually accompanied by the *abjuration of bad behaviour* (Lakoff 2003; Sahragard 2003). *Regret* for doing it is presupposed and the actual *undoing the harm* is expected. Regarding the degree of face threat, these elements of apology can be divided into three *low face threat* and three *high face threat* pragmatic strategies. The Montenegrin cultural script of *low face threat* would comprise the following semantic components: *responsibility*, *regret*, and *abjuration of bad behaviour*. *High face threat* would encompass *admittance*, *abasement*, and *undoing the harm*. We devised individual cultural scripts for each of them.

4. The lexicon of apology

In our earlier work (Perović 2008, 2009, 2011) in creating general cultural scripts of apology in Montenegro we combined the set of empirically established semantic primes of the NSM type proposed by Wierzbicka and Goddard with the subset of lexemes (not allolexes) which gave rise to an inclusive description. This subset comprised lexemes like *harm*, *face*, *threaten*, *express*, which were all pertinent for this speech act and

which could be glossed in Montenegrin having more or less the same elements of semantic componential analysis.

The most direct manifestation of apology is IFID, which functions as a routine, formulaic expression of apology. Next, there is the statement without IFID or with it, containing mention or reference to one or more elements from the aforementioned collection of specified propositions, but not containing an explicit performative verb of apology. The third way, very common in our corpus, was the non-verbal or affective mode. Also, we had instances of non-apologising: *I never apologise*.

The following table gives the percentage of apologies in the corpus:

Type	%
1. Verbally	72%
2. Non-verbally	23%
3. The use of <i>lie</i> and <i>forget</i> as IFID	3%
4. Did not apologise	2%

Table 1. Type of apology

4.1 Low face threat

Contrary to Holmes who stated that “almost all apology exchanges involved an explicit apology” (Holmes, 1990, 155), around 30% of our respondents did not use explicit apology. The presence or absence of the performative verb in apology was in positive correlation with the level of their directness i.e. indirectness in conveying politeness in Montenegrin, which is a Slavic language. (Ogiermann (2009, 21) has a different stand springing from the claim that Polish and Russian belong to positive politeness cultures.) The degree of conventionalism is taken as a parameter of pertinence for IFID identification in speech act of apology - the greater indirectness, the lower the face threat. The tables that follow offer evidence on the existence of the direct, conventionally indirect and non-conventionally indirect apologies. Non-conventional indirect examples are very close to the non-verbal, i.e. indirect apologising. We identified the combination of strategies used in apologies (given in *italic*) and supplied their exemplification.

a) <i>The speech act of apology</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Apologise because of my empty hands. 2. Sorry darling, didn't have time. 3. Forgive me. Won't be repeated.
b) <i>Intensification of illocution</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Pardon me, pardon me, I'm really sorry. 5. Sorry, sorry, but you are getting the present tomorrow. 6. I do, I do apologise. Tomorrow, I promise.

Table 2. Direct apologies – explicit presence of IFID

The most frequent compensatory phrase was *izvini* (apologise), then, *žao mi je* (sorry) and not so infrequently the expression *oprosti mi* (forgive me), which we interchangeably translated as *pardon me*. *Oprosti mi* is similar to Russian *prostite* (*prošu proščeniya*), which Larina (2003, 216) associates with the linguistic repertoire of older generations. We cannot support that, we can say that forgiveness as an apology expressions were not as frequent as the others.

4.1.1 Responsibility

- a. X feels something like this:
- b. Sometimes some things happen
- c. 'I did something bad to Y
- d. I have to think about that (those things)
- e. I know that people want me to do/say something'
- f. Because of that X wants Y to know how he feels
- g. People will think well of X because of that

This script opens with the mental verb of *feeling* because responsibility (in apologies) is dominantly a feeling, a personal, not a collective one. The phrase *I feel responsible* is supported by many responses in the corpus: *I deeply apologise; Sorry, sorry; I am so very sorry* (Table 2). In NSM it can be described through the existential and possessive *have*: *to have a responsibility to somebody*. Component (b) states a fact of life, i.e. the intentional or unintentional harm or wrongdoing which in communication inevitably happen. As a consequence, an individual *feels responsible* and *has a responsibility* towards someone. When it comes to a specific interpersonal relationship, responsibility starts with admittance that something bad happened to someone in an agentive way (c), specifically, that one person did something

bad to another. In (d) we introduced the mental predicate *think* because it means taking a stand. Mental predicates *know* and *think* are employed here because responsibility leading to an apology comes as a result of both cognitive and emotional processes. *Know* in (e) is also awareness that people will react well, responsibility is observed as a positive value. One of the answers in the corpus was: *I apologise when I know I am wrong*. (f) is reactive, and it reveals a person who is aware of his/her actions and deeds and announces readiness to take the blame, which is a near-synonym for responsibility. (g) speaks of social values and the general attitude of expectancy that someone will take the blame when there is a reason for doing so. It is glossed in the norm: *people will think good of me*. The respondents frequently wrote that they apologise *because of their home education* and *out of solidarity*. It means that taking responsibility is a norm widely accepted and appreciated. To deserve esteem and respect one has to be responsible.

The following script of *regret* is also introduced with the mental predicate *feel*. *Regret* is defined as “a feeling of sadness about something sad or wrong or about a mistake that you have made, and a wish that it could have been different and better” (*Cambridge Dictionary online* <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/>). The lexicon entry includes *sadness*, *sad*, *wrong*, *mistake*, and the second conditional *could have been* emphasises non-factuality – in reality nothing good happened – which all falls within the lexicon of apology, i.e. *feeling of contrition* and *harm*.

4.1.2 Regret

- a. X feels something like this:
- b. ‘Something bad happened to Y
- c. I did not want that to happen
- d. Because of this I feel very bad
- e. Because of this I can say I feel bad’
- f. X does not want Y to feel bad because of X
- g. People will think well of X because of that

X regrets something done to Y. Regret is more interpersonal than responsibility (one can feel responsibility for ozone depletion, but will not regret it), that is why the semantic formula proceeds with feelings (though almost always thoughts,

too) of X towards Y (b). Components (c) and (d) elaborate on that feeling as a result of something unwanted and undesired leading to a feeling of contrition. *Regret* quite agrees with the compassionate and empathic trait of Montenegrins because they will extend proof of sorrowful feelings on any occasion, whether verbally or non-verbally, if they deem it proper. In Polish, too, the explicit expression of regret *żałuję* (*I regret*) is generally recognised to serve as an apology (Ożóg 1990; Zgólkowie 1992). In Montenegrin a similar verb, *žao mi je*, would be a more indirect apology realisation. The measure of what is 'deemed proper' is always diagnosed through the fact of whether something is seen as a threat to face or not. Component (e) specifically emphasises the possibility of *saying*, as a verbalised form, though *regret* can be shown non-verbally too, whereas (f) builds on the interpersonal dynamics. (f) again intensifies the interpersonal setting and the desire for the harm to be annulled or at least undone. The last component (g), like the last one in the previous script, is emphasis of the importance of other people's opinion, or in Freudian terms, of *super ego*. Any response from Table 2 or 3 would be suitable.

Once somebody has cultivated *responsibility* and *regret* as a kind of reaction to the harm done, it is only natural to expect *renunciation (on oath)* or *solemn rejection* which are understood to be synonymous with *abjuration of bad behaviour*. The following is a general script which encodes the cause and consequence of apologies.

4.1.3 *Abjuration of bad behaviour*

[people think like this]:
When I do something wrong
I feel bad about it
It is good to say
'It will not happen again'
Because of that people will say good things about you

To smooth the relationship and restore it to the previous position one has to renounce bad behaviour publicly in the form of a promise (possibly accompanied by an oath) or to do whatever it takes to ease the situation and return it to the position before the harm was been done. The social norm

encourages this behaviour as it is stated in the line *it is good to say 'I will not happen again'*. Such instances were numerous in the corpus: *it won't happen again, I promise/ I promise it won't happen again, at least till next time/ After Bruce Willis you don't need a melodrama. We'll do that tomorrow*, etc. (Table 3). The last component of the script is again the general opinion *because of that people will say good things about you*. This strategy of courtesy is strongly encouraged, though, as we have seen, in some responses it may have a disingenuous note – *at least till next time*.

<i>c) Augmentation of illocution</i>	7. I love you. Kiss. I'm getting a big surprise ready for you tomorrow.
<i>d) Accumulation of illocution</i>	8. Honey, the eighth wonder of the world just happened! I didn't buy a present today, but I'll do it tomorrow
<i>e) Explanation and promise</i>	9. I didn't buy you anything, but tomorrow I'm taking you to dinner.
<i>f) Command or advice</i>	10. Never mind presents, love is what matters.
<i>g) Promise instead of apology</i>	11. Mother, I'm bringing you the film tomorrow. 12. Oh man, I forgot to bring you the film again. Here, I promise I'll do it tomorrow. 13. I tell her I forgot and that I'll bring it when I remember. 14. I'm bringing you the film tomorrow.
<i>h) Excuse instead of apology</i>	15. I say, "the shop was closed."
<i>i) Apology and explanation</i>	16. Pardon me, I'm in too much of a rush, the book got left on the table.
<i>j) Apology with intensification + explanation + promise</i>	17. I'm really sorry, I forgot. I'll definitely bring it next time.
<i>k) Advice and promise</i>	18. After Bruce Willis you don't need a melodrama. We'll do that tomorrow.
<i>l) Promise</i>	19. It won't happen again, I promise. 20. Honey, forgive me this once. 21. I promise it won't happen again, at least till next time.
<i>m) Action and</i>	22. I kiss her and say, "we'll do it tomorrow".

<i>speech act</i>	
n) <i>Type is token</i>	23. I'm your present. 24. I've got some red ribbons at home. I get one, tie it round my head and say, "I'm your present". 25. What better gift do you want than me!
o) <i>Self-deprecation</i>	26. I can't believe it! This is the most stupid thing I've done in my life! 27. I'm a real hopeless case. 28. Boy, I'm really stupid!

Table 3. Conventionally indirect apologies

4.2 High face threat

Admittance in this semantic componential analysis of apology belongs to high face threat and it is believed to be substantially different from *regret* and *responsibility* because it must be demonstrated publicly (the public and private spheres are strongly divided in Montenegrin culture). It is glossed in Montenegrin as *priznanje* and has more or less the same components of meaning as in English. *Priznanje*, like *admittance*, is a serious thing which means 'to concede as true or valid' or, to give an example, a person '*admitted* making a mistake'. It is highly face threatening, very direct, not conventionalised at all, and is an aspect of negative face-work. The greater the indirectness, the more conventionalised the phrase of apology is. The following response was highly illustrative: *I try and think of something where I won't have to apologise, and if not... ??? Man, tough question!* (cf. Tables 3 and 4) The students found it 'tough' to admit publicly that they are wrong, which is a form of *admittance*. One respondent wrote: *I apologise only when I am made to.*

4.2.1 Admittance

- a. X thinks something like this:
 - b. 'I did something bad to Y
 - c. That is bad of me'
 - d. X thinks Y will think something bad about X
 - e. X can do something
 - f. X feels that X has to say/do about what happened
 - g. Some people will think well of X because of that
- p) *Self-reflection* | 29. I do not say anything. I forgot. What can I

	do! I'll get it for her tomorrow for sure.
q) <i>Meta-apology</i>	30. I feel so bad that I can't even apologise
r) <i>Awareness of the situation</i>	31. Mother, 'Die Hard III' is a better film. 32. Excellent film! 33. Well done, Mum! 34. What do you want melodrama for when you've got Bruce Willis!
s) <i>Wit</i>	35. If Bruce Willis had played in 'Titanic' he would have saved all the passengers.
t) <i>Exclamation</i>	36. Ooops!
u) <i>Meta-discourse</i>	37. I try and think of something where I won't have to apologise, and if not... ??? Man, tough question! 38. There's no apology needed there, loves understands all if it's sincere.
v) <i>Propositional optionality</i>	39. I lie, what else can I do?

Table 4. Non-conventionally indirect apologies

The script of *admittance* starts with the verb of mental disposition *think* (a) which proceeds with the result of that cognitive action as direct words of admittance. At the same time it is personal, with no component of *some bad things happen* like in the *regret* and *responsibility* script. Also, it is interpersonal, the offended person Y is present right away in the script (b). Element (c) is especially relevant as it augments the already stated guilt in (b) revealing the possibility of introspection and critical insight into oneself. As a result there is component (d) which again reinforces the opinion of the injured party. Component (e) is especially important for the script because it utilises one of the logical concepts from the NSM, namely, *can*. *Can* as a modal has the semantics of ability and possibility, but not certainty. X *can* do something and there is a high possibility he will. That is the element of the overall script of apology that accounts for a certain number of those who do not apologise at all or do it non-verbally. (f) specifies the form of admittance which, following the results of the research, must have the form of do/say as some admittance is verbalised, some not. Some elicited responses contained several speech acts: *honey, the eighth wonder of the world just happened! I didn't buy a present today, but I'll do it tomorrow (explanation and promise)* (Table 3).

As a result of all these components of admittance in the Montenegrin cultural script of apology there is this final line (g) specifying public opinion. It will not be unanimous because some people will think well of X because of it, not all. In reality there may be a lavish verbal form of admittance/abasement/apology without actual admitting, mortification or apologising. Our corpus testifies to that in abundance, for example, *forget about presents, love counts; I am your present; oooops; you'll forgive me if you love me* etc. (Tables 3 and 4).

Perhaps the most face threatening component of the apology script in Montenegro is *abasement*. It is glossed as *poniženje* in Montenegrin and it has a somewhat different meaning than in English. Namely, the root of the word in English is *base* which in this context means something low and not prestigious. *Poniženje* comes from *poniziti* which means učiniti nižim (*Rečnik srpskoga jezika* [Dictionary of Serbian Language], 2007, 972). It encodes not only being *low* or *at the base of something* but also comparison – *being lower than somebody else*. The comparison inherent in *poniženje* lacks true equivalency in *abasement*. In Montenegrin it would be harder to go through *poniženje* than for an Anglo person to go through *abasement*.

4.2.2 Poniženje/Abasement

- a. X knows something like this:
- b. 'I caused something bad to happen to Y
- c. Y will feel bad because of that'
- d. Because of this X knows
- e. 'Y is right to feel bad because of me'
- f. Because of that X feels he has to do/say something
- g. X can/cannot do something about it
- h. After X does it some people will/will not say some bad things about X because of this

We started this script with the verb which signifies the strongest cognitive potential of certainty of all verbs of mental predicate in NSM – *to know*. It presupposes awareness of the harm done to Y (b) which states its interpersonal nature. Abasement is only possible relative to some other person. Knowing refers to X's consciousness of the emotional state of Y who suffers harm and reveals X as a moral person (c). X does not

want his mother, girlfriend or lecturer to feel bad and he/she empathises with them. That feeling of contrition produces a reaction of further awareness (d) that Y is right to feel bad. The three last components represent the essence of the abasement script. (f) is the feeling that he/she has to undertake something, (g) states that it is possible, but not certain, represented in *can/cannot do something about it*. The corpus offered a rich repertoire of both – elaborate phrasing of actual apology: *pardon me, pardon me, I am really sorry*, and the elaborate phrasing of its absence: *if Bruce Willis had acted in the 'Titanic' he would have saved all the passengers or never mind presents, love is what matters; I know you understand me* (Tables 2, 3 and 4). Lastly, (h) intensifies or augments the public standpoint on that particular aspect of apologising leading to actual reaction. Abasement causes inhibition in behaviour, some people will certainly say some bad things about X because of his adopted strategy of apologising.

This fragmentised picture of the act of apology is rounded off with the last element of apology – *undoing the harm*. It is the final act and the most obvious in terms of public humiliation, as apologies are often regarded in the Montenegrin cultural script. That is the reason why this script is general, not broken down into its possible constituent semantic elements. The script is limited in scope, though, and its first component contains the phrase *some people*. The reason is found in figures of the corpus.

4.2.3 Undo the harm

[some people think like this]:
When I do/say something bad
It is good to do/say something
That will make things better

The script reflects the data of the research: *doing* or *saying* something bad causes *doing* or *saying* something that will make things better. But, there is no parallelism between this courteous cause and consequence. Some harm is not undone, some apologies not delivered. But if *things become better* and the *situation* is *restored* the mission of apologies is accomplished. Once the phrase of apology is uttered the abasement is sealed, admittance signed and undoing of the harm performed. Cross-

culturally, not only in Montenegro (cf. Tanaka, Spencer-Oatey, Cray 2008; Sugimoto 1998).

5. *To do is to say* master script

Our research showed that apologies could be divided into two groups on the basis of their ratio of occurrence. Those figures of apology in our research – roughly 30% vs. 70% - guided us to establish two master scripts of apology which we named: *to do is to say* and *to say is to do* respectively.

To do is to say master script we also call the pragmatic strategy of compensation because it excludes verbal compensation form apologies. The students surveyed raised the strategies of apology to a higher pragmatic level – many of them lacked the performative verb. The reasons for this are manifold, ranging from high face threat to the lack of necessity to produce the compensatory phrase verbally because that does not constitute an individual's norm of courtesy and intimacy does not demand it. We find the following words of conventional ethnographic description very supportive of our linguistic analysis: "The social value system is predicated on the dignity of the individual and ideally all social behaviour is regulated in such a way as to preserve one's *amour propre* and to avoid disturbing the same feeling of dignity and self-esteem in others" (Vreeland et al. 1977, 117). *To do is to say* is such a cultural script. It stands in strong opposition to Anglocentric cultural norms and values because they would require substantive apology almost exclusively. Some of the responses were: *I just approach and kiss her; Here is a kiss! There you go; I hug and kiss her; I give her a significant look; I give her a disarming smile* etc. (cf. Wierzbicka 1986, 1999a). In these examples the recipient of this affection is obviously a female person. It can be both mother and girlfriend.

5.1 *To do is to say*

[people think like this]:
When I do/say something bad
I feel bad because of that
It is good to do something
Something good will happen because of that
People will know what I feel
People will think well of me

This master script uses the concept of *people* to open with, thus supporting both the compelling spirit cherished in the community and closeness among emotionally related people. We introduced into the linguistic analysis of the speech act cognitive categories of emotion, based on verbs of mental predication, primarily *think*, which is derived from *feel*. Students would even resort to a written mode: *I don't say anything, rather I go and buy a present the following day and write an apology on a little piece of paper*. The interpersonal component is evident in the verb of mental disposition: *people will know how I feel*.

5.2 Cognitively based emotions

A large proportion of emotions with the pragmatic use of apology in our corpus can be explained as a communication style with the purpose to harmonize the relationship. Emotions are referred to as “a minimisation of risk of confrontation” (Lakoff 1979, 102) or having the role to contribute to “smooth communication” Ide (1989, 225), whereas Leech spoke of “social equilibrium and friendly relations” (1983, 82). Goffman (1967, 6-8) went a step further and referred to the ‘feelings’ as a quality attached to face, such as feeling good, bad, hurt, ashamed, embarrassed and chagrined (2011, 5-6). In the dichotomy: positive politeness – negative politeness Brown and Levinson (1987, 1) ascribed emotions the positive quality and referred to them as the need to disarm potential aggression but they did not go into any further elaboration. Within pragmatic theory Spencer-Oatey has explored the nature of “rapport-sensitive” incidents and in her 2011 paper on conceptualising the relational in pragmatics she states that “an implicit thread running through nearly all this ‘relational’ research is the role of emotions” (2011, 5-6).

Wierzbicka deals with emotions through NSM lexicon. She suggested that the mental lexicon of the verb *think* can be applied to the cognitive domain of emotions, thus what was *thought of* became obvious through what was *shown*. The semantic prime *feel* is a cognitively based emotion (Wierzbicka 1999a, 54-55).

Our corpus supports this through many students' responses. Physically observed reactions suggesting that information is being communicated as to how a person feels in the act of apology or delivering it *was* an apology. It happens

within family, between emotionally related individuals where egalitarian status means lack of hierarchy and where love means that you do not have to apologise.

w) <i>Tenderness - hug, kisses</i>	40. I just approach and kiss her 41. I hug and kiss her 42. Here's a kiss. There you go!
x) <i>Bodily reaction</i>	43. I stand there with tears in my eyes
y) <i>Gesture - disarming smile, slap my forehead, start to wring my hands, start pacing on the spot</i>	44. I apologise in an endearing little voice and wring my hands 45. Slap your forehead, hug your mother/ girlfriend
z) <i>Significant look (and statement)</i>	46. Nothing! I would just look at her significantly and maybe (depending on my mood) say: "You're having fun, aren't you?" ('smiley' added)

Table 5. Emotions as IFID

The cultural scenario of a high level of respect toward emotions connected with apology we simply stated as follows:

5.3 Emotions as apology

[people think like this]:

When I think I have done bad to another person,
I feel something about this;
It is good if people see that I feel something
people will know what I feel

It is reciprocal – emotion for emotion. As noted by Brown and Levinson choices of communication style that people make influence interactional ethos leading to differences among sociocultural groups.

...societies, or sub-cultures within societies, differ in terms of what might be called 'ethos', the affective quality of interaction characteristic of members of a society. ... In some societies interactional ethos is generally warm, easy-going, friendly; in others it is stiff, formal, deferential (1987, 243).

As Spencer-Oatey suggested, the first group can be identified as positive-politeness societies, the other as negative-politeness societies (2008, 28). Montenegrins demonstrate a great deal of affection in interpersonal communication, though the entire society is more likely to be labelled negative-politeness society than the positive one. Obviously, participants and their relations define the sub patterns of behaviour. It is the family circle and the context of emotional ties (be it mother and a sibling or a boyfriend and a girlfriend) that is recognised by closeness and adequate power and distance management strategies. Though it was not the focus of our interest it is important to note here that apologising is gender sensitive in Montenegro. Men generally apologise less frequently and in a linguistically less marked manner.

The emotion of hurt is matched with the emotion of compensation for that bad emotion. Sometimes it is the emotion *plus* the compensatory phrase of apology, but quite frequently it is the emotion *instead* of it, i.e. *I apologise in an endearing little voice and wring my hands*. It is full of diminutives and hypocoristic expressions illustrating closeness, love and affection: *Mummy, don't break my head; ooops! Mummy, I forgot; darling, next time; Little Violet (Ljubičice), some other time; Oh, God! O.K. tomorrow, etc.*

6. To say is to do master script

To say is to do is another high-level or master script of apologies in our research. It was a dominant mode of apologising and the range of illocutionary forces of this speech act was immense (Tables 2, 3 and 4). The script goes like this:

6.1 To say is to do

[people think like this]:
When I do/say something bad
I feel bad because of that
It is good to say something
Something good will happen because of that
People will know what I feel
People will think well of me

Like the one before, it opens with a generalised opinion, with the mental primitive *think*. The component *it is good to say something* distinguishes it from the script *to do is to say*, which does not allow the prototypical performative verb of saying. This script addresses social norms, it is at the same time an expression of good conduct and nice manners. Also, it bears a resemblance to the Anglo script where *to say* is almost *de rigueur* in apologising. The component *something good will happen because of that* establishes the cause-to-consequence relationship of someone's behaviour and the person's awareness of it. It is a kind of bidirectional obligation – an individual is supposed to obey the rules of social and cultural norms, in return the gratification is the acceptance of such behaviour. This semantic component is at the same time the central element of this cultural script. Apology is a convention. It is expected more than it is not. Give it to me and you will be pardoned. Not before that. The component *people will think well of me* shows people's judgment and emphasises the interpersonal conditioning that the offender and the offended have in the social environment. Also the component *people will know what I feel* reveals the value of self-awareness and the need to communicate the wish to others to ameliorate oneself through the act of apology. The component *people will know what I feel* means understanding and empathy.

7. Conclusion

The results of our elaboration justified the application of cultural scripts and NSM as the broadest possible framework for the analysis of apologising in Montenegro. The research using NSM led to the establishment of a specific cultural script of apologies in Montenegro. Our analysis has shown that this act threatens face to a great extent, and we believe that this general finding can be applied more or less to the whole Montenegrin population. This Montenegrin script might look extremely pessimistic and, if taken literally (and Anglocentrically), it would suggest a society full of heartless and rough-mannered individuals who were insensitive to others and who were lacking in knowledge of politeness strategies. But breaking down a single speech act into the scripts of six semantic components identified the sources of high FTA. The division into low face threat and high face threat shed light upon the core cultural and psychological mechanisms that trigger the particular form of

apology. The cultural scripts for each of the component parts of the speech act showed that the burden of rigid norms, pronounced traits of tradition, and a mentality that is in opposition to behaviour with the potential for personal humiliation result in the specific politeness strategies. The corpus provided evidence that students try to find a way of avoiding apology according to this rigid scenario but to be polite nevertheless. They demonstrated a strong consideration for the other in an attempt to undo the harm and in the desire to show respect and deference in communication.

The higher the FTA was, the higher the probability of a non-verbal apology. Since the corpus showed a lack of the verbal compensation phrase in a significant number of surveyed answers, and since something must surely perform this pragmatic function in communication, otherwise communication in Montenegro would be constantly chaotic, this function is carried out through a pragmatic strategy of compensation in the form of bodily reactions, gestures, acts, movements and emotions expressed. Very often the balance in communication is to be found between imposition on the one hand and deference on the other. The Montenegrin cultural code appreciates hierarchy, paternalism and an authoritarian attitude which do not often create a favourable ambiance for the egalitarian ethos, harmony and empathy. On the contrary, as our research shows, hierarchy will always try to establish one up and one down and every possibility for face to be endangered will lead to avoidance of apology. Equality of status will most probably be found in emotional bonds either of a sentimental nature or within the family which, by definition, lacks hierarchy.

The low level scripts are compatible with high level (master) scripts. Having departed from the criterion of low face threat and high face threat we isolated two master scripts of apologies in Montenegrin: *to do is to say* and *to say is to do*, the first being very indirect, the latter much less so. *To do is to say* saves face, and is in accordance with the cultural norm and the principles of politeness for the given cultural scenario and is equally acceptable to the listener and the speaker. *To say is to do* is shared as a cultural norm both among the Montenegrins and among all those who have apology as a universal. The illocutionary forces of the speech act demonstrated a vast array of indirectness. It is apparent that high FTA results in a high level

of indirectness, that is, a high degree of conventionalisation, which in the corpus was documented by an abundance of linguistic forms, including instances from the domain of the emotional or the ethical.

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APPENDIX
QUESTIONNAIRE

I Circle one answer.

1. Do you normally apologise?

a. yes b. no c. I never apologise d. _____

2. a. In which situations do you apologise? b. Why?

a. _____

b. _____

3. a. How do you apologise? b. What is your phrase of apology?

a. _____

b. _____

II The following situations are examples from interpersonal behaviour. Supply your verbal reaction.

4. Your girlfriend/boyfriend has a birthday. You have not bought the anticipated present because of some urgent matter and all the shops are already closed. What do you say?

5. It is Saturday night. Your mother has asked you to bring her "Pretty Woman" from the video shop. You have forgotten, you come home late, and you find her watching "Die Hard III" on TV. What do you say?

6. A student has to meet his lecturer to return a book to him. To his horror, he realises that he has not got the book with him.

Lecturer: Marko, I hope you've brought me the book that I lent you.

Marko:

Professor: All right, but remember to bring it next time.



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REVISITING VERBS OF EMISSION: AN UPDATE ON SOME RELEVANT THEORETICAL ACCOUNTS OF LEXICAL SPECIFICATION AND ARGUMENT STRUCTURE OF EMISSION VERBS

Abstract: *The paper addresses the question of what semantic properties lexicalized in verbs determine their syntactic behavior in intransitive motion events and in resultative constructions in English and Serbian. Special attention is devoted to English and Serbian verbs of emission (specifically verbs of sound emission and partly also verbs of light, smell and substance emission) regarding their potential to surface as main verbs in these constructions and to combine with directional phrases within specific morphosyntactic templates (unaccusatives and unergatives). The presented research promotes a theoretical view according to which the established syntactic patterns can be applied across the whole class of verbs of emission to express a fuller range of atypical verb meanings in motion events. Theoretical conclusions of the research are also relevant for a wider theoretical description of motion events and resultatives in a cross-linguistic perspective. The paper puts forth additional implications regarding the projectionalist approach to semantic verb classes against the theoretical framework of Beth Levin (1993). Finally, the paper considers the relevant points of structurally realized similarities via relevant constructional templates in English and in Serbian, as well as some important points of morphosyntactic divergence between the two languages. The conclusions presented aim at a more comprehensive contrastive language typology based on language “framing” parameters.*

Key words: *verbs of emission, lexical specification, argument structure, motion events, natural language typology*

1. Introduction

The paper dominantly focuses on Verbs of Emission and explores their potential to surface as main verbs in two specific construction (a) argument alternations: intransitive motion constructions (1a) and resultative constructions or adjectival resultatives (1b):

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1. a. The train *rumbled* into the station.
b. The door *banged* shut.

Both examples above contain English verbs of sound emission as construction head verbs. Intransitive motion constructions typically express movement realized along the trajectory or path of motion, where either motion or manner of motion is lexicalized in the verb, while the path is expressed in the obligatory complement, frequently a prepositional phrase or a small clause as explained in the syntactic theoretical approach of Hoekstra (1988). Verbs of emission are often integrated into a syntactic template of an unaccusative construction (Levin 1993), taking inanimate subjects. In unaccusatives, the inanimate external argument (thematic agent) undergoes motion but does not emit the sound lexicalized by the verb – rather the sound is caused by the movement itself or, in other words, movement produces the sound. English resultatives are secondary predicates indicating the result of the action described by the primary predicate in form of an adjective. In adjectival resultatives an abstract path argument is involved, corresponding to degrees along the scale denoted by the resultative predicate. The predicate *shut* in the example 1b is resultative because the sentence entails that the door became *shut* as the result of *banging* it.²

The research promotes a theoretical analysis primarily of verbs of sound and light emission; however we make an attempt to take the presented theoretical account further into a more comprehensive view of the whole class of emission verbs as established by Beth Levin (Levin 1993:233-38). Although Levin's work is extremely important as the starting theoretical base for all research concerning lexical verb structure and argument alternations as projections of verbal morphosyntactic potential, her study *English Verb Classes and Alternations* does not offer a comprehensive enough account for the distributional range of verbs belonging to the established verb classes. What is more, some important argument realizations are not included in specific class descriptions and lexical specifications of the verbs, signaling that some classes need a certain amount of revising as well as that the complete work of distributing verbs into classes

² We will come back to resultative constructions in detail in the section of the paper which deals with English and Serbian in contrast.

based on their lexical specification and argument projection patterns is still far from finished. A portion of this paper shifts to a contrastive analysis of English and Serbian verbs of emission with the aim of pointing out certain somewhat unexpected similarities as well as some relevant points of divergence between the two languages against the theoretical background on language *framing* presented by Leonard Talmy (1975, 1991, 2000) and Beavers et al (2009). Finally, the research sets out to list the meeting points and contrastive systemic differences between English and Serbian based both on theoretical (mostly semantic and morphosyntactic) reasons as well as on factors determining frequent and conventional (or conventionalized) language usage.

The paper is structured as follows: after initial introductory remarks on the aims and scope of the research, we move into a brief overview of all four subclasses within the larger class of verbs of emission; those subclasses are verbs of sound emission, verbs of light emission, verbs of smell emission and verbs of substance emission; the next section of the paper summarizes relevant theoretical research of verbs of emission; the following two sections of the paper present detailed accounts of verbs of sound emission and other verbs of emission in English and Serbian, respectively; the next section of the paper offers relevant theoretical conclusions on syntactic and semantic features of verbs of emission and in the follow-up of this section of the paper we also summarize the important linguistic contrasts between English and Serbian via language framing typology; the final section of the paper contains concluding remarks on the presented theoretical account.

The paper takes a corpus-based approach. The corpus examples were extracted from a number of various online corpora and printed sources.³ The online corpora and databases used include The British National Corpus (BNC), Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) Wordnet and Webcorp online databases and Corpus of Contemporary Serbian Language, while the printed sources used for data extraction consist of twelve novels in English and Serbian which are all original English and Serbian texts (no translations or translated texts

³ Detailed description of the corpus can be found in Milivojević 2011.

were used⁴). The analysis also includes a certain number of sentences which are the author's own examples constructed for the sake of theoretical debate, however these were all initially checked by native speakers of English.

2. English Verbs of Emission (Levin 1993)

Verb class 4.3 (Levin 1993:233-238) which is called Verbs of Emission (henceforth VE) involves verb meanings denoting emission of light, sound, smell and substance. These emissions are as a rule particular to some entity via conceptual structure or verb semantics which causes these verbs to take a limited range of subjects. More specifically, Levin proposes that the verbs which belong to this class actually describe intrinsic properties of their subjects, which is a notion also known as *teleological capacity* (Folli and Harley 2008, Milivojević 2011) of external arguments of such verbs.

The subclass of verbs of sound emission (henceforth VSE) is greater in number than the subclass of verbs of light emission (henceforth VLE). Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995:68) argue that the reason for this class disproportion lies in the fact that the number of objects which emit sound under some sort of manipulation is greater than that of objects emitting light under specific circumstances, causing the more frequent usage of VSE. We also note at this point that the subclass of verbs of smell emission (henceforth VSME) contains only three verbs according to Levin's classification, while the subclass of verbs of substance emission (henceforth VSBE) contains twenty-seven verb lexemes in total.

VSE class, or class 43.2 (Levin 1993: 234-236) is the largest subset of the full class of emission verbs. Originally, it contains 119 verbs. We look here at the emission verb class as it is outlined in Levin (1993: 233-238), and at their Serbian (lexical) equivalents. Verbs of sound emission (VSE) are a subset of verbs of a larger class of emission verbs, along with verbs of light, smell and substance emission. They describe either the emission or production of sound. They are differentiated from each other by the physical properties of the sound that they lexicalize, as well as by its manner of production. Some of these

⁴ The equivalency criterion for this paper is restricted to *contextual* rather than translational equivalents in English and Serbian.

verbs also figure among the verbs of manner of speaking, verbs of sounds made by animals or verbs of impact. They are generally intransitive, but may sometimes appear with an object (especially with *cognates*) and they allow for a certain predefined range of *external arguments* to the verb. We offer illustrative examples below:

2.
 - a. The train *rumbled* into the station. (unaccusative)
 - b. The bus *rumbled* to a stop. (unaccusative)
 - c. The bullet *whistled* through the window. (unaccusative)
 - d. I'll go to Hell, I might as well be *whistling* down the wind. (unergative)⁵
 - e. So I'll take Marley Bone Coach and *whistle* down the wind. (unergative)⁶

Examples 2a-2e are all examples of various instances of intransitive motion constructions where verbs of sound emission surface as heads. While examples 2a, 2b and 2c include unaccusatives with inanimate external arguments, examples 2d and 2e are somewhat unexpected unergatives with “true” agents (or “sound emitters”) with the possible interpretation of motion where both sound emitter and the sound undergo movement at the same time. These constructions are especially interesting in English, as some prominent linguistic authors rule them out as ungrammatical and/or impossible in English as is shown in the example 3 (see for example Culicover and Jackendoff 2005):

3. *Peter *yelled* down the street.⁷

VLE class, or class 43.1 (Levin 1993: 233-234) contains 21 verbs; according to Beth Levin's proposal this subset of verbs exhibits the following properties: locative alternation, locative inversion, there-insertion while some verbs in the class exhibit causative alternation, etc. What they do not exhibit according to Levin's account is the ability to surface as manner verbs of verbs

⁵ Examples 2d-e available at [Webcorp](#) (March 2016).

⁶ Although these examples are atypical, infrequent and highly informal, we feel that it is relevant to point at the possibility of such unergatives even in informal English use due to a better understanding of the distributive range of VSE.

⁷ According to Culicover and Jackendoff, this sentence is not acceptable / grammatical with the interpretation of motion.

of either true or implied motion when combined with prepositional phrases. However, consider the examples 4a-4c:

4.
 - a. The firefly *sparkled* across the field.
 - b. They (fireflies) *sparkle* across the breadth of the field behind our house, intermittently light up the large white pines, our green privacy wall, like summer's own christmas trees.⁸
 - c. His double-headed axe *flickered* in his powerful hands, light as a birch twig.⁹

The examples are intransitive motion constructions integrating verbs of light emission as construction heads. The path of movement is signaled by an obligatory prepositional phrase, just as was the case with VSE.

The class of verbs of smell emission in English, class 43.3 (Levin 1993:236-7) contains three typical verb lexemes and those are: *reek*, *smell* and *stink*. These verbs relate to the emission of the smells. This class of verbs is significantly smaller than the other classes within a larger set of verbs of emission. According to Levin, they also exhibit a more limited range of properties in terms of argument realizations within various constructional templates. Levin points out the following locative constructions as awkward in English:

5.
 - a. ??The onions *reeked* in the room.
 - b. Peter *reeked* his way out of the room.

According to Levin, the example in 5b without the PP complement is actually completely acceptable in English. Still, let us briefly consider the following introductory example in 6, extracted from the British National Corpus (BNC):

6. The smell of meat assailed her nostrils and she *followed it* (the smell) into the kitchen. / She *smelled* her way into the kitchen.

⁸ Example available at <http://stjaneco.squarespace.com/contributions/2015/10/19/firefly-nights-kim-norris>, March 2016.

⁹ The example extracted from the literary corpus in Milivojević 2011.

This sentence is an occasion of VSME integration into an intransitive motion construction, contrastive with the theoretical description of this verb subclass by Levin. Clearly, in the examples in 6 the smell is moving along the trajectory lexicalized in the prepositional phrase *into the kitchen*.

Finally, Verbs of Substance emission (VSBE), class 43.4 (Levin 1993:237-8) exhibit the following prominent argument realization patterns: locative alternation, locative inversion, causative alteration, etc., but Levin again *does not* place lexicalizing motion within intransitive motion events as an option for these verbs. Yet, the example in 7, extracted from the BNC clearly shows that such lexicalization is possible:

7. Water *gushed* through the streets.

Examples from the BNC in 8a-d all illustrate the same point for the prototypical VSBE *bleed*:

8. a. They got the harness off him, and turned him to *bleed* into the grass rather than into his own throat.
 b. Then, with the paint still damp on the paper, I apply a small, but watery mixture of burnt umber and Prussian blue to the area where the bulk of the shadows are found and allow this to *bleed* into the stone undercoat.
 c. Well, if all else failed, she could always *bleed* out of the window, she thought, with a mordant shrug.
 d. Red lights *bleed* from behind wire mesh, ankle-height, like the burning eyes of something in the sewer out of a John Carpenter film.

3. Theoretical framework of the research

The dominant theoretical background of the investigation is the proposal made by Leonard Talmy. Talmy (1975, 1985, 1991, 2000) proposes a two-way typology according to motion expressions available in a language. According to this proposal languages fall into two main types, on the basis of where the *path of motion* is represented in a sentence expressing a *motion event* - or, more generally, where the core schema is represented in a sentence expressing a macro-event (allowing for it to consist of at least two micro events or *subevents*).

This means that another semantic component, the co-event – usually the manner or the cause of the motion – might show up in a particular constituent other than the one occupied by the path. In this two-category typology, if the path is characteristically represented in the main verb or verb root of a sentence, the language is verb framed, but if it is characteristically represented in the satellite or in a P element, such as prepositional phrase, case inflection, etc. the language is satellite framed (Milivojević 2011: 75).

Let us take a look at the following contrastive examples:

9.
 - a. The truck *rumbled* through the gate. (English)
 - b. Kamion *je tutnjao* ulicom. (Serbian)
truck is rumbled down the street
 - c. Je suis *entré* dans la maison (en boitant) (French)
I am entered in the house (in limping)
 - d. La botella entro a la cueva flotando. (Spanish)
the bottle entered in to the cave (floating)

In examples 9a and 9b, that is in the English sentence as well as in the Serbian one, what the verb lexicalizes is the manner of movement of the *figure* within the given directed motion construction. In examples 9c and 9d, French and Spanish examples respectively, the verbs lexicalize the *path* (or the *scale*) of movement of the figure, with the manner modification expressed by the satellite. Or, in more formal terms, the verbs in 9a and 9b *conflate* motion and manner, while verbs in 9c and 9d *conflate* motion and path. What is interesting about sentences 9a and 9b is that the verbs surfacing as verbs of movement (or motion) are in fact *verbs of sound emission*.

Let us now consider the following string of syntactic contrasts in English. In the examples below, we focus on the distribution and restrictions on external arguments projected by verbs of sound emission in English:

10.
 - a. The train *rumbled/whistled* through the station.
 - b. The bullet *whistled* through the window./*The bullet *whistled*.
 - c. Peter *shouted* *through/down the street.

It is generally assumed in the literature that agents are as a rule animate, and that animacy and volition are obligatory semantic features of true agents. However, what these examples show is that there are cases where such requirements are not necessarily applied. Examples 10a and 10b are instances where external arguments to verbs of emission are in fact inanimate entities on one hand, while the example in 10c with the animate agent is in fact ruled out as ungrammatical with motion interpretation. We are going to adopt here the account proposed by Folli and Harley (2008) who claim that even such inanimate subjects should in fact be labeled as agents based on the notion of *teleological capacity*.¹⁰

In all cases, however, we will argue that the source of the animacy effect has its roots in the notion of teleological capability: the inherent qualities and abilities of the entity to participate in the eventuality denoted by the predicate (Folli and Harley 2008:190).

When the subject of a verb of sound emission is not teleologically capable of producing the sound lexicalized by the verb (i.e. the bullet can not emit the sound on its own, rather the sound is the obligatory consequence or the result of motion), this triggers changes in the syntactic structure of a motion event. The sentence in 10b is unacceptable without a goal of motion PP, as is shown in the example. Here, the sound emission verb becomes a verb describing the motion of the entity, and the sound is interpreted as a manner element describing that motion, namely the motion itself and not the agent produced a whistling noise.

It must be the motion of the bullet that produces the whistling, rather than the bullet, as can be seen when such sound emission motion predicates require animate subjects as yell and laugh in *John yelled into the room or *Mary laughed out of the room (Folli and Harley 2007:192).

Furthermore, they claim that since motion cannot produce *yelling* or *laughing*, these verbs may not surface as head verbs in motion events (in unergative constructions) — they may only be

¹⁰ We come back to this point later, in the section of the paper that discusses syntactic and semantic features of VE as a V class.

true unergative activity verbs or true agents which emit the sound lexicalized in the verb:

The subjects of so-called *theme unergatives* can be animate or inanimate. The subjects of unergative verbs are of course Agents—indeed, in a syntactically-based approach to theta-role assignment they must by definition be Agents, since they occur in the specifier position of the external VP. If they were not Agents, we would expect the verbs to exhibit hallmarks of an altered syntactic structure, for instance, they might be expected to behave like unaccusative verbs. In most cases, they do not. (Folly and Harley 2008: 195).

4. Verbs of Sound Emission (VSE) in English and Serbian

English verbs of sound emission are the following (those English verbs whose primary meaning is generally related only to sounds emitted from the human vocal tract have been excluded here):

applaud, babble, bang, beat, beep, bellow, blare, blast, bleat, boom, bubble, burble, burr, buzz, chatter, chime, chink, chirr, chitter, chug, clack, clang, clank, clap, clash, clatter, click, cling, clink, clop, clump, clunk, crack, crackle, crash, creak, crepitate, crunch, cry, ding, dong, dingdong, drone, explode, fizz, fizzle, groan, growl, guggle, gurgle, hiss, hoot, howl, hum, jangle, jingle, knell, knock, lilt, moan, murmur, patter, peal, ping, pink, pipe, plonk, plop, plunk, pop, purr, putter, rap, rasp, rattle, ring, roar, roll, rumble, rustle, scream, screech, shriek, shrill, sing, sizzle, snap, splash, splosh, splutter, sputter, squawk, squeak, squeal, squelch, strike, strum, swish, swash, swoosh, thrum, thud, thump, thunder, tick, ting, tinkle, toll, tootle, trill, trumpet, twang, ululate, vroom, wail, wheeze, whine, whir, wish, whistle, whoop, whoosh, whump, zing.

(The altered class contains 124 verbs.)¹¹

The present class is a revised verb class initially established by Levin (1993: 234-237). Certain verbs have been left out due to their obsolete or infrequent use, while some new verbs have been added to the class used as the basis of the

¹¹ See Milivojević 2011 for original corpus details.

present research. The English data were checked against the Wordnet online database for English (available at <http://wordnetweb.princeton.edu/perl/webwn>, March 2016). English verbs which were left out from the original class are: *blat, chir, clomp, plink, thunk*. English verbs added to the original verb class through Wordnet are: *chirr, clop, dingdong, drone, guggle, gurgle, splosh, strum, swash, whoop*.

We base our analysis for Serbian on the class of Serbian lexical equivalents of Levin's class and on the corpus of contextualized V lexemes (a sentential corpus), made up of both literary language sentential examples, and sentential examples from the Corpus of Contemporary Serbian. We specifically look at those members of the class which are found with directional phrases and investigate Serbian VPs involving a sound emission component with respect to their capacity to combine with directional phrases and receive motion interpretation and/or resultative interpretation. The Serbian verbs of sound emission are:

*apludirati blebetati blejati brbljati brektati brujati
bubnuti bučati ciknuti cviljeti cvoknuti cvokotati cvrčati
cvrkutati čangrljati čavrljati čegrtati ćućoriti ćurlikati
dahtati dobovati drečati dreknuti drndati eksplodirati
fjukati fiskati frfljati grgotati grmjati groktati grnuti
gruvati gudjeti hripati hroptati hrskati hučati hujati
izbrbljati izlupati izviždati ječati jeknuti klepetati klokotati
kloparati klopotati krckati krcnuti krčati kričati kriještati
krkljati kucati lupiti lupnuti meketati mrmoriti odjekivati
odzvanjati odzvoniti oriti se otkucati pisnuti pištati pljeskati
pljesnuti pljusnuti pozvoniti praskati prohujati
promrmoriti prošištati prozviždati prožuboriti prštati
pucati puckarati puckati pucketati pucnuti pući rastrubiti
režati rikati romoriti soptati stenjati strugati svirati šištati
škljocati škljocnuti škripati šljapati šljapkati štektati
štropotati šumjeti šušcati šuštatati tandrkati treskati tresnuti
treštati trubiti tuliti tutnjati urlati uzdisati vrčati vrisnuti
zagrmeti zalupiti se zaštektati zavijati zazvečati zujati
zveckati zvečati zveketati zveknuti zviznuti zviždati
zviždukati zvižduknuti zvoniti zvrndati žagoriti žamoriti
žuboriti.*

(The newly established class contains 134 verbs.)

VSE in both English and Serbian may become *verbs of intransitive motion*; in such cases, they require a directional phrase as a complement, be it a directional phrase PP or some other XP or a small clause with a directional interpretation. In this use, they describe the motion of an entity, characterized by the concomitant emission of the sound whose nature is lexicalized in the verb. Serbian VSE are frequently prefixed - that is they may require an additional *P element* within the construction other than the obligatory PP so that the scale of motion is fully realized.¹²

5. Other Verbs of Emission in English and Serbian

Contrary to Levin (1993: 234-7), we claim that verbs of emission other than sound emission may appear with directional phrases in English with both animate and inanimate subjects in external argument position (11a is an example of VSE, examples 11b and 11c are examples of verbs of light emission (VLE) and 11d is an example of the verb of substance emission (VSBE)):

11. a. The elevator *whizzed* upward.
- b. The light *flashed* into the sky.
- c. The firefly *flickered* into the room.
- d. The paint *oozed* across the table.

What is more, we claim that there is more freedom along a *structural continuum* of motion expression in these cases than is initially proposed in Levin's projectionalist approach.

The same kind of construction variety is present in Serbian as well:

12. a. Svitac je *svetluca* preko polja. (VLE)
 the firefly is sparkled across the field
- b. Voda je *izbijala* ispod belog kamena. (VSBE)
 water is beat.out under white stone

These corpus examples in English and in Serbian offer solid empirical evidence against some constructional approaches

¹² The term is adopted from Gehrke 2008 – P elements are all satellite morphemes which lexicalize the path of motion. In English, they are typically prepositional phrases while in Serbian they also include prefixes and case inflections.

(see Culicover and Jackendoff 2005 among others), where it is claimed that directed motion constructions with (sound) emission verbs are "English specific", also ruling out this type of formal structure with any other emission type verb in any language other than English.

6. Syntactic and Semantic Features VE

Generally, VSE are intransitive verbs, taking the emitter argument as the subject (allowing both animate - human or not - and inanimate subjects, but disallowing abstract nouns in this position). According to Levin, in English these verbs take a very limited range of subjects, since the verbs in a sense describe (or refer to) the intrinsic properties of the sound that they lexicalize. Another generalization we propose as an update to Levin (1993) is that the agents of such verbs must be *teleologically capable* (cf. Folli and Harley 2008) of relevant sound production, rather than be simply animate or volitional. According to Folli and Harley (2008:191), *teleological capability* is the inherent ability of the entity to participate in the eventuality denoted by the predicate, while *animacy* and *agency* are mutually dissociated. What it takes for a non-agentive subject to be teleologically capable is the ability to instigate and/or conduct the emission event on its own, be it a willed or a non-willed action. The relevant notion which distinguishes *agents* from *causers*, for example, is the subject's *internal teleological capability* of generating the event on its own, from start to finish—not the animacy of the subject. Causers (both animate and inanimate) may trigger the initiation of an event, but do not exercise control over its unfolding, due to their *teleological incapability*. This kind of formalization actually allows for both animate and inanimate external arguments with VSE in both English and Serbian.

Another important point in our analysis is the definition of the *lexical specification* of the verb. Lexical specification is the internal semantic content of the verb lexeme, which triggers its argument structure realization. In terms of motion events, what is relevant is whether or not a certain verb will project both relevant arguments to the construction: agent and path argument. According to Folli and Harley (2006:24), VSE are the so called *minus path verbs* (-path Vs), which means that their lexical specification does not normally project a path argument. This can be illustrated by the table below:

	+path	-path
+agent	walk, run, swim	<i>whistle, hiss, sing</i>
-agent	roll, float, slide	shudder, tremble

1 Path projection

What the table actually shows is that for a VSE to receive a directed motion interpretation, the lexical specification of the verb has to be changed, or shifted into a lexical specification of the verb of directed motion, such as *walk* or *run*. In other words, when combining with a prepositional path argument, a VSE becomes a directed motion verb.

The following English and Serbian examples were taken from English and Serbian online corpora as illustrations of the above mentioned facts, namely The British National Corpus (BNC) (available at <http://corpus.byu.edu/bnc/>) in (13), and The Corpus of Contemporary Serbian Language (available at <http://www.korpus.matf.bg.ac.yu/korpus/login.php>) in (14):

13. a. As the tramcars **rattled, roared** and **clanged** along Norfolk Street, 60 yards or so from our tenement building, and horse-driven carts **rumbled** by, the kids of the street were playing, shouting, yelling --; or wiping snotters away with the sweat. It was after school, 4.30 on a nice afternoon...
- b. Outside, the rain **gurgled** in shining gutters.
- c. Thick, black rain clouds massed in the sky and, as I fell asleep, rattling raindrops **pattered** against the wooden shutters.
- d. A nurse **rustled** into the tiny space. Kate could smell Pears soap and the smell brought back memories of when she had been younger.
14. a. ...pajtaš iz Italije, prešao pešaka granicu. Ja to nisam znala, odradim lepo svoj posao, a njega zatvore. Sledeći dan **škripe** kočnice iza ćoška, Giška izleće iz kola i pravo pred mene...
'breaks squeal around the corner'

b. Dok automobil **stenje** u krivinama koje su toliko spiralne da se čak ne bi mogle uporediti ni sa zavrtanjem, kroz maglu koja dočarava visoke planinske vrhove...

'the car gasps through the curves'

c. Nes je to primio kao još jedan dobar znak. Slušao je trenutak, dva, kako voda **pršti** po kadi, a onda je obukao čistu belu košulju i izvadio novac koji je iz pretinca u kolima prebacio u jedan od svojih kofera...

'water is splashing in the tub'

d. Za to vreme voz je, dahćući, puštajući naglo paru, **kloparao** visokim nasipom između požutelih kukuruznih polja, između retkih riđih šuma, između talasastih livada...

'the train clatters uphill'

Verbs of light emission (VLE) on the other hand relate to the emission of light, and some of them (both in English and in Serbian) allow a transitive use with a causative interpretation, as well as locative alternations. We also want to claim here that they may denote either *fictional* or *real* motion (possibly also in combination with directional prepositional phrases to denote pure light emission along a projected scale) both in English (examples are given in 15) and in Serbian (examples are given in 16). The examples below were also extracted from the online corpora mentioned in the previous section:

15. a. If we could have **beamed**, her down like in Star Trek, it would have been all right, but she just couldn't cope with getting on a plane or a boat.
- b. With binoculars the chances are obviously much less, but one never knows --; and it is true that in 1885 a supernova **blazed** out in the Andromeda Spiral and almost reached naked-eye visibility.
- c. The mass of new, hot rock forcing its way up through the crater floor had both helped to displace the water from the crater, and heated it up to nearly boiling point, so it was a scalding torrent that **flashed** down the valley, travelling at a speed of something like ninety kilometres an hour.
- d. His double-headed axe **flickered** in his powerful hands, light as a birch twig.

16. a. Kiša je lila pre neko več, **caklio se** asfalt u Knez-Mihailovoj ulici, kao pokisli golubovi sklanjali su se prolaznici ukafanu Kolarac.
'asphalt was glowing on the street'
- b. A nad okeanom **treperi**, i onih dana prepunih sunca, neka snena izmaglica, kao prozirni plašt pare.
'the mist flickers above the ocean'
- c. Pođe, pođe, dođe na mesto gde se skreće lepotici. Skrenu. Dođe pred brvnaru. A u brvnari gori veliki oganj i **svetli** kroz prozore.
'the fire is glowing through the windows'

What the English VLE examples in (15) show is that light emission verbs can in fact surface in intransitive motion constructions where they denote directed movement, as in 15a and 15c, or metaphorical motion meaning as in 15b, and finally something like implied movement (either momentary or iterative) as in 15d. The Serbian examples in (16) illustrate the fact that VLE behave similarly to English VLE verbs, allowing for a similar range of motion meanings: implied movement accompanied by light reflection in 16a, 16b and light emission along the projected path (in other words, the product of the emission, but not the emitter, moves along an unbounded scale) in 16c.

7. English and Serbian VE in contrast

What can be concluded from the discussion and the examples so far is that Serbian which should be a verb-framed language exhibits a kind of morphosyntactic potential in expressing motion events which is similar to the satellite-framed English. Both verb classes examined so far, namely VSE and VLE in English and in Serbian, will surface in motion constructions, with the manner co-event on the verb, and the path (which in these cases equals the *scale* of motion) expressed by the satellite, with various types of subjects or agents, both animate and inanimate. In the remainder of the paper, we illustrate some points of divergence between English and Serbian. Let's take a look at the following set of examples:

17. a. *Peter yelled down the street.
 b. Jovan je vikao niz ulicu.
 Jovan is yelled down street
 c. Metak je prozviždao pored prozora.
 bullet is whistled.through by window
 d. ??*Metak je uzviždao kroz prozor.
 bullet is whistled.in through window

While the English sentence in 17a is ungrammatical, i.e. there is no available motion reading for the VP, the Serbian example is grammatical. Example 17b is in fact ambiguous between two readings, where, in the first one, the animate subject, which is the emitter of the sound, is not moving, while the emitted sound is the *theme* (or the *figure*) of motion, while in the second available reading, both the emitter of the sound and the sound produced are moving along the path. This is an interesting instance in terms of event structure, showing that Serbian exhibits more freedom in motion event encoding than English does. Examples 17c and 17d show that Serbian sound emission verbs combine more freely with paths implying unbounded scales, than with those with bounded scales (or goals).

The next point in the analysis is illustrated in the following sets of examples:

18. a. Peter hammered the metal flat.
 b. John slammed the door shut.

The sentences in (18a-b) are instances of the so-called adjectival resultatives (AP resultatives), or *secondary resultative predicates*. Namely, there is a general correlation between the ability of combining telic, bounded path PPs, with manner of motion or motion verbs and the availability of secondary resultative predicates. Such resultative constructions are generally unavailable in languages that have been classified as verb-framed (cf. Gehrke 2008). Folli and Ramchand (2005: 91), for example, note that resultative constructions with adjectival phrases (APs) are grammatical in English (19a) but ungrammatical in Italian (19b).

19. a. John broke the vase open.
 b. *Gianni ha rotto il vaso aperto.
 Gianni has broken the vase open.

The data call for a unified account of the integration of PPs and APs into event structure according to which PPs can be integrated as secondary resultative predicates and thus derive an accomplishment structure under certain conditions. Surprisingly enough, Serbian behaves like verb-framed Italian in this respect. The examples in (20) are instances of such constructions with animate subjects:

20. a. *Jovan je lupio vrata otvorena.
 Jovan is slam door open
 b. Jovan je zalupio vrata/ vratima.
 Jovan is slam.to door/ with door
 c. Jovan je tresnuo vrata.
 Jovan is banged door
 d. Jovan je zalupio slušalicu.
 Jovan is banged.down phone

There are no constructional Serbian to English equivalents of *AP resultatives* – those sentences will be ruled out as ungrammatical in Serbian (20a). In terms of semantics and usage, the lack of AP resultatives in Serbian is compensated by prefixes, that is, again by available *P elements*¹³. Gehrke argues that the focus on Talmy's cross-linguistic variation has to be

shifted away from the restriction on paths expressed on the verb or elsewhere, to the question whether or not an accomplishment structure can be built relying on the integration of a non-verbal predicate into an activity structure (Gehrke 2008:216).

Given this shift in the analysis, then, Serbian (along with Russian and Czech, according to Gehrke's data) behaves like a verb-framed language. Furthermore, Beavers et al. (2009) argue that the observed cross-linguistic variation arises primarily from the interaction of motion-independent morphosyntactic and lexical factors. First, while the verb is one of several lexical categories that can encode either manner or path, it is unique

¹³ English particles and Serbian prefixes, for example.

among all categories in being the only obligatory element across all clauses that describe motion (since it heads the VP that forms the nucleus of the clause). Second, the semantic component which is not expressed in the verb, if it is not inferable from context or is unimportant and thus omissible, may (or must) be expressed by some other constituent or the satellite.

8. Concluding remarks

In sum, Talmy's typology is too coarse-grained to provide a full picture of the way motion events are expressed across different languages. Serbian seems to be more liberal than English in expressing eventualities that involve both motion and sound emission since it freely allows unergatives with true sound emitter agents with motion interpretation. Both languages allow unaccusatives in intransitive motion constructions. Serbian, however, does not allow adjectival resultatives with VE. Verb phrase and the directional phrase have somewhat independent argument structures (the agent of one being the theme of the other), but still just one line of projection as only one of these two lines can have an agent.

Furthermore, we shall conclude that verb classes based solely on the semantic properties of the verb, excluding the conceptual properties of verb arguments, may not be the best solution to the appropriate description of verb meaning in general. Verbs both *incorporate* (root meaning) and *project* (arguments), therefore some stricter, more rigid or more formal criteria at the syntax-semantics interface must be at play. This calls for additional considerations of argument features which are external to the verb when establishing semantic verb classes based on lexical and semantic verb features with the aim of a more comprehensive account of these and the related linguistic phenomena in natural languages.

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CENTER OF ATTENTION: A NETWORK TEXT ANALYSIS OF *AMERICAN SNIPER*

Abstract: *Network Text Analysis (NTA) is a term used to describe a variety of software-supported methods for modeling texts as networks of concepts. In this study we apply NTA to the screenplay of American Sniper, an Academy Award nominee for Best Adapted Screenplay in 2014. Specifically, we establish prior expectations as to the key themes associated with war films. We then empirically test whether words associated with the most influentially-positioned nodes in the network signify themes common to the war-film genre. As predicted, we find that words and concepts associated with the least constrained nodes in the text network were significantly more likely to be associated with the war genre and significantly less likely to be associated with genres to which the film did not belong.*

Keywords: *network analysis, network text analysis, film studies, screenplay, war movie, war film, genre analysis, film genre*

Introduction

Network text analysis (NTA) is a term used to describe a broad set of software-supported solutions for modeling linguistic data as interconnected networks “of words and the relations between them” (Diesner & Carley, 2005, p. 83). The creation of these text networks involves four distinct steps, the first of which is *inclusion*, i.e. the determination of which words to include in the analysis and, by extension, which to exclude. The second step is *generalization* and it involves the decision of whether to assign the included words to higher-order conceptual categories. The third step is *inter-relation* and it concerns the choice of the

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relationship used to link pairs of words or concepts. The fourth and final step is *extraction* and it involves the identification of the key themes encoded in the text. While several approaches to each of the four steps have been identified in the extant literature (Nerghes, Lee, Groenewegen, & Hellsten, 2015), there is very little variation concerning the fourth step. The most common approach to theme extraction is inductive. That is to say, researchers typically extract themes or key meaning from the network without any prior expectation concerning the content of these themes. A notable exception is Hunter & Singh's (2015) analysis of the screenplay for *Fight Club*.

That study is the only one with which we are familiar where key themes were identified *prior* to the text analysis. That said, we are aware of no prior research where falsifiable hypotheses were formulated concerning the *position* of themes in the text network. The purpose of the current study is to address the gap in the literature concerning the extraction of themes. In particular we rely upon the literature on the war genre (Eberwein, 2009) to establish in advance what the important themes in *American Sniper* should be and by extension, where those themes should be found in the text network constructed from the film's screenplay. Unlike prior research, we empirically test our hypotheses through the application of survey-based methods. As predicted, we find that words and concepts associated with the least constrained nodes in the text network were significantly more likely to be associated with the war and action genres—two to which the films belongs—and significantly less likely to be associated with the mystery, science-fiction, fantasy, film noir and other genres to which the film did not belong.

Literature review and hypotheses

Several recent studies have affirmed the widely held assumption that thematically-relevant words are associated with the most influentially positioned nodes in a text network. These include analyses of *nuclear energy policy frames* (Shim, Park, & Wilding, 2015), the abstracts of *medical journals* (Beam, et al, , 2014), *medical school mission statements* (Grbic Hafferty, & Hafferty, 2013), *presidential inaugural addresses* (Light, 2014), *press coverage* of the global financial crisis (Nerghes, Lee, Groenewegen, & Hellsten, 2014) and mad cow disease (Lim,

Berry & Lee, 2015), *propaganda* from violent extremists (Morris, 2014), as well as *novellas* (Hunter & Smith, 2014) and *movie scripts* (Hunter & Singh, 2015). The gap in this literature concerns the research methods that have been employed to date. Specifically, in each case it was assumed—rather than hypothesized *a priori*—that the most thematically-relevant words would be those associated with the most influential positions in the text networks. No other study of which we are aware has tested this important proposition directly. Film scripts offer an intriguing opportunity to do so. That’s because American feature films belong to long-standing, well-defined genres, a term that the *Wordsmyth English Dictionary* defines as “a particular type, sort, or category” and more specifically as “a category of artistic work marked by a particular specified form, technique or content.” The analysis of specific genres, particularly their essential codes and conventions, has a long history within film theory (Bignell, 2002; Bordwell & Thompson, 2013).

Aspects of a film that may convey its genre include, but are not limited to, its iconography, setting, locations and backdrops, props, the narrative style, dialog, emphasized camera shots, story structure, the musical score and soundscape, and lighting (Bignell, 2002; Altman, 1984). In the introduction of his book entitled *The Hollywood War Film*, Eberwein (2009) places the conventions that define the war genre into two categories—*stock characters* and *basic narrative elements*. As summarized in the first column of Figure 1, below, the stock characters are of three types—*males*, *females*, and *youth/children/pets*. The former are further subdivided into (a) the *older, seasoned leader* (b) the *young recruits* (c) the *camp/platoon clown* (d) the *ladies’ man* [e] the *newly married or recent father* (f) the *regional, ethnic, and racial types* and (g) *examples of different social classes*. The basic narrative elements are of several kinds—(1) the *basic training* that characterizes the preparation for combat (2) activities characterizing the *specific branches of the armed services* at war (3) activities or *elements common to all branches* of the armed services and where appropriate (4) the *aftermath of war*.

MALE CHARACTERS

- Older, seasoned leader
- Young recruits
- Camp/platoon clown
- Ladies' man
- Newly married or recent father
- Regional, ethnic, & racial types
- Different social classes

FEMALE CHARACTERS

- Loyal wife, girlfriend, nurse
- Prostitute, floozie
- Wise, sustaining mother

YOUTH, CHILDREN, & PETS

- Eager brothers, boys
- Younger sisters
- Endangered or killed child
- Animals (dogs, cats)

PRE-COMBAT: BASIC TRAINING

- Tyrannical squad leader
- Demanding exercises, drills
- Bonding, pranks
- Weekend passes
- Sexual initiation
- Successful graduation, completion of training

COMBAT: Army/Infantry/Marines

- Water landings, patrols, ambushes, raids, digging in
- Combat in jungles, deserts, mountains
- Tanks, grenades, flamethrowers
- Dealing with heat/cold (or elements)

ELEMENTS COMMON TO ALL BRANCHES

- Writing letters; receiving mail from home
- Sharing and observing photographs
- Listening to the radio
- Spontaneous & improvised play to alleviate tension and boredom
- Singing; prayers/church service; communion
- Burials with short, moving eulogies & tributes
- Leaves and R&R
- Reflections on the nature of the enemy

POST-COMBAT: AFTERMATH OF WAR

- Recovery/rehab for physical/psychological injuries
- Difficulty adjusting to civilian life
- Reunion with wife, girl, family, friends

Figure 1: Codes and Conventions that Define the War Film Genre—Adapted from Eberwein, (2009)

The seventh chapter in Eberwein's book is entitled *The Iraq Wars on Film* and it details the specific ways in which these conventions define the sub-genre of films about the first (Gulf) second Iraq wars. These include "cramped doorways and narrow, almost impassable streets", "endless checkpoint confrontations"—indicating the inability of soldiers to determine friend from foe—"suicide bombers' cars that explode" and "the gunfire that rains down from snipers above" (p. 134). In addition, "atrocities appear with frightening regularity" and crucial information about them, including images, is frequently found on "cell phones" (ibid., p. 135) In general, Eberwein continues, the tone of the films is "despairing" and "veterans and their families and survivors find little if any solace." Often emphasized are soldiers (1) returning home with drinking, substance abuse, or anxiety problems, e.g. post-traumatic stress disorder (2) having difficulty adjusting to prostheses or war-inflicted infirmities and (3) struggling with survivors' guilt.

Given that the war genre has very well-known conventions, it is possible to directly test whether words that signify the genre appear in influential positions within a text network. Specifically, we hypothesize that

H1: In a text network constructed from the screenplay of a war film, words associated with the most influentially-positioned will signify the codes and conventions of the war genre.

H2: In a text network constructed from the screenplay of a war film, words associated with the least influentially-positioned will not signify the codes and conventions of the war genre.

Methods and data

The war film that we chose to analyze is *American Sniper*, an autobiographical drama based on the book *American Sniper: The Autobiography of the Most Lethal Sniper in US Military History* by Chris Kyle. The screenplay was written by Jason Hall whose prior screenwriting credits include the 2009 dramedy *Spread* and the 2007 dramatic thriller *Paranoia*. The film itself was directed by Clint Eastwood and starred Bradley Cooper as Chris Kyle. The film premiered on November 11th, 2014—Veteran's Day—at the

American Film Festival Institute. A limited release followed on Christmas Day while the wide theatrical release was on January 16th, 2015. The film was an enormous commercial success. According to *Box Office Mojo*, as of June 25th, 2015—the end of the film’s run in theaters—it earned \$350.1 million domestically and another \$197.3 million internationally, making it the highest-grossing film released in 2014.

The copy of the screenplay used in this paper was the latest (second) of two drafts available for purchase from online screenplay seller *Scriptfly*. Dated July 17th, 2013, the second draft is 141 pages, about 20 pages longer than the industry standard. Interestingly, a little more than two weeks after the completion of the second draft, the originally-intended director, Stephen Spielberg, withdrew from the project—supposedly due to budgetary constraints—and was replaced by Eastwood within days. Critical response to the film has been largely positive. Thirty-three of forty reviews by “top critics” collected by *Rotten Tomatoes* are classified as “fresh” with an average rating of 7.2 out of 10. The film also received six Award nominations—Best Motion Picture, Best Performance by an Actor in a Leading Role, Best Writing (Adapted Screenplay), Best Achievement in Film Editing, Best Achievement in Sound Mixing, and Best Achievement in Sound Editing—but won only one, the latter. The screenplay itself won the *British Academy of Film & Television Arts* (BAFTA) award for Best Adapted Screenplay and was nominated for best screenplay by the *Denver Society of Film Critics*, the *Phoenix Film Critics Society*, the *Satellite Awards*, and the *Writers Guild of America*.

Building the text network

Well over a dozen distinct families of methods for constructing networks from texts have been developed and applied in the last four decades (Nerghes, et al, 2015). They can be distinguished from one another on the basis of a variety of characteristics including the degree of automation involved, whether words are abstracted to higher order categories, and the nature of the relationship used to construct the network. In this study we opted for Hunter’s (2014) morpho-etymological approach, one that is semi-automated, that abstracts words into higher-order conceptual categories defined by common

etymology, and that relates those categories based upon their co-occurrence within the same multi-morphemic compound (MMC).

MMCs may include, but are not necessarily limited to, *closed compounds* (battlefield, gunshot, Blackhawk, cowboy), *copulative compounds* (attorney-client, actor/model), *hyphenated compounds* (blast-hole, blood-clot, panic-stricken), *hyphenated multiword expressions* (follow-on-target, hand-to-hand), *infixes* (un-bloody-believable, fan-blooming-tastic), *abbreviations* and *acronyms* (GPS, HUMVEE), *blend words* (rebar= reinforced + bar), *clipped words* (internet[work], e[lectronic]-mail), *open compounds* (real estate, living room, full moon), and *pseudo-compound words* (understand, overcompensate). The text of the screenplay of *American Sniper* contained 453 such multi-morphemic compounds, about 7.8% of the number of unique words.

Our first step in creation of the text network entailed identifying the MMCs in each screenplay. To accomplish this we used the *Generate Concept List* and the *Identify Possible Acronyms* commands in the CASOS Institute's *Automap* software (Carley & Diesner, 2005). This involved two steps, the first of which was eliminating from further consideration all words in the screenplay that were not MMCs. This was accomplished through the use of a "stop list", i.e. a self-generated list of words that were previously determined to not be MMCs, e.g. *town, around, stone, cooperate, boat, sand, house, cable*, etc. The next step was to determine which of the remaining words were MMCs. We accomplished this by comparing the remaining words for each screenplay to Hunter's (2014) proprietary, Excel database which contains over 30,000 unique MMCs extracted from over 500 contemporary screenplays and teleplays. Approximately 65% of the MMCs in the screenplay of *American Sniper* were already contained in that database. All that were not contained therein were manually identified by the two authors.

The next step involved decomposing every MMC in each screenplay into its constituent morphemes. For example, the closed compound *gunshot* is comprised of the morphemes *gun* and *shot*. Next, each morpheme was assigned to a conceptual category defined by its most remote etymological root. Typically, the most remote root was Indo-European, as defined in the 3rd edition of the *American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots* (Watkins, 2010). That source assigns over 13,000 English

words to over 1,300 Indo-European (IE) roots. Over 85% of the individual morphemes in our sample were assigned to IE roots. For the example above, the two morphemes—*gun* and *shot*—we assigned to the IE roots **gwhen-**, which means “to shoot, chase, throw” (Watkins, 2011, p. 81) and **skeud-**, which means “to strike, kill” (ibid., p. 36), respectively. Where IE roots of constituent morphemes could not be identified, then etymological roots provided in the *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* were used. Most typically these were Latin, Greek, Germanic, or Old English. Because no software exists to etymologically stem words in this fashion, the mapping had to be performed manually before adding them to the database. At the conclusion of this process the 453 MMCs were traced back to 402 unique roots, 302 of which were Indo-European.

The next step was to create a symmetrical matrix for each screenplay where the rows and column labels were the etymological roots associated with all MMCs in the screenplay. Once the matrix was created for each screenplay, the size of the resulting network was calculated using the UCInet software program (Borgatti, Everett, & Freeman, 2002). In social network analysis, the largest cluster of mutually-reachable nodes in a network is referred to as the “main component” (Borgatti, 2006). Our indicator of positional influence—which is detailed in the next section—concerned only the network’s main component and not the many minor components.

The 402 nodes in the semantic network for the screenplay of *American Sniper* were connected by 485 links. The main component of the network, shown in Figure 2, below, contained 309 nodes connected by 404 linkages.

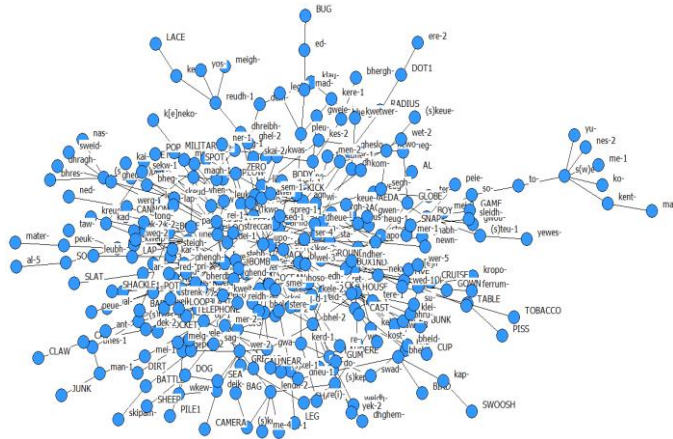


Figure 2. Main component of the text network of the screenplay of *American Sniper*

Identifying Key Themes

Following other semantic analyses of screenplays, we rely upon the network-level measure of constraint (Burt, 2000; Hunter, 2014) which captures the degree to which a node serves to link otherwise disconnected segments of a network. In this study we define the most influentially-positioned MMCs as being those that link two or more of the least constrained nodes in the text network’s main component. We defined “least constrained” as scores in the bottom 10% of the sample. In practice , this amounted to 54 nodes with constraint values of less than or equal to 0.25. As shown in Figure 3, below, the sub-network that we focused on had 43 nodes. Excluding prepositions and pronouns, these nodes were linked by the following 62 multi-morphemic compounds:

air-raid, asshole , back-and-forth, backseat, back-up, bonfire, bull’s-eye, bullshit, daylight, dog-ass, downrange, eyeball, firelight, football, forehead, GPS (Global Positioning System), gunfire, handstand, hand-to-hand, hard-headed, headlights, head-on, headshots, Hellfire, HUMVEE, JDAM (Joint Direct Attack Munition), JTAC (Joint Terminal Attack Controller), off-eye, on-board, outer-hallway, outpost, outrank, overhead, overweight, poster-boy, ranch-hand, Ranger-One, ringside, roadside,

roadway, ROEs (rules of engagement), roll-back, settling-in, set-up, shithole, shotgun, sideways, stand-down, Sunday, sunlight, sunset, sun-up, today, underfoot, understand, uprange, upright, upset, upside, US (United States), white-board, and white-side.

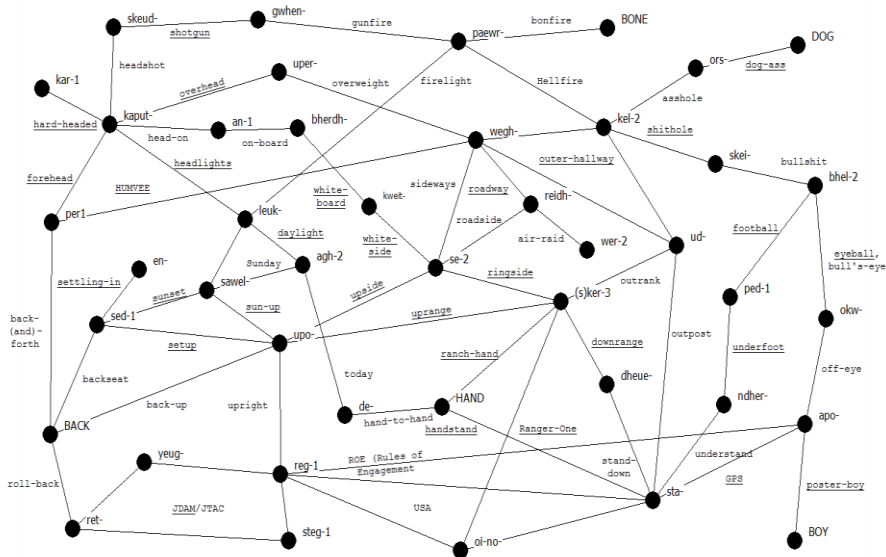


Figure 3. Sub-network formed by least constrained nodes

Conversely, we classified as less important the words associated with the most *highly* constrained nodes in the network, i.e. those with constraint values equal to 1.0, the theoretical maximum. Notably, exactly 50% of the 402 nodes in the semantic network assumed this value. Among them were 31 isolated pairs of nodes. These were distinctive because both nodes in the pair had maximal values of constraint. The MMCs associated with these 31 pairs were: *baby-crib*, *breastfeeding*, *chest-full*, *cob-nosed*, *concertina-wire*, *cornhusker*, *dead-sprint*, *duct-taped*, *eardrums*, *finger-nail-sized*, *flack-jacket*, *hash-marks*, *horse-shoe*, *ill-at-ease*, *middle-east*, *mind-melting*, *mini-van*, *now-naked*, *other-worldly*, *pepper-flake*, *pinpricks*, *playbook*, *plywood*, *rattlesnake*, *rifle-barrel*, *rush-hour*, *taxi-cab*, *trigger-slack*, *voicemail*, *warfare*, *well-worn*, *whisper-mic(rophone)*.

Consistent with our broad expectations, several words from the low-constraint set appear to signify several of Eberwein (2009) conventions of the war genre. For example, among the

low-constraint MMCs, the terms *cornhusker* and *ranch-hand* were referenced with regard to the “regional, ethnic, racial type” of “male character” while *downrange* appeared in the screenplay in the context of “demanding exercises, drills” under the *Pre-Combat: Basic Training* category. The hyphenated compound *outer-hallway* is an example of the “cramped doorways and narrow, almost impassable streets” that Eberwein said uniquely distinguish the Iraq-era war films.

Another low-constraint MMC was *uprange*, which occurs in the context of combat and in *Post-Combat: Aftermath of War* categories. In the latter case, the term is employed in scenes where Kyle spends time with injured fellow veterans at a shooting range, thus typifying the *recovery/rehab for physical (or) psychological injuries* convention. Finally, the terms *Ranger-One* (the name for a detachment of Army Rangers), *JDAM* (Joint Direct Attack Munition), *JTAC* (Joint Terminal Attack Controller), *Hellfire* (missile), *GPS*, *headshot*, *HUMVEE*, *ROEs* (rules of engagement), *settling in*, *off-eye* (the eye of the sniper that is not looking through the rifle scope), *gunfire*, *stand-down*, *hand-to-hand*, and *on-board* are all low-constraint MMCs that typify or signify one or more first three of Eberwein’s combat conventions—*water landings*, *patrols*, *ambushes*, *raids*, *digging in* and other maneuvering; *combat in the desert*; and *tanks*, *grenades*, and *flamethrowers* and other vehicles and weapons of war.

Although there are many fewer of them, there were also a number of highly-constrained MMCs that—when taken together—did convey some sense of combat, armed conflict, and/or the armed forces more generally. One of these was the closed compound *warfare* which appeared in the screenplay as part of the proper noun *Naval Special Warfare Center*. Notably, had that name’s acronym been used instead, the resulting MMC would have been much less constrained than was *warfare* itself. Other highly-constrained words were *chest-full* (which appeared in the phrase “a chest-full of medals”), *concertina-wire* (a type of barbed or razor wire formed in large coils and commonly used around prisons and military installations), *duct-taped*, *flack-jacket*, *middle-east*, *ill-at-ease*, *rifle-barrel*, *trigger-slack*, and *hash marks* (a service stripe on the sleeve of an enlisted person’s uniform).

Finally, two other highly-constrained MMCs were *baby-crib* and *breast-feeding* which were relevant in the context of the

“newly-married or recent father” (male character) and the “loyal wife” (female character).

In addition to this qualitative analysis—analysis which is typical of the semantic network analyses earlier reviewed—we opted to further validate our coding with an approach not previously undertaken in any study of which we are aware. Specifically, we developed a survey that allowed us to directly compare how well the two sets of MMCs conveyed not just the codes and conventions of the war genre, but also the other genres to which the film belongs and does not belong.

Empirical results

To empirically test our hypotheses, our first step was to divide the 93 words into three groups—one comprised of 31 randomly-selected low-constraint MMCs, another consisting of the remaining 31 low-constraint MMCs, and a third group consisting of the highly-constrained MMCs.³ We next recruited a sample of respondents from Amazon.com’s *mTurk* e-worker service (mTurk.com). All survey respondents had previously completed at least 5000 human intelligence tasks (HITs) with a 98% or better approval rates from other employers and were resident in the USA. Respondents were told in the introduction to the survey that they would be matching keywords extracted from the screenplay of a film to types or genres of films.

After viewing just one of the three groups of keywords, respondents were asked to answer a series of 20 questions, each of which provided a definition of a genre and which required the respondent to rate on a 1-10 scale the likelihood that the resulting film belonged to that genre. The definitions embedded in all questions were taken directly from the *International Movie Database* (IMDb.com, 2015). The question specific to the war genre read as follows: “How likely is it that this list of words was taken from a WAR film, i.e. one that contains numerous scenes and/or a narrative that pertains to a real war—past or current.”

The question regarding the action genre was worded similarly: “How likely is it that this list of words was taken from an ACTION film, i.e. one that contains “numerous scenes where action is spectacular and usually destructive.” The eighteen other genres about which the respondents provided opinions were

³ The survey may be viewed at www.surveymonkey.com/s/7PCJPVG. To access it, use “12345678901234” (without quotes) as the “mTurk Worker ID.”

Adventure, Animation, Biography, Comedy, Crime, Drama, Family, Fantasy, Film-Noir, History, Horror, Music/Musical, Mystery, Romance, Science-Fiction, Sport, Thriller, and Western. Table 1 contains a summary of the results of survey respondents.

Genre	Average	Range	St. Dev.
WAR	7.45	1 - 10	2.71
ACTION	7.74	2 - 10	1.86
BIOGRAPHY	4.38	1 - 9	2.02
DRAMA	5.51	1 - 10	2.24
Mystery	3.53	1 - 9	2.18
Sports	2.57	1 - 8	1.97
Romance	2.00	1 - 6	1.34
Crime	5.14	1 - 10	2.47
Western	3.33	1 - 10	2.49
Film noir	3.92	1 - 10	2.53
Family	5.27	1 - 10	2.53
Sci-fi	3.69	1 - 10	2.32
Fantasy	2.73	1 - 10	1.92
Horror	3.88	1 - 10	2.27
Thriller	5.63	1 - 10	2.36
Comedy	3.02	1 - 8	1.98
Animated	2.14	1 - 10	1.50
History	5.27	1 - 10	2.53
Music	1.70	1 - 6	1.07
Adventure	6.02	1 - 10	2.36

Table 1: Descriptive statistics

Table 2, below, contains the results of the regression analyses conducted to test the two hypotheses. Columns 2-5 contain the average scores given by respondents to the question concerning the film's membership in a given genre. The asterisks indicate the statistical significance of the β -coefficients of ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions where the dependent variable, $SCORE_{Genre}$ is the score given (on a 1-10 scale) by respondents to the question of whether the film belongs to a given genre. The variable $LOWCON1$ was a categorical variable equal to 1 if the respondent viewed the first set of low-constraint keywords and 0 otherwise while $LOWCON2$ was a dummy

variable whose value is 1 if the respondent viewed the second set of low-constraint keywords and 0 otherwise. Specifically, our statistical model was as follows: $SCORE_{Genre} = \alpha + \beta_1 * LOWCON1 + \beta_2 * LOWCON2 + \epsilon$

Genre	High Constraint	Low Constraint (1)	Low Constraint (2)	Model F-statistic	Model adj-R ²
WAR	6.11	7.37*	9.00****	7.74***	16.7%
ACTION	6.80	8.06**	8.41***	6.15***	13.3%
BIOGRAPHY	3.51	5.14***	4.50*	4.37**	9.1%
DRAMA	5.94	5.06	5.53	1.01	0.0%
Mystery	4.91	2.89****	2.72****	11.69****	24.1%
Sports	2.66	3.26	1.72	4.18**	8.6%
Romance	2.54	1.74**	1.69**	3.35*	6.5%
Crime	6.00	4.31**	5.09	3.72*	7.5%
Western	4.14	2.66*	3.19	2.34	3.8%
Film noir	5.03	3.03***	3.69*	4.56**	9.6%
Family	2.43	1.63	1.38*	2.28	3.7%
Sci-fi	3.51	2.94	4.69**	3.96**	8.1%
Fantasy	3.51	2.03***	2.63*	3.96**	8.1%
Horror	4.63	3.69	3.28*	2.31	3.7%
Thriller	6.51	5.17*	5.16*	3.44*	6.8%
Comedy	3.49	3.08	2.44*	2.05	3.0%
Animated	2.51	1.94	1.94	1.91	2.6%
History	4.80	4.89	6.19*	2.28	3.7%
Music	1.97	1.69	1.41*	1.60	1.7%
Adventure	6.31	6.06	5.66	1.17	0.5%

Table 2: Results of survey & Regression Model

In the first row of Table 2 we see that when asked if the film belonged to the WAR genre, responses from those who viewed the “high-constraint” words averaged 6.11 points (on a scale of 1-10). Responses of those who viewed the first and second groups “low-constraint” words averaged 7.37 and 9.00, respectively. The former score was significantly higher—at the $p < 0.05$ level, 2-tailed—than 6.11 while the latter score was even more significantly higher ($p < 0.0001$, 2-tailed). Similarly, the second row of the table indicates that the average score given to the ACTION genre by those reviewing the high-constraint words

was 6.80 while averages by those viewing these low-constraint words were 8.06 and 8.41, both of which were significantly higher. But whereas respondents who saw either group of low-constraint MMCs were far better able to identify the film as belonging to the WAR and ACTION genres, they were not able to better identify the other two genres that IMDb assigned to the film—BIOGRAPHY and DRAMA.

Respondents viewing either low-constraint group were also better able to determine the genres to which the film did *not* belong. Specifically, they were much better able to tell that the film did not belong to the FAMILY, WESTERN, ROMANCE, MYSTERY, FANTASY, NOIR, HORROR, MUSIC, COMEDY, ANIMATION, or SPORTS genres. They were slightly better able to tell that the film did not belong to SCI-FI, CRIME, or HISTORY genres. Finally, they were no better able to determine that the film did not belong to THRILLER or ADVENTURE genres.

Conclusion

We began this study by noting that the extraction of meaning from text networks requires consideration of the network's most influentially-positioned nodes. We further noted that in the prior literature, this relationship between meaning and position has rarely, if ever, been tested directly. The present study was undertaken to address this gap in the literature. To that end we developed and tested two hypotheses concerning that relationship. Specifically we hypothesized that words signifying a war film would be associated with the most influentially positioned nodes and while words associated with the least influentially-positioned ones would not. Both hypotheses were strongly supported. Specifically, we found that the words associated with the more influential positions—words like *air-raid*, *bull's-eye*, *gunfire*, *hand-to-hand*, *Hellfire*, *HUMVEE*, *JDAM (Joint Direct Attack Munition)*, *JTAC (Joint Terminal Attack Controller)*, *outrank*, *ROEs (rules of engagement)*, *shotgun*, and *stand-down* were more strongly linked by our survey respondents to the war genre than were the words associated with the less influentially-positioned nodes.

While our hypotheses were strongly supported, it is important to note the factors that limit our ability to generalize our findings beyond this study. First of all, this is an in-depth study of just one case, of one single screenplay. Secondly, the

screenplay that we analyzed was not only highly-acclaimed critically, it was also an enormous box office success. Third, the film belongs to one of the most popular and long-standing film genres, one which American film audiences know well and for which they have well-developed expectations. An excellent follow-up study would assess whether our results extend to other genres, to a larger sample, and to less well-known and less successful films. It would also be interesting to determine whether the presence of genre-signifying words in influential positions in the screenplay's network is associated with box office performance and/or critical acclaim.

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THE LABYRINTH OF TRANSLATING POETRY: THE CASE OF THE TRANSLATOR'S SELF IN DARWĪSH'S 'IN THE PRESENCE OF ABSCENCE'

Abstract: *The pervasiveness of poetry in most cultures is crystal-clear. Connoisseurs of poetry in the Arab World, for instance usually enjoy a higher status in society. The paramount importance of poetry in cultures necessitates meticulous attention to the transference from one language into another. Many translation theorists and practitioners take cognisance of the labyrinth of translating poetry. The present article aims to touch on the dilemma of the translation of the 'self' in Sinan Antoon's translation of Maḥmūd Darwīsh's masterpiece (2011) "In the Presence of Absence". A potpourri of examples is analysed demonstrating the subdued presence of the translator's self and the impact this exerts on the translation of some allusions, and the determination of the meaning of specific ambiguous signifiers (i.e. words, phrases and sentences). The findings show that Antoon's translation is a rip-off of the apex of Darwīsh's creativity.*

Key words: *'Self' translation; Darwīsh; Antoon; literary translation; allusion.*

"A successful translator is the one who imbibes the emotional and sentimental vehemence of the poem, and s/he thereupon can pour out this sap into the target language" (Tuqan, 1993, 58).

Introduction

It is much of incontrovertible evidence that translation has played a crucial role in intercultural exchange since time immemorial. Throughout history, it is oft-truism that many cultures have been given a new lease on life by virtue of

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translation. Mouakket (1988: 25) claims that “the Arabs owed the Greeks the initiative and the starting point towards reasoning. But no sooner had they taken the first step, than their vigorous and earnest desire for knowledge surpassed that of Greeks in many fields”. And, the “subsequent translation [...] from Arabic into Latin during the high medieval centuries” (Burke and Hsia 2007: 1) is also self-evident. Kelly (quoted in Hermans 1999: 37) points out that Western Europe “owes its civilisation to translators”. Yet, it is believed that the translation from one language (usually referred to as Source Language (SL)) into another (usually referred to as Target Language (TL)) is replete with many difficulties. These have become even more evident especially when it comes to the translation between unrelated languages as is the case with Arabic and English; whilst the former belongs to a Semitic language family, the latter is akin to Indo-European languages. True, the two languages have little linguistic and cultural affinity.

The present article examines the dilemma of translating the ‘self’ in Sinan Antoon’s translation of Maḥmūd Darwīsh’s (2011) “In the Presence of Absence” (2011). As a point of departure, it is perhaps useful to look at the histo-political context as can be manifested in the Palestinian and Israel conflict. The conflict started in 1948. A Jewish state (Israel) was established in the aftermath of 1948 war between Arab countries and Israel. It ensues, therefore, that the war degenerated into a bloodbath of Palestinians killing, perhaps in one of the most painful holocaust ever known in history. Hundreds of thousands were driven out of their homeland and became refugees in neighbouring countries, with echoes of horrendous experience to date, among whom was Maḥmūd Darwīsh, a Palestinian poet of indomitable will ever known so far in the Arab World in contemporary literature. He wrote a collection of poems in various recondite areas of knowledge covering the more global existential questions and human nature, and specifically the political conundrum of the existence of Palestinian incessant sufferings since 1948. These poems probably continue to be an inspiration for many years to come by virtue of their indelible impression on an audience of readers both in Arabic and different translations in many languages. Exquisitely, Maḥmūd Darwīsh’s friend and poet Fadwa Tuḡan theoretically ciphers the pursuit of the translator who yearns for and endeavours to render the

idiosyncratic Palestinian literature in general and Palestinian poetry in particular. It seems that Antoon has gone through in that mission, won the 2012 National Award and received plaudits from crowds and critics all around the world. However, Darwīsh's work represents an arcane literary masterpiece with an eristic form and content (Thaqafi 2007: 4). 'In presence of Absence' is glutted with Darwīsh's subjectivity, which is aesthetically crafted throughout the various layers of meaning accrued from his own considerable experience of a poet forced into exile for decades as a corollary of Israeli occupation to Palestine in 1948; on the other shore, Antoon, the novelist, poet and translator has highlighted that he was before a *sui generis* mosaic of an autobiography and poetography clad with an amalgam of prose and poetry (Darwīsh 2011: 5). Nevertheless, has Antoon been versed enough to ensure that his translation was an act of creative writing minus his self? Has the astuteness to suppress his poetic self from being invoked to provide an 'Antoonean' reading to the text? Has he been able to maintain Darwīsh's style, language and allusions, which had been originally devised in the source text? These questions and many others can be invoked after reading such a creative translation of such a remarkable "text." Now scalpels are in place and chapters I, XII and XIX have been randomly selected to draw from some samples for dissection.

It is perhaps worth pointing that language goes far beyond a mere means of communication in daily intercultural exchange. In the words of Newmark (1988: 42), language "is designed to please the senses, firstly through its actual or imagined sound, and secondly through its metaphors. The rhythm, balance and contrasts of sentences, clauses and words also play their part. The sound-effects consist of onomatopoeia, alliteration, assonance, rhyme, metre, intonation, stress - some of these play a part in most types of texts: in poetry."

In terms of translation, the basic assumption would be that translating from one language into another might be easy. In this regard, Tytler (1790, 7) claims that: "If the genius and character of all languages were the same, it would be an easy task to translate from one into another; nor would anything more be requisite on the part of the translator, than fidelity and attention." But, Tytler adds "as the genius and character of languages is confessedly very different, it has sense become a common opinion, that it is the duty of a translator to attend only the sense

and spirit of his original, to make himself perfectly master of his author's ideas, and to communicate them in those expressions which he judges to be best suited to convey them" (ibid.).

Equivalence

Translation is viewed as transference of meanings across languages. This implies capturing two layers of meanings: on denotative and connotative levels. This also implicates seeking equivalents at the two levels. It is not sufficient to capture only denotative meanings, but also connotative ones as well. With reference to equivalence, it is considered to be as a key issue in translation and translation is "generally viewed as the process of establishing equivalence between the [...] (SL) and [...] (TL) text" (Farghal 1995: 54). Nevertheless, there is a consensus amongst translation theorists and practitioners that equivalence is too far-fetched as languages cut linguistic and cultural realities quite differently. By way of illustration, the Arabic proverbs *'uṣfūrun fil yadi khayrun min 'asharatin 'ala ash-shajarah* (lit. 'a bird in the hand is worth ten in the bush') and *qiṭṭa bi-sab'at arāh* (lit. 'a cat with seven lives') can be translated into their English equivalents: 'a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush' and 'a cat with nine lives' respectively. In such a case, 'two' substitutes for 'ten' and 'nine' substitutes for 'seven' as cultural equivalents in English.

Translatability of Poetry

On the translatability of poetry, Al-Azzam (2005: 62) argues that beyond the widely linguistic constraints, "the translator should understand and live the mentality and thinking of the source text writer and audience, on the one hand, and that of the target text readers, on the other." Therefore, Haywood (1971: ix) is inclined to conclude that "[p]oetry should not be translated as prose: this is a certain road to boring the reader. So, verse should be translated in verse, almost invariably with rhyme." By the same token, Tytler (1790: 107) makes a fairly obvious claim that "[t]here are certain species of poetry, of which the chief merit consists in the sweetness and melody of the versification. Of these it is evident, that the very essence must perish in translating them into prose." Tytler (ibid.: 108; emphasis in original) further explains:

But it is not only by the measure that poetry is distinguishable from prose. It is by the character of its thoughts and sentiments, and by the nature of that language in which they are clothed. A boldness of figures, a luxuriance of imagery, A frequent use of metaphors, a quickness of transition, a liberty of digressing; all these are not *allowable* in poetry, but to many species of it, *essential*, but they are quite unsuitable to the character of prose.

At this juncture, an approach towards literal translation may be appropriate insofar as poetry translation is concerned. Abbasi and Manafi as cited in Tina (2013: 12) speak of literal versus free translation strategies. The former includes “phonemic translation, stanza imitation, meter imitation, imitation of the rhyme scheme, and literal blank verse translation in which the poetry translator attempts to give the literal translation of the content of the [source text] in blank verse without being confined to the rhyming pattern of the [source text]. The latter, however, includes “rhymed translation, blank verse translation, and interpretation” (ibid).

Lost allusions

In literary translation, preserving rhetorical devices (e.g. repetition, wordplay, alliteration, allusion etc.), normally aesthetically employed by text producer, turns out to be extremely difficult. “Within the context of intertextuality, allusions participate in the creation of a network of tissues between texts. Some allusions are very popular and occur in several texts; they travel between texts and every time they are borrowed, they gain new meanings within the intertextual space” (Alawi 2010: 2444). Irwin (2002: 521) offers a working definition for allusion as a reference which is “indirect in the sense that it calls for associations which go beyond mere substitution of a referent. Allusions typically draw on information not readily available to every member of a cultural and linguistic community, are typically but not necessarily brief, and may or may not be literary in nature.” In the words of Leppihalme (1997: 3), allusion refers “to a variety of uses of performed linguistic material in either its original or modified form, and of proper names, to convey often implicit meaning.” Leppihalme sees that “a culture bump occurs when an individual finds himself or herself in different, strange, or uncomfortable situation when interacting with persons of a different culture” (ibid.: 4).

With particular reference to translating a religious allusion to one episode of the story of Joseph and the Lord's wife in Darwīsh's *In the Presence of Absence*, Halabi (2015: 34) claims that:

The whole religious allusion refers to the early phase of [Darwīsh's] poetry representing innocence and lack of awareness; besides, it manifests an incident in the Book of Genesis where Adam and Eve gathered to eat from the forbidden tree. This unnamed fruit grown in the Garden of Eden has become an apple under the influence of the 'golden apples' in the Garden of Hesperides; afterwards, the apple becomes a symbol of knowledge, temptation, immortality and the sin of man and his fall from the Garden of Eden. [Darwīsh] tends to reflect the symbolism of apple in his own life and his keenness to be mature and knowledgeable after being naïve and innocent, yet the reader of the [target text] won't be able to recogni[s]e at first sight that there is a religious allusion to the Quran and the Bible; s/he will deal with the text as an ordinary story without linking it to any previous text; thus, it is the task of the translator to add an explanatory foot-note to guide the readers to the aim and goal of conjuring up such sequential series of images and events.

Methodology

Significance of the study

Literary translation is not an embryonic academic discipline in the Arab World. Translating poetry, in particular, has gained momentum and weight as can be seen in Arab studies on translating poetry (see Haywood 1971; Mouakket 1988; Hassan 2008; Dwikat A. *et al.* 2001; Sha'ir 2015, among many others). Nevertheless, studies on Arabic poetry in relation to the translation of 'self' are rare. The present paper is intended to shed new light on the translation of 'self', and in so doing delineate a path for further research in Arabic and other languages. Hopefully, this paper will increase the Arab translators' awareness of aspects beyond linguistic realisations, and it offers an insight into translating 'self' as illustrated in the translations mainly taken from the English Antoon's translation (2011) and on occasion from Shaheen's translation 2010.

Our first data sample starts just a few lines after the onset whereby the translator blurs a foregrounding allusion as can illustrated in Example 1 below:

Example 1

Original: “*wa ‘ad‘ūhum ‘lā ‘ixtiṣāril-wadā‘i wal-inṣirāfi ilā ‘ashā‘in ihtifālyyin yalīqu bidhikrāk*” (Darwīsh 2009: 9).

Translation: “and to call on them to hasten their farewell and go on to a banquet befitting your memory” (Antoon’s translation 2011: 15).

The lexicon “banquet” does lend itself to a straightforward translation, i.e. it does not entail the meaning of “supper”, thus it does not conjure the allusion of the ‘Last Supper’. However, the premeditated choice of the highlighted Arabic word ‘*ashā‘in*’ (lit. ‘supper’), which means supper or dinner used to refer to a funerary feast, is but a marked use in the Palestinian cultural context where a funerary feast is a lunch and for sure not a dinner (Traditions and Costumes Burden the Deceased’s Family, 2014). As a result, to translate ‘*ashā‘in*’ (lit. ‘supper’) into “banquet” might be a deliberate or un-deliberate step to evacuate the text of its Sufi marrow. In the ‘Last Supper’, obviously associated with heavy connotative values, e.g. ‘the Holy Grail’, ‘Holy communion’, Jesus the Nazareth has symbolically given the bread and wine as his body and blood to sum up the whole Christian philosophy of transfiguration and sacrifice. This allusion echoes resonantly in the source text, and it could have been seamlessly traced in English if ‘*ashā‘in*’ (lit. ‘supper’) had been translated into “supper” so as to trumpet that inseparability between Darwīsh (the poet) and his literary corpus, which represents no less than his body and blood, passing them on to his readers to quench and be sated with the intellectual thirst.

Antoon’s domesticating and simplifying eyes persist to tune down the profundity of the text in the translation which is an ultra-simplified reading for the line as can be further shown in Example 2 below:

Example 2

Original: “*wa qad **kharajat** minī wa **kharajat** minī sāliman fal ta’dhan lī bi’an ‘arāka*” (Darwīsh 2009: 9).

Translation: “allow me to see you, now that you have **left** me and I have **left** you, safe and sound” (Antoon’s translation 2011: 15).

Translation: “allow me to see you, as I **begot** you and you **begot** me in peace” (Shaheen’s translation 2010: 3).

Such a translation gives the reader a direct implication that the Darwīsh's soul has left his physicality and vice versa, which is no more than a stereotypical image of body-soul convergence. This translation stereotypically fits especially in such funerary context. However, a subtle furtive glance over the Arabic elusive word *kharajat* (lit. 'leave me') can easily be sufficient to trumpet that "left" is a reductionist reading of the word. The word "leave [left in past] has 22 homogeneous senses (The New Lexicon: Webster's Encyclopedic Dictionary, 1988; Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, 1978); none of them conveys the meaning of "emergence and birth" which can be derived from the Arabic word *kharaja* (lit. 'to leave'). Various evidences in the Quran which represents an inexhaustible source and reference for many of Darwīsh's allusions, demonstrate the much profound sense of the verb *kharaja* (lit. 'left'); for example, Surat Al-Rum verse 19 where the word *yakhruj* (lit. 'to leave') is usually translated in the sense of "bringing out", which means "to produce, to cause to be seen, etc." (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, 1978). Moreover, Mohammad Shaheen's translation of the same text, which was carried out in consultation with Darwīsh himself, has rendered the same line differently (Sha'ir 2015). Such a translation conveys the reciprocal birth between Darwīsh's and his subjectivity manifested in his huge literary corpus. Paradoxically, Antoon's choice to translate *kharaja* (lit. 'left') into "left" simplifies the line and adds different meaning to the text.

Another manifestation of the simplification and domestication of the text appears in the translation of the pronouns. The intricate use of pronouns in all of Darwīsh's poetry cannot be fattened by the English formality of 'you before you' whereby 'you' may mean 'I' and 'I' may mean 'you'; especially, when we see that the arrangement of 'you and I' in the original text varies to refer to the various layers of Darwīsh's totality. For illustration, in the first chapter, Darwīsh says *linadhdhhabana ma'an 'ana wa'anta fi masārayn* (lit. "to go together I and you" and not 'you and I') in which the domesticated choice selected by Antoon suppresses the subjective self of the original text by forcing the domestication and English formalities down its throat. Darwīsh himself has highlighted his deliberate heterogeneous manipulation and arrangement of pronouns as a way to fathom his essence (Darwīsh, 1975: 5). Furthermore, several other

literary analysts have tackled the criticality of Darwīsh's conscious and subliminal use of pronouns in his other poems; mainly the Mural (Barghouthy, Khader, Mohammad, and Zaqtan, 1999: 19; Dwikat, A., Dwikat, J., Dwikat, M., Hewri and Saadeh, 2001). The same can be applied to the use of pronouns in this intricate text which after all is nothing, but another transfiguration and manifestation of Darwīsh's Self. Therefore, it is not acceptable to subject a literary subjective text to the clichés of English formalities. For example, the pronouns 'you and I' are mentioned thrice in the first chapter; twice in the arrangement of 'I and you' and once as 'you and I' (Darwīsh, 2009: 9-11); nonetheless, Antoon has chosen to domesticate the use of pronouns, translating them all into the frozen arrangement of 'you and I' (Darwīsh, 2011: 15-17). Being the case so, he subjects the unique and free individual subjectivity to the triteness of English formalities, and deals with a literary text as if it were an academic piece of writing.

Balance between the majesty and naturalness

Straightforwardly, this section is designated to discuss Antoon's translation in light of its ability to strike a balance between the enthralling seamless eloquence of a text that has been deemed to be the apogee of Darwīsh's genius by both translators of the text (Darwīsh 2010: x; Darwīsh 2011: 5). Objectively, Antoon attempted to maintain seamlessness of the source text; however, arguably he sacrificed some of the aesthetic values of Darwīsh's language, namely the fact that Antoon has made it crystal clear that one of the reasons behind this text was to "to give the beauty of Arabic prose its maximum potential... I was interested in celebrating language and making it dance, as if I were working in a festival of words, images, and aesthetics, liberated from any other consideration. I wanted to free the demons, doves, and birds of Arabic;" thus he was fully aware that it was meant to be Arabic; therefore, Antoon should have been more foreigniser than a domesticator, words were also meant to be worthy of the linguistic celebration Darwīsh wanted. For more illustration, let us return to the very beginning and pass an eye over Example 3 below:

Example 3

Original: *wakama 'awṣaytanī 'aqifu alāna bi'ismka kay 'shkura mushayy'ika 'ilā hadhā as-safaril'akhīr wa'ad'ūhum 'ila ikhtiṣār-l-wadā' wal inṣirāfi 'ilā 'ashā'in ihtifālyyi yalīqu bidhkrāk* (Darwīsh 2009: 11).

Translation: Just as you asked me, I stand now in your name to thank those who have come to bid you **farewell** before this final journey and to call on them to hasten their **farewell** and go on to a banquet befitting your memory (Antoon's translation (2011: 15).

As can be seen in Example 3 above, the English equivalent includes a repetition, whereas the source does not, despite the fact that Arabic does entertain repetition. Moreover, the Shaheen's translation of the text (i.e. the translation that was edited in light of Darwīsh's comments and reflections on it) opts to vary regardless the weakness of the choice he opts to use. Here is another example demonstrates a translational practice, namely the addition which made the translation more prosaic:

Example 4

Original: *fala tasxar min nafsik 'in kunta 'ājizan 'an-l-burhān* (Darwīsh 2009: 13)

Translation: Do not ridicule yourself if you are incapable of **providing** proof (Antoon's translation 2011: 19).

Antoon has opted for the strategy of addition in which he added 'providing' although the source text does not include it; and the expression 'incapable of proof' is a common noun phrase in English; nonetheless, the unnecessary addition of 'providing' weakens the English translation and adds to it a markedness that cannot be traced in the source text.

Now a leap to the twelfth and nineteenth chapters is needed to draw some examples of how the translator has sacrificed some of the semantic components of the source text to safeguard the naturalness and simplicity of the text. Consider Example 5 below:

Example 5

Original: “*watghfū ghayra ābihin bishu’ā’in ytalaṣaṣ ‘alayka mina in-nāfidhati wa ghayra ābihin **biṣxabi** ashshāri*” (Darwīsh 2009: 104).

Translation: “You doze off unaware of a ray of light spying on you, or of the **noise** from the street” (Antoon’s translation (2011: 94)).

The translation of the word *ṣxabi* (lit. ‘my noise’) into noise represents a shift in the register of language, for instance, he could have utilised the word “tumult” to maintain the same register. To elaborate on the point, take Example 6 below:

Example 6

Original: “*lā ḍajar fī in-nawm walā khaṭar*” (Darwīsh 2009: 105).

Translation: “there is no boredom or danger in sleep” (Antoon’s translation (2011: 95)).

Antoon could have translated it into “sleep entails neither dangerousness nor monotonousness”; however, if he had done so, the text would have been less natural, yet more celebratory. Sacrifices for the sake of naturalness can easily be pointed out in chapter XIX. Take Example 7 below:

Example 7

Original: “*musajā ‘amāmī bilā **ḍajjī***” (Darwīsh 2009: 165).

Translation: “You are stretched out **peacefully** before me” (Antoon’s translation (2011: 148)).

Literally, *bilā ḍajjī* (lit. ‘without noise’) means without noise or placidly; notwithstanding, the translator has chosen to translate it into “peacefully” which is more natural in English. Unfortunately, one might be stretched placidly, but not peacefully, thus the translator has opted to change in the meaning to avoid jeopardising his uncompromising naturalness.

Example 8

Original: “*la’nnahu ‘athara ‘alā mā yshbiḥu al-waṣfa-l-balīgh **liṣaṭwat** il-ghiyyāb al-ḥaḍir fī kalāmī*” (Darwīsh 2009: 166)

Translation: “because it had found something of an eloquent description for the **powerful** absence present in my words” (Antoon’s translation (2011: 148).

Similar simplification can also be seen in the very chapter. Once more, Antoon chooses to shift the register by selecting a cliché adjective, while the source equivalent is not marked, yet not a familiar tone; subsequently, he might have translated it into “dominant”.

Last but not least, the critique here does not underestimate in any way the well-knitted translation made by a poet and novelist genius; however, Sinan’s simple, poetic and natural style that can be traced in his novels such as *Ave Maria* and in his poetry also such as *A butterfly and Three Lilies*. In plain English, Antoon’s could neither solve the equation of literary translation (i.e. creative writing minus the self), nor set his own self free to fly within Darwish’s world. Nonetheless, he could bestow another life to the text with a subdued self who has creatively endeavoured to operate under the shadow of the source self; simply, because it is impossible to translate the self. Even the same author cannot. In this context, there are no words truer than those of the Swedish author Theodor Kallifatides (2003: 4) who admitted “I soon realized that I was unable to translate my own works. The only thing I could do was to rewrite my books. They became different books. Another rhythm, another style, another sense of humour, sadness and another love.” It seems that Antoon has unravelled the riddle and provided his reading to the text, since he himself has translated his novel entitled “the Pomegranate” in Arabic into “*the Corpse Washer*” in English. On one hand, this translation has narrowed some dimensions of the text. On the other hand, it has opened new horizons to the text. Furthermore, if Darwish were still alive, he would appreciate the translation as he once stated:

I examine it [the piece of writing he writes] if it were written by another author; actually, this how formulate my position on my poems. I write, put in the drawer and then I reread what has been written. If I can notice that the text smells me, so I can say that I’ve fallen in the snare of repetition...; however, when I feel if the poetry has been written by someone else.... Just then I can

say that the text has met the requirements and conditions I dream of (Hassan, 2008)⁴.

Consequently, we can rest assured that Darwīsh would love his simplified face in Antoon's mirror, as he would find it emanating fewer Darwīshean impulses.

Concluding remarks

Darwīsh's impressive repertoire of immortal poems has brought about miraculous conceptions haunting a large readership all over the world. Translation is based precisely on transference of meanings across languages and should in the final analysis seek to get the target audience to appreciate the SL and its culture. It might reasonably be assumed that, it is unsuccessful particularly when it comes to poetry translation and, more particularly, when it comes to unrelated languages and cultures. In a nutshell, Antoon's translation has been well received by the community of translated literature and targeted audience; however, this does not turn us from the true mission of the literary translator, which is to aesthetically manifest as much as s/he can of the potentials of the literary text by conferring the dispersed original 'self' in the text a voice through his/her well-versed sensitive self and literary genius.

It is also clear that maintaining original 'self' is essential for communicative thrust in intercultural transaction. Translating the original 'self' seems to be valid and a *sine qua non* for observing as much emotiveness in the translation from Arabic into English as possible. The translators' strategies seem to be formal as can be shown in 'ashā'in (banquet) in Example 1; *kharajat* (left) in Example 2 and *wadā'* (farewell) and seem to have worked quite beautifully at first glance, but having indulged a little in the original text, we can easily notice a loss and how important it is for the translator to devise salient solutions to compensate inevitable loss of original 'self'.

Finally, the fact that translation is exacerbated by linguistic, stylistic, pragmatic, semantic and cultural remoteness between the SL and TL makes it urgent to drift away from these towards aesthetic appeal in poetry. The original poems are aesthetically pleasing, and the translation should be thereof. In

⁴ Available at: <http://www.alkalimah.net/> accessed November 12, 2015.

the final analysis, translating poetry creates its own virtuous circle as it narrows the cultural gap between cultures. Through the aperture, we could see Homer, Virgil, Alighieri Dante, Milton, Shakespeare, etc.

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**AN APOLOGIA PRO OPERA SUA:
SAM SHEPARD VS THE FEMININE
OR HOW A “A FOOL FOR LOVE” MEETS “THE SILENT
TONGUE(S)” AND FINDS IT ALL TO BE
A HUGE “LIE OF THE MIND”**

Abstract: *Drama is not a favourite genre among American critics and it has been so for decades. Misogyny (or what might appear similar to it) has also grown out of fashion, hopefully for good. The combination of the two makes it all the more difficult for an author to “fare well” among the critics. My paper tries to highlight the fact that Sam Shepard, although often perceived as a misogynist for the treatment of his female characters both by his “men” and himself is not (as much) “guilty as charged”. The point I am trying to make is that the playwright did not (always) ignore his female characters and leave them voiceless because it pleased him to do so. He did it because what he understood best about the human condition was male anxiety and neurosis.*

A Lie of the Mind is his, albeit failed, attempt at understanding the female side and even incorporating it. What the play offers as a conclusion is that love seems to be a mission that is impossible for the strong and the healthy. It tries to persuade the reader (and this attitude can frequently be found explicitly in his plays) that love is a(n) unnatural condition, an illness of a sort. Love is a survival mode for the weak. The strong do not need it. On this not very encouraging note the play ends, as do all Shepard's further attempts at dealing with women characters in a way different from his usual.

Keywords: *drama, America, Sam Shepard, women, Lie of the Mind*

Drama is far from being a favorite America's child, but interestingly enough, Sam Shepard was long America's golden boy of sorts. His rugged good looks and the pensive, even melancholy air he sported added a fine touch of a Byronic aura to him. He too was an exile, but not for too long and unlike the 19th century British eccentric and Romantic (the capital r is, it seems to me, only fitting here, for the English lord was not very much into a notion of love we commonly tend to consider romantic) he was not forced to leave. In the case of the latter it was rather a

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self-exile to the homeland of the former. Young Shepard simply decided he had had enough of being an infant-prodigy-stardom and a tumultuous love affair with Patti Smith only sped his itchy feet. His couple of years in England, where he tried to pursue a career as a rock band's drummer, yielded more plays; among which is one on a gambling mafia (where English gentlemen's greyhounds predictably, but wisely, were replaced by cowboy horses) and another on the hostile punk rock scene of the 1970s featuring a matinee cowboy-style final showdown: *Geography of a Horse Dreamer* (1974) and *Tooth of Crime* (1972), respectively. The years in England might have helped him to make a final decision on which career path to take: that of a playwright and occasional actor in movies (that, not unlike his own plays, featured an anxiety-plagued White male as the precise kind of man that ladies love to save from themselves, which is a venture needless to say, rarely successful).

Some years back, I started spending a considerable amount of time doing research on Sam Shepard, having reference books and his plays shipped to me from the States so that I could ponder on both his idiosyncrasy and his indebtedness to Postmodernism. In my PhD thesis, he was more or less successfully paired with David Mamet, yet another male playwright and one who writes almost exclusively for males. Saying that Sam Shepard is a playwright concerned mostly with WASP anxieties is no breakthrough in humanities. From a distance, the American literary scene seemed a bit abstract, albeit charted in a way that put whatever you call postmodern(ist) first and foremost. It is one thing to read American drama scholars (Harris Smith, Schroeder)² trying to figure out why drama is placed so lowly in the canon and another to hear a distinguished drama scholar say that she's never bothered to care about what anxious American male baby boomers have felt urged to say about their anxieties from the hippie times onwards. Although it will hardly make changes to Sam Shepard's life or status on this earth and much less in the literary canon, that was a moment when I felt sorry for him and his often discussed anxiety-combined-with-masculinity issues.

² "Unless you want to write on Eugene O'Neill, there really isn't any American dram[...] American drama is still regarded as the illegitimate offspring of an unholy union between misguided American writers and the commercial stage" (Schroeder 1991, 420-427).

And what better apology than love can ever exist? If Dr Roof had had to choose a single phrase to describe Shepard's oeuvre, then that of "male anxieties" would have been a choice nothing short of perfect. Her outright dismissal of his entire opus was what bothered me. And it is precisely because I agree with the distinguished professor that we are free to choose who to read and write about, that I allow myself to be subjective as it comes to the choice of the author whose expression of love I wish to expand on in my modest contribution to drama scholarship.

I believe my paper will show that Sam Shepard was not disinterested in the topic, not only because some women referred to the author as a "thinking women's beefcake" or due to the string of beautiful women he's been romantically involved with during his struggle with the above-mentioned anxieties, but because he has contemplated and written about love in his works and the fact that his love(rs) failed does not change the truth of the fact they tried.

To be fair to the playwright, romantic love is not the only kind of love he writes about. His plays, themselves varied in content, theme and style (from the early 1960s very experimental one-acts to the full-length kitchen-sink family plays of the late 1970s and early 1980s) feature prominently parental, filial and sibling love and devotion, or rather their flip side. Much has been written on the Oedipal concerns highlighted in his Father-Son relationship plays, the type of strained relationship which hovers menacingly over many of his plays (*The Rock Garden*, *The Holy Ghostly*, *Curse of the Starving Class*, *Buried Child*, *True West*, *Fool for Love*, *Lie of the Mind*, *The Late Henry Moss*) and the semblance it bears to his own troubled relationship with his drunk veteran father living in the desert.

Scholars often dwell on the biographical details of Shepard's life and, as often happens when dealing with a living author, resort to interviews trying to sift through what might be termed as "literary intelligence". Thus, they hope, digging through both the conscious and the unconscious of the author, that they will eventually come across a golden thread which will then generate loads of scholarly papers. Carol Rosen wrote a poetic biography, Don Shewey did a lot of writing in the same vain, then Martin Tucker and, to some extent, Matthew Roudané, not to mention countless interviews in papers and magazines. Shepard's celebrity image was further perpetuated by the fact he

“hated” journalists and paparazzi, just as a true star should. In a 1986 interview, Shepard described a hawk he had once observed in New Mexico trying to outfly bothersome crows. The interviewer, Jonathan Cott, rightly supposed that Shepard identified with the hawk and asked, “So the answer is to outfly them.” Shepard responded, “Yeah, outfly them. Avoid situations that are going to take pieces of you. And hide out” (Blackburn 2009) The celebrity cult(ure) is so much with us today that it is easy to imagine how such a statement (and the attitude it stemmed from) would only attract more attention to the one not wanting it. However, Sam Shepard was in his artistic prime at the time and probably not aware of the fact that he had already written his best plays and had been in a steady decline (at least according to the later critics of his work).

A year prior to the interview, he wrote the last of his family plays, arguably not the best of them, *A Lie of the Mind*. Although, there is critical consensus about his *Buried Child* (1978) and *Curse of the Starving Class* (1978) being the best of Shepard the 1985 play is important as in it Shepard tries hard (and fails according to some) to speak the language of women. Some claim that Shepard's is an “emotional territory” (Rosen 2004) and by this play he ventured into a territory yet unknown, also emotional, but in a female kind of way. Others believe that Shepard was under pressure (both external and intrinsic) to give voice to the “silent tongues” of his female characters. Although not many of Shepard's plays are without female characters, his women fell into a couple of marginal categories: inadequate and frustrated nurturers (Lisa and Lupe in *Action*, Halie in *Buried Child*, Lorraine and Meg in *A Lie of the Mind*), equally inadequate and frustrated companions (Shelly in *Buried Child*, Joy in *Chicago*) and ghosts (Consuela in *Eyes for Consuela*).

Therefore, not that women were absent from his plays – they revolved and floated around men in a way that showed not misogyny as it is too easy to (wrongly) conclude but the fact that the playwright hardly knew what to make of them. He was too absorbed in his masculine fears and anxieties to pay any attention to those of the gentler sex. Bonnie Marranca (1981) perceives his female characters as stereotyped, stuck in prescribed gender roles, often ancillary ones. They are never outside the framework made by men and for men – mothers and sisters, girlfriends and wives, maids and secretaries, never

existing in their own right. Some critics go even further to define this “curious passivity” (Falk 1981, 99) to be a survival tool nature generously provided to females. They resort to the evolutionary adaptation tool of the weaker ones – mimicry. When in crisis, they act as if nothing is wrong or like eager-to-please children (Ibid, 98) so as to minimize risk for their own safety. While in peril, they would start simple activities (scrubbing floors, doing laundry, preparing food) to just go through the day or whatever time it takes for things to get back to normal, whatever this normal be on Shepard’s stage:

SHELLEY (to Vince in *Buried Child*) (cutting carrots) Sure. I’m fine. I’ll just keep real busy while you’re gone (Shepard 1984, 98).

Some say that one needs to understand something (or somebody) to love it and some say that is precisely the other way round: if you love something you will try to understand it. Shepard the playwright seemed not to understand women, so when he decided to write a play on love, in the course of the play he even tried to concoct a special language to it, or rather to show that love cannot be expressed through an ordinary language of everyday matters. Unfortunately, the language he deploys is broken, shattered, incoherent and slurred just like the character who uses it. There were heterosexual couples (Shepard, in fact, likes pairs on his stage, but these pairs are more Beckettian than romantic even if they seem to be so) in other Shepard’s plays (notably *Chicago*, *Red Cross*, *La Turista*, *Operation Sidewinder*, *Cowboy Mouth* etc.) but the female characters were, as was said before, predominantly foils to anxious males. Critics might rightfully argue that Beth was, again, a somewhat better developed foil for Jake, but even if it is so, after *A Lie of the Mind*, Shepard cannot be accused of not trying to deal successfully with a female mind, only of failing. And the mind is here in the center of the play, both literally and metaphorically. The story is not very peculiar to Shepard or anyone in general. Domestic violence is, unfortunately, a very frequent trope both in life and literature. In the case of the play, a jealous husband, Jake, has severely beaten his wife, Beth, and some damage has been done to her brain. This is why she is unable to come to terms either with her own gender identity or the future of her relationship with Jake.

After beating his spouse, Jake fled, having mistaken her for dead. But she is not dead. Only brain damaged. The play starts with the two houses on the two opposite parts of the stage, one representing Jake's mother's house in California and the other Beth's folks' home in Montana. Shepard's characters are somehow all impotent in family matters; establishing any meaningful relationship other than one that is purely sexual is next to impossible. When a couple is bound for life in Shepard, then it is about incest (*Fool for Love*)! And even then we are tempted to believe the two are a metaphorical replacement for a long sought-for androgynous union. They are "siblings" after all. Back to Beth and Jake, they are both in their respective families of origin, which are (what a surprise) also dysfunctional. Both houses are full of sound and fury, door-slamming, plate-smashing, even shooting and it all signifies nothing. Shrouded in their different pathologies like in blankets (another favorite Shepard's trademark/symbol/metaphor) the families lick their wounds and blame it all on the other(s). How else could it be? It can't be "us", can it? After having spent some time with his Mom and sister in California (literally) dusting off his father's ashes from under the bed, Jake finally musters some courage and goes to Montana to face his wife and his love. And his demons. Mother (Lorraine) is in denial. She is, in fact, repating the same pattern with her son which seemed not to have worked with his Dad. She feeds him soup and dotes on him while he regresses back to the behavior of a pre-school boy. Lorraine is happy having him back so that she can re-exercise her parental role, while at the same time admitting to seeing him more like a puppy suddenly grown dangerous than like an adult son:

"He's not gonna hurt us. We're related. Look at him. He's just a big baby. [...] Strangers he'll hurt. Stranger women. Outsiders he'll hurt. That's guaranteed. But not us. He knows us" (Shepard 1996, 33).

Denial is a powerful weapon when people want to deceive – themselves. *A Lie of the Mind* plays with the mind(s) of all of the characters deceiving them, deluding them and playing dirty tricks on them. Or is it their own minds which do it to them, paradoxically trying to protect them from pain-memory?

The plot (unlike many Shepard's plays, *A Lie of the Mind* has one) evolves around the possibility of reconciliation; first of all with the self, which can only be done after having reconciled with one's past, and (only) then with others. Past and (family) history are again important Shepard's tropes. Jake tries. He asks for pardon. He goes through humiliation and even gets metaphorically emasculated. It seems to be enough for pardon but not enough for getting back together. But Jake does not hope for anything more than. And Beth, it seems, holds no rancour towards him. They both are strangely serene and somehow solemnly dignified despite the undignified way they look on the stage in the strangest of attires possible (Jake is draped in an American flag only in one moment, and on all fours dragged on leash by her violent brother). Her derranged brains opened some new vistas to Beth. This is how human brain/body functions and it is the same with all things human. A simple law of physics:

“If something breaks – broken. If something broken – parts still – stay. Parts still float. For a while. Then gone. Maybe never come – back. Together. Maybe never” (Ibid, 53).

The power of forgetting seems to defeat the power of love in the play. The power of forgiveness is the only equally powerful force in the play. Beth forgives Jake, Jake forgives himself (some would say too easily). There is an ominous, almost Poeian “never”, repeated twice in Beth's lines, but there is also a maybe. And it is at this note of a possibility, however small, that in my opinion the play ends.

It is almost bad taste to try to define love anywhere, much less in a single paper but we can trace some of the phenomena connected with any male-female romantic involvement and their manifestations in the play.

Betrayal/abandonment is one of those but is never called that in the play. It is denoted with a simple, innocuous word “leaving” and it is a pronouncedly male “device” in a relationship. Women characters in the play refer repeatedly to this male need trying to understand it. The whole play is a treatise on gendered emotions, gendered space and (reconciling) gender differences. Role reversal, literally entering the other's shoes or inhabiting their space is a way towards understanding the other and possible reconciliation. Knowing could lead to loving, just as

ignorance and fear of the unknown is what causes xenophobia and different intolerable “isms”.

Lorraine and Sally, *do* try to understand (SALLY My whole body shakes from the memory of all this leavin’ (Shepard 1996, 72); LORRAINE Is there any good reason in this Christless world why men leave women? (Ibid, 93)) but it is not that women are without guilt for men’s condition(s). How could they know and tolerate the traits in them which are animalistic if nor brutish (LORRAINE He’s like a stray dog. He’s home for a while and you pet him and feed him and he licks your hand and then he’s gone again” (Shepard 1996, 93)) Even though not as drastically as some other Shepard’s mothers (the incestuous Halie in *Buried Child*) Lorraine still enjoys her privileged position in her son’s heart and, if not encourages, then certainly justifies his lousy treatment of his “bimboes”. Shepard’s “sons and lovers” unlike Laurence’s are much more invested in hatred towards their fathers than in love for their mothers. The power of Eros within their Oedipal is subordinated to that of Tanatos. The destructive defeats the incestuous, and one might even argue, the creative.

However, when they finally come to terms with the “leaving”, the female household in California decides to let go of it altogether. The male sanctuary, the place of their perpetual but never final return(s) is set on fire. The women decided to leave. The male power is in their hands now and the piles of trash and dust heaped over years as the men’s pledge of return are abandoned to flames, the Father’s funeral pyre of sorts: his pilot jacket, his model planes, his war medals and his very ashes. The macho paraphernalia are grotesquely piled up here to challenge, or better still, mock male myths which are further challenged through the characters of Beth’s father and his son Mike who set out with shotguns and in full hunter’s outfits to hunt for deer whose meat no one eats. The futility of the “male” tasks, a complete absence of the need for initiation leaves a 20th century American without mission, he knows he is bound to some destination, somewhere out there, but where exactly?

The men are frustrated with the aimlessness of their quest(s) which might well have generated the initial violence of the play as well as all the rest of it but the women are upset too. We have seen how two of them made use of the male weapon of abandonment to sever the ties with the past. But what about those who are more domestic or more into home-making like

Meg and Beth herself? Some short-term gender role reversal was needed here coupled with a desirable degree of male vulnerability. Beth appears in a man's shirt demonstrating, however awkwardly and seemingly inadvertently some kind of domination over immovable Frankie on the couch. It is not only Beth's (hopefully temporarily) deranged mind which prompts her to talk about herself as a "shirt-man" – it is more of a search for gender balance. Men, as Beth knows them, are aggressive and dangerous and they flee. Women, as Beth is taught to believe, are submissive and docile and, if necessary, seductive (hence she dons the overly appealing clothes when she wants to propose to Frankie). The only way to secure a warm nest is to make some slight changes to these roles as we know them. The shirt performance was part of the ritual and the fact that Frankie is wounded and immobile, thus vulnerable and incapable of violence or leaving is the complementary part.

The situation onstage sinks gradually into a well-known Shepardesque confusion. To stay true to himself and his male characters, Shepard "chases" an incorrigibly masculine Mike off and abandons the stage to the two self-absorbed, autistic couples. Beth might not find it too difficult to coerce Frankie into staying with her, especially if one recalls what Jake said earlier in the play about a certain fondness Frankie had always felt for his sister in law. Meg and Baylor, similar to the characters of an earlier Shepard's play – *Action*, find meaning in performing simple activities which they turn into a ritual of a sort. Shepard has always had a thing for rituals (*La Turista*, *Back Bog Beast Bite*, *Curse of the Starving Class*, *Buried Child*, *Eyes for Consuela*) although these have never proved either healing or catarsic. It is yet one more of his exemplary postmodernist traits: make use of something to no traceable end (in terms of a play's structure). Personal and familiar is, in Shepard, never too far from national: he seems never to get tired of the appropriation of the American flag. There must be something charged with symbolism in the ritual of its folding and insisting on its being proper so as to "have all the stars on the outside and all the stripes tucked in" (Shepard 1996, 136). There are (at least) two deaths in the play and it is appropriate to fold the flag not only in memory of Jake's dead father but also as a wordless obituary to Beth and Jake's love. Shepard's men cling desperately to something known and

knowable, something stable and constant in a pervading context of non-recognition and disappearing:

BETH "Your whole life can turn around. Upside down. In a flash. Sudden. [...] The whole world can disappear. Everything you know can go. You won't even recognize your own hands." (Ibid, 87).

BAYLOR You don't recognize the flag anymore? It's the same color it always was. They haven't changed it, have they? Maybe added a star or two but otherwise it's exactly the same. How could you not recognize it?" (Ibid, 128-9).

Shepard's has never been a lukewarm patriot, quite the contrary. His patriotism is of a higher kind than that of Whitman and Ginsberg and there is no wonder this WWII pilot's son and 60's youth leaves some space on his stage for his native land. The image of America in his plays is not always flattering but neither is that of the nuclear family and still it is precisely family matters that haunt Shepard most of all and that he keeps harkening back to. Pairing these two tropes is no coincidence: both of them, the family and the nation seem to need reinvention, remaking, restructuring.

For some time already, readers and theatre goers have stopped looking for closure, let alone catharsis. Trying to find a message would be preposterous. What I was trying to understand is how the family conflict is (un)resolved in the end. And what (if anything) has love to do with it.

One way of reading the play would be that that only if/when we admit to both the feminine and the masculine sides to us (if there are such things) and break out of the entrenched stereotypes can we hope for establishing meaningful relationships with other people based on more than simply biological laws on either sex or kinship. But, then, why is it that only the vulnerable ones are capable of sharing space? The two men are both disabled – one is too old and weak even to untie his own boots and the other is young but wounded and couch-ridden. Both women suffer from dementia. The other two men, the strong and young ones, leave. The two enlightened women also leave setting their belongings virtually aflame. Is it what we can read from the play? That love and charity is what is left to the

meek and the weak since the strong and the proud do not need it? Or, worse yet, are incapable of maintaining it?

The ending of the last of the family cycle plays is unsatisfactory. While the strong move on alone, the impotent stay at home (for a while) to help one another survive through each one's respective solitudes. If they were not vulnerable, they would never make it. Shepard composed his own "songs of fire and ice" in the play's ending. Fire and (in the) snow exist simultaneously in the final scene as yet another symbol of the family paradox(es) in Shepard. They merge in Meg's mind's eye as if to suggest that it is possible for people of different ilk to coexist and even raise a family. They can also mean purification, a fresh start, a new beginning.

The new beginning, if there is one, implies a painful negotiation of traditional roles as we know them. They are no more gendered, or at least not so in a simple way. Gender is challenged multiple times and (ex)changed among Beth and Frankie. The-man-of-the-family stereotype is first mercilessly ridiculed (deer hunting, shooting Frankie instead of an animal, Jake's retreat in his Mom's home), then dismantled and finally reassembled in such a way that no one is sure he is any longer functional. There is only one type of harmless family men – those who depend on others. The humor of the fighting-over-the-blanket scene with Baylor and Frankie hovers over the underlying sense of profound desperation of the two impotent men resorting pathetically to a frustrated and futile toddler-like imitation of violence. A blanket and a bottle are Shepard's favorite scene props along with a fridge and a couch. They all suggest nourishment, shelter, the domestic but also the domesticated. Shepard's men huddle themselves in blankets as the final shield against the chill of the outside. The blanket is never even neutral a symbol: its symbolism is always dark, that of (existential) fever-sickness, denial, catatonic numbness and death (Dodge in *Buried Child*, Carter in *Simpatico*). Therefore, love is reduced to simple nourishment and the men's needs to those of a pre-pubescent age. Can such a family union produce anything but a "buried child"?

On the other hand, the young and the strong are destructive both to themselves and to others. Sex and progeny seem to be of little importance compared to violence although there are numerous allusions to sex throughout the text of the

play. What Shepard points out is that the traditional family failed, but offers no healthy replacement. The surrogate we encounter in the final scenes is a far cry from what one would like to call home.

As for the non-disabled women of the play, Sallie and Lorraine, the only way they can escape men is become them (metaphorically) and learn and accept their ways. Contrary to Baylor and Frankie who are to some extent feminized so as to fit in the domestic space of the inside, the ladies choose to reject the men (that is, the memories of the men) whom they have been rejected by. They make use of a typically male weapon in this gender war – leaving. The contrast between the fire in their California home and the snow-shrouded house in Montana brings together the conflicting principles, that of fire – dynamism and energy, but also destruction and that of snow, i.e. peace but also passivity and apathy, frustration and imprisonment.

It does not seem that any of the characters resolved their internal conflicts successfully. By the end they will just have made a conscious choice to bury the past. There is, however, one significant difference between the leaving men and women. The women leave together since, as it is hinted in the play, the female principle needs the other, and the men each on his own since no one, themselves included, knows what they are after. What they are leaving behind is much clearer – the danger of permanent emasculation and “enslavement”.

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