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Contents

Dear Reader,

The Department of Human Studies of the Faculty of Business and Humanities organised the second edition of the Conference on *Discourse, Culture and Representation*. The 2012 edition was entitled *Discourses of Space*.

The present issue of *Philologica* continues the series of studies initiated in the first issue of volume 4, comprising a selection of papers presented at this conference which approach space from perspectives other than that of literature.

The concrete, physical (geographical) space of different social (ethnic, religious) groups and more abstract (mental, ritual, linguistic, virtual, interdisciplinary) spaces are discussed in these papers. However, they have one common denominator: the human being, who tries to comprehend and explain his/her relation or attitude to these spaces. The wide variety of perspectives points out those manifold possibilities that allow for different interpretations. The studies of this volume highlight the latest developments of this intriguiging area of study, which – we hope – will offer pleasant reading to those who are interested in discourses of space.

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Space in Cognitive Linguistics

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Abstract. Cognitive linguistics brought about changes starting from reshaping our approach to metaphors. Our bodily experience in space serves as the basis for the majority of metaphorical expressions and the present article focuses on some of the English, Romanian and Hungarian prepositions/verbal prefixes, such as *over, peste, túl, végig*. Their basic meaning(s) can be more easily understood resorting to basic spatial relationships, such as *up, down, beyond a certain point.* The conclusion presents various levels of metaphorisation and further possibilities regarding spatial exploration of metaphors.

Keywords: perception, body, space, time, mental spaces

1. Introduction

Many people would agree that one of the most complicated things is to study human experience. However, the development of cognitive linguistics offered new and interesting approaches, among which human experience deriving from the surrounding space must be mentioned.

The *human experience* – according to scientists – comes from the observation of the environment, an environment which is rather subjective, as "we are first and foremost spatial and visual creatures" and "there is no such thing as a neutral, disembodied, omniscient, or uninvolved observer. An observer's experience is enabled, shaped, and ineluctably constrained by its biological endowment"

(Langacker 1999a: 203). Before arguing that physical experience is but one of the many possibilities of experience, let us focus on Lakoff and Johnson's view:

> We are not claiming that physical experience is in any way more basic than other kinds of experience, whether emotional, mental, cultural or whatever. All of these experiences may be just as basic as physical experiences. Rather, what we are claiming about grounding is that we typically conceptualize the non-physical in terms of the physical…that is, we conceptualize the less clearly delineated in terms of more clearly delineated. (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 59)

We may conclude that the notion of (physical) perception is vital for human beings, and Frith also supports this idea, stating that "everything in the world is placed in just two categories: nice or nasty. But we do not experience the physical world in terms of such crude categories"; furthermore, one of his basic arguments is that "Our Brain Creates an Effortless Perception of the Physical World", so perception "is not a problem" (Frith 2007: 111). However, there is a problem, as Frith correctly observes, that the perception of the brain is in fact "an illusion created by our brains". Our brain gathers information from our senses, leading to the concept of the ideal Bayesian observer, thus "weak evidence is ignored; strong evidence is emphasized" (Frith 2007: 124). Frith goes on explaining the role of the Sun casting light and creating shadows (shaping objects) leading to false perceptions, which are "fantasies that coincide with reality" (Frith 2007: 134).

The next logical step is to check the relationship of *experience* and *motion*. Frith states that in case no sensory signals are available, then our brain fills in the missing information (Frith 2007: 135). Even infants spend a lot of time observing things and people in motion, and eventually "they come to understand how the world works at a physical level by grasping things, picking them up, dropping them, pulling and pushing them, hitting them, and throwing them, always watching how the object responds".[1] Thus infants understand spatial relationships and concepts of motion before they are able to use words to describe them, leading us to the recognition that "human beings naturally use space, motion, and the senses as domains for conceptually structuring less concrete, even entirely abstract aspects of our experience".[2]

As perception and motion are interrelated, it is worth discussing the concept of an object moving through space. Langacker mentions that in this case mental scanning through the spatial domain is involved (Langacker 1999a: 172); Ribout also emphasises the importance of movement, stating that the psychological notion

[1] http://www.chrisdb.me.uk/wiki/doku.php?id=cognitive_linguistics#lesson_3space_landmarks_and_trajectors

[2] Ibid.

met with the majority of relationships is that of movement. He goes on and concludes that all relationships expressed by prepositions can be reduced to stability and movement in space and time (Ribout 2002: 85). According to Frith, our brain links perception and action, and our body helps us learn about the world: "We do things to the world with our bodies and see what happens" (Frith 2007: 130). Nevertheless, our physical body in the surrounding space is the primal source of information, a body which "necessarily has physical viewpoint" and

> human bodies share structure which ensures that they can see forwards but not backwards, can access objects in front of them better than ones in back of them, can move forwards better than backwards, and of course are experiencing a gravitic environment in which we are normally able to stand on our feet rather than our heads (Sweetser 2007: 216).

2. Description of space

At this point we should discuss the *conception of space*, a focal element in cognitive linguistics, relying on Langacker's seminal work:

> the notion [BODY] (so far as shape is concerned) is a configuration in three-dimensional space ... it would appear more promising to regard the conception of space (either two- or three-dimensional) as a basic field of representation grounded in genetically determined physical properties of the human organism and constituting an intrinsic part of our inborn cognitive apparatus (Langacker 1987: 148).

Regier briefly mentions that the human conception of space appears to structure other parts of the conceptual system through spatial metaphors, as the human experience of space is constrained by the nature of the human perceptual system (Regier 1996: 4). Lakoff and Johnson, similarly claim: "The structure of our spatial concepts emerges from our constant spatial experience, that is, our interaction with the physical environment", although Cormac states that even the experiences of spatial orientation involve cultural presuppositions, which means that one cannot have a purely physical as opposed to cultural experience (Cormac 1985: 66). However, Edelman (2007: 429) supports the idea that space should serve as a natural scaffolding for supporting structured representations, whose roots go back to the ancient mnemonic method of loci.[3] Thus we can reach a basic conclusion, namely that the source domain serves as the background for structuring and understanding the target domain, an idea supported by Langacker (1999a:

[3] See, for instance, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Method_of_loci.

208). So SPACE, TIME, MATERIAL/SUBSTANCE and ENERGY are connected within the Greek philosophical system with air, water, earth and fire,[4] as Langacker mentions, and he goes on by highlighting another aspect of conception: people are more concerned with what they are conceiving than in the particular way they are doing that (Langacker 1999b: 46).

Thus we can turn our attention to the conceived space, together with its components, forming a whole system with landmark (LM), trajectory (TR), source, path and goal, originally deriving from Langacker, then taken over by Lakoff & Johnson (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) and many others. Our effort to follow the Lakoffian findings in describing a part of language in terms of spatial concepts is merely one of the possibilities to have a view upon language. A spatial account of abstract conceptual categories helps us in understanding, and the combination of objective space and human (subjective mind) in fact (re)creates the world. But in this case, we have to take into account SPACE, which (more or less similarly to number and time) is first perceived before it is conceptualised (we operate with terms like *long, short, high, low, deep, close, distant, left,* and *right*). Relatively, it was not long ago (the foundation of geometry) that this rather long and fuzzy set of characteristics was simplified and rationalised by terms like *height, width, profundity, distance* and *position* (Ribout 2002: 145).

Vision – although not exclusively – constitutes a central means of apprehending space (Langacker 1999a: 204-207) and a spatial vantage point is offered by the speaker's location, "more abstractly, the time of speaking is a temporal vantage point". We should mention that there are languages with absolute spatial system (Sweetser 2007: 219)[5] and these speakers do not use their bodies as origos for everyday spatial representation as pervasively as users of relative spatial language systems. For instance, in an absolute spatial system the utterance '*The house is south of the bush.*' would sound "natural", so the speaker's vantage point does not influence the statement, leading to less egocentric spatialisation of time, as well, at the metaphoric level. Among others, Talmy describes this as "located object" (also known as target or figure) versus "reference object" (also known as a landmark or relatum), arguing that properties of the objects in the spatial world are associated with these two roles, with reference objects typically more stable and larger than located objects, which is consistent with the idea that the location of the reference object is presumed, known or easily found (Carlson and Hill 2007).

Space is not absolute, and Regier observes that whatever the range of cross-linguistic variation in spatial semantic structure, that variation does not in any way correspond to a conceptual difference across languages. There is a universally shared

[4] Cf. passage of time understood metaphorically in terms of flowing water.

[5] For instance, the Australian Guugu Yimithirr language is absolute, always using absolute reference points, namely north, east, south and west, so experience constrains language (Regier 1996).

human conception of space derived from pre-linguistic experience, and although different languages may pick up on different aspects of that shared conception, no language can ever encode something that is conceptually alien to speakers of other languages. Gopnik, cited by Regier, adds that there cannot be semantic universals because children's concepts change profoundly, in radical ways, and simple spatial terms actually mean something quite different to children than to adults. Evans and Green – similarly to Regier – also mention Guugu Yimithirr:

> Guugu Yimithirr exclusively employs a field-based frame of reference for locating entities in space. An important consequence of this is that speakers of Guugu Yimithirr must be able to dead-reckon their location with respect to the cardinal points of their system, wherever they are in space. (Evans and Green 2006: 100)

Another evergreen topic connected to the aforementioned ones is the dichotomy of body and mind, a problem discussed by Chomsky (1988), stating that "the mind-body problem can be posed sensibly only insofar as we have a definite conception of body", but the Cartesian conception of body in terms of their contact mechanics would not suffice and neither would the British Neoplatonists or the twentieth-century Gestalt psychology. Chomsky concludes that "there is no clear and definite concept of body". The problem is rediscussed by Ryle:

> A person therefore lives through two collateral histories, one consisting of what happens in and to his body, the other consisting of what happens in and to his mind. The first is public, the second private. The events in the first history are events in the physical world; those in the second are events in the mental world... Minds are things, but different sorts of things from bodies; mental processes are causes and effects, but different sorts of causes and effects from bodily movements. (Ryle 1949)

Under normal circumstances body comes first, but occasionally it may happen that MIND precedes BODY. To illustrate this, we would like to mention the fragment from *Avatar*, when the protagonist is given a new body. The film presents this feeling successfully,[6] and we have to accept that hardly can language describe the feeling when after the wheelchairs toes delve in the earth for the first time.

Nevertheless, concepts about language are ardently debated within cognitive linguistics; at this point we would only like to mention Miller's approach: "a language is learnable ... speakers can understand novel utterances, without explicit training in their use" (Miller 1999: 148).

[6] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1QEFrI-D_3c&feature=related

After human perception, body, motion and space, the next keyword may be *time*, which is often mentioned connected to space.

3. SPACE and TIME

According to cognitive linguists, SPACE and TIME can be regarded as the two most fundamental domains of human experience; in this respect see, for instance, Evans & Green (2006: 68). They propose a basic difference between TIME and SPACE: "while TIME has the property of progression, SPACE is static (Evans & Green 2006: 515). Thus the concept of TIME is described in terms of motion, from which results that expressions including time are all metaphoric in nature. Dominte (1970) mentions main and secondary prepositions in space and time, stating that in space we have position (state) and movement, whereas in time we have moment and period (length), adding that constructions with time follow the model of spatial ones, never vice versa,[7] quoting Pottier (1962); thus time can be described in terms of space, that is the "spatialisation of time", to which Gibbs (1994: 75) adds that certain concepts are impossible to describe non-metaphorically (e.g. TIME with recourse to SPACE and MOTION).

The relationship between SPACE and culture is another interesting topic in cognitive linguistics. For instance, Cormac formulates the question: if some spatial concepts vary from culture to culture, then how can we have any certainty that spatial concepts emerge directly? Metaphoric expressions depend on the context of the hearer for their interpretation, and the context can vary from culture to culture (Cormac 1985: 70); however, Lakoff later proves that variations from culture to culture are less important than similarities.

At this point we seem to reiterate the idea that physical experience is central, though we cannot say that it is more basic than other (cf. emotions or time), although at a given point Langacker considers time more important than space, as the former is needed to perceive changes in the latter (motion); the next section presents this reordering.

4. TIME and SPACE

Ribout highlights the diachronic aspect of time: it was often personified and even worshipped in many religions (Ribout 2002: 165–166), an honour never shared by space. Langacker replenishes the fire:

[7] In original: "Construcțiile temporale ... iau ca model pe cele spațiale, niciodată invers." (Dominte 1970: 270)

> The fact that we often conceive and speak of time in spatial terms only shows the utility of such metaphor for higher-level conceptualization. It does not imply that the experience of time is reducible to a purely spatial one; if anything, the opposite would seem more plausible. (Langacker 1987: 148–149)

Langacker even accepts Givón's (Givón 1979) perspective, according to which "time is in some sense more fundamental than space: the conception of spatial relationships involves scanning, which requires processing time, and our notions of spatial extension are intimately bound up with time-extended physical actions". However, "some kind of inborn field of spatial representation" is also left, as human sensory capacities are "responsible" for a variety of basic domains (visual system, taste, smell, touch), concluding that:

> we cannot reasonably hope, for example, to explicate a taste sensation in terms of space, time in terms of color, smells in terms of pitch, kinaesthetic sensations in terms of temperature, or pressure in terms of emotion. (idem.)

5. SPACE and prepositions

Brugman's seminal work on prepositions (Brugman 1988) started a revolution within cognitive linguistics, which came to complete (and not necessarily compete) generative linguistics (Imre 2010a). The study of *over* offered the possibility to analyse all the "marginal" morphological categories starting from perception, world-knowledge, image schema and prototype theory. As we analysed the rather intricate system of prepositions, we can conclude that space serves as the scaffolding in their understanding, and more and more cases within a category come up, our brain/knowledge tries to "fit it into" the previous schema. Frith supports this idea:

> A system that constructs models of the outside world in this way will use any information it can get to help it make better models. No preference is given to vision or sound or touch as long as they are informative. And the system will make predictions about how the signals coming from all the senses will change when I act on the world. (Frith 2007: 127)

We suppose – for instance – that the linguistic modelling of prepositions in various languages (*over* in English, *peste* in Romanian or *át* in Hungarian) is similar: the moment we mention any of these items, either starting with a verb (verbal preposition, verbal prefix) or without (preposition), our brain tries to create an acceptable space for that: *jump over* (En), *sare peste* (Ro), *átugrik* (Hu), probably starting from the ICM/image schema, as our brain contains many maps and models to make predictions and simulate actions (Frith). For instance, if the

trajectory (TR) touches the landmark (LM) while in motion, we can say that there is an *on* relationship between the two, but if there is some space between the two, the relationship changes into *over/above*. The latter can be further differentiated: if distance is viewed relatively small, then we are likely to choose *above*, but if it is huge, *over* is highly preferred in a canonical view[8] (Imre 2010a).

The majority of prepositions fall into spatial and temporal categories, but Cuniță – interestingly – splits the main meanings of the Romanian *peste* into three categories (Cuniță 1999), expressing spatial, temporal and quantitative relations. Moreover, she observes that in some spatial relations there is no contact between TR and LM; we can add that sometimes the lack of contact is *minimal*, so the moving object seems to preserve a minimal distance in order to avoid contact (Imre 2009: 726):

(1) *A aruncat un bulgăre peste acoperiş.*
'He threw a snowball over the roof.'

(2) *A sărit peste groapă.*
'He jumped over the hole.'

However, if contact is established, especially in combination with verbs indicating movement (*run, pass*), then *peste* can be translated into English with *across* instead of *over*, and thus we get to Vasiliu's description (Vasiliu 1961). This only proves the idea developed by Eleanor Rosch, namely prototype theory, which relies on spatial semantics (Rosch 1975). However, TR and LM are usually included schematically, as an open slot (Langacker 1986: 8). The most important function of a preposition is to establish connection (Guțu Romalo 2005: 607) and as such, it is part of a structure with three elements, being placed between two autonomous lexical terms. For instance, with the help of the prototypical spatial case, we could describe 10 different variants for the Romanian *deasupra* (Imre 2010b), but in case of the Hungarian *át*, we detected at least 6 major senses, and only one of them had around 30 less prototypical possibilities deriving from the central sense (Imre 2010a), detailed below.

After having discussed the major senses of *over*, we realised that the complete picture includes *above, across* and *through* as well. Naturally, these English prepositions have their equivalents in Romanian and Hungarian as well, so we analysed *prin* and *peste* (Romanian), *át, keresztül, fölött/felett* and *felül* (Hungarian).

The central sense of *prin* was subdivided into eight more types:

[8] As an example, remember Israel Kamakawiwo'ole's famous song entitled *Somewhere over the rainbow*.

PRIN through obstacle:
Eroul trece prin foc şi sabie. 'The hero goes through fire and sword.'
(The hero goes through thick and thin.)
PRIN through aperture:
A scăpat ca prin urechile acului. 'He escaped as if through the pin-point.'
(He had a narrow escape.)
PRIN create aperture:
A scăpat prin uşa din dos. 'He escaped through the back door.'
PRIN inside:
Se plimbă ca vodă prin lobodă. 'He is walking as a prince through the orache.'
(He is peacocking around.)
PRIN through inside:
I-a trăsnit prin minte că ea a avut dreptate. 'It struck through his mind that she was right.'
PRIN instrumental:
Se răspândeşte prin viu grai. 'It spreads by word of mouth.'
PRIN proximity:
Turcii năvălesc (*de*) *prin toate părţile.* 'The Turks are invading from everywhere.'
PRIN time:
Se vor căsători prin luna mai. 'They will get married (somewhere) around/in May.'

The central sense of *peste* offered four more possibilities:

PESTE over/above (the obstacle may be vertical or horizontal, either in contact or not with the moving object and even 'upward'):
L-a aruncat peste bord. 'He threw it over board.' (He gave up using it.)
Erau cadavre peste cadavre. 'There were corpses one over the other.' (The corpses were piled up.)
PESTE excess:
Obrăznicia ta e peste măsură. 'You are impudent beyond measure.'
PESTE (partial) cover:
A trecut cu buretele peste incidentul de ieri. 'He passed the sponge over yesterday's incident.'
PESTE time:
S-a făcut matur peste noapte. 'He grew up overnight.'

The very complex Hungarian *át* initially was split into six major categories, but further subdivision was also needed. However, due to the constraints of this article, only the six major categories are presented below:

ÁT through (virtual) boundary/obstacle:
Áthatol a falon. 'It penetrates (through) the wall.'
ÁT through aperture:
Átnéz a kulcslyukon. 'He peeps through the key-hole.'
ÁT over (above/across):
A gólya átszállt a tó fölött. 'The stork flew over the lake.'
ÁT change:
Átalakítja a kormányt. 'He changes the cabinet.'
ÁT from-to:
Az árok egyik partjáról átbeszélnek a másikra. 'They are talking over the ditch.'
ÁT (partial) cover:
A vadszőlő átfonja a kerítést. 'The ampelopsis enwreathes the fence.'

The Hungarian *keresztül* seems to be a partial synonym to *át* (*through*), but at a closer look we were able to identify eight distinct categories:

KERESZTÜL through:
Pista sok bajon ment keresztül. 'Steve went through many hardships.'
KERESZTÜL through aperture:
Keresztülnéz a lőrésen. 'He is looking through the oillet.'
KERESZTÜL over-above:
Keresztülhord az ágyú a hegyen. 'The cannon carries across the mountain.'
KERESZTÜL through/across horizontal:
Keresztülvágja magát mindenen. 'He cuts his way through/across everything.'
KERESZTÜL again:
Keresztüljárta a hideg. 'The cold went through him over and over again.' (He was taken in by the cold.)
KERESZTÜL block:
Tüskék keresztülfekszik útját. 'Thorns thwart his advancement.'
KERESZTÜL time:
Évszázadokon keresztül élt a tévhit. 'People were under the delusion for centuries.'
KERESZTÜL instrumental:
A sajtón keresztül értesült a történtekről. 'He gathered from the papers what happened.'

Much fewer cases were found regarding *fölött/felett* (above level/amount, time, cover), whereas in case of *felül* it is worth considering its different grammatical functions: adverb, postposition and preverb (verbal prefix).

During mapping various senses we could detect metaphorical extensions which "communicate" with each other without the mediating central senses (e.g. in

case of *through*). We have also realised that *beyond* will further extend the meaning of *over* in all three languages, bringing into picture further prepositions or verbal prefixes. Finally, it is our firm belief that results of cognitive linguistics may be used in translation studies as well; it is really fascinating how prepositions are preserved, changed, or they completely disappear in the act of translation.

6. Mental SPACE

Geeraerts mentions twelve fundamental parts of cognitive linguistics: Cognitive Grammar, grammatical construal, radial network, prototype theory, schematic network, conceptual metaphor, image schema, metonymy, mental spaces, frame semantics, construction grammar, and usage-based linguistics (Geeraerts, Dirven, & Taylor 2006: 2). The list contains *mental spaces*, which was discussed by Fauconnier & Turner extensively (2003).

In their framework four spaces are mentioned: a source input space, a target input space, a blend between both, and a so-called generic space (Geeraerts 2006: 14). Thus, the mapping between the two input spaces creates a blended space, whereas the generic space contains the common structure of the input spaces. Thus theoretical/unreal situations are easily created (including metaphors as well), as we can imagine new situations, such possible worlds, in which Homo neanderthalensis can challenge Homo sapiens, without thinking too much about the possibility of their meeting, and focusing on the type of challenge. The present is blended with the past, so the conceptual process is metaphorical. Fauconnier & Turner further warn us that the process is in fact central, uniform, and pervasive, not an exotic blend or marginal manifestations of meaning. They explain:

> Mental spaces are small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action. Mental spaces are ... interconnected, and can be modified as thought and discourse unfold. ... Blending is an operation that takes place over conceptual integrations networks. Conceptual integration networks often involve many mental spaces. Blending can occur at many different sites in the network. A blended space can have multiple input spaces. Blending is a dynamic process that can happen repeatedly in the same network. (Fauconnier & Turner 1998: 305)

It is important to remember that even if the blend has been formed, the initial spaces do not disappear, as "the blend is valuable only because it is connected conceptually to the inputs" (Fauconnier & Turner 1998), and there is no danger of confusing the blend with reality. The final aim is to create an effect at "human scale" of direct perception with few participants and immediate bodily effect.

At this point we get back to our starting point (cf. human experience, body, surrounding environment), thus we can draw the conclusion that "blending is a basic cognitive operation" partially responsible for human creativity, as they develop through composition, completion, and elaboration. Thus we can agree with Fauconnier when observing that "spaces are built up from many sources. One of these is the set of conceptual domains we already know about", and humans never stop creating newer mental spaces as they are placed dynamically in working memory, even being entrenched in long-term memory (Fauconnier 2007: 351). He mentions "space builders", i.e. linguistic elements that create *possibility*: prepositions, adverbials, conjunctions, clauses, subject-verb complexes (*think, believe*), but names, tenses, moods, presuppositional constructions can also function as space builders; possible connectors between these spaces is the copula and other copulative verbs: *be, become, remain* (Fauconnier 2007: 371–372).

7. Conclusions

Similarly to things that are usually taken for granted, it is very problematic to discuss *space as such*. Consequently we have tried to offer a *possible* view on SPACE in cognitive linguistics (as the title suggests) by trying to unveil the sources of human perception, the concept of body, the relationship of space and time, offering a glimpse from the extensive studies on prepositions as well, concluding with blended mental SPACES. We can only hope that it was worth the effort.

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Grammatical Devices for Building Spaces in Cognitive Semantics

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Abstract. The paper sets out to investigate space in cognitive semantics from a linguistic perspective. The notion of mental spaces, from which the meaning of a sentence can be derived, plays a crucial role in cognitive semantics. In addition to reality or base space, space builders (built space) set up a mental space in the reader's mind which may differ from the real world. Thus, the way in which language structures space requires investigation both from a linguistic and a psychological point of view. By dividing meaning into conceptualisation and knowledge representation, cognitive linguists investigate issues traditionally dealt with in pragmatics as well as semantics. A variety of grammatical forms can be used to function as space builders, out of which the paper is concerned with illocutionary adverbials and discourse particles and their role in communication. Within the relevance-theory framework an attempt is made to examine whether illocutionary adverbials and discourse particles encode procedural and/or conceptual meaning. Relying on examples from different sources and genres, the author seeks to identify the linguistic and conceptual resources in meaning construction.

Keywords: linguistic and social categories, ethnic identity, schema theory, prototypes vs. stereotypes

1. Introduction

Thinking about the connection between language and mind, and focusing on problems associated with the operations of the mind and brain has a long history. Suffice it to quote the great English poet, Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1827):

> It is the fundamental mistake of grammarians and writers on the philosophy of grammar and language to suppose that words and their syntaxis are the immediate representatives of *things*, or that they correspond to *things*. Words correspond to thoughts, and the legitimate order and connection of words to the *laws* of thinking and to the acts and affections of the thinker's mind.

In spite of a long interest in trying to understand the relationship between language and thought, it is possible to talk about the emergence of novel approaches to the topic only since the 1970s and 1980s.

The first part of the paper deals with recent trends and advances of mind study emphasising the importance of interdisciplinary research in linguistics and cognitive psychology. The studies mentioned address and answer both fundamental and universal questions about how the mind works. Within the cognitive linguistic framework the study of language means the study of conceptualisation, i.e. patterns of thought.

The second part of the paper examines how the theoretical findings are reflected in a practical approach to space builders realised by various grammatical devices.

2. Cognitive dimensions

2.1. The relation of grammar to cognition

Cognitive science is an inherently multi-disciplinary field with the help of which one tries to understand the notions of cognition, perception, human behaviour and the workings of the brain. For cognitive grammarians language is embedded in man's general cognitive capacities. As Fauconnier & Turner (2002) put it, cognitive linguistics investigates the complex operations of cognition that create not only grammar and discourse, but also thought. Language, this biologically innate and species-specific human faculty, is embedded in cognition, which mediates between language and the external world. Relying on Talmy (1997), we also claim that human cognition seems to include distinct cognitive systems that have comparable properties of organisation. Language and cultural structure may have been the last general purpose type of systems to evolve as a result of human activity, viz. conceptualisation and communication. Cognitive

capacities that play a fundamental role in the organisation of language are not specific to language. The characteristic features of grammar resemble those of neural systems. Cognitive linguists believe that language is based on our experience of the world, in other words it is based on how we perceive and conceptualise what surrounds us. Unlike formal grammars, cognitive linguistics is primarily meaning-based, and depends on a cognitive semantics.

Langacker is positive that grammar is meaningful and as such, it is not only an integral part of cognition but also a key to understanding it even if grammar has often been treated as "a system of arbitrary forms based on abstract principles unrelated to other aspects of cognition or human endeavour" (2008: 3). He argues as well that cognitive grammar as a linguistic theory has not only succeeded in offering a coherent view of language structure but has also manifested that grammar is symbolic in nature. We are able to construct the more elaborate meanings of phrases, clauses, and sentences due to the fact that the elements of grammar have meanings in their own right.

2.2. The relation of semantics to linguistic theory

Goddard (2011: 3) argues that "One of the main concerns of linguistic theory is to identify the governing principles that account for the regularity and orderliness of languages." In fact, we try to find answers to questions why one language has the grammatical rules it has or why languages differ in the way they do. His view is that "for many years in the last century the orthodoxy was that semantics did not have much relevance to questions like these, because it was believed that the syntactic workings of language were independent of meaning" (Goddard 2011: 3).

As Langacker (2010: 94) points out, this view depended in part on a particular attitude to meaning:

> How linguists think about grammar is greatly influenced by how they think about meaning. Approaches to meaning that bypass the role of human conception – treating it in terms of formal logic, truth conditions, or correspondences to the world – resonate with the view of grammar as an autonomous formal system.

The 20th century was not a favourable time for semantics. However, since the mid-1980s, many linguists have begun to realise that a well-developed approach to semantics is essential to the study of grammar. Some outstanding scholars and their groundbreaking research findings include Fauconnier's research on mental spaces (1994, 1997), Fillmore's frame semantics (1977), Jackendoff on meaning in natural language, its relation to the human conceptual system, and how it is expressed

linguistically (1983, 1990, 2010), Lakoff's research on metaphor (1987), Langacker's cognitive grammar framework (1987/1991, 2008), or Talmy's theories regarding figure and ground (2000). According to these scholars, and others, meaning should be a primary focus of study because of its central position in language. The perceptual and experiential basis of conceptual categories has become an important topic of inquiry in cognitive semantics.

In the 21st century, meaning is moving back to the centre in the linguistic enterprise and in cognitive semantics equals the conceptualisation associated with linguistic expressions.

Geeraerts' (2006) collection of classic articles also makes it clear that language is about meaning and shows how meaning is conceptualised through "the perspectival, dynamic, non-autonomous, experiential nature of natural language" (2006: 18). Other comprehensive writings include Evans (2009), Evans & Chilton (2010), Fauconnier & Turner (2002).

2.3. Structure and function in discourse

Based on Talmy (1997), we accept that a typical feature of language is its two subsystems. Closed-class items express grammatical categories, in other words conceptual structure. Open-class words, on the other hand, express lexical content. Looking at a sentence from a semantic and functional point of view will reveal differences in discourse. Open-class items are rich both semantically and referentially, whereas closed class meanings are rare and referentially constrained. As far as function is concerned, most of the content is contributed by the open-class forms, while most of the structure is determined by closed-class forms.

Table 1. Grammatical Properties of Closed-Class Words

	overt (phonologically substansive):
bound	inflections/derivations/clitics
free	determiners/adpositions/conjunctions/particles
suprasegmental	intonation/stress patterns
	abstract (implicit)
word order	
grammatical categories	Verb, Prepositional Phrase, etc.
grammatical relations	Subject, Verb, Object, etc.
grammatical complexes	syntactic structures/grammatical constructions phrase structure & immediate constituency

To demonstrate the differences between closed-class forms and open-class items we are able to identify 11 closed-class items, and 3 open-class forms in a single sentence:

(1) *A driver cornered the criminals.*

Among the 11 closed-class forms it is possible to distinguish the following indicators:
i/ *a* speaker infers that addressee cannot readily identify the specific referent
ii/ *a* unitary instantiation of object
iii/ *-er* performer of the specified action
iv/*-ed* occurring at a time before that of the present communication. The concept 'past' is experienced as setting structure when expressed by closed-class forms: when he arrived, but is experienced as contributing additional content when expressed by open-class words: on his previous arrival.
v/ *the* speaker infers that addressee can readily identify the specific referent
vi/ *-s* multiple instantiation of object
vii/ grammatical category *'verb'* for *corner* 'eventhood'
viii/ grammatical category '*noun*' for *driver/criminal* Objecthood (for one possibility)
ix/ grammatical relations '*subject'*/'*object'* for *driver/criminal*
x/ active voice '*point-of-view of the agent'*
xi/ intonation, word-order, character of auxiliaries *'the speaker* knows *the situation to be true and asserts it for the addressed persons'*

There are 3 open-class items, each a complex of concepts:
i/ *drive* - to guide, control, or direct (a vehicle).
the performer of a particular mode of activity
ii/ *corner* - to place or drive into a corner
accompanying cognitive intending, directing, monitoring
iii/ *criminal* - one that has committed or been legally convicted of a crime.

Language consists of complex patterns that integrate form and meaning in conventionalised ways. Form may refer to any combination, be it syntactic or morphological patterns, whereas meaning includes lexical semantics, pragmatics, and discourse structure, too.

2.4. Grammatical forms functioning as space builders

Cognitive semantics, as part of the cognitive linguistics movement, investigates mental spaces that are complex conceptual networks constructed in the course of speaking or thinking. These interconnected networks or domains are formed in the working memory and are expanded as the process of thinking or

conceptualisation continues. In the natural language, linguistic expressions give an impetus to setting up mental spaces, where meaning is also constructed. Mental spaces, according to Fauconnier (1997), are internally structured by frames and cognitive models and externally are linked by so-called connectors that relate mental spaces to one another. New elements are added to spaces by linguistic and also non-linguistic expressions, consequently sentence meaning depends on an understanding of the context and the speaker's intention, too.

A space builder is a grammatical expression that either opens a new space or shifts focus to an existing space. Space builders take on a variety of grammatical forms, such as prepositional phrases (cf. Tyler & Evans 2003), deictic expressions as discussed in Cruse (2000), subject-verb complexes followed by dependent clauses that create 'belief' contexts after verbs like *believe/think/hope/imagine* (cf. Saeed 1997), the highly culture-specific interjections, which express self-contained messages, therefore they are far from being natural and universal, according to Goddard (2011).

Sentence adverbials, also labelled as illocutionary adverbials, and discourse particles usually express the personal intentions, attitudes, assumptions and feelings of the speaker. They constitute an important category. Conjunctions or discourse connectives are analysed in Hall (2004) and Wilson & Sperber (1993), among others. Fauconnier (1997) mentions a number of discourse particles and discusses their function: *even/but/already* signal implicit scales for reasoning and argumentation, *therefore* signals deductive relationships that may not have been explicitly stated. Goddard's (2011) broad definition of discourse particles includes "most English prepositions and subordinating conjunctions, as well as words like *well*, *just*, *even*, and *too*, which are more typical examples of the way the term 'particle' (or discourse particle) is employed in modern linguistics" (2011: 162). The author adds on the same page: "Ordinary conversations are peppered with them. Not surprisingly, they are often misunderstood and misused by second-language learners."

3. The relevance-theory framework

Relevance theory, as proposed by Sperber & Wilson (1986/1995), and Wilson & Sperber (1993), is a psychological model for understanding the cognitive interpretation of language and an approach to pragmatics. Since it is impossible to talk about pragmatics without bearing in mind semantics, or vice versa, the relevance theoretical approach to pragmatics is accompanied by a view of semantics. This theory intends to explain how implicit inferences are made and argues that the hearer or reader is interested in looking for meaning in any communication situation and will stop searching when a meaning corresponding to his/her expectation of relevance has been found.

3.1. The conceptual and procedural distinction

Relevance theorists, such as Blakemore (2002), have argued that we must distinguish between words that encode concepts and those that encode procedures. The latter encode instructions that constrain the inferential phase of verbal communication. This raises the question as to how we are to understand the notion of procedural encoding. Bezuidenhout (2004) thinks that the notion of a procedural unit is something that has a place in an account of language use, and hence it belongs to a theory of pragmatic performance and not to a theory of semantic competence. A very strong statement of this claim would be that the phrase "procedural semantics" is a contradiction in terms. She admits that thanks to Blakemore's (1987) fundamental work, the distinction between conceptual and procedural meaning has been recognised. Utterances typically contain both conceptual and procedural encodings.

Grundy and Jiang's (2001) analysis also supports the well-motivated distinction made in relevance theory between conceptual and procedural meaning. Conceptual meaning is the term used to describe propositional representations, while procedural meaning describes the instruction/s an utterance may contain for its own interpretation in the context in which it occurs. However, it is arguable whether the two meanings are mutually exclusive or that a linguistic form should be analysed as encoding either one or the other.

3.2. Illocutionary adverbials in the light of the conceptual/procedural contrast

Wilson and Sperber remark: "Illocutionary adverbials such as *seriously*, *frankly* are treated as making no contribution to the truth conditions of utterances in which they occur.

(2)a. *Seriously, I can't help you.*
(2)b. *Frankly, I can't help you.*" (1993: 18).

This would be the case when the adverbial functions as disjunct, and it is interpreted as a comment on or an external evaluation of the form or content of an utterance. When functioning as adjuncts, the same adverbials are integrated within the clause; consequently they contribute to the conceptual meaning of the utterance.

(3)a. *Has he been seriously injured?*
(3)b. *Why don't you talk to me frankly?*

In addition, in some cases an illocutionary adverbial seems to contribute directly to the truth conditions of the associated utterance. Consider (4):

(4)a. Peter: *What can I tell our readers about your private life*?
(4)b. Mary: *On the record, I'm happily married; off the record, I'm about to divorce.*

If the illocutionary adverbials *on the record* and *off the record* made no contribution to the truth conditions of (4)b., then Mary's utterance should be perceived as contradictory; yet it is not. But if these adverbials contribute to truth conditions, then they encode conceptual representations, and the procedural analysis is disconfirmed.

Bezuidenhout (2004) provides a detailed description of the contrast between procedural and conceptual encoding. The vast majority of lexical items have conceptual meaning, including common nouns, verbs, etc., that is to say, these items encode concepts. If a lexical item has conceptual meaning, this meaning can potentially contribute to the truth-conditional content of an utterance containing that lexical item. However, having conceptual meaning does not guarantee that the item will be truth-conditionally relevant, since items with conceptual meanings sometimes play a non-truth-conditional role.

3.3. Discourse connectives in the light of the conceptual/procedural contrast

Discourse connectives are defined in Bezuidenhout (2010: 80) as follows: "words and phrases such as *however*, *yet*, *nevertheless*, *after all*, *since*, *because*, *so*, *as a result*, etc." Since information is implicit in context it must be inferred from other background information. It typically happens so that "discourse relations relate the content of one utterance to the content of another either as a reason for, or an elaboration on, or a contradiction of, etc. what has previously been conveyed" (2010: 80-81).

Wilson and Sperber (1993) consider whether discourse connectives such as *so*, *after all*, *on the other hand*, etc., are best analysed in conceptual or procedural terms. Consider (5):

(5) a. *It's raining*.
(5) b. *So the grass is wet*.

The use of '*so*' in (5)b. indicates that the speaker is 'performing the speech-act of explaining', with (5)a. being put forward as an explanation of (5)b. For Blakemore (1987), *so* is an inferential connective indicating that the assumption which follows it

is a conclusion. On her account, (5)b. is put forward as a conclusion drawn from (5)a. (6) is another of Blakemore's examples. The speaker sees someone arrive home laden with parcels and says:

(6) *So you've spent all your money*.

Here, there is no explanatory clause that would correspond to (5)a. The speaker is not explaining the fact that the hearer has spent all her money, but is drawing a conclusion from an observation she has made, consequently Blakemore's account is acceptable.

In contrast to items such as common nouns, verbs, etc., relevance theorists have claimed that words such as '*but*', '*however*', encode procedures. These items guide the hearer towards intended contextual effects, and reduce the overall effort required to process the discourse. Consider utterances such as:

(7) *Tom is poor but happy.*

(8) *Tom is nice but his father is repulsive.*

The use of *but* in (7) is sometimes called the "denial of expectation" use. This use of *but* presupposes that one cannot be happy if he/she is poor. It is possible that the speaker shares this view. However, even if the speaker rejects this presupposition, he must be assuming that this assumption is widely held by members of a certain cultural or social community. The *but* in (8) signals a contrast between two sets of implications. It signals that whatever propositions the listener was prepared to infer from the utterance of the first conjunct, he should infer a parallel but opposite set of propositions from the utterance of the second conjunct.

Wilson and Sperber (1993) enumerate further lexical items such as inferential *since*, *as* and *because*, and words and phrases such as *moreover* and *after all* that are also said to encode procedures. Consider:

(9) *As/since/because John was hungry, he went to McDonalds*.

(10) *As/since John isn't here, he must still be in his meeting.*

(11) *John owes me money. Moreover, he owes me a lot.*

(12) *Have another drink. After all, it's your birthday.*

As, *since* and *because* may signal that what follows is a cause, as in (9), or a reason, as in (10). *Moreover* in (11) signals that what follows is an elaboration, and *after all* in (12) signals that what follows offers justification or support.

How can we explain that lexical items of the sort mentioned above encode procedural information, or as Blakemore (1992: 151) puts it, "encode instructions for processing propositional representations"? The explanation could be that the entries for these items in an ideal speaker-hearer's mental lexicon contain these instructions. In other words, to say that the lexical entry for a particular item contains procedural information is to say that there is a rule 'written' in the entry for that particular item that specifies that a certain procedure must be followed if certain conditions are fulfilled.

Bezuidenhout (2004) points out that procedural knowledge is distinguished from encyclopaedic knowledge, even though both fall on the side of pragmatics. The latter is conceptual knowledge, whereas the former is tacitly stored in the causal architecture of the performance system. Moreover, she assumes that there is a language module and that the concepts entered in the mental lexicon are not only part of this module, but are also accessed via a decoding procedure. What the author rejects is that all decoding processes access concepts. In some cases they may trigger procedures, and these procedures are not strictly part of the language system. Their role is to guide an interaction between something that belongs to the language system (lexical concepts) and something that lies outside that system (encyclopaedic and other non-linguistic knowledge).

A compromise between the extreme cases could be that procedural knowledge belongs to the language performance system and is pragmatic, whereas lexical conceptual knowledge is declaratively represented and constitutes a speaker's semantic competence.

3.4. Extending the class of procedural forms

Existing work on grammatical categories demonstrates figure/ground polarity. Languages have a range of dichotomous grammatical forms like perfective versus imperfective, stative versus dynamic, which are predominantly oriented to expressing figure/ground relations. For Langacker (1991), figure designates the fore-grounded entity in the trajectory/landmark profile of a grammatical relation, such as that of subject and predicate. As the term trajectory suggests, the figure is dynamic rather than static. Various accounts extend a perceptual theory to the understanding of language and show how a relation of figure to ground is basic to language. The structures of language may or perhaps must reflect the cognitive structure of the mind.

The application of the figure/ground *gestalt* is extended to show in Grundy and Jiang (2001) how the broader contextual, and particularly the ideological,

ground is relevant in processing fore-grounded linguistic phenomena. The authors attempt to characterise the way in which mental spaces may, and indeed must, include non-linguistic objects, which provide a ground in relation to the linguistic figures in focus. They analyse how cognitive semantics allows for the construction of the ideological contexts without which the interpretation of the linguistic figure is at best problematic, and sometimes even impossible. They draw on data taken from President Clinton's national television address of 18th August 1998 following his testimony to the grand jury in the Monica Lewinsky affair. The principal focus of their paper is the implications for the nature of a cognitive semantics posed by attempting to model data containing a wide range of procedural forms with space shifting and space building properties. They model the way in which metapragmatic phenomena relate conceptual meaning to background ideological context. It is not surprising that the president's national television address exhibits a very wide range of metalinguistic and metapragmatic procedural encodings. In their view the relation of linguistic figure to contextual ground is indicated by discourse markers, which function as viewpoint shifters and space builders enabling contextual ground to be represented in the mental space model of cognitive semantics.

The procedural use of *even* in (13)b. constrains the interpretation of sentence (13)a. by restricting the set of contexts which are called up:

(13)a. *Presidents have private lives.*
(13)b. *Even presidents have private lives.*

In other words, procedural meaning relates a new notion, a variable figure, to an established context, the invariant ground. This ground perhaps is ideological, at least in part. Or later, when Clinton says:

(14) *Indeed, I did have a relationship with Ms Lewinsky that was not appropriate. In fact, it was wrong.*

The sentences would need to model at least how the contexts are constructed which are oriented to by maxim hedges *indeed* and *in fact*, by emphatic *did*, by the higher level metalinguistic predicates (which have a metalingual or commenting function) *not appropriate* and *wrong*, and by an utterance that glosses the preceding utterance.

The two examples may support the claim that linguistically filled spaces are built from Focus and Base spaces, and pragmatically conditioned spaces are built from Viewpoint. The latter is the space from which others are accessed and structured. This finding is in harmony with Fauconnier's proposals for a cognitive semantics: "What human grammar reflects is a small number of general frames and

space builders which can apply to organize the very large number of situations that we encounter or imagine" (1997: 190). This definition treats grammar as less than fully determining of structure, recognises the computational nature of grammatical instructions, and acknowledges the role of context in determining meaning.

A mental space configuration for (13)b. might correspond to a model that comprises the spaces outlined below: Base space (also the Viewpoint space) is the discourse context, including Clinton and his TV audience; Focus space (also the Figure space) is embodied by the conceptual content of (13)a. and the procedural content of (13)b., which is an instruction to build new structure from Viewpoint; Viewpoint space (also the Base space): the conceptual content in Focus is enriched to give the full propositional form like:

(15) *Presidents of the United States such as the speaker are entitled to privacy in their personal relationships.*

This mental model then provides the premises for a deductive inference which is guaranteed to produce the most relevant way of understanding what is meant by saying (13)b.

4. Conclusion

The paper has attempted to investigate space in cognitive semantics from a linguistic perspective, focusing primarily on two types of grammatical devices functioning as space builders, viz. illocutionary adverbials and discourse connectives relying on various sources and genres. It has turned out that even if space building is driven by linguistic information, spaces themselves are not linguistically filled since they constitute a part of a mental representation. An important finding of the analysis has been that complex patterns integrate form and meaning in more or less conventionalised ways, and that the cognitive dimensions in linguistics and semantics have broadened our understanding of the difference between formal, meaning-based and usage-based frameworks to language analysis. Although trying to give an overview of the most exciting areas of cognitive linguistics has been constrained, cognitive categories which influence our use of words, the mental process of categorisation or the role of metaphor in understanding abstract concepts deserve future research.

The contrast or rather the distinction between conceptual and procedural meaning has shed light on whether the two meanings are mutually exclusive or whether a linguistic form should be analysed as encoding either one or the other, or both. One tenet of semantic competence should be seen as a part of linguistic competence, so by studying meaning one may shed light on the relationship between language and culture.

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Marking Discourse – Towards an Integrated Model of Discourse Spaces

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Abstract. The aim of the first part of the paper is to consider possible ways of categorising and mapping the functional spectrum of discourse markers as well as to propose a model of discourse spaces, which, it is my hope, reflects the wide range of macro- and micro functions DMs fulfill as well as the multi- and interdisciplinary nature of DM research. In the second part, I illustrate two of the possible applications of the proposed model: (1) its usefulness in mapping the functional spectrum of the English DM *oh*, (2) the utility of the model for the contrastive analysis of English *oh* and Hungarian *ó*.

Keywords: discourse markers, discourse domains, discourse coherence, functional typology

1. Introduction

Discourse markers (DMs) (non-propositional uses of *you know, well, of course, I mean*, etc.) comprise an intriguing class of linguistic items that do not change the basic meaning of utterances but are essential for the organisation and structuring of discourse and for marking the speaker's attitudes to the proposition being expressed as well as the processes of pragmatic inferences i.e. the hearer's efforts to find out what is not explicitly stated but is implied by a given utterance. It is generally agreed that DMs play a vital role in utterance interpretation; there is, however, disagreement on the type of meaning they express and the kind of functions they perform. DMs are

used, for example, as frames in the interaction, they may be conversationally salient as opening gambits, turn-taking devices, backchannels, etc., they may express solidarity between interlocutors; the presence of a particular DM can increase or decrease the force of an utterance, alternatively, it may mark backgrounded or foregrounded information. The extreme multifunctionality and context-dependence DMs display, as two of their most basic criterial features, entail not only that different types of DMs perform a variety of functions in different contexts, but also that a particular token of a DM serves multiple purposes in a given utterance.

There have been several attempts to systematically describe and categorise the plethora of functions DMs can serve, in the course of which scholars alternatively make reference to planes of discourse (e.g. Schiffrin 1987), discourse levels (e.g. González 2004), domains of discourse (cf. Erman 2001), or functional domains (e.g. Andersen 2001). In the present paper I will, first of all, provide a short overview of some of the most influential taxonomies of DM functions, and will use the term *discourse spaces* as a common denominator of the concepts used in various theoretical models. After proposing an integrated and empirically motivated model of five discourse spaces (ideational space, subjective space, interpersonal space, textual space and cognitive space) I will apply the model in order to explain the differences in the functional spectra of English *oh* and Hungarian *ó*.

2. Mapping the functional spectrum of DMs – how many discourse spaces are there?

In this section I am going to provide an overview of five of the taxonomies that have been suggested by representatives of the Anglo-American discourse marker and pragmatic marker tradition (cf. Andersen 2001: 39) with a view to proposing an integrated model of discourse spaces that might serve as a frame of reference for further DM research.

It would be safe to say that over the last twenty-five years the majority of the books and articles written on DMs have made reference to Schiffrin's 1987 monograph entitled *Discourse Markers.*[1] Schiffrin's work was pioneering in that she demonstrated how a set of DMs (*oh*, *well*, *now*, *then*, *you know*, *I mean*, *so*, *because*, *and*, *but*, and *or*) performs important functions in conversation and calls for systematic and rigorous analysis. Schiffrin's approach is interdisciplinary,[2] within linguistics and sociology, and demonstrates that markers and the conversations in which they function can only be properly understood as an integration of structural, semantic, pragmatic, and social factors. Schiffrin collected

[1] Park, for example, observes that "Schiffrin represents perhaps the most extensive research to date on discourse markers" (1998: 279).

[2] Taking a multidisciplinary concept of discourse analysis as a starting point.

data for her analysis during sociolinguistic fieldwork; the individual DMs she put under scrutiny occurred in sociolinguistic interviews. The study raises a wide range of theoretical and methodological issues; however, because the search for an adequate model of discourse constitutes a central theme in the book, her study is frequently labelled as a "coherence-based approach".

Schiffrin views conversation as a multilayered interaction, consisting of five discourse spaces,[3] namely an *exchange structure*, an *action structure*, an *ideational structure*, a *participation framework*, and an *information state*, each of which is connected to the others and all of which contribute to the conversational procedure:[4]

1. The **exchange structure** consists of units of talk organised in turns or adjacency-pairs (e.g. questions and answers, greetings). Schiffrin borrowed this concept from ethnomethodology and conversation analysis. The reason she includes exchange structure in her model is to capture the fact that participants establish and define the alternation of sequential roles. An exchange structure is critical in fulfilling what Goffman (1981: 14-15 quoted in Schiffrin 1987: 24) calls the "system constraints" of talk. The units (turns and adjacency pairs) are not linguistic *per se*; they are realised by the use of language.
2. The **action structure** refers to speech act structure. This component captures the interpersonal function of conversation. It corresponds to Goffman's notion of "ritual constraints" (1981: 21 quoted in Schiffrin 1987: 25) and defines the speakers' identity and social situation, the type of action taking place, the one at which participants intend to arrive and what they actually get to. As in the structure type, speakers and hearers negotiate their organisation. Similarly, the units are not linguistic *per se*, they are realised by the use of language.
3. The **ideational structure** includes propositions that carry semantic content, ideas and the different relationships that can be established between them for a satisfactory discourse organisation. Thus, in contrast to exchange and action structures (which, according to Schiffrin, are pragmatic because of the role which speakers and hearers play in negotiating their organisation), the units within this structure are semantic and propositional (therefore linguistic). The relations within this structure are cohesive, topical and functional.
4. The **participation framework** refers to the different types of relations that a speaker and a hearer can set up and the way they are related to their propositions, acts and turns. As with exchange and action structures,

[3] She calls them "planes of talk".

[4] cf. Schiffrin 1987: 24ff. The reason I discuss her model at greater length than the ensuing approaches is that she was the first scholar to describe the functional spectrum of DMs in terms of discourse planes (spaces), and, in many ways, her approach still serves as a frame of reference for scholars' intent on setting up functional taxonomies for DMs.

participation framework relates language to its users. As a result, participation frameworks are also pragmatic because they involve speakers' relations to each other and to what is being said, meant, and done.

5. The **information state** is related to the cognitive capacity of the participants, how they organise their knowledge and what they know or assume they know of their shared knowledge. Since not all the information flowing between both participants is relevant, this level involves an internal inferential process they have to go through.

Schiffrin claims that a process of integration of all these discourse spaces is needed in order to make communication successful, and DMs are prominently active in this process: they have "a function within the overall integration of discourse as a system" (1987: 313).

In her analysis of the individual DMs, Schiffrin points out that they create *contextual coordinates* (i.e. deictic centres of the utterance) that indicate for the hearer how an utterance is to be interpreted. For example, *oh* is functional at the level of informational state as it marks a speaker's shift of focus (e.g. in the case of repairs, answers, or acknowledgement of information), while *well* is a response marker whose function is to signal that "the options offered through a prior utterance for the coherence of an upcoming response are not precisely followed" (1987: 127). The difference between *oh* and *well* is, thus, that the former item marks responses at a *cognitive level* (information state), whereas the latter marks responses at an *interactional level* (the level of the participation framework).

According to Schiffrin, all discourse markers have a *primary function*; i.e. they signal discourse structure on one of the five discourse spaces. In addition, all of them can have a *secondary function*, signalling a different kind of structure on at least one other discourse space, but might function in all 5 discourse spaces at once (1987: 320).

To summarise the above, Schiffrin's model explores the multifunctionality of DMs with reference to different discourse planes, while individual DMs' distributional properties and/or complementary functions are explained in terms of their primary and secondary functions.

Schiffrin's taxonomy provides a convenient starting point for followers of the Anglo-American discourse marker tradition. Redeker (1990, 1991, 2006) identifies three instead of five discourse spaces in which DMs can fulfil their functions: *ideational structure* (expresses relations in the world the discourse describes, such as temporal sequence, causal relations, etc.), *rhetorical structure* (conveys the speaker's illocutionary intentions), and *sequential structure* (expresses the paratactic and/or hypotactic relations between loosely adjacent discourse segments). According to

Redeker, DMs[5] indicate to the hearer that a shift between the different discourse structures is taking place, thus, their primary function is to bring to the listener's attention "a particular kind of linkage of the upcoming utterance with the immediate discourse context" (1991: 1168).

Fraser (1988, 1996) distinguishes between three different types of DMs, namely *discourse topic markers* (e.g. *by the way, y'see*), which signal what the speaker is talking about, *discourse activity markers* (e.g. *admittedly, after all*), which have a function of clarifying, conceding, explaining, etc. various discourse activities, and *message relationship markers* (e.g. *however, in addition*) that indicate whether the messages are parallel, contrastive, etc.

Erman (2001) proposes three functional domains: the *discourse domain*, the *social domain* and the *metalinguistic domain*. According to her, DMs functioning in the *discourse domain* are oriented towards the text and they concern the organisation, encoding and editing of the text. DMs functioning in the *social domain* primarily involve the addressee, while DMs that mark functions in the *metalinguistic domain* are "oriented towards the speaker and her/his attitude to the content and value of the message" (2001: 1341). Similarly to previous accounts, Erman emphasises that the three discourse spaces she proposes are not discrete, i.e. there are no clear-cut boundaries between them, however, a particular token of a DM in a given context has a "predominant function" that "seems to belong in one domain rather than in the other" (2001: 1342).

Andersen (2001: 60) argues that the plethora of functions DMs can be put to (e.g. marking evidentiality, speaker attitudes, common ground, mutual manifestness, politeness, speech monitoring, etc.) can be subsumed under three pragmatic spaces: those of *subjectivity*, *interactional capacity* and *textual capacity*. Although, as he points out, he does not attempt to propose these notions for the purpose of setting up a taxonomy, he argues (2001: 60ff) that *subjectivity* is a pragmatic space all DMs can function in, while certain DMs (e.g. *you know*) tend to have more *interactional capacity* than others (e.g. *I mean*). Similarly, there are DMs that function more often in *textual spaces* than others (*so* vs. *of course*).

Table 1 below summarises the five authors' respective functional taxonomies of discourse markers and the corresponding discourse spaces (planes / domains / levels, etc. of discourse) as well as my proposal for a model that integrates the five functional taxonomies:

[5] She calls them "discourse operators".

Table 1. The functions of DMs in different discourse spaces

	Semantic space	***Pragmatic spaces***			
		Interactional space			
	Ideational space	***Subjective space***	***Interpersonal space***	***Textual space***	***Cognitive space***
Schiffrin (1987, 2006)	Ideational structure *and, but, or so*	Action structure **well, *and, *but*	Participation framework *well, I mean*	Exchange structure* *well, *and, *but*	Information state *oh, you know*
Redeker (1990, 2006)	Ideational structure *then, after that*	Rhetorical structure *well, you know*		Sequential structure *but, so*	
Fraser (1988, 1993)	message relationship markers *but, despite, however*	discourse activity markers *admittedly, after all*		discourse topic markers *by the way, you see*	
Erman (2001)		(metalinguistic monitors, e.g. hedges, emphasisers, approximators)	social monitors e.g. interactive markers, turn-takers	text-monitors e.g. repair markers, editing markers	
Andersen (2001)		subjectivity (expressed by all DMs)	interactional capacity e.g. *you know*	textual capacity e.g. *so*	

The categorisation I propose above hopefully reflects the wide range of macro- (ideational, interpersonal and textual) and micro functions (hedging / boosting, framing, information management, conversation management, marking contrast / inferential premises / conclusions, etc.) that have been identified in the relevant literature[6] as well as the multi- and interdisciplinary nature of DM research, i.e. the different foci of interest shown by various (cognitive, social and cultural) approaches with varying degrees of emphasis on DMs' role in the interaction (e.g. Conversation Analysis), discourse organisation (cohesion/ coherence-based approaches), inferential processes (e.g. Relevance Theory), or socio-cultural ritualisation (e.g. ethnomethodology, interactional sociolinguistics). The model also reflects some of the distinctions that are highlighted and problematised on the spearhead[7] of DM research, such as the semantics/pragmatics interface and the corresponding conceptual/procedural, truth-functional/non-truth-functional dichotomies.

In the remaining part of my paper I will attempt to illustrate two of the possible applications of the proposed model of discourse spaces (see Table 1): (1)

[6] For a comprehensive overview of DMs' functions cf. e.g. Lenk (1998) or Aijmer (2002).
[7] DM research is called the "spearhead discipline" by Hansen (2006).

its usefulness in categorising DMs' macro- and micro-functions with special reference to comparing / integrating previous descriptions of the English DM *oh*, (2) the utility of the model for contrastive analyses of DMs across different linguistic and cultural domains, more specifically, for a contrastive study of English *oh* and Hungarian *ó*.

3. English *oh* and Hungarian *ó* – similar sounds, different discourse spaces

3.1. The functional spectrum of English *oh*

As mentioned above, according to Schiffrin (1987) *oh* is functional at the level of information state as it marks the speaker's shift of focus / reorientation toward a piece of information that has become conversationally relevant (1987: 74). In the course of mapping the micro-functions of *oh* in her data, she identifies the following uses of *oh*:

- *oh* in (other as well as self-initiated) repairs,
- *oh* as an attention-getting device,
- *oh* in narratives, especially as marking background information, asides, etc.,
- *oh* marking elaboration and clarification as well as requests for elaboration or clarification,
- *oh* as a floor-keeping device,
- *oh* signalling the speaker's engagement in the conversation,
- *oh* signalling that an interlocutor's emotions (e.g. surprise, fear, or pain) are either less intense or more intense than expected (Schiffrin 1987: 73ff).

Stenström (1994) concentrates on the interactional functions *oh* performs in naturally-occurring conversations:

- *oh* can function as a backchannel and be used as a stronger alternative to *right*, *sure*, *aha* (1994: 1 and 83),
- *oh* can express emphasis and serve a similar function to *certainly* (1994: 17),
- it can function as a response marker and as such, signal the receipt of information (1994: 28),
- when signalling acknowledgement *oh* can be an alternative to *really*, *I see*, *yes*, and *OK* (1994: 67),
- in question-answer-follow-up sequences *oh* marks follow-up sequences (1994: 126).

Yet another comprehensive account is provided by Aijmer (1987), who, in addition to some of the above functions, observes that *oh* can be used

- to refer back to an earlier piece of information that is necessary for the hearer to understand the upcoming utterance,
- to mark (a sudden reaction of) surprise,
- to signal an upcoming non-serious (ironic, self-mocking, etc.) utterance,
- as an enquoting device similar to *he was like* or *and he went*,
- before conventionalised phrases as in *Oh, I beg your pardon* or *Oh, have fun then*.

A more recent account of *oh*, provided by Macaulay (2005), lists five super-functions (marking acknowledgement, agreement, emotions, questions and dialogic functions) and a range of sub-functions such as marking quotations, introducing questions, asking for confirmation, etc., all of which were identified in the previous research discussed above.

The above accounts of *oh* take a primarily sociopragmatic approach to its functional spectrum and, as such, mostly concentrate on the *interactional* and *textual discourse spaces*: the terms in which the various uses of *oh* are described are widely used in interactional sociolinguistics (e.g. Schiffrin's use of footing, framing, participant alignment), conversation analysis (e.g. Stenström's reference to turn-taking, self-selecting, adjacency pairs), variation analysis (cf. Macaulay 2005) and Gricean Pragmatics. Scholars who provide accounts of the role *oh* plays in the *cognitive discourse space* include Heritage (1998), Andersen (2001) and Jucker and Smith (1998). Heritage (1998) argues that *oh* marks that, from the viewpoint of the respondent to a question, the previous utterance is problematic in terms of its relevance, presuppositions, or context, which cause the problems for achieving explicitness. Fuller argues that Heritage's account can be extended "to include not only questions but all cues to utterances" (2003: 29) including visual cues and other types of ostensive stimuli. Andersen, on the other hand, points out that *oh* marks the speaker attitude of surprise and, from the hearer's perspective, signals the need for contextual renegotiation (2001: 48). Finally, Jucker and Smith (1998: 175) briefly mention *oh* and argue that by way of interpreting exchanges such as example 1 below, traditional analyses would suggest that speaker A is simply acknowledging a "piece of information as a new fact" (cf. marking acknowledgement in socio-pragmatic accounts); however, according to their Relevance Theoretic account, what A is really responding to is an implication, i.e. not the utterance *per se* but "whatever is mutually believed to be pertinent about" the state of affairs described in a particular utterance (in this case the implication that A and B have a meeting or some other previously arranged event at two o'clock).

example 1
Speaker A: It's two o'clock.
Speaker B: Oh.

In addition to the accounts that are aimed at identifying a range of functions and/or a single unifying function shared by several or possibly all occurrences of *oh* in a variety of contexts, there are a number of studies that focus on a particular discourse type or genre, and, as a result, reveal a narrower range of more specific functions. Among such studies mention has to be made of Trester's (2009) study in which she examines the role *oh* plays in expressing speaker stance toward constructed dialogic (i.e. quoted) discourse. She bases her findings on data collected during sociolinguistic interviews with members of a long-form improvisational troupe and identifies functions such as (1) signalling shifts in footing, (2) facilitating the identification and interpretation of the discourse which is being reported, and, (3) expressing evaluation and speaker alignment. Similarly, Tannen's (2010) study shows that *oh* can precede speakers' ventriloquising (speaking in the voice of other people's) thoughts as in *Now your mom would say, "Oh, you need more lettuce!"* (311).

From Norrick's study of conversational narratives it turns out that *oh* (1) prefaces evaluative segments in narrative structure (2000: 145), (2) marks the listener's registration of surprise at a reported incident, and (3) precedes story prefaces as in *Oh, did I tell you.…* (2000: 167) and the introduction of new topics as in *Oh, by the way…* (ibid.).

3.2. Previous accounts of Hungarian *ó*

In the course of my search for literature on Hungarian *ó* I have not been able to find a single paper that would either provide a comprehensive account of this item or approach its uses from a discourse-pragmatic perspective. *Ó*, for the most part, is treated as an interjection[8] and is described as a sound resulting from the speaker's (involuntary) expression of his/her emotions. Keszler (2000), for example, in the course of categorising words into word classes, includes *ó* in the list of interjections, but contrasts the word class of interjections (as a subclass of sentence words) with that of interactional sentence words[9] such as *ühüm* (~'uhm'), *igen* (~'yes'), *ja* (~'yeah', 'sure'), *nos* (~'well', 'let's see') and *persze* (~'of course', 'sure'). Keszler's categorisation, thus, suggests Hungarian *ó* has no primary function in the *interactional discourse space*.

[8] The most frequently used Hungarian term is *indulatszó*, ~'word of emotion'.
[9] The Hungarian term she uses is 'interakciós mondatszó' (~ 'interactional sentence-word').

In a similar vein, Pusztai et al. (2003, 2009), distinguish between three contexts of use:

- *ó* used for the expression of sadness as in *Ó, micsoda balszerencse* ('DM what misfortune');
- *ó* expressing surprise or joy, e.g. *Ó, hát te is itt vagy?* ('DM, you're also here?') and *Ó, de pompás!* ('DM, how fine');
- *ó* in politeness formulas such as *Ó, bocsánat* or *Ó, pardon* (~'DM, sorry' and ~'DM, excuse me', respectively).

In addition, Pusztai et al.'s lexical entry for *ó* includes other DMs (in Keszler's terms interactional sentence words) such as *jaj, ah, jé,* and *á* that are, supposedly, synonymous with *ó*.

Grétsy (2008) also defines *ó* as an interjection that is a result of an involuntary expression of the speaker's emotions, sometimes marking approval and joy (as in *Ó, ez nagyszerű,* 'DM, that's great'), at other times conveying commiseration, pain and complaint (e.g. *Ó, de kár*…, 'DM, what a pity' and *Ó, jaj*, ~'DM, alas').

3.3. Hungarian *ó* and English *oh* in contrast

A corpus-based approach to the various uses of Hungarian *ó* revealed[10] that there is a great deal more to the functional spectrum of *ó* than the above-discussed descriptions suggest. For the purposes of a contrastive study of English *oh* and Hungarian *ó* I used a translation corpus that subsumes two sub-corpora: the Language A corpus (henceforth LAC) consists of the dialogues from the first season of the popular TV show *House* (also known as *House M. D.* © NBC Universal Television), while the Language B corpus (henceforth LBC) is a collection of the corresponding Hungarian translations. After compiling a list of utterances / exchanges where *ó* was used in the LBC in a variety of micro-functions, I tested the naturalness and/or acceptability of each token in terms of Hungarian native speakers' (henceforth HNSs) perceptions of the DM's use: I asked 36 subjects to rate each token (Key Word in Context) of Hungarian *ó* on a 1-5 Likert scale, where 1 labelled the least acceptable, 5 labelled the most naturally-occurring instances of *ó*. In Furkó (to appear) I provided a detailed account of the research process as well as the findings of the contrastive[11] study, in the present paper, therefore, I will only consider some of the differences and similarities between the use of the two DMs in terms of the model of discourse spaces I presented in section 2.

[10] cf. Furkó (to appear)

[11] corpus- as well as intuition-based

The tokens that were rated by HNSs as the most naturally-occurring uses of Hungarian *ó* corresponded to the functions *ó* fulfils in the *subjective discourse space*, such as marking emotions and attitudes, as in *ó, a fenébe*, and *ó, a francba* (both utterances can be glossed roughly as ~'DM, damn'). Certain politeness formulas (cf. *interpersonal discourse space*) were also rated as appropriate contexts for the use of this marker (e.g. *ó, elnézést*, 'DM, sorry'). An interesting finding that had not been discussed in previous accounts was the occurrence of *ó* in the DM cluster *ó, persze* (~'DM, sure') and as a booster of the force of an utterance that expresses disagreement (*ó, dehogynem*, ~'DM, but of course'), both micro-functions correspond to the role of Hungarian *ó* in the *subjective discourse space*.

Among the contexts of *ó* that were rated in the middle acceptability range I found host units that expressed conclusions based on the previous speaker's utterance (e.g. extract 1), requests for clarification (e.g. extract 2) as well as statements that marked new information (extract 3).

extract 1
A: I really do have a cough.
A: *Tényleg csúnyán köhögök.*
B: Oh, so you weren't lying.
B: *Ó, szóval nem füllentés volt.*

extract 2
A: Look, I was wondering.... Before this happened, we were having sex.
A: *Nézze*! *Mielőtt ez megtörtént éppen szexeltünk*!
B: What, you, you're wondering if whatever he has you might have gotten it?
B: *Ó, esetleg azt gondolja, elkaphatott magától valamit*?

extract 3
A: Can I talk to my parents?
A: *Beszélhetek erről a szüleimmel*?
B: Oh, they know all about this.
B: *Ó, ők már tudnak róla.*

Still within the middle score range were utterances where *ó* marked the expression of regret (e.g. *Ó ez nagy kár*, 'DM, that's quite a shame') or functioned as a booster (extract 4):

extract 4
A: Paranoia?
A: *Paranoia*?
B: Oh yeah – she's schizophrenic.
B: *Ó igen. A páciens skizofrén.*

The most striking differences between the use of English *oh* and Hungarian *ó* can be observed in the case of utterances / contexts of use where *oh* in the LAC plays a role in the *cognitive discourse space*. Here we can find sudden (mock) realisation (extract 5), and a range of echoic utterances such as the expression of sarcasm and irony (e.g. extract 6) as well as parody / put-down (extract 7). As we can see from the original utterances in the LAC as well as in previous accounts of *oh* discussed in section 3.1 above, all of these contexts provide perfectly acceptable host units for the English DM *oh*; however, in such utterances the use of Hungarian *ó* scored very low on the acceptability scale:

extract 5
A: Usually it means, whoever drew the blood didn't do it right.
A: *Aki levette a vért, hibázott.*
B: Oh, that's right – 'cause... you drew the blood.
B: ?*Ó, igen. És maga vette le.*

extract 6
A: There's a protocol for putting a patient in a high-pressure oxygen room to treat autoimmune problems.
A: *Ilyen problémák esetén nagynyomású oxigénkamra lenne az előírás.*
B: Oh, you people. Always with the protocols.
B: ?*Ó, hihetetlen. Mindig az előírások.*

extract 7
A: An MRI would give us a better idea -
A: *Egy MR sokat segítene.*
B: Oh, an MRI? Come on. For pneumonia?
B: ?*Ó, egy MR*? *Ugyan már. Tüdőgyulladásra*?

4. Conclusion

In this paper I have investigated possible ways of categorising and mapping the functional spectrum of discourse markers, in the course of which I proposed a model of discourse spaces, which, it is my hope, reflects the wide range of macro- and micro functions DMs fulfill as well as the multi- and interdisciplinary nature of DM research, i.e. the different foci of interest shown by various (cognitive, social and cultural) approaches with varying degrees of emphasis on DMs' role in the interaction, discourse organisation, inferential processes, and socio-cultural ritualisation. In the second part of the paper I used my model in order to give an intergrated account of the English DM *oh* and to provide a contrastive analysis of English *oh* and Hungarian *ó*. My findings regarding the former confirmed the results

of previous research: English *oh* has a primary function in the *cognitive discourse space* and secondary, but equally salient functions in the *interactional* and *textual spaces*. As for Hungarian *ó*, a combination of corpus-driven and intuition-based data collection methods revealed that its primary function is in the *interactional / subjective discourse space*, while functions in the *textual* and *cognitive spaces* are non-salient in the corpus and are considered marginal by Hungarian native speakers.

The lack of a generally accepted functional typology and the inherently multidisciplinary nature of DM studies, naturally, reflects the fact that the field of DM research is rather heterogeneous with no "overarching theoretical framework" (Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2006: 1). Some even argue that further empirical research is futile until a generally agreed model of communication is outlined and such fundamental issues as categorisation and functional classification are clarified (cf. Dér 2010: 3). Others argue that the lack of convergence in terms of discourse coherence models is due to the fact that discourse is a derivate concept at best, and "is an artifact with no psychological reality", at worst (Blakemore 2002: 5).

My aim, therefore, has not been to propose yet another discourse coherence model, but, more simply, to integrate previous models in an attempt to find a heuristic tool that – in the absence of a generally accepted model – helps to map the functional spectra of a variety of DMs with a view to contrasting individual DMs within as well as across languages.

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The Definite Article Regarded as Marker of Accessibility between Mental Spaces

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Abstract. Studies on articles mainly highlight two roles of the definite article: marking familiarity and unique identifiability. Basing on Fauconnier's mental space theory, Epstein argues that for a full interpretation of a noun phrase premodified by a definite article, some additional information is needed, beyond what is conveyed by the noun phrase itself. The definite article signals that the knowledge required for interpreting the noun phrase is accessible somewhere in the network of mental spaces. The present paper focuses on the way connections between mental spaces are constructed when an entity enters the discourse in the opening paragraphs of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, as well as on the role the definite article plays in this process.

Keywords: mental spaces, accessibility, discourse

1. Introduction

There has been much debate on the role of the definite article in English; yet, as Abbott (2004) points out, most of the studies fail to cover all uses of this part of speech. This is so owing to the fact that a large number of studies focus mainly on two roles of the definite article, namely: marking unique identifiability and familiarity. Basing on the accessibility theory worked out by Ariel (1990) and the mental space theory launched by Fauconnier (1994), Epstein (2002) comes up with an account of some hitherto less thoroughly analysed uses of the definite article.

Epstein approaches this problem under a discourse-based framework, which provides a basis for a unified account of all uses of this part of speech. Following Ariel and Fauconnier's claim that grammatical elements are in fact discourse processing instructions (as Fauconnier puts it: "language does not carry meaning, it guides it"), he views the definite article as a "grammatical signal contributing to both the construction and retrieval of mental entities" (Epstein 2002). He argues that the definite article always marks the accessibility of a discourse referent.

In this theoretical framework the term "accessibility" refers to the degree of activation of information in long or short-term memory. There are four factors mentioned by Ariel (1990) that affect accessibility: recency of mention, saliency, competition and unity. Epstein posits that the basic meaning of the article is "to signal the addressee the availability of an access path". That is, the knowledge required for interpreting an NP is accessible somewhere in the network of mental spaces. Thus, for a full interpretation of NPs pre-modified by the definite article, one has to look for additional information, beyond that conveyed by the NP itself. This highly context-sensitive information stems from a common knowledge "ranging from textual to cultural, from specific to general" (Epstein 2002). The interpretation of constituents made up of the definite article and a NP involves the establishment of connections between the discourse entity set up by the NP and other less highly activated assumptions. The definite article is in fact an instruction for the listener to construct a path (i.e. a set of cognitive links between knowledge in multiple spaces), but it does not provide any information on the exact connections that should be constructed when interpreting individual definite NPs. The space-configuration can be determined only if the NP is analysed within its broader context. Thus, the definite article underspecifies the path between the network of mental spaces, which makes possible the construction of different space-configurations by different addressees.

2. Connections between mental spaces and the role of the article in the opening paragraphs of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*

The introductory paragraphs in Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* are particularly suitable for the exemplification of the way connections between mental spaces are constructed when an entity first enters the discourse, and the role the definite article plays in this process.

A less typical use of *the* is encountered in the very first paragraph:

(1) The *Nellie*, a cruising yawl, swung to her anchor without a flutter of the sails, and was at rest. (p. 1958)[1]

[1] The page numbers refer to *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, vol. 2.

The referent of the first definite NP is portrayed as accessible, although, being the first sentence of the text, it obviously introduces new information. As the NP pre-modified by the definite article is followed by an indefinite appositional NP, this leads us to the conclusion that the readers are not presupposed to be familiar with the referent of the proper noun. What the use of the definite article triggers from the background knowledge is that 'Nellie' does not denote a person, but rather a value of some other role. This vague presupposition needs further specification, which is provided by the apposition. Once the role has been clarified, more items of information become accessible from one's background knowledge about cruising yawls. This knowledge is applied to by the writer when he introduces the second definite NP into the discourse: 'the sails'.

The definite article signals the accessibility of background knowledge in the second quotation, as well:

(2) The water shone pacifically; the sky, without a speck, was a benign immensity of unstained light; the very mist on the Essex marshes was like a gauzy and radiant fabric, hung from the wooded rises inland, and draping the low shores in diaphanous folds. (ibid.)

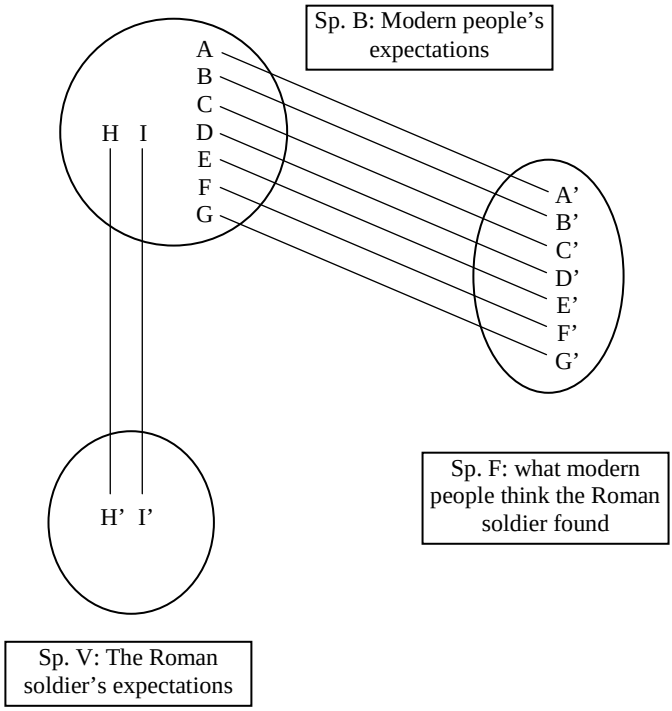
The next quotation, however, is a description of the Thames estuary from a different point of view. The change in viewpoint is reflected by the use of indefinite NPs.

(3) Imagine him here – the very end of the world, a sea the colour of lead, a sky the colour of smoke, a kind of ship about as rigid as a concertina – and going up this river with stores, or orders, or what you like. Sandbanks, marshes, forests, savages – precious little to eat fit for a civilised man, nothing but Thames water to drink. (p. 1960)

Two different instances of stereotypical knowledge are confronted here: on the one hand, we have the modern people's knowledge of what one can expect when arriving at the Thames estuary, its surroundings and environmental changes during the history (which forms the Base Space and serves as a starting point for the further development of the lattice of mental spaces) and, on the other hand, there is another mental space, the Viewpoint Space, which is made up of the Roman soldier's expectations on what he will find in Britain. The third space, the Focus Space (i. e. the structure that is currently being added) contains elements that modern people believe the Roman soldier encountered when he arrived at the mouth of the river.

Focus Space (space F) is directly accessible from the Base Space (space B), which is the general configuration of the network of mental spaces in the second

quotation, too, where the Base coincides with the Viewpoint Space, and the accessibility of Focus Space from Viewpoint Space is signalled by the definite article. In the third quotation, however, a separate Viewpoint Space has been created from which to access Focus Space. Although, analysing these mental spaces from a broader perspective, the Base Space and the Viewpoint Space do have a number of counterparts (not explicitly stated in the text), there are no elements that can be projected from Viewpoint Space (V-space) onto the Focus-Space. The lack of accessibility is signalled by the use of indefinite NPs. The switch from definiteness to indefiniteness (i.e. from accessibility to lack of accessibility) denotes a change in viewpoint as well (see figure 1).



The first mention of the word *darkness* in the body of the text is also worth discussing.

(4) They must have been dying like flies here. Oh yes – he did it. Did it very well, too, no doubt, and without thinking much about it either, except

afterwards to brag of what he had gone through in this time, perhaps. They were men enough to face the darkness. (p. 1960)

It can be argued that the definite article refers back to the title. Nevertheless, another approach is also possible. As Epstein (2002) points out, the article might trigger the interpretation according to which the discourse entity pre-modified by *the* is highly prominent; in other words, it is going to play an important role in the broader discourse context.

The second mention of this discourse entity appears with the indefinite article:

(5) But these chaps were not much account, really. They were no colonists; their administration was merely a squeeze, and nothing more, I suspect. They were conquerors, and for that you want only brute force – nothing to boast of, when you have it, since your strength is just an accident arising from the weakness of others. They grabbed what they could get for the sake of what was to be got. It was just robbery with violence, aggravated murder on a great scale, and men going at it blind – as is very proper for those who tackle a darkness. (p. 1961)

The indefinite article here, too, has the role of a space-marker. As uncountable nouns are not usually preceded by the indefinite article, when they are, the indefinite article signals that the noun refers to a role that has several values (on a par with the NP *a cruising yawl* in the first quotation). According to this interpretation, there are several kinds of darkness, such as the one encountered by the Roman soldier or the one that is described in the main part of the story. However, there are different degrees of typicality (Kiefer 1999), which accounts for the use of Darkness, written in a capitalised form in quotation (6).

(6) She seemed to know all about them and about me too. An eerie feeling came over me. She seemed uncanny and fateful. Often far away there I thought of these two, guarding the door of Darkness, knitting black wool as for a warm pall, one introducing, introducing continuously to the unknown, the other scrutinizing the cheery and foolish faces with unconcerned old eyes. *Ave!* Old knitter of black wool. *Morituri te salutant.* Not many of those she looked at ever saw her again – not half, by a long way. (p. 1964)

The capitalised form of *Darkness* in the quotation is equivalent to a NP preceded by the stressed form of the definite article. Therefore, it does not denote a role – as it would if it were printed in small letters. It rather refers to the most

typical instantiation, the prototype of *darkness* – at least according to Marlow's point of view.

The example presented above differs from those referred to by Epstein (2004) when discussing about "roles". According to Epstein the occurrences of definite NPs "indicate that a referent is being entered into the discourse as a role". However, in my opinion the difference between definite and indefinite NPs that bring roles into the discourse is that the indefinite NP signals that information on the values of the role can be expected in the discourse, while no such information is expected when the role is marked by a definite NP. That is, when a role is brought into the discourse by means of an indefinite NP, the lattice of mental spaces is usually further developed through the value(s) of that role. However, when the role is instantiated through a definite NP, the Focus Space can be accessed directly, without any reference to values.

3. Conclusion

As the examples above show, the indefinite NP functions as a signal to the listener about the blocking of direct accessibility between two mental spaces. For an adequate interpretation, Focus Space has to be accessed through a third space, which is not indispensable in the case of definite NPs.

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Space and Identity in G. B. Shaw's Plays[1]

A Pragmatic Approach

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Abstract. This paper is an afterthought of a longer project on the verbal representations of Britain and Britishness in G. B. Shaw's plays. In this study I consider the spatial revolution defined by Carl Schmitt (1997 [1954]) as a source of attitude change developed within the British cultural space towards their own island and the Continent. Verbally overt and covert aspects of the British space are considered in a series of selected Shavian plays, discussing the attitude of Shaw's characters towards their island and their fellow-islanders, their verbal behaviour as defined by the cultural and historical space in which they exist. In the pragmatic analysis of the literary fragments the interactional microsociolinguistic method is applied, i.e. texts are considered as a sociolinguistic corpus on which the characters' verbal behaviour is investigated.

Keywords: spatial revolution, cultural space, language use, politeness, stereotypes

1. Preliminaries

In *The History of the English-Speaking Peoples* (1956-58), Sir Winston Churchill, one of Great Britain's finest statesmen calls the British an "island race". He claims that living on an island, being surrounded by sea, affects the inhabitants'

[1] The study has been written as part of the project "Discourses of Space" funded by the Institute for Research Programmes, Sapientia Foundation, Cluj.

character and culture. The qualities of the British he admired most are their particular steadfastness in the face of adversity and a willingness to go to any length to defend the island they call home. But this "island race" also has the capacity to leave this secure home and set out across the sea surrounding their island and master it.[2]

As a result, it is supposed that the British have a common character or culture, which is shaped by the experience of inhabiting an island. There are many different ways in which the sea and land can be imagined, or experienced, or constructed. What became the dominant British view is only one of such views: the experience of **land** as mostly "enclosed" and privately owned coupled with **sea** as free and open. Land and sea denote two separate values: the value of being settled and the value of roving the world. This is the experience of the tension between "roots" and "routes" (Clark 2005).

The source of this double outlook is explained by Carl Schmitt in his essay *Land and Sea* (1997 [1954]). He claims that the beginning of the 16th century brought a spatial revolution in the world: the universal space of Christianity started to fall apart. The key sources of this spatial revolution were the great geographical discoveries, the cease of the monopoly of the Aristotelian spatial conception and the discovery of the possibility that writing can be multiplied.

This is the time when England[3] became a maritime power. Before this glorious age, all through its history, starting from the colonising Celts, through the Roman and Norman conquests, up to the time of Joan of Arc, she was considered an island from a geographical viewpoint. "The inhabitants of this island felt that they were living inside a well-defined redoubt" (Schmitt 1997: 49). England was "sheltered by the sea as a fortress by its moat" (ibid.). This insular consciousness, however, referred to the "old island", i.e. "a piece of land separated from the Continent and surrounded by water" (ibid. 50). The 16th century brought about a fundamental change: "Henceforth, the land would be looked at from the sea, and the island would cease to be seen as a split chipped from the Continent, but rather as part of the sea: a ship or a fish" (ibid.). The maritime and global supremacy of England brought about a turn in her relations with the rest of the world. England was no longer felt to be part of Europe. The "Continent" was lent a retrograde connotation and its nations, as a result, were thought of as backward people.

2. Space and communication

In this paper I consider space, in general, and the British geographical space, in particular, as a frame of reference, i.e. an entity that influences actions, "a set of

[2] Obviously, the notion of "island race" is understood as "island culture" or "island ethnic group".

[3] I am using the terms "England" and "Britain" interchangeably being aware of the fact that they do not mean the same. Whenever there is specific reference to either of them, I will refer to them separately.

empirical possibilities made available for a [social] actor to experience his or her environment in a structured way." (Zierhofer 2002: 21) In this view, space influences actions, and speech acts – interpreted as a subclass of social action – can similarly have this effect. But this influence is mutual: "communication is regarded as a meta-level which provides the possibility to reflect upon physical conditions" (ibid. 20). Speech acts can contribute to the discursive construction of society. Language as an instrument allows speakers to represent reality (cf. the ideational function of language) but also "has the potential to explain, criticize, plan or regulate all related and relevant activities" (ibid. 12) (cf. language used as a means of communication, the class of performatives in Speech Act Theory).

A further argument for the importance of space in human communication is the fact that space is the realm of relative constancy (as opposed to time). Accordingly, this constant physical (geographical) space produces its own "race". I consider that the relatively small size of the island, and consequently the density of the population partially accounts for the characteristics that have become the stereotypical features of the British. These have been summarised by the anthropologist Kate Fox in her book *Watching the English: The Hidden Rules of English Behaviour* (2005) in the following way:

> This is not just an island, but a relatively small, very overcrowded island, and it is not too hard to see how such conditions might produce a reserved, privacy-obsessed, territorial, socially wary, uneasy and sometimes obnoxious anti-social people; a negative politeness culture[4] whose courtesy is primarily concerned with the avoidance of intrusion and imposition; and acutely class-conscious culture, preoccupied with status and *boundaries and demarcations*[5]*;* a society characterized by awkwardness, embarrassment, obliqueness, fear of intimacy/ emotion/fuss (…) (Fox 2005, 413).

This description can be considered valid over longer periods of time as an essential feature of stereotypes (see Hilton and von Hippel 1996). In the following, the Shavian outlook on Britain and the British cultural space will be considered as it is overtly or covertly revealed by his characters' verbal manifestations. Through an analysis of their discourse the presence of these same ethnic stereotypes produced by the cultural anthropologists in the 21st century will be investigated.

[4] Negative politeness culture (as defined by Brown and Levinson 1987) is essentially trying to avoid intrusion into other people's private sphere.

[5] Emphasis is mine.

3. The playwright and his island

The Victorian view on the British cultural space is clearly reflected and – at the same time – ironically contested by the leading dramatist of the age, George Bernard Shaw. Due to his assumed double (English and Irish) identity, the notion of ethnicity, in general, and Britishness,[6] its specific insular[7] version, form a perpetual theme of his best-known plays and is dealt with – either directly or indirectly – in several others. Ethnicity can be considered as the defining element of Shaw's cultural identity and assumed Britishness, which is transparent in the text(ure) of most plays, or which explicitly appears in the form of direct references in some others, as well as in Prefaces or Afterwords.[8] A vein of ethnic discourse appears in the form of generic sentences or comments about different ethnic groups, having a stereotypical value.

This paper outlines a series of direct and indirect references to the British Isles, as a physical/geographical space, in the form of examples taken from Shavian plays. Firstly, I illustrate how the British islands, as a spatial element, define the characters' ethnic identity (ethnic space) as it appears in the Shavian characters' speech.

Secondly, spatial Britain is also present indirectly, in the different characters' ethnic identity (in our case, Britishness), i.e. in their (stereo)typical way of speaking, namely in their politeness, ethos of communication, in their attitude towards other islanders and foreigners, their typical inclination towards certain topics and their inhibition regarding others. As members of the most powerful empire of the time, their sense of superiority and sense of duty are also detectable.

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[6] As the historian Linda Colley (1994) argues, Britishness was a separate identity alongside other identities, and it was "forged" between 1707 and 1837 in conflict with an external "other" (war with Catholic France confirmed the centrality of Protestantism in Britishness). In this paper I am using the term "Britishness" in its traditional, historical sense, referring to the four constituting "nations": the English, the Welsh, the Scottish and the Irish, and not in the sense used by "The British" today, i.e. those people who (have) live(d) within the United Kingdom to identify themselves related to their actual political, economic, social, cultural and personal surrounding. For this relation, Britishness – and hence, any kind of ethnic and national identity – is not stable, it has always been in the process of formation. As Homi Bhabha comments, a nation is always "caught, uncertainly, in the act of composing itself" (1990, 3). However, in order to capture the defining traits of Britishness/Englishness in this continuous process of formation, I have chosen to approach them in the form of cultural and ethnic stereotypes, which prove to be more or less constant elements of analyses.

[7] The term "insular" is emphatically used here in its basic, derogatory sense, meaning "having no interest in or contact with people and ideas from outside one's own country or society" (*Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*), as this meaning is thought to characterize best the English ethnic stereotype.

[8] Shaw frequently reflects upon his own cultural and ethnic identity in these Prefaces or Notes written to the plays, which sometimes turn to be much more extensive and explanatory than the play they precede.

3.1. Direct references to Britain as an island

The most direct reference to Britain as an island in the plays that I have analysed appears in *Caesar and Cleopatra* (1898) in the discourse of a character, called Britannus, who becomes the typical representative of the English stereotype. Although he is of inferior social rank (Caesar's slave), he is introduced to the other characters by the emperor himself, almost apologetically:

(1) CAESAR [*blandly*] Ah, I forgot. I have not made my companions known here. Pothinus: this is Britannus, my secretary. **He is an islander from the western end of the world, a day's voyage from Gaul**.[9] [*Britannus bows stiffly*.] (p. 162)[10]

This precise geographical definition reflects the description of the world in those times when Rome was still considered the centre of civilisation: in Caesar's view Britain lies "at the end of the world". This attitude echoes the first-century Greek scholar, Strabo, who describes Britain lying in the far distance, near the limits of inhabitable lands. He also claims that the further north one travels, the wilder the lands and the people become. "Britain is remote from the Mediterranean centre of civilization, and its inhabitants are unattractive brutes whose customs are barbaric." (Michelet 2005: 52)

However, as Britannus' verbal behaviour betrays it, he speaks and behaves as a stereotypical 19th-century British character, who considers himself the illuminator of the world. Several times he expresses his moral superiority towards the Roman or Egyptian characters, even towards his master, the emperor himself, crying out scandal whenever they seem to have broken the laws of his well-defined middle-class morality:

(2) CAESAR [*recovering his self-possession*] Pardon him, Theodotus; **he is a barbarian, and thinks that the customs of his tribe and island are the law of nature**.[11]
BRITANNUS. On the contrary, Caesar, it is these Egyptians who are barbarians; and you do wrong to encourage them. I say it is a scandal. (p. 165)

[9] The bold emphasis is mine.
[10] The page numbers refer to the 1965 edition of *Caesar and Cleopatra*.
[11] My emphasis.

(3) BRITANNUS [*with genuine feeling*] O Caesar, my great master, if I could but persuade you to regard life seriously, as men do in **my** country! (p. 198)

The secretary is also identified by the geographical space of origin, being called "the (British) islander" and this becomes his constant form of address, e.g.:

(4) CAESAR. Is Britannus asleep? I sent him for my armour an hour ago. [*Calling*] Britannicus, thou British islander. Britannicus! (p. 181)

(5) RUFIO. Well, my British islander… (p. 196)

(6) RUFIO [*rising*] Caesar: when the islander has finished preaching, call me again. (p.198)

(7) CAESAR. […] O incorrigible British islander (p. 198)

(8) CAESAR. Where is that British Islander[12] of mine? (p. 238)

Additionally, this islander is "quaint" as well. According to the dictionary definition, quaint is "interesting or attractive with a slightly strange and old-fashioned quality" (*Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*). This description perfectly fits Britannus and with him, the image the world has about the British stereotype.

There are several other hints at Britain and the British stereotype in the Shavian text, e.g. Britain is called by Caesar "*the western land of romance*", "*the last piece of earth on the edge of the ocean that surrounds the world*" (p. 222) – according to the "general egocentricity of the Ptolemaic universe" (Morgan 1972: 242); the British pearl and the British oyster that become metonymies of this island.

In another play England is indirectly called "John Bull's[13] island" referring to the jolly figure of John Bull, John Arbuthnot's leading character, who has come to

[12] British Islander is spelt in capital letters as if it were his full name. This spelling underpins his complete identification with his "island-consciousness", insularity defined as a typical feature of Englishness. The social anthropologist Kate Fox explains the typical English dis-ease less with the climate or history, but more with the fact that, as she claims, "we are an island race" (2005: 413).

[13] John Arbuthnot's creation is an English hero, who was a tradesman, "an honest, plain dealing fellow, choleric, bold and of a very unconstant temper", unafraid of anyone, but liable to quarrel with his neighbours "especially if they pretended to govern him". His mood "depended very much upon the air; his spirits rose and fell with the weather glass. John was quick and understood his business very well, but no man alive was more careless in looking into his accounts, or more cheated by his partners, apprentices and servants. This was occasioned by his being a boon companion, loving his bottle and his diversion; for to say truth, no man kept a better house than John, nor spent his money more generously." (Arbuthnot quoted in Paxman 1998: 184).

personify the English nation. The English chose this tradesman as their national symbol who befits a nation of shopkeepers and who is

> fiercely independent and proud, drinks heavily and possesses a truly bovine stolidity. He is also temperamental, whining, insensitive (…), always pot-bellied, solid, peaceable and a bit dozy. (…) he believes in Law and Order and is instinctively conservative. He is home-loving, reliable, jolly, honest, practical and fiercely attached to his freedoms. (Paxman 1998: 185)

The motif of the island also appears symbolically in Caesar's identification with the Sphinx: he expresses his loneliness and isolation, similar to the great stone colossus in the desert:

(9) CAESAR. (…) no air native to me, no man kindred to me, none who can do my day's deed, and think my night's thought. Sphinx, you and I, strangers to the race of men, are no strangers to one another (…) Rome is a madman's dream: this is my Reality. My way hither was the way of destiny; for I am he of whose genius you are the symbol: *part brute, part woman, and part god* [14] – nothing of man in me at all. (p. 146)

In the play Caesar is presented first of all as a Roman emperor, the great conqueror of the western world. However, even the first lines of his speech betray his real feelings towards his status: he feels uncomfortable in it. The metaphor "*Rome is a madman's dream*" expresses a certain distancing, departure from his own ethnic group and society, and identification with the world of the lonely sphinx, acceptance of the world of isolation ("*this is my Reality*"). The antonymic nouns "dream" and "reality" especially highlight this discrepancy between these two worlds, emphasised also by the fact that the word "dream" is spelt with lower case letters, while "Reality" is capitalised. This sense of isolation draws him closer to the British stereotype of living on an island. In this sense he is closer to the British prototype than Britannus.

A character's identification with his own ethnic space is also detectable in Thomas Broadbent's speech in *John Bull's Other Island*:

(10) BROADBENT. No, Larry, no. You are thinking of the modern hybrids that now monopolize England. Hypocrites, humbugs, Germans, Jews, Yankees, foreigners, Park Laners, cosmopolitan riffraff. Dont[15] call them

[14] Emphasis is mine.

[15] The simplified spelling (omission of the apostrophe) is an idiosyncratic feature of Shaw's writings.

> English. They dont belong to **the dear old island**, but to **their**[16] confounded new empire; and by George! theyre worthy of it; and I wish them joy of it. (p. 77[17])

Broadbent, the ethnic English character expresses his deep affection for his homeland, calling it "the dear old island". The adjective "dear" suggests devotion to his homeland; the other adjective ("old") adds familiarity to the noun. The noun "island" stands as a metaphor for Britain, thus the speaker identifying himself with the people inhabiting the island, but at the same time detaching himself from the outgroup who shape the empire, represented by the pronoun of exclusion "them".

It is but natural that **Ireland** also appears as a separate space in the Shavian oeuvre, as it is geographically and politically related to the British islands, not to mention the argument of the playwright's ethnic origin. The most relevant representation of the parallel image of England and Ireland is *John Bull's Other Island*. The only time when the Irish ethnic character, Larry Doyle, is overwhelmed by emotions is when he speaks of his home country, expressing his ambivalent feelings towards it:

> (11) LARRY (*now thoroughly roused*). (…) Is Ireland never to have a chance? First **she** was given to the rich; and now that they have gorged on **her** flesh, **her** bones are to be flung to the poor, that can do nothing but suck the marrow out of her. (p. 117)

This affection is observable in the country's personification in his discourse: it appears in the metaphor of a helpless female personality, who is exploited to the maximum and for whom only pity can be felt. The passive structures (*was given*, *are to be flung*) underline this helplessness. The rhetorical question at the beginning of the utterance expresses the speaker's indignation and gives the tone for the subsequent propositions, which enlist a series of vivid pictures describing the process of exploitation of this island.

However, the character sees the rise of Ireland and expresses his will to try and raise his country from this desperate situation:

> (12) LARRY. (…) I want Ireland to be the brains and imagination of a big Commonwealth, not a Robinson Crusoe island. (p. 83)

The intertextual reference implies Larry's rejection of the deserted island that the main character of Defoe's novel finds when shipwrecked but also the

[16] Bold emphases are mine.
[17] The page numbers refer to the 1977 edition of *John Bull's Other Island*.

colonising role he assumes in the process of civilising the land and its native inhabitant.

3.2. Indirect references

The British Isles – as a geographical/cultural space – not only appear as a direct reference in the Shavian plays, but they also emerge as indirect references in various forms. Among such references, in this section of the study, the following are considered: the stereotypical subject matters that the characters speak about or try to avoid; secondly, a typical interactional ethos that the different characters assume; thirdly, different politeness strategies (see Brown and Levinson 1987) they employ in their conversations with each other, and, fourthly, the way the (stereo)typical British humour and irony is present in their verbal interactions.

What is typical about the ethnic British characters' speech is their consistent use of negative politeness strategies in their face-to-face conversations. The most relevant examples can be taken from Britannus' speech in *Caesar and Cleopatra*. Britannus belongs to the western group of characters who employ negative politeness (apologising, employing hedges) and off-record strategies (using rhetorical questions, being ironic), he being the most polite (in the traditional sense of the word), even "ultra-polite" among them. This may be due – first of all – to his being British but also to his social status, being Caesar's slave: he cannot be but extremely polite to those of higher social rank around him.

(13) BRITANNUS. Caesar: I ask you to excuse the language that escaped me in the heat of the moment. (p. 238)

(14) BRITANNUS. Have you not been there? Have you not seen them? What Briton speaks as you do in your moments of levity? What Briton neglects to attend the services at the sacred grove? What Briton wears clothes of many colours as you do, instead of plain blue, as all solid, well esteemed men should? These are moral questions with us. (p. 198)

Similarly, Mrs Pearce, Professor Higgins' housekeeper in *Pygmalion*, has an extremely polite language behaviour. This can be explained by her social status, i.e. of a lower social rank; so when she addresses the professor, her social status requires that she should employ more elaborate, more polite forms.

(15) MRS PEARCE. [*at the door*] I just wish to trouble you with a word, if I may, Mr Higgins. (p. 50)

(16) MRS PEARCE. [...] Then *might* I ask you not to come down to breakfast in your dressing-gown ... And *if you would be so good* as not to eat everything off the same plate and *to remember* not to put the porridge saucepan out of your hand on the clean tablecloth, it would be a better example to the girl. (p. 52)

It can be seen that in the previous examples, in fact she is asking her superior to do or not to do something, but the imperatives are preceded by hedges to avoid threatening her interlocutor's face directly. She is applying negative politeness strategies, a common conversational strategy in British culture.

(17) MRS PEARCE. Well, the matter is, sir, that you cant[18] take a girl up like that as if you were picking up a pebble on the beach. (p. 42)

She considers morals and proper language the most important issues in life and she considers it her duty to protect morals in the house. She is not posing with this responsibility, but she honestly believes that morals keep life going. She is so careful about the use of foul language in the house that she even uses the modal verb of prohibition (*must not swear*) to instruct her master about his moral behaviour (similar to Britannus in *Caesar and Cleopatra*). In this sense, she is a stricter guardian to Higgins than Mrs Higgins herself. She draws the professor's attention to his insensitivity and cold superhuman attitude he has towards other people, but in a polite way, using hedges (*well, the matter is*) and addressing the professor with deferential forms of address (*sir*).

Thomas Broadbent, the English character from *John Bull's Other Island*, is also a case in point. His negative politeness is often revealed in his attitude to other interactional partners, employing such negative politeness strategies as giving deference (by thanking or apologising):

(18) BROADBENT. Quite, thank you. You must excuse us for not waiting for you. (p. 105)

(19) BROADBENT (*effusively cordial*). Thank you, Father Dempsey. Delighted to have met you, sir. (p. 98)

On the one hand, thanking and excusing oneself are strategies that threaten the speaker's negative face, on the other hand, apologies threaten the speaker's positive face. At the same time a basic claim for personal preserves is asserted

[18] The simplified verb form (without the apostrophe) is one of Shaw's suggestions to reform the English spelling.

together with a desire that this self-image should be appreciated and approved of (Brown & Levinson 1987: 61). This double aspiration can be interpreted in Broadbent's verbal interaction as gestures of an ambiguous and paradoxical self that wants an inner territory, freedom of action but at the same time appreciation.

His way of apologising is often introduced by hedges in order to mitigate the force of his face threatening acts, which is also a negative politeness strategy:

(20) BROADBENT. *You see*[19], as a stranger and an Englishman, I thought it would be interesting to see the Round Tower by moonlight. (p. 101)

(21) BROADBENT. Oh, *I'm afraid* it's too late for tea. (p. 97)
(22) BROADBENT (…) *Pardon my saying these few words*: nobody feels their impertinence more than I do. (p. 122)

However, one can witness not only the presence of these negative politeness strategies in the characters' verbal behaviour, but – typical of Shaw – also their contestation: i.e. the way impoliteness also permeates the same characters' discourse. Britannus, for instance, also has several more direct utterances where he openly attacks his interlocutor's face whether he does so to his own master or to the Queen of Egypt, addressees of the highest rank around. In a sense, he has an excuse to contradict Caesar: his pretended moral superiority, which gives him enough courage to face his master:

(23) BRITANNUS. Caesar: this is not good sense. Your duty to Rome demands that her enemies should be prevented from doing further mischief. [*Caesar, whose delight in the moral eye-to-business of his British secretary is inexhaustible, smiles indulgently*.]

There are further instances of such stiff, uncompromising behaviour on the part of Britannus, when, for example, he refers to one's sense of duty, honour or respectability and most of all, manners, which are the greatest values of the British stereotype, e.g.:

(24) BRITANNUS. Caesar: Pothinus demands speech of you. In my opinion, he needs a lesson. His manner is most insolent. (p. 177)

As a secretary, he needs to use such formal language ("Pothinus demands speech of you" instead of "wants to speak to you") but what follows is more than what his social status would allow him to say. He expresses his personal opinion by

[19] The italicised words are my emphases, highlighting the hedges in Broadbent's words.

overtly articulating it and suggesting, or to put it more plainly, demanding punishment for him because of his manners.

Similarly, in certain cases, Mrs Pearce in *Pygmalion* also applies more direct face threatening acts: she even scolds her master for disobeying the moral code of society.

(25) MRS PEARCE. Nonsense, sir. You mustnt talk like that to her. (p. 42)

This elliptical structure conversationally implies: "You are talking nonsense". Even this evaluative declarative is followed by a polite form of address. She does not forget the social status of her interlocutor, even in such an emotion-loaded situation. The follow-up contains again the modal verb of prohibition, which is again another FTA, but still milder than a direct imperative.

Based on the above, it can be claimed that the predominance of negative politeness strategies in the different characters' utterances indicates that they belong to a negative politeness culture – the British (see Sifianou 1999). Conventional indirectness, the chief characteristic of negative politeness, is equated with politeness and this contributes to the elaboration of the structure and the tentativeness of the message. Accordingly, in negative politeness cultures the interactional ethos ("the quality of interaction characterizing groups or social categories of persons, in a particular society" – see Brown and Levinson 1987: 243) that defines the Shavian characters' verbal behaviour, is characterised by an ideal of large values for D [distance], P [power] and R [rate of imposition] which give them their "hierarchical, paternal ethos" (ibid. 247). As a result, the characters' interaction with other characters is generally stiff, formal and deferential.

Indirectness is also related to the presence of humour and irony in British culture. In the Shavian oeuvre one of the most relevant instances is the case of General Burgoyne in *The Devil's Disciple*. His peculiar sense of humour,[20] which is present even in the most morbid circumstances (e.g. in the scene when Anderson rescues Richard at the last moment) and his composure, his presence of mind, and his cold-bloodedness in emotion-loaded situations, all make his a stereotypically English character. He is able to keep his temper and approach every situation with cool irony. A good example of his humour is the instance when he criticises his own officer, Major Swindon, for not using his brain to save his soldiers from sure death and when

[20] When analysing their own politicians' speeches and political statements, English journalists firmly agree that in order "to be properly English you must have a sense of humour". "English sense of humour is defined mainly by three things: the use of irony; the exposure of self-deception; a tendency towards fantasy and excess. All of these features appear in other national cultures, are indeed part of humour in general. I would claim, [however], that this cluster of features is more condensed in the English tradition than elsewhere, and that irony, exposure of self-deception and the pleasures of fantasy can all be related back to a tradition of empiricism." (Easthope 1999: 163)

he feels compassion for the common soldier. His humour is bitter, he does not even try to save his interlocutor's (Swindon's) face, directly attacking him.

(26) BURGOYNE [*bitterly*] (…) the British officer need not know his business: the British soldier will get him out of all his blunders with the bayonet. In future, sir, I must ask you to be a little less generous with the blood of your men, and a little more generous with your own brains. (p. 97)

He ironically expresses exactly the opposite of what his words mean at their face value ("the British officer need not know his business"). It does not appear as a stage direction but the reader may infer or the audience may hear the ironic tone in his voice. The second part of his remark ("In future, sir…") is to be interpreted as an indirect speech act, an order, although it is formulated in the form of a strong request ("I must ask you"), complemented with the honorific "sir". He contrasts the blood of the common British soldier with the brains of his own officer, linking them through the adjective "generous", but this being preceded by the quantifiers "less" and "more". Dark humour arises from this opposition. The negative connotation of this humour emerges from the metonymies "blood" (standing for the soldiers' lives that may be lost because of their officer's stupidity) and "brains" (in this context not referring to the bodily organ but to the intellectual capacity of its owner).

4. Conclusions

These analyses of the verbal representation of British space in the selected Shavian fragments have shown similar results to those that current research on the spatial representations of British identities (see Tönnies & Buschmann (eds.) 2012) have come to. These results show that spaces have a "real", material, physical side (the geographical reference), but they are also endowed with a whole range of cultural meanings, which are closely connected with the social and personal construction of the characters' identity. The analyses have also come to similar results as the stereotypical features described by cultural anthropology (see Fox above). Where there is significant divergence from the stereotype is in the case of impoliteness. These characters follow but also exceed the limits of the British stereotype. This may be ascribed to the Shavian artistic freedom, which allows for the creation of complex and modern characters, much transcending their own time.

Representations of space/spaces in literary texts – pertinent examples of which I have explored above in extracts taken from Shavian plays – provide an insight into the characters' identity. Geographical space, as a result, may play a significant part in shaping the identity of its inhabitants but it does not offer the final answer.

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Reterritorializing via Cultural Memory: Identity Politics in Elijah Muhammad's 1959 Speech

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Abstract. Elijah Muhammad, prominent leader of the Nation of Islam in the 1950s and 1960s, offers a controversial response to the challenges of American white social space of the first half in the 20th century: by extreme negation, he positions himself in opposition to it, however, at the same time, rendering it a battleground not only for contestation, but also for reclamation of space. The Black Muslim counterspace established in this way is based, in the first place, on an alternative sacred space, which proves not only a mere outcome of Black Muslim carving out sacred ground, but much rather of reterritorializing the sacred in a meaningful way to nourish the Black Muslim cultural self. The paper examines thus the construction of Black Muslim sacred space in Muhammad's 1959 speech, using Deleuze and Guattari's concept of reterritorialization as a basis for arguing for the contested nature of sacred space – a feature characteristic of Black Muslim identity politics.

Keywords: Black Muslims, sacred space, deterritorialization, reterritorialization

1. De/Reterritorialization of Sacred Space

Much as the speeches of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad may appear controversial, they present important milestones in African American religious history. As the leading ideologist of the Nation of Islam, he managed to revitalise Black identity in a radical fashion through rewriting cultural memory and thereby reclaiming the sacred as the place of nurturing intracommunal ties. The 1959 speech

that he delivered in Washington, DC shows tactics of reterritorrialization that later becomes a more elaborate politicocultural means of reclamation of social space.

An understanding of the sacred requires rethinking of its rigid, a priori conceptualisation. Traditionally understood as of universal and homogenous nature, it presents absolute and transparent space (see Lefebvre) and it is often regarded as "an uncanny, awesome, or powerful manifestation of reality, full of ultimate significance" (Chidester and Linenthal 1995: 5). As opposed to the "substantial" approach (1995: 5) to the sacred, the "situational" approach, mainly heralded by anthropologists, places the sacred "at the nexus of human practices and social projects" (1995: 5). In this way, one can indeed differentiate between the "poetics and the politics of space" (1995: 6).

A juxtaposition of sacred spaces posits, however, that overlapping spaces must be taken into account and that allows for dynamic movements of sacred space. Michel Foucault's concept of heterotopia reiterates that space can be multifaceted as it can host different spaces at the same time. As he insists, "singular spaces [are] to be found in some given social spaces" (1993: 168), which are "simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted" (1986: 24). Foucault's definition negates Henri Lefebvre's, who foresees the collapse of opposing spaces: "Sooner or later, however, the existing center and the forces of homogenization must seek to absorb all such differences" (1991: 373). Foucault renders a function to heterotopia when he says that "[heterotopias] have a function in relation to all the space that remains" (1986: 27) and thereby he gives way to a contested understanding to space.

Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's concept of reterritorialization can help understand heterotopical movements as it embeds them in a wider framework of societal relevance. Reterritorialization pertains to "ancillary apparatuses" (1983: 35) to counterbalance the deterritorializing processes of the "capitalist machine" (1983: 35), which may nevertheless "control[] reterritorializations" (1983: 247), thus establishing an ongoing process, in which the two phenomena prove "relative, always connected, caught up in one another" (1987: 10).

In Deleuze and Guattari's sense, the sacred is also caught up in the process of deterritorialization and reterritorrialization. Traditional approaches to the sacred present it as ultimate; however, it is inherently capable to exceed the territorial location, thus to multiply or grow as "the territory itself… [can be] taken as an object, as a material to stratify" (1987: 433). The nature of the sacred changes at least along the geographical stratum. In a twist of Deleuze and Guattari's understanding of the two interconnected processes, deterritorialization can be seen as change or loss of territorial identity not necessarily by the move away from territory, but by the vanishing of territory through the change or loss of territorial identity. Reterritorializations, as a response, refer back to "desiring-machines" (1983: 35) for place and present a search for (territorial) identity, and present reclamation of place.

Any form of sacralization is simultaneously desecration. For David Chidester and Edward T. Linenthal desecration takes the form of either defilement or dispossession (1995: 2). However, an act of desecration can also incorporate (re)territorialization of the sacred other than the one it appears in or along since it requires different conditions of establishment – especially as anchorage of the sacred, at least in Eliadean terms, proposes permanence. Sacralization as an act of desecration disregards any other sacred spatiality other than itself and, in this way, violates the "pure space of the sacred" or effects alienation (1995: 2). Even though pilgrimage studies have shown that different sacred spatialities can be juxtaposed (see Eade and Sallnow 2000), the manner of juxtaposition happens constrained in time and space (alternating spatialities with each other at limited places). Consequently, exceeding limits effects infringement on territorial fixities.

Even if sacred space can be considered absolute in itself, it does not exclude communication with other spatialites and it presents inner stratification. Eliade also places sacred space in relation to profane space, positing that sacred space renders space not homogeneous, at least as it stands apart from other spatialities through its difference: "Every sacred space implies a hierophany, an irruption of the sacred that results in detaching a territory from the surrounding cosmic milieu and making it qualitatively different" (1987: 26). However, John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow have shown, for example, that the sacred can yield space to other, otherwise opposing sacred spatialities, and thus constant negotiation of/for the sacred ground evolves. Conversely, the sacred is a cultural entity and therefore it can be generated, appropriated, or negated by other sacred spatialities. In this sense, one can identify a cultural dialogue between them, which ultimately, does not necessarily involve the reconciliation or harmonization of sacred contents, but much rather the negotiation of social, political, gender, or racial strata. Mutually excluding contents, especially which are born in response to particular strata in the other sacred space, render the spaces in communication with each other contested.

The necessarily intercultural encounter of such sacred spaces is an issue of "interconnected spaces" (1992: 8), which is why any interpretation of sacred space can only be conducted through the consideration of the elements involved in corresponding space(s). As Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson claim, "the identity of a place emerges by the intersection of its specific involvement in a system of hierarchically organized spaces with its cultural construction as a community or locality" (1992: 9). In Eade and Sallnow's sense, it may be appropriate to allow for juxtaposition of (systems of) spaces and not so much for hierarchically rendered spaces only. Nevertheless, Gupta and Ferguson disclose the manifold and multifaceted signification of places and that even sacred spaces and place are subject to contestation as they are socially/culturally constructed; in addition, that reterritorialization entails not only negation but also reliance on and involvement of elements of the sacred space contested. Involvement of elements may mean

appropriation of space as in the case of syncretic religions, while also negation, however with the knowledge of the opposed, or transmutation into some accepted category.

2. Muhammad's Black Muslim Sacred Space

As the case of the Nation of Islam proves, the establishment of sacred space can indeed be seen as a direct response to the subverting mechanism of another (not necessarily sacred) space, proving – even if apparently negating – transpatial ties. The segments ascribed to the Christian cultural space, which Black Muslims attack, do not, however, relate to questions of theology, but to social and racial matters in the first place. Eric C. Lincoln points out that "All black nationalist movements have in common three characteristics: a disparagement of the white man and his culture, a repudiation of Negro identity and an appropriation of 'Asiatic' culture symbols" (1961: 50). By establishing Black Muslim sacred space, Muhammad makes use of these segments. Muhammad does not rely, in the first place, on the Qur'an, the Hadith, or Muslim theologians, but the Christian central text, the Bible. In *The Supreme Wisdom* he repeatedly argues for the reassertion of Islam in the Bible: "It is Islam, the Religion of Peace, and none other, that God offers us in the Bible" (1997: 49), at the same time attacking Christian or Jewish understandings of God, identifying God as Allah and the biblical prophets as Muslim ones (1997: 13). Relying on the Bible, but, at the same time, dispatching it as "poison book" (1997: 79), he excuses himself for the extensive use of the Bible by insisting that "it had been tampered with by whites and [...] dedicated to a monarch rather than to God" (Baer 2003: 97). Muhammad does not simply oppose Christianity through sheer negation, but attacks it from within, reclaiming its truths as his.

Muhammad identifies Christianity as the core of African American displacement and thus as the cause of African American cultural trauma. In his 1959 speech he launches attacks against Christianity and the Black church:

> First, Christianity has failed you because it was the religion which first placed you in slavery. Secondly, Christianity has failed you because through its doctrine of turning the other cheek it has rendered you incapable of defending yourself in the hour of peril. Thirdly, Christianity has failed you because it has caused you to forsake the pursuit of justice in this world in the pursuit of an illusory and nonexistent justice beyond the grave. (1973: par. 17)

The reference to the biblical dogma taken as the demand for docility shows that it is not only the peculiar institution in the first place Muhammad attacks but the naturalization of slavery in the African American mind through Christian ideology. He also launches attack against the Black church in his last statement,

which was often stigmatized as otherwordly and incapable of defending and promoting African American (constitutional) rights in contemporary American society. However, his severe critique of Christianity anticipates a different spatiality, aggressively negating Christian sacred space. His position reveals that he does not tolerate "cultural differences *within* a locality" (1992: 7), but offering "Oppositional images of place" (1992: 12) – much as by definition transpatial ties between the cultural spaces remain a fact.

In the first place, sacralizing is effected through calling on segments of collective memory which undergird the identity of the Nation of Islam: "We have accepted Islam to be our religion – an old religion, as old as God, Himself; a religion of the prophets, of all the righteous; a religion of freedom, justice and equality; a religion of universal brotherhood: a religion that a brother will fight and die for his brother; a religion that believes in the law that was given to Moses" (1973: par. 11). Importantly, it is not Muslim theology that Muhammad elaborates on, but a sacred category taken as a priori, which is contrasted with Christianity. Thus the critique of Christian sacred space negated is stated, which, in this case, indirectly refers back to Black Muslim teleology. Especially so, since the attributes of Black Muslim sacred space are thus established through indirect comparison by contrast: through criticizing American core values codified in the founding documents, Muhammad claims them as theirs. The incorporation of social habitus establishes a common framework, which triggers a quest for an alternative past, thus validating Black Muslim genealogy. Muhammad's teachings concerning history are based on dichotomous thinking: the space he carves out for Black Muslims is constructed through constant contrasting with the white race and Christianity. For example, he establishes the primacy of African Americans on a temporal scale as when he claims in *The Supreme Wisdom* that "The Original Man, Allah has declared, is none other than the black man" (14) and that "Islam is the original religion of *all* black mankind" (1997: 48); and spatially as when he states that "We, the tribe of Shabazz, says Allah (God), were the first to discover the best part of our planet (earth) to live on, which is the rich Nile Valley of Egypt and the present seat of the Holy City, Mecca, Arabia" (1997: 15).

Reflections on the social ills experienced in the contemporary world are further given emphasis by "historically rooted collective memory [...] to create social solidarity in the present." (2001: 6) In an attempt to draw a span of past events, Muhammad asserts, "Here we are, upwards of twenty million Black Americans who have given their blood, sweat, and service for four hundred years in the vain hope that one day justice would be ours. When the bugle call of war sounded, the Black soldier stood erect. The plains of Europe, Asia, Africa and America have been fertilized by his blood" (1973: par. 7). Besides emphasizing African American proof of supporting the establishment of American society, building out intragroup ties heavily relies on "negative identification" that evokes

African American cultural trauma. Muhammad exhorts his audience to rise from "mental death" (1973: par. 23), which he explicates going back in history to Lincoln and even Washington. Identification of slavery as a traumatic cause resonates in African American consciousness and proves an effective means to unite blacks. Ron Eyerman reveals the importance of the indirect experience of slavery by contemporary African Americans:

> It was slavery, whether or not one had experienced it, that defined one's identity as an African American, it was why you, an African, were here, in America. It was within this identity that direct experience, the identification "former slave" or "daughter of slaves" became functionalized and made generally available as a collective and common memory to unite all blacks in the United States. This was a self-imposed categorization, as opposed to, and meant to counter, those of the dominant white society. (2001: 16-17)

Muhammad's cultural reworking of African American trauma in a theologizing framework represents a means of cultural reterritoralization. In fact, as Alexander claims, "For traumas to emerge at the level of the collectivity, social crises must become cultural crises" (2004: 10), which does not only suggest the perception of the impact of a crisis on a particular group – in this case, African Americans – but it also posits the cultural reworking of the trauma as well as its cultural treatment and a strategy to effect group cohesion. The theologizing framework provides the space as a container on meta level, where trauma reworked, rewarding identity for African Americans, and agenda for future action can be negotiated. Most importantly, group cohesion can be effected through the sacred, allowing for the foregoing and purporting political action. As Timothy Kubal insists, "Groups strategically construct collective memory through negotiation and conflict; competing groups seek to institutionalize their partisan memory of the past, and the outcome of that competition is collective memory – particular partisan stories about the past that are shared across space and time" (2008: 3). Collective memory is thus embalmed in the Black Muslim sacred cosmos.

The Black Muslim sacred space established bears familiarity not only for members of the Nation of Islam thus, but for the wider African American context. Embeddedness grants the means of effective communication. As Kubal claims in connection with national myths, "Communication is successful when frames align with the expectations of the audience/environment (an issue of reproducing resonant frames) and when frames meet the core tasks of framing (an issue of producing collective action frames)" (2008: 8). Muhammad echoes hurts of, in the first place, lower-class blacks when he says, "The Black man in America is in a terrible condition. He is emasculated, blinded, confused, and wandering about at high noon on judgment day" (1973: par. 6). Black Muslim ideology addresses thus

core African American issues to negotiate cultural valence for the organization, thereby substantiating in Eric Lincoln's coinage, "*consciousness of kind*" (1961: 34). Adherence to the general African American cultural framework enables maximal coupling to it as it incites accepting response from cultural subjects: "Resonant frames are strategically produced when activists borrow from and reuse accepted ideas from their audience and environment" (Kubal 2008: 8).

Elijah Muhammad exploits a mold embracing past, present, and future, whereby coherence, contextualization, and cultural valence are secured. The latter is achieved by the introduction of an autonomous Muslim cultural space, which, as a direct negation of the Christian one, seeks autonomous signification – especially if one takes the Nation of Islam as an offshoot of world Islam. Herbert Berg allows for a wide interpretation of the Nation of Islam as a version of Islam, resulting from members having "brought their own background, culture, or agenda to their understanding of Islam" (2005: 700). However, his definition also reveals the Nation's particular positioning in America: Muslim framework proves the carrier of cultural, social, and political reterritorialization, not primarily one of the sacred. Berg elaborately identifies the inconsistencies in Muhammad's Muslim argumentation including "his obliviousness to the Islamic exegetical tradition, his focus on the Bible, and his unfamiliarity with Arabic" but before all the non-Muslim "doctrines of the incarnation of Allah in the person of Wali Fard Muhammad" (1999: 42) that prove that his religious universe is primarily based on opposition to Christian America and his enthusiastic embracement of the Qur'an does not represent merging with world Islam. Mike Taylor listing details of non-compliance with orthodox Islam strengthens further this view:

> All of this deviates from orthodox Islam, which teaches that God is the supreme and invisible Being, Creator of all things, and that his only prophet is Muhammad of the Qureish tribe (570-632). It also teaches the existence of a world of spirits and that people will be judged by God after a physical resurrection. Islam also maintains that people should be obedient to the teachings of the *Qur'an* and certain *Hadith* (or "traditions"). The non-Islamic nature of the Nation is evident also in its approach to Islamic practices, such as the dress code, fasting, prayer, observance days, and Temple conduct. (1998: 195)

Strive for cultural valence explains the establishment of sacred space, which resembles orthodox Islam but deviates from it extensively. Providing a mold expressing cohesion and difference, the Muslim veil grants authenticity. In his *Elijah Muhammad and Islam* Berg identifies several reasons that contributed to Muhammad's devotion to the Qur'an:

> It was a non-Christian scripture that his Christian religious competition could not invoke, and so it left him with a remarkably independent and unique message. It was also the source of unique and non-Christian rituals. And, its moral teachings were remarkably appropriate for addressing the social ills affecting his followers. However, just as important, the Qur'an already came with a presumed religious "authority," and Elijah Muhammad could make that authority his. (2009: 71)

Uniqueness as a need for authentication and Islam's status as an equal match express Muhammad's motivation well to alter Islam to his own liking and to establish Black Muslim sacred space. As he claims in *The Supreme Wisdom*, "My teachings constitute God's own (Supreme) Wisdom" (1997: 79). This rhetoric maneuver allows him to cover up inconsistencies and loops in reasoning, as well as it effects not only authority for himself, but also homogeneity of space as it incorporates all African Americans: "Divine Purpose: that Almighty Allah (God) might make Himself known through us to our enemies" (1997: 15). In this way, Berg is right in stating that "mythmaking can describe any rhetorical act whose goal is to create, renew, sustain, or radically reenvision a group identity" (2005: 688) – an operation characteristic of Muhammad's 1959 speech also and an inherent building block in establishing the discourse of the sacred, especially as it purports "the idea that Islam is a religious faith that has affirmed their African heritage" (Taylor 1998: 191).

Temporal continuity underlies cultural continuity and contextualization – important segments in establishing a parallel cultural universe with the dominant Christian/white one. Michael M. J. Fischer emphasizes the relevance of temporal continuity, "Whereas the search for coherence is grounded in a connection to the past, an important part of coherence, is an ethic workable for the future" (1986: 196). Importantly, the present reality is situated in the function of past and future, whereby it is validated and grants a position to negotiate identity from. Connection to the past is granted through the experience of slavery in African American collective memory. Much as slavery is not a direct experience, it is burnt into African American consciousness as an arch metaphor of African American collectivity. Muhammad exploits the self image of blacks: "Is it not true that John Hawkins, the slave trader of our people, brought you and me here for just the purpose of working for the white man? He didn't bring you here to make you the white mans [sic] equal. It is certainly evident by now that it was never intended that you be a full citizen, owner or a significant office holder in America. Your role was that of a slave" (1973: par. 14). Muhammad's words express "a dramatic loss of identity and meaning" (2001: 2), which has become a "self-imposed categorization" (2001: 17) suitable to embody African Americans as a whole.

The identification of African Americans as sacred subjects and as the people of Allah represents a general notion in Muhammad's theology. As he intends to raise consciousness, for example, in *The Supreme Wisdom*, "America has poured wine into these sacred vessels of the Temple of God (the so-called Negroes). Let no man fool you concerning yourselves, my people. You are sacred in the eyes of Allah (God) today" (1997: 15). The act of conscientization evokes a feeling of commonness – a necessary step to mobilize them, but also to underline his argument about African American subjects: "Although we are the chosen of God, when it comes to justice, the so-called American Negroes are the most deprived people on the planet earth" (1973: par. 4). Uniting African Americans by sacred cords and evoking common feelings about themselves, he moves on to associate Christianity with social ills: "Now, I ask you, what good is Christianity to you and to me if that religion and the God of that religion will not defend us against lynching and rape?" (1973: par. 6). Addressing contemporary African American audiences, Muhammad therefore recalls recent and direct experiences of grievances: he refers to rape issues when he reminds of "the screams of a Negro co-ed in Tallahassee" or of those of "a Milwaukee Black mother" (1973: 21). Reflecting on the paralized condition of the community, he illuminates "a tear in the social fabric" (2001: 2) with the intention to conscientize fellow Blacks of social pains and through that to suture them in the texture of the sacred.

The understanding of African Americans as sacred and the chosen people of Allah triggers Muhammad's "orchestrating sacred space" (2003: 11) and his offering a program that envisions a future radically different from contemporary African American experience. Without any intention to debunk the social constructedness of his sacred space here, as Adrian Ivakhiv urges to consider in connection with any sacred spaces, it becomes obvious that enactment of Black Muslim sacred space – a term Ivakhiv employs – is heavily "shaped through [human] interaction" (2003: 14). Establishing rituals pertaining to food, dress, or female conduct, Muhammad shapes Black Muslim community. In the first place, the 1959 speech addresses female conduct: "Much of the defection among our women stems from the fact that they have been cajoled into following the oppressors' style when it comes to hair, dress and clothing. [...] If you study the customs and traditions of Islamic countries you will see the proper manner of dress" (1973: par. 22). Rituals prove important in maintaining sacred space, also since they become the means of stabilization and visualization – a token of physical reclamation of space.

The outcome of the triad of temporal interconnection is a "new master narrative" (2004: 12) through which "storied" (2008: 25) reterritorialization can become complete and homogenous. The alternative cultural universe expressed in Muhammad's narrative bears the characteristic of such narratives in which "the causality is symbolic and aesthetic, not sequential or developmental" (2004: 12).

Symbolic and aesthetic representations substitute and cover up loops in reasoning, which also prove that reworking and reclaiming space is not a "*reconstruction*[] of actual places, but [...] construction[] based on contemporary interpretations of the past" (1999: 2). In this way, Black Muslims' sacred/cultural space is strategically constructed through collective cultural memory but also "to institutionalize their partisan memory of the past" (Kubal 2008: 3). Black Muslim reterritorialization of cultural space is reminiscent of Bhabha's third space in that it seeks to hybridize space to express newly reconstructed cultural subjectivity. Beyond reinventing a rewarding cultural self for the African American community, it also presents a counterspace or as Chidester and Linenthal put it, a "potent counter-site[] of political resistance" (1995: 5).

Muhammad works in two main directions to strengthen intragroup ties and to foster intragroup dynamics. On the one hand, he strives to build up a radical Black Muslim self through rewarding cultural memory; and, on the other hand, he politicizes the Black Muslim subject in contrast to the white community. Muhammad's strategy is similar to Black Christian maneuver to present the organization and the African American collectivity in general as a moral community. It involves building up reputation of Blacks before themselves. For Gary Alan Fine reputation refers to "an organizing principle by which the actions of a person (or an organization that is thought of as a person) can be linked together" (2001: 2); this involves a "moral gestalt" (2001: 2) and ultimately expresses "collective representations enacted in relationship" (2001: 3). For Muhammad it means that he offers (Islamic) brotherhood, claiming that "I am your brother. Your hurt is my hurt. It doesn't make any difference with me what religion you are as long as you are a Black man or a member of the darker people. You and I are brothers" (1973: par. 14); as well as he places the community directly in the sacred: "we are the chosen of God" (1973: par. 4) and again "We, the Black men are of God" (1973: par. 23). His approach shows that he denies "a pluralist, multidimensional, or multifaceted concept of self" (Fischer 1986: 196), which postmodern anthropology would insist on, but presents overt simplification – a per definition realization of reputation as a "result of the socio-political motives of groups that gain resources, power, or prestige by the establishment of reputations" (Fine 2001: 8). Muhammad not only challenges negative reputations assigned to African Americans in general, but places them in the *axis mundi* – a means of validation through direct connection to the divine. Lincoln reasserts this view of Black Muslim ideology, "At some point, therefore, he will inevitably be tempted to glorify that form which he cannot escape. He may repudiate the white man's stereotype, turn his eyes from the painful reality and substitute for them an idealized self-image" (1961: 43).

The idealized image of the Black Muslim self stands in sharp contrast to conceptualizations of whites in Muhammad's speeches. When he calls whites

devilish, saying that "[they] are of the devil! Their nature is evil! They are incapable of doing good!" (1973: par. 23); in fact, presenting them in negative light as sinful and wicked is not only a political tactics of liberation and self-justification, but also part of the identificatory mechanism: Muhammad as a "reputational entrepreneur" (Fine 2001: 21) establishes marked difference between the two cultural/racial groups in order to identify Black Muslims by contrast. By stigmatizing whites (and, in fact, displacing them as when he claims in *The Supreme Wisdom* that "Allah is proving to the world of black man that the white race actually doesn't own any part of our planet" [1997: 15]), he is able to indirectly refer back to the Black Muslim as a sacred subject and position him/her elsewhere. Identity formation involves for him othering of the self, which makes use of distancing and comparison by contrast.

3. Conclusion

In this 1959 speech intragroup identification is pulled through on the level of distancing and contrasting in the first place. Emphasis is laid on separation, when he, for example, asserts that "To integrate with evil is to be destroyed with evil" (1973: par. 22). Much as the Black Muslim universe unfolds in later speeches of his to present integrated intragoup networking pointing to an understanding of a cultural self embedded in an Islamic sacred cosmos, here the 1959 speech lays emphasis on carving out space and reterritorializing the self in/through the sacred by erasing white subversive images and radicalizing the Black (Muslim) self.

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Proxemics of Fate-Changing Rituals

Spaces and Fates in Csíkszentdomokos

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Abstract. The rites of passage are actually organized around biological events. But since these rites – birth, marriage and death – are fate-defining turns in a person's life and that of a human community, they are events that generate culture. The individual passes from an earlier stage into another biological, social, spiritual, behavioural, etc. state. These passages also have countless spatial elements, which spiritualise during the rituals and they become regularising and conscience-bearing factors, symbols of expressive culture.

Keywords: the threshold of a house and that of a church, courtyard, street, crosses by the road

1. Introduction

Space elaborated in folk culture as a physical and a conceptual entity cannot be compared to any other culture's conceptual system. Within the spiritual world of folk culture spaces do not have a measurement unit, they cannot be expressed through anything: they do not have length, width or surface.[1] Their majority has a physical, pragmatic reality, but within a given situation and time, given actors will move within these spaces, thus physical spaces become abstract, spiritual ones, they are filled with magic powers. They become fate-changing spaces, even though

[1] The same complexity can be witnessed when defining folk time-categories.

they were not elaborated with this specific objective in mind, but with the aim to respond to everyday needs. This constitutes the proxemics of folk culture: the relationship of man and space, of space and man, which is never random or desultory. We may even talk about their specific dialectics. These spaces are more like witnesses to the fact that something has happened to someone in that space where it was meant to, and from that point on this person's fate has changed: socially or biologically or spiritually. They cannot be unequivocally called symbols or symbolic entities, as it happens in the case of the arts. Or can they be identified as metaphors leaning towards allegory? Are they magic spaces or personified systems of spiritual registers, social responsibilities, permissions, prohibitions, interactions, and taboos?

What I am certain about is that within my research, the spiritual sphere of fate-changes – as a directing principle – has brought to the foreground the endless series of **space-situations**.

What kind of spaces do I have in mind?

The correlation of a particular fate-change and space can be identified in the fratricidal struggle of Cain and Abel. (I dare mention a Biblical example due to the fact that almost in its entirety the Old Testament is the synthesis of those times' folklore.[2]) The Biblical story is more complex than it might seem. In my opinion, we have to notice in it not merely the fact of fratricide, but also the fight between two ancient professions – raising animals and tillage; the divine, the highest power's preference for one of them (raising animals, i.e. a former state) against the other (tillage, i.e. a new state). We witness here the clash between the nomadic versus the settling usage of space, two alternatives that have defined the global fate of mankind (civilization alternatives). Here, from the perspective of my research, I would like to focus on the belief of the contamination of space by innocent blood. "Then He said, What have you done? (…) So now you are cursed, alienated, from the ground that opened its mouth to receive your brother's blood you have shed. (…) If you work the ground, it will never again give you its yield. You will be a restless wanderer on the earth" (Genesis 4.10.) Frazer quotes beliefs from Upper-Senegal according to which, on the one hand, the insulted land must be tamed with sacrifice, it must be placated; on the other hand, the murderer must be banished for three years (ibid. 41). The question arises: which one is the more serious offence: fratricide or the social chain reaction of the blood for blood folk law principle that might potentially be started and end up in mass famine as the land infected with blood will not yield. (For, as it is known, the Earth has a soul!) Divine judgment seems to consider fratricide as the more serious offence. But as God is really knowledgeable about folk culture, about its spirituality (it is about an extremely important and general "state-political" issue), He is rational, "He placed a mark

[2] Proven by Sir James George Frazer's *Folklore in the Old Testament*.

upon Cain so that whoever found him would not kill him," and decides to ban him to an unknown place. Consequently, the people of the area are saved from famine (see Genesis 4.).

Csíkszentdomokos,[3] my research area, which is one of the largest village communities of Ciuc region, also offers a similar situation. On the 3rd of November 1599 in Pásztorbükke (a side of this village), two local men – András Nagy Kristály and Balázs Ördög – killed the fleeing Endre Báthory, Cardinal and Prince of Transylvania. The village expiated with a two-hundred-year fasting, a Papal curse was placed upon it (Cain was cursed by God!). According to communal memory, the land around Szentdomokos and Felcsík (the northern part of Ciuc Basin) yielded nothing but "weed" for seven years. Famine had ruled until an expiatory pilgrimage was initiated. This has been sustained on the location of the murder, with the participation of the entire population of Felcsík. This proves how a local crime has become a collective crime (to use a nowadays fashionable expression), whose spiritual burden and shadow must have originated from some kind of feeling of guilt of mythic origin. According to folk myth, in order to terminate the divine punishment striking the entire region, one night the criminals – after having received their reward from the Romanian Prince Mihai – vanished from the village under mysterious circumstances (my own sources), just like the Biblical Cain disappeared from the region of the blood-infected space.

Following these two examples of the spiritualised space archetype – one ancient and another quite recent one – I wish to focus on the latter. We can list several spaces from Csíkszentdomokos and from elsewhere that have a function in human fate-changes:

- First, I would like to mention the waters of the Jordan that oddly enough, lead us again into Biblical space. My research shows that the souls of people from Csíkszentdomokos cross the Jordan when leaving the earthly shore for the shores of the otherworldly spiritual space. To make the dead able to guard off and defeat the water stream, even today a candle-stick is put into their coffin or grave.
- I also mention the otherworld's concept of space where earthly spaces and human behaviour are recognisable both geographically and socially.
- I may mention the three-way junctions, crossroads, locations of predictions and of benefic or malefic magic practices.
- Or we can speak of those mysterious spaces functioning in the world of Orthodox black magic (Moldova), that people from all over Szeklerland – regardless of their level of education – would visit. (I am not familiar with its spatial depth in Transylvania).

[3] In Romanian Sândominic (Harghita county, Romania).

Photo by the author

- Or we can mention the "sacred land" and "sacred roads" of the cemetery and its separate lot assigned for those who committed suicide.
- We may talk about the threshold as the universal motif of the border of spiritual space.
- Or the space in the house below the icon where the newly-weds are seated.
- Or that lot of grass that is not cut because a certain lad has first had the desired girl there, that is where he "wiped the dew off her".
- That small natural hemp that the fiancée receives from her parents and where – in harvest time – she goes with her fiancé for a so-called "first lovers' meeting".
- The banned spaces of fairytales, banned parts of the forests guarded by giants and witches (space-cameras of mythic times), banned rooms in castles, river and lake beds the borders, thresholds of which – if crossed by the wanderer or fisherman and hunter – will cause him to either face great dangers or die.
- The mystical spaces of church- or chapel-buildings, their magic selection,[4] the cult of cultic spaces that have been pilgrimage sites since the Middle Ages.
- Symbolic gardens, estates, where the golden apple grows but every night the crops are tithed by menacing beings, etc. These spaces function as the school of character, loyalty and property-protection.
- The dark forest where nine lads were transformed into stags. This is the place from where – due to their wanderings – it is impossible to return to conquered and achieved civilization. Bartók's *Cantata Profana* warns

[4] See the Romanian ballad The Monastery of Argyas.

humankind of this type of regression, of this space and of falling back into it – in my interpretation.

- I could talk about the delimited sacred spaces of the church that can never be joined into one, within which one of the lovers "was laid to rest in front of the altar/The other laid behind the altar" (*Vadrózsák* 1975: 37).
- Or about the space beyond the village border where the third son always goes to fulfill tasks and missions beyond his family's needs, skills, everyday necessities, and from where he later returns with his acquired wealth, knowledge, experience, and last but not least, his biological "bank" renewing his community's genome.

This rapid inventory does not at all intend to be a demonstration of power. It may be linked to all the fate-changing events: it is obvious that every change in space invokes personal or communal fate-change, or vice versa: wanting a change in fate will mean wanting a new space as well. My main intention is to illustrate the relation between space and personal change of fate, but also how specifically this develops in the culture modelled by a certain social environment itself, and not by institutions. The examples above as well as the analysis to follow are meant to prove that with regards to this issue we may speak about a unified perspective, cultural plurality and continuity. To me these examples provide a coherent background for the understanding and analysis of physical and mental spaces, proxemical observations and interpretations arising within the system of customs related to birth, marriage, and death. It might be clear from the above that in any folk culture, in folklore the subjective image of a space is dominant, and that this is similar to the symbols of folk culture: they serve interests. Therefore, they are dynamic and modifiable. They are primarily not physical entities but forms of consciousness or spiritual states.

2. Ritual spaces, ritual borders

Bernea argues that spaces are linked to life, but they also carry meanings that belong to the realm of the spiritual (1985: 104). Proxemical observation studies the repetitious, purposeful, functional sign- and symbolic code-system of space usage (see Keményfi 2002: 139). I believe that the subjective image of spaces, space-elements of fate-changing rituals that I wish to conceptualise here includes both these approaches.

In principle it may already be stated that the physical/mental/spiritual space of action is important not merely in the case of religious, social or secular events, where and from where certain communities communicate, but also in the case of fate-changing rituals (see the initiation of the child by the roadside cross, home

bunning,[5] christening at home, circling around the dying person with a candle in hand, etc. The latter are distinguished from the former in that these are important mainly from the viewpoint of the individual in the transitional ritual, not from the community's viewpoint, and in the fact that they send messages about the relation of the individual and the community. Therefore they are indispensable parts of the individual fate-change. Without going round the traditionally repetitious ritual spaces and passing through the ritual borders fate changes do not gain their convened legitimacy. This is proven by the fact that occasionally – according to the law of tradition – the right to the active usage of changing sites is withdrawn. Therefore, in order to announce the illegitimacy of a "non-honest" change of fate, those trespassing against tradition are punished with the withdrawal of their right to use that space. I am talking here about the communal space-handling of illegitimate children, illegal marriages, death by suicide, etc.[6]

In what follows I take into account the representative mental spaces of fate-changing rituals, borders, proxemic elements, in other words, those everyday space elements that, within the unfolding process and time of fate-changing rituals, are transformed into ritual spaces.

The **house**, in the simplest terms, is the space of long-term everyday profane existence. During the fate-changing rituals as well as at the time of religious events it "gains sacred content, it gains another quality, rising above its profane environment" (Bartha, quoted in Keményfi 2002: 139). The transformation, the metamorphosis of the house is not only a mental issue: during fate-changing rituals – and let us regard this period as a festive one – the surface of the house is transformed as well, it is made festive, as it is to become the site of the individual's unique festivity. Its quotidian living space quality is suspended, it is transformed into a festive space, it is synchronized with the festive clothing of the individual, which is also a unique type of clothing. When the individual's personal fate-changing rituals are over, and he/she is initiated into his/her new environment, everyday, quotidian state of the house is reinstated.

The house is the space from where the newborn is taken for christening, with a "memorandum of intention" phrased before stepping over the threshold as a border: "We are leaving with a pagan, we are returning with a Christian". After the church ritual this is also the place where they announce the individual's spiritual transformation: "We left with a pagan, we have returned with a Christian." And from this moment on the house and its inhabitants are no longer threatened. Thus, the main focus is not the fact that this is where they take the baby from, as they could not take him/her from anywhere else, but that the closest living space turns

[5] The bride's hairstyle is changed on the occasion of the wedding, her long plaited hair being arranged in the form of a bun.

[6] These penalties belong to the realm of folk legislation, therefore, they must be discussed separately.

from a state of chaos into a space of cosmos, they are not "living under the same roof with a pagan" any longer. It is the specificity of birth as a transition custom and series of rituals that all three stages of the transition – except the church ritual of christening – take place within the same house and that the new state has a perspective of several years. Therefore, a separate ritual of initiation into the house has been developed, the religious initiation ritual is doubled in the central space of the house.

Author's photo

Illustration: Ilona Boér Lenk

I interpret the custom of hiding under the table from Csíkszentdomokos as illustrating that the newborn must be attached spiritually and with a magical bond not only to his/her social and religious community, but to the community of the house, to the family and to the house itself. Eliade argues that "for a religious person his/her house is really in the center of the world", that "the house is an existential and sacred space … that creates manifold transcendental links" (1987: 38). Thinking more about it: if the house is the center of the world, then in every traditional community the center of the house has always been the table.[7] The table is a piece of furniture endowed with the power of sustaining family cohesion, family hierarchy, and the power to socialise. Taking into account also the mysticism of the circle, in my opinion, it must have been important to initiate the "Christian" into the family circle as centre, symbolised by the table. It seems odd how in the initiation story of one of my informants (a 76-year-old male) the house as an element of space plays a much more important role than anything else: "We

[7] "Certain objects of the house … fulfill sacred functions. These are the *table* (emphasis is mine), the fire, the fireplace, the stove." (Pócs 1983: 191)

brought a pagan over to Christian belief, and *a new Christian entered the house*. Others extend it even more, but in the end there still has to come the phase when the pagan child is *brought over* (emphasis is mine) to the Christian belief, and the Christian child *enters the house*." (emphasis is mine) Thus, the initiation ritual taking place in the house is the ritual of a desire, of the desire for the return of cosmic peace.[8]

Thinking about the relationship between fate-changing rituals and the house, I have come to the realisation that in the case of death – partially – the reverse of the above takes place. In this case the house gains a more emphatically festive character, its internal rooms, parts are transformed so that the dead can be located in the "*clean room*"[9]: a space that he/she could use and indulge in the least in his/her lifetime. As soon as the dead person is taken out of the yard, the spirit of death is banished from the house: each cover of the catafalque is turned upside down, each door and window of the house is opened lest his/her spirit or anyone else's could come back, so that death should avoid the house, it should not come for a new person living within it.

No doubt, the social meaning of weddings is of primary importance, more important than in the case of the other two transitions.[10] They result not merely in a change in social status, but weddings are also the most organised, the largest in scale, and ritually they involve the largest transition in space as well. The spatial reference of the transition is enlarged to the house and the yard. Thus the two defining spaces of the fundamental social link and the borders delimiting these from other spaces – thresholds, gates, stairs – become the main elements of the rhetoric and ideal of separation and initiation rituals. A state of dependence on space and borders is established. Leaving the spaces of the former state and crossing their borders are almost equal in importance with enunciation: each of them constitutes a preliminal, intermediary transition. The rite of marriage is the climax of the liminal state, of the transition, but the gradual separation from the society of lads and maidens is prepared by the breaking down of spatial boundaries. I would like to draw attention to the parallels of the "visiting process", more specifically the qualitative transformation of the two individuals' emotional and social approach and the gradual conquering, and abandonment of spatial borders. We talk about the freedom to come to the gate first, then up to the house, and then

[8] Summarizing European research, Éva Pócs claims the folk concept according to which the house is the model of the universe, the microcosm is not simply a small part of the whole, it is not one element of the universe, but rather a reduced copy that reproduces the whole (see Pócs 1983: 193).

[9] This room that is usually in the front part of the house functions as a "representative space" in Szeklerland but also in the home culture of the entire Hungarian peasantry. The denomination comes from Katalin I. Nagy (1981: 143).

[10] An excellent study regarding the relation of house and wedding was published by Elek Bartha (1983: 381-388).

into the house, as well as their prohibition. “They did not enter the house soon. Only to the gate. Not beyond the gate! At least a good couple of weeks were needed, no matter how close the youngsters were. Then the lad dared enter, and with fear invited the girl to the dance. He still had to go back a good couple of times till he could ask the parents to be allowed to enter the house freely.” “In my time it was customary for the parents to first consider the economic factor. After the issue of property was cleared, the parents gave permission for courtship. From this point on the lad had free entrance into the house.”

Thus, the gate, the yard, the threshold, the house are spaces and borders of social, emotional and economic interests: they are sovereign territories of the bride and her family. This is why the lad intending to court and the wedding party coming for the bride may only enter and approach the bride after having fulfilled certain conditions (see, for example, tests of strength, tests of intelligence: conundrums, etc.). The progress in being accepted into the yard or the house illustrates the advance, stagnation or regression of the state and position of choosing a partner.

Inside the threshold certain locations of the house interior are endowed with a specific value during the wedding. The “clean room” mentioned above is the space of the main wedding table. Before the wedding, this is the space where the bride’s outfit is exhibited before being taken away, this is where documents are drafted, this is where the bride is dressed, this is where the women gather until the wedding party arrives, and as it is a representative space, this is where the representative guests of the wedding are seated. The second room is where the more distant relatives are seated as well as the neighbours, friends, youngsters and children.

In Csíkszentdomokos the concept of the house, the space of the house is synonymous with that of the family. Thus, there is an interesting parallel between the facts that while the girl’s family is not a final community for the girl, the family home is not viewed as a final home either. In this sense, some verses from the bridal farewell can be perceived as a lyrical statement:

Ma virágzott éltem derült hajnalára,
Bíztam én magamot Isten parancsolatjára,
Akadtam életem jövendő párjára,
Akarok indulni annak szállására.

‘Today my life has flourished to its bright dawn,
I have entrusted myself to God’s commandment,
I have found my life’s future partner,
So I’m about to go to his lodgings.’

Even more emphasis is given to the finite time connected to the parental home and family in the Ágsíratő (bridal farewell):

Adjon Isten lelkem-szívem édesapám s édesanyám!
Fogadjanak bé csendes hajlékjokba!
Nem kérem sokára, csak egy éccakára,
Hogy alhassam ki magamot szívem nyugalmára,
Utajára.

'Good day in God, my soul and heart Mother and Father!
Please, take me into your quiet shelter,
I do not ask for much, but just for a night,
So that I can sleep till my heart rests
For the last time.'

Bridal farewell (illustration by Ilona B. Lenk)

The leitmotif of the bridal farewell that the leaving daughter utters within the threshold[11] is the separation from the house: "And now farewell to you little shelter, /Where I have spent my youth so far…" The house she has lived in so far is

[11] In recent decades on the porch, on the stairs or before the exit door, so that the wedding party may also hear it.

an unproductive nest from the perspective of the maintenance of the species. The exchange of houses implies the fulfillment of a social mission, with severing as well as setting roots. Every change in space – Bernea argues – means a separation from the past, and at the same time, naturally, it involves suffering as it is followed by adaptation to a pastless, rootless life (1985: 34-35).[12]

The threshold of the house. The threshold, in general, increases in spirituality in the liminal phases of fate-changing rituals – including intermediary, preliminal states. The social reality of the transition, a momentum of this is realised first through the synchronisation of stepping over the threshold as spatial displacement and the emotive reaction to the ritual text or formula. When going to a christening, before stepping out of the house they announce: "We are leaving with a pagan, we are bringing back a Christian", and upon return, in the moment of stepping over the threshold, they announce this formula in the past tense, thus announcing that the transition has taken place. The threshold moments of the separating rituals linked to death are the lowering of the coffin into the grave accompanied by ritual crying, the moments of uttering broken farewell words. From this moment on inclusive rituals start. Before the war, at weddings, in the moment of stepping over the parental house's threshold the bride announced:

Úristen, hozzád nyújtom szavamot,
Mert szüleim házából kiveszem a lábomot.
Nyújtsd ki jobb kezednek sugarát,
Viseld az én szüleimnek öregségben jó gondját.

'My God, to Thee I raise my words,
As I am leaving my parents' house,
Hold out the ray of your right hand,
And take good care of my parents in their old age.'

Thus, in the space of fate-changing liminal rituals from Csíkszentdomokos the threshold is a border representing ideological, emotional oppositions.[13] The physical threshold's and any border's spiritual content is special because it marks

[12] Bernea differentiates between the spirituality of a peasant and the one of a person linked to an urban house: "Citizens do not preserve any longer the house's moral substance", but "peasants feel deep sadness for the house in which they were born and have lived, if they are forced to leave it."

[13] The bride's exit text, her farewell uttered on the threshold has similar content – in its intention and message – to the engraving on the Szekler gates: e.g. "My God, be with me in my exit, guard me and bless me upon my return" – and to the faithful Jew's words uttered upon his exit through the main gate: "May God protect me as I leave and upon my return, from now on till forever" (van Gennep 1996: 32).

the phases of the symbolic spaces of social transition and change in status,[14] and they illustrate the transition by creating sacred moments. If these do not exist, the mystery of rites is not realised at the level of consciousness simply because the ideological, sacral transition is not realised in its physical reality and dimension. No spiritual vibration occurs either in the initiands or in the participants that will convince them of the fact that at certain points, in certain moments something has happened. They need to realise that starting from that moment the individual is already different from the old one, he/she is not what he/she used to be, he/she has a different social status. (I could illustrate this with the church's ritual-diminishing practice, especially in the case of a church christening.) The spiritual role of even one second of suspension, crossing spaces, waiting is of utmost importance in all transitions. Turner draws attention to the fact that the initiand's status in liminality is different as in these phases the individual "is located in the in-between spaces of the social structure (…), on the margins of society" (2002: 139). (Certain border- or separating lines may also be harmful: for example, the balk of the house below which the newlyweds are not to sit as this might lead to their divorce.)

Stepping over the threshold has also another type of emotive (desire) and spiritual charge: the way one steps over the threshold has the power to define one's future, it may influence the spouses' relationship with each other, their life together. One has to step over the threshold with the right foot in order to assure luck, happiness. Even today the bride is reminded of this in an emphatic way: "Once she stepped out, she should not look back, she should not step back, otherwise she won't be lucky." Coming out of the church and while entering the new house the bride "must not step onto the threshold … Whoever steps on it is not a good one … The one who steps over it will be humble … The bride should step quietly into the new house and then they are going to have a peaceful life." In Csíkszentdomokos people believe that whoever is the first to step onto the threshold will be the master of the house.

While studying van Gennep I noticed a quite special, this time entirely symbolic threshold-phenomenon within weddings rituals in Csíkszentdomokos. He argues that "we must interpret any ritual that presupposes passing between an object cut into two, or *between two branches* or *under some kind of object* (emphasis is mine) as a direct rite of passage based on the idea that we step out of our former world in order to step into a new one" (1996: 28). This takes place in Csíkszentdomokos in the "ágsírató" (bridal farewell) ritual of the bride, when she steps out of her state as a girl, leaving behind and saying goodbye to her gender community, as well as on her wedding day when she leaves the parental home and she steps into the groom's house, her future home. In each of these cases she passes

[14] Stepping over the threshold means entering a new world. It is an important act of marriage, inclusion, coronation, burial rituals (see van Gennep 1996: 29).

between two pine branches and with this and other proxemical elements and borders a quality shift occurs in her life.

An almost identical path is taken by the groom. A fate-changing ritual within a fate changing ritual! In the van Gennepian concept, in Csíkszentdomokos the bride's transition is more complete with her not only passing between two pine branches but also under a pine garland adorned with white flowers. Thus, it becomes a spatial symbolic visual ritual of her stepping out of her virginal state, also linked to the house (emphasis is mine). At the same time, this latter ritual also links, unifies the two branches.

I interpret the neighborhood as a social environment, a socialized space, as a ritual space and institution that in Csíkszentdomokos, and in Szeklerland in general, plays a role in all three fate-changing rituals discussed here. We are talking about an especially interesting communal cell and space within the construction of the village as a social system that is stable and mobile at the same time. Every family's neighborhood expands in principle to eight families on the right, left, and opposite (number nine is the symbol of excess!): this is the stability factor from the perspective of a family, but the periphery of family borders has further links, which signals the mobility of the institution of neighborhood. Bernea phrases it appropriately when arguing that "the neighborhood is a social entity that operates between the family and the village" (1985: 40).

From the perspective of space, the neighborhood is the lengthening of the family space, and as such, based on the reciprocity principle, it functions as primary support in organizing fate-changing events, in undertaking their tasks, in knowing their secrets. Therefore, the neighborhood becomes the primary interactive space of fate-changing rituals.

Within the use of space of fate-changing rituals the road – the physical course of the transition – also plays an important role that carries spiritual meaning. The road offers the possibility to present the transition to the community, it is a means of representation in front of the community, it gives an opportunity to the community's information in an open way: who the godparents are, how many they are; what quantity and quality the bride's dowry is, what the composition of the wedding party is, the number of people following the coffin to the cemetery, etc. The road is also the course in the passing of which the initiand is/might be exposed to most injuries, most offensive or harming practices. Bridges, junctions, road narrows mean/might mean delays in progress not only from the perspective of the traffic, but also in the progress of the transition.[15] The mentioned road-elements are potential sites for enacting abuses, unsuccessful rituals.

[15] In folk belief these locations are sites of different actions, experiences, acts, favorable media for enacting magic rituals (see Bernea 1985: 52).

Wedding and funeral processions (the author's photos)

The road is in relation with direction that in the case of transitions bears psychological importance. In other life situations going in the wrong direction may easily be corrected, but a mistake committed during transitions becomes a spiritual burden for the individual, and collective memory will remember such mistakes for a long time.[16]

The **circle** – primarily in spiritual folk culture – constitutes an imagined spiritual spatial form, in the words of Aniela Jaffé[17] "it is the symbol of our ancient self … that includes the relationship of man and nature's entirety" (1993: 240). Within the separation and initiation rituals of all three fate-changes the circle is a complex ritual symbol. In Csíkszentdomokos they walk in a circle with the baby in hand after the Christening or with the bride around the altar after the marriage ceremony, a newly freed mother walks around the roadside cross with her baby, they draw a circle with candles around and above the dying person, as if they were attempting to illustrate with further examples the universality of the circle-symbol: "The practical basis of the belief in magic circles is that the circle is the most natural form of defense, of defensibility" (Hoppál and Jankovics 1995: 128).

Why is the circle a spiritual space in fate-changing rituals, and why do the protagonists of transitions have to circle around these devotional objects and sacred locations? Why is the ritual circling a repetitious symbolic motif of fate-changing rituals in Csíkszentdomokos? Instead of a clear answer, a few analogous examples from great cultural circles may help understand further secrets of the human soul and of human desires.

In the entire Hungarian custom-world one may find countless examples of circles drawn, dug, plowed, walked around something – the house, the sowing, the village, the pasture, etc. – and beliefs linked to these. Éva Pócs argues that

[16] "Regress is a torturing factor" (Bernea 1985: 59).
[17] Jung's disciple.

"remains of the archaic worldview are preserved in those beliefs according to which the own, known world, the microcosm – the village and its borders – is surrounded by the space of foreign, supernatural beings, that of the dead and of ghosts. This archaic universe may be described with the oppositions like 'this worldly–otherworldly', 'alive–dead', 'inside–outside'" (1990: 619).

This belief prevails in the circling of the dying person as well: it is a specific ritual of circling, of periphrases in Csíkszentdomokos.[18] Evil cannot invade the fire circle drawn with candles, thus it has no power over the soul, it is forced and driven back into the sphere of the "periphery". However, it has to be mentioned that while the known examples of *encircling* protect earthly life, existence, *circling* in Csíkszentdomokos protects the soul's otherworldly existence. We might even say that they protect the unknown from the unknown. And as they perform this on the threshold of the great unknown, we may consider it a preventive ritual.[19]

Seemingly, salvation is the opposite of circling: the purifying woman with her baby circles around the roadside cross three times and says a prayer. Who and what is in need of protection in the ritual of purification? To my knowledge, Hungarian folklore studies have not given a satisfying answer to this question yet. Maybe because they are not familiar with this ritual method of purification, of initiation in Csíkszentdomokos.

Therefore, I am quoting Aniela Jaffé. In *The Symbology of the Circle* she argues that "the symbol of the circle, no matter of the number of its variations, always refers to the one basic reference of life, to its final wholeness… In the discourse of psychological symbology, it expresses the unification of opposites: the unification of the ego's subjective time-bound world with the objective and timeless world" (1993: 240-241). Can we detect in Jaffé's theory of the circle some other, maybe philosophical essence of the *circling* from Csíkszentdomokos? Isn't its message reference beyond the closed perspective of the Hungarian village community? If I view circling as an intention to unify life and death, the world of the living with that of the dead, finite earthly life with the timeless, endless life of the soul ("time-bound life,… timeless life…"), then our answer may only be "yes". I believe I am not exaggerating when saying that the custom and ritual of circling from Csíkszentdomokos both in its ceremoniality and in its spirituality constitutes the resonance of a kind of universal worldview, otherworld-philosophy.

[18] I have found four data similar to the circling ritual in Csíkszentdomokos: the dead, the catafalque, the dead person's house is circled with lit candles: Kunt 1987: 115; Jung 1982: 127; Dobossy 1989: 118; Virt 1987: 33-34. However, the MNL (Hungarian Folklore Lexicon) and MN (Hungarian Folklore) do not mention these.

[19] Based on oral accounts of locals circling is also a ritual illustrating a state; as to the question "How is the patient feeling?", depending on the patient's condition, they may answer: "They have already circled him/her" (meaning that he/she is dying).

Concerning the ritual of purification I turn to Jaffé again, whose study also suggests that the circle also symbolises the fact or the idea of belonging to something: "(…) In the discourse of psychological symbology, it expresses the unification of opposites" (ibid. 240). Thinking about this only seemingly simple interpretation, I have again been astonished by the depth of the symbols, and I have come to the realisation that when the bride and the baby circle around the altar, when the impure woman with her baby circles around the roadside cross, probably and intentionally notions such as girl and woman, pagan and Christian, former and impure due to giving birth, thus opposite entities are leveled off. And all this takes place with the intention or the *desire* of an alliance with something – the new community, belonging to something – to the new community, a return to the natural course of life – the purified woman. "The circle is the symbol of our ancient self – that encompasses the relationship of man and the whole of nature" (Jaffé 1993: 240).

Discussing further about the perspectives of the symbol of the circle and its centre, we have to notice that within the ritual of circling the dying person occupies the center of the circle because he/she is the one who needs to connect to the other world, the world of the dead. In the case of the purification ritual, however, they circle with the baby around the cross as a sacred symbol, which they want to connect with. The first serves man's connection to the abstract world, the second one to the visible world. In this interpretation Jaffé's argument is a direct hit, according to which the design of the mandala follows the design of a sacred place/space the centre of which links it to the other world" (1993: 244).[20]

In the ritual of circling round the roadside cross, beyond desiring the transcendental world, I also sense the prevalence of another, deeply human desire. I am thinking of the desire to belong to a given physical space, that in Eliade's interpretation is also a sacred space exactly due to the symbology of the cross, and at the same time, "the Centre of the World" (1999: 238). But in Csíkszentdomokos its palpability should not be neglected either. A cross set up within a village community has a certain memory of some kind of space occupation, thus it has a myth.[21] In principle a community occupies a land only once, but the community of the former occupants/of the protectors of all times must be continuously renewed: that is one of the secrets of survival. Therefore, the act of occupying the land must be continuously ritually repeated, through which a secret bond and spiritual

[20] "Mandalas often boldly tend to collate or unify seemingly irreconcilable oppositions and bridge hopelessly huge abysses" (Jaffé 1993: 124, translation from the Hungarian version).

[21] "The Spanish and Portuguese conquistadores took into their possession the islands and continents discovered and enslaved by them in the name of Jesus Christ. To prove their acts they *set up crosses* (emphasis is mine), but through this act they also ordained the new land: setting up the cross meant repeating the Christening (the creating gesture), which meant a 'new birth.'" (Eliade 1998: 26-27)

alliance between the first occupants and their descendants comes into being, even at the level of small territories. This aspect, this spiritual sub-stratum of the ritual deviates, or goes beyond the notion of "the sanctified world" and its magic-religious content. Beyond its undeniable sacred content, the space-occupation ritual in Csíkszentdomokos also intends the acquisition of the right to use a space in front of the community. From this perspective I can discover a further, specific aspect of the newborn's social initiation. The circling may stand for the spiritual proclamation of belonging to the community and to its space that must be communicated to the community through a ritual. Modern psychological research shows that individuals living in a cultural context based on mutual dependency (like our community) must show themselves, they must demonstrate that they are members of the community.[22] Showing the self may be interpreted as the basic philosophic principle of fate-changing customs. The woman going to her purification must return to her community, and she can publicly declare this through a ritual. At the same time, she also initiates her baby into this space: into the spiritual sphere of the space marked by the cross, into its human community, so that the baby should be considered its member.

A further important issue is **time** as a philosophic category from the perspective of ethnography. We must know and we may not disregard the fact that displacement within space also means and presupposes displacement in time. This reality prevails also in the three fate-changing customs constituting the subject of my research.

In the case of **birth** we can speak about the "pre-natal space", but also about the nine-month pre-natal time. The first category was created by the American researcher, Andrea Andrek, who argues that "pregnancy is a person's first individual ecological situation, while the womb is the first ecologic environment" (1996: 9). To this analogy and parallel to this, I find it necessary to focus on the second. I would only like to hint to the fact that the individual's womb-space and -time status is a factor generating great spiritual culture and knowledge, and the fact that folk culture discovered centuries ago what medical science – prenatal research – realized only in the 1960s: the fact that there is a continuous living relationship between the fetus and its natural, social, cultural environment, in which the role of the mediator is played by the mother. In its concepts I believe this knowledge to be very modern, its specificity being that it has been phrased in beliefs.

The **search for a partner** and **marriage** can only be understood within the dialectics of space and time, from childhood sweethearts to the dusk of sexual attraction. In every folk culture maturation into a young adult, biological and social puberty, the progress of spiritual development goes parallel with the conquering

[22] See Nguyen Lun Lan Anh–Fülöp Márta (eds.) 2003: 209.

and living in ever larger concentric circles of abstract time and lived spaces, with the dismantling of spatial prohibitions and spatial taboos.

Regarding **death** as a fate-change – as there exists a large number of commonplace statements linked to it – I would only like to add that it brings about an irreversible space- and time-shift in our lives, but from the perspective of culture, specifically folk culture, it is not a vacuum-like state: it creates different interpersonal, spiritual, behavioural, familial, etc. spaces and social space-relations.

Whenever the ritual of walking through the traditional and conventional spaces of fate-changes is neglected, it will lead to harm and the reclassification of these transitions. Within peasant culture, on the level of linguistic communication, this state surfaces as follows: "the child was given a name, like a dog" "the youngsters got together, like dogs," "the dead was buried like a dog."

3. Conclusions

All in all, what will be the message of these spaces regarding our human existence when the caesura of the naming process are left out, when folk theology, practical and living dogmatism do not apply, when marriages are sealed in the ice-chapel near Bâlea Lake high up in the Carpathians, on submarines or airplanes, when the ashes of the dead are spread into space or into rivers from airplanes or scattered onto the water streams of fountains (and I have not even mentioned the multiplying burial chapels and their soul-baring function, that seem to be extensions of the hospital where one dies without love)? All these distortions of space may be the topic of a future study.

Translation by Boróka Prohászka Rád and Zsuzsanna Ajtony

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The Linguistic Landscape of Miercurea Ciuc (Csíkszereda)

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Abstract. As a modern research domain, linguistic landscape is the study of writing on display in the public sphere. Linguistic landscape research represents a new approach to multilingualism and is typically focused on urban environments, especially on multilingual settings. In my research paper I am going to focus on signs that we find around us in daily life. Although these signs are abundant they have rarely been taken up for analysis by linguists and other specialists in language, discourse and communication. As the title suggests, the present research focuses on the town Miercurea Ciuc (Csíkszereda), one of the Transylvanian settings characterised by a majority of Hungarian minority population. The Transylvanian region is a historically multilingual region mainly marked by Romanian-Hungarian bilinguals. However, the spread of English as an international language of communication and some new immigration trends offer the town a larger linguistic variety.

Keywords: multilingualism, linguistic landscape, public signs, Miercurea Ciuc

Introduction

When we arrive in a new country or city/town, public signs, ads and billboards are often the first forms of contact we have with the language and the script of the place. If the country is multilingual, each instance of language choice and presentation in the public signage transmits symbolic messages regarding

legitimacy, centrality and relevance of particular languages and the people they represent.

Language is all around us in a textual form as it is displayed on shop windows, commercial signs, posters, official notices, traffic signs, etc. Most of the time people do not pay much attention to the so-called "linguistic landscape" that surrounds them. However, in recent years an increasing number of researchers have started to take a closer look and study the language texts that are present in the public space.

Studies concerning multilingualism are abundant and issues concerning multilingualism are tackled from many different angles. Apart from research done in the field of language acquisition, psycholinguistics or language policy and planning, sociolinguistics is another research field to approach multilingualism. Interested in the relationship between language and society, sociolinguistics may approach the multilingual phenomenon from the perspective of the linguistic landscape, focusing on written information available on language signs in a specific area.

With the growing interest in the concept of public signage, there have appeared a number of interesting articles and reports of studies but only recently has there been an attempt to define the field, to investigate its methodologies and to develop a theory (Spolsky 2009: 29).

The concept – linguistic landscape

The concept of linguistic landscape has been used in several different ways. In the literature the concept has frequently been used in a rather general sense for the description and analysis of the language situation in a certain country, or for the presence and use of many languages in a larger geographical area. A meaning that comes closer to the way it is used in the present paper is in reference to signage and place-names.

The study of the linguistic landscape is particularly interesting in bilingual and multilingual contexts. The linguistic landscape can provide information about the sociolinguistic context and the use of the different languages in language signs can be compared to the official policy of the region and to the use of the language as reported in surveys.

Over the past 30 years, a number of researchers have started to deal with the rich discoveries of urban public signs and today the study of public multilingual signage is developing into a sub-field of sociolinguistics and of language policy. The attractiveness of the approach lies in its methodological advantages being easier to gather evidences when compared to data collection in the spoken language (Spolsky 2009: 26).

From the perspective of the sociology-of-language,

> language facts that landmark the public sphere are to be seen as social facts the variations of which should relate to more general social phenomena. It is under this light that the sociological study of linguistic landscapes is to focus on the articulation of linguistic symbols in the public space, and the forces at work in their molding. (Ben-Rafael 2009: 40)

The relationship between linguistic landscape and sociolinguistic context is said to be bidirectional as the linguistic landscape of a certain area or region mirrors the relative power and status of different languages and in the same time it contributes to the construction of this sociolinguistic context influencing it through its visual images (Cenoz & Gorter 2006: 67-68). In other words, the linguistic landscape of a specific territory can function as a result of the language situation that represents the area similarly to census data or surveys but it is not only the reflection of a specific linguistic context as the languages displayed can certainly influence people's perception on the status of different languages.

The term "linguistic landscape" was first used by Landry and Bourhis (1997) in a paper reporting on the perceptions of Francophone high school students of public signs in Canadian provinces. The interest of the researchers was not in observing actual signs, but rather in the students' perception of the *paysage linguistique*. However, the study of public signage has a longer history. Among the first studies we can mention Masai (1972), who studied Tokyo and noted the presence of English, or Rosenbaum et al. (1977), who focused on signs in a Jerusalem street; they found that tourist stores and private offices used English or Romanised script suggesting tolerance for foreign languages while the government supported Hebrew hegemony.

The most common definition used by most of the scholars in the field is that of Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25):

> The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region or urban agglomeration. The linguistic landscape of a territory can serve two basic functions: an informational function and a symbolic function.

The definition explains their concern with the use of language in its written form in the public sphere, referring to language that is visible in a specified area. In line with the above definition Spolsky and Cooper (1991) are also convinced that linguistic landscape has two functions – informational and symbolic – communicating the relative power and status of linguistic communities in a given territory. Thus, linguistic landscape constitutes the very scene where society's public life takes place. As such, this scene carries crucial socio-symbolic

importance as it actually identifies and thus serves as the emblem of societies, communities and regions.

After identifying several handicaps regarding the concept of linguistic landscape, in his study Spolsky (2009) tries to build up a theoretical approach focusing on its systematic aspects and development. He considers public signage to provide a valuable way to study language choice and places it within the theory of language management that takes into account the existence of independent domains. Public linguistic space can be considered a distinct domain according to Spolsky (2009), with its own participants, location and topics/content. Applying a similar model to that used for language policy in general, Spolsky identifies its main participants: the sign-owners, sign-makers and the expected readers. However, the government is an additional significant participant as it attempts to control the contents, form and language of the public signs.

The location is usually inside cities or sometimes outside the city and the notion of the public space plays a key role in defining the concept of linguistic landscape. The notion of public space draws from the earlier concept of public sphere associated with the name of Habermas (1989). This public sphere may be viewed from different angles but when it comes to linguistic landscape analysis, the focus is on its territorial-geographic dimension and thus the term public space is preferred (Ben-Rafael 2009: 40).

Apart from the informative content of the sign, the choice of language reflects a symbolic value of some or all of the participants (Spolsky 2009: 33). To the passers-by linguistic landscape carries emblematic significance for the very fact that it constitutes the decorum of the public space (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006). In this sense, linguistic landscape can be referred to as "symbolic construction of the public space" as it is the languages it uses and the symbols it shows that serve as the landmarks of the public space where "things happen in society" (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006).

Spolsky also identifies three conditions as the major part of a theory of language choice in public signage. The first condition is to write a sign in a language you know; this rule explains the spelling errors common in signs written in foreign languages. The second rule captures the communicative goal, "presumed reader's condition", meaning to write a sign in a language which can be read by the people you expect to read it. The third rule accounts for language choice on signs that assert ownership, "symbolic value condition", namely, to write a sign in your own language or in a language with which you wish to be identified (Spolsky 2009: 33). This accounts for the order of languages in multilingual signs.

The choices made by various social actors can be analysed from a variety of theoretical perspectives.

An important variable in previous research into the linguistic landscape is the distinction between official and non-official signs. Official signs, also called top-

down signs, refer to signs placed by the government or related organisations (e.g. street names, road signs, etc.) while non-official signs, called bottom-up signs, are those placed by autonomous social actors such as commercial enterprises, private organisations or persons (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006). Landry and Bourhis (1997: 27) summarise the interaction of official, government-related signs and non-official, private signs within the linguistic landscape as follows:

> In some cases, the language profile of private signs and government signs may be quite similar and thus contribute to a consistent and coherent linguistic landscape. There are instances, however, in which the language of private signs is quite discordant with the language profile of government signs. More often than not, there is greater language diversity in private than in government signs.

Landry and Bourhis (1997) distinguish between private and government signs, which is similar to the above mentioned top-down and bottom-up signs but it is less specific if we take into consideration that both private and government signs can be government regulated and government signs can be under more or less local control. Official and non-official signs hence make different contributions to the linguistic landscape of a given place.

In another attempt to establish taxonomy, Reh (2004) proposes three types of arrangement of the multilingual information: signs where all the information is given in both languages; signs where there is partial or overlapping translation; and signs where different information is given in each language.

The objective of reading the meanings of actor's behaviour reflected in the making and use of linguistic landscape elements requires researchers to turn to the major hypotheses offered by sociological theories of social action and consider their respective relevant validity in the present perspective.

Several distinct hypotheses or "structuration principles" (Ben-Rafael 2009: 44) are mentioned in the literature, namely:

1. *Good-reasons hypothesis* – (Boudon 1990) starts from the premise that social action is accounted for by rational consideration of alternates on the side of actors. Following this methodological-individualism approach, actors' considerations inform us about choices determined by interests in attainable goals, i.e. linguistic landscape item's relation to clients, sign's expected attractiveness and influence on eventual clients.

2. *Presentation of self hypothesis* – (Goffman 1963, 1981) analyses social action as determined by the drive of presentation of self on the part of actors. This approach is privileged by researchers who investigate the contemporary importance of ethnic communities which aspire to assert themselves on the public scene.

Participants are divided by aspiration to contrast themselves from others; identity markers of communities would imprint themselves strongly on linguistic landscapes.

According to Ben-Rafael (2009) these two principles outlined above are necessarily constitutive of the study of linguistic landscape especially in central urban areas dominated by consumerist values. However, he also adds two additional principles one can encounter in urban areas, namely, power-relations and collective identity.

3. *Power-relation hypothesis* – (Bourdieu 1983, 1993) contends that social reality is to be seen as consisting of interconnected, yet possibly more or less autonomous, fields of social facts structured by unequal power relations between categories of participants. The relation of different codes in the linguistic landscape i.e. which one predominates and which one holds a secondary importance should be explicable in terms of power relations between dominant and subordinate groups. Power-relations wherever they emerge as factors of regulation of social and political reality refer to the extent to which given actors are able to impose patterns of behaviours on others. We can speak of power-relations wherever the hegemony of a dominant culture diffuses and controls what is "nice" and "decent" and what is not (Ben-Rafael 2009). Such examples of hegemony power can be found in nearly all contemporary nation-states with the imposition of the national language in linguistic landscape items. While the privileged status of national languages is rarely questioned, things stand differently for second and third languages.

4. *Collective-identity hypothesis* – (Tajfel & Turner 1979, 1986) emphasises to whom the actor belongs and wishes to attract potential clients on the basis of common fellowship or likeness. Signs focus on conveying identity markers. It testifies for the special ties binding given actors with specific segments of the public. The more a setting qualifies for its definition as multicultural, the more linguistic landscape should allow room for items to express particular identities – in addition to, or on account of, the room left to symbols of overall-society solidarity (Ben-Rafael 2009: 47).

The four principles outlined above emphasise the way sociological theory may be able to contribute to the investigations of linguistic landscape. However, these principles do not necessarily share the same weight in the design of specific public signs so the linguistic landscape studies should reveal what principles prevail over others.

Background information

Miercurea Ciuc (Csíkszereda) is a small town with a population of about 38 thousand, with 81% of Hungarian minority population and 17.5% Romanian inhabitants. The region was selected first of all because of its multilingual nature and minority context.

We all know that Romania has one official language and that is Romanian. However, the use of minority languages in local public administration is mentioned in Art. 120, 2 of the Constitution that says:

> In the territorial-administrative units where citizens belonging to a national minority have a significant weight, provision shall be made for the oral and written use of that national minority's language in the relations with the local public administration authorities and the decentralized public services, under the terms stipulated by the organic law.

The passing of Law no. 215/2001 on local public administration provided Romania with a clearer legal framework for the use of minority languages in the public sphere at local level. According to this law, minority languages may be used orally and in writing in the local administrative units where citizens belonging to a national minority represent over 20% of the populations, in dealings between those citizens and the local authorities and in the replies given by the latter. In addition, minority languages should be used to inform persons belonging to national minorities of the agenda of and decisions taken at local authority meetings and, where one third of the local councils is comprised of representatives of minorities, during the council meetings themselves. The law also provides that local authorities should recruit persons with a good knowledge of the languages concerned to positions involving relations with the public (CoE 24.11.2005, §122 & 123).

Furthermore, as we could notice in the first paragraph of this section, Hungarian minorities constitute the local majority of the town. Thus it is interesting to look at the public signage bearing in mind the power relations between the two major local ethnic groups.

Research questions

This paper focuses on the use and visibility of different languages in Miercurea Ciuc (Csíkszereda). The sociolinguistic context in which the study was carried out is based on mainly one street and the centre of the town. The study of the linguistic landscape is very interesting in the context of minority languages such as Transylvania and more specifically the Szekler region to see the relative use of the different languages (Hungarian, Romanian, English or other) and the differences between official top-down and bottom-up signs and the use of English.

The specific research questions of this study are the following:

1. *Which are the languages displayed in the linguistic landscape of Miercurea Ciuc (Csíkszereda) and their relative weight?*
2. *What are bilingual and multilingual signs like?*

Methodology

The basic premise of linguistic landscape analysis is that visual language use in public spaces represents observable manifestations of circulating ideas about multilingualism (Shohamy 2006: 110). Methodologically, linguistic landscape analysis relies on photography and visual analysis. The core data gathering method is to engage in photography that thoroughly documents defined social spaces (Hult 2009: 90). These may include very specific geographical locations like train stations and their immediate surroundings (Backhaus 2006), specific neighborhoods (Huebner 2006), or a range of localities (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006). Generally, researchers conduct comprehensive photography of all visual language use in the social spaces selected for investigation.

The corpus of this study includes a partial inventory of the linguistic landscape of Miercurea Ciuc (Csíkszereda). The streets, areas selected for this study are the main street leading into the town from Odorheiu Secuiesc, namely the Harghita Street, which continues in the Kossuth Lajos Street, one of the main streets in the town crossing its centre. Other streets and areas selected were the pedestrian Petőfi Sándor Street, the Majláth-Gusztáv Square and the main market area, including the Piac (Market) Street.

Digital pictures were taken of texts that were visible on the street. A total of 198 pictures were taken. In many cases there were more pictures taken of a sign or group of signs. In the codification process an establishment stood for a unit of analysis. Thus, for example, if a bank or shop had its name on the front but also a number of advertising posters on the windows it was considered one sign or one unit. This decision is based on the fact that all signs in one establishment, even if they are in different languages, have been the result of the languages used by the same company and give an overall impression because each text belongs to a larger whole instead of being clearly separate.

The pictures were coded including variables such as type of sign, top-down or bottom-up sign, the number of languages on the sign, languages on the sign, first language on bilingual and multilingual signs and the type of font on bilingual and multilingual signs.

Results and Discussion

This section shows the results of this study which have been arranged so as to answer the two research questions (1) which languages are displayed and (2) the characteristics of bilingual and multilingual signs.

Research Question 1: Languages displayed

The first question about languages displayed concerns the number of languages used in each unit of analysis (sign) and the type of these languages, namely what kind of languages appear on the public signs. Looking at the collected data, it can be asserted that almost eighty per cent (78%) of the signs include two languages, 15% have only one language and 7% have three or more. According to these percentages, we can state that in Miercurea Ciuc most of the signs are bilingual.

From the total 198 pictures we can differentiate among official/top-down signs (n=16) and non-official/bottom-up signs (n=182). Looking only at the official signs it could be noticed that except one sign all were bilingual signs. One road sign (see Picture 1) warning drivers about their vehicle being removed if they park illegally involves four languages.

Picture 1. *Road sign in 4 languages warning drivers about their vehicle being removed in case of illegal parking*

The next issue related to the first question is the type of languages that are being used. The results are given below in Table 1:

Table 1. *Types and percentages of languages on public signs*

Nr. of languages	Types of languages	Percentage
monolingual	Romanian	7.0%
	Hungarian	5.5%
	English	2.0%
	Italian	0.5%
	TOTAL	**15.0%**
bilingual	Romanian/Hungarian	76.0%
	Romanian/English	1.3%
	Hungarian/English	0.7%
	TOTAL	**78.0%**
trilingual	Romanian/Hungarian/English	6.0%
	Romanian/Hungarian/Chinese	0.5%
	TOTAL	**6.5%**
quadrilingual	Romanian/Hungarian/English/German	0.5%

As the table above shows, we are dealing with a minority language, Hungarian; with a state language, Romanian and with English as an international language that has gained a certain presence. Other international languages such as German, Italian or Chinese take a modest place.

For the minority language and the state language we can observe that they appear in all types of signs, namely monolingual, bilingual, trilingual and quadrilingual. As far as English is concerned, it mostly appears on trilingual signs (6%). Taking into consideration all signs, the presence of English goes up to 10.5%. Other foreign languages have a very limited presence, with some signs including words in German, Italian or Chinese (one occasion of each).

We can conclude so far that Romanian and Hungarian are the dominant languages and the linguistic landscape reflects this fact. Hungarian as a minority language also has a clear presence and English is the most important as compared to other foreign languages.

The linguistic landscape seems to reflect the general sociolinguistic situation as well as the intensity of language policies for the use of minority languages in the local administration.

Research Question 2: The characteristics of bilingual and multilingual signs

In this section I will have a closer look at the composition of the multilingual signs. Some examples of these signs can be seen in Pictures 2, 3 and 4.

Picture 2. *Romanian-Hungarian text; Romanian partly deleted*

Picture 3. *Hungarian-Romanian text; Romanian text smaller text size and different fonts and colour, hardly visible*

Picture 4 *Romanian-Hungarian text; Hungarian text size very small, incorrect/partial translation*

We can analyse bilingual/multilingual signs according to the place the languages occupy on these signs, the amount of information given in each language and the characteristics of the translations. The way languages are displayed vis-à-vis each other will give us further information on the relative importance given to each language.

The paper will firstly discuss the place of the languages displayed on the public signs, namely the order of languages, the size and fonts of the letters for each language and the type and colour of the letters and texts.

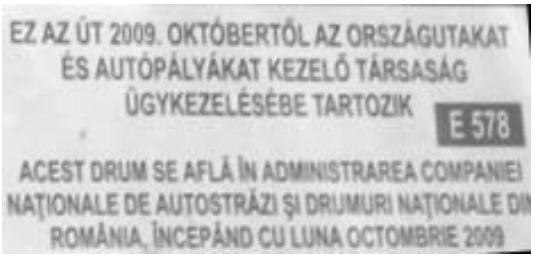
The first characteristic of the signs analysed was the order of languages on bi- and multilingual signs. The results corresponding to the first language that appeared on the signs show that Romanian constitutes the majority, with 52% followed by Hungarian as the first language on signs with 39% and English with 9%.

Again, looking at official signs, we can see that Romanian is the first language to appear on signs. However, there are a few exceptions among the data. Two official signs were found that included Hungarian as their first language. What is common in the two signs is that they were both created and placed by local authorities.

These cases show that in the majority of cases among official signs, the state language as the country's single official language is the first language of signs. This is followed by the minority language as the town reaches or exceeds the 20% of minority population. Yet, the two exceptional signs reveal that the town has a minority population that constitutes the local ethnic majority. Thus, certain signs appear with Hungarian language first, although I could find no consistency in the type of such signs. The two pictures containing Hungarian text first, are shown below:

Picture 5 *Street name sign*

Picture 6 *Road sign informing citizens that the road E578 is under National Road Administration from October 2009*



However, the order of languages does not always imply that the language that appears first is also the most prominent language on the sign. The size and fonts of lettering are also important characteristics to consider. Most commonly the size of the texts on bilingual and multilingual signs is the same but there are several examples where in spite of the fact that Romanian is the first language to appear on the sign, the Hungarian text is much larger and thus more visible. See for example Pictures 7 and 8.

Picture 7. *Driver's Education*

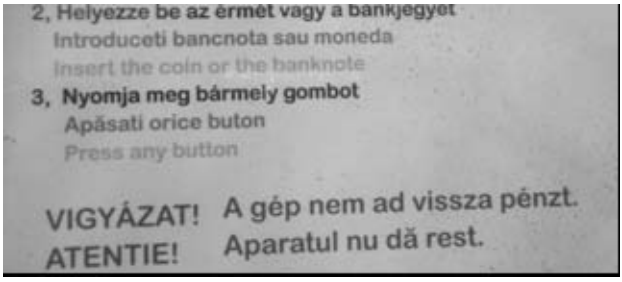
Picture 8. *Pharmacy*

Another characteristic of bi- and multilingual signs that were analysed was the amount of information given in each of the languages. The analysis showed that 71% of the signs gave the same amount of information in all languages they contained. 9% of the signs had more information in Romanian and Hungarian than in English (English being usually used as a slogan). In the case of Romanian-Hungarian bilingual signs, 13% of the pictures contained more information in Romanian (see Picture 9 as an example) and 8% of the signs contained more information in Hungarian.

Picture 9. *Romanian-Hungarian bilingual sign, with only one item translated*

A final characteristic included in the study was a focus on the use of translations in the signs. Apart from the general negligent characteristic of most of the signs encountered (missing accents, misspellings, etc.) translations present another problem in many cases. In the majority of cases, as it was mentioned above, the same amount of information is provided often using word-to-word translations. However, it was interesting to analyse partial translations or signs which contained different information in the two languages.

Picture 10. *Instructions on a parking ticket vending machine, warning drivers only in Hungarian and Romanian that the machine does not give change*



Picture 10 above presents several characteristics to be analysed from the point of view of the linguistic landscape. First, if we look at the number of languages, we can state that it is a trilingual sign. Second, taking a closer look at the order of languages and the text formats in each language, what can be seen is that Hungarian is the first language, followed by Romanian and English. The visibility of each

language matches the order of appearance, Hungarian being the most visible language and the intensity of the colour gradually fades from black to light grey. The information displayed on the machine is given in three languages, except one warning, that the machine does not give change. The respective warning appears in red colour with similar letter shapes in Hungarian first, then in Romanian.

Conclusions

Summarising the findings it can be said that there are several languages that are present in the signs in different proportions. Romanian and Hungarian are the dominant languages, while English is less prominent. It is mainly used in the names of commercial places or slogans.

The majority of the signs are bilingual and the presence of Hungarian monolingual signs or bilingual signs with Hungarian being more visible shows that Miercurea Ciuc is a Transylvanian town where minority Hungarian population constitutes the local ethnic majority.

This study shows that linguistic landscape has both informational and symbolic function. The informative function shown in the signs in the different languages indicates the language to be used in communication in shops and other businesses and also reflects the relative power of different languages.

The use of the different languages also has a symbolic function. According to Bourhis (1997: 27) the use of a specific language "can contribute most directly to the positive social identity of ethnolinguistic groups". The use of Hungarian is not only informative as people can get information in Romanian as well, but it has an important symbolic function which is related to affective factors and the feeling of Hungarian as a symbol of identity.

On the other hand, the use of English in commercial signs could be interpreted as informational mainly for foreign visitors but it is obvious that its increasing presence has a strong symbolic function for the local population. Using English can be perceived as more prestigious and modern than using the local languages (see also Piller 2001, 2003).

This study is limited to the analysis of linguistic signs in only a part of a small Transylvanian town, but shows the important role of the linguistic landscape and its relationship to the sociolinguistic situation and linguistic policy in multilingual contexts.

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Historical, Social and Cultural Setting for Romanian-Hungarian Contacts in 16th-Century Transylvania

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Abstract. All around the world there are different communities or language groups with specific contacts that influence each other's development. Theoretically we might delimitate homogeneous communities, practically, however, these would be only mental constructs as all groups are essentially heterogeneous. Even amongst communities that speak the same language and share the same culture there will be individual differences. One specific type of contact between two nations is that between a minority and the majority. My research focuses on this particular issue, referring to the contacts between Romanians and Hungarians in a peculiar geographical setting: Transylvania. Not only this space but also other factors (i.e. temporal, economic, etc.) play an important role in these contacts. During many centuries Romanians and Hungarians lived in symbiosis, especially in Transylvania, which led to numerous mutual influences: not only social or cultural ones but on linguistic level as well. My paper regards mainly the Hungarian influence on the Transylvanian Romanian society in that period. Thus, we can outline the influence upon the Romanian social system, their lifestyle or confessional / religious orientation, folk art and, generally, upon the Romanian language vocabulary (see the relation between Reformation and the first texts written in Romanian). All these were provided by geographical, historical and political factors that characterised Transylvania in the 16th century.

Keywords: space in ethnic contacts, Transylvania, Romanian-Hungarian symbiosis, cultural influence

Space may be regarded as a means of contacts between different communities and languages, it functions as a channel for influences to exert their pressure on these related groups. In terms of linguistic studies, however, it did not enjoy the same consideration as the other dimension: time. Even in dialectology researches[1] – with a long past – there was an obsession towards historicity, taking space as granted. "Space was treated as the dead, the fixed, the undialectical, the immobile. Time, on the contrary, was richness, fecundity, life, dialectic", Foucault declares (quoted in Britain 2003: 603). Although it may seem paradoxical that one of the social categories that has received the least attention of all is space, this is explainable by the long tradition of comparative-historical studies. A change of paradigm took place alongside linguistic geography. Space could no longer be viewed as an empty dimension in which different social groups develop but as a factor that contributes to the construction of the interaction systems. We might differentiate three types of spaces: the Euclidean objective, geometrical, physical space, the social space and the perceived one, which consists of attitudes towards space itself (Britain 2003: 604). Among these we will insist, in what follows, on the illustration of one social space in particular.

My research focuses on the peculiarities of the historical, social and cultural setting for Romanian-Hungarian contacts in the main contact zone that is Transylvania, trying to highlight the consequences of Hungarian influence upon Romanians. As we will see, the distinctive features of these relations are manifold.

1. Theoretical framework of contacts

All around the world between different communities or language groups there exist specific contacts that influence each other's development. Theoretically we might delimitate homogeneous communities, practically, however, these are pure mental constructs as all groups are essentially heterogeneous.[2] Even amongst communities that speak the same language and share the same culture there will be differences among individuals. Moreover, "No two persons – or rather, perhaps, no one person at different times – spoke exactly alike", as Bloomfield (1997: 79) puts it.

This explains the abundance of literature in contact researches. For a better understanding of the phenomena we should first insist on the concept of (linguistic) *community*, which has been defined in various ways. Initially, this notion was described based on linguistic boundaries, i.e., one language – one community, and

[1] For many decades approaches to space in dialectology limited their interest to the description of individual regions that differ from each other, to the drawing of maps that focuses on the delimitation of dialect boundaries without any concern to the interactions between these.

[2] The thesis regarding the homogeneity of communities – supported, among many others, by Chomsky – was denied by André Martinet (see Preface to Weinreich 1974: vii).

afterwards it was extended upon the socio-cultural aspects, as "La langue n'existe qu'en vertu de la société, de mème que les sociétés humaines ne sauraient exister sans langage" ("Language exists only by virtue of a society as human societies do not exist but within a language") (Meillet 1937: 18). For Labov, the (linguistic) community is a group of individuals who share a set of common social norms and attitudes towards language. Corder emphasises the importance of the speakers' awareness in sharing the same language. As for Gumperz, a community means a social group engaged in interaction, contact being necessary for it to exist (Duranti 1997).

Another important issue in describing contacts would be the delimitation of community boundaries. The geographical area is one of these. Lack of natural obstacles (such as mountains, seas, rivers, etc.) will naturally lead to contacts (Weinreich 1974: 90). Other criteria that function as boundaries might be ethnicity, culture (including language), religion, race, age, social status, occupation, rural or urban environment. According to Weinreich (1974: 92), for instance, religion is a more powerful impediment than language itself.

As for contact itself, the main factors that lead to their development are migrations, colonisations, wars, the attraction of specific (cultural) centres or cohabitation in the same geographical medium, according to Dauzat (1922: 136). In fact, contacts are the historical product of social forces – G. Sankoff (2003: 639) claims – that take place in situations of social *inequality*.[3] Thus, a specific type of contact is the one between a minority and the majority within the same region.

Therefore, contacts between communities are essentially the meeting of different cultures, language being part of it.[4] They may take the form of cooperation or conflict in accordance to the causes that stay behind them.

In the configuration of the *nature* and *importance* of Romanian-Hungarian contacts we will take into account the following factors: the temporal frame for these contacts – related to the historical background of the two nations; the cultural tendencies of the time, the commercial relationships between them, and, last but not least, some aspects of their language contacts.

There are many differences that naturally appear between the two nations. Among these there appears the geographical area occupied at the beginning of their contacts. Thus, Hungarians settled down on the plains, whereas Romanians inhabited mostly the mountain zones. Their main occupations are also related to this, shepherd's life being characteristic for Romanians, whereas Hungarians dealt with agriculture. Another distinction is based on religion, which is probably the

[3] In the same way, Ch. Bally considers contacts a "battle", i.e. an incomplete concordance between different convictions, tendencies (see Ch. Bally 1926: 30).

[4] "Languages are basically a part of culture, and words cannot be understood correctly apart from the local cultural phenomena for which they are symbols." (E. Nida, in Dell Hymes 1964: 97)

most relevant as it determined their cultural orientation, for Hungarians towards the Western civilisation through their Roman-Catholicism and for Romanians towards the Balkans by their Greek-Slav(onic) orthodoxism.[5] As for their languages, it is a well-known fact that they are, typologically and genetically, different.

Nevertheless, their paths were constantly interpenetrated. During their long-term cohabitation, the Romanian-Hungarian contacts showed many faces: mutual support when common interests,[6] relative tolerance towards or fiery battles against each other. These attitudes changed alongside the changing external conditions.

On the other hand, the particular nature of Romanian-Hungarian contacts derives not solely from the differences above but also from some cultural proximities.[7]

Among these similarities Pascu Ştefan places common people's way of life (Romanian, Hungarian but also Saxons of Transylvania) as well as their social-economic situation, which are reflected by some common features of their folk literature.[8] The concept of *Transylvanism* is also due to various similarities existent in the region, independent of ethnicity. Thus, besides geographical proximity there is also a spiritual proximity, which facilitates the diffusion and exchange of influences.

[5] Hence, their religious orientations explain Romanians being reluctant to Western influences. Hungarians, on the other hand, embraced European spiritual tendencies (such as Humanism, Reformation) almost at the same time as they appeared. (Tamás 1944: 338)

[6] Sometimes – when in similar conditions – Romanians and Hungarians fought together to obtain their rights (e.g. not only Romanian serfs were oppressed by the Hungarian nobility but also Hungarian ones); to reach freedom (e.g. common uprisings against the Austrians); for the idea of union (e.g. battles under the flag of Mihai Viteazul / Michael the Brave); emancipation or purely and simply to survive.

[7] An interesting remark by Béla Gunda (1943: 467) states that Transylvanian shepherds – regardless of their ethnicity – that crossed to Wallachia or Moldavia were called *ungureni* (Hungarians), and "those Romanian shepherds who speak both Romanian and Hungarian equally well, would not declare themselves 'Romanians', but simply 'Greek-Catholics'". However idealistic Béla Gunda's statement may appear, it implies the important role of Hungarians, which is in accordance to reality.

[8] "The Romanian, Hungarian and Transylvanian Saxon folk literatures have many common features and related contents because the lives of these common people as well as their socio-economic situation were also common" (Pascu 1983: 126). Regarding some interferences of themes and motifs in Romanian and Hungarian folklore, Păcurariu (1988: 92-98) even suggests a common archaic fund as the explanation for this osmosis of procedures. More likely, however, these interferences are due to mutual interest towards each other's spiritual life, customs, ballads, as a natural consequence of sharing the same region and of permanent contacts.

2. Historical context – Temporal limits of Romanian-Hungarian contacts

The main historical controversy regarding Romanian-Hungarian relations is that of *jus primi occupantis* (Păcurariu 1983: 65). Centuries of "symbiosis" in the same region naturally led to both of the nations claiming precedence and authority over the territory they have been living on. Romanian works insist on the continuity of Daco-Romanians in this region and try to avoid any kind of external influence which is viewed as a threat to this thesis. Hungarian specialists, on the other hand, offer a "solution" to this problem by re-defining the concept itself. Thus, the idea of continuity in itself is not denied but it is not regarded as a *territorial continuity* – the "nest" of Romanians is not only one, but several, due to continuous migrations, and they cover large distances. In this *mobile continuity* Transylvanian Romanians would be therefore just one halt (Bóna 1989: 167). As a matter of fact, whoever came first is irrelevant from the point of view of contacts as they are established from the moment the other one enters.

The temporal limits of the first contacts are similarly placed in different epochs. The majority of the specialists, however, agree that the beginnings are marked by the 9th century,[9] when the Hungarians settled on the territory of today's Hungary and, especially, the 10th-11th centuries, when they penetrated Crişana, Banat and Transylvania, the latter one being conquered by 1200 (Ivănescu 2000: 438).

Although the *absolute* limits of the beginning of the influences cannot be determined, two different stages might be distinguished: an older one (i.e., the first encounter of these two nations) and a more recent one (when the two got accustomed to each other).

As a matter of fact, a division into periods has been made on linguistic level by Mîndrescu (1892: 13), who distinguishes the age of Hungarian influence on the whole Daco-Romanian dialect, and that of a regional influence unfinished yet. In the same manner, G. Ivănescu (2000: 439) speaks of an older period (its limits being between the 10th–11th centuries, when Hungarians invaded Transylvania, and the 13th–14th centuries of Hungarian domination respectively), the other period being that of Hungarian lexical influence (from the 14th century to the end of the feudal system).

Probably the most striking consequences of Romanian-Hungarian contacts can be noticed from the 14th century – "the golden age" of Hungarian political power placing itself on the third place among European Late Medieval authorities (see the reign of the Anjou kings – Tamás 1944: 342). This contributed to some Western institutions penetrating into Romanian environment much more easily through Hungarian intermediation. Some aspects of knight and court life, of feudal

[9] "Hungarians penetrated their new homeland in 896, through the Valleys of Tisa, Bistrița and Mureș. They will conquer Transylvania later on, in the eleventh century." (Rosetti 1950: 88)

order, the organisation of urban life or some of the trades are examples of these Hungarian models borrowed by Romanians.

Romanian historians often lay stress upon the Hungarian oppression they suffered. It might seem paradoxical that for many decades the Romanian population – although numerically surpassed the rest of Transylvanian nations – had been declared only "tolerated" by the three "privileged" ones: the Hungarian nobility, the Saxon patricians and the chieftain of militarised Szeklers (Păcurariu 1988: 66). We have to point out, however, that the Hungarian kingdom created a dispute not only with Romanians but also with the other neighbouring populations. It is true that the conditions Romanian serfs lived in during Hungarian reign were quite hostile but this is also true for Hungarian ones. Furthermore, this explains the "folk solidarity" of the two from time to time, when they united their forces facing a common danger. Common uprisings, the peasants' war led by Dózsa György in 1514 were such occasions that allowed the relations between them to grow deep.

3. Peculiarities of the geographical space of Transylvania

Interethnic relations take place in *contact zones*, i.e., a social space where different human groups, previously separated by geographical or historical conditions, "come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict." (Duranti 2006: 50) The spatial diffusion of these contacts is not hazardous but following some principles, directions. The eastern (Moldavia) and southern (Wallachia) Romanian territories had been dominated for a long time by Slavonic culture, unlike Transylvania, which had been strongly influenced by Hungarian culture (and language). Thus it is easy to assume that Hungarian elements entered the Romanian circuit first in Transylvania and afterwards they reached beyond the (Carpathian) Mountains (Niculescu 2005: 113). Romanian-Hungarian cultural and linguistic contacts in Transylvania have a few distinctive features among which the *Magyarization* [*Hungarianisation*] of a small part of Romanians attracted by material advantages.

The cultural and civilisation landscape of Transylvania distinguishes itself by its complexity – a multiethnic and multilingual area – and other regional properties. Nonetheless, it was not isolated from the other two principalities to which it had been economically, politically or culturally related. Its importance can be described precisely in terms of these relations.

Geographically, Transylvania's surface is considerable – it covers almost half of the country's territory (Pascu 1983: 9) – with a varied natural landscape combining almost all types of relief: mountains, hills, plains, fertile fields and also rich in minerals (ore). This kind of geographical position – a real natural fortress – was favourable not only for strategic functions or providing the inhabitants' living

but also for contacts, especially economic ones through the circulation of merchandise.

As for its history, Transylvania had a turbulent past being continuously invaded by migratory populations such as: Visigoths, Huns, Ostrogoths, Gepids, Avars. The continuity of Daco-Romanians, however, was interrupted not only by the Saxon tribes, which invaded in two waves, first in the 6th, then in the 8th century, and which had a great impact on Romanian language and civilisation. A similar effect was produced by Hungarians who, unlike the former, were not assimilated by Romanians. Nonetheless, all these determined, in one way or another, the ethno-genesis of Romanians, which was finished in its essence by the 7th–8th centuries.

On the other hand, Transylvania's troubled history is also due to several inner conflicts, such as uprisings, at Bobâlna, for instance, or battles fought for unity under Mihai Viteazul (Michael the Brave), for example, – occasions for Romanians and Hungarians to be on the same side. Conflicts between them will develop for reasons of national and religious oppression, especially during Habsburg occupation – Romanians being only tolerated among Hungarians, Saxons and Szeklers and their religion (orthodoxism) not being among the accepted ones. These conditions created a break off in their relations.

On a linguistic level, Transylvania can be outlined as a multilingual area. There was a time when there were three official languages: Romanian, Hungarian and German. Additionally, the influences of Slav(onic) and Latin were also quite strong due to religious conditions.

As mentioned before, Transylvanian people were not isolated but in permanent contacts with the neighbouring principalities sustained by emigrants and also by the policy of Moldavian and Muntenian (Wallachian) voivodes.[10] Emigrations of Transylvanian Romanians were caused by several factors, among which the oppression of the serfs by Hungarian nobility, their vengeance after the falling of uprisings, persecution of the orthodox "heretics" by the Catholic Church. These injustices, exploitations, the unbearable life of the poor, in general, made a part of them emigrate to one of the two principalities – with large territories and small population –, which promised better life conditions and some liberties.

Thus, Hungarian influence left its mark not only on Transylvania but also on Moldavia. The political boundaries of this principality – established in the Middle Ages as Hungarian vassal – had changed many times. Not only once did Hungarian refugees find their home here. Their presence here in the 14th–15th centuries is attested by documents as well as their influence on the organisation of Moldavian

[10] See some of Alexandru Lăpuşneanu's initiatives who thought to free Transylvania with Turkish help or the fortress of Ciceu being protected by Moldavian voivodes (Meteş 1977: 80).

urban structure,[11] on the development of trades and professions. In its Golden Ages, Hungarian colonists were given certain privileges, being involved in court life. What is more, for a short period of time Hungarian was the official language of the court (Pozsony 2002: 31). A special case of Romanian-Hungarian contacts in Moldavia is that of the Csango people. Many hypotheses have been made regarding their origin – some of them do not correspond to reality – but I agree with Ferenc Pozsony in that there is more than one stratum in this ethnic group. Its fundamental layer consists of Hungarians from the Carpathian Basin, they settled down in Moldavia during the medieval Hungarian reign as a result of a planned colonisation policy, i.e., for the defence of the eastern boundaries. To this we will add the Hussite refugees in the 15th century and waves of Szeklers from Transylvania.

4. Socio-cultural setting

A first distinction has to be made between direct vs. indirect contact. Sextil Puşcariu (1929-1930: 520-524) claims that Romanians did not get into direct contact with Hungarians from the beginning, but there was a *Slav(onic) zone* between them as a means of intermediation. This contact through Slav(onic) intermedium is sustained (based on linguistic material) also by Petrovici (1948: 188-189), who claims that Romanian-Hungarian direct contacts exist only from the 12th century, which marks the end of the assimilation process of the Slavs in Transylvania. It is true that Romanian contacts with the Slavs preceded those with Hungarians but I do not consider this to be an obstacle in the way of direct contacts.

4.1. The role of commercial relations

It is undeniable that commercial relations are a means of cultural and language contacts between two social groups and that its consequences are beyond being solely economic. The book by Ştefan Meteş, *Relaţiile comerciale ale Ţerii - Româneşti cu Ardealul până în veacul al XVIII-lea* [*Commercial relationships between Wallachia and Transylvania till the 18th century*] is precisely about these commercial relations.

We can assume that the Romanians, a nation of mainly shepherds and farmers, provided the neighbouring territories with cattle and their products, respectively with raw products in exchange of handicraft articles. The commercial roads departed from the big Transylvanian Saxon commercial centres (Sibiu,

[11] See references to cities, markets, villages in Moldova with Hungarian population in Pozsony 2002: 25-31.

Braşov)[12] or Banat and followed the flow of rivers and valleys, crossing the Carpathians. Alongside these roads there were formed markets and halting places as opportunities for vivid contacts, exchange of goods, experiences, knowledge (e.g., professions). Some political issues however would restrain these commercial relations, when roads are shut down.[13]

4.2. The effects of contacts on the way of life

The Hungarian influence during many centuries of cohabitation determined, directly or indirectly, Romanian culture with respect to the way of life, to its social or confessional organisation. "Hungarian influence did not remain on the surface, but it reached the deepest layer of Romanian spirituality", Béla Gunda (1943: 479) states. Thus, he mentions that Transylvanian Romanians – under Hungarian influence – change their religion, turning to Roman Catholicism or Reformation unlike Hungarians in Moldavia, for instance, who even strongly influenced by Romanians, keep their religion despite the orthodox majority (Gunda 1943: 471).[14] Furthermore, Romanians borrow from Hungarians other elements of social life as well, such as the village structure in the plains, some elements from the domains of nourishment[15] or clothing.[16]

4.3. Religious movements and their influence on contacts

In terms of religious life, "Hungarians contributed – directly or indirectly – to the orientation towards the feudal, Catholic, Latin-Italian-German medieval Europe" of Romanians (Niculescu 2005: 126).[17] Religious movements in Transylvania may be discussed related to the appearance of the first printed texts written in Romanian. As a matter of fact, Mihăilă (1984: 53) considers the introduction of typography in Transylvania – which is simultaneous with the advance of new religions – a moment of "synchronisation" with other European states, as it occurs in less than a century after the Gutenberg invention. At the same time, Transylvania thus becomes one of the first typography centres of Eastern Europe. The most important religious movements to be mentioned here are Catholicism, Hussitism and Protestantism (with

[12] For a detailed list of these roads, halts and markets see Meteş 1920: 12-26.
[13] When the two voivodes of these principalities were in conflict, it would affect the economic life through trade (idem. 47).
[14] See also several Hungarian motifs in Romanian churches but not the other way round.
[15] The orientation of Romanians towards Hungarian cuisine (Gunda 1943: 476).
[16] Some elements of Hungarian embroidery or national costume appear on Romanian clothes, especially on those worn by the nobility (Gunda 1943: 477).
[17] Niculescu refers here to the introduction of Catholicism, some administrational aspects and to the Calvinism which are due to Hungarian medium.

its two orientations: Lutheranism and Calvinism). In their spread among Romanians, Hungarians played a major role. They might also be related to the origins of writing in Romanian (Gheție 1985: 77-89).

Catholicism was first introduced in Transylvania by Hungarians and sometimes imposed by force by the rulers. It also spread to Wallachia and Moldavia – especially when they were under the influence of the Hungarian crown as it was the official religion of the kingdom. Thus, the contribution of Hungarians in adopting this religion is undeniable. However, it did not support the use of Romanian in writing.

Hussitism, on the other hand, encouraged the national language use for religious purposes (although we do not have any documents left attesting this). This religious and socio-cultural movement from the beginning of the 15th century oriented against papacy and German feudal lords was spread among Romanians by Hungarian immigrants who settled, temporarily or definitively, in Moldavia and Transylvania, being persecuted by the Inquisition.

Under the patronage of Transylvanian Lutheranism the first religious texts appear written in Romanian. Most of them are translations for many of which specialists proposed Hungarian originals. Here there are a few examples of these: *Catehismul luteran* [*Lutheran Catechism*] from Sibiu (1544), based on a Hungarian Lutheran text,[18] or Coresi's *Catehismul* [*The Catechism*] (1560), for which a Hungarian source was suggested by Drăganu, Panaitescu, Rosetti and also by Al. Mareş (Gheție and Mareş 1985: 228).

Probably the most substantial influence exerted by Hungarians on Romanian culture and language is with respect to Calvinism. It was mostly present in Banat-Hunedoara, in the 16th century and among its contributions we may place *Cazania I, Molitvenicul* (c. 1567), *Psaltirea* and *Liturghierul* (1570), *Cartea de cântece* [*Song Book*] and the most important of all: *Palia from Orăştie* (1582), the first Romanian translation of the Bible, having a Hungarian model.

Thus, the preoccupation for the use of Romanian in writing – especially using the Latin alphabet (see *Cartea de cântece*) and for the "nationalization"[19] of the church, in general, is mainly due to Reformation. The role of Hungarians in this process was that of an intermedium in the popularisation of the doctrines, offering at the same time a model to follow. They also financially supported the printing of Romanian religious books.

[18] N. Sulică motivates his choice by the fact that "There was no one among the Romanians of the time who would have spoken German sufficiently to translate directly from Luther" (in Gheție and Mareş 1985: 222). This argument, however, seems questionable. At any rate, the problem remains unsolved as long as we do not have the possibility of verifying this theory since no copies of the text survived.

[19] "Nationalization", a term by Gheție (1974: 26), here stays for the imposing of Romanian in liturgy and in writing.

As far as sixteenth-century Transylvania is concerned, Lutheranism, Calvinism and Unitarianism existed alongside; Catholicism did not disappear either and there were orthodox communities as well.

5. Romanian-Hungarian language contacts

When two languages get in contact they naturally influence each other. Interference and bilingualism are some of the results. In the domain of phonetics, some phonetic changes can be signalled – such as palatalisation of dentals – that might be regarded as a consequence of Hungarian influence. The domain *par excellence* of linguistic interferences is, of course, vocabulary. There are many Hungarian borrowings in Romanian but their influence is not only on the lexical level as they became part of the Romanian linguistic system itself. Regarding these lexical items and their importance we should highlight a few aspects as follows. As known, there is a connection between space and language use. In terms of Hungarian borrowings, we shall differentiate between words that have a spatial distribution on the whole Daco-Romanian dialect and those limited to some particular regions.[20] Furthermore, the closer to the direct contact zone, the more "foreign" words enter the vocabulary, but also the more easily they perish. As we move away to other regions, on the other hand, we find fewer borrowings but these once introduced would be much more resistant as they had gone through a long process of adaptation. Thus, Hungarian borrowings were used as a means of Romanian texts' dating and localisation, although these items might not belong to the region were the texts were written or found later on, but to the region where the writer himself comes from. Either way, dialectal differences of Romanian language based on words of Hungarian origin can be distinguished and, as a matter of fact, this was already pointed out in the 17th century by chroniclers.[21] Furthermore, interesting results may be obtained from toponyms that might stand not only for territorial boundaries but also for temporal delimitation of contacts. However, some of these toponyms are controversial. There are specialists who claim that the names of places or rivers such as Bistrița (Beszterce), Cluj (Kolozsvár), Bălgrad, today Alba Iulia (Fehérvár) were borrowed by Hungarians from the Slavs and by Romanians from the former. This cannot be sustained – as Ivănescu (2000: 438)

[20] For a long time specialists insisted upon the unity of Daco-Romanian dialects claiming that the differences would be insignificant. However, this cannot be sustained because regional distinctive features – especially phonetic ones – are considerable. The truer it is for the 16th century. For the territorial distribution of Hungarian borrowings see Gheție and Mareș 1974.

[21] Such as Simion Ștefan or Ioan Zoba from Vinț. The latter one gives some examples of Hungarian borrowings used regionally accompanied by their synonyms (also in Romanian). Here are a few examples where the first words are of Hungarian origin: "*oca – pricina au adeverința*" [reason]; "*alean - împotrivă*" [against]; "*hasna - folosul*" [use] (Dimitrescu 1973: 49).

demonstrates – because, in that case the phonetic adaptation would have resulted in the forms of *Coloşoara, *Feieroara by analogy with Timişoara (Temesvár), Sighişoara (Segesvár), which indeed were established and named by Hungarians. Hence, the explanation for these toponyms is that Hungarians translated into their language the names above, which had already existed in Romanian and Slavonic (Ivănescu 2000: 438). Nevertheless, there are other toponyms for which the Hungarian origin is certain. Between the 11th and 13th centuries Hungarians were the founders of some cities in Banat, Crişana and Transylvania and transmitted their names to the Romanians, such as: Timişoara, Hunedoara, Arad, Oradea, Sătmar, Sighet, Zalău, Sebeş, Odorhei, Sighişoara. Then in the 13th and 14th centuries, penetrating beyond the Carpathian Mountains, they established cities and towns in Oltenia, Wallachia and Moldavia such as: Bacău, Adjud, Suceava – deriving from the name of a Hungarian trade (*szűcs*, i.e., furrier, fur merchant) as many chroniclers stated, – named rivers: Ozana, and mountains: Căliman, Harghita, Hăşmaşii, Ceahlău, Tarcău, Rarău (Ivănescu 2000: 441).[22] In the same period the name of the region Maramureş was also created by the Hungarian reign.

Last but not least, we will mention a few common names as well. These may be grouped in different semantic classes as well as in terms of their connection with the Hungarian economic, social or cultural influences.[23] It is remarkable that many of them deeply penetrated into contemporary Romanian language and its spirituality. It is interesting, for instance, that in contemporary Romanian there is no verb of Latin origin that expresses the notion of "thinking",[24] not even Slavonic ones. Almost all the verbs that mean *to think* are of Hungarian origin: *a (se) gândi*, *a (se) chibzui*. Other examples for Hungarian borrowings which took roots deeply in Romanian[25] and without which everyday communication or even praying[26] would not be the same are: related to the body: *talpă* (<*talp* – sole of the foot), *labă* (<*láb* – paw), *chip* (<*kép* – face, image), some verbs: *a alcătui* (<*alkotni* – to create), *a cheltui* (<*költeni* – to spend money), *a îngădui* (<*engedni* – to allow), *a locui* (<*lakni* – to reside), or other aspects of life: *fel* (<*féle* – manner, way, kind of), *oraş* (<*város* – city), *marfă* (<*marha* – goods), etc. Then again others of this kind could not be eliminated either by their neological "rivals" during the centuries as a sign of their being part of the Romanian mentality – in part because these

[22] For a detailed presentation of Romanian toponyms see Drăganu 1933.

[23] See Niculescu's (2005: 117-124) and Tamás 's (1944: 343-376) classifications.

[24] The verb *a cugeta* (to reflect, to meditate) has a kind of specific value, not a general one.

[25] One indicator for this may be the fact that the word enters Romanian phrases (collocations): *a da în vileag* (to make known), or for the words *seamă*, *fel*, for instance, there are numerous phrases.

[26] See some versions of the Lord's Prayer (*Tatăl Nostru*) in the Gospel of Matthew: „Şi nu ne duce pe noi în ispită / ci ne mântuieşte de cel rău" – "And lead us not into temptation, / but deliver us from evil". *A mântui* (< Hung. menteni) means *to save, to redeem.* In the literary version there is the form *izbăveşte.*

borrowings carry the biblical origin as they were known from religious texts: *a îngădui* (Fr. permite) – to allow, *a făgădui* (Fr. promite) – to promise, *pildă* (Fr. exemplu) – example.

As for bilingualism, I have already mentioned the case of the Csangos but here could be included also groups of immigrants or tradesmen. In the 16th century we might also suppose Romanian-Hungarian bilingualism propagated by the circulation of books (see translations above).

6. Conclusions

On the whole, Romanian-Hungarian contacts during centuries of "symbiosis" are characterised by dualism: sometimes being arms brothers (a kind of "folk solidarity"), other times cooperating by commercial means or being enemies: "Hungarians covetously and antagonistically stood against Romanians", Iorga says (in Meteş 1977: 335). The hostility towards each other becomes more severe especially after 1600 and it will also have ideological consequences.

The historical, social and cultural setting served as support for the configuration of Hungarian influence on Romanians. We might ask then: what is special about it? How does it distinguish from Romanians' contacts with other nations?

Well, first of all, it stands out through its *complexity, length* and *importance* as it has been a long-term contact. This explains researchers' constant preoccupation with this issue and has led to many controversies in different (historical, linguistic) domains.

For a long time, Hungarian influence was regarded as a "national danger" and it was reduced or its importance was denied. Situated beside Slav(onic) influence (also a "foreign" one, as a matter of fact), a compromise was proposed: that of Hungarian influence through *mediation*. Although there are some common aspects,[27] the Hungarian influence is distinct from the Slav(onic) one based on some temporal, geographical and especially circumstantial aspects.

The first one embraced the Transylvanian regions, whereas the latter one exerted more intensely in Moldavia and Wallachia (Gafton 2007: 112). The Slavs' initial (temporal) advantage was counterparted by their gradual assimilation by Romanian communities. On the linguistic level, the Slav(onic) influence was exerted right after the formation of Romanian (or coinciding with its end), whereas the Hungarian one is subsequent.

Hungarian influence was exerted on horizontal level (in the epoch) and on the vertical one too (in evolution). It begins as a regional influence (starting from Transylvania) and it penetrates into the whole Daco-Romanian dialect. Hungarians

[27] See the comparative studies of Pătruț (1958: 63-74); Gafton (2007: 107-130).

induced, directly or indirectly, many social and cultural transformations in the Romanian society. Adopting another way of life – renouncing the moving of flocks (especially sheep) in exchange for rearing – is due to Hungarian influence, as Tamás (1944: 366) says; then Hungarians settled in Transylvania influenced the development of the feudal system in the intra-Carpathian basin – according to Horedt (1958: 109) – as the institution of principality was first a Hungarian form of organisation. With respect to the cultural life, the role of Hungarians can be pointed out in promoting Reformation among Romanians, which also contributed to the appearance of the first texts written in Romanian.

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Interethnic Spaces of Serbian and Hungarian Language Use in Vojvodina

A Language Attitude Study[1]

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Abstract. This study elaborates on the attitudes of the informants towards Hungarian and Serbian languages in situations that seem useful. It does not refer to how the languages are used, but it only shows the informants' opinions about it. Both in the case of Hungarian and Serbian the informants talk about the same interethnic spaces, however, concerning frequency, there are great differences. In our opinion the frequency of the guidelines in the study is in direct proportion to the language use. The study discusses interethnic spaces because the ratios do not approach 100% in any case. This means that the rate does not emphasise the exclusive use of one or the other language or their importance, and does not exclude the interethnic nature of the language scene. None of the guidelines in Hungarian stand out as the ratio does in the cases of public matters and the offices in the aspect of Serbian. Informants consider Hungarian the most useful inside the family, but Serbian in managing public matters. These settings are the most common interethnic spaces.

Keywords: interethnic spaces, language attitude, survey, Hungarian, Serbian

1. Introduction

This study, based on the questionnaires collected, presents the interethnic fields of 16 Hungarian settlements where the Hungarian and Serbian language use seems equally important. The research has been conducted in the course of the

[1] The study has been written as a project no. 178017 of the Serbian Ministry of Education and Science.

language attitude study. It gives an insight not into the real language use, but – as it is common in attitude studies in sociolinguistics – it talks about the beauty of the languages or their variations, assesing the usefulness of the language and its position (Kovács Rácz 2011).

The language attitude study that was done among the Hungarians in Vojvodina is a product of a well-planned, organised research. The idea came as a continuation of the Hungarian (Kontra 2003, 2006), Transylvanian (Péntek 1998), Transcarpathian (Csernicskó 1998), Upper Hungarian (Lanstyák 2000; Sándor 2000, 2001) and Vojvodinian (Göncz 1999a, 1999b) researches. However, we also studied the language attitude of the minorities living in Hungary like the Romanians (Borbély 2000a, 2000b, 2002, 2003a, 2003b), the Germans (Bindorffer 2004), the Slovaks (Gyivicsán 1993) and the Romani (Pálmainé 2007, 2008).

This study is part of the sociolinguistic study about the Hungarian language attitude research of the Carpathian Basin. Its aim is to show the viewpoint of the Hungarian informants in attitude researches in Vojvodina. Nevertheless, it also reflects on the attitudes of Hungarians towards Serbian and their own language, and through this it describes and classifies the interethnic spaces that emerged according to the utility standpoint. Our open question was: "Give us your opinion about why and in which situations you think the Hungarian language is useful." We asked the same question about the Serbian language.

Both personal life conversations and the language of the public communication are connected to the interethnic spaces in Vojvodina. This is why language usage among the Hungarians in Vojvodina is in tight bond with the Serbian language (Göncz 1999a, Kovács Rácz 2011). In a previous survey, the locations of interethnic spaces were examined from the familial sphere to more public fields (Kovács Rácz 2011). Since we conducted a language attitude survey, it is important to emphasise that these interethnic spaces are not based upon real language usage, but on the opinions and viewpoints of the informants about the usefulness of Hungarian and Serbian. Communicating with a person from the clergy – according to the informants – seems to be an interethnic space in the least among Hungarians in Vojvodina, because 98% of the informants speak only or mostly Hungarian in these situations. Moreover, 89% of the informants speak Hungarian inside the family with their spouse, 92% with their children, 45% in the company of their friends, 42% with their superior, 17% at the bank or at the post office and only 6% use Hungarian exclusively or mostly with an official. Interethnic spaces, regarding the usefulness of Hungarian, are most common at workplace or in the company of friends. The higher (or the lower) the percentage showing the frequency of the language use is, the less we can talk about interethnic spaces because in these cases the language use is shifted towards one or the other language.

We are going to show interethnic spaces that are – according to the informants – settings of speaking situations of private life, on the one hand, and of public life, on the other. During the survey, 1165 informants made statements about speaking situations where they expressed their opinions on the importance of both Hungarian and Serbian. The conversational situation scenes are interethnic spaces connecting the Hungarian and Serbian nations. They were indicated by the Hungarians who live in the cluster and in the diaspora in Vojvodina. Our aim is to draw a parallel between the opinions of the Hungarians living in the cluster and those living in the diaspora. With this research our aim is to contribute to the cognition of the language attitude of the Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin. The described interethnic spaces give us additional information to this. Our further aim is to elaborate on the different opinions of the Hungarians living in cluster and diaspora in Vojvodina. It is a quite important sociolinguistic aspect regarding Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin.

2. Hungarian cluster, Hungarian diaspora and Hungarian isolate in Vojvodina

It is not an easy task to define the words *Hungarian cluster* and *Hungarian diaspora*, because they have already appeared in different approaches in the specialised literature (Barlai–Gábrity 2008). Researchers took into consideration the population number, the administrative units (e.g. the Hungarian local governments have assumed the existence of the Hungarian cluster until recently), as well as the Hungarian secondary schools (Fülöp–Kolozsvári 1995). Our definition is based on Jenő Barlai's and Irén Gábrity Molnár's definition stating that:

> Hungarian clusters exist in North Bačka and North Banat. In these two regions they comprise almost half of the population (approx. 45%) (their total number here is 165,732). 57% of southern Hungarians[2] live here. The other regions' turning into a diaspora is inevitable. (Barlai-Gábrity 2008: 17)

The previously mentioned authors mark Subotica municipality as the largest Hungarian cluster, since 57,000 Hungarians live here in the area.

According to the 2002 national census – because we do not have the results of the 2011 census yet – we conducted the survey in the following Hungarian speaking settlements:

Cluster: Subotica (Szabadka), Čantavir (Csantavér), Mali Iđoš (Kishegyes), Senta (Zenta), Čoka (Csóka);

[2] Hungarians in Vojvodina (editor's note).

Diaspora: Kula (Kúla), Zrenjanin (Nagybecskerek), Rusko Selo (Kisorosz), Novi Sad (Újvidék), Srbobran (Szenttamás), Temerin, Jermenovci (Ürményháza), Novi Itebej (Magyarittabé), Torda, Hetin (Tamásfalva);

Isolate: Ivanovo (Sándoregyháza).

Ivanovo, Skorenovac (Székelykeve) and Vojlovica (Hertelendifalva) are settlements that belong to the South Banat district. They are surrounded by Serbian population and they form a native and dialectical isolate in the sub-Danubian region.

This grouping considers only the ratio of the population and does not dwell on administrative units (local governments) and educational possibilities.

3. The more useful language

The importance of the guidelines considering languages are also language attitudes, and they belong to the realm of language prestige, like the judgement of language beauty, the degree of difficulty and language knowledge. Language attitude is the opinion about the language or its variation that can be positive or negative (Kovács Rácz 2011: 11).

During the survey, the informants gave their reasons to the situations where they thought their mother tongue was important. Some situations agree with the theories mentioned before in the *Introduction* and they consist of several interethnic spaces that mark the location. The informants' answers are shown in the chart. The locations of the interethnic spaces are classified into thematic units according to the communicational situations previously mentioned.

3.1. Interethnic spaces in connection to the usefulness of the Hungarian in Vojvodina

Table 1. The thematic groups of the interethnic spaces (Source: the author's own calculations)

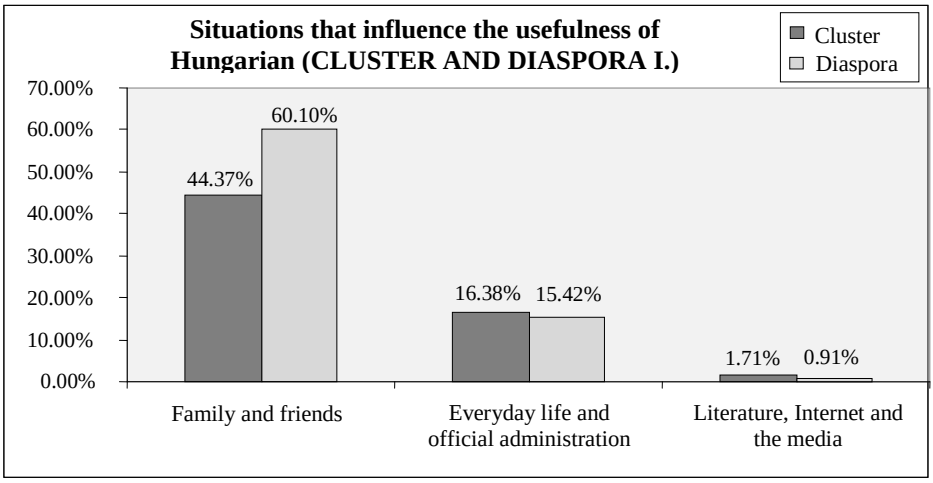
Interethnic fields	Cluster	Diaspora
Family and friends	130	265
Everyday life and official administration	48	68
Literature, Internet and the media	5	4
Environment and communication	52	54
Every time and everywhere	34	14
Culture, education and healthcare	24	36
Answers	293	441

According to the answers received, we have formed the following groups according to the usefulness of Hungarian:

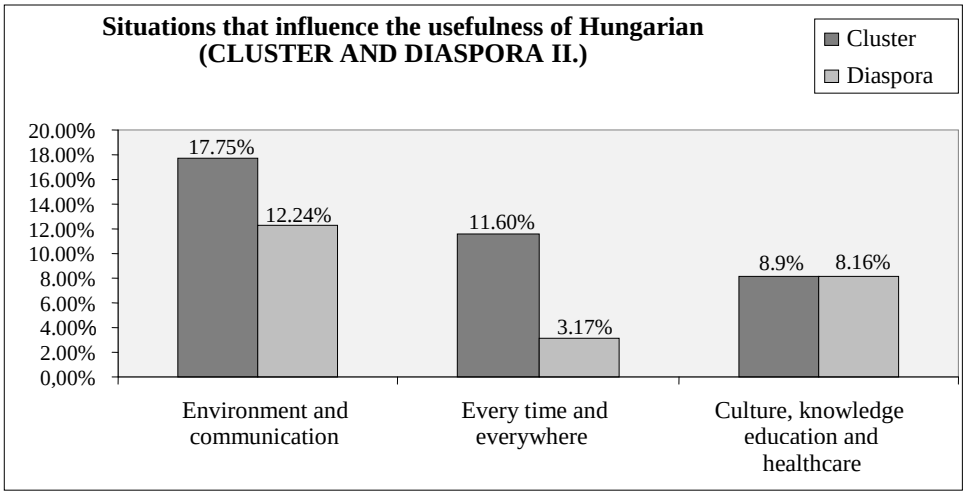
1. *Family, friends and entertainment* are settings of personal life therefore they are in the same thematic group.
2. In the *Everyday life and official administration* category we meet the following situations in the informants' answers: shopping in the stores or at the markets, practising religion in the church, professional lectures in public places, being at the office, managing public matters inside the settlement and in public places. Managing public matters inside a settlement is an important and distinguished category in our case because the Hungarian population is able to use its language according to the ratio of the Hungarians in the settlement.
3. *The Media (television and radio) and the Internet* are tightly connected therefore they are in the same group. The media and the Internet inform us about both literary and specialised research matters.
4. The word 'environment' partly indicates an exact geographical area (e.g. in Bačka), partly places close to one's residence (conversation with neighbours and other street conversations), and partly indicates language environment (places where Hungarian can be spoken in Vojvodina). We also experience interethnic fields geographically during our travels. This consideration justified placing Hungarian used during travelling in this thematic group.
5. The *Every time and everywhere* category consists of language usage that is effective in every situation and in every position, and it also appears in informants' answers. However, this category does not include specific interethnic space indication, but universal field indication, so we define it as a general field. We have created it according to the informants' following answers:
    a) Hungarian is important in every situation;
    b) "It should be used in all cases"
6. Culture, education and expertise are tightly connected, healthcare and education are also part of the society therefore they are mentioned in the same thematic group.

3.2. Differences of the interethnic spaces in the utility motives of the Hungarian cluster and diaspora in Vojvodina

Graph 1. Interethnic spaces in the answers of the Vojvodinian Hungarians living in cluster and diaspora I.



Graph 2. Interethnic spaces in the answers of the Vojvodinian Hungarians living in cluster and diaspora II.



Those who live in the diaspora claim in a 15.63% higher ratio that using Hungarian is useful among the family members and friends, than those who live in

the cluster. However, at the workplace, during shopping, professional lectures, practising religion, managing public matters and street talk, those who live in the cluster state in a higher ratio the usefulness of the Hungarian language**.** The smallest difference between the cluster's and the diaspora's opinion is found in culture, education, healthcare, literature, the Internet and the media sections. The biggest difference in answers concerning Hungarian, however, is in the *Family and friends* and in the *Every situation* sections. In the diaspora – unlike in the cluster – people think that culture, education and the healthcare are the areas where Hungarian is more useful. They do not think that they should use this language in every situation.

3.3. Interethnic spaces and Serbian

The Hungarians living in Vojvodina also stated the situations where they thought Serbian was useful. 71% of the informants answered this question. The received answers were organised in themathic groups like in the case of the guidelines to the importance of Hungarian. Interestingly, the informants chose the same situations as they had done related to the importance of Hungarian; the only difference was that the frequency ratios were not the same.

1. *Among family members and friends* the informants consider Serbian useful if there are people with them whose mother tongue is this language. Compared to the same group connected to Hungarian – the number of the answers show huge differences as in the case of Hungarian where there were 395 answers. As in the case of Serbian there were only 22 answers. So the majority of the informants think that Hungarian is more useful among family members and friends.

The Family sphere (71.39%) and the Circle of friends (26.83%) shows the use of Hungarian in much larger percentage than in the case of Serbian, where it can be seen that the previously mentioned situation appears only in four cases. Concerning Serbian, the national constitution of the circle of friends is mentioned in 81.82% of the answers. This interethnic space in the situations where Hungarian is useful shows 3.04% rate. There are no data concerning Serbian in the "Personal life and entertainment" sphere.

2. In *Everyday life and official administration* thematic group in the informants' answers "Managing public matters" is the sphere where Serbian is mostly useful**.** If we look at Hungarian inside the same group, using the language in everyday life appears most frequently (44.83%), which is followed by the use of Hungarian inside the settlement (21.55%) and at the workplace (18.10%). Using Hungarian in managing public matters was considered useful only in four cases. The medium inside the settlement is not included among Serbian interethnic spaces, however, its frequent everyday use (5.88%) shows much less ratio than in the case of Hungarian. This can be explained by the fact that the Hungarians in

Vojvodina communicate in their mother tongue when they are in their settlements but do not deal with public matters. This is partly the result of the fact that in the researched settlements the Hungarians live in the cluster (city/town cluster: Subotica, Senta, Čoka; villagers who live in the cluster: Čantavir, Mali Iđoš, Jermenovci, Novi Itebej, Torda, Hetin, Temerin). The places where Hungarians live in the diaspora inside the settlements (Hungarians in the city diaspora: Kula, Zrenjanin, Novi Sad; Hungarians living in the isolate: Ivanovo), the situations where Serbian or Hungarian are used are connected to concrete situations. The *Every time and everywhere* or *Everyday life* sections, as well as using the language inside the settlement, express generalisation meaning that we mostly communicate in one or the other language in every situation.

Between using the Serbian (12.85%) and the Hungarian at work, we find only 5.25% difference in marking them, which uses Hungarian, so the informants consider it more useful at work in a higher rate.

If we compare the usefulness of the Serbian to the Hungarian language situations, we find the following interethnic spaces: the Church, Practising religion, Further vocational trainings and the Medium inside the settlement. However, regarding Hungarian there are no sections "Outside the family", "Shopping and Travelling" which were connected to Serbian. There were 116 answers connected to Hungarian and 459 answers connected to Serbian in this thematic group. This means that Serbian got more answers.

3. In the *Environment and communication* thematic group the usefulness of Hungarian has 106 replies while Serbian has 79 replies. The term "environment" comes from the informants and means the immediate environment where there is bilingual communication or communication in Serbian. However, they do not include a specific naming. We can conclude that they mark interethnic spaces in Vojvodina and Serbia. In this thematic group we can find the next locations:

According to this grouping, in Hungary the use of the language is considered 48.11% useful while Serbian in Serbia and Vojvodina is considered 43.04% useful. Informants consider Serbian useful – beside the Environment – outside the settlement (30.38%). Hungarian is considered useful abroad and in the EU (13.21%).

4. In the *Every time and everywhere* category the informants consider Serbian useful 12 times, Hungarian 48 times in every situation every time.

5. *Education and healthcare:* this topic includes 51 replies for Serbian and 60 replies for Hungarian. Among the interethnic spaces of Hungarian in the thematic groups, education (80%) represents the highest position, however, in the case of Serbian healthcare (64.71%) is in the highest place. In the *Healthcare* section only four informants think that the use of Hungarian is advantageous. Serbian is considered 11.76% useful as the language of education.

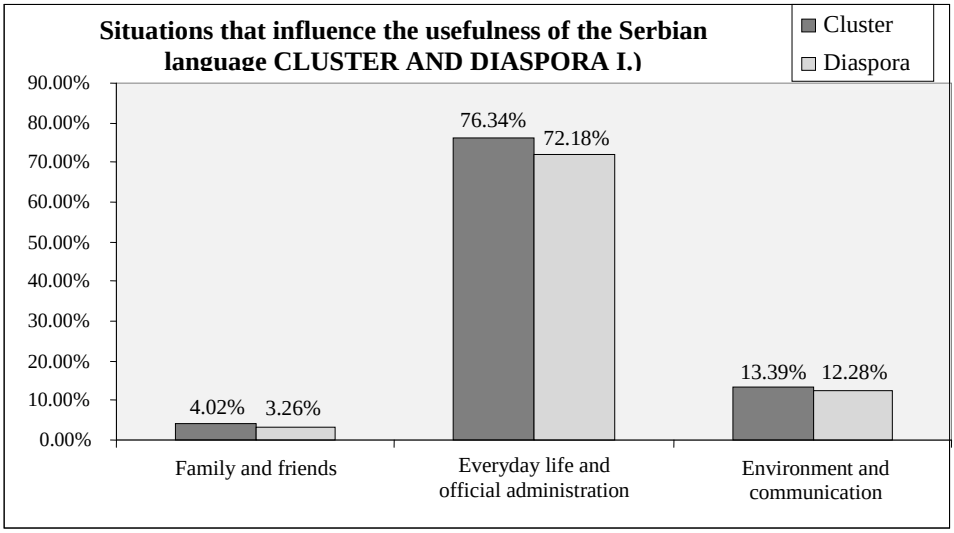
4. Interethnic spaces in the cluster and in the diaspora (utility guidelines in the aspect of Serbian)

There are different answers from the cluster and the diaspora. The ratio is calculated according to this.

Table 2. Interethnic spaces in the cluster and in the diaspora

Response	Cluster	Diaspora
Family and friends	9	13
Everyday life and official administration	171	288
Environment and communication	30	49
Every time and everywhere	3	9
Education and healthcare	11	40
Total	224	399

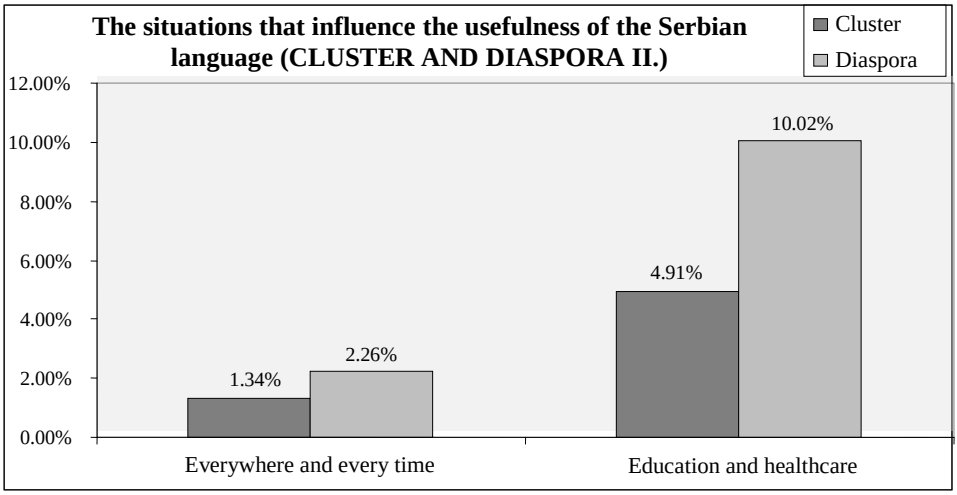
Graph 3. Interethnic spaces in the cluster and in the diaspora I.



The largest differences in the responses are in the ***Education and healthcare*** and in the *Everyday life and the official administraton* sections. The education and healthcare is 5.11% in higher position in the diaspora, everyday life is 4.16% in

higher position in the cluster. The rest of the categories show only minor differences.

Graph 4. Interethnic spaces in the cluster and in the diaspora II



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Visual Rhetoric in Virtual Spaces

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Abstract. The Internet has reshaped the way organisations convey messages to their target audiences. Despite the availability of interactive web applications, online presence of companies, foundations, or governmental agencies lag far behind individual use. We propose a comparative case study of organisational online spaces, with a focus on ethno-pagan groups and movements from Romania and Hungary. Our analysis looks both at the use of Web 2.0 features like blogs, RSS feeds, video- and audio applications, and at the visual rhetoric of the ethno-pagan web pages under study. Main results show a minimal interactivity on the organisations' official websites, and more advanced online communication practices on alternative spaces, such as Facebook and other social networking sites. Visual metaphors used are concerned with both religious iconography and right leaning political messages. This paper is part of a broader research project funded by the Institute for Research Programmes.[1]

Keywords: ethno-pagan organisations, visual rhetoric, online spaces

[1] Institute for Research Programmes – Sapientia Foundation, Cluj: *Magyar és román újpogány csoportok web-retorikája* (*Web Rhetoric of Romanian and Hungarian Neopagan Groups*). Project description at: http://semeistos.wordpress.com/projects/neopagans/

1. Introduction

1.1. Topic analysis: concepts and methods

The way information and communication technologies have reshaped the organisational landscape is hardly contested: interactions among individuals and groups and their daily spaces, either real or virtual, are equally affected (Ropolyi 2006: 112). The process of organising has changed dramatically, with the increased mobility of individuals and communities: informality – the ability of "organising without organisations" – is expanding rapidly (Shirky 2008: 143). We are linked in a tight net of resources and relationships (Barabási 2002), and "networked individualism" (Coco 2011: 2) is becoming part of our lives.

Although organisational actors strive to catch up with the new communication opportunities, there are multiple divides between "digital natives" and "digital immigrants", as Prensky put it (2001: 3). Argyiris observed that improving communication, innovation and learning "are inhibited by both individual defensive reasoning and organisational defensive routines" (1994: 80). Changing habits is a disruptive move from the comfort zone to the realm of challenges. How does online communication work for organisations built on the "recombinant narrative" of *mythos* and *logos* (Cardone 2007: 5), or – as Hubbes has formulated it (2011: 181) – of ancient and youth voices? Our comparative analysis of Hungarian and Romanian neopagan organisations is aimed at answering this question.

A key concept of this study is "ethno-paganism", a term coined by Hubbes (2011b: 102) in order to describe both the strong ethnic character and the reconstructionist nature of Romanian and Hungarian religious movements labelled as neopagan. Previously Schnirelman (2002: 197) has highlighted the ethnocentric touch of neopagan discourses originating from the former Communist countries of Central-Eastern Europe.

Our comparative analysis is aimed at mapping similarities and differences between Hungarian and Romanian ethno-pagan web spaces in terms of interactivity and visual rhetoric. We have chosen an unobtrusive research focused on multimedia content freely available online for two main reasons, as noted in a previous study (Bakó & Hubbes 2011: 129): on the one hand, online communication is concerned with "presentational rhetoric", as opposed to "operational rhetoric" or insider interaction (Van Maanen & Schein 1977: 20); on the other hand, one can gain access to religious groups' and organisations' inner life only if s/he is immersed in their daily realities.

We have used two main frameworks of analysis: for the interactivity, we applied Hock's criteria of digital environment assessment (2003: 629); for visuality, we selected a set of criteria from Hoffman and Ford's Aristotelian framework of

logos, *ethos* and *pathos* (2010: 49). Hocks proposed a comprehensive framework for assessing rhetorical style in World Wide Web environments:

I. *Audience Stance*: whether the audience is invited, encouraged (or not) to participate in online spaces.

II. *Transparency*: whether online spaces use established conventions for print, graphic design, film, and Web pages. The more they use familiar conventions, the more transparent they are to the audience.

III. *Hybridity*: whether online spaces combine visual and verbal designs. Hybridity encourages both authors and audiences to create multifaceted identities.

A more traditional, or Web 1.0 online communication is less interactive and less multimedial, whereas a more advanced, "Web 2.0" space (O'Reilly 2007: 17) is connected to a wide range of audiences through a large set of tools and channels. A rhetoric that employs mostly traditional, text-centred tools – or "Web 1.0 rhetoric" – has a low level of audience involvement (low interactivity), a high level of transparency (or a scarce use of hypertexts) and a low level of hybridity (the lack of, or static use of multimedia), with more room given to plain texts than to hypertexts. In contrast, a "Web 2.0 rhetoric" has a high level of audience involvement (it is very interactive), a low level of "transparency" as defined by Hocks (because information is organised hypertextually, not in a linear way) and it is very hybrid, by using multimedia features: images, slideshows, sounds, videos and sharing buttons for Twitter, Facebook, Delicious and similar applications.

Hoffman and Ford (2010) have developed a set of criteria in order to apply the Aristotelian theory to organisational rhetoric: *logos* is concerned with reasoning, *ethos* is focused on ways of legitimation and community building, whereas *pathos* is related to value advocacy and the use of unifying symbols. A detailed presentation of the framework is shown in Table 2, section 2.2. of this study. Parts of this analysis have already been published, either concerned with theoretical issues (Bakó & Hubbes 2011), or with empirical ones (Bakó 2011), while visual analysis is an original contribution of this paper, based on accumulated knowledge and empirical research.

1.2. Strengths and limitations of online rhetorical analysis

While providing a rich set of data in a comfortable manner, unobtrusive research has several limitations in general, and for organisational research in particular. Online environments take an increasing share of the global communication space, and researchers gain affordable access to an emergent social

reality worth studying. However, when it comes to shades and nuances, it is crucial to "intrude" into the human environments cached behind the scene.

Organisations are particularly vulnerable to a simplifying vision on front-stages' and back-stages' symbolic interaction, to put it in Goffman's terms, requiring a careful analysis in online spaces (Robinson 2007: 93). Meanwhile, religious organisations are expanding their ties in cyberspace, and thus online communication is an important dimension to consider (Berger 2010; Campbell 2010). At the same time, visual approach is gaining space in the field of organisation studies: research networks, collaborative projects and conferences are arising globally, such as the InVisio initiative[2] (Warren 2012: 124).

A productive continuation of the present research would be an obtrusive research, by using sociological and ethnographic methods: observation, interviewing, focus group discussion and survey. Expanding research from a selection of neopagan organisations to a wider range of stakeholders – individuals, groups and institutional actors involved in shaping religious life – would be also beneficial for a broader picture on the neopagan phenomenon under study.

2. Organisational rhetoric online: interactivity and visuality

2.1. Interactivity of the organisations under study

Building on a previous research (Bakó 2011), we shall highlight the way Hungarian and Romanian ethno-pagan organisations are inhabiting virtual spaces, both through their official websites and through alternative channels such as Facebook, Twitter, Youtube and blogging platforms.

We have selected three Romanian and three Hungarian organisations, based upon the principle of variety in terms of their level of institutionalisation and ideology.

Most ethno-pagan organisations analysed are in the Web 1.0 stage, with a low or medium level of interactivity and a high level of transparency – namely a traditional, text-centric design. The only organisation using properly Web 2.0 features is B (Dacia Liberation Front) – a Romanian ethno-pagan organisation founded by a young sociologist working with media. There is presumably a generational digital divide between the guru and his/her young followers – a theme to be analysed by more obtrusive research methods.

[2] International Network for Visual Studies in Organisations, at http://in-visio.org/

Table 1: Interactivity of the ethno-pagan organisation under study (Bakó 2011: 175)

Criteria of analysis Organisations analysed	*Audience stance*	*Transparency*	*Hybridity*
A. Dacia Revival International Society[3] (Ro)	**Low** Static webpage, poor content provision	**High** Linear, text-centric, traditional design	**Low** Mainly texts are available
B. Frontul de Eliberare a Daciei[4] (Ro) [Dacia Liberation Front]	**Medium** No comments, yet Facebook causes	**Low** Blog features better used in the sidebar	**High** Video, text, Facebook links
C. Gebeleizis Association[5] (Ro)	**Low** No comments, no interaction	**Medium** Broken links, difficult navigation	**Medium** Some video, audio tools used
D. Magok Vagyunk[6] (Hu) [We Are Seeds]	**Medium** Several online spaces of the guru linked	**Medium** A wide range of topical links	**Medium** Scarce use of video and other tools
E. Ősmagyar Egyház[7] (Hu) [Ancient Hungarian Church]	**Low** No interaction with audiences	**High** Linear, text-centric design	**Low** No use of multimedial tools
F. Tengri Babba Community[8] (Hu)	**Medium** Forum for registered users, ordering forms	**Medium** Intuitive button, yet difficult to navigate	**Low** Text-centric; audio streaming available

Note: Ro= Romanian, Hu=Hungarian

2.1. Online visuality of the organisations under study

A complex rhetorical analysis of organisational discourses can be performed by using Aristotelian criteria, adapted by Hoffman and Ford (2010: 49), as in the table below. Criteria used for visual analysis by the present study are shown in boldfaced characters.

[3] http://www.dacia.org/dacia-rev/
[4] http://casanoastra-romania-dacia.blogspot.com/
[5] http://gebeleizis.org/
[6] http://magokvagyunk.blogspot.com/
[7] http://www.osmagyaregyhaz.hu/nyitooldal
[8] http://tengri.hu/

Table 2: Organisational rhetoric according to Aristotelian criteria

Aristotle's Canons	*Overarching Rhetorical Categories*	*Traditional Forms*	*Forms as Found in Organisational Rhetoric*	
Invention	Ethos/ Credibility	Intelligence Character Goodwill	Corporate social legitimacy: Competence, community	
	Pathos/ Emotion	**Needs** **Values**	Values advocacy	Explicit appeals Upholding of shared values Philantropic activities Praise for individuals
			Identification	Identification Antithesis Common ground **Assumed "we"** **Unifying symbols**
			Needs	
	Logos	Claims, evidence, reasoning: inductive, deductive	Claims, evidence, reasoning Organisational entymeme	
Organisation	**Organisational patterns**	Cronological **Topical** **Spatial** Problem-solution	**Traditional organisational patterns** **Visual placement of arguments** **Website navigation**	
Style	Style/ Aesthetic categories	**Metaphor** Language devices	**Visual elements** **Branding** Language or other choices Music or other sound	
Delivery	Verbal and nonverbal behaviour	Gestures, movements, vocal quality	Media selection: TV, print, Internet, public meeting etc.	
Memory	Memorisation	Memory tricks	Non-relevant in organisational rhetoric	

For the purpose of assessing visual rhetoric we have selected a few relevant criteria from the framework above: pathos, organising information, and style of presentation. A more text-centric analysis should be rather concerned with logos,

ethos, delivery and memory – the latter also relevant for organisational rhetoric.[9] For a visual analysis, text-centric criteria are less relevant. On their official websites, the six organisations under study show little attention for aesthetic and style, except for two of them: the Hungarian Tengri Babba Community and the Romanian Gebeleisis Society – both analysed in detail in a previous article (Bakó & Hubbes 2011). Below we shall look at the six organisations according to the selected Aristotelian criteria, as highlighted in Table 2.

Pathos: assumed "we", unifying symbols – we have analysed the level of visual assertiveness connected with the organisations' potential audiences: the use of appealing symbols, the link between textual and visual messages in relation with key stakeholders. Since these groups claim to be religious, we also looked at the level of religiosity as stated visually and in their key presentational messages at the "About" or "Who we are" sections. Each organisation analysed has made visible efforts to galvanise its target audience around more or less explicitly stated values and symbols. However, if we rank these efforts from the best to the worst performance, the order is C, B, F, D, E, A.[10] The most aggressive visual rhetoric is shown by the Gebeleisis Society (C), with a far right supremacist discourse and an effort of rebranding during 2011. As a result of the redesign effort, the dark background-based imagery has been replaced with a light grey, more friendly colour scheme, but the red header still reminds us of the visual assertivity of the original Gebeleisis Society web space. The most religious rhetoric is shown by the Tengri Babba Community (F), with a consistent use of shamanist symbols throughout its sub-pages: the world tree in the middle is surrounded, in a genuine visual design, by intuitive buttons directing the viewer towards the Tengri Community (symbolised by a Shaman drum), Images, Music, Poetry, or Traditions – represented with minimalist, colourful and more or less conventional symbols. The less effort for visual branding is clearly shown by the Dacia Revival International Society (A), focused mainly on displaying the minimal texts for a bureaucratic legitimation, on a visually neglected online space – as presented in a previous study (Bakó 2011: 177). B, D, and E are more concerned with ethno-centric messages than with religious symbols.

Organisation patterns: topical and spatial placement of visual arguments, website navigation – almost each organisation, except for F (the Tengri Babba Community) are placing their online visual elements in a traditional way: in the header of the online space and on side-bars. The Tengri Babba Community web page is built around a vertical axis of symmetry and the leading symbol is the

[9] We disagree with Hoffman and Ford (2010) and consider that in line with current research, organisational memory and its corrolar, organisational amnesia are relevant for organisational rhetoric analysis.

[10] See Table 1 for the organisations' names

world tree. The Gebeleisis society (C) website is also visually compelling, with dark northern mythological symbols, yet hard to navigate and not user-friendly. If we rank the level of visual organisation of information, from the most organised to the least navigable one, the order is: F, B, D, A, E, C.

Style and aesthetics: visual elements and branding are concerned with the quantity and the quality of multimedial elements displayed on the organisational websites. Again, the most visible and productive efforts were made by the Gebeleisis Society and the Tengri Babba Community, with several sub-sections directing the viewer towards pictures, or music. The Dacia Liberation Front and We are Seeds seem to make efforts towards visualising their messages, but their spaces lack usability and aesthetics of web design: clearly the focus is on the content and the textual messages. The lowest visual performance has been attained by the Ancient Hungarian Church and the Dacia Revival International Society, with their lack of user-friendly features such as appealing colour schemes, good contrast for readability and the sort. The high-low ranking of the web design aesthetics would be, accordingly: C, F, B, D, E, A. Let us summarise these results by assigning points to the ranks: I=5, II=4, III=3, IV=2, V=1, VI=0, as shown in Table 3 below:

Table 3: Visuality of the ethno-pagan organisations under study

Criteria of analysis / Organisations analysed	*Pathos*	*Organisation*	*Style*	*Total score*
A. Dacia Revival Society	0	2	0	**2**
B. Dacia Liberation Front	4	4	3	**11**
C. Gebeleizis Association	5	0	5	**10**
D. We Are Seeds	2	3	2	**7**
E. Ancient Hungarian Church	1	1	1	**3**
F. Tengri Babba Community	3	5	4	**12**

The results are not surprising: even at first glance, the differences concerning visual performance, navigability and the power of symbols are compelling. The Tengri Babba Community and the Dacia Liberation Front have the highest scores, followed by the Gebeleisis Society – a strongly branded organisation with few user-friendly features though. Dacia Revival Society, Ancient Hungarian Church and even We are Seeds lag far behind in terms of visual performance.

3. Conclusions

This study of organisational rhetoric was focused on three Hungarian and three Romanian ethno-pagan online spaces. The two main areas of assessment – interactivity and visuality – were based on frameworks developed by Hocks (2003) for interactivity and by Hoffman & Ford (2010) for visuality.

The results of the assessment along the two main criteria are interrelated: organisations with a better performance on interactivity – the Tengri Babba Community, Dacia Liberation Front and the Gebeleisis Society – have also achieved better scores on visual performance. This is a surprising result because even a passive online space can be designed in a well-structured, aesthetically compelling manner. The scarce use of Web 2.0 features, despite the "facebook effect" (Kirkpatrick 2010: 287) show that recombinant narratives of *mythos* and *logos* are more loaded with tradition than with innovation. Perhaps the rise of "networked individualism" (Coco 2011: 2) will change this landscape in the near future.

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Creating an Interdisciplinary Space: Role-Plays in Teaching English for Engineering

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Abstract. When the learning process takes place in natural circumstances we usually learn what we really need, we practice what we will have to do in real life. Comparing the activities, games and improvisations used in actor training or drama in education and the role-plays, simulations and drama techniques used in language teaching we can discover several similarities regarding the main principles, goals and techniques. Communicative competence and performance can be considered the common ground of acting and language teaching, this is their overlapping goal. Teaching a foreign language to young professionals (in our case, engineering students) involves the aim to enable a person to "play" better his own "role" before a social audience. The objectives of this paper are to demonstrate some of the overlapping goals in actor training and language teaching and show how the ESP (English for Specific Purposes) classroom can function as an interdisciplinary space, the meeting point of language pedagogy, actor training / drama in education and engineering sciences, thus creating a complex learning experience.

Keywords: role-plays, drama techniques, actor training, language teaching, interdisciplinary space

Introduction

ESP teachers often have to design their own instructional materials instead of relying on commercially produced ones because in most cases ESP classes deal with the specific needs of a certain group of students. Commercially available

materials can be useful, but teachers often feel the need to complement them with other tasks and activities. In certain areas of ESP, for example in English for Engineering, the development of speaking skills seems somewhat neglected. Engineers often complain that while they feel capable of comprehending and producing written technical texts, they have difficulties in understanding and producing spoken language. Well-planned role-plays, which correspond with the specific communicative situations and various roles that engineers can encounter in their profession, could be helpful to improve their communication skills in the target language.

The following topics are discussed in this paper: the overlapping goals in language teaching and drama in education developed mainly from actor training; the fact that the common characteristics of the activities (games, improvisations, role-plays and simulations) used in these two domains offer the possibility for language teachers to adopt ideas and techniques from the other field; and the possibility for the ESP class to function as an interdisciplinary space, the meeting point of language pedagogy, drama in education and engineering sciences, thus creating a complex learning experience. Some of the results of a needs analysis will be presented as well, which was conducted in order to find out more about the language learning needs of the target population (engineering students and engineers), respectively the popularity and usefulness of role plays in ESP. This study is part of a research project which aims at the development and improvement of role-plays in ESP.

From actor training to drama in education

Improvisation in actor training is considered to be essential and according to this there is plentiful specialised literature about the topic covering both its theory and practice. Some of the actor training theorists and practitioners realised that their techniques can be used successfully in other domains, and their works are popular and widely used not only by actor trainers, but also by those who use improvisation in other fields of training and education.

Viola Spolin (1963), the well-known theatre educator, director and actress, was convinced that theatre games can be applied in any educational domain which is able to create ideal circumstances for communication and transformation. Her mentor and teacher, Neva Boyd had written the following about the potentials of games in education in her work entitled *The Theory of Play*:

> Playing a game is psychologically different in degree, but not in kind from dramatic acting. The ability to create a situation imaginatively and to play a role is a tremendous experience, a sort of vacation from one's everyday self and the routine of everyday living. We observe that this psychological

> freedom creates a condition in which strain and conflict are dissolved and potentialities are released in the spontaneous effort to meet the demands of the situation. (Source: 25/07/2011 http://www.spolin.com/boydplaytheory.htm)

Her principles were further developed by Spolin (1963) who conceived her own actor training method based on improvisation games. Some of these principles are the following: the game has its own rules; in games the process is important, the result is secondary; the correct attitude towards games is the voluntary acceptance of the rules, spontaneous, imagination-rousing participation; games call forth instinctive reactions; spontaneity is their main characteristic, which helps the manifestations of the participants' imagination, empathy, understanding of others and oneself; games protect, and at the same time liberate people from inhibitions; games stimulate self-expression; they presuppose and at the same time develop intelligence, fantasy, responsiveness, sensibility and originality; a game is a pleasant, entertaining experience, which places the individual into a world where he or she is less constrained by the norms of behaviour established by the rules of the society; the paradox of games is that they offer freedom and demand discipline at the same time; social adaptability develops in the new situations created through games; they influence positively the learning process; games must be chosen according to the needs and characteristics of the group. Spolin thinks that the problem-solving quality of games is essential.

Keith Johnstone (1989), the well-known specialist in actor training, was convinced by his own experience about the importance of improvisation, which in his opinion cannot exist without spontaneity. Johnstone blames schools, families and society for encouraging children to become unimaginative and in his book he gives deterrent examples of how spontaneity can be eliminated and inhibitions created as a result of "education". His training method aims to stop and turn back this process through improvisation and help people to get rid of the barriers and constraints created by society and to rediscover their creativity and imagination in a relaxed atmosphere.

According to Robert Cohen (1992), another acting theorist, the main conditions for good acting are trust, relaxed atmosphere, lack of inhibition, discipline, playfulness, freedom, good teamwork and effective interaction. In his opinion these factors can be useful not only for actors but also for other people in building their relationships, performing their everyday activities or professional tasks.

In the activities used in actor training a three-stepped structure can be observed: preparation (physical and mental warm up, trust building and teambuilding phase), a more complicated task or improvisation followed by evaluation and discussion.

As mentioned before, activities similar to the ones used in actor training can be adopted in other fields of education as well. The use of drama makes it possible

for the students to acquire new knowledge and develop different skills through activity and self-experience. Drama in education is a teaching method which was developed from the practice of "as if" games. This method aims to develop creativity, spontaneity and communicative competence, preparing students to face real-life situations with less difficulty.

According to Katalin Gabnai (1999), personality development is the main goal of drama in education, which is done through different situational games or role-plays. There is no audience, but the presence of peers helps students to develop self-confidence and the ability to work in a team, and prepares them to communicate more easily in real-life situations. These activities can be considered rehearsals, where the participants have to speak and perform different tasks in the middle of attention, practicing through this the readiness and inventiveness necessary in different social roles and situations of everyday life. Drama games can increase the self-knowledge and insight into human nature of people working in and for a community. Dynamic thinking, focussed and well-planned working method, and clear, coherent, emphatic way of speaking can be developed through them. They can compensate to a certain extent for the passivity generated by the development and spreading of mass media. Drama games offer collective experience, through which the participants can encounter the pleasure of self-expression and recognition and develop their decision-making and problem-solving skills.

The socialising effects of drama in education can bridge the gap between institutional education and real life, because they can help the students to acquire the necessary skills, behaviour and knowledge to improve their performance in different professions, and their ability to perform certain specific roles.

Gavin Bolton (1993), the internationally recognised drama educator and theorist of drama in education, developed a method called *drama for understanding*, which can be very useful in teaching different subjects. In these activities the participants work in groups and create an imaginary world, where they "play" different roles. In this world they encounter the same kind of problems as in the real world, thus acquiring real knowledge and experience. According to Dorothy Heathcote (1995), in drama games and role plays the acts of the participants are deeply influenced by their previous experience and knowledge. This is a complex pedagogical method through which the real problems of life can be dealt with in a protective environment, facilitating learning through experience.

It is important to emphasise that according to Bolton (1993: 86-88) there is a strong connection between drama and the acquisition and use of language and communication skills. From several viewpoints drama is the language itself, and language in drama activities is the means that helps to understand the meaning of things.

The interdisciplinarity of language teaching

The interdisciplinarity of language teaching makes it possible for teachers to benefit from the experience and knowledge accumulated in other fields. The process of language teaching and language learning is described and researched by language pedagogy, which can be considered a broad-ranging interdisciplinary applied science. According to Jenő Bárdos, the domains connected to language pedagogy are the following:

Language pedagogy			
RELATED AND ADJACENT SCIENCES	Ethnolinguistics	ANTHROPOLOGY	**FUNDAMENTAL AND ASSOCIATE SCIENCES**
	Philosophy of language	PHILOSOPHY	
	Acoustics	PHYSICS	
	Language geography	GEOGRAPHY	
	Linguistic modelling	LOGIC	
	Communication engineering, telecommunication	TECHNOLOGY	
	Pedagogic performing art	ARTS	
	Applied linguistics Psycholinguistics Sociolinguistics	LINGUISTICS	
	Neurolinguistics Anatomy Psychiatry	MEDICINE	
	Didactics Pedagogic psychology	PEDAGOGY	
	Language politics, language rights	POLITICS	
	Psychometrics Personalistic psychology Group psychology Developmental psychology Ethnographic psychology Social psychology	PSYCHOLOGY	
	History of education	HISTORY	

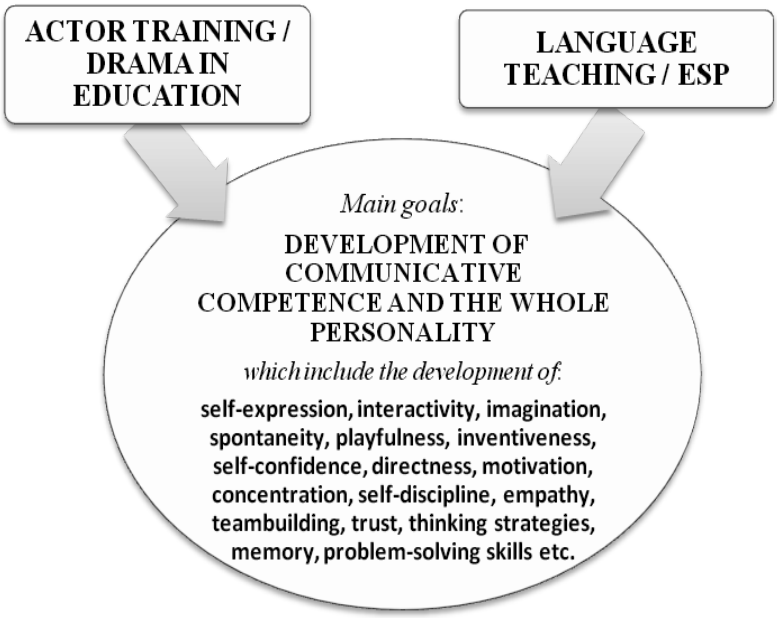
Fundamental, associated, related and adjacent sciences of language pedagogy (*Bárdos 2000: 35; Bárdos 2005: 16-17 – translated by the author of this article*)

Regarding arts, Bárdos mentions only “the performing art of pedagogy”. Considering the influence of actor training and drama in education upon language teaching, I think drama and theatre research would be eligible to be mentioned in this category.

If we take into consideration the numerous domains ESP deals with and the interdisciplinary research that usually precedes and prepares ESP courses, it is obvious that it would be difficult to determine the exact confines of language pedagogy.

Role-plays and drama techniques in language teaching

The fundamental common goals in the methodologies of actor training, drama in education and language teaching are the development of personality and the development of communicative strategies. Other, closely related and also important objectives are the development of self-expression, relaxation, interactivity, spontaneity, playfulness, inventiveness, self-confidence, directness, motivation, concentration, self-discipline, empathy, teamwork, trust, thinking strategies, fantasy, memory and problem-solving ability.



Consequently, actor training techniques and drama in education can be a source of inspiration for those language teachers who intend to find new ideas for role-play activities.

In his series editor's foreword to Gillian Porter Ladousse's book entitled *Role Play,* Alan Maley defines the concept of role-play in language teaching as follows:

> The term "role-play" calls to mind the fable of the blind man trying to describe an elephant; the term takes on different meanings for different people. It certainly seems to encompass an extremely varied collection of activities. These range from highly-controlled guided conversations at one end of the scale, to improvised drama activities at the other; from simple rehearsed dialogue performance, to highly complex simulated scenarios (Maley in Ladousse 2009: 3).

According to Gillian Porter Ladousse (2009) in "role-play" the term "play" means that students can play a part – someone else's or their own – in a safe environment, which assures ideal conditions for playfulness and inventiveness. Students, just like children playing doctors and patients, school or Harry Potter, unconsciously create their own reality and through this experiment with their knowledge of the real world they develop their interacting skills with others. Unlike in a theatre, in the classroom there are no spectators, and they do not feel threatened by the risks of behaviour and communication, which are present in the real world. Thus the activity is more enjoyable and playing a role in such a relaxed atmosphere can help building up self-confidence. The flexibility of role-plays opens the door to individual ideas, variations and initiatives, and develops creativity, offering direct experience of the unpredictable nature of the target language in use.

Ladousse sums up the most important advantages of role-plays emphasising their benefits and characteristics. A wide range of language structures, functions and vocabulary can be introduced and practised through role play, offering a large variety of experience and training in speaking skills in different situations. In role-plays students are required to develop and use the phatic forms of the target language which are necessary in social relationships, but which are often neglected in syllabuses. For students who are learning a language to prepare for specific roles in their professional life (e.g. in ESP) role-play can be a very beneficial rehearsal for real life tasks. They are offered the possibility to learn how interaction works in various relationships and situations. Role-plays provide shy students a kind of mask which helps them to overcome their difficulties in participating in conversations. Probably the most important factor why teachers like using role-plays in the classroom is that they are entertaining, fun for the students. Role-play develops fluency, promotes interaction and increases motivation.

The main difference between a role-play in the classroom and a dramatic performance is that the first is mainly concerned with the process of playing a part and not the finished product. The students are not performing and there is no stage or other audience but the other players or colleagues. They carry out the activity for themselves, in a team where ideally everybody is equally involved. As humanistic tendencies in education have shown, the learning process can be more efficient in a

tension-free atmosphere. In task-based language teaching students are encouraged to solve problems together, which makes exchange of opinions and common decisions indispensable. In certain cases, when it is considered beneficial, role-plays *can* be performed for other students, and they can be recorded. The video might be useful in the follow-up, but only if the students feel comfortable with such methods.

The follow-up or debriefing is an important part of the activity where the teacher should insist on evaluation rather than criticism, encouraging positive thinking about the experience. Errors and misunderstandings can be discussed and clarified through analysing the interaction and highlighting some of the uses of paralinguistic features.

Role-plays in language teaching can contain dramatic features and techniques to different extent. According to Wilga Rivers, the drama approach enables students to use what they are learning with pragmatic intent, which would be really difficult to learn only through explanation (Rivers 1983).

Alan Maley and Alan Duff (1991: 6), experts in this field, define dramatic activities in a language classroom as follows:

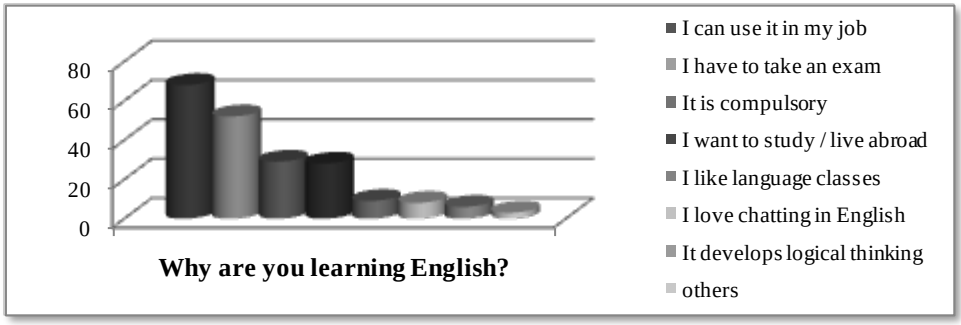
> They are activities which give the student an opportunity to use his or her own personality in creating the material on which part of the language class is to be based. These activities draw on the natural ability of every person to imitate, mimic and express himself or herself through gesture. They draw too, on the student's imagination and memory, and natural capacity to bring to life parts of his or her past experience that might never otherwise emerge. They are dramatic because they arouse our interest, which they do by drawing on the unpredictable power generated when one person is brought together with others. Each student brings a different life, a different background into the class. We would like students to be able to use this when working with others.

According to them, most traditional textbooks give little attention to the skills we need most when using a language: adaptability, sensitivity to tone, speed of reaction, insight and anticipation, in one word: appropriateness. This neglected emotional content can be put back into language through drama, giving more attention to the real *meaning* of the structures that are being taught.

Needs Analysis – Role-plays in Teaching English for Engineering

A part of the results of a needs analysis are presented hereinafter, which was conducted with 106 engineering students and engineers regarding their language learning needs and the popularity and usefulness of role-plays in learning ESP.

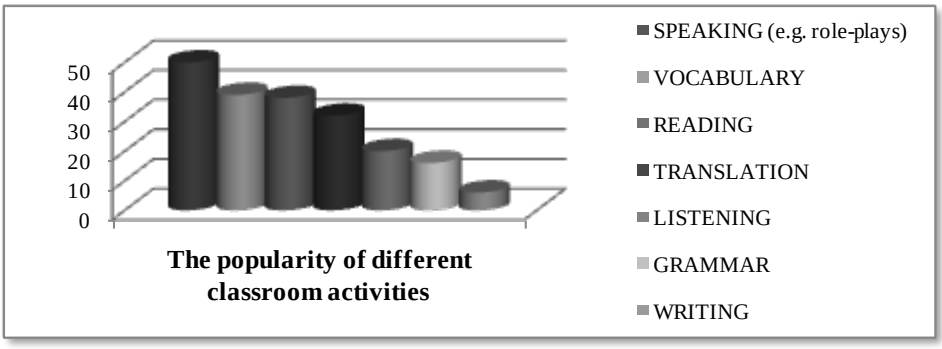
To the multiple-choice question "Why are you learning English?" most respondents (68) chose the answer that it could help them in their profession. The degree of importance of other possible goals can be seen in the chart.

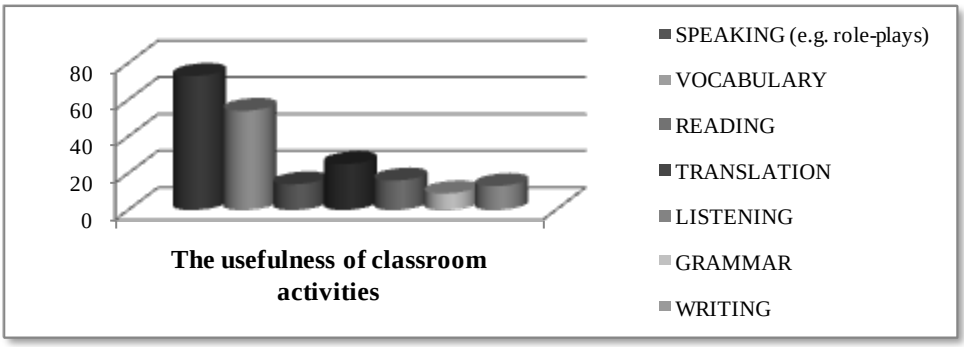


The goals chosen most frequently confirm the importance of the use of tasks developing professional communication skills.

From the answers to other questions it could be concluded that there is a notable need for opportunities to practice and develop speaking skills because of the following reasons: in language exams listening and speaking parts were considered to be the most difficult; the majority of the respondents think that their speaking skills in profession-related situations are less developed than their other skills and they do not have enough opportunities to speak in English. This attracts the attention to the necessity of using more communicative activities in the ESP class (role-plays, simulations, etc.).

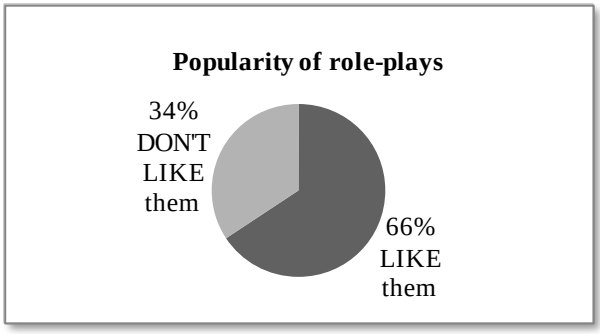
To a question regarding the popularity and usefulness of different classroom activities the following results emerged:





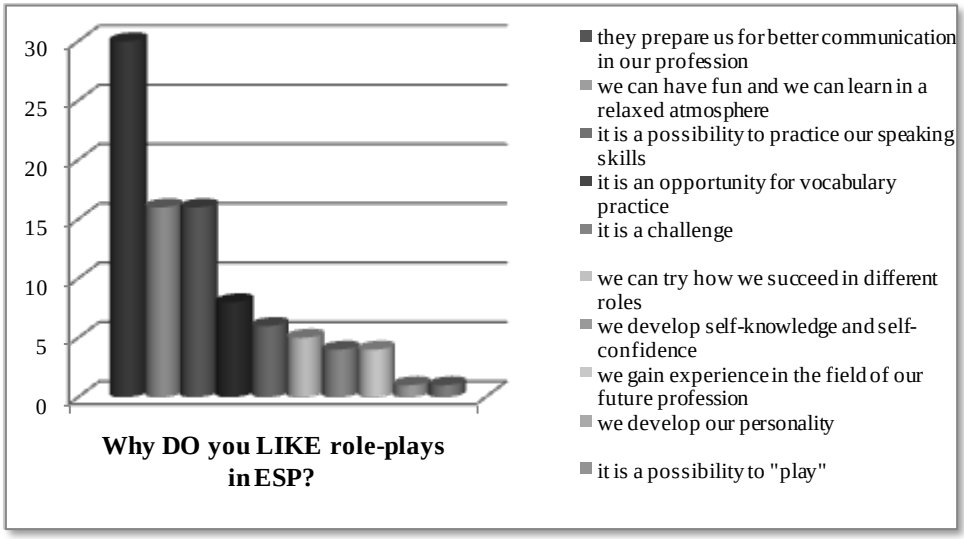
Speaking activities, which include role-plays, proved to be the most popular and useful, but a significant difference can be observed between the number of people who liked them most (50 respondents) and who considered them the most useful (73 respondents). Therefore it would be important to plan these activities in such a way as to make them enjoyable for more students. Drama techniques could be of great help in this endeavour.

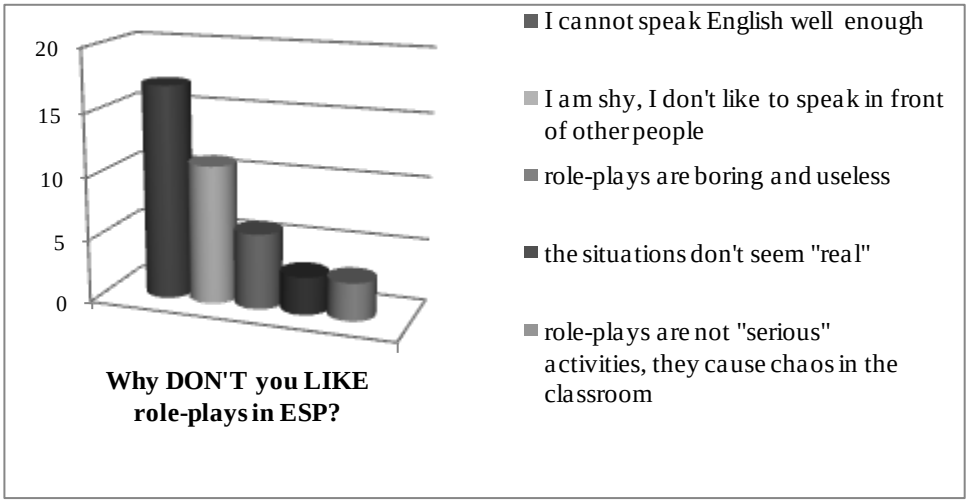
A question referred to the popularity of role-play activities in ESP classes. The respondents were asked whether they liked role-plays or not. They were also asked to give reasons for their answers.



The reasons they gave to the question why they like or do not like role-plays were grouped into categories. There were answers which were enlisted into two or even more categories.

A great number of respondents like role-plays in ESP because they think these activities prepare them for better communication in different profession-related situations. A lot of them like this type of activity because they feel more relaxed and like to have fun while studying. The development of speaking skills and vocabulary (terminology) practice were also frequently mentioned.



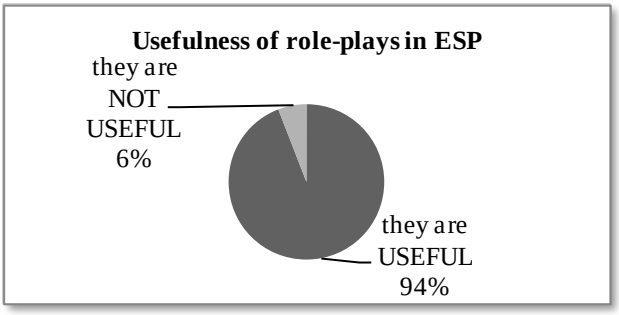


The reasons given by the respondents who do not like role-plays in ESP must be seriously analysed and taken into consideration in the development and planning of such activities, because one of the main goals of development would be to eliminate these problems.

Regarding the first problem, the activities should be suitable to the level of the group so that they would not cause frustration. In this way the participants would soon realise that this is a great possibility to practice speaking. Shyness and fear of speaking in front of others can be overcome if we manage to create a friendly atmosphere where the students feel emotionally safe and ready to help each other.

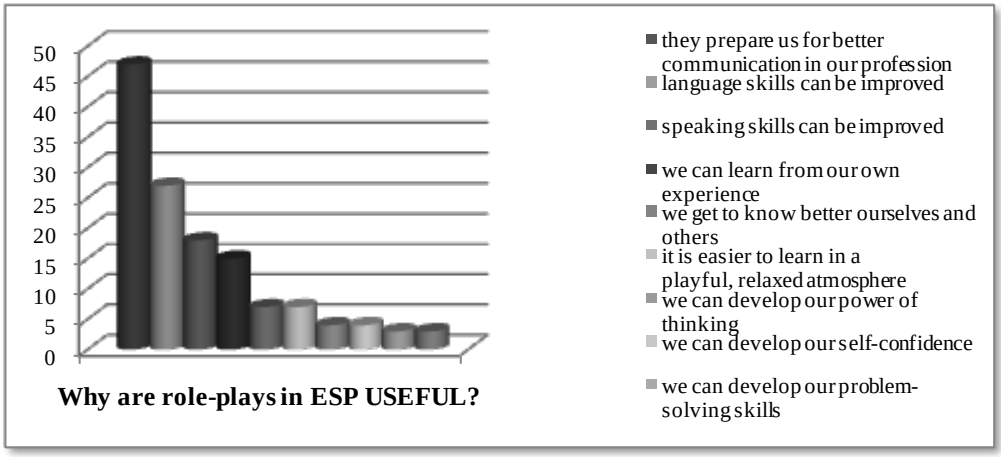
To make the role-plays seem less "boring" or "useless" can be a great challenge for the teacher. Here the warm-up phase preceding the "main activity" gains more relevance and importance. It is also important to choose the topic carefully, according to the needs and interests of the group. This helps to create the feeling of "reality". If everybody is actively involved and interested in the role-play activity there should be no more "chaos" or disciplinary problems than in any other profession-related situation. The use of ideas and techniques from the field of drama in education could be of great help in improving the quality and popularity of role-plays in ESP.

Another question referred to the usefulness of role-play activities in ESP classes. The respondents were asked whether they considered them useful or not. They were also asked to give reasons for their answers.



The reasons they gave to the question why they consider role-plays in ESP useful were grouped into categories. There were answers which could be and therefore were enlisted into two or even more categories. Very few respondents did not consider role-plays useful, so the reasons they gave were not grouped into categories.

We can see that the reasons given to support the usefulness of role-plays in ESP confirm the ones from the specialised literature. It is important to emphasise that the vast majority of the respondents think that role-plays in ESP are useful, even those who do not like them. From the 35 people who declared that they did not like role-plays only 6 did not consider them useful. This fact draws the attention to the necessity of better planning and development of these classroom activities in order to make them enjoyable to all our students. Otherwise role-plays may not serve their purpose adequately.



Conclusions

Engineering students and engineers have to be prepared to use English within workplace, professional, or academic environments. In ESP the target language is studied to ease the way to enter these environments, or to gain greater communicative efficiency within them. Developing, planning and facilitating role-play activities in certain domains of ESP (e.g., English for Engineering) require an interdisciplinary approach from the teacher. The meeting point of three domains can be observed here: language pedagogy, theatre and drama techniques in education and engineering science. Designing role-plays might be challenging and time consuming for the teacher, but taking into consideration the needs and the profession-specific communicative situations, which our students will encounter in their future profession, this teaching technique can prove to be successful. Role-plays in ESP classes must reflect the problems, situations and tasks which can occur in their professional environment. These activities can reach their purpose only if students enjoy them and participate actively in them. Drama techniques can be of great help in achieving these goals. The next step of this project is to develop role-plays with the help of drama techniques.

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Book Review

Tönnies, Merle & Buschmann, Heike (eds.)
Spatial Representations of British Identities.
Universitätsverlag, Winter, Heidelberg, 2012. 250 pp.

Zsuzsanna AJTONY

Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania

The "spatial turn" of the 1990s within studies of space has brought to the limelight such concepts as the real, material side of space and a whole range of cultural meanings closely connected with social and personal constructions of identity. The most prominent theorists of space studies, Michel de Certeau and Henri Lefebre have drawn attention to the necessity to distinguish between tangible geographical "place" and its constructed counterpart, the "space" perceived and used by different people in different ways. Later a more specific, so-called "topographical turn" (propagated by Sigrid Weigel) occurred, shifting the focus to the mutual interaction between "real spaces" and their representations. A new interpretation of the spatial turn has also been called for as a "rhetoric turn", i.e. focus on the role of space in communicative processes.

There is a very close connection between space and identity formation. One possible and legitimate area where these two are tightly related is literature. In literary texts spaces provide an insight into the characters' identity. This is true the other way round as well: the characters also allow the reader to share their experience of space. Characters are not only static elements in a space, they also move within and out of these spaces. These transitions from different kinds of spaces also highlight the importance of spatial boundaries and their reading in terms of Self and Other, which often form a central topic in studies of space.

In 2009, the Annual General Conference of the German Association for the Study of British Cultures was held at Paderborn, aimed at comparing the strategies

of spatial representation and self-representation in literature but also in the media. Two volumes resulted from this conference: the first published in 2010 is the volume of the *Journal for the Study of British Cultures*, and was entitled *Reading British Space.* It collected some of the conference papers dealing with space in non-literary "texts".

The present volume, *Spatial Representations of British Identities*, is a collection of 14 studies edited by Merle Tönnies and Heike Buschmann, two well-known German scholars of this domain, and it offers its readers an interdisciplinary approach to spaces. The methods of literary studies are combined with those of cultural studies, analysing a wide range of cultural products. The book focuses on the comparative aspect of the conference, discussing spatial issues from the point of view of representation and identity. The role of space is not only addressed in literary texts, but visual representations of space are also analysed. The papers included in this collection focus on the period from the 19th to the 21st century and they are grouped in such a way that the representation of space and its implications for identity concepts can be compared both from the perspective of different aspects of identity and with regard to the similarities and differences between literature, visual "texts" (photos and films) and non-artistic material representing spaces. As the editors of the volume claim, "the present volume (...) considers itself one step in the direction of analysing the media-specific representational strategies that can be used in making space signify in identity construction" (Tönnies and Buschmann 2012: 11).

The studies included in this volume show the diversity of possibilities in representations of space, the authors of the studies ranging from artists, photographers, writers, filmmakers and scholars alike, mainly from Germany, but also based in Britain and in Jordan. The book is edited in such a way that the studies collected in it are centred on main topics of discussion strongly related to each other. The first three studies written by the novelist Patricia Duncker and the photographer Mark Hall combine the writer's/artist's point of view with the perception by the readers and scholars to illustrate how the diversity of possibilities mentioned above can be translated into concrete representations and readings. These two studies lay the foundation for the case studies to follow. Duncker offers an insight into the workings of fiction writing, addressing two overlapping spaces which contribute to the creation of a literary text: the spaces of reading and writing created within the encounters between readers and writers and texts, and the spaces formed in the writing process itself. The photographer Mark Hall investigates the potential of light and darkness in constructing identities and spaces in different media formats, ranging from photography to fiction.

The following studies focus on national, regional and local identities expressed and formed in a variety of spaces. They explore the construction of different versions of national identity in and through space, discussing such

intriguing topics as the relation between the pub, as a stereotypical space of Englishness and the contemporary condition-of-England novel; or the presence of another national icon, the Thames as a specific English space and its relation to the members of the English nation, as an "imagined community" (Anderson 2006). Another case study focuses on London, as a space defining local identities, and late 19th-century poetry, having an opportunity to offer gendered readings of Londoners and those of the city. In the second section of the volume, the perspective of the essays opens to regional spaces as well. In this way in one study the North East of England, and more specifically, its changing land- and cityscapes are examined, tracing the formation of new "patchwork place identities" in Liverpool. Another study focuses on the Scottish city of Glasgow from the viewpoint of contemporary Scottish autobiographies.

However, not only real, physical spaces are considered in the articles of this volume, but also fictional and mental ones. The following section of the book concentrates mostly on mental spaces, integrating essays that present the fusion of material and mental landscapes in Virginia Woolf's *Night and Day*, or the discussion of conceptual metaphors in the space construction of 19th-century railway poetry.

The final articles of the volume explore literary and filmic representations of identities in two contested spaces of belonging. Various perspectives on interethnic and gay identities are discussed, focusing on 21st-century literary texts, which concentrate on the experiences of Arab women immigrants to Britain, on gay melancholy but also on queer and ethnic spaces in film. All three articles are basically centred on conflicts over inclusion and exclusion within real or mental spaces.

Summing up, the articles in this volume offer a wide variety of approaches towards representing space in various media formats and modes of identity construction. It gives a state-of-the-art overview of a very fast developing field of research and its readers can get a much broader perspective on identity formation than they might have ever expected.

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