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ZESZYT 119 / 2024 STUDIA ANGLICA RESOVIENSIA 21

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ZESZYTY NAUKOWE UNIWERSYTETU RZESZOWSKIEGO
SERIA FILOLOGICZNA
ZESZYT 119 / 2024 STUDIA ANGLICA RESOVIENSIA 21

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The political and ideological causes of the Anglo-Dutch wars

Abstract: This paper seeks to explore and explain the causes of the first three Anglo-Dutch wars. It argues that the political and ideological causes of these wars were at least as important as the economic ones, and that they cannot be fully understood without highlighting the political and ideological differences between the regimes of England and the United Provinces at the outbreak of the conflicts. It discusses in detail the causes of the first two Anglo-Dutch wars, which are more controversial than those of the third.

Key words: the United Provinces, the Navigation Act of 1651, Charles II, Louis XIV, Anglican Royalists

Introduction

Between 1652 and 1674, the English and the Dutch fought three wars against each other. Until recently most historians have assumed that these military conflicts had economic and commercial causes.[1] However, a closer look at the political, ideological and cultural relations between the two countries at the time of the outbreak of the wars suggests a different conclusion. Contemporary pamphlets, newsletters and newsbooks tended to portray these conflicts as ideological struggles, and the main experts on the topic now agree that the Anglo-Dutch wars were not purely, or even primarily commercial wars.[2]

The purpose of this article is to shed light on the political and ideological background to the Anglo-Dutch wars. It focuses primarily on the first two military

[1] See, for example, Wilson, 1957, pp. 56-59; Farnell, 1964, pp. 439-454; Clark, 1987, p. 63; Ferguson, 2003, p. 21; Herman, 2005, p. 174.

[2] See Pincus, 2002; Jones, 2013; Seaward, 2020. The pamphlets, the *Mercurius Politicus* newsbook series and the rest of the primary sources up to 1661 are to be found among the *Thomason Tracts* (*T. T.*) in the British Museum library; the reference numbers are given in Fortescue, 1908.

conflicts, as it is well known that the third war (1672-1674) had diplomatic causes: in May 1670, Louis XIV and Charles II agreed in the secret Treaty of Dover that France and England would jointly wage war against the United Provinces.

1. Research Context and Objectives

For more than three hundred years, the three Anglo-Dutch wars of the second half of the seventeenth century (1652-54; 1665-67; 1672-74) were regarded as essentially trade wars. Since the naval and commercial rivalry between England and the United Provinces was indeed intense, it is little wonder that historians should have come to this conclusion. The struggle, as Paul Kennedy (2001) has put it, was "a quarrel about who should rule the waves and reap the commercial benefits of that privilege; as a consequence, the naval and economic aspect was the dominant one" (p. 50). Although this might be true, the political and ideological causes of the three conflicts, without which they cannot be properly understood, should not be neglected either.

Since the political circumstances at the time of the outbreak of each of the three military conflicts were completely different, they need to be treated separately. After describing the rise of England's rivals – the United Provinces and France – in the middle of the seventeenth century (Sections 3 and 4), the paper will discuss the special background causes and more immediate causes of the first Anglo-Dutch war (Sections 5). The second war started five years after the Restoration of 1660, when political life in England was dominated by Anglican Royalists instead of radical Republican Puritans. Sections 6 and 7 will seek to demonstrate that political considerations were indeed strong for those who saw the republican Dutch as their natural enemies. The last two sections wish to explain why the second war came to a sudden end in 1667, and how the changed circumstances created by it contributed to the origins of the third Anglo-Dutch military conflict.

2. The Rise of the United Provinces in the Middle of the Seventeenth Century

Throughout the seventeenth century, the English feared that one of the continental powers would become hegemonic. From the second half of Queen Elizabeth I's reign onwards, the Spanish Habsburgs were the main threat. The Peace of Westphalia (1648), which ended the Thirty Years' War, allayed these fears, but Oliver Cromwell still feared Spanish domination. In the meantime, however, a new continental rival appeared: the United Provinces, which had emerged from the Union of Utrecht during the Dutch War of Independence against the Spanish (1568-1609), and formally became an independent republic in 1648. The Dutch

took advantage of the brief period in the middle of the century when the Austrian Empire and the German principalities were suffering from exhaustion after the Thirty Years' War and England and France were weakened by their civil wars. The dizzyingly rapid economic development of the United Provinces was facilitated (at least initially) by their favourable geographical location. The two most powerful provinces of the federation – Holland and Zeeland – controlled the mouths of the Rhine, the Maas and the Scheldt rivers and benefited greatly from their position at the junction of the Baltic, North Sea and Atlantic trade routes. Dutch ships carried Baltic grain and timber, as well as iron and copper from Sweden to Mediterranean ports, where salt was taken on board to be transported to northern fishing ports for fish processing. Meanwhile, they supplied the Baltic with textiles either home-made or brought from England. But Dutch seafarers also ventured into much more remote parts of the world. They founded New Amsterdam in North America and established a foothold in the West Indies. They reached the shores of Africa, India, China, South America and even Australia. From the mid-seventeenth century to 1854, the Dutch were the only European country to maintain trade relations with Japan (Williams, 1984, pp. 42-43).[3] As Paul Kennedy (2001) observed,

> the evidence is overwhelming that many (though certainly not all) members of the mercantile community were deeply jealous of the Dutch superiority in the fields of shipping, Oriental trade, control of Baltic commerce, fisheries, and general credit and finance, and very alarmed at the recovery of the United Provinces after 1648. Some stood to gain directly from any blows to these formidable rivals; others merely resented the fact that such foreigners had achieved first place in trade, and wished to see the position reversed. (p. 48)

There is no reason to try to refute this statement, as it is also true that "motives of prestige, power and profit are hard to disentangle" (Kennedy, 2001, p. 48), but – as we shall see later on – specific political and ideological differences between the regimes of the two rival states were also important causes of the wars they fought.

3. The Rise of France under Louis XIV

France's rise as a great power began in 1661 when the young Louis XIV took over the government of his country after the death of Cardinal Mazarin. Louis was only 22 years old, but he had gained considerable experience during the turbulent years of the *Fronde* (1648-53) and inherited a well-functioning absolutist system from his first minister. He politically marginalised the old nobility and personally presided over the Council of State with only five or six ministers. The mercantilist economic policies of Jean-Baptiste Colbert, the Comptroller-General of Finances,

[3] From the mid-sixteenth century to 1639, the Portuguese, the Spaniards, and the English also traded with Japan.

created the financial conditions that enabled France to become a military power. Colbert introduced uniform standards to regulate domestic industry, established manufactories and trading companies, increased exports and restricted imports of foreign goods through tariffs. The French led the way in Europe in military development and organisation. They created military academies and a ministry of war, built barracks, training grounds, military stores and hospitals for the huge standing army, and expanded the navy (Herman, 2005, pp. 198-199; Kennedy, 1989, p. 75; Kennedy, 2001, p. 62).

Oliver Cromwell contributed to the military rise of France by siding with it in the Franco-Spanish War, which continued after the Thirty Years' War. In 1655 he captured Jamaica, destroyed several Spanish fleets, and in 1658 he joined the French in an invasion of the Spanish Netherlands. After making peace in 1659, the French further weakened the declining Spain by supporting the Portuguese in their fight for independence.

The English were slow to recognise the French threat. They had fought three wars against the Dutch before the majority realised that it was not the Dutch that they had to fear, but rather the French 'universal monarchy' (to use seventeenth-century terminology). That case of political misjudgement resulted, among other factors, from the strong antipathy towards the Dutch, the reasons of which varied according to the changing internal political situation in the two countries.

4. The Background and the Immediate Political Causes of the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652-54)

Prince William II, head of the House of Orange and a stadtholder of the Dutch Republic, married to Mary, the eldest daughter of King Charles I of England, died in November 1650. As multiple Dutch provinces failed to agree on a new stadtholder, this marked the beginning of the first *Stadtholderless Period* in the history of the United Provinces, which lasted until the Revolution of 1672. William II's son (the future William III of England and a key figure in the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688-89) was born a week after his father's death. The country was now lead by Grand Pensionary Johan de Witt, head of the States Party, who represented the interests of a middle-class republican oligarchy opposed to the House of Orange, although the Orangists remained influential within the navy and the majority of the provinces. De Witt's aim was to maintain a decentralised system of government and the leading role of the States General. He opposed wars because they were bad for trade, increased taxes and also strengthened the influence of the House of Orange, which enjoyed the support of the lower classes, the Calvinist clergy and the landowners.

By this time, the Rump Parliament (1649-1653) – the remnant of the English Long Parliament after a radical purge performed by the Cromwellian New Model

Army in December 1648 – had exercised power for almost two years. Its no more than sixty members were not ideologically united and many fanatical Puritans in it shared the views of the extremist Fifth Monarchy Men, who proclaimed the imminent coming of the kingdom of Jesus Christ on earth and urged preparation for it. It is, therefore, understandable that when William II died, the Rump Parliament received the news with great relief, and even attributed it to divine providence, as William had refused to recognise the English republic and would have preferred to send troops to the island to help the royalists (Pincus, 2002, 16-19; Groenveld, 1987, pp. 551-552).

The members of the Rump Parliament became so excited about the positive political turnaround in the United Provinces that they immediately opened negotiations with the new Republican leadership. In March 1651, special envoys Oliver St. John and Walter Strickland were sent to The Hague with no less than a mission to prepare the ground for political union between the two countries. To the disappointment of the Rump Parliament, the hoped-for Protestant-republican merger came to nothing. After the delegates faced a protesting "ungoverned multitude" (Nedham, 1652, p. 7), they concluded that, despite the change in leadership, the Dutch masses still strongly sympathised with the House of Orange, which supported the Stuarts and had blood ties with them. After lengthy negotiations, the small United Provinces, fearful of losing its independence, rejected the idea of union with the regicide English republic (or at least this is how the delaying tactics of the Dutch were interpreted in England), and the leaders of the Rump Parliament decided that the insolent Dutch, who betrayed the cause of Protestant unity, needed to be taught a lesson.

After the two envoys returned home in July, the English press did not comment on the situation in terms of a diplomatic failure, but interpreted it in moral and ideological terms, harshly criticising the Dutch as godless, selfish and profit-hungry. It was in this mood that the Rump Parliament passed the first *Navigation Act* in October 1651, a clear attack on the Dutch carrying trade. The Act stipulated that goods from English colonies could only be carried in English ships, or in ships of the colony, provided that three-quarters of the crew were English. Although the Navigation Act undoubtedly benefited English colonial trade in the long run, its authors were additionally motivated by their antipathy towards the irreligious Dutch who worshipped "idols of gold and silver" (*Mercurius Politicus*, E. 678, p. 1924). The Act was not the work of merchants, but fanatical Puritan politicians inspired by a desire to punish the Dutch for rejecting the idea of the Protestant and republican union. So the traditional argument of historians that the first Anglo-Dutch war was inevitable because of the Navigation Act needs to be revised. The moderate Dutch leadership did not want to go to war simply because of the provocative Navigation Act. The real tension was not caused by the Act, but the strong anti-Dutch feeling that had produced it (Pincus, 2002, pp. 555-566). Hoping to avoid the war, the Dutch started new negotiations with the English in May 1652 in London, but they were disrupted by the naval confrontation between the Orangist Vice-Admiral Van

Tromp and General at Sea Robert Blake off Dover, when the proud Dutch failed to lower the flag in salute to an English vessel in the English Channel (Groenveld, 1987, pp. 557; Jones, 2013, p. 114). The mere skirmish was thus reported by the republican propagandist Marchamont Nedham (1652): "Trump on the 19 of May 1652. with 42 ships of warre, came up to the Downs, and there assaulted our Generall Blake, who riding neer Foulstone with fourteen ships only, was enforced for some time by himself and afterwards with the rest of his Fleet, to maintain four hours sharp fight till night parted them" (p. 8).

Donald Lupton (1653) wrote about "the Dutch injustice and Ingratitude to fight against our Nation." He had no doubt that the conflict was started by the ungrateful Dutch who forgot that during the reign of Queen Elizabeth the English had fought for them against the Spaniards. "They begun the war," he claimed "and kindled the fire, and blowed the first Coal. They were the first Offenders, so 'tis just and fitting on our parts to repulse the injuries and Affronts offered us." The Dutch were also guilty of "harbouring and maintaining the publick Enemies of our State," as well as "scandalous seditious and pamphlets and books allowed to be printed in the disparagement of our State and Nation" (pp. 96-97). Thus, the English were made to believe that the Dutch wished to subvert their Puritan republic. They "would with all their hearts help you to a monarch again" (*Mercurius Politicus*, E. 674, p. 1835).

Marchamont Nedham (1652) expressed similar ideas:

> The kindness, blood, and money aforded by the Parliament of England in the days of Queen Elizabeth, put them into the condition of Liberty from the Sword of Spain: The power and interposition of England in the days of King James, caused them to be declared a Free State. The Valour and Arms of English men hath stood by them, to seucure their Freedom. Yet when the Parliament of England were enforced to contend in blood for Libertie and Religion, against the Armies of our late Tyrant, and his son, who sought to destroy both, and had the influence of the same designes, upon themselves by the Prince of Orange. Yet none contributed more assistance to that King and his son, then the United Provinces: and none more scorned, abused, and injured the Parliament and their Friends, then the Neatherlanders. (p. 30)

At the same time, Nedham did not fail to add: "Much might be also said concerning their endeavour to monopolize all Trade into their own hands." (p. 31)

It was Oliver Cromwell who ended the war in April 1654 as Lord Protector. The ending of the strife, in addition to the success of the English navy, was made possible by the dissolution of the Rump Parliament and the subsequent formation of the Barebones Parliament, in which Puritan extremists, who sympathized with the Fifth Monarchists and wanted no peace with the corrupted and godless Dutch, were marginalised.

Cromwell was widely criticized for his indulgence of the peace talks. It is certainly true that the clear victory over the Dutch was not used by the English to extort significant commercial benefits. Cromwell's primary demand was that the

Dutch recognize his Protectorate, and Johan de Witt should secure the exclusion of the House of Orange from power through the *Act of Seclusion* (Pincus, 2002, pp. 169-184; Geyl, 1969, pp. 116-125).[4] As Paul Kennedy (2001) put it:

> Although he genuinely wished to see England strong and prosperous, his motives were predominantly religious and patriotic, and he was quite willing to be conciliatory to the Dutch if this would free him for a crusade against Spain, particularly after the States of Holland had agreed to ban the House of Orange from the stadtholderate in May 1654. Yet it was the Spanish trade which had been so profitable for English merchants in the preceding period, and the Dutch who would benefit if an Anglo-Spanish war broke out. The economic arguments pointed in one direction; Cromwell marched in another. (p. 55)

What Cromwell wanted most was political security. The first half of 1653 saw Orangist riots in the United Provinces. In response to the military defeats, there was growing support for the more belligerent House of Orange. The desired political change in Dutch domestic affairs did occur after the death of the Orangist Van Tromp in August 1653. The new Vice-Admiral was a republican, the States party was able to strengthen its position, and the Dutch republicans were ready to cooperate with the Cromwellian moderates, who could now be sure "that a peace with the United Provinces would not immediately be nullified by an Orangist revolution" (Pincus, 2002, p. 156).

5. The background to the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-67)

The restoration of the monarchy in England eliminated the chaotic conditions of the Interregnum. In May 1660, after nearly ten years of exile, Charles II returned to his country from the United Provinces. In the same month, a Dutch delegation arrived in London and initiated negotiations to resolve disputes between the two countries. It soon became evident, however, that it would not be easy to make an agreement. The Dutch, who specialised in the carrying trade, were naturally offended when the new Anglican Royalist-dominated English Parliament re-enacted the Navigation Act of 1651. In September 1660 the Dutch repealed the Act of Seclusion, which had excluded the House of Orange from power, but in January 1661, when the widow of William II (Charles II's sister) died, the question of the further upbringing of the orphaned eleven-year-old Prince William led to tensions.[5] In addition, the relations between the two countries became burdened

[4] In the end, only the political body of the province of Holland out of the seven within the United Provinces accepted this demand. It was a commercial advantage that the English were able to significantly increase the size of their fleet by confiscating hundreds of Dutch vessels, and that according to the peace terms the Dutch had to pay for fishing in English waters from this time on.

[5] William was initially raised by Heer van Zuylestein, the illegitimate son of Frederick Henry (William's grandfather, Stadholder and Commander-in-Chief between 1625 and 1647) in a strict

in the summer of 1661 when Sir George Downing, who had already demonstrated his hostility to the Dutch between 1658 and 1660, was reappointed as ambassador to The Hague.

The years of negotiations did not resolve the old grievances. Under the terms of the 1654 Peace Treaty, the Dutch should have given up one of the Indonesian Maluku Islands, but this did not happen. In addition to the old grievances caused by the cruel killing of ten English merchants by the Dutch on the island of Amboyna in 1623 (Clark, 1987, p. 63), new conflicts developed in the area. The Dutch obstructed English trade off the coast of southwest India, and the English tried to break Dutch commercial hegemony in Guinea.

The Cavalier Parliament (1661-79) did not share the king's desire for religious toleration. In May 1662 it passed the *Act of Uniformity*, which deprived some two thousand Presbyterian and other dissenting clergymen of their livings. The Act was received with great disappointment and bitterness by the Protestant Nonconformists and united them against the restored royal regime. The government feared rebellion throughout the second half of 1662, but it was not until 12 October 1663 that a plot was discovered in the north of England. The authorities assumed that the supporters of 'the good old cause' had also received help from the Netherlands, so the Anglican Royalists were now determined to eliminate Nonconformity and to deal with the Dutch aspects of the problem as well (Davies, 2001, pp. 133-134).

6. A Commercial War? The Committee of Trade and Its Findings

"The Second Anglo–Dutch War was the clearest case in our history of a purely commercial war." – Sir George Clark (1987, p. 63) declared with great confidence. It "grew out of the unresolved legacy of the first, aggravated by England's accelerating colonial expansion after 1654 and Dutch efforts to obstruct it," in Jonathan Israel's view (1989, p. 271). "In contrast to the first English war" Pieter Geyl (1969) pointed out "the causes of the second were purely economic." (p. 190). Although commercial rivalry did contribute to the outbreak of the second military conflict, it is equally important to consider the ideological causes of the war, which these authors underestimate.

In April 1664, the House of Commons established a committee to investigate England's commercial problems with the clear aim of finding evidence of Dutch obstruction that could be used to provoke war. The committee asked the trading

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Calvinist spirit. In 1661 Johan de Witt himself became William's guardian, ensuring that the Prince was not exposed to Orangist influences. It was not until 1666 that Johan de Witt began to introduce William to public affairs. In August 1666, the political body of the province of Holland stated that William could not be Commander-in-Chief until he was twenty-two years old, and that he could not be Commander-in-Chief and Stadtholder at the same time. The English saw De Witt's guardianship and the Republican faction's efforts to limit William's power as a threat to their own interests.

companies to report on any interference in their activities by foreigners. On 21 April Thomas Clifford duly presented the Committee of Trade's report to the House of Commons. "The several, and respective wrongs, dishonours and indignities," said the document, "done to his Majesty by the subjects of the United Provinces, by invading his rights in India, Africa, and elsewhere; and the damages, affronts and injuries done by them to our merchants, are the greatest obstructions of foreign trade." The House adopted the report by a large majority, and by a resolution declared that, "for the prevention of the like in Future; and in prosecution thereof, this House doth resolve, they will with their lives and fortunes assist his Majesty against all opposition whatsoever" (*Journal of the House of Commons,* 1742, pp. 547-548).

In reality, the report distorted the truth. In fact, only about a third of the complaints collected referred to obstruction by the Dutch (Seaward, 1987, pp. 446-448). The majority of the English merchants did not want another war with the United Provinces. They knew that armed confrontation, even if successful, would damage trade in the short run. Although the Levant Company now mentioned some of the grievances against the Dutch, they never complained about them until 1664. Their main opponents were the Algerian pirates, against whom the English and the Dutch sometimes acted together. At the same time, the representatives of the Company felt it necessary to mention the abuses committed by the Venetian and French merchants. The first Anglo-Dutch war had seriously damaged English trade in the Mediterranean, and the Levant Company feared that it might happen again. The East India Company was strongly opposed to the war. Although the Dutch East India Company was a great rival, the English believed in fair competition and urged the government to consider the expected catastrophic consequences of the war. The representatives of the Company were in conflict not only with the Dutch, but also with the newly founded French East India Company that appeared in the region. The Portuguese refused to hand over Bombay, which was part of the dowry of Charles II's Portuguese wife. At the same time, the Spaniards prevented the East India Company from selling its products in their ports.

The Second Anglo-Dutch War was provoked by the Anglican Royalist merchants and politicians. It was the leaders of the African Company[6] who were the most eager to wage war against the Dutch. The Company appeared to have deliberately sought conflict with the United Provinces. Unlike the French, who had set foot in West African territories not yet occupied by Europeans, the English invaded Dutch Guinea (which the Dutch retook in 1664). The actions of the leaders of the African Company were motivated not so much by the desire for profit as by their hostility towards the Dutch. This was an Anglican royalist leadership, which – like the majority in the House of Commons – viewed the Dutch as representatives of the republican ideal and of religious pluralism and tolerance. These were the mainstays of the nonconformist and republican forces in England. The Anglican

[6] It was formally called the Company of Royal Adventurers.

Royalist antipathy to the Dutch was further reinforced by the mid-century idea that 'universal monarchy' could be achieved by economic rather than military force. In the eyes of the Anglican royalists, the heirs of Spanish ambitions for world domination were the Dutch, who, like their predecessors, sought to achieve their goals through a commercial monopoly (Pincus, 1992, pp. 3-26).

The Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Clarendon (Charles II's chief minister), distanced himself from the parliamentary decision. He saw it as war-mongering in the interests of certain merchants, backed by Charles' brother James Stuart, Duke of York, and the ambitious politicians who surrounded him. These included James's secretary, William Coventry, the secretary of state Sir Henry Bennet (who became the Earl of Arlington in 1663), and Sir George Downing, ambassador to The Hague. Clarendon was probably right, as the governor of the rather aggressive African Company was James himself (Seaward, 1987, pp. 437-438).[7] Among the members of the Company, in addition to Coventry and Arlington, we find Sir George Carteret, the Treasurer of the Navy, Lord Lauderdale (the Duke of Buckingham), responsible for Scottish affairs, and Lord Ashley, the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The new Anglo-Dutch negotiations, which had started in September 1663, failed. Downing perceived the Dutch as being internally divided and financially unstable, and therefore keen to avoid war at all costs. No concessions could be extracted, however, because the Dutch expected the English Parliament to vote against providing the king with the necessary funds to prepare for war. There seemed to be a lack of harmony between the monarch and Parliament. In December 1662 Charles attempted to relax the strictures of the first two acts of the Clarendon Code.[8] He issued his first "Declaration of Indulgence", asking parliament to legislate for a wider use of his *dispensing power*, which allowed him to exempt some people from the law. However, the House of Commons angrily rejected the request. Parliament was also suspicious of the government's financial policy. The Earl of Bristol even accused Clarendon of treason in the House of Lords, and although the Lords found the charge to be unfounded, the case was not completely closed.

These developments filled the Dutch with optimism. Downing was convinced that the negotiations would not be taken seriously by the Dutch until they saw the determination of the English. The Committee of Trade was therefore needed to collect complaints about Dutch conduct, to whip up anti-Dutch sentiment and to put pressure on De Witt's government through a strong parliamentary resolution. Downing's expectation that the Dutch would back down and make substantial concessions on the news of the British arms raid did not materialise. De Witt had new ships built with the approval of the Estates General (Staaten Generaal) and ordered De Ruyter to recapture the Guinean territories and bases. When it

[7] Many of the members of the Committee of Trade were closely linked to Arlington and James. The chairman of the committee, Thomas Clifford, was Arlington's man.

[8] The Corporation Act excluded devout Nonconformists from the governing bodies of towns, while the Act of Uniformity targeted clergy who did not accept the Book of Common Prayer.

became clear in late October that De Ruyter had succeeded, war became inevitable. Parliament voted £2.5 million to prepare for war (Seaward, 1987, pp. 446-450). Contrary to the expectations of many, the English Parliament's resolution in April united the Dutch, and the course of the war showed that the English had seriously underestimated the strength of the United Provinces (Seaward, 1987, p. 452).

7. The Course and Outcome of the Second Anglo-Dutch War

The Second Anglo-Dutch War was fought in a much more complex international political situation than the First, one that was unfavourable to England, and the English also had serious domestic difficulties to contend with.

It was not until March 1665 that the English declared war on the United Provinces. The English fleet commanded by the Duke of York had captured New Amsterdam months earlier, but the war was fought without much success. It increasingly seemed that the English had run out of luck. In the summer of 1665, after making an agreement with the King of Denmark, the English wanted to attack the Dutch merchant fleet from the port of Bergen as it sailed home along the coast of Scotland, but in a fatal misunderstanding the Danes opened fire on the approaching English ships. The incident, which resulted in hundreds of casualties, led England to declare war on Denmark, which became an ally of the Dutch. France had been tied to the Dutch by a defensive alliance since 1662.[9] Charles II's dreams of French support were therefore in vain. England's only ally was Bernhard von Galen, Prince-bishop of Münster, but this was amply compensated by the German allies of the Dutch (Clark, 1987, pp. 64-65). A series of domestic disasters did not help the war effort either. In the spring of 1665 a plague epidemic broke out in England, claiming 68 000 lives in London alone (Ashley, 1968, p. 128; Holmes, 1995, p. 5). In September 1666 a fire destroyed much of the City of London.[10] The following month, an increasingly disgruntled Parliament voted a larger sum to cover military expenditure, but only after Charles had granted access to the navy's accounts. The winter of 1666-1667 saw riots in many parts of the country. The discontent of the masses was exacerbated by the poor harvests of the war years (Prest, 1998, p. 40). The government itself was responsible for the final defeat. In February 1667, in order to cut costs, it was decided to withhold large warships and send only cruisers to protect merchant ships. In June, with peace negotiations well under way, the Dutch sailed up the River Medway, set fire to four ships in Chatham harbour and towed away the flagship *Royal Charles* named after the king.

A rapid peace settlement was made necessary by France's aggressive foreign policy and the fact that the war had exhausted both the British and the Dutch and

[9] For Johan de Witt's States Party, this was the obvious orientation as the rival House of Orange sought a relationship with Charles II's England.

[10] For details see Davies, 2011, pp. 143-152.

was generally unfavourable to both sides. The French provided only minimal military assistance to their Dutch allies, and were secretly preparing to invade the Spanish Netherlands, which Louis XIV claimed for his wife on spurious grounds.[11] The Dutch feared that France would completely annex the Spanish Netherlands, become a direct and threatening neighbour of the United Provinces, and revive the once great rival city of Antwerp. The English, whose priority had always been to keep the continental territories closest to them in neutral or friendly hands, were also alarmed by the French ambitions. King Leopold I of Hungary and Bohemia, Holy Roman Emperor, was unable to come to the aid of the Spanish. His forces were tied down by German princes allied with the French, by the Turks, who were regaining strength after 'the Restoration' of the two Köprülüs,[12] and by the anti-Hapsburg movement of the Hungarians. Leopold therefore decided to sign a treaty with Louis XIV. They agreed not only on how much of the Spanish Netherlands France could carve out for itself, but also on the division of the Spanish Empire between them in case the ailing Charles II died without a successor. Under these circumstances, it was high time for the English and the Dutch to put aside their differences. The peace treaty was signed in July 1667 (England could keep New Amsterdam, but had to give up Suriname, Pula Run, the West African forts and Nova Scotia, and received no reparations for the English merchants). Then, in January 1668, the Triple Alliance of England, the United Provinces and Sweden was signed, in which the parties agreed to act as mediators between France and Spain and to work together to end the war. France was allowed to keep some of its 1667 conquests, but not everything. If France refused to accept this, England and the United Provinces would jointly launch a war against it to force it to restore its former borders. This was already provided for in the secret clauses annexed to the treaty (Holmes, 1995, p. 434).

8. The Road to the Third Anglo-Dutch War

The unsuccessful war against the Dutch led to a domestic crisis in England. The Crown faced a serious financial situation. In 1660 Parliament decided that the King should receive an annual income of £1,200,000. However, the revenue, which came mainly from customs and excise duties, was always £250-300,000 short of the

[11] According to the customary law of the province of Brabant, female children from a first marriage had priority in inheritance over male children from a second marriage. Louis XIV argued that under this law his wife, Maria Theresa, by Philip's first marriage, was the rightful heir to the territories of the southern Netherlands, and not Charles II, who was born to Philip's second wife. After the death of Louis' father-in-law, King Philip IV of Spain, the French launched the invasion.

[12] The twenty-year reign of the Grand Viziers Mohamed and Ahmed Köprülü (1656-1676) is known in historiography as 'the Restoration'. The two Pashas restored the former order by cracking down on anarchy and corruption, putting finances in order and leading the empire out of a military crisis. The Turkish Empire became so strong that Kara Mustafa Pasha was even planning to take Vienna.

voted amount. To make up for the shortfall, a Hearth Tax – two shillings per hearth (household) – was introduced in 1662 but this initially failed to raise even £100,000. During the war years total revenues fell to £700,000. With war debts rising to one and a half million, this meant bankruptcy (Holmes, 1995, pp. 100-103).

This explains why Charles II agreed to the secret Treaty of Dover with the Sun King in 1670, which led to the Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672-1674). (Under the treaty, the main burden of the land operations was to be borne by France, and that of the naval operations by England. The three islands at the mouth of the Scheldt River would be gained by the English. Charles II promised to convert to Catholicism as soon as the affairs of his country permitted.) The King of England probably had three objectives: to stabilise his position as monarch through a successful war, to gain access to French aid and to overthrow the Dutch republican regime. Charles hoped that his young nephew, William of Orange, who was to replace Johan De Witt, would govern according to his expectations. (William of Orange did indeed come to power in the summer of 1672, although not quite in the way Charles II had imagined. There was a revolution in the United Provinces. The masses, panicked by the French invasion, overthrew the De Witt brothers and forced the oligarchies of Holland and Zeeland, the main backers of the Republican Party, to accept William as Stadholder and Commander-in-Chief of the army.)[13]

Louis XIV's intentions were also clear. The French were highly sensitive to the formation of the Triple Alliance and especially to the betrayal of Johan de Witt. Louis XIV realised not only that first he would have to break the resistance of the United Provinces if he wanted to gain the Spanish Netherlands, but also that the Triple Alliance laid the foundations for a formidable anti-French coalition. The alliance of two dominant maritime powers presented a major strategic challenge for France. It could not expect to succeed on the continent if it had to divide its forces between simultaneous land and naval campaigns (Kennedy, 1989, pp. 88-89). Louis XIV held Johan de Witt responsible for the emergence of the Triple Alliance, which he saw as a new threat. As a result, he spent the next few years preparing for a punitive campaign against the United Provinces while trying to undermine the Triple Alliance (Rowen, 1954, pp. 13-14).

9. Conclusion

While trade rivalry undoubtedly contributed to tensions between England and the United Provinces, the three Anglo-Dutch wars were equally fought for political and ideological reasons, which were different in each conflict. In 1651,

[13] Charles II pursued an irresponsible foreign policy, but there was no one to stop him. Until the Glorious Revolution (1688-1689), Parliament met infrequently and irregularly and had too little information to control foreign policy decisions. Moreover, the country's constitutional traditions gave it no right to do so.

when the moderately Protestant Dutch rejected the idea of a political union with the new English Republic for fear of becoming dominated by a much larger country controlled by radical Puritans, the English concluded that the Dutch were godless and still in favour of the House of Orange, which represented monarchical tendencies. The Rump Parliament decided to punish its main trading rival by passing the Navigation Act, which excluded foreign ships from trading with the English colonies. The Second Anglo-Dutch War was provoked by the Anglican Royalists who dominated political life in England after the Restoration of the monarchy and who saw the Calvinist Dutch, with their republican form of government, as political and ideological enemies. At the same time, the new English monarchical regime was keen to establish itself as a dominant power by defeating its main rival in trade and colonial competition. The Third Anglo-Dutch War was also driven by a combination of political, dynastic, religious and economic factors. Financial difficulties, reluctance to rely on the support of Parliament, sympathies for Catholicism and the hope of regime change in the United Provinces all led Charles II to ally with Louis XIV, who wanted to extend the frontiers of France and break the power of the United Provinces, which stood in the way of his dynastic ambitions.

The hostilities between the Dutch Republic and England were eventually resolved due to a significant shift in English public opinion. The small United Provinces, with a population of only two million, was on the verge of collapse in 1672. The Dutch were able to resist Anglo-French pressure at sea, but on land the French advanced unstoppably. Only the opening of their dikes and the flooding of their borders saved Holland and Zeeland. The majority of the English finally realised that the main threat to their country were not the Dutch, who were on the brink of disaster, but the French under the Sun King. Anti-Dutch sentiment was replaced by fear of French hegemony, closely linked to fear of Catholicism and royal despotism.[14]

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[14] For details on this, see Pincus, 1995, pp. 333-358.

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Peter Kropotkin's 1902 *Mutual Aid* theory today

Abstract: Kropotkin's assertions regarding mutual aid, posited in his seminal work, illuminate a fundamental aspect of social behaviour transcending species boundaries. He contended that cooperation and solidarity, rather than mere competition, were integral to evolutionary progress, challenging Darwin's paradigm of survival of the fittest. This perspective underscores the significance of altruism and collective support in the survival and flourishing of diverse communities. However, in the contemporary milieu characterized by individualism and digital connectivity, the applicability of Kropotkin's theory warrants scrutiny. The proliferation of online interactions has reshaped the dynamics of social relationships, raising pertinent questions about the efficacy of mutual aid in a virtual landscape dominated by self-promotion and egotistic pursuits. The transition from face-to-face to digital interactions has ushered in a new era marked by instant gratification and superficial connections. Furthermore, the accountability inherent in online engagements adds another layer of complexity to the evaluation of mutual aid in the digital age. As individuals navigate the intricacies of virtual interactions, the extent to which Kropotkin's principles endure amidst the allure of self-interest remains a subject of inquiry. This paper seeks to explore the viability of mutual aid in fostering meaningful connections and promoting collective well-being within the evolving landscape of digital communication.

Keywords: mutual aid, evolution, culture, individualism.

1. Peter Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution* (1902) – main points

The 21st century presents a unique backdrop for re-evaluating Peter Kropotkin's theory of mutual aid, first articulated in 1902. In an era dominated by technology, individualism, and the relentless pursuit of uniqueness and recognition, the concept of mutual aid raises questions about its continued significance. The article explores

the fundamental principles of Kropotkin's theory, examining the changing dynamics of cooperation and competition, and the influence of technology and social media on human interactions. The study aims to answer the following research questions: How do Kropotkin's concepts of mutual aid and individual initiative compare to the role of mutual struggle in the evolution of the animal kingdom? Additionally, how are these concepts impacted by modern technological and social media developments? To this end, the concept of crowdfunding platforms, various hobbyist groups, and online forums cantered around ideas, beliefs, profession or teams, are analysed and the findings presented in this paper. As Kropotkin posits, "mutual aid (which leads to mutual confidence, the first condition for courage) and individual initiative (the first condition for intellectual progress) are two factors infinitely more important than mutual struggle in the evolution of the animal kingdom." (Kropotkin, 2022, p.24).

The concept of *Mutual Aid* is constructed on Professor Karl Kessler's idea[1] that besides a law of mutual struggle, considered by most Darwinists at that time, there is in Nature a law of mutual aid which is far more important for progressive evolution (Kropotkin, 2022, p.5). Kropotkin develops the issue and elaborates, giving a pool of examples corroborating the theory of mutual aid among some species and its validity in the process of evolution. He disagrees with the works of Darwinists and Social Darwinists of the era on the subject. Kropotkin critiqued the view of 'a law of Nature' which suggested that human intelligence and knowledge could lessen the severity of the struggle for survival among individuals, while simultaneously recognizing a universal struggle for existence where 'every man is against all other men.' He argued that this perspective lacked verification through direct observation (Kropotkin, 2022, p.5). However, based on his own years of observation and research the author declares: "I saw Mutual Aid and Mutual Support carried on to an extent which made me suspect in it a feature of the greatest importance for the maintenance of life, the preservation of each species, and its further evolution." (Kropotkin, 2022, p.4).

Kropotkin's interpretation of Darwin's notion 'survival of the fittest' acquires new meaning, as he questions who can be considered the fittest: "those who are continually at war with each other, or those who support each other". Based on his observations he answers: "[…] we at once see that those animals which acquire habits of mutual aid are undoubtedly the fittest. They have more chances to survive […], the highest development of intelligence and bodily organization." (Kropotkin, 2022, p.17). The author shares examples of mutual aid present in the animal kingdom and among men from the earliest days to the present. He discusses the construct of the village, the significance of guilds, the developments of the first towns and cities. He looks into the past, investigating the impact of the mutual aid

[1] Professor Kessler's 1880 lecture "On the Law of Mutual Aid" delivered at a Russian Congress of Naturalists.

factor on human evolution. The examples he draws on are certainly valid. "The more the individuals keep together, the more they mutually support each other, and the more are the chances of the species for surviving, as well as for making further progress in its intellectual development" (2022, p.18). Kropotkin elaborated further on this view by adding: "[…] in the long run the practice of solidarity proves much more advantageous to species than the development of individuals endowed with predatory inclinations. The cunningest and the shrewdest are eliminated in favour of those who understand the advantages of social life and mutual support" (Kropotkin, 2022, p.26).

Kropotkin posits that the Mutual Aid construct is based on compassion – "a necessary outcome of social life, […] a powerful factor of further evolution" (Kropotkin, 2022, p.59), an innate instinct to help others that man inherited and extended by his education (Kropotkin, 2022, p.232). Furthermore, the author downplays the significance of the competition factor. He declares that man has reached the position upon which he stands now by avoiding competition (Kropotkin, 2022, p.71).

Kropotkin's theory is rooted in the idea that mutual aid, driven by sociability, plays a vital role in species' survival and evolution. He challenged the prevailing Darwinian notion of "survival of the fittest" by highlighting the advantages of cooperation and support within species. His observations of mutual aid across the animal kingdom and human societies led him to assert that those who support each other are the true 'fittest'. His theory emphasizes compassion, empathy, and the devaluation of competition as essential components of human progress.

Throughout the volume, Kropotkin states the magnitude of co-operation, support and aid to human evolution, at the core of which lie the principles of benevolence, empathy and compassion. However, are those principles at the core of 21st century society? Can human evolutionary progress be credited to Mutual Aid, or can it be attributed to the triumph of individualism and competition, making them new elements aiding the process of human evolution?

2. Media-society

Robert Putman in his work *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community,* describes weakening community ties among Americans. The author investigates the involvement of Americans in the field of politics, civics, religion and work. He draws attention to social capital "connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (Putman, 2020, p.19). He further explains the importance of social capital adding: "[…] even a poorly connected individual may derive some of the spillover benefits from living in a well-connected community" (Putman, 2020, p.20). Putman presents factual data regarding trends in civic engagement,

i.e. the decline in partisan activities, communal participation, public expression, church membership and attendance and regarding the work place – unionization: "The young worker thinks primarily of himself. We are experiencing the cult of the individual, and labour is taking a beating preaching the comfort of coalition" (Pestillo in Putman, 2020, p.82). Putman connects the declines with a shift from residence-based to workplace-based networks, and from locational communities to vocational communities. The author adds: "Since more of us are working outside the home today than a generation ago, perhaps we have simply transferred more of our friendship, more of our civic discussion, and more of our community ties from the front porch to the water cooler" (Putman, 2020, p. 85). Putman's research covers data from 1990 to 2020. However, 2020 and the post COVID years have introduced, or in some places increased, a new global tendency – working online, eliminating the 'water cooler' interactions mentioned by Putman. In the early days of the pandemic the percentage of people in America spending time online using mobile devices doubled.[2] Nevertheless, Putman unmistakably noted Americans' changing behaviour. He picked up on an increasing disconnection between people and how social structures – whether they be PTA, church, or political parties – have disintegrated, leading to broken ties among communities. Another author who noticed the decline in sociality was Seymour. In his book he investigates the impact and addictive nature of social media for the individual. He cites psychologist Jean Twenge's findings, stating that a modern day person is far less likely than their predecessors to go out, go on dates or have sex (Seymour, 2020, p. 57).

21st century society can be referred to as one governed by social media. The Internet has opened new doors for an individual to be able to voice an opinion, to present himself to the world, to be noticed, to stand out from the crowd. The personal interactions model has shifted to on-line platform based interactions. "Over the past generation, media platforms have emerged as a dominant institutional form in the culture industries. […] in addition to making and disseminating meanings to mass audiences, media platforms rely on the participation of audiences in the production and circulating of meaning" (Carah, 2021, p.5). Feenberg and Bakardjieva saw in this participation in virtual communities potential for "collective meaning making and mobilization around interests and issues that may not be directly political but important to people's self-realization and well-being. This makes the internet a potential site for developing citizens not just consumers" (Feenberg and Bakardjieva, 2004, p. 26-32). However, as Seymour rightly noticed, on one hand we are confronted with the massification of social media and, on the other hand, it is obsessed with the topic of individual liberation. Moreover, according to the author the flipside to this individual liberation is the idea of a 'new narcissism' (Seymour, 2020, p.43). In this view, social sites provide a place

[2] *Nielsen* - a global leader in audience measurement, data and analytics. https://www.nielsen.com/about-us/

to experience the "exhibitionism and competitive pleasure of being compared to others" (Seymour, 2020, p.48). The author furthermore observes that "a culture that values connectivity so highly must be as impoverished in its social life as a culture obsessed with happiness is bitterly depressed" (Seymour, 2020, p. 56). So, on one hand people crave attention, acknowledgement, the limelight of celebrity status that being noticed provides, on the other hand they want their uniqueness and rareness to be validated by others.

Robert Putman's work on the decline of community ties and Seymour's insights into the impact of social media shed light on the changing dynamics of human interaction. Putman's observations about decreasing civic engagement and Seymour's exploration of the addictive nature of social media highlight the transformation from face-to-face interactions to online engagement. The rise of social media platforms has given individuals the ability to voice opinions and seek recognition. However, this shift also raises questions about the balance between individualism and cooperation, as social media can foster both self-presentation and competitive comparison.

3. The sociological perspective – from mass communication to mass self-presentation

The notion that individuals are products of social interaction underscores the profound influence of society on shaping our identities, beliefs, and behaviours. From the moment we are born, we are immersed in a complex web of social relationships that serve as the crucible for our development. Language, as the primary medium of communication, not only facilitates interaction but also serves as a conduit for transmitting cultural norms, values, and beliefs. The words we use and the meanings we attach to them are imbued with social significance, reflecting the collective wisdom and shared understanding of our communities. Through language, we not only express ourselves but also negotiate our identities within the broader social context. Education further amplifies the impact of socialization by imparting knowledge, skills, and ideologies that reflect societal values and priorities. From formal schooling to informal learning environments, educational institutions serve as incubators of socialization, moulding individuals into active participants in the social fabric. The curriculum, teaching methods, and even peer interactions all contribute to shaping our worldview and sense of self. Moreover, norms and values serve as guiding principles that govern social behaviour and define the boundaries of acceptable conduct within a given society. Whether explicit or implicit, these norms exert a powerful influence on individuals, shaping their attitudes, beliefs, and interpersonal relationships. Through socialization, we internalize these norms, integrating them into our psyche and regulating our behaviour accordingly. In essence, socialization is a multifaceted process through which individuals

internalize the values, norms, and beliefs of their society, ultimately forging their sense of self. Our identities are not static but dynamic constructs that evolve in response to ongoing social interactions and experiences. By acknowledging the crucial influence of social interaction on human development, we enhance our comprehension of the complex relationship between the individual and society. The language we use, the education we receive, and the norms and values we are taught are all a part of a socialization process through which we develop and embrace a sense of self. We become who we are largely through our social relations with others. In other words, the individual, to varying extents, is shaped by social interactions (Croteau, 2021, p. 15).

As articulated by Greene (2018), our brains have evolved to thrive through continuous social engagement, with the intricacies of these interactions playing a crucial role in advancing our collective intelligence as a species. However, when our participation in social interactions diminishes to a certain extent, it can detrimentally affect our brain's function, leading to a decline in our social acumen (Greene, 2018, p. 49).

This issue becomes increasingly relevant given the shift in our social interaction model, from traditional face-to-face encounters to primarily online engagements. The critical question at hand is whether these online interactions predominantly involve one-way communication, wherein individuals present themselves to the world, or if they indeed foster genuine two-way interactions, and if so, what is the accountability level of one's word during such interactions. This accountability level signifies the degree of responsibility individuals take for their words, promises, and agreed-upon actions and proceedings. The digital realm of online socialization offers a sense of security, as individuals can choose not to fulfil previously agreed-upon obligations, hiding behind the screen. In essence, it raises the crucial query of whether this shift towards online interactions is as effective for human advancement as the traditional face-to-face model. If it is, in line with Kropotkin's theory that human progress depends on communication, then Kropotkin's theory retains its validity, emphasizing the immense significance of socializing for human evolution. However, if, as Seymour suggests, our online interactions are primarily self-promotional and addiction-driven, Kropotkin's theory loses its relevance.

The profound transformations in the scope of human existence brought about by the media also bear significant ethical implications. Our perception of Earth as a vast environmental system has fundamentally reshaped our ethical understanding of our actions as inhabitants of this world (Couldry, 2012). The global connectivity offered by the Internet has created a perception of the world as a unified social and cultural entity. Moreover, given the prevalent emphasis on individualism and personal rights in our culture, which promotes self-focus, the Internet has facilitated a shift from mass communication to mass self-presentation. As societies become more individualistic, they also become more narcissistic (Manne, 2015).

These shifts in how we interact and engage with the world, both online and in the broader context of media and culture, have profound implications for our understanding of society, ethics, and the dynamics of human communication. Cooperation, help, solidarity are still present, but their degrees may have changed. On one hand, with the access to a global community that social networks provide, the issue of help, cooperation and working together for the benefit of mankind should be greater. On the other hand, we often use social networks for more egotistical gains, like self-presentation. As stated by Jose van Dijck, social media platforms are not finished products, on the contrary they are dynamic objects that are continually tweaked in response to their users' needs and their owners' objectives (van Dijck, 2013, p.7). Therefore, it is clear that media platforms will always accommodate our personal desires and goals, as it is their purpose. Now, if those desires and goals are only to serve an individual to achieve recognition and acknowledgement, then it is difficult to see the theory of mutual aid applying. Hence, to gain further insights into the concept of mutual aid, in the social media driven society of the 21st century, it's vital to discuss the concepts of crowdfunding platforms, hobbyist groups existing on the Facebook, idea-based or work-based communities, and teams present on the internet in the form of online forums.

4. Kropotkin's concept of mutual aid today

The concept of utilizing technology for communication purposes originated in the 1980s with the advent of Bulletin Board Systems (BBS). These systems enabled users to connect via terminal programs, granting them access to various functions upon logging in. Users could upload and download software and data, read news and bulletins, and engage in communication with others through public message boards, and in some instances, direct chat. This brought about Usenet - a global system of discussion groups. Usenet allowed for the exchange of opinions with a group of people interested in a particular topic, regardless of their location. Initially, the primary beneficiaries of this system were predominantly IT enthusiasts and professionals. The emergence of social media in the 21st century has democratized communication by enabling the average person to express their opinions, ideas and beliefs, additionally granting an individual access to instant information, as a result, shifting the concept of mutual aid into a new dimension. While the fundamental principle remains unchanged - helping others facilitates progress - the form of this assistance has evolved due to widespread access to the internet and social media platforms. Consequently, the focus (direction) of our help also changed as the collaboration in Kropotkin's view understood as: 'us together as a family/tribe/community' because we are 'born into it', and 'for the benefit of our tribe/village/society' is no longer about 'us' governed by relationship/geographical/political boundaries and restrictions. Instead, it is about 'us' belonging to a group/

unit formed around shared interests, hobbies, needs and desires. The first concept that facilitates this is crowdfunding.

Crowdfunding is a method of raising capital to finance a project or business venture by leveraging the collective contributions of a large group of individuals. This approach to financing would have been impossible in the past since it is primarily facilitated online through social media and dedicated crowdfunding platforms, which, in turn, maximize reach and exposure without reliance on traditional banks or typical financial institutions. The effectiveness of crowdfunding fundamentally hinges on access to social media networks and the principle of mutual aid. "In 2023, the global crowdfunding market volume was estimated at 1.17 billion U.S. dollars, marking a slight increase compared to the previous years. According to Statista, the transaction value of the global crowdfunding sector is projected to grow by 1.48 percent between 2024 and 2028, resulting in a market volume of 1.27 billion U.S. dollars in 2028. One of the largest crowdfunding platforms, Kickstarter, launched more than 600,000 projects as of January 2024".[3] Moreover, it has to be noted that apart from profit based type of crowdfunding, there also exists a donation-based model, where "the return on investment is not financial, but a social good or some form of community benefit". [4]

10 best crowdfunding platforms as it stands for 2024:

1. Best overall: Kickstarter
2. Runner-up: Indiegogo
3. Best for small businesses: Fundable
4. Best for Shopify stores: Crowdfunder
5. Best for content creators: Patreon
6. Best for UK and Europe: Crowdcube
7. Best for personal fundraising: GoFundMe
8. Best for nonprofits: Mightycause
9. Best for real estate crowdfunding: CrowdStreet
10. Best for high-growth startups: StartEngine.[5]

Through crowdfunding, individuals can exploit the reach of the internet to raise money for different purposes, such as starting a business (e.g. Fundable, Indiegogo), developing a new product (e.g. Crowdfunder, Kickstarter), supporting a social cause (e.g. Mightycause), or helping individuals in need (e.g. GoFundMe). As the crowdfunding market continues to evolve and grow, platforms are investigating additional financial and non-financial services that could be integrated into their offerings. However, crowdfunding is not the only concept based on the principle

[3] https://www.statista.com/statistics/1078273/global-crowdfunding-market-size/

[4] https://stripe.com/en-pl/resources/more/four-types-of-crowdfunding-for-startups-and-how-to-choose-one#donation-based-crowdfunding

[5] https://www.shopify.com/blog/crowdfunding-sites#6

of 21st century idea of mutual aid. The social media giant Facebook implemented this concept by introducing a feature on the platform known as Facebook Groups.

Facebook was the first social network to exceed one billion registered accounts and currently sits at more than three billion monthly active users. Meta Platform owns four of the biggest social media platforms (WhatsApp, Facebook, Messenger, and Instagram), all with more than one billion monthly active users each.[6] Facebook Groups turned out to be one of the most popular features of the social media platform. Platform's users create these groups for numerous reasons, including connecting with like-minded individuals, sharing information, organizing events, promoting businesses and generally helping each other. As it is stated on the Facebook official site "With new Groups, we made it easy for you to build a space for important groups of people in your life—your family, your soccer team, your book club. All you have to do to get started is to create a group, add friends and start sharing."[7] It is estimated that over 1.8 billion people use Facebook Groups every month.[8] Facebook understood human desire to belong and acted on it. Just to highlight the popularity of the 'Groups' concept, according to Facebook statistics, there are over 10 million groups on Facebook at the moment[9], more than 50% of all users are in five or more groups[10]; the average Facebook group has 2300 members[11]. Moreover, 98% of Facebook Group members say they feel a sense of belonging as they can share their ideas, thoughts and experiences with others who can relate to them.[12] Presented with statistical data above it is hard not to recognise the magnitude of Facebook's accomplishment. In the past it may have been the tribes or clans fulfilling the sense of belonging, nowadays there are hobbyists groups in their millions.

However, there are other idea-based or profession-based groups and teams that thrive on the internet in the form of online forums. Where the advancement of progress through mutual aid is evident. To name a few:

Reddit Communities: Reddit hosts thousands of "subreddits" dedicated to various topics, such as technology (r/technology), science (r/science), and specific hobbies like photography (r/photography) or fitness (r/fitness);

Quora: A question-and-answer platform where users form communities around topics of interest, such as philosophy, education, or entrepreneurship, to share knowledge and insights;

GitHub Communities**:** Developers collaborate on open-source projects, sharing code, ideas, and improvements, creating a global network of programmers working towards common goals.

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[6] https://www.statista.com/statistics/272014/global-social-networks-ranked-by-number-of-users/

[7] https://www.facebook.com/notes/10160198316566729/

[8] https://virtual-communities.thegovlab.org/reports

[9] https://www.facebook.com/community/whats-new/facebook-communities-summit-keynote-recap/?_rdc=1&_rdr

[10] https://www.facebook.com/notes/10160198316566729/

[11] https://www.sociablekit.com/tutorials/embed-facebook-group-posts-website/

[12] https://www.facebook.com/notes/10160198316566729/

There are numerous forums available online. They are set around an idea or a topic, with the purpose of collaborating and interacting with the like-minded people across the world. The topics and ideas can relate to a general subject on health, work, education, entertainment or politics, to name a few; or a niche related topic more often connected to individual's particular experience or a predicament.

According to Statista.com "As of April 2024, there were 5.44 billion internet users worldwide, which amounted to 67.1 % of the global population. Of this total, 5.07 billion, or 62.6 % of the world's population, were social media users"[13]. The statistics demonstrate the overall growing popularity of social media and the internet. Furthermore, analysing the topic closer it has to be noted that the most popular reason for using the internet worldwide as of 1st quarter of 2024 is 'finding information' (62,4%), and in the second and third place consequently 'staying in touch with friends and family' (59,6%), and 'keeping up to date with news and events' (54%)[14]. In essence, 'Finding information' can involve participating in online forums; 'Staying in touch with friends and family' indicates the use of platforms such as Facebook; and 'Keeping up to date with news and events' among other things contains checking crowdfunding possibilities.

5. Conclusions

In conclusion, the ideas presented in Peter Kropotkin's "Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution" and the observations made by Robert Putman in "Bowling Alone" and Seymour in the context of the media-dominated society of the 21st century raise important questions about the advancement of human society and the role of mutual aid, individualism, and competition.

Kropotkin's theory of mutual aid highlights the importance of cooperation, solidarity, and empathy in human evolution. He argues that these principles are essential for the survival and progress of societies and species. However, 21st-century society has undergone significant changes, particularly with the advent of social media and online interactions. In today's society, the rise of social media has created a platform for individualism and self-presentation, where many individuals seek recognition and validation. While there is still room for cooperation and solidarity in online communities, there is also a risk of a "new narcissism" where the focus is on self-promotion and comparison with others.

The sociological perspective emphasizes the role of social interactions in shaping individual identity and values. However, the change from face-to-face interactions to online interactions raises questions about the depth of these interactions. Are online interactions as conducive to mutual aid and meaningful

[13] https://www.statista.com/statistics/617136/digital-population-worldwide/

[14] https://www.statista.com/statistics/1387375/internet-using-global-reasons/

cooperation as face-to-face interactions? The answer to this question remains complex and may vary depending on the context and the individuals involved. Analysing data regarding concepts such as crowdfunding, Facebook Groups and online forums, it is obvious that the Kropotkin's theory of mutual aid is still very much present, merely the form and the focus of the help have changed, evolved. Nowadays, people rally around ideas regardless of their political beliefs (for instance: Zrzutka.pl to Help Ukraine).[15] They choose to form or join groups based purely on their individual interests in order to exchange information, for financial gain or to help others. The need for belonging is still present in our society (i.e. amount of Facebook Groups and online forums). However, the internet allowed an individual the choice of 'where to belong' and 'who to help' regardless of political restrictions, geographical boundaries and relationship constraints.

Social media and online interactions offer opportunities for both collaboration and self-promotion, and the balance between these aspects can influence the direction of human evolution. It is essential to continue examining how these dynamics shape our society and whether the race for uniqueness can coexist with the principles of mutual aid, empathy, and compassion. Ultimately, the future of human evolution will be shaped by our ability to strike a meaningful balance between individualism and cooperation in the digital age.

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Economization of Self: Constructing a Female Neoliberal Subject in Eílís Ní Dhuibhne's *Fox*, *Swallow*, *Scarecrow*

Abstract: The paper focuses on the interdisciplinary textual analysis of Eílís Ní Dhuibhne's *Fox, Swallow, Scarecrow* which addresses the complex human condition under the absolute reign of capitalism in the context of the Irish transition toward a neoliberal state. By relying on new economic criticism, the paper argues that this novel represents some of the silenced and, at the same time, most destructive aspects of the Irish iteration of neoliberal capitalism and its predominantly fictional character in the 21st century. By zooming in on the protagonists' constant search for self-actualization amid the Irish economic and real-estate boom, the narrative reveals the confusion and desire inherent in the neoliberal state of mind which thrives on constant striving for materialistic self-fulfilment. Although the neoliberal paradigm introduced into the Irish public discourse the belief that women are finally in a position to realize themselves as active subjects and to enjoy benefits they had been denied in the past, this process is presented here as incomplete. Namely, the paper shows that at the height of Irish economic prosperity, within the short-lived and superficial social idyll, the characters live in a new form of capitalist colonialism in which they still encounter strong, albeit radically shaken social taboos such as class differences, poverty, extramarital affairs and women's financial dependency in a marriage. The paper argues that the female neoliberal subject ultimately fails to adhere to the neoliberal paradigm on her journey toward self-assertion. She creates her own counter-space through her attempts to balance her intimate desires with the expectations placed on her as a wife and a mother. Threatened by unforgiving societal pressures, constructed counter-space critiques the neoliberal expectations of self-empowerment, but also challenges the patriarchal structures and traditional roles still imposed on women in modern Ireland.

Key words: neoliberal subject, contemporary Irish fiction, textual representation, neoliberal state, reign of capitalism

1. Introduction

Towards the end of the 20th century, as the influence of the Catholic Church in Ireland began to decline, the doctrine of neoliberalism started to dominate all spheres of life. Mikowski (2014) points out that the individual's freedom, as

opposed to entrenched obedience and collective repression under the dictates of the Catholic Church and conservative morality, finally became a right available to everyone. Furthermore, Keatinge (2014) sees such trends as key turning points in Ireland and places the beginning of speculation on the real estate market in that period, which he sees as one of the key causes of the Irish economic collapse.

Irish women's literary voices, with a certain time lag from the period of the Celtic Tiger, gradually became an illustrative site of literary criticism of neoliberalism, since the neoliberal economy, especially in the period of recession, showed its destructive sides, creating fractures and divisions in society (Brah, Szeman and Gedalof, 2015). Contemporary literary criticism recognizes that Irish women writers have been slow to enter into a dialogue with the Irish neoliberal reality (Cahill, 2011). The trend is also highlighted by Coughlan (2004), who points to the unfair neglect of women's contribution to the literary representation of the contemporary Irish economic moment and cites Anne Enright, Éilís Ní Dhuibhne, and Anne Haverty as authors who in their recent prose engage with social changes in Ireland during and after the period of the Celtic Tiger.

According to Kennedy (2003), the reign of neoliberalism in Ireland introduced the belief that women are finally in a position to realize themselves as active social subjects and to enjoy previously denied rights. However, the Irish neoliberal novels by female authors present that process as incomplete and non-linear. Like many contemporary Irish female authors, Éilís Ní Dhuibhne finds her protagonists equally in urban Dublin and the suburbs, among members of the middle class, and in an often falsely idyllic everyday life that serves as a mirror to the fragmented image of individualism, anonymity, consumerism, and wild urbanization. At the peak of economic prosperity and among the material fragments of a short-lived and superficial social idyll, the female protagonist lives a life that reveals the flaws and chasms of a neoliberal society dominated by self-marketing and fractured human interactions. As the majority of characters in this novel, she engages in superficial conversations and equally superficial relationships as she struggles with still existing societal taboos such as self-objectivisation, emotional intimacy, rejection and desire. In particular, the analysis aims to show that the issue of re-positioning gender roles in a newly transformed Irish society remain open and require further investigation (Ging, 2009).

The fact that women's literary production which tackles the consequences of the capitalist, open-market economy on Irish society largely stagnated during the period of economic prosperity (Bracken and Harney Mahajan, 2017) indicates the need for female writers to come to terms with the liberal, progressive and multicultural face of Ireland that wants to cross paths with the ghosts of its complex past (Kirby, Gibbons and Cronin, 2002). With that in mind, this study will show how the strong anchoring in the context of contemporary social and economic turmoil in Ireland is transversal in nature, as it questions the space that is somewhere between the 'tiger' and 'post-tiger' social moment, a space located

within the materialistic landscape of strong 'financialization' society (Negra, 2014; Negra & Tasker, 2014). There are no direct references to the term Celtic Tiger in this novel, as Pierse (2014) notes, indicating a deliberate avoidance of clear links with the complex extra-textual economic reality. Nevertheless, the effects of that period on the individual and society lurk in the background, which shows that it is possible, as McGlynn (2017) points out, to write a novel that criticizes neoliberalism without falling under the influence of its ideology.

An insight into previous research on the literary representation of the economic aspects of Irish modernity reveals that this area is still under-researched. All the more so Ireland emerges as a kind of "economic anomaly" (Cronin, Kirby & Ging, 2009, p. 2) in the context of contemporary economic criticism. That is a possible reason for the epistemological gap in interdisciplinary approaches to the links between economics and the contemporary Irish literature. Therefore, of special interest to this study is how Ní Dhuibhne deploys superficiality and fractured relationships as stylistic devices aimed at unveiling the shortcomings of the neoliberal era in Ireland. As she unmasks class distinctions, conformity, indifference and drive towards individual self-fulfilment as dark spots of Irish neoliberal era, Ní Dhuibhne manages to subvert some of the constitutive elements of this economic system thus critiquing the system in which "to be better is to feel better" in the eyes of society (Ahmed, 2010, p. 8).

2. New Economic Criticism and the Neoliberal Novel

New economic criticism as a theoretical paradigm was strongly imposed for the first time in the 1990s, when the first studies that considered literature using economic paradigms and tropes appeared. This phenomenon coincided with a trend observed in the field of economic sciences, which was the growing use of methods and expressions typical of literature to present certain hidden metaphors. Research at the intersection of economics, culture, and literature goes back a little further into the past, more precisely to the 1970s, when the so-called first wave of studies in the field of economic criticism surfaced as a response to the formalist approaches to the literary text that dominated criticism in the second half of the 20th century. In parallel with the wave of changes that began to occur globally in various aspects of life and culture since the 1970s, literary theory struggled to find new approaches to literary texts that would encompass a wider social horizon and bring it into the literary world. Economics imposed itself as one of the more powerful disciplines with the potential of theoretical networking.

Since then, two iterations of the new economic criticism have been established (Osteen and Woodmansee, 1999). The first is clearly defined by theoretical studies published in the late 1970s and 1980s, and the second is represented by research from the 1990s onwards. Strong mutual interactions between economic and literary

discourse have been established during the later phase of economic criticism. Among the most influential studies of the first phase of economic criticism are those by Marc Shell (1978) and Kurt Heinzelman (1980). Both authors discuss the tradition of poetic language in economic discourse as a central thread of their studies but also reveal economic discourse as a permeating element of many literary works. Heinzelman is the first to talk about "imaginative economics", which deals with the structure of economic systems based on imagination and fictitious concepts, and about "poetic economics", which analyzes the use of fictionalized economic discourse in literature (12). The schism between the two social spheres, the private and the public, political and economic, is highlighted by Thompson (1996), who attributes to the literary text the role of the messenger of the hidden, silenced, and private world, while the discourse of political economy takes over the entire public sphere and imposes itself as the dominant narrative of the masculinist world. Through a diachronic analysis focused on changes in the concept of value, Thompson establishes that all contemporary discourses in the field of humanities and economic sciences are equally conditioned by "the new conceptualization of money from treasure to capital and the consequent reconfigurations of money from concrete bills to papers" (2).

The dematerialization of money has turned into a series of hard-to-understand transactions with 'plastic' or 'invisible' money. There was a transition from one representational paradigm to another and it is precisely this issue that captured the most attention of recent economic criticism. In the studies of the later phase of economic criticism, for which the name 'new economic criticism' has become established, a certain departure from earlier theoretical studies can be seen already in that some authors accept the theory of homologies of the earlier generation with some scepticism and turn to consider the influence of some other discursive practices on the literary text. Finally, the new economic criticism examines capital through its symbolic and representational power not only in the monetary but also in the social context, in which it participates by shaping the subjectivity of each individual participant in social symbolic practices.

In the following chapter, we consider the concept of capital in the era of neoliberalism through two aspects – capital as a concrete material category of (not) owning financial resources and capital as a social category, i.e. as a social status. In doing so, we rely on Pierre Bourdieu (1987) and his distinction of different forms of capital such as economic, symbolic, cultural or social capital. Bourdieu claims that "social capital is based on resources based on social ties and belonging to groups" while symbolic capital is created as an accumulation of "different types of capital at the moment when they are recognized and perceived as legitimate" (4). Social capital is based on an individual's belonging to a group, while modes of perceiving social capital condition symbolic capital. The study will show how the contemporary Irish women's narrative, which is concerned with presenting the Irish version of neoliberalism, takes place in the contact zone between poverty

and wealth, i.e. on a thin line that separates the subjects into those who strive for social acknowledgement enabled by the new economic paradigm, and those who are, for various reasons, thwarted in their social ambitions and remain entrenched on the margins with no sign of moving forward. Every social shift in neoliberal society is based on the idea of personal responsibility for one's own position in society to reduce public spending and state support, but also to encourage personal productivity and the economic profit of the individual and society as a whole. This is because the fundamental aspect of the contemporary neoliberal capitalist system is economization (Rose, 2000, p. 6). It encompasses all those procedures that enable economic processes to aggressively penetrate those spheres of human life in which they were not openly present until then, such as the institution of marriage, taking care of one's health, achieving personal satisfaction through creative work, and the like. The imperative to shape an entrepreneurial spirit whose goal is market success that defines the private and professional sphere of the individual is one example of the extension of economic relations to the private spheres of life in the neoliberal system. Bröckling (2015) explains this imperative with the term "entrepreneurial self" (22), which in the neoliberal context means that economic logic begins to govern the non-economic domains of human life, evaluating all individual activities exclusively through the prism of efficiency and market success. Furthermore, Foucault (1988) asserted that efficiency, measured by the logic of cost and benefit, is used to evaluate all social programs, but also the success of individuals. In a neoliberal context, this means that human life is governed by a constant competition for money, power, ability and youth. The individual self is therefore constantly encouraged to change, improve and adapt to a society that produces only two categories of subjects – winners and losers (Bröckling, 2015). An individual constantly strives for a more meaningful and productive life for himself, his family, and the nation whereby the neoliberal system, through public policies of market competition, and thus the creation of unlimited entrepreneurial opportunities for self-realization, internalizes the individual's desire for a meaningful and happy life (Paska, 2022). Therefore, self-fulfilment is achieved exclusively through the economization of personal experience. As the analysis will show, the novel exposes the true neoliberal consciousness based on self-fulfilment by equating the concept of happiness entirely with finance and material values. Anna Sweeney, the central character of the novel, exemplifies the vulnerability and insecurity of female subjectivity when placed in front of the public mirror. She epitomises the culture of neoliberalism built on the imperative of conformity to materialistic values and any failure to conform to that social dictate is regarded as weakness.

Discussing the economization of personal experience in the era of neoliberalism, Nilges (2015) states that, when considering the relationship of literature to neoliberalism, it is necessary to determine how literature relates to material reality. He claims that literature today must be considered through its active role in

representing neoliberalism, whereby it must not be understood only as a passive note on social changes, nor as a 'subordinated' object of neoliberalism, but as an ontology that coexists with neoliberalism and which builds and changes our perception of social and economic changes in the modern world. To understand the depth of this relationship, Nilges further argues, we should "avoid a limiting consideration of this relationship on the line of subordination-autonomy" (360) and instead analyze this relationship as a relationship of mutual mediation and conditioning, whereby a series of active forces conditions the realization of a neoliberal novel. Thus, it is claimed that the concepts of market regulation and social regulation form a strong relationship in the era of neoliberalism, since capitalism is a socially regulated phenomenon just as society and its culture are spheres regulated by capitalist movements and the crises that capitalism produces cyclically.

The opening up of Ireland to global markets since the mid-1990s caused certain shifts in the balance in Irish society, whereby women, quite expectedly, are no longer exclusively passive subjects of the traditional social order, but become active bearers of the family cell and participants in the decision-making process. Although Anna, the main female protagonist in *Fox, Swallow, Scarecrow* is a dissatisfied housewife married to a successful, socially recognized husband, with a career in real estate, her social status and life in the affluence of the 'new' Ireland is refracted through the prism of her continuous questioning of the idea of marriage as a social convention as well as idealized self-image she strives to project. At one point in the novel, Anna asks herself: "Was that what marriage was like for everyone? How could they really know? People lied about these things as a matter of course, to themselves and to their friends." (91). Anna seeks escape in unsuccessful attempts at writing science fiction books for children, but the repeated rejection of her manuscripts points to the futility of ambition and a misdirected desire for personal fulfilment.

Neoliberalism, a political and economic ideology characterized by free-market capitalism, deregulation, privatization, and individualism, profoundly shaped Ireland's ethos. In particular, it had significant implications for gender roles and female subjectivity. As Ireland shifted towards a more market-driven economy, neoliberal policies reshaped the labour market, social services, and cultural norms, with varying impacts on different categories of society. According to Coulter (2015), the representation of Ireland as a destination that would offer highly qualified labour to foreign capital was in reality based on false premises because Ireland was ranked only in "shameful forty-third place on the list of developed countries in terms of the quality of Internet services" (2). Indeed, the only attractive factor in attracting foreign capital and the globalization of the Irish economy, Coulter further argues, was the fact that American corporations received the green light from the Irish government to open their branches in Ireland, where in return they would receive significant tax breaks without the obligation to leave part of their profits in Irish banks. Therefore, any model considering Ireland's

representational paradigms from the early 2000s to the present needs to take into account that Ireland has been economically transformed based on many weak and unsustainable assumptions, primarily economic. Consequently, rather than being a result of an elaborate global master plan, the period known as the Celtic Tiger, represented in the analysed novel, "was the outcome of a complex set of unfolding, interconnected, often serendipitous, processes held together by a strategy of seeking to attract and service FDI" (Kitchin et al., 2012, p. 1306). These processes are also reflected in how female roles shifted towards a self-optimizing, independent woman, with emphasis on personal responsibility often obscured the structural barriers that women continued to face, including pay inequality, and domestic care burdens. Women were encouraged to take personal responsibility for overcoming these obstacles, which sometimes resulted in internalized pressure and feelings of failure when they could not meet these high expectations.

The following chapter aims to show how the Irish version of neoliberalism increased wealth and living standards for many, but leaving out those who could not keep up with the fast-tracked economic boom. The wealth and the benefits were unevenly distributed, leading to significant social inequalities. With neoliberal policies emphasizing market participation and self-reliance, more women entered the paid workforce. The expansion of the service sector and economic liberalization created new job opportunities for women, particularly in part-time, flexible, or precarious positions. However, this economic participation was often characterized by lower wages and less job security compared to male counterparts. Neoliberalism promoted an ideal of individualism, but women still found themselves navigating the tensions between paid work, unpaid domestic responsibilities, and attempts at establishing their voice in the public domain. Although neoliberalism also reshaped women's sense of subjectivity in Ireland, emphasizing individualism, self-reliance, and personal responsibility, the analysis will attempt to show that this shift was not altogether thorough.

3. *Fox*, *Swallow*, *Scarecrow* as an Irish neoliberal novel

Fox, Swallow, Scarecrow (2007) by Eílís Ní Dhuibhne is a contemporary version of Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*, with which it enters into an undisguised intertextual dialogue. Namely, Ní Dhuibhne uses the motif of a female protagonist through which she represents the strong social progress of a nation and the turn towards liberal, Western values. The novel engages with the core of the Irish neoliberal system using elements of realism, social satire as a critique of capitalist social conventions, and romantic stories about protagonists who strive to affirm their subjectivity through the search for excitement outside the traditional framework of marriage. Like her Russian predecessor, Ní Dhuibhne intends to address the challenges that economic changes bring to society. In addition, the author questions

the role of past texts in constructing the narratives of the present. The aspect of the complex and networked temporal relations between the past and the present, and their potentially non-linear relations at different levels, is one of the fundamental questions that Ní Dhuibhne focuses on. In this sense, one of the questions the author deals with is the question of the unfinished past that constantly returns and imposes on the present in new ways while reshaping it.

Ní Dhuibhne rejects the hegemonic discourse of linear time, viewing temporal relations as a series of simultaneous time flows that are pushed to the margins of human cognition, which constantly destabilize the established historiographical discourses of the time. To point out the need to look at the relationship between the past and the present, especially in the context of the ideology of progress and economic prosperity, Ní Dhuibhne uses some of the deeply rooted binary oppositions within Irish culture. First of all, it is about the urban-rural relationship, which to this day remains a key determinant of Irish national identity and which, in contemporary theoretical considerations, must be viewed precisely through the relationship of different levels of temporality that complicate contemporary conceptualizations of Ireland. The idea of binary oppositions as the basis of Irish identity is also represented by Richards (1999) who claims that the entire Irish historical narrative is based on the (in)stability of power relations between dominant, hegemonic representations and opposing ones. As an example, he cites colonial power relations, then later nationalist visions of a 'true' Ireland, and visions of economic progress in modern times as another form of hegemonic representation. In this context, Richards continues, the former binary opposition between the indigenous, rural west of the country on the one hand, and the urbanized, modern east on the other, in an era of economic prosperity, raises the question of authentic 'Irishness' and reverses the hegemonic discourse of modernization, causing a "repositioning of 'Irishness'" whereby one side of the opposition, the urban and advanced one, asserts itself as the only acceptable Ireland, while the west of the country becomes "a weight on the development of the country and the mental health of the nation" (102). This is a question of central importance to Eílís Ní Dhuibhne as she explores and undermines all the hegemonic narratives of the present that destabilize Ireland's perception of the past. She does this by digging deep into the conflicting time-space relations on which the ideas of progressive history rest. At the same time, she focuses on those relationships that are incorporated within the ruling hegemonic discourses of progress that shape the self-perception of the Irish, as well as the global perception of the Irish identity.

The reader is introduced to the heart of Ireland's economic success, when the Celtic Tiger is in full swing. There is no sign of the coming recession and the main character, a children's writer of questionable literary talent, Anna Kelly Sweeney, lives a dream life in an era of economic prosperity in the elegant, southern suburbs of Dublin, in the district of Killiney, with her husband Alex and son Rory. Her life in an expensive house owned by her husband Alex, a successful real estate broker,

takes place mainly between numerous literary events and book promotions that have become desirable social activities. Unsure of her literary abilities, but with a burning desire to leave her mark on children's literature, Anna sporadically, and not overly ambitiously, engages in writing in a hidden corner of her glamorous house. The activity of writing is isolated and concealed from the rest of the family circle, which indicates the diminishing importance of intellectual activities and professional affirmation in the era of material well-being. Anna is a representative of the new generation of the Irish well-to-do, completely indifferent to everything that even remotely resembles a social issue:

> Thinking about the government, or about politics, or the environment, always wearied her. What was the point? What could she do about any of the country's problems? She swept her annoyance about the car park outside Leinster House out of her mind with one swift stroke, like an energetic house-cleaner. Brushing problems under the carpet was a skill she had long-ago perfected, especially if they were other people's problems. Instead of worrying about the ills of society, she amused herself by observing them. (2)

Lack of empathy and focus on personal interest are among the constitutive elements of the new liberalism, which is based on the idea that the modern subject is often indifferent to important economic and global problems. Superficial fulfilment has taken precedence over all other ambitions and over the creative process itself. This is clearly presented through self-reflection on her own limits in the context of the commercialization of writing:

> The only thing she really believed in was her ambition to be a successful writer, by which she meant some sort of mixture of famous, bestselling and good. But she had never considered why she wrote or why she wanted to write a 'good' book, or what good such a book could do for its readers. Such questions – questions regarding the meaning of literature, or of writing – were never discussed in her literary circles. (75)

Anna's perception of achieving personal happiness in a fast-paced, commercial environment is closely related to public acknowledgment. Happiness is not internal but rather equated with commercial success and financial compensation, there is no other alternative for happiness. Anna's somewhat vague, fluid ambition is to "achieve personal happiness" (75), although she is not sure how this is achieved. She harbours an intimate contempt for the weaker Other, for everyone who for her is a symbol of failure in the new, modern society, even though she is unable to formulate her own firm beliefs about her own identity. The author thereby exposes the neoliberal consciousness by equating the concept of happiness in a liberalized society entirely with finance and material values which makes Anna believe that "when she was a bestselling, successful author, she would also be perfectly happy" (76). A deeper understanding of the creative process is set aside and one only has to "wait for success to happen" (76), as it were, without dedicating too much thought to it. Anna's only desire is to live "a successful, bestselling sort of life,

just as the writers wanted to produce a successful and bestselling book" (76). She considers "contentment and routine" something that the "ordinary people like Gerry and Olwen, wanted in life" (75). Anna is vague with all her beliefs, values, and ambitions. Thus, we find out that she is "vaguely agnostic, vaguely socialist, vaguely capitalist, vaguely materialistic, vaguely spiritual" (75). Her identity is completely in line with the neoliberal mantra of eternal striving for greater achievements and this leaves her emotionally paralyzed until her tragic end.

In the background of her weak literary ambitions, not only her identity is questioned, but a whole series of social and economic paradigms are analyzed that have shaped contemporary Irish society and imposed somewhat transgressive behaviours legitimized by the neoliberal order. Namely, in this new, consumerist Ireland, material goods and real estate and values are social masks that conceal the true nature of the individual, their intimate desires, and unfulfilled aspirations. This method of representing neoliberal anxiety is further enhanced by the exceptional attention paid to descriptions of interiors and exteriors as objects of desire and identity determinants in a society of prosperity. Those materialistic determinants keep Anna and her social circle in a bubble of eternal present in which she is surrounded by an idealized imagery of unlimited possibilities, where any alternative future is unimaginable. It was simply "unimaginable, unconscionable, that the civilization to which Anna and Alex belonged could disappear. What could replace it? How could they imagine anything other than what there was now, planes and city breaks, computers, four-wheel drives, new books every week, concerts and operas and a constant stream of easy entertainment on the television […]" (119). For her, as for those living the Irish success, an absence of material things would be a true failure. For her, after a certain level of wealth had been reached, there was no point in accumulating more. Although her husband provides well for her and their son, making it unnecessary for her to seek employment and be independent, as neoliberalism would have it, she does not "understand why he continued to work and slave, accumulating more and more property, when he must have known it was unnecessary" (87). However, her thoughts are directed to her son's future and his financial security as the only important family legacy: "Still, she enjoyed the security of knowing there was so much money in their bank accounts, that Rory would have his own apartment or house as soon as he was old enough to want it, that financial worries would never be theirs" (87). The effort to ensure security and wealth is exclusively linked to exhausting work which is the foundation of the capitalist value system. Despite that, certain inherited gender roles remain unchanged in her family so much so that Anna, sometimes arriving home late in the day, finds the fridge and the table empty, realising that although she had been married o her husband Alex for a long time "she could still not understand why he could not cook, even to the extent of putting a pizza in the oven" (197). Although neoliberalism played a crucial role in reshaping gender roles and family dynamics, with long-term consequences for women's economic and social status in Ireland, patriarchal practises and gender roles were not necessarily re-configured in every

individual case and in every household (Lynch & Lyons, 2009). Anna's role within the family unit, despite the possibilities and the societal pressures, remain traditional, with clear division of expectations regarding decision-making in household matters. That has never been, and it is not now, in Anna's case, a male domain.

An attempt to distance oneself ideologically from the burden of the colonial past and the violent denial of indigenous identity is subverted by continuous interweaving with the visual experience of economic well-being. Anna thus regularly visits glamorous book promotions in heritage buildings that recall past times:

> They made their way through a few lobbies and into the big old hall, with high painted ceilings, where Grattan's parliament used to assemble before the Act of Union ended the Irish parliament and brought them all over the water to Westminster, resulting in the decline of the status of Dublin as the second capital of the empire. From this decline the city had now, two hundred years on, recovered so completely that Dubliners believed there was not on earth a more desirable place in which to live, at least in the winter months (all successful Dubliners now had a place in France or Spain for the summer). (12)

The fluidity of time relations and the apathy of existence exclusively in the present moment are sources of satisfaction and sure signs that her happiness, although without a firm foothold, can only be reached now because the past is erased and the future is difficult to comprehend. Time is a commodity that has value only when it is usable and when it serves for the additional accumulation of capital. Anna's husband Alex "never allows himself a single moment of idleness" so every moment of the day is predetermined for a specific activity such as "one hour three times a week in the gym, half an hour with the daily newspaper on Sunday morning, and the like" (10). He never wasted "not even a second of his time. That was the key to success and a morally justified existence, in his opinion" (10). The challenge to the linear concept of temporality is at the core of the neoliberal novel, which problematizes the flow of time as a chronological sequence based on Deleuze's theory on the coexistence of temporal categories (Deleuze, 1994). This idea is elaborated by Al-Saji (2004) by remarking that the eternal present thus conceived cannot adequately describe the flow of historical time since it looks at the past as a completed present, and the future as a present that has yet to happen. The author engages in alternative considerations of temporal categories whereby history and memory are inexorably intertwined with the present, forming a rounded structure that subverts the extra-literary hegemonic discourse of memory erasure.

Awareness of the possibility of a different fate in another time will also appear in the moments when Anna repeatedly notices the same homeless man on the streets with an outstretched hand who reminds her that there is a parallel world in a parallel time. This element also points to the subversion of the hegemonic discourse typical of the ideology of neoliberalism, and it is about the social perception of the existence of individual responsibility for social failure. Namely, neoliberalism in Ireland, as well as in all Western societies where it imposed itself as a dominant ideology, promoted

an attempt to "mobilize specific ideas and political practices to achieve certain goals that will benefit the minority and their ability to accumulate capital" (Gilbert, 2013, p. 18). Neoliberalism promotes the idea of self-preservation and personal interest without collective responsibility. Structural inequalities are not the focus of neoliberal ideology, so the relationship of reciprocity between economic practice and cultural ideologies will strengthen the neoliberal idea and impose it as the only possible system of values. Everything that happens to the individuals is down to personal responsibility, which allows the system to distance itself from individual failure or social invisibility. Social inequalities are thus not a structural problem, but rather a matter of the individual's choices. In other words, in the neoliberal world, personal failure is the result of "the wrong attitude of the individual, and by no means a matter of structural conditions based on stratification based on the principle of race, class and gender differences" (Halberstam, 2011, p 3).

In numerous places in the novel, the author addresses the fleeing concept of social awareness in the neoliberal Ireland. For instance, Chapter One features an imagery of modernised urban landscape of Dublin through which the Luas, a super-modern tram that connects affluent city areas with those less so, is presented through Anna Sweeney's feelings as a passenger on the train. She observes the surroundings as the train passes "chic apartments, their balconies rubbing shoulders with almost equally chic corporation houses" (1) that kept the neighbourhood alive and well in the era of fast-track growth. As the train enters "Adelaide Road – the modernised version, all windows, and transparency, where once there had been high hedges and minority religions" (1), Anna is unnerved by the seductive voice of the train announcer which "reminded Anna of Marilyn Monore's" and, she was certain, "had been designed to soothe her and her fellow passengers" (1). As in many later chapters, the author's attention is turned to the fluidity of time-space relations in the new era. In this opening scene, Anna enjoys her daily trips to shiny shopping malls and glamorous social events. Still, she is constantly aware of the announcer's Donegal Irish accent which, to her, is a reminder of times gone by, the Irish long-forgotten past. To her, it is "like a voice from fairyland or the world beneath the wave, from some place aeons away from the land of the Luas" (1). Furthermore, her daily routines are based on her attempts to fit in and to be perceived as successful. As with all the other women she sees around her, she feels a constant urge to represent her, but also her husband's financial success. Hence, as she enters one of the most popular Dublin's commercial centres, Anna's thoughts are focused entirely on her appearance because "she would not have bothered changing clothes to go shopping, but after one unpleasant occasion when she had dropped into the Dundrum Centre in an old anorak and baggy trousers, she realised one has to dress up for this particular consumer experience" (40). Again, the author hints at the overwhelming social exclusion of the economically weaker groups in the new Irish society by affirming Anna's sense of security in her social position, thanks to the fact that in that magical consumer palace, there are no groups that she considers 'ordinary' and 'inappropriate', i.e. not worthy enough to visit such

a place. Her sense of self-worth is enhanced as she notices that, during her visits, there are no "old people here, hobbling around with their trolleys, or flabby women with streaky orange hair and plastic bags, the kind of people you found shopping in the afternoon in ordinary places" (40). The cynicism of these observations reflects the neoliberal society's disdain for the weaker and those who cannot take care of their material well-being. Anna also notices that there are no men in those places during the day, only "young women with good coiffures and elegant bags bearing the logos of the most fashionable shops and smiling brightly at one another as they made ironic comments" (41). This imagery reveals the complex issue of gender roles whereby men in the neoliberal era are expected to work hard and provide for their families, while women are (re)positioned to their traditional roles of caretakers, mothers, and wives who gladly accept the passive role within family units. Still, they are no longer confined within the four walls of their homes, as the previous generations of Irish women were. The women in neoliberal Ireland are well provided for and are asserting their roles as socially accepted model wives of the neoliberal era. The 'new' culture accepts only those capable of fitting into the hegemonic narrative of glitz and economic prosperity. Other members of the community are invisible and marginalized. The shiny surfaces of shopping malls, reflective surfaces, shops, and office buildings on the Luas route are reflections of the capitalist lifestyle. Glass, as Armstrong (2008) suggests, is simultaneously a means of effectively providing insight into the tempting possibilities offered by commercial spaces, but also a means of controlling human senses because they distance the consumers inside the glazed spaces from everything noisy and undesirable outside the glass space. According to Armstrong, the transparency of the glass membrane of this double world inevitably creates "double meanings - the artificially created aura of consumerist experience and urban pastoral confronts the spectacle of visual pleasure, economic exploitation and common spiritual renewal" (133).

Yesterday's pillars of society became homeless overnight, leading to even greater social and class polarization in Ireland. By placing the homeless person on Anna's daily routes, the author presents the figure as a constant threat of poverty and as a reminder of the instability of the neoliberal paradigm. In a neoliberal society, poverty is seen as a weakness while class differences in the era of plenty feature as a taboo subject. Social inferiority of the homeless man who is constantly present in Anna's daily walks around Dublin, undermines Anna's confidence and increases her sense of insecurity as she passes him by in the street. That way, the urban landscape of *Fox, Swallow, Scarecrow* is used as another subversive feature of social stratification, but also as a means of erasing the past from collective memory. Ní Dhuibhne thus uses the city train as one of the characters and links the parts of the new topography of Dublin with a fast electric tram called 'Luas' (the Irish word for speed). Luas connects the city centre with the elegant, residential parts of the south and south-east of Dublin. The Luas lines were introduced in the 2000s, when the economic boom was at its peak and when investments in infrastructure were extensive. The first

paragraph is also a detailed scene of Dublin, through which the Luas move, carrying contented and happy people can admire Dublin's landscape. This urban scenery has completely changed, erasing the traces of past times and introducing clear signs of social stratification typical of advanced neoliberal societies:

> From the new glass bridge which spanned the inscrutable waters of the Grand Canal, the tram purred downhill and glided gently into the heart of the city. Like a slow Victorian roller-coaster, it swerved through Peter's Palace, passing chic apartments, their balconies rubbing shoulders with almost equally chic corporation houses, genteel vestiges of democracy that had contrived to survive in this affluent area. Then it swung nonchalantly onto Adelaide Road – the modernised version, all windows and transparency, where once there had been high hedges and minority religions. (1)

The author sets the scene of a big cat moving through the jungle. In other words, a strong symbol of the economic progress of the city and the country is given 'tiger' qualities, thus the Luas as a symbol of Irish brilliance is imposed as the embodiment of economic well-being. The soothing, sophisticated voice of the station announcer also contributes to this, lulling passengers into a state of calm and contentment. At the same time, this means of transport becomes a symbol of the many binary oppositions on which this text rests, primarily those between urban prosperity and rural isolation, the rich neighbourhoods of Dublin and the poorer ones, and between successful individuals and those who beg on the street. Compared to the flashy and fast Luas that transports successful, well-dressed people to the posh parts of the city, to some of the business or residential parts of the metropolis, the west-to-east train is slow, dirty, and inefficient, miles away from Ireland's aspirations to join the capitalist universe. This train is the complete opposite of the Luas; it symbolizes the past, what is left behind, what is old, and what cannot keep up with the fast pace of development. Finally, it symbolizes death: "[…] a few old age pensioners waited patiently on the platform with their trolleys, for who knew what? The train to Ballybrophy, maybe, or the death coach, whichever came first" (56). Such binary oppositions indicate the instability of the fundamental paradigms of the economic order in Ireland while the sophisticated means of transport introduced in the era of national prosperity acts as the ultimate signifier of social and economic stratification. Space as a signifier, but also as one of the novel's key protagonists, is deconstructed at different places in the text and at different levels. For instance, Anna's husband Alex participates in the development of new spaces that significantly determine the backbone of the city, but also contributes to the real estate bubble caused by the disproportionately large volume of affordable housing units:

> Anna was uninterested in finer details but knew that he had sold off almost all his equity and was sinking everything into a new venture, an entire block of apartments in one of the new south Dublin suburbs, which, although not top of the market at present, are predicted to rise exponentially in value since they are had been designated one of the new transport hubs in the city: close to the DART, the proposed Luas extension, and the M50. Around such hubs, the

> new satellite dormitory suburbs – even Alex would not abuse the language by calling them towns – were going to mushroom in the next phase of development. So they said in the property supplements. (262)

The language used to emphasize the speculative nature of financing and hyper-construction is visible through phrases such as *was sinking everything*, *were predicted to*, *were going to*, *so they said*. This kind of entrepreneurial spirit is rejected as an anomaly in this novel and reshaped not as a signifier of the dynamism and energy of society in economic growth, but as a distorted pathology that promotes alienation and stratification within society and the historical continuum.

In addition, the Luas, a shiny symbol of the Irish neoliberal present which, in the eyes of its inhabitants, has finally driven the country away from its backward rural past, serves as a mirror in which Irish people can see themselves. By loading the economic, cultural, and social imaginary into this urban train, society only created the illusion of its indestructibility and moved away at high speed from unwanted memories of the past. The symbolism of the Luas for Ireland is emphasized by Balzano and Holdridge (2007), noting that it is "an emblem of social and political reality that functions as a polished mirror, a modern Lacanian mirror made of metal and glass held up in front of Irish people's faces to reflect themselves well as it circulates between signifier of the street and imaginary of the inhabitants" (107). This is another binary opposition of this novel, the one that juxtaposes inclusion and exclusion – social, economic, and ideological. Anna often boards this elegant train as it gives her a sense of self-satisfaction and security. Anna's cocoon will gradually disintegrate towards the end of the novel when a bizarre traffic accident, in which she dies on the tracks of the Red Line, marks a deviation from the path of success. Just like a shiny new train, Anna's life suddenly jumped off the rails at one point, and in the same way, the Celtic Tiger was stopped in its tracks soon after. Thus, state-of-the-art trains and commercial real estate that dominate urban landscapes of Dublin in the neoliberal era represent promises of "worlds without limitations, which fail to live up to expectations while constantly encouraging individuality so that genuine relationships are replaced by the search for immediate gratification and self-interest" (Pirnajmuddin & Saei Dibavar, 2020, p. 162). In that context, the study looked at *Fox, Swallow, Scarecrow* as a neoliberal novel representing the dark spots of neoliberal market ethics. This dimension makes it a suitable medium for representing the Irish female experience in a society torn apart by neoliberal orthodoxy (Johansen and Karl, 2015).

4. Conclusions

In *Fox, Swallow, Scarecrow,* Ní Dhuibhne's female subject displays anguish and insecurity that lay bare the deceptiveness of neoliberal values. She is only a pawn in a game that gradually co-opts and destroys her. Namely, Anna abruptly dies

in a traffic accident when she stumbles and falls on the tracks of the Red Luas line – the one that takes passengers to less desirable parts of Dublin, those inhabited by those less fortunate than her. Towards the end, Anna grows more paralyzed in her actions and her decisions, and every attempt to get out of the socially determined framework causes apprehension and dissatisfaction. Her life is taken away from her by the shiny symbol of modernity and progress which, simultaneously, connects and divides people, both socially and symbolically. Enslaved by social norms and expectations, Anna's actions, emotions, and unspoken desires remain static and forever anchored in the eternal present, and from such a position of paralysis, she keeps trying to compensate for the lack of authenticity and the sense of self-worth. By not fully confronting her unfulfilled ambitions and personal weaknesses, this female subject indulges in consumerist abundance, but the analysis reveals that the neoliberal abundance loses its superficial glitter once hardships and failures are exposed. In constantly striving for reinvention and self-fulfilment, female subjectivity in the neoliberal era remains constructed on silences and internalization as any sign of weakness "in a competitive society which equates vulnerability with failure" (Carregal-Romero, 2023: 215) turns an individual into a social outcast. Thus, the female protagonist's often erratic and insecure behaviour unveils the chasm between the visible, social self and the private self as one of the key features of neoliberalism which, according to Nolan (2017), fails to provide an ethical stance towards individual suffering in the era of plenty.

Ní Dhuibhne's female subject displays social and intimate anxiety thus exposing all the inequalities and hypocrisies of the neoliberal culture. As the constant threat of loss and subsequent social exclusion hang over her head and as the silences in her marriage counterpart her husband's business successes, Anna realizes that her entire life is based on dysfunctional relationships and imposed silences. Although she longs for emotional healing and fulfilment, it is out of her reach because "healing only becomes possible when human needs and longings are addressed in mutually enriching and caring relationships" (Carregal-Romero, 2023, p. 229). Sadly, the female experience is presented as entirely economized, and, as such, it foregrounds the fractures and frustrations of neoliberal values. Consequently, the portrayed experience of the female protagonist reflects what Kirby (2002) refers to as the value system in which "the interests of the entire population are equated with the interests of a small elite who profit from this newly invented Ireland" (33). The study showed that the female experience in neoliberal Ireland is deeply enslaved by the logic of the free market. One that does not embrace the ethics of mutual connectivity and common interest. Such a mentality comes at a cost as it destabilizes the cognitive balance that the individual needs as it promises a false world of success while continually preventing the individual from fully accessing that illusion. In portraying such a condition, the author leads us to conclude that there is still no powerful alternative to dominant neoliberal values that reign free in Ireland.

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English/French code-switching in later medieval charters

Abstract: The spoken use of French in later medieval England cannot be recovered, except insofar as it may be inferred from surviving documents. The use in medieval Latin charters of the French definite article (FA) determining an English Noun (EN) is here taken to be a textually preserved remnant of spoken usage. Following earlier work by Ingham (2009), the FA+EN phenomenon is studied quantitatively, showing that the FA+EN construction occurs where it would accord with code-switching constraints observed in contemporary bilingual communities. Attention is paid in particular to the appearance or otherwise of the phenomenon in contexts featuring a possessive and an adjectival modifier of the Noun, where a clear structural contrast is obtained, as predicted on the assumption that spoken code-switching lay behind the establishment of the charter text. It is further shown that FA+EN is more frequent with a monosyllabic than a polysyllabic Noun, for which a prosodic explanation is proposed, in keeping with the hypothesis that the phenomenon was originally oral. This support for the existence of spoken bilingualism from the 13th century onwards in a professional environment fits the timeframe, furthermore, for the well-known expansion in the penetration of French loan words into English. Alternative explanations that have been proposed for the FA+EN phenomenon are considered but found to be inadequate.

Keywords: French article, code-switching, medieval English-French bilingualism, orality

1. Introduction

Certain kinds of documentary records written in England in the later Middle Ages display an intriguing feature: a sequence of Latin, French and English as illustrated by the sequence *juxta le brodemore* in this short example:

(1) …dimidia roda juxta le brodemore inter terram Willelmi Thurke… DEEDS 00761034 (1303)
'…half a rood next to the broadmoor between land belonging to W.T…'[1]

[1] A rood was a medieval English measure equivalent to a quarter of an acre.

Specifically, the combination consists of the French definite article plus an English noun, in a text mostly in Latin. We shall refer to this as the 'FA+EN' phenomenon. It is found in Latin and Anglo-Norman documents where a local topological feature is referred to, especially in administrative records of the kind used by professionals engaged with land title and land management, such as charters and accounts.

The FA+EN phenomenon was first researched in recent times by Ingham (2009), where the proposal was made that it reflected vernacular code-switching among the speech community responsible for creating the documents in which it appeared. In that publication, these were manorial accounts documents from the late 13th and 14th centuries. As was usual for the period, accounts records kept by the manorial estates of England were normally written in Latin. Until about 1300 or so, the use of vernacular items seems to have been fairly rare in these documents. By the early fourteenth century, however, English words periodically appear, denoting items in semantic fields such as places, artefacts, types of land, rural customs, and customary feudal payments.

Despite the consensus that all three languages were in use in medieval England, there has been a disinclination to see the FA+EN phenomenon as what *prima face* it appears to be - a piece of vernacular code-switching embedded in running Latin text. This reluctance seems to stem from the persistent belief, maintained by a superannuated scholarly tradition, that in England competence in French declined rapidly after the 12th century (see especially Berndt 1972, Rothwell 1976, Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Kristol 2000). This position has been increasingly challenged. Data from orally given depositions suggested to Short (2009) that in the early 14th c. about 20% of the population was able to speak French, mostly those living in towns. Rothwell (2001) and Trotter (2003) pointed out the increasing use of French in late medieval England for a variety of everyday-use text types, including accounts, private correspondence, municipal and guild records and regulations, building contracts, cookery and medical recipes, and the like. These indicate at the very least a widespread passive knowledge of French well into the later 14th c., alongside English.[2] The implication is that substantial numbers of people were bilingual in English and French. Conceivably, their French could have been limited to the written medium, but a time when, due to the high cost of writing materials, almost all language use must have been spoken, it seems counterintuitive to imagine those with competence in the language writing French but not speaking it.

Knowledge of French in later mediaeval England appears to have been maintained not only in aristocratic circles (e.g. Rothwell ed. 2009) but especially through the school system. French was the vehicle language through which the school curriculum was delivered up to the time of the Black Death, as is known

[2] Rothwell's shift towards a more positive view of insular French became noticeable in his later publications, e.g. Rothwell (2001).

from contemporary testimony (Orme 1973).[3] An educated (male) person would, at least up to that time, have had a basic competence in the language. By the later 13th century scribes in the provinces writing conveyances for local land-owners would mostly have been born and educated in England, rather than being mother-tongue Frenchmen as may have been the case in the decades immediately following the Conquest. Their mother tongue competence in English can therefore be assumed: so when they wrote English field names, they were finding ways to spell words that for them were common in their own oral usage. Why, then, it might be asked, did the scribe not use an English definite article?

There is independent written evidence of business discourse at the upper levels of the English rural economy in the later medieval period being conducted in French in manorial settings. In the late 13th c., Walter of Wenlock wrote detailed letters to his estate managers, setting out how he wanted them to operate (Harvey 1965). We have various treatises on farming in insular French (Oschinsky 1971), as well as the well-known Bibbesworth poem (Rothwell, ed. 2009), which includes significant amounts of vocabulary relevant to rural occupations. What is known of the context makes it quite plausible, therefore, that some use of French featured in the spoken background to the composition of documents such as charters and accounts. They would have been dictated to a scribe by the originator of the document, at least in the non-formulaic parts (Wiles 2013, p. 122). The latter's choice of wording is likely to have been adopted in the text of the charter. Our hypothesis is therefore, with regard to cases such as example (1) above that the scribe heard the landowner speak of field names using terms like *le Broadmeadow*, giving instructions to the scribe in French. In the written version of his instructions embodied in the charter, the French definite article is reproduced in that language.

The present article seeks to identify whether in the DEEDS documents the FA+EN phenomenon obeyed constraints posited in studies of contemporary code-switching. A quantitative analysis of corpus data is undertaken, focusing on two types of syntactic context. It is shown that the distribution of the French definite article complies with what would be expected if the embedded FA+EN code-switch in Latin texts reflected oral usage in the relevant speech communities. It is found preceding an adjectival modifier, but is systematically absent preceding a possessive modifier; its presence or absence thus accords with the syntactic patterning of English. In the latter part of the article, a strong tendency in the distribution of the French article is noted to prefer its use with a single syllable English noun. This is evaluated in terms of the metrical regularity pattern characteristic of English (Liberman and Prince 1977), by which an alternation of strong and weak syllables is preferred within the metrical foot. In the spoken discourse of which charters

[3] French would therefore have to been acquired in middle childhood at the latest, in order to make its use as a vehicle language feasible in the grammar school context, where pupils could begin as early as age 7. Ingham (2012) therefore argues that it must have been acquired semi-naturalistically at pupils' first school, known as the *schola cantūs* ('song school').

would have been a written record, the French definite article is argued to have occupied the weak (non-head) position and the English noun on the strong (head) position of a metrical foot. Since this is a phonological phenomenon, it supports the existence of spoken bilingualism in this period.

2. Contemporary code-switching

Let us first consider what contemporary bilingual speech communities offer that might further our understanding of the FA+EN phenomenon, seen as a remnant of spoken code-switching in the discourse enabling the creation of the charter. In contemporary societies, bilingual communities code-switch in everyday spoken discourse, including the use of single Noun code-switching (Poplack 1980). A vast number of studies of such speech communities is now available, providing a wealth of data on conversational code-switching between participants who share the same two languages. Code-switching functions as a way of reinforcing the group identity of the bilingual community especially when it is socially a minority group. An example of a milieu in which code switching is common is the Cypriot community in London; among whom lexical or phrasal code switching is reported by Gardner-Chloros (2009) to be common, e.g.:

(2) Bori na diavazi ke na ghrafi, ala ochi ke a hundred per cent. (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 51)
'She can read and write, but not actually [lit. 'and'] 100%'

In code switched discourse such as this, both participants probably know each language well enough to use it throughout, but a bilingual speaker may access an expression in one language while producing a discourse mostly in the other language, especially if it is a common lexically stored expression, as in example (2). Another trigger for a code-switch is when a speaker wishes to mention a unique referent known to the other participant(s) in the discourse (Matras 2009: 107), who gives as examples the use of particular German terms such as *Sterbeurkunde* ('death certificate') and *Bestattungsinstitut* ('funeral directors') to refer to civil society matters known to Romany speakers domiciled in Germany.

Code switching may be conversational, as in the above example, or situational as when the speakers are in a situation that conventionally inclines them to using another language from one otherwise used. As noted by Matras (2009), code-switching studies have found that the presence of a formal or special situation may trigger a switch to another language. In the case of the FA+EN phenomena studied in the present work, the participants in the spoken discourses preceding the writing of the charter or other documentary text were in a fairly formal work-related setting, one in which their higher status was engaged; in mediaeval England that higher status had a linguistic reflex, the use of Anglo-French.

A leading theme in the study of code switching has been that of constraints on how elements from different languages may be combined in a code switched discourse. One which will be important in this study is known as the Equivalence Constraint: 'Code switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where a juxtaposition of [elements from each language - RI] does not violate a syntactic rule of either language'. (Poplack 1980, p. 585). When code switching occurs within a sentence, analysts speak of a matrix language frame (Myers-Scotton 1993), which contributes the structure and grammatical morphemes: content words from the other language, known as the embedded language, stand within that syntactic frame, in accordance with the Equivalence Constraint. We return to this topic in a later section.

3. Historical code-switching

Studies of historical code-switching have often concentrated on switching between Latin and a vernacular (Wenzel 1994, Pahta & Nurmi 2006, 2011, Schendl 2011, 2013, 2018, Halmari and Regetz 2011, Jefferson 2011). Studies investigating medieval code-switching between two vernaculars, specifically English and French, are rarer (Ingham 2011, 2018, Putter 2011, Wogan-Browne 2013).[4] In both cases texts presenting code switches testify to the existence of bilingual speech communities, whether it be doctors or clergy able to use Latin in addition to the vernacular, or lay readers competent in both English and French.[5] Analyses of code switching have explored various facets of the subject, e.g. whether it obeys syntactic constraints posited for contemporary languages (Halmari & Regetz 2011, Ingham 2011, Schendl 2013), whether the same is the case regarding the functions of code-switching (Schendl 2013), and how code-switching related to particular genres (Pahta & Nurmi 2011).

English language historians thus have available a substantial body of findings on the extent and characteristics of textual code-switching in the medieval language. What is inevitably missing is a body of work on spoken code-switching, where data is richly available to scholars of the contemporary language. This data gap is all the more unfortunate given that code-switching is known to be a pervasive characteristic of present-day bilingual communities. Code-switching in contemporary society tends to be conversational, i.e. spoken or found in texts that reflect speech as with social media. Most written documents that have come down to us from the medieval period are not of that type.

A way to address this difficulty is to make use of a text-type which reflects a background of spoken interaction, rather than being a monologue, such as a

[4] The 'mixed language' analysis of Wright (2002) and elsewhere is not considered here, since its author does not interpret such discourse as switching between distinct codes.

[5] Competent in French at least as far as being able to recognise the meaning of common stock phrases in French, such as those found in Chaucer and Langland.

sermon, or a purely textual creative act such as a letter, poem or chronicle. Such cases are found where the existing text is the output of spoken interaction between two or more participants. This is the case with documents such as manorial records, tax returns and charters, where the creation of the written text would typically have been preceded by discussion between individuals so as to establish the text content, as discussed in section 1. This was posited by Ingham (2009) in the context of the English medieval manor, where French is independently attested as being in written use, as mentioned above, in the 13th and 14th centuries. A French-using community existed at least at the higher levels of land management,[6] who by hypothesis would have been able to switch between the two vernaculars at their command, in much the same way as contemporary bilinguals do. This study aims to interpret against that background further evidence of English and French co-occurring in medieval documentary records.

4. French article + English Noun combinations in medieval documents: previous research

Hulbert (1936) identified over 300 English etymons used in manorial records, combined with a French definite article and embedded in running Latin text, e.g.:

(3) … et in sarracione plancorum pro le saltehous. *Durham,* I, 540 (1340–1)[7]
'…and for sawing planks for the salthouse'

In terms of code-switching, the last phrase of this example shows first a switch from Latin (*pro*) into French (*le*), followed by another switch from French into English (*saltehous*).[8] The Equivalence Constraint is straightforwardly satisfied in the latter case: the linear sequence (Preposition) - premodifier - Noun is permitted in French and English. Similar examples from accounts documents analysed by Ingham (2009) are:

(4)a.…in le staunkmedowe de Pityngton *Durham* II, 561 (c.1358)
'…in the fishpond meadow of P.'
(4)b. …. [pro] lxxiii operatoribus ad fodum in la winyerd *Worcester* II, 515 (1302-3)

[6] By this time, at least two centuries after the Norman Conquest, monolingual French speakers are assumed to have died out.

[7] Bibliographical references relating to data sources quoted in this section can be found in Ingham (2009).

[8] The switches from Latin to English or French in these texts, and in particular whether they should be approached in terms of contemporary code-switching, take us into a domain where other factors apply than those considered in the present article. It is assumed that the composition of Latin texts such as charters would have been a scribal activity not necessarily reflecting properties of conversational speech, the domain in which code-switching is normally studied.

'…[for] 73 workers digging in the vineyard'

(4)c. … cum emendacione de les wodecartes *Durham* II, 562 (1358)
'… with mending the woodcarts'

According to Zachrisson (1924: 95): *le* or *la* in such contexts was used to 'translate the English [definite] article'. In fact, however, the vast majority of vernacular nouns in such texts appear without an article, e.g.:

(5). …pratum vocatum mulnemede... *St Albans* III, 12 (1364)
'…the meadow called the millmeadow'

Since the English definite article was very often left untranslated, therefore, one wonders why the scribe ever wanted to translate it at all. Furthermore, when it was translated, why was it put into French? More recently, Britnell (2009: 88) maintained that scribes used the French article 'before place-names and English words for which a clerk knew no Latin equivalent'. As we have seen, considering familiar landscape features as place names is not straightforward, and Britnell's claim that clerks - educated in Latin, as they were - were not able to put e.g. 'dale' (valley), 'lake', or 'north field' into acceptable Latin seems to stretch credibility. Trotter (2010) considered that the French article functioned as a textual marker of a switch from the matrix Latin of the text into a vernacular language. In the examples given above in (4), *le* would, according to this view, signal that *winyard* and *wodecartes* were English. In similar vein, Wright (2010: 136) considered that 'the definite article *le* signalled a following English noun… and it blocked a Latin suffix on that noun.' There are two problems with the notion that FA+EN was a way of flagging code-switching. It is unclear why medieval scribes should have wanted to signal that a code switch is coming: in all the detailed accounts of code-switching in contemporary bilingual communities, no such practice is known to the present author. Secondly, if the French article was simply a code-switching flag, it would be used regardless of the grammatical context in which the code-switched items stood. As shown by Ingham (2009), this was not the case. In the 14th and early 15th century data analysed there, the French article was systematically absent in a partitive context such as (modern English) 'a pound of nails', 'four ounces of meal', etc., where a definite article would not be used in English. In that context, the following noun is indefinite, both in French and English. Data from manorial accounts,[9] where phrases of this type abounded, systematically avoided the FA+EN construction up to the mid-15th century, e.g.

(6)a. Pro una celdra de barly *Jarrow,* p. 19 (1330)
'For a chalder [dry measure] of barley'

(6)b. … iiijMl' de lathis emptis *Cuxham,* p. 399 (1329–30)

[9] See Ingham (2009) for bibliographical references to the sources of manorial accounts data.

'On 4,000 lathes purchased'

(7)a. ….in j par de trendles empto *Framlingham*, p. 60
(1324–5)
'On one pair of trendles purchased'[10]
(7)b…. quia deficiuntur iij strakes *Framlingham*, p. 82
(1324–5)
'Because 3 strakes are missing'

That is, no article use was found in these accounts documents where an article would have been grammatically excluded in the vernacular.

The distribution of the French definite article in the documents examined clearly obeyed grammatical constraints of the two vernacular languages. A switch between the French article and the English noun never occurred where a definite article would have been ungrammatical in English. In other words, the FA+EN sequence was obeying the Equivalence Constraint characteristic of contemporary code-switching. The analysis proposed by Ingham (2009) was therefore that the FA+EN combination constituted a small piece of French-to-English code-switching, which cropped up embedded in a matrix-language Latin text. The claim maintained in the present article is that it was it was not a translation, or a code-switching 'marker', but an embedding into running Latin text of a piece of conversational code-switching between French and English of the type that the participants in creating the document would have customarily used in their everyday discourse as manorial administrators. For this argument to be accepted, however, much depends on the plausibility and reliability of the distributional argument. Further work seemed to be required, especially making use of a large corpus of relevant data in order to substantiate the distributional analysis more solidly, This perceived need was addressed in the present study, as will be discussed below.

5. New study: FA + EN with English topological nouns

The FA+EN phenomenon can be observed not only in accounts documents such as those studied by Ingham (2009), but also quite frequently in the charters collected in the DEEDS corpus by Gervers (1975). It is found optionally especially in boundary clauses describing where in the landscape the boundaries lay of land worked by the farming community, e.g.:

(8)a. …quod stagnum dicitur blakepol DEEDS 00040406 1220
'…which pond is called black pool'
(8)b. …que dicitur la blakepole. DEEDS 00040405 1220
'…which is called the black pool'

[10] *Trendles* were probably either rollers or hoops (cf. Middle English Dictionary s.v. *trendel*).

(8)c. …in campo qui vocatur northfeld DEEDS 00800046 1297-1298
'…in the field called north field'
(8)d. …cultura que uocatur le northfeld DEEDS 00190197 1276-1277
'…field called the north field'

These charters were often of an earlier period than the time frame considered by Zachrisson (1924). They were observed to contain many instances of the FA+EN phenomenon with landscape features. Ingham (2013) provided a brief introduction to its occurrence in the DEEDS data, but a more thorough investigation is undertaken here.

The semantic status of topological nouns must first be discussed: should they be taken as 'minor' names, i.e. proper nouns, or as common nouns denoting a locally-known landscape feature, such as would be the case in any village with 'the pond', 'the brook', 'the green' etc.? In the charter data, they vary as to whether they are found with a vernacular definite article, a fact which could be interpreted in terms of the historical trend towards a landscape feature becoming a habitative place name (Ekwall 1936). Items such as Blackpool and Northfield are, after all, in modern times found as English place names.[11] It was observed, however, that in the charters habitative place names did not take articles, English or French; after the formula *datum apud* ('given at', i.e. the place of composition, normally a settlement or habitation of some kind) a definite article was never observed to precede a habitative place name in the corpus, cf.:

(9)a … datum *apud Chuddelegh* DEEDS 01790197 (1224)
(9)b. … datum *apud Cawode* DEEDS 01310029 (1227)
(9)c. … datum *apud Patrinton* DEEDS 00780049 (1230)
(9)d. … datum *apud Thorp* DEEDS 00960032 (1230)

English non-habitative topological nouns preceded by French definite articles can be taken not to have been true names, but rather denotations of well-known landscape features. As such, they would have required a definite article in ordinary vernacular discourse in that locality. Significantly, we find that this is the case in charters of the same period whose base language is French:

(10)a.. … & de Tamyse tanque a les flodeyates del molyn de Egnesham. *Eynsham* 1328
'and from the Thames as far as the floodgates of Eyensham mill'
(10)b. … et sy extend' en longur de longeforde tanqe al mulnebrugge. *Haughmond* 1344
'and extends in length from Longford as far as the millbridge'
(10)c. … et une acre sestend taunque a les foxholes. *Haughmon*d 1332
'and one acre goes as far as the foxholes

[11] The anachronistic practice of using initial capital letters for landscape features, such as those in (8)a-(8)d, by many charter editors has not been followed in the present study. It encourages their unquestioning interpretation as place-names, which we believe is as a general rule unwarranted.

In these French-language cases and others involving landscape features ('the floodgates', 'the mill bridge', 'the fox-holes') rather than settlement names, the definite article is always found. French-language municipal documents such as the *Oak Book of Southampton* (c.1300) likewise show the presence of the French definite article preceding English topological nouns such as *strand* ('sea-shore') and *hurst* ('thicket'):

(11)a. ... de la rue de Ffuleflode, oue la straunde et Lubriestrete soient iij. aldermans. *Oak Book* 58
'From Fullflood St. with the strand and Lubrie St. let there be three aldermen'
(11)b. Et si nul de la vile achate vins ou autre marchaundise que coustume deyue entre la huyrst et Lange-
stone.
Oak Book 64
'And if any townsperson buys wines or other goods owing custom duty between the hurst and Longstone…'

Place names such as *Langestone* and street names such as *Lubriestrete* did not normally take an article in these charters, on the other hand. It can be be taken, therefore, that English items such as *floodgates, mill bridge, strand* and *hurst* were not place names, but nouns that denoted places in the locality well-known to local inhabitants. Their semantics were denotational; the landscape features in the FA+EN construction in charters will be treated accordingly.

6. Analysis procedure

Further aspects of the distribution of FA+EN in Latin charters are now investigated, with a view to uncovering how far it could have reflected vernacular spoken usage. We consider whether the construction occurred in two types of grammatical contexts, possessive pre-modifiers and adjectival premodifiers. The Equivalence Constraint should have ruled out FA+EN in the possessive modifier context, since in English, mediaeval and modern alike, the Determiner position in the noun phrase has already been taken by the Genitive case noun, cf. (Modern English):

(12) Two acres in (*the) Alfred's field.

This analysis can be applied to corresponding items in the charters of the period, e.g.:

(13) … iacent in campo qui vocatur Ailwinesfeld contra portam Sagari DEEDS 01290084 (1235)
'… lie in the field which is called Ailwin's field, opposite the S. gate'

Here, the Determiner slot of the Noun Phrase headed by the noun *feld* is occupied by the genitive case Noun *Ailwin's*. The same restriction on the appearance of the definite article operated in pre-modern English as now. Given the Equivalence Constraint, the prediction can be made that in a code-switched passage in the charters a French article would be precluded from occurring in such as context as (13).

On the other hand, the Equivalence Constraint permits FA+EN to co-occur with an adjectival modifier, since the grammar of English allows, and allowed then, for a Determiner to precede an adjective. In a code-switch, the Determiner slot could therefore be taken by the French definite article. So the possibility of a French definite article in this kind of context is expected, e.g. where an adjective such as *black* precedes the head noun *bourne* ('brook'):-

(14) …linialiter usque in blakeburn et sic descendendo usque… DEEDS 00720201 (1256)
'…in a straight line as far as blackburn and thus going down as far as …

In this particular example, the French definite article is not found, but it is predicted to be present some of the time in cases with the same structure.

Results of a second analysis will also be reported in this study that followed initial observation of the DEEDS corpus data. These gave the impression that the FA+EN phenomenon was more common with a monosyllabic unpremodified English noun than with a polysyllabic element, e.g. the following contrast where the definite article accompanies monosyllabic *mor* ('moor'), while bisyllabic *blakemor* ('black moor') lacks one:

(15)a. …. et in prato quod uocatur Swerham iacente iuxta le mor DEEDS 00270040 (1297)
', …. and in the meadow called Swerham lying next to the moor'
(15)b. … et antiquam foveam versus blakemor infra cruces DEEDS00980703 (1226-1227)
'… and the old pit opposite black moor below the the gallows'

Likewise the contrast between monosyllabic *holm* ('low flat land near water') and trisyllabic *littelholm*:

(16)a. …et duos seliones super littelholm inter terras ejusdem Ricardi DEEDS 00660297 (1251)
'… and two furlongs above little holm between the lands of the said Richard…'
(16)b. …duabus acris in le holm sine diminucione DEEDS 00370473 (1266)
'… two acres in the holm without reduction…'

Analysis of the data was therefore also carried out focusing on this contrast.

For both types of analysis, data were used describing land surveys in Latin charters of the 12th to early 14th centuries in the DEEDS corpus. At this time, land tenancy rights were recorded using boundaries identified by a wide range of features of the medieval landscape. This corpus therefore lent itself admirably

to our needs, thanks to the abundance of references to topological entities that it contained. The very large number of charters collected in the corpus permitted linguistic regularities and also possible linguistic variation to be noted in recurrent references to those features.

DEEDS is not a linguistically annotated corpus, so lexical search terms were needed that would identify linguistic features of interest. These were the English nouns featuring in FA+EN combinations in data collected for Ingham (2013), i.e. (modern spellings used here for convenience):

(17) *acre, beck, bourn, brook, cliff, croft, dale*, *dene, ditch, feld, gate* ('way'), *hill, holm, lake, land, lane, lech (*'stream*'), mill, moor, pool, riding, street, toft, wall, way, well,*

The database, consisting of short extracts from the charter texts that featured these search terms, was analysed as indicated above.

7. Results: Possessive and Adjectival contexts, monosyllabic and polyllabic Noun contexts

Using the search terms shown in (17) above, a total of 243 contexts were obtained for a possible French definite article. Of these, a form of the article appeared in 81 (33.3%) of cases, most in the masculine form *le*, but 26 cases of feminine *la* were noted. The latter occur particularly modifying words for English 'valley': (*dene* and *dale*); whether this should be seen as reflecting the gender of the French lexical equivalent is moot, as in Old French both *val* (masculine) and *vallée* (feminine) were in use. It was therefore not considered profitable to investigate the gender marking issue further.

We next consider whether a topological noun appeared with an article, in two contexts: those where a personal name featured as a genitive modifier of the landscape feature noun, and in those where the modifier was an adjective, e.g. examples (13) and (14) above. It will be recalled that the Equivalence Constraint makes the prediction that a definite article should have been strongly disfavoured in the first but not in the second context.

Analysis produced a very clear distinction between the two contexts as to whether they permitted FA+ EN:-

Table 1: Use of the French article preceding adjectival and possessive modification of an English noun

	Def. art	no def. art.	TOTAL
Possessive pre-modifier	0 (10.4%)	52 (100%)	52
Adjectival premodifier	25 (37.9%)	41 (62.1 %)	66

No occurrence at all was found of the French article determining an English head noun, and co-occurring with a possessive premodifying noun, as in the following contexts:

(18)a. cum prato quod uocatur Ailrikesmor DEEDS 00270048 (1151-1152)
'with the meadow called Aelric's moor'
(18)b. …et inde vsque ad Godefrayesbourn et inde vsque ad… DEEDS 00480357 (1300)
'… and thence as far as Godfrey's brook, and thence as far as…
(18)c. …inter Ormes lecche et Smaleburne et Thysterleyburne DEEDS 01550015 (1229)
'between Orm's stream and S. and T. exx.(19a)-(19c).

On the other hand, the FA+EN construction co-occurred nearly 40% of the time with an adjectival pre-modifier, e.g.:

(19)a. …et dimidiam rodam super le redhevedeland inter eosdem… DEEDS 00660561 (1252-1253)
'… and half a rood above the red headland between the same…
(19)b.…de Asteley usque le blakelake versus Wideforde et sic… DEEDS 00710032 (1257)
'…. From A. as far as the black lake opposite W. and thus…
(19)c. … supra le holewey iuxta terram Roberti Baudewyn DEEDS 01050138 (1284 - 1285)
'…. above the hollow way next to the land of R.B.… '

It is again found that FA+ EN behaved as it would have done if reflecting code-switching constraints.

Next, monosyllabic and polysyllabic topological nouns were compared for the frequency of occurrence of FA+EN. Variation was found in both contexts, both monosyllabic, e.g. *dene*, and polysyllabic e.g. *portwey*:-

(20)a. …heredibus suis inperpetuum scilicet in dene ij acras terre et dimidiam DEEDS 01770406 (1202)
'…to his heirs in perpetuity the following: two acres and a half in (the) dene'
(20)b. …. et versus la dene unam rodam terre iuxta terram predicti Walteri DEEDS 00110024 (1230)
'… and going towards the dene a rood of land next to the land of the said W.'
(21)a. ... et subtus le portwey iacet vna roda quem DEEDS 01050138 (1284-1285)
'... and below the portway lies a rood (of land) which...'
(21)b. .... de dimidia acra uersus portwei DEEDS 00040135 (1228)
'... of half an acre towards the portway'

However, a quantitative analysis of the data produced a result showing a much stronger tendency to use the French definite article before a monosyllabic noun (Table 2).

As can be seen, FA+EN was overwhelmingly more frequent with monosyllabic than with polysyllabic nouns (66.7% of the time versus 19.3%). Why this should

have been so is not immediately obvious, but the very sharp difference in the results obtained in the two different contexts calls for an explanation.

Table 2: Frequencies with and without a definite article in DEEDS corpus, English monosyllabic and polysyllabic nouns attested with and without modification

	Def. art	no def. art.	TOTAL
Polysyllabic	33 (19.3%)	138 (80.7%)	171
Monosyllabic	48 (66.7%)	24 (33.3%)	72
Overall	81 (33.3%)	162 (66.7%)	243

It is worth considering the role that prosody may have played in favouring the outcome shown in Table 2, where e.g. *la dene* was more common than *dene,* but *portway* was more common than *le portway*. The distinction concerns whether an initial weak syllable in a metrical foot is present or absent. English has throughout its known history been stress-timed, systematically distinguishing strong from weak syllables. Metrical regularity, by which strong syllables occur at regular intervals, is strongly favoured (Liberman and Prince 1977); a pattern in which two strong syllables coincide constitutes a stress clash. Although stress clashes are common in running speech, there is evidence from speech perception and processing that English speakers have what Kimball and Cole (2014) call a regularity bias – they tend to perceive stress in terms of a regular alternating pattern of strong and weak syllables. Their research indicates that for a monosyllabic English noun, pronounced as a strong syllable, to lack a preceding weak syllable in running speech would be disfavoured by the regularity bias. That does not mean that stress clashes would never happen, only that a weak-strong sequence would tend to be be preferred as a speech rhythm default. This would very likely have been the case in earlier periods of English, since its character as stress-timed language has remained unchanged. The regularity bias in speech rhythm would have favoured the appearance of a weak syllable, represented by the French article, in a context preceding the monosyllabic English noun. The FA+EN sequence is likelier to have been frequent, therefore, when the English item was monosyllabic, the result observed in the data as represented in Table 2. This explanation, be it noted, situates the FA+EN sequence firmly in the domain of spoken language, which is of course where code-switching most commonly happens nowadays.

The fact that the charters were drawn up in Latin, where singular common nouns such as as those denoting a topological feature did not require a determiner, must surely have exercised a strong influence on the form of the text we have. That is why so many of the contexts studied, including those with monosyllabic English nouns, had no French definite article. However, its occurrence does not seem to be random: the results obtained here show clear disparities between different context types which can be handled by postulating the influence of spoken discourse. Though now irretrievable, it has left an imprint, as it were, on the code-switched syntax of the charters.

8. Summary and conclusions

The FA+EN sequences in our data, it is claimed, are a remnant of the spoken interaction between participants involved in the creation of a charter: the scribe and his informant, most likely a senior land manager or legal officer acting on behalf of the usually aristocratic or ecclesiastical tenant. In such discourse, most likely conducted in a vernacular, a definite article would normally have preceded a topological noun. We have argued that, very often at least, that vernacular discourse was in French, frequently mixed with English so as to identify landscape features as required. When transferred to the matrix language Latin environment of the written charter, the French article was most often dropped, as shown by the overall totals in Table 2. This was probably because of the Latin context, which may have served to favour the omission of articles.[12]

Earlier treatments of FA+EN did not consider its syntactic distribution. Not using frequency data from a corpus, they did not observe its above-average predominance in monosyllabic contexts, nor its complete absence where disallowed by the Equivalence Constraint. The present study has sought to fill this gap. The French article is shown to have occurred specifically where it would be found in a matrix French sentence, preceding a switch to an English noun. There is no basis for taking the French article to have been some form of metalinguistic textual marker, and certainly not as a translation feature

When the results of the present investigation are combined with the earlier findings of Ingham (2009), it can be said that the distributional patterns of the FA+EN combination map reflect vernacular grammars in the following respects:

— absence of an article where the vernacular would not have used one (indefinite contexts, possessive contexts, habitative place names)
— presence of the article where vernacular grammars would have used one (definite context, unmodified noun)

Its linguistic distribution was thus clearly rule-governed, and when prosody is taken into consideration the strong tendency to prefer its use with a monosyllabic noun, as compared with a polysyllabic one, points to a spoken origin of the phenomenon. The creation of the charter text was preceded, it is postulated here, by spoken interaction between speech participants featuring the construction in question. That spoken interaction included code-switching between the two vernaculars, specifically from French into English when a speaker wished to refer to a topographical feature of the area under discussion.

In conclusion, the analysis presented here of code-switching in medieval charters indicates that the extensive contact influence of French on Middle English

[12] Note that the Equivalence Constraint as described above would then not have operated between Latin and English, perhaps because a written text in Latin did not follow the conventions of spoken code switching. For discussion of Latin and English code-switching, see Keller (2020), while noting that the primary sources she analyses (sermons) were originally delivered orally.

took place in the context of spoken, not merely written, competence in the language on the part of bilingual speakers. The acceptance into English of thousands of French lexemes would have been greatly facilitated by the practice of code-switching among bilinguals, of which the FA+EN phenomenon offers us a small but informative surviving trace.

Primary source

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Linguistic escapism and symbolic value of signs of (good) times

Abstract: Our research describes the linguistic landscape of three Croatian towns where we compare the signs on coffee shops and bars in reference to the symbolic function of foreign languages used on them, especially when compared to the mostly informative value of signs in Croatian. The sampling method applied was Cook's and Campbell's *Diversity or Heterogeneity Sampling* (1979:75–77) where the survey areas are illustrative, and not representative examples of the linguistic landscape. The results indicate that the higher percentage of signs in a foreign language, predominantly English, may be seen as an instantiation of processes related to economic and cultural globalization in a *multilingual world* (Gorter, 2013) when foreign language signs imply prestige and positive connotations, as confirmed by their frequency in comparison to those in the mother tongue. In areas burdened by a politically charged atmosphere, foreign language signs are seen as a form of escapism from the implications the use of any of the minority or majority language signs may cause.

Key words: linguistic landscape, multilingualism, commercial signs, English language

1. Introduction

Studies that analyse the intersection of linguistic landscape as the study of linguistic signs and multilingualism all touch upon the relevance of commercial signs in creating an oasis of recognizable and secure environment (Backhaus 2015, Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; Darmawan et al., 2018; Görgülü, 2018), in some cases even when the strict government policy of prescribing public signage in a native language is opposed, as exemplified on the case of Arabic in Saudi Arabia (Alotaibi & Alamri, 2022). Multilingualism is part and parcel of life in larger urban areas that serve as meeting points for people with various cultural and linguistic backgrounds but are very frequently exposed to rather uniform commercial geography. Oxford

Street in London would at the first glance be rather similar to Mariahilfer Strasse in Vienna or Vacy street in Budapest, although the targeted customer category is carefully selected according to their income bracket, as is visible on the choice of brands, e.g. haute couture vs. street fashion brands. Still, global companies structure their branding strategy by providing the sense of equality to their international customers in the process of creating the same or similar visual landscape, advertising in that way the idea of the same quality of their goods in all parts of the world.

Unlike shop signs, which may contain text with trademark names in foreign languages as a simple necessity to advertise the wares sold, cafés and bars are not conditioned in this way but strive only to advertise themselves as places of leisure. As meeting points providing respite and (possibly) entertainment, in comparison to shops and similar businesses, cafés and bars could be seen as places where profit may not be of utmost importance, provided we disregard those belonging to popular global catering chains that very frequently are to be found in English speaking countries. It is more likely that they would be owned by locals, even in the above mentioned urban centres, and that there would be much more freedom in naming them, especially in using one's mother tongue so that there would be less necessity for an institutional intervention.[1]

Commercial signs on shops are mostly directly linked to either the franchised branches of major retailing brands or to foreign product names, but names on coffee shops and bars are strangely disregarded as a separate group of commercial signs in linguistic landscape (LL) studies, mostly due to the focus on how the use of language is dependent on the basic distribution of *top-down*, i.e institutionally prescribed and *bottom-up*, or individually applied linguistic signs. Multilingualism on these signs very frequently boils down to the use of English, but the status of the mother tongue may vary and is, actually, a very fluid and dynamic process which is worth examining both in terms of the status of English as a *lingua franca*[2] and in terms of the treatment of national languages in public discourse. One interesting example is found in the description of coffee shops in a Chinese university campus in Shanghai where Deng (2021) very aptly connected coffee shops to Oldenburg's (1999) theory of "the third place" where consumers can find equality and can get rid of the pressure from their homes and work places as the first and the second "place". It seems, however, that in Shanghai these common features of "the third

[1] Interestingly enough the Croatian *Company Law* (*Zakon o trgovačkim društvima,* https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/1993_12_111_2133.html) underwent a transition from a complete prohibition of company names in any foreign language in its version from 1993 to its transformation in 2013 when all EU languages were allowed to be used on company signage.

[2] English has been globally used in fields such as science, technology, diplomacy, commerce, popular culture (music and the movie industry), and now in online communication platforms, such as social networks, which makes it necessary to define it as a world language or as McArthur (2000, p. 33) points out "*the* global *lingua franca*".

place" have been disappearing and giving way to a more business-like environment where students and other patrons typically study and work, as is visible in the more and more dominant presence of Chinese in comparison to English signs.

The impetus for this research was thus found in this observation about the evolution of the status of places of leisure and their signs as a phenomenon present in more technologically bound societies. It was contrasted to the tradition of socializing in coffee shops as an important aspect of everyday life in Croatia. The instinctive assumption about smaller linguistic communities in continental Croatia where the central urban area is not considered to be a tourist hot spot and multilingually not so diversified would be that the mother tongue, Croatian, would be dominant even on commercial signs in public spaces, but a surprising result ensued in our research where signs for coffee shops were largely written in English or some other European language (Gradečak et al., 2018). Namely, although our research was focused on the categorisation of signs according to the bottom-up, top-down origin and their distribution according to the number of languages represented on them, what emerged as a somewhat surprising result was a higher proportion of commercial signs in foreign languages, either monolingual or bilingual, i.e. containing Croatian and some other (foreign) language, mostly English, in comparison to monolingual signs in Croatian. This result, however, coincides potentially with another aspect of linguistic signs in public spaces, as emphasized by Grbavac (2013), that in speech communities in the Central European area, plagued by recent wars and ethnic and nationalist ideologies, it is not only the prestige and modernity that English as a global *lingua franca* provides, but it is its quality to isolate the person from being put in a strict frame of an ethnic categorization and native language use. This ideological aspect of linguistic landscape in the Slavonia region, burdened by the war in 1990s was studied in Gradečak-Erdeljić et al. (2016) and in this research study we readdress the role of the English language in its symbolic function in the marketing strategy when the owners of coffee shops are concerned and the element of escapism of "the third place" when their patrons are concerned.

The hypothesis of this research was that English is predominantly used in the names of coffee shops, bars and night clubs in Croatian towns of Vukovar, Osijek and Đakovo and our research questions are formed as follows:

1. What is the ratio of signs in foreign languages in the three studied Croatian towns (Vukovar, Osijek, Đakovo) and how is English represented on them?
2. What is the status of languages on commercial signs (with a narrow observation of coffee shop and bar signs) in reference to the symbolic vs. informative function of signs?

We are aware that identities can be placed in a variety of ways, ranging from public debates on political issues, through education and economic policies, statements about religious affiliation, food choices, or the clothing we wear. However, in this paper we are primarily interested in the ways in which identities are placed, that is, expressed, in language. We hypothesized also that Vukovar, Osijek and Đakovo,

as once multilingual communities, may have preserved some remnants of their multilingual past in their linguistic landscape, mostly German and Hungarian as languages of now national minorities, once dominant ethnic communities in those towns. Still, we assumed that we shall find English as a primary foreign language influence on commercial public signs. A field study research conducted for the purposes of this paper replicated our study from 2018, with a focus on linguistic signs on coffee shops, pubs and bars in those three towns and a quantitative analysis of the data was conducted and the qualitative assessment of the motivation behind naming and the reception of the signs was made in an attempt to combine those two approaches into a more or less coherent picture of the role of English on linguistic signs in public spaces in non-English speaking communities.

Initially we present an overview of the theoretical model used for this research within the framework of linguistic landscape, one of the latest sociolinguistic strands of research combining multidisciplinary methods of analysis which includes the role of multilingualism in contemporary speech communities.

2. Linguistic Landscape (LL) and multilingualism

The relatively new approach to multilingualism can be found in what has become known as *linguistic landscape* (LL), defined by Landry and Bourhis (1997, p. 23) as the "visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region". In settings ranging from war-struck or multi-ethnic communities to urban or commercial and residential areas of large cities these types of studies explore the issues of language use and language policy as well as the influence of globalization on language signs in public and private spaces. The public space is not neutral, it is rather "a negotiated and contested arena" (Shohamy and Waksman, 2009, p. 314) where public use of foreign language becomes an expression of the attitude of the town's inhabitants towards their mother tongue as well as towards different foreign languages.

Scollon and Wong Scollon (2003, p. 175-189) distinguish four basic types of discourse in urban space: urban regulatory discourse, urban infrastructure discourse, commercial discourse, and transgressive discourse. City regulatory and infrastructural discourses include signs erected by official bodies. These are traffic signs, public announcements, warnings and prohibitions, signs with toponyms, etc. Commercial discourses include all kinds of inscriptions on shops and other business advertisements. Transgressive discourses refer to signs that, intentionally or accidentally, violate the semiotics of a particular place in the sense that it is a sign out of its usual place, e.g. a price tag on the road or graffiti.

As noted by Gradečak-Erdeljić and Zlomislić (2014, p. 8), LL is a research field at the cross section of disciplines and borrows from its visual content the very name for the geographical structure it represents, where the geographical structure

is construed with the help of linguistic signs. LL views public spaces as maps where the key to reading them can be found in deciphering the role of language in the sociological and linguistic dynamics of the city. City centres with their high language density are open and accessible to the 'crowd', and as such they have become the best places for LL research. Public spaces become a way to encode and publicize not only information of common civic value but of the sociolinguistic structure on a par with other media such as press, electronic media, TV, or radio.

Referring to the decoding power of LL, Grbavac (2018) notices that it mostly deals with multilingual environments where language choices and attitudes toward language issues are closely linked to politics, power relations in that community, language ideologies, and interlocutors' views on their identities and the identities of others. As a consequence of various historical and economic trends, such as interethnic conflicts, the formation of new regional communities (e.g. the European Union), the disintegration of former communities (e.g. the former Yugoslavia, the former Soviet Union), globalization, consumerism changes in language ideologies and available identities occur. In such social and linguistic constellations, English is seen as a bridging element in an attempt to traverse the obstacles of linguistic identification among members of various speech communities.

The higher percentage of signs in a foreign language (English, French, Italian, German) may be seen as an instantiation of processes related to economic and cultural globalization in a multilingual world (Graddol, 1997; Gorter, 2013) werein foreign language signs are used to achieve the sense of prestige and positive connotations. Graddol further observed that in its current historical stage of late capitalism or post-modernity, and we may add the exponential rise of both the speed and quantity of information spread over the Internet, the world is becoming increasingly multilingual as previously established nation-state institutions of language control and language planning have been undermined by the global flows of information, media, people, and technology.

In that sense, we follow Bourdieu's (1991) idea of the 'linguistic marketplace', where different languages and varieties are hierarchically ordered and function as commodities, and where they are attributed specific symbolic value. Thus, using or accessing a particular highly valued language then implies symbolic prestige and profit (Bourdieu 1991) and not only its referential force. Bourdieu sees linguistic markets as simultaneously structural forces and constructions of linguistic practice and local agency (Park and Wee, 2012), which are some of major strands of LL research, and in many of those 'markets of English' (Park and Wee 2012, p. 7) LL research occupies a variable position.

The outreach of these linguistic market conditions is by no means reserved for global urban centres or national capitals, usual objects of study in LL research, since we can witness their impact in smaller urban areas in the three researched towns. In the contemporary digitalised world, globalisation is erasing cultural and linguistic borders and setting new standards for what is local and what is not,

making the use of English a basic necessity of survival, especially in terms of commercial positioning and taking a piece of the profit cake in sometimes much more restricted geographical and business area.

3. Methodology

As proposed by Backhaus (2007, p. 66) an LL sign is considered to be "…any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame. The underlying definition is physical, not semantic. It is rather broad, including anything from the small handwritten sticker attached to a lamp-post to huge commercial billboards outside a department store". Most analyses of LL consist in distinguishing top-down and bottom-up flows of LL elements or *in vitro* and *in vivo* signs (Calvet 1990, 1994, in Backhaus, 2007). The first set includes signs placed by institutional agencies of any kind and at any level and the second set consists of signs displayed by individual, associative or corporative actors. The main difference between these two wide categories of LL elements resides in the fact that the former are expected to reflect a general commitment to the dominant culture while the latter are designed much more freely according to individual strategies. Both categories of LL items, however, offer themselves to the public that walks through, perceives and interprets the LL. Top-down signs are coded according to their belonging to national or local, and e.g. cultural, social, educational, medical or legal institutions. Bottom-up items are coded according to categories such as professional (legal, medical, consulting), commercial (and subsequently, according to branches like food, drink, clothing, furniture etc.) and services (agencies like real estate, translation or manpower).

Since the focus of our research is on commercial signs on coffee shops, we mostly observed the *in vivo* signs, but for the sake of illustration of the opposition between the two sets in our field study, we included several signs on national or local authorities' buildings as examples of the *in vitro* signs.

In the present study, we applied the method of field research replicating partially the steps from Gradečak et al. (2018) by focusing on commercial signs, more specifically coffee shops, pubs, clubs and bars.[3] It relied on the methodology of qualitative and quantitative analysis of photographs taken by camera(s) on researcher's mobile phone(s) in the narrower area of the Vukovar, Osijek and Đakovo city centre in spring 2024, which is typical for these types of studies (according to Grbavac, 2013). A standard geographical map is used to mark the area covered (Figures 1, 2 and 3).

The sampling method applied in the second step was Cook and Campbell's *Diversity for Heterogeneity Sampling* (1979, pp. 75–77) as 'deliberate sampling

[3] Their categorization depends on the label the establishment itself uses, as indicated on detected signs on doors or walls, providing specific data on owners, address, tax number etc.

for heterogeneity' where the survey areas are illustrative, and not representative examples of the linguistic landscape of the city and the focus was primarily on *in vivo* or *bottom up* signs produced by members of general population and not by institutions as *top down* signs. It typically involves the most relevant area in reference to the chosen type of discourse, i.e. set of signs. The aim is to get as diverse linguistic landscapes as possible, and not to present all linguistic landscapes in proportion. Our field research data were gathered in major commercial zones of the towns of Vukovar (Županijska and Stjepana Radića street, Franjo Tuđman square, Figure 1), Osijek (Stjepana Radića Street, Europska avenija, Tvrđa, Figure 2) and Đakovo (Ban Josip Jelačić Street, Korzo, Figure 3) in a stretch of approximately 2 km in each town.

The distribution of languages on signs was established by counting signs and simple descriptive statistics in terms of percentages of specific language in the total sample.

Figure 1. The map of Vukovar with the researched area marked in red.

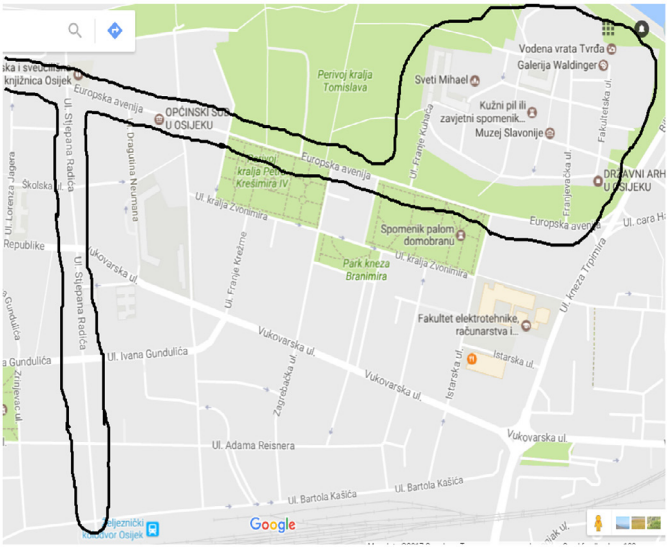

Figure 2. The map of Osijek with the researched area circled in black.

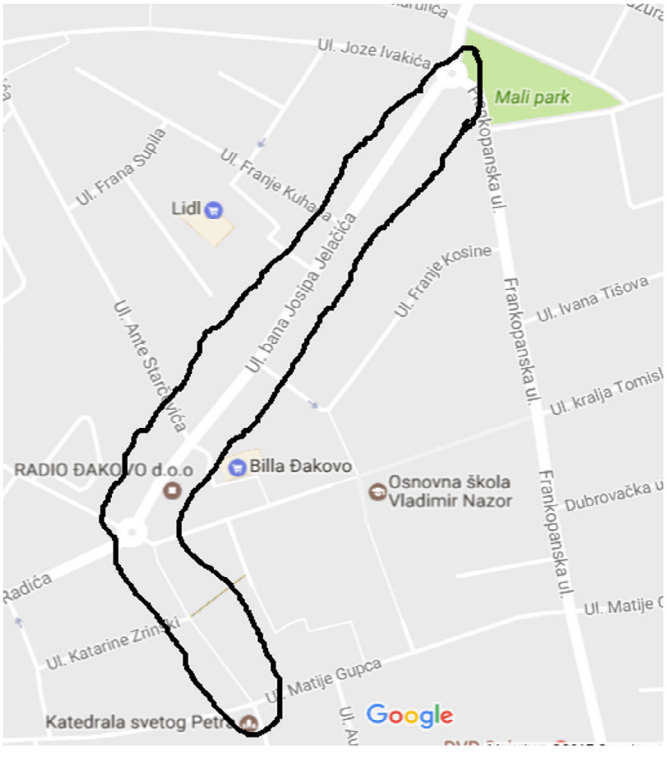

Figure 3. The map of Đakovo with the researched area circled in black.

Results

We provide at the beginning a sample of commercial signs form Vukovar to illustrate the tendencies of the use of English and other foreign languages in bottom-up signs. In the initial study from 2018 more than 200 photos were taken, but now we photographed only commercial signs, i.e. signs for coffee shops, bars and pubs.

Figure 4a. Commercial signs on shops and shopping centres – bilingual Croatian and English (Golubica mall (department shop), Cult London (clothes shop)), and monolingual English (CineStar cinemas, Posh store (clothes shop)).[4]

The photographs in this category represent the focal point of this study since, in order to check the hypothesis on the role of commercial signs, we separated the photos of signs found on bars, coffee shops and restaurants and analysed them in terms of the language they are written in. Images in Figure 4a. refer to the mixture of languages, Croatian and English in initially intended bilingual signs. On the other hand, images in Figure 4b show signs representing the category of monolingual signs with establishment's names containing a total of 18 signs, with 11 names for coffee shops in the English language, which represent 62% of the total number of all signs for coffee shops in the observed area in Vukovar, as shown in Table 1. The photos in Figures 4a and 4b are aligned according to the geographic distribution in the observed area, following the path from the main street, and the commercial pedestrian zone in the city centre in the north to south direction.

Table 1. Distribution of coffee shop signs in Vukovar according to the language used

Language	Number	Examples
English	11 **(62%)**	*The Way, Escape, Sunshine, Infinity, The Dublin Pub, The best x 2, History, Step, Onyx, Riverside*
Croatian	2 (**12%**)	*Novi Vukovar, Restoran Vrške*
Latin	1 (**5%**)	*In fiumen*
Dutch	1 (**5%**)	*Den Hag*
Spanish	2 (**11%**)	*El maritimo, Madre*
Italian	1 (**5%**)	*Chiara*

[4] All photographs used in the present paper were taken by me during my field research in in the towns of Vukovar, Osijek and Đakovo.

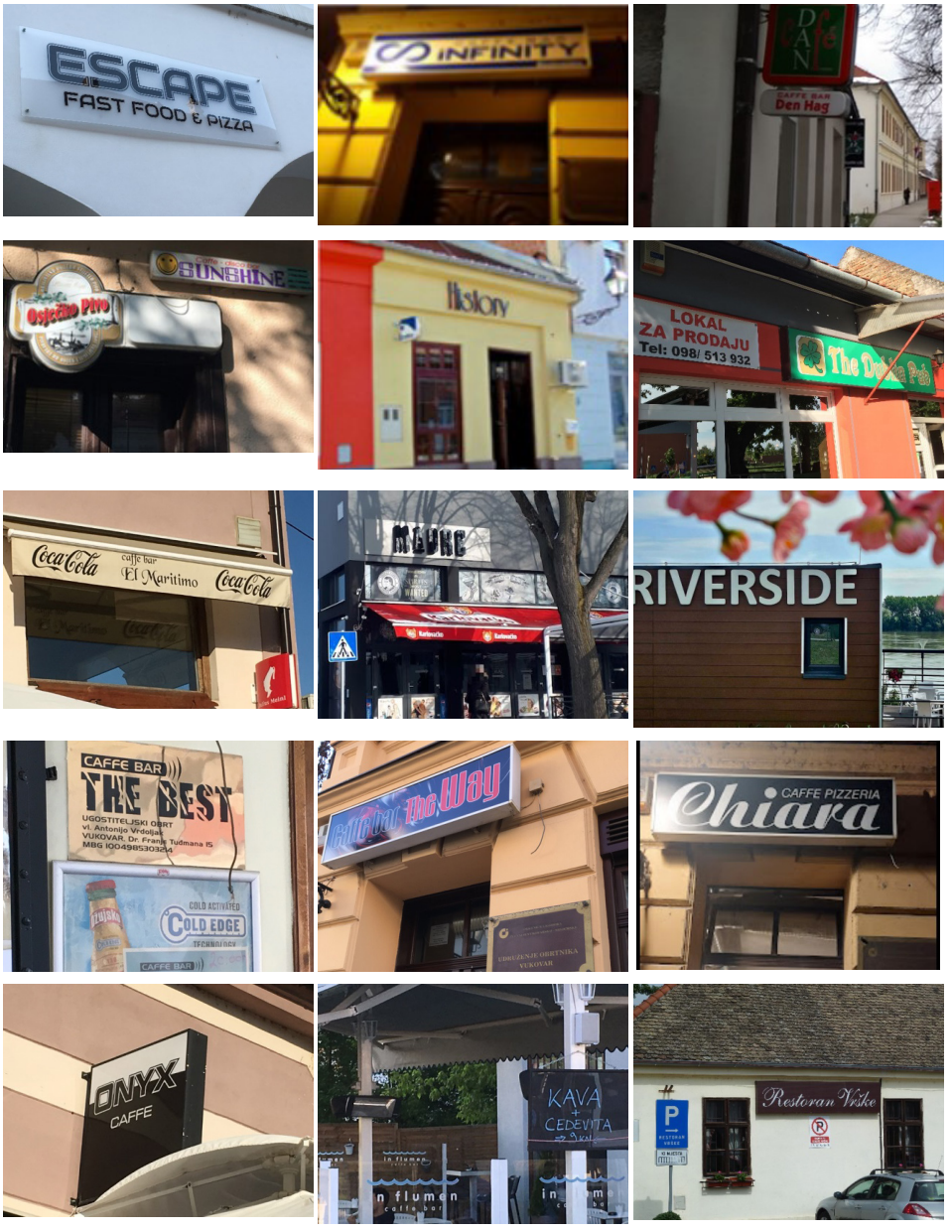

Figure 4b. Commercial signs - bars and coffee shops – monolingual names of coffee shops with bilingual (Croatian and English) or monolingual (Croatian) interventions with signs for working hours or special offers.

Only one example in Latin, Italian and quasi Dutch with only 2 Croatian examples, *Novi Vukovar* (Eng. *New Vukovar*) and Restoran Vrške (Eng. *Restaurant*

Fishing Net) is what makes this set particularly interesting and what prompted the research of the corresponding central town areas in Đakovo and Osijek. In Figures 5 and 6 we present photographs of some representative examples of monolingual (either English or Croatian) coffee shop signs as well as their bilingual versions from these two towns. Elaboration of the distribution of all observed coffee shop names in Tables 2 and 3 below.

Figure 5a. Monolingual English coffee shop signs in Osijek.

Figure 5b. Bilingual English and Croatian coffee shop signs in Osijek.

Figure 5c. Monolingual Croatian coffee shop signs in Osijek.

Table 2. Distribution of coffee shop signs in Osijek according to the language used

Language	Number	Examples
English	16 (**42%**)	*Caffe Bar G, In, Rubicon, College, Mind, Stop, San Francisco, Club, Outside, Club Q, Fort Pub, Matrix, Memories, St. Patrick's, Exit, Old Bridge Pub*
Croatian	5 (**14,2%**)	*Runda, Radić, Kaos, Dubioza, Osječka pivnica Tvrđa*
Italian	3 (**7%**)	*Tivoli, La Cioccolata, Venti due*
Latin	2 (**5,3%**)	*Moneo, Magis*
Spanish	1(**2,6%**)	*Luna*
German	2 (**5,3%**)	*General Von Beckers , Franz Koch*
French	3 (**7,8%**)	*Mignon, Merlon, Rocher*
Dutch	1(**2,6%**)	*Amsterdam*
Ambiguous	5 (**13,2%**)	*Nargilla, Glembay, Petar Pan, Beertija, Bure bar*

Croatian monolingual signs account for only 14.2% of all observed signs, where e.g. *Runda, Radić, Kaos, Dubioza* were arguably labelled as Croatian due to their adjustment to Croatian pronunciation and spelling, although only one, *Radić,* is strictly of Croatian etymology, as a surname of the historical personality after whom the street where the coffee shop is situated is named.Other names are all slang words in Croatian, but mostly with an international background (*Runda* after English or German 'round', *Kaos* as possibly English 'chaos' and *Dubioza* as a local jargon word stemming from the English adjective 'dubious'. The same problem existed in the section with ambiguous signs because some of them may belong to e.g. Arabic (*Nargilla*) but we opted to assign it to this more neutral category due to its international path of arriving into the Croatian language. A similar problem is the calque form of the personal name for the literary hero Peter Pan, who in the Croatian version is *Petar Pan,* a name of the pastry shop/coffee shop, or *Beertija*, a very successful morphological blend of the English word 'beer' and the label used for pubs or bars, 'birtija' , which is actually a Croatian folk etymological version of the German word 'Wirtshaus' ('inn, porterhouse'). In Table 3 above there are three separate categories of signs in terms of the number of languages displayed on

a single sign, two monolingual and one bilingual, with names e.g. *Bure bar* (Cro. 'barrel bar'), but since we are not dealing with the element of language dominance in terms of the informative value ascribed to national languages (cf. Grbavac 2013), we analyse these examples as instances of signs containing English words or, in this case English morphosyntactic features. Namely, undeclensed nominal appositive premodification of the nominal head is considered ungrammatical or at least substandard in Croatian but increasing in frequency and is considered a result of the English influence (cf. Starčević, 2006; Hudeček, 2016).

Slightly less varied distribution of languages can be found in Đakovo with 23 photographed signs where only three languages, English, Croatian and French, were clearly distinguished and the international (*Film)* and potentially Turkish or Arabic background of *Fess* was what assigned them in the category of ambiguous signs. Croatian signs were labelled as such due to the Croatian transcription of mostly international words ('fountain, 'gallery'), but *Enigma* may have been an English example as well.

Figure 5a. Monolingual English coffee shop signs in Đakovo.

Figure 5b. Bilingual English and Croatian coffee shop sign in Đakovo.

Figure 5c. Monolingual Croatian coffee shop sign in Đakovo.

Table 3. Distribution of coffee shop signs in Đakovo according to the language used

Language	Number	Examples
English	15 (**65,2%**)	*Vigor, The Eagle Pub, Cape Town, Sense, Shine, Royal Pub, Escape, Exit, 3D, °C Club, My Place, Central, London, People, Click*
Croatian	4 (**17,4%**)	*Fontana, Galerija Raa, Larisa, Enigma*
French	2 (**8,7%**)	*Godot, Passage*
Ambiguous	2 (**8,7%**)	*Film, Fess*

4. Discussion

Since our sampling method was based on Cook and Campbell's *Diversity for Heterogeneity Sampling* (1979:75–77) as 'deliberate sampling for heterogeneity', both the surveyed areas and the data, i.e. photos of signs on coffee shops in Vukovar, Osijek and Đakovo are illustrative, and not representative examples of the linguistic landscape of those towns. Our preliminary evidence shows, however, a strong visual representation of English as the language of preference on these signs since this language individually carries the highest percentage in all three areas observed (64%, 42% and 65.2% respectively). The relatively lower frequency of monolingual English signs in Osijek can be explained by a relatively high frequency of signs with other foreign languages, 43,8%, and only 14,2% signs were monolingual Croatian. The fact that Croatian was rather underrepresented, both in Vukovar, 11% and Đakovo, with 17% monolingual signs in Croatian, or rather just borrowings from a foreign language adapted to Croatian morpho-phonological system (*Galerija* is derived from 'gallery' or e.g. *Fontana* from 'fountain', although some other European language may have served as a direct source, e.g. German or French), may indicate that the national language is considered not attractive enough for commercial signs of this type, as some previous research shows (Grbavac 2013). Grbavac pointed out the rising attraction of English for typically commercial signs, as a language of negotiation between prevailing

cultural beliefs and conflicting social issues. Her research showed that public use of foreign language is seen as an open expression of the attitude to mother tongue and other national and foreign languages. Our data indicate that the role of the English language in commercial signs should be readdressed, as it does not always convey a message about the establishment in question with its informative value, but rather has a symbolic function as a part of the marketing strategy to attract customers by what we termed the element of escapism of "the third place", as suggested by Oldenburg (1999). So, it is not only that the sign in English is the index of a more successful life and poshness that a potential, imaginary life in the West may bring, but it is a comfort of a different place that offers some kind of a sanctuary and a hideaway from the millstone of everyday life and drudgery. On the other hand, the role of Croatian in commercial signs, on coffee shops and bars especially, should be readdressed as well, because it is obvious that this bottom-up category of signs shows a tendency of distancing the public from their mother tongue. It is indicative that the majority of signs in Croatian were actually borrowings from other languages, English included, as can be seen in the results above, so, the gap between source languages is actually even wider.

One aspect of signs for these establishments is a prevalent use of the otherwise non-existent phrase "café/café bar" for both coffee shops and bars proper. This unusual coinage is typical for this area of the ex-Yugoslav territories and represents an enigmatic mixture of the adjusted Italian words for coffee ('caffé') and coffee shops ('bar', used alternatively to 'caffetteria'). It seems that the label has been unequivocally accepted as an official label for these types of businesses and remains a peculiar linguistic and cultural hybrid.

Some signs in English exhibit monolingual interventions in Croatian with signs for working hours or special offers clearly directed to their usual clientele, local inhabitants whose mother tongue is Croatian, making them actual areas of bilingual communication. This is a standard approach for business purposes noticed by Grbavac (2013) and Deng (2021) as well because the purpose is the financial gain from the reliable and regular source, that is regular patrons.

The primary hypothesis of the preference for English signs is well represented in the sign for the coffee shop *The Best* in Vukovar in Table 1.b, advertised by its name in English. The informative element in the sign, however, is in Croatian when in the announcement of the party (in English spelling) with days of the week in Croatian makes this sign bilingual, with an aim to attract the regular clientele but focusing on earning money by specifying in Croatian the specific time of the party to be held there.

If we are to objectively observe the quantitative results of the survey, we could conclude that there is an obvious discrepancy between the informative and symbolic function of signs in foreign languages. The use of English lexemes 'bar' or 'club' on signs is clearly informative, but the modifying lexemes in English have a clear indexical, if not symbolic function. The use of Italian lexemes, e.g. *Venti*

Due on the sign for a pizzeria and coffee shop serving Italian coffee is indexical in terms of pointing out the obvious Italian origin of the drinks and food served there, as might be the toponym *San Francisco* for coffee (although it is actually Portland where *Starbucks* was founded), but it is clearly the language's symbolic function of associative links to specific cultural items, such as luxurious life style or entertainment that is present in the majority of examples.

Contrary to initial assumptions, when it is assumed that one's mother tongue would present a "safe place", a language one feels the most secure while using, it is almost an established norm that hospitality establishments providing service use foreign labels to attract customers. Neither the awareness of a higher level of knowledge of Croatian, a mother tongue one would feel independent and not self conscious in comparison to using some foreign language, nor the sense of the safe cultural environment one's mother tongue evokes, contribute to higher frequency of Croatian examples in our data set.

Since the use of national languages in public spaces is considered to be an important corner stone in preserving the ethnolinguistic vitality, in terms of the foundations of LL research promoted by Landry and Bourhis (1997), it would be our next step to provide a qualitative analysis of the sentimental value of signs in specific languages, both outside and inside the establishment, and both among their owners and their patrons alike.

5. Conclusion

In multilingual environments, in different interactions, the process of negotiating or assuming identities takes place on a daily basis, with different language ideologies and identity ideologies coming to the fore. The question is often asked which languages or which language variants certain people should speak and in which contexts, which linguistic identity they should promote, all of which creates a rather dynamic linguistic landscape.

This rationale may explain some of the findings observed in the past (Gradečak-Erdeljić & Zlomislić, 2014), especially in the opposition to the use of Croatian on *in vivo* public signs. The results of the field research analysed in this paper conducted in the fairly monolingual speech communities of there Croatian towns, Vukovar, Osijek and Đakovo, showed that English has the highest percentage of use on public signs for coffee shops, bars and pubs, which indicates that the commercial attraction of English and other foreign languages is amply used in open space, as indicated in much of previous research.

The high frequency of *in vivo* signs in English in our data set focused on signs on hospitality establishments such as coffee shops, restaurants and bars. English is profiled to be a bridging element, a part of the commercial discourse intended mostly for external visitors and tourists, but also a point of attraction for

local population, an advertising gimmick used to attract attention by providing an escapist haven where the parallel world of otherness and assumed opulence exist. The escapism effect of the so called "third space" is mostly the reason why English is prevalent in signs on commercial signs in general, especially on coffee shops as places of leisure and the ethnographic description of its use would be a natural step in the future of LL research in this multilingual part of Croatia.

The shortcomings of this research refer to the width of the researched area and the depth of the details examined in the semiotic category of characteristics of signs, but since the research was based on the principle of deliberate sampling for heterogeneity where the survey areas are illustrative, and not representative examples of the linguistic landscape of the city, the data are still relevant in view of the points made at the outset of the research. Further micro and macro studies would be necessary to support the ideas suggested in this paper and the social (r) evolution of English as contemporary *lingua franca* is to be observed, especially in its multimodal environment.

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The politics of fear in Yussef El Guindi's *Back of the throat*

Abstract: The events of September 11 and the ensuing 'war on terror' saw the rise of private and structural Islamophobia in the USA. Centuries-old essentialist myths and stereotypes have been used to perpetuate the image of Muslims and Arabs as the antithesis to the West, most often as could-be terrorists—a danger to both individual and national identity, values and even life itself. As Svendsen (2008), Furedi (2018), Ahmed (2014) and Bauman (2006) argue, whoever controls fear, controls society. This paper examines the cultural and discursive strategies of disciplining through the reproduction of fear and safety narratives in Yussef El Guindi's play *Back of the Throat.* It analyses the reciprocal effects culturally constructed fear has on both its subjects and objects. Finally, it describes the lived experiences of Arab/Muslim Americans in the aftermath of 9/11, in the climate of prejudice-driven fear that undermines their individual freedoms and civil rights.

Key words: fear, cultural script, discursive strategies, Islamophobia

1. Introduction

The tragic events of September 11, 2001, when nearly three thousand people lost their lives at the hands of nineteen Arab Muslim men who hit multiple targets in the heart of the US, arrested the attention of millions around the world, as the coverage of terrorist attacks unfolded in real time on television. In the days that followed, as the nation and the world were recovering from the initial shock and grief, 'the clash of civilizations' theory—arguing that the US is "on a civilizational collision course with Islam" (Beydoun, 2018, p. 82)—gained momentum. This ultimately led to the spread of fear, suspicion, and even paranoia through society. Fear has always been "a political tool" (Svendsen, 2008, p. 120), and in the aftermath of 9/11, it was used to redeploy "division into friend and foe" (p. 116),

with an important question remaining to be answered, namely, who this enemy is that is threatening to destroy the idea of civilized society and its values.

Lars Svendsen (2008), Frank Furedi (2018), Sara Ahmed (2014, and Zygmunt Bauman (2006) all agree that fear is culturally constructed and transmitted. As Furedi (2018) explains, "a cultural script" provides and "transmits rules about feelings and also ideas about what those emotions mean", thus providing a system of meaning through which society engages with fear", whereby the script itself is "informed by taken-for-granted cultural facts that are reproduced by common-sense narratives" (pp. 14–15). Svendsen (2008, p. 16) argues that fear is one of the most powerful political resources used by authorities and profit-driven media to communicate the biggest dangers *du jour*, although there might be a considerable difference between their possibility and reality. Although the fears that plague contemporary society are "far less based on direct [or lived] experience," "the consciousness of fear" (Furedi, 2018, p. 13) reached an all-time high after the attacks. According to Furedi, the narratives of fear create a system of meaning, "a background, context and set of assumptions that guide people in the way they go about making sense of, and responding to threats" (2018, p. 7). Among many scares that circulate people's consciousness and media in the contemporary world, the figure of a 'terrorist' is perhaps the most threatening. Not only can terrorists strike anywhere, anytime, with any weapon; it is also not quite clear who 'they' are. As Furedi claims, "the imprecise and incoherent manner with which the narrative of terrorism is communicated" (2007, p. viii) amplified the public response and - by recycling Orientalist rhetoric - made vulnerable a group of people labeled Arab or Muslim.[1] Although there were attempts not to associate closely Muslim religion and culture with 'the enemy,' as the 'real' Islam has nothing to do with fundamentalist, radical Islam, "the project to isolate the West adversaries" was doomed to fail, as it uses "a negative designation of what they are not" (Furedi, 2007, p. xiii). As a consequence, the 'us-versus-them' binary used to describe Arab and Muslim Others around the world became "inscribed on the racialized bodies of Arab- and Muslim-Americans 'over here', in the US" (Fadda-Conray, 2014, p. 142), which enabled the construction of a patriotic American identity that excluded racialized religious and ethnic individuals as unpatriotic and dangerous, therefore "to be monitored, controlled and contained" (Fadda-Conray, 2014, p. 143).

As these negative, essentialist, and derogatory conceptualizations and portrayals of Arab/Muslim Americans in the mainstream media, literature, academia, and elsewhere were unfolding, Arab American writers offered counternarratives to challenge the deep-rooted 'us-versus-them' dichotomies by providing insight

[1] The terms *Arab* and *Muslim* are often used synonymously in the US and elsewhere, despite their identification of various nationalities, ethnicities, religious affiliations, spoken dialects, and cultural heritage. For disambiguation, see Fadda-Conray, (2014, 12–17) or Alsultany (2012, 9–10). The umbrella term *Arab/Muslim* will be used in this paper when denoting a multiplicity of national and religious identities.

into both individual and communal experiences, opinions, and concerns of Arab/Muslim American citizens within the US cultural and political landscape and their connections to Arab homelands, which "cease to be the ostracizing factor that prohibit them from asserting US belonging" (Fadda-Conray, 2014, p. 3). In his play *Back of the throat*,[2] Yussef El Guindi (2019) examines these entrenched binary views - perpetuated by Orientalist and Islamophobic discourse - that underline the need for complete assimilation in the dominant US cultural frameworks. By close reading of the text, this paper analyzes the performative effects of fear on both its subjects (those who fear) and objects (those who are feared), as fearing is a reciprocal process. It examines culturally conditioned scripts and discursive strategies used by persons/groups in power to discipline and assert dominance by reproducing and thus legitimizing the dominant narratives (Van Dijk, 1993) circulating after the 9/11 attacks. Furthermore, it analyzes how this reproduction affects Arab/Muslim identities, now considered a national security threat, rendering them unassimilable and un-American - the 'enemies within' to be detected and disciplined.

2. The reproduction of fear and its consequences

"I recall the surreal images and events of that day as if they happened yesterday. And just as intimately, I remember the four words that repeatedly scrolled across my mind (…) 'Please don't be Muslims, please don't be Muslims'" (Beydoun, 2018, p. 6). Khaled A. Beydoun's words reflect insecurity and fear most Arab/Muslim Americans felt after the 9/11 attacks. This fear converged with that of all American citizens, the fear of more terrorist attacks. Only this time, the enemy was close, on American soil, "a foreign body (…) against whom the security state promises to defend its subjects tooth and nail" (Bauman, 2006, p. 148). The very openness of American society began to be questioned as its vulnerability, "in which openness itself is read as a site of potential danger (…) as spaces where bodies and worlds meet and leak into each other" (Ahmed, 2014, pp. 68–69; cf. Bauman, 2006, pp. 96–98). This openness, that is, the openings it provides, involves a sense of both present and future danger, causing othering of those who are not 'us', "dependent on particular narratives of what and who is fearsome" (Ahmed, 2014, p. 69). According to Ahmed, "[s]uch narratives work by generating a subject that is endangered by imagined others whose proximity threatens not only to take something away from the subject (job, security, wealth), but to take the place of the subject" (2014, p. 43). Fear, therefore, works as a call for action, that is, it "*works to restrict some bodies through the movement or expansion of others*"

[2] *Back of the throat* is a one-act play that premiered in San Francisco in 2005. It is one of El Guindi's best known and awarded plays.

(2014, p. 69). Following the 9/11 attacks, anyone could be suspected, profiled, and even detained as a terrorist, but not everybody was affected in the same way. As Bauman notices, it only took "a few suicidal murders on the loose (…) to recycle thousands of innocents into the usual suspects" by simply reprocessing these individual acts "into the attributes of a '*category'* [emphasis added]" (2006, p. 122). That category is not new; it is "a modern extension and articulation of an old system that (…) cast Islam as a rival ideology at odds with American values, society, and national identity" (Beydoun, 2018, p. 18) and redeploys the Orientalist[3] discourse abundant with stereotypes about Arabs/Muslims "deeply rooted in the collective American imagination" (Beydoun, 2018, p. 18), now "stoked by the state to galvanize hatemongers and mobilize damaging policies targeting Islam and Muslims" (Beydoun, 2018, p. 6). The swelling tide of Islamophobia, the fear and suspicion of Arabs/Muslims, found them "fearing a knock on the door by government agents" (El Gunidi, 2019, p. xx), as El Guindi himself describes his feelings in the introduction to *Back of the throat*. The play depicts the effects of *dialectical Islamophobia*, the link between its private and structural forms, "the least detectable (…) process by which structural Islamophobia shapes, reshapes, and endorses views or attitudes about Islam and Muslim subjects" (Beydoun, 2018, p. 40), thus legitimizing stereotypes and misconceptions, bolstering private fears, suspicions, and even violence.

The play follows the interrogation of an American-born Muslim Egyptian writer, Khaled, by two federal agents, Bartlett and Carl, in his studio in New York City. The visit begins as informal and casual, "as casual a visit like this can be" (p. 3). As the agents talk to Khaled, they go through his things, setting aside those they deem suspicious. Khaled hesitates when interrogated about religious items, signalling his awareness of their overdetermined meaning and the possibility of being incriminated for possessing them. When asked about a picture in a frame, Khaled explains that "it says, er, 'God'" (p. 3). A few moments later, the agents find a book: "It's the, um—Koran" (p. 4). He tries to distance himself from both items, declaring them presents from his mother, "her idea of a subtle hint" (p. 4) for him to become religious. Furthermore, the use of fillers 'um' and 'er' here and elsewhere in the play signals his reluctance and uneasiness when questioned about items that might directly link him to terrorism. When they find the Quran, Bartlett states: "Huh. So this is it" (p. 4), adding meaning to the mere possession of the book, marking Khaled "a suspect of radicalization (…) [based on his] prejudice-driven fear that his faith might sour him toward terrorism" (Beydoun, 2018, p. 129). When discussing religion with Khaled, Bartlett states: "I guess the point is there are consequences for our actions. Funny, huh. How a book can have such an impact" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 5). Although this sentence is a reply to Khaled's explanation as to why he is not religious (he does not like the latter part of the

[3] For a discussion on the Orientalist discourse, see Said (1978/2003).

message of the book "be good, or else" (p. 4)), Bartlett's utterance can be read to implicitly function as a warning to Khaled if (or, more likely, when) established that he was one of the terrorists in the attack, due to his affiliation to Islam and the Quran, that there will be repercussions.

Following Bartlett's foreboding remark, the conversation continues:

Khaled Yes. I was just reading about Martin Luther and the Reformation and how the whole—
Bartlett (*interrupting*) Am I pronouncing that correctly? 'Kaled'?
Khaled Close enough. (*To Carl*.) Is there anything in particular you're looking for?
Bartlett Don't mind him. He's just going to do his thing.
Khaled But if there's anything—
Bartlett (*interrupting*) With your permission, if we still have that.
Khaled Go ahead. But if there's something—
Bartlett (*interrupting*) 'Kaled'?
Khaled Er, Khaled.
Bartlett 'Haled'?
Khaled More Khaled.
Bartlett 'Kaled'.
Khaled That's good.
Bartlett But not exactly.
Khaled It doesn't matter.
Carl Khaled.
Khaled That's it.
Bartlett It's that back of the throat thing.
Khaled Right. (p. 5)

This excerpt demonstrates several strategies at the surface or "micro-level" of communicative events, often indirect and subtle, used to exercise dominance, such as "intonation, lexical or syntactic style (…) turn-taking strategies, politeness phenomena (. ...) pauses, laughter, interruptions (…) forms of address and pronoun use, and so on" (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 261). Although these may be characterized as cases of (occasional and incidental) impoliteness of individuals in various situations not necessarily signalling the will to achieve dominance or incite fear, when directed at or about specific groups and with no "contextual justifications other than such group membership (…) an act of discourse impoliteness may be a more or less subtle form of sexism, ageism, racism or classism, among other forms of group dominance" (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 261); in other words, such acts are "breaches of discourse rules that presuppose equality" (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 265). Bartlett establishes his superior position by addressing Khaled by his first name from the very beginning of the play. In addition, Khaled is constantly interrupted and not allowed to finish his thoughts or sentences. Furthermore, he is not allowed to initiate or steer the topic of conversation, as can be seen from the first sentence of the excerpt. Finally, the use of demonstrative 'that' in "It's *that* [emphasis added] back of the throat thing" carries a deep cultural significance of Bartlett distancing himself - by not being able to pronounce Khaled's name - from

Khaled, an alien Other whose being and values are not reconcilable with Bartlett's national, religious, cultural, and linguistic American identity (cf. Van Dijk, 1989, p. 35). By othering Khaled on the basis of his name only, Bartlett reproduces the dominant 'us-versus-them' dichotomy and assigns inferior status to Khaled, which is mirrored in his communicative strategies.

Khaled's US citizenship is being stripped away from him from the very beginning of the play. Khaled is compliant at first, believing that his US citizenship and passport ensure his legal and civil rights (even though Carl immediately takes away his passport and "(…) *puts it among two or three other items*" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 7), a pile that grows throughout the play). As Khaled's uneasiness and awareness of the possible turn of events due to his Arab/Muslim heritage - despite his US citizenship - begin to grow, he tries to emphasize his role as a 'good Arab' citizen:

> **Khaled** Are you sure? The strange thing is I was going to call you. A friend of mine said he would, which made me think I should too.
> **Bartlett** Who?
> **Khaled** Er—a friend?
> **Bartlett** Right; and that friend's name?
> **Khaled** (*hesitates*) Hisham. He wouldn't mind me telling you.
> **Bartlett** Hisham what?
> **Bartlett** Darmush. He was thinking of calling you too.
> **Bartlett** I look forward to hearing from him.
> **Khaled** I thought maybe I should just to let you know I'm—here, you know. *I am who I am* [emphasis added] and—just so you're not wondering—in case my name comes across your desk which it obviously has. I wish you'd tell me who gave you my name. (p. 7)

Aware of his essentialized identity and assigned ontological liability—"I am who I am"—making him vulnerable and possibly guilty-by-association,[4] Khaled stresses his 'good Arab' role by zealously offering his help, stating that he was willing to cooperate even before the agents' visit, as did many other Arab/Muslim Americans, believing that "collaborating in the war-on-terror effort to identify terrorist in the community" (Beydoun, 2018, p. 121), while at the same time "downplaying their Muslim identity" (Beydoun, 2018, p. 121) and emphasizing their Americanness might mitigate the suspicion tied to their identity.[5] Khaled is also aware of being scrutinized by friends and acquaintances, "people with scores to settle [o]r skittish

[4] Khaled is accused of plotting the attack with Asfoor, one of the terrorists in the attack as, among other pieces of dubious evidence, Khaled is reported to have been seen with him in "the only library for miles" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 30). The librarian, Ms. Shelley, one of the witnesses, "can't be definite" she saw Khaled and Asfoor together; nevertheless, she "does think she saw [Asfoor] *nearby* [emphasis added]" (pp. 30–31) when Khaled was getting a book. Ironically, Ms. Shelley herself observes the irony in the fact that "new information about a person suddenly makes you see that person in a different light" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 29).

[5] Alsultany explains that Arab/Muslim Americans were often presumed to have "information about terrorism by virtue of their race or ethnicity" (2012, p. 61).

neighbors" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 7). This depicts the atmosphere of fear experienced by Arabs/Muslims immediately after the attacks; as Khaled describes it, it is like "battling ghosts" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 8). Finally, he underlines his role in the 'good versus bad Arab' narrative by conceding how a certain George is "a little too curious about where I'm from" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 7), despite the fact that "[his] connections with [his] country of birth are long gone" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 8). Here, the role of 'good Arabs' is reiterated as "those who successfully and consistently distance themselves politically, religiously, and often physically from the bad Arabs" (Fadda-Conray, 2014, p. 143). Ironically, Bartlett advises Khaled that he does not have to work hard at appearing innocent, if he really is innocent, since we all have "small stuff we'd rather not have other people see" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 9).

Nevertheless, the "small stuff" Bartlett mentions soon begins to develop into something more sinister when he finds a porn magazine. Although Khaled disregards this as "not a big deal" and "legal" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 9), Bartlett disagrees, stating that even if legal, it "doesn't make it alright" and asks Khaled: "You think this is *healthy* [emphasis added]?" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 9). According to Bartlett, a picture of a woman draped over a cow is "on the kinky side" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 9),[6] and he goes further to conclude that it does not have a place in society, comparing it to "murder," which is also present in society, but that fact "doesn't make it okay" (p. 9). This shows that Bartlett is deeply under the influence of dominant discursive practices where Arab/Muslim men are portrayed as having 'unhealthy' sexual affinities. As Fadda-Conray explains, "the security of the US homeland necessitates perpetuating the foreignness of Arab and Muslim bodies, with this foreignness always being a gendered one that pits (…) [the] perverted figure of the Arab or Muslim man against a hypermasculine and heteronormative (or even homonormative) understanding of US nationalism and citizenship" (2014, p. 165). Bartlett declares Khaled's interest in porn magazines "a few feet outside of (…) category" of normal (El Guindi, 2019, p. 14). He continues to build the narrative of Khaled's 'abnormal' sexuality after asking Khaled to switch on his computer. Khaled refuses, as he has some unfinished stories that he is writing and feels this would be a violation of his privacy. Bartlett instantly 'deduces' that Khaled is trying to hide "smut," "weird fantasies," "child porn with domestic pets involved," all of which points to his "bestiality" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 16).[7] This exchange ultimately reveals Bartlett's view of Khaled as "a terrorist (…) a queer, nonnational, perversely racialized other [that] has become part of the

[6] Khaled tries to explain the nature of the picture as an "anti-leather kind of thing" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 10), which is described in the blurb as "a cow wearing a human" (El Guindi, 2019, p.10), but Bartlett dismisses this explanation, stating that "the woman doesn't seem to fair well" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 10).

[7] Bartlett bases his investigation on preconceived opinions, not facts: "I am frankly amazed at just how abnormal everything is in your apartment. (…) I'm getting that uncomfortable *feeling* [emphasis added] that there's more to you than meets the eye and not in a good way," and when asked by Khaled if he is joking, he replies: "I try not to joke before *drawing a conclusion* [emphasis added] (El Guindi, 2019, p. 14).

normative script of the U.S. war on terror" (Puar, 2007, p. 37) used to profile and police such identities: "You became a citizen so you could indulge in your perverted little fantasies, you sick little prick. Come here, wrap the flag around you and whack off" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 23).

The deconstruction of Khaled's supposed political, racial, and sexual identity in order to show him a threat to public safety reaches a crescendo at the end of the play when the agents directly implicate him in plotting the 9/11attacks in a strip club with Asfoor, where he allegedly went "to get a hard-on while plotting death and destruction" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 47). They provide questionable evidence (a receipt, a fatigue jacket, and a baseball cap) and an eyewitness account by "a Ms. Jean Sommers, a.k.a. Kelly Cupid, 'Dancer Extraordinaire and Stripper Artiste'" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 48). When shown Khaled and Asfoor's photos, Jean identifies them, "yeah, kinda (…) I'm pretty sure (…) both of them were Middle-Eastern, that I know" (El Guindi, 2019, pp. 49–50). According to her account, neither of the men are interested in her act and lap dance, which seems strange to Kelly: "At one time I stuck my boobs in his face and he actually moved his head" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 50). Frustrated, she decides to break her professional code and make Khaled climax, "I reached down and squeezed. Just one time (…) So easy" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 51).[8] Furthermore, she follows Khaled and Asfoor into the restroom, where she supposes they "might have been sucking each other off" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 51). This scene reflects Jasbir K. Puar's concept of *homonormative nationalism* which appeared simultaneously with the fortification of heteronormativity with "an aggressive militarist, masculinist, race- and class- specific nationalism" (2007, p. 40). Following the 9/11 attacks, white, homosexual, and queer stigmas were converted into "acceptable patriot values," now symbolizing US modernity, open-mindedness, and inclusivity (thus at the same time reiterating heteronormativity as the norm) and transferred as negative and deviant to the bodies of Arab/Muslims "through associations with sexual excess, failed masculinity (that is, femininity), and faggotry" (Puar, 2007, p. 46).[9] Images of "homosexuality, (…) hypertrophied heterosexuality, or failed monogamy" were widely circulated in media and were quickly adopted as a means of identifying potential terrorists, "*a barometer of ab/normality involved in disciplinary apparatuses* [emphasis added]" (Puar, 2007, p. 37).

Further incriminating Khaled, another witness, his ex-girlfriend Beth, recounts a conversation with Khaled after the attacks, soon after which they broke up. She

[8] According to Fadda-Conray, in some theatrical productions of the play "Kelly Cupid herself performs (…) an intermixture of heterosexuality and patriotism through her American-flag inspired costume, which confirms the binary of healthy patriotic heterosexuality versus perverse homosexual terrorism" (2014, p. 168). Similarly symbolic, in the script of the play she wears a cowboy outfit with two pistols on her hips.

[9] This heteronormative imagery also included those people of color and immigrant groups deemed patriotic enough or serving "symbolic and material needs, for example Condoleezza Rice, the U.S. military" (Puar, 2007, p. 40).

strongly disagrees with Khaled when he says, "we have to look for the 'why'" of the attacks and reexamine "our policies" and "root causes" to get "the bigger picture" so that something similar does not happen again. Beth is not interested in discussing this and concludes that the terrorists are just "evil assholes" who committed "a rape" of the country (El Guindi, 2019, pp. 36–37). As she tries to leave, he demands to know where she is going, to which she answers: "Why? Are you afraid I might say something to someone?" (p. 39). Khaled becomes aware of the gravity of the situation for having expressed his opinion: "You can't talk like that. Not now. Not even for a joke, people take this shit very seriously" (p. 40). As Hall et al. suggest, crime—or in this case terrorism—has a "pre-history: conditions of existence" (1978, p. ix) that can and should be discussed. Nevertheless, like Beth, the media tend to focus on a single incident only, removing it from its geopolitical, historical, and social roots and context. What Khaled suggests in his exchange with Beth is not that he condones the attacks or does not mourn the victims but that "something is standing in the way of these 'conditions of existence' being treated as part of the phenomenon" (p. ix). Hall explains that the 'decoding' event of mainstream media messages may occupy three hypothetical positions: the *dominant-hegemonic*, when the recipient takes "the connoted meaning (…) full and straight," the *negotiated* position, with "adaptive and oppositional elements (…) reserving the right to make a more negotiated application," and the *oppositional* position (2005, pp. 125–127). Nevertheless, in the aftermath of 9/11 events, "voicing such interrogative forms of dissent against imperial ventures overseas" and noting that violence executed on 9/11 "should in fact be regarded as part of a chain of violence to which people across the globe are repeatedly subjected" (Fadda-Conray, 2014, p. 157) by the US, was not welcome, as can be seen from Khaled's fear that his opinion might incriminate him.

As the play progresses, Khaled becomes more adamant about his innocence and demands his legal rights be observed—he wants agents to leave, requests a lawyer, and insists on knowing what the charges against him are, as is his right guaranteed by his US citizenship and the Constitution: "This is my country too, you know. This is my country! It's my fucking country!" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 21). This completely provokes Bartlett: "And if I hear you say 'this is still America' one more time I am going to throw up. I will open my mouth and hurl a projectile of my burger down your scrawny traitorous throat" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 22). Carl tries to mitigate the situation and calm Bartlett down by stressing that immigrants can and do become US citizens. Bartlett concedes, explaining his reaction by reversing roles, whereby he becomes a victim: "We tip-toe and we apologize and we have to kiss their assess" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 23). He goes on by stating that he has "nothing against immigrants" for "this country wouldn't be anything without them" (El Guindi, 2019, pp. 23–24). He mentions his great grandfather, who was also an immigrant and who, with the rest of the family, "worked hard to make this country the place it is" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 24). However, he continues by accusing Khaled on not making a contribution, being unemployed and on welfare,

in essence—"taking from the system (…) leeching" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 24). Van Dijk considers these discursive strategies as one of the more common ways of marginalizing and disempowering vulnerable groups (1993, p. 266). "Apparent denial" (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 266) in the form of disclaimer 'I have nothing against X, but…' is followed by "positive self-representation," personal "storytelling" (cf. Van Dijk, 1989, p. 34), and "negative other-presentation (…) a systemic association of ethnic minorities with problematic cultural differences (…), crime, welfare abuse" (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 264). These minorities, therefore, incite fear by becoming a threat "to the interest and privileges of the dominant group," who subsequently become 'the real victims who are discriminated against' (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 264). Bartlett, therefore, successfully reproduces and legitimizes dominant propositions generated by the nationalist political elite and adopted by media, since it is easy to accept them in "socio-economic situations of white poverty and insecurity" (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 265) and/or the atmosphere where anxiety and fear of terrorist attacks dominates. To sum up Van Dijk's argument, racism is enacted at the highest political levels in political discourse, laws, and policies "that cause and confirm ethnic or racial inequality" (1993, p. 268). Following the "top–down direction of racism (…) lower groups and institutions (…) maintain similar prejudices and similarly engage in discrimination" (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 268).

By the end of the play, Khaled is physically tortured, as his guilt is no longer doubted (if it ever was in the first place). Carl informs Khaled that beatings "have been coming since we got here, because of repeated references to *an innocence that is not yours to claim* [emphasis added]" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 43). He continues, "If you were innocent, why would I have kicked you? (p. 43). As Bauman observes, the exploitation of fear "cancels the cumbersome task of supplying evidence of the guilt and malice (…): appointed enemies can't prove their innocence, since their guilt lies in having been authoritatively accused, not deriving from what they do or intend to do, but from what they are" (2006, p. 116). Although the agents try to convince Khaled that their visit is not "an ethnic thing" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 19), they immediately concede: "You're a Muslim and an Arab. Those are the bad asses currently making life a living hell and so we'll gravitate towards you and your ilk" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 19). As they leave Khaled's studio, they promise to come back, "later, tomorrow" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 53).

3. Conclusion

In the aftermath of 9/11, simplistic, essentialist, and often dehumanizing portrayals of Arabs/Muslims "as perpetual aliens, volatile extremist, and potential or actual terrorist" (Fadda-Conray, 2014, p. 2) dominated political and academic discourse, mainstream news, and entertainment media, and became "the shared vocabulary used to reify the vast differences between a 'civilized' US culture (…)

and a 'barbaric' and backward Arab and Muslim landscape (Fadda-Conray, 2014, p. 2).[10] Thus, culturally scripted and communicated fear works in two ways, "through and on the bodies of (…) its subjects, as well as its objects" (Ahmed, 2014, p. 62) and involves both proximity and distance in their relationship: by bringing them together, it reopens past histories, and through reiteration of stereotypes, it causes them to move further apart. By establishing others as fearsome to one's self, one's way of life and even the very life itself, violence against others becomes easily justifiable. Consequently, the object of fear, the one who fears the fears of others, becomes "sealed into a body that tightens up, and takes up less space" (Ahmed, 2014, p. 69). In his play, El Guindi critically examines the effects that fear and the ensuing implementation of laws and policies restricting or negating legal and civil rights have on Arab/Muslim bodies and their identities, which are now shrinking under ontological and epistemological violence perpetuated both by individuals and institutions that are in a dialectical relationship. As Beydoun explains, in the post-9/11 United States, "any manifestation of Islam" - imagined, rather than understood - triggered fear and caused suspicion and surveillance at best, detention and prosecution at worst (2018, p. 101). This resulted in neutralizing and distancing oneself from one's political, religious and cultural Arab/Muslim identity, as well as assuming the 'good Arab' identity, "conceding to the directive that the only acceptable iterations of Arab culture within the US are those that reify a bland, uncritical type of US multiculturalism" (Fadda-Conray, 2014, p. 152).

The agents and 'witnesses' in the play uncritically reproduce dominant ideology and values. Although somewhat mitigated and subtle, "their basic attitudes may not have changed very much" (Van Dijk, 1989, p. 34), revealing prejudice, xenophobia, and racism that inform their opinions and actions. As Furedi explains, they are under the influence and reproduce the script "through which fear is nourished [and] cultivated" (2018, p. 24). This cultural script provides "the norms, rhetoric and taken-for granted assumptions that inform the way we fear" as well as a "guidance about how to interpret and respond to uncertainty and threats" (Furedi, 2018, p. 28). According to Alsultany, in the post-9/11 atmosphere of fear, both individual and national safety was to be achieved by subordinating the value of freedom as "safety trumps all other rights during times of crisis" (Alsultany, 2012, p. 53). The exceptional moments of crisis (no matter how real or probable), Alsultany continues, deem it more important to be safe than to not discriminate, whereby racist discursive strategies are reconfigured, as can be seen from agent Carl's words: "You know what I really resent? … What you force us to become. To protect ourselves. We are a decent bunch" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 46).

The politics of fear has become the foundation of modern democracies, with fear being used as a tool for social control, often obscuring explicit and direct

[10] Although some portrayals of Arab/Muslim Americans might at first seem benevolent, they "ultimately end up affirming their perceived national and religious Otherness" (Fadda-Conray, 2014, p. 2).

racism. The narrative of fear is thus restricting the freedom of both its subjects and objects. In times when "'exceptional' moments of crisis have become the rule" (Alsultany, 2012, p. 53) and the climate of fear is promoted on a regular basis, it is necessary to offer an analysis of fear discourse and its (re)production in both institutional and everyday interaction, as it directly affects personal and civil rights and freedom. After 9/11, it has targeted Arab/Muslim Americans. The question is not if, but when, other minority groups will be targeted, or as agent Bartlett notices in the play, until "other bad asses from other races make a nuisance of themselves. Right? Yesterday the Irish and the Poles, today it's you. Tomorrow it might be the Dutch" (El Guindi, 2019, p. 19).

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On metonymy and other forms of motivation for some Nigerian English expressions

Abstract: Nigerian English (NE) gradually developed on the basis of British English (BE) in the wake of the British colonization of West Africa. Numerous expressions in both varieties have the same or closely similar forms but different meanings. Such differences are often motivated by the cognitive mechanism of metonymy. They involve two distinct paths of conceptualization and categories of usage: (i) expressions that do not function as metonymic sources in BE give rise to metonymies in NE; (i) the same metonymic sources in BE and in NE provide access to different extensions of the same targets in NE. Apart from conceptual metonymy, many instances of NE usage reflect two other motivating factors: the impact of the local socio-cultural experience and of the West African linguistic substratum. All three forms of motivation are often present within a single expression.

Keywords: British English, culture, metonymy, motivation, Nigerian English.

1. Introduction

Basing on the methodological framework of the contemporary cognitive linguistics, which emphasizes the figurative character of concepts and the role of motivation in language, the paper conducts a comparative analysis of 39 expressions that have the same or closely similar forms but different meanings in British English (BE) and Nigerian English (NE). The analysis compares the meanings of the expressions and focuses on three forms of motivation present in the NE sense extensions: the underlying metonymic patterns, the local socio-cultural experience, and the impact of the West African linguistic substratum.

The body of the text is organized into six sections. Section 2 briefly introduces NE as an Outer Circle[1] variety of English. Section 3 presents the theoretical

[1] The Inner Circle includes countries that speak English as a native or first language; the Outer Circle comprises countries where English is spoken as a second language – they are often former

framework of the analysis. It discusses briefly three forms of motivation present in NE expressions: conceptual metonymy, the socio-cultural context of Nigeria, and the influence of the West African linguistic substratum. Section 4 introduces the data, discusses the methodology, and analyses the selected examples of British and Nigerian lexical usage. Section 5 contains a summary and a further discussion of the analysed examples, focusing on the role of metonymy, the sociolinguistic status of the expressions, and the way in which they contribute to making NE an independent variety of English. Section 6 offers some concluding remarks.

2. Nigerian English

BE became influential in the southern part of Nigeria in the 19th century in the course of British colonization of West Africa, which had been ongoing for around three hundred years. It gradually developed into NE, which today "is an indigenised variety […] functioning as a second language within the Nigerian linguistic and socio-cultural setting" (Alo & Mesthrie, 2008, p. 323).

Differences between the two varieties are related to phonology, morphology, lexicon, syntax, and pragmatics. Thus, for example, NE has many coinages, such as *African time* 'typically casual approach to punctuality' (Blench & Dendo, 2005, p. 1); verbs combine with different prepositions, for example *congratulate for* instead of *congratulate on*; progressive forms are used where BE uses stative forms, for example *Excuse me, sir, we are not hearing you!*; the form *Well-done!* is used to greet persons engaged in some activity (Okunrinmeta, 2014, p. 326).

The degree of approximation of NE to BE is different across different varieties of the language (Banjo, 1971). That is because NE functions as a link language for more than 500 indigenous languages spoken in the country (Bisong, 1995, p. 131). Unlike in Kenya, Tanzania, or some states of Southern Africa, where code mixing is common, its usage must reflect the "local English" patterns (Melchers & Shaw, 2003, pp. 158–159).

3. The theoretical framework: Motivation

Motivation is present whenever one aspect of human cognition, such as reasoning, categorizing, metaphor, metonymy, bodily experience, emotions, perception, socio-communicative interaction, language, or culture, exerts influence upon another aspect of cognition (Panther & Radden, 2011, pp. 1–2). Because language is linked to cognition more tightly than other systems, the influence of those systems on language – called linguistic motivation – determines the properties of linguistic signs (Panther & Radden, 2011, p. 8).

British colonies in Africa and Asia; countries where English is used as a foreign language, for example Japan or Saudi Arabia, make up the Expanding Circle (Kachru, 1985).

3.1. Metonymy

In metonymy, which motivates language and communication, the source provides mental access to the target within the same idealized cognitive model (ICM) (Radden & Kövecses, 1999, p. 21). For example, in the NE expression *upstairs* 'building with a second floor' (Blench & Dendo, 2005, p. 27), the underlying metonymy THE UPPER PART OF A BUILDING FOR THE WHOLE BUILDING highlights the interactional aspect of the place, that is, the need to use the stairs to access the rooms on top of the building.

Some ICMs are complex enough to include various sub-models. In such cases, the same source can provide access to more than one target extension within the same ICM. For example, the expression *paper* 'substance manufactured from wood fibre' can stand for a printed publication, an examination sheet, a document, or an essay. All these things can be viewed as parts of 'Paper ICM' because they are all made from the substance.[2]

Thanks to metonymy, various stereotypical, ideal, typical, basic, important, etc. elements are given priority over their opposites. The following fragment of Larry King's interview with the Mexican-American actor Anthony Quinn well illustrates it:

> Anthony Quinn: I *grew up* on the east side of Los Angeles.
> Larry King: *Very poor kid?*

Mr King's question reflects a cultural stereotype of the east side of the City of Los Angeles as a poor area (Krišković & Tominac, 2009, pp. 63–64). Metonymy is thus also "more or less strongly determined by a given culture" (Radden & Kövecses, 1999, p. 48).

Some expressions are based on more than a single metonymic mapping. For example, as Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Díez Velasco (2003, pp. 514–516) discuss, the verb in the expression *His sister heads the policy unit* involves two metonymies: HEAD FOR LEADER / AGENT FOR ACTION OF LEADING. Barcelona (2002, pp. 220–221) argues that some category-related concepts involve higher-order metonymies. Thus, in the expression *That graduate student is an Aristotle*, the proper name is the source of the metonymy PERSON FOR DEFINING PROPERTY – Aristotle is commonly regarded as a philosophical genius. Because Aristotle represents the whole class of philosophical geniuses, he also serves as the source of the higher-level metonymy STEREOTYPICAL MEMBER FOR CATEGORY.

[2] Earlier definition by Croft (1993, p. 348), which describes metonymy as the process of domain highlighting that occurs within a domain matrix consisting of several subdomains, also captures this aspect of the mechanism.

3.2. The socio-cultural context of Nigeria and the West African linguistic substratum

NE "bears ties with the social structure and worth arrangement of society" – it reflects the local social roles and status, sexual attitudes, and age (Ogunjobi & Akindutire, 2020, p. 6). It also gives expression to the local economic and political experience. For example, in the compound *cash-madam* 'large-scale woman trader, generally in the south' (Blench & Dendo, 2005, p. 5), money is foregrounded as the major factor in business – the vehicle *cash* accesses the activity and its scale.

NE also reflects the semantic orientation of the local substratum languages. For example, the *hand* includes the arm; the word *leg* refers to 'leg, ankle, foot' – both senses developed as a result of adaptation to patterns common in various West African languages (Blench & Dendo, 2005, p. 15). This form of motivation reflects the role of NE as a link language for many smaller local languages.

4. The data, the methodology, and the analysis

The data analysed below were selected on the basis of "lexical approach" or "lexical method" (Kövecses, Ambrus, Hegedűs, Imai, & Sobczak, 2019, pp. 149–152). They were gathered from three monolingual dictionaries and two papers. The BE meanings of the expressions and most examples of their contextual use were drawn from the on-line *Cambridge English dictionary: Meanings & definitions*. They were also discussed with native speakers of British English during personal communication. Unless otherwise indicated, the NE examples are based on *Dictionary of Nigerian English* (2005), which takes into account newspaper articles, notices, and overheard speech so as to illustrate the contextual use of the expressions (Blench & Dendo, 2005, p. iii). One example was back-translated from Nigerian Pidgin (NP) on the basis of *The Nigerian Pidgin English dictionary created by you for you!* – some expressions are used in both in NE and NP. Several expressions were found in papers by Adeyanju (2009) and Okunrinmeta (2014). Examples of contextual use, provided for all BE and most of those NE expressions that are used in a stable way, come from the same sources.

The analysed examples are divided into the following two categories postulated as the organizing principle of usage differences between BE and NE:

(i) expressions that are not metonymic sources in BE function as such in NE – the subsection is labelled 'Metonymic sources only in NE';
(ii) the same metonymic sources in BE and in NE provide access to different extensions of the same targets in NE – the subsection is labelled 'Same metonymic sources in BE and in NE – different extensions of same targets in NE'.

In each of the categories, the examples are discussed against the background of the ICMs proposed by Radden & Kövecses (1999) and listed in the original order. A brief description of each of them is provided in the first of the respective subsections. Within each subcategory, the examples of expressions are given in alphabetical order.

The discussion explains the meaning and structure of the metonymic mappings. Wherever applicable, it also discusses the other two types of motivation – the role of the Nigerian socio-cultural context and the possible influence of the West African linguistic substratum.

4.1. Metonymic sources only in NE

Expressions that serve as metonymic sources only in NE function against the background of the following ICMs: Thing-and-Part, Constitution, Event, Category-and-Member, Action, Containment, Causation, and Location.

4.1.1. Thing-and-Part ICM

The whole-part relation, which foregrounds the contiguity of things and their parts, is one of the basic patterns of human cognition. Parts are inferred from wholes and wholes are inferred from parts both in physical and perceived contiguity.

In BE *coast* refers to the land adjacent to the sea – *They live on the east coast of Scotland*. In NE the noun refers to 'urban areas' – *He has gone to coast*[3] 'He has gone (from his home village) to work in the modern urban sector'. The NE meaning is more specific and based on the metonymy WHOLE FOR PART. It reflects the importance of the region in the country's history – in the colonial times Nigeria was urbanized mainly on the coast, where trading ports, such as Calabar or Port Harcourt, came into being.

The BE meaning of the noun *flood* is any event of a large quantity of water coming over some area – *After the flood it took weeks for the water level to go down*. In NE the noun refers to the 'season when river overflows into the bush (roughly August to October)', used mainly in the Niger Delta region. The underlying mapping is PART FOR WHOLE. The usage is motivated by the impact of the local climate on human life.

The BE meaning of *yard* is a unit of measure of 3 feet or approximately 91.4 cm – *The field is 50 yards long*. In NE the noun refers to a 'length of cloth' – *I went to market to buy some yards* 'I went to the market to buy some lengths of cloth'. The Nigerian usage is based on the metonymy UNIT OF MEASURE FOR MATERIAL, which can be regarded as a form of the more general relation PART FOR WHOLE.

[3] The expression is common in the Delta region of Nigeria. The omission of *the* before the noun *coast* is a feature of NE grammar – it is an instance of "a local, or unsystematic, use of articles" (Melchers & Shaw, 2003, p. 158). Similar omissions are present in some other examples discussed below.

In BE the noun *passport* refers to an official document with personal information and a photograph that allows one to travel to foreign countries and to prove their identity – *I have a British passport*. In NE the expression also means a 'passport photo' – *Bring me one passport* 'Bring me one passport photo'. The Nigerian usage is based on the metonymy WHOLE FOR PART.

4.1.2. Constitution ICM

Materials constitute things. As a result, substances can be perceived as objects and conceptualized as bounded count nouns; objects can be perceived as substances.

BE uses the compound *coal-tar* only to name a sticky, black substance having industrial use in the process of manufacturing various chemical products – *It is only a product of coal tar*. In NE the noun acquired the meaning 'asphalt road' – *Now we have reached the coal-tar again* 'Now we have reached the asphalt road again'. It is based on the metonymy THE MATERIAL USED IN THE ROAD SURFACE FOR THE ROAD.

4.1.3. Event ICM

Events can be perceived in terms of the reversible thing-part relation. Conceptualized as wholes, they can refer to their parts, that is, initial, central, and final subevents. The parts can also refer to events as wholes.

In BE the verb *join* means connecting two things – *A long suspension bridge joins the islands* – or becoming a part of some activity, group, or organization – *You should consider joining the club*. The NE sense 'get on board transport' – *Where will you join taxi?* 'Where will you board the taxi?' means becoming a passenger or one of the passengers of a taxi that is already occupied and highlights the end of the boarding scenario. The usage is based on the metonymy FINAL SUBEVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT.

The expression *on fire* is used in BE to refer to the condition of a place or a building burning – *Bombs were falling and the city was on fire*. The NE sense is 'be cooking' – *The food is on fire* 'The food is cooking'. The underlying metonymy CENTRAL SUBEVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT may be further motivated by real life activity of preparing food over open fire.

The BE expression *on the seat* is literal – *You will find the gift on the seat behind you.* The NE sense of *on seat* 'present in office' (Okunrinmeta, 2014, p. 324) – *He is on seat* 'He is present in the office' – is figurative and differs from the BE usage also because it omits the definite article. It is based on the metonymy CENTRAL SUBEVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT.

Finally, the central BE sense of the verb *wash* is cleaning with water or some other substance – *Wash your hands before dinner, please*. The NE extension 'develop film' – *So far they didn't wash it* 'They haven't developed it yet' is

figurative. Focusing on the stage when the image has already appeared, but the applied chemicals have to be removed by washing so as to prevent changes, the expression is based on the metonymy FINAL SUBEVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT.

4.1.4. Category-and-Member ICM

Categories and their members can be perceived as things and, consequently, as part-whole structures. The relation is bidirectional – whole categories can provide metonymic access to their members and members can provide access to whole categories.

Novel and *Omo* refer in BE to a book-length story – *His latest novel is selling really well* – and washing powder or liquid identified by the given brand name. Their NE senses 'reading matter of almost any type except the Bible and newspapers' and 'any soap powder' are more inclusive and based on the metonymy MEMBER FOR CATEGORY. The second expression is a brand name that has become a generic term or an eponym as a result of the product once dominating the Nigerian market.

4.1.5. Action ICM

Actions typically involve diverse participants, such as agents, instruments, means, objects, procedures, results, times, etc. These elements can serve as metonymic vehicles that provide access to actions, less frequently to one another.

Gist functions in BE only as a noun and refers to essential points or sense of some issue – *We got the gist, but not every word*. Its NE sense, which originated in student slang (Obasi, 2022, p. 690), is 'tell someone the news or the gossip' – *She gisted me fully* 'She told me the whole news / gossip'. It is based on the metonymy MEANS FOR ACTION, which motivates the noun-to-verb conversion.

In BE the expression *senior* is related to older age and is used as a noun – *Seniors are entitled to a reduction of about 10%* , or as an adjective – *The more senior students are given extra responsibilities*. In NE it functions as a verb and means 'be older than' – *He seniors me* 'He is older than me'. The NE usage, a case of adjective-to-verb conversion, is based on the metonymy RELATION FOR ACTION.

Finally, in NE the adjective *sharp* can be converted into a verb – *He was sharping the knife*. The usage is based on the metonymy RESULT FOR ACTION.

4.1.6. Containment ICM

The relation between contents and container is basic and well-entrenched in human experience. It motivates complementary metonymies, in which containers provide access to contents and contents to containers.

In BE *gallon* means a unit of measure equal to 4 quarts or 4,546 litres – *How much does a gallon of petrol cost?* In NE it acquired the sense of a 4-litre container for oil, which to some extent preserves the original meaning of gallon in BE. The new sense was based on the metonymy VOLUME FOR CONTAINER.[4] It was later generalized to 'any plastic or other container in the shape of a jerry-can" – *She took a gallon containing kerosene…* 'She took a plastic container with kerosene…' The generalization was possible thanks to a higher-level metonymic mapping MEMBER FOR CATEGORY.

4.1.7. Causation ICM

Causes and effects are strongly correlated in human experience (Norrick, 1981, p. 41). As a result, they motivate complementary metonymies – causes access effects and effects access causes.

In BE *civilisation* refers to any type of organized human society – *Widespread use of the Internet may change the modern civilization.* In NE the expression acquired the sense 'colonial and postcolonial era' – *Since we had civilisation* 'Since we lived in the colonial and postcolonial era'. It is based on the mapping EFFECT FOR CAUSE. The motivation is local and reflects the role of colonization in the country's history.

The noun *feeding* means in BE providing food to a child or an animal – *She has a midnight feeding, then sleeps until morning*. The NE sense is 'money for food when away' – *What of my feeding?* 'What money will I get to buy food?' It is based on the metonymy EFFECT FOR CAUSE.

In BE the adjective *heavy* refers to physical weights.[5] The NE meaning is 'pregnant' – *My wife is heavy* 'My wife is pregnant'. The NE extension involves the metonymy EFFECT FOR CAUSE.

Finally, in BE *lean* describes the condition of having little flesh – *She has a lean figure*. Its NE sense 'thin, but with implication that leanness is caused by troubles' goes beyond the strictly physical leanness of the BE usage because "being thin does not have a positive cultural value in West Africa" (Blench & Dendo, 2005, p. 15). It is also based on the metonymy EFFECT FOR CAUSE.

4.1.8. Location ICM

Locality includes "geographically defined areas like continents and valleys, politically defined areas like countries and towns, and architectonically defined areas like museums and kitchens" – individuals, groups, and institutions placed in those areas can function as elements of reversible metonymic relations (Norrick, 1981, p. 60).

[4] The word *gallon* comes from Old Frech *jail* 'bowl' via Medieval Latin *galleta* 'bucket, pail' and possibly Gaullish *galla* 'vessel' (Etymonline, 2024).

[5] The senses of difficulty and intensity are based on metaphor.

In BE the expression *hometown* refers to a town or city one is from – *I consider New York my hometown*. In NE it means 'association of expatriates from a particular area or tribe, formed to promote development in their area of origin'. In addition to the sense of location, the use of the word *home* reflects the positive emotional attitude that fosters the idea of cooperation between the people. The usage is based on the metonymy PLACE FOR INHABITANTS.

4.2. Same metonymic sources in BE and in NE – different extensions of same targets in NE

Expressions that serve as metonymic sources both in BE and NE function against the background of the following ICMs: Constitution, Event, Category-and-Member, Action, and Causation.

4.2.1. Constitution ICM

The noun *foam* refers in BE to a soft material used to fill various objects. Its contextual use can be illustrated by the utterance *Therefore, foams and fabrics are available*. In NE the noun acquired a specific meaning 'foam rubber mattress' – *I will go to the market to buy foam* 'I will go to the market to buy a foam rubber mattress'. Both usages are based on the metonymy MATERIAL FOR OBJECT.

In BE *glass* indicates a hard brittle substance or various objects made of it, such as containers or spectacles – *I'll get you a clean glass*. In the more extended NE usage, the noun refers to a 'window, especially car-window' – *Roll down the glass!* 'Roll down the car window!' The established BE metonymy MATERIAL FOR OBJECT thus involves an additional target extension in NE.

The noun *nylons* refers in BE to women's stockings made of nylon – *I finally found some nylons that would last.* In NE it acquired the meaning of a 'plastic bag'[6] – *Sarah always likes to steal my nylon*[7] 'Sarah always likes to steal my plastic bag' (Naijalingo, 2024). Both usages are based on the metonymy MATERIAL FOR OBJECT.

BE uses *rubber* to refer to a tough elastic substance or various objects made of it, such as erasers or waterproof shoes – *You should wear your rubbers in the rain*. In NE the expression also means 'any strip of elastic material, such as the flexible strips used to attach loads to a bicycle' – *Use roba [rubber] to fix it to the bicycle* 'Use rubber to fix it to the bicycle'. The two usages are again based on the metonymy MATERIAL FOR OBJECT.

[6] As Blench & Dendo (2005, p. 18) discuss, in the Port Harcourt area *nylon* has now been replaced by *waterproof*. The new expression is based on the metonymy property for category and is also used in NP.

[7] The expression can be used in a singular form because it is not a summation plural.

4.2.2. Event ICM

In BE the verb *hear* means receiving information – *I haven't heard the news*, or trying a case in a law court – *The case will be heard by the High Court*. The NE sense 'understand a language' – *I hear Yoruba* 'I understand Yoruba' – profiles the auditory aspect of linguistic communication, but backgrounds the aspects of comprehension and speaking. All three senses are based on the metonymy INITIAL SUBEVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT. The NE usage is additionally motivated by conceptual patterns present in the West African linguistic substratum[8] (Obasi, 2022, p. 82; Odebunmi , 2010, pp. 275–276), for which NE functions as a link language.

The BE sense of *put to bed* is causing somebody to fall asleep – *He's yawning, so put him to bed*. The expression represents the beginning of the scenario and is based on the metonymy INITIAL SUBEVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT. In NE *put to bed* means 'give birth (to)' – *She put to bed a bouncing baby boy.* The usage foregrounds the end of the delivery scenario and is thus based on the contrastive metonymy FINAL SUBEVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT.

4.2.3. Action ICM

In BE the verbs *back* and *eye* refer, respectively, to going back – *She saw me and backed suddenly*, and to observing or watching – *I could see her eyeing my lunch*. In the NE usage they acquired the respective senses 'carry baby on the back; turn one's back on' and 'seduce' (Adeyanju, 2009, p. 14). Both expressions involve noun-to-verb conversion. The first of them can be used in the context *In America they don't back their babies as we do here* 'In America they don't carry their babies on the backs as we do here'. The usage is motivated by the common African practice of carrying one's offspring on the back. Though different, all BE and NE senses involve the conversion-related metonymy BODY PART FOR ACTION.

The verb *gas*, again derived by conversion, means in BE being overcome or poisoned by gas – *Hundreds of thousands of soldiers were gassed in the First World War.* Its NE meaning is 'defile the air' – *He has gassed* 'He has farted'. Both senses are based on the metonymy SUBSTANCE FOR ACTION PERFORMED WITH THE AID OF THAT SUBSTANCE.

In BE the verb *clean off* refers to removing dirt – *I'll clean the stains off your trousers*. Its NE sense is 'erase' – *Clean off that writing!* 'Erase that writing!' Both usages are cases of adjective-to-verb conversion based on the metonymy RESULT FOR ACTION.

[8] Similar motivation seems to apply in the case of the NE usage of *hear* to refer to sensing or smelling, for example in the context *I hear the food on fire* 'I can smell the food cooking' (Blench & Dendo, 2005, p. 12).

4.2.4. Causation ICM

Bread refers in BE to money or income – *I earn my bread digging coal*. In NE it has a narrowed reference to 'one Naira', which is one unit of Nigerian currency – *Give me ten bread!* 'Give me ten Naira!'. Both the BE sense and the NE extension are based on the metonymy EFFECT FOR CAUSE – having bread, a basic food staple, is the effect of having money as a cause that facilitates its acquisition.

The noun *going* indicates in BE the condition of the ground for walking or riding – *The going is described as good to soft*, or speed of travelling – *The traffic was terrible, so it was slow going*. Its NE sense 'motor-cycle taxi' – *I must get a going* 'I must get a motor-cycle taxi' – is a loan translation of the word *achaba* used in Hausa, one of the indigenous languages of Nigeria. All three senses are based on the metonymy EFFECT FOR CAUSE.

The compound *go-slow* refers in BE to a slowed tempo of factory work, which aims at reducing output, usually as a form of protest – *I refer to the recent power workers' go-slow*. The NE sense is any 'traffic jam', but especially the one in Lagos – *They were caught in a go-slow* 'They were caught in a traffic jam'. Both senses are again based on the metonymy EFFECT FOR CAUSE.

In the BE usage *grasscutter* refers to a lawn mower – *Learn to operate the new grasscutter.* Its NE meaning is 'cane rat'. The metonymy EFFECT FOR CAUSE motivates both senses of the compound expression.

In BE the expression *hold the walking stick* means keeping the stick in a particular position so as to be able to manipulate it in a given way – *Always hold your walking stick on the strong side.* The NE sense of the expression is 'become very old' (Okunrinmeta, 2014, p. 323) – *Ezer holds the walking stick* 'Ezer is very old'. Both usages are figurative, but based on contrastive metonymies: CAUSE FOR EFFECT in BE and EFFECT FOR CAUSE in NE.

The BE sense of *hot drink* is a non-alcoholic drink that can make one feel hot, such as tea or cocoa – *A hot drink will keep you warm on a cold day*. In NE the expression refers to a 'hard liquor' and is often abbreviated to *hot* (Okinrunmeta, 2014, p. 323) – the consumption causes the effect of burning sensation in the mouth. Both senses thus involve the metonymy EFFECT FOR CAUSE.

In BE the noun *money* may refer to expected profit – *There's money in sport these days.* Its NE meaning is 'cost' – *Your money is ...* 'It costs …'. Both senses are based on the metonymy EFFECT FOR CAUSE – money is used to calculate profit in economic exchange and the cost of the goods that one acquires.

The BE meaning of the compound *road-safety* is a set of regulations and practices whose aim is to ensure safety on the roads – *Considerations of road safety give me a reason to signal before turning off a road in a car.* It NE it also refers to 'a special unit intended to enforce road-safety regulations' – *If road safety stops you, you must be on seat-belt* 'If a special unit […] stops you, you must be wearing your seat-belt'. Both senses involve the metonymy EFFECT FOR CAUSE.

Finally, the BE sense of *share* is distributing money or other goods – *Will you share your sandwich with me?* Its NE sense is 'deal (cards)' – having the cards together with other players is the outcome of dealing them. Both usages are based on the metonymy EFFECT FOR CAUSE.

5. Summary and discussion

Eight ICMs form the conceptual background for the 39 metonymy-based expressions whose NE usage differs from the BE usage. They include the following relations: Thing-and-Part, Constitution, Event, Category-and-Member, Action, Containment, Causation, and Location.

Out of the two postulated categories of usage, the first one – 'Metonymic sources only in NE' – is present within all eight ICMs, but Event ICM and Action ICM contain more mappings than other ICMs. The second category – 'Same metonymic sources in BE and in NE – different extensions of same targets in NE' - functions within four ICMs. Action ICM and Causation ICM involve more mappings than the remaining two ICMs.

Causation ICM serves as a framework for the largest number of metonymies – 14 out of 39, which amounts to c. 36%. A possible motivation for the preponderance is the fact that the cause-effect relation is one of the most common aspects of human experience. The next two most frequently used frameworks are Action ICM and Event ICM – with 7 (c. 18%) and 6 mappings (c. 15%) respectively, which is roughly half of the level of the Causation ICM. At the same time, 20 out 39 mappings belong to the first category of usage, which is 'Metonymic sources only in NE'; 19 mappings belong to the second category of usage, which is 'Same metonymic sources in BE and in NE – different extensions of same targets in NE'. Thus, both categories evenly illustrate the scale of conceptual difference between BE and NE.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, some expressions are stable both in formal and colloquial usage, for example *put to bed*, *go-slow*, and *on seat* (Adeyanju, 2009, pp. 12, 15). With full social and linguistic acceptability, they can become a part of Standard Nigerian English (SNE). Other expressions, such *eye a person*, appear mainly in colloquial contexts (Adeyanju, 2009, pp. 13–14). All of them, however, reflect what Hymes (1997, p. 12) calls the "social import of meaning".

Differences from the BE standard in both categories are a result of cultural transfer – the new lexical-semantic extensions help the Nigerian speakers adjust to the local experience – and the contact between BE and the indigenous languages of Nigeria (Adegbija, 2004, p. 24). In other words, the "vocabulary items have undergone modification or semantic change […] in order to accommodate and cater for the communicative needs of the language users" (Esther, 2016, p. 70).

The scope of the differences between BE and NE is evidence for the fact that English is now "highly domesticated in Nigeria" (Adetuji & Adeniran, 2017, p. 8). Domestication connotes "home– grown", "made native", and "adapted and tamed"

to suit the country's environment (Adegbija, 2004, p. 20 cit. in Eze & Igwenyi, 2016, p. 111). That is why Ubahakwe (2006) claims that the status of NE is as "a dialect subset comparable to the American, Australian, British, Canadian and Rhodesian subset" (cit. in Obiegbu, 2016, p. 76). In a similar way, Awonusi (2002 cit. in Obiegbu, 2016, p. 76) "concludes that the English language in Nigeria 'has come of age'."

Finally, as the studies of Afrikaans Dutch (Dirven, 1994) and American English (Baugh & Cable, 1983) show, a language becomes an independent variety also in the sense of conceptual patterns that its lexicon reflects. That is why Odebunmi (2010) argues for language-and-culture-specific metaphors in NE. Since conceptual metonymy plays a productive role in language-and-culture-specific lexical extension, it also contributes to making NE a separate variety of English.

6. Conclusions

The above-discussed examples of NE usage are motivated by the culture-specific experience of body parts, car traffic, colonial history, geographical locations, money, politics, weather, etc. They developed because they were adequate for the representation of "the Nigerian worldview and the socio-cultural background of the interlocutors" (Abdullahi-Idiagbon & Olanyi, 2011, p. 80; Ogunjobi & Akindutire, 2020, pp. 5–6; Orimogunje & Oluremi, 2013, p. 266). Some of them also reflect the patterns of the West African linguistic substratum (Bamgbose, 1992, p. 152; Melchers & Shaw, 2003, p. 155). As Jowitt (1991, pp. ix-x) argues, these lexical 'Nigerianisms' should be regarded as good evidence of acculturation of "Nigerian English as English that has England as its first mother and Nigeria as its second", as well as of the fact that English is no longer "the exclusive 'possession' of the people who were its first 'owner'" (Orimogunje & Oluremi, 2013, p. 265).

Metonymy is a common conceptual mechanism not only in the Inner Circle varieties of English. The frequency and scope of its use in NE, together with the presence of unexpected sources and target extensions, shows that metonymy may also be a major strategy of lexical extension in the Outer Circle varieties of English. If the assumption is confirmed by the analyses of lexicons of other African and Asian Englishes, it will further validate the idea of metonymy being a pervasive conceptual phenomenon.

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In search of the beginnings of a foodsemic boom in the history of English

Abstract: Food unquestionably plays a vital role in our lives, as it is essential for our day-to-day existence. It is multifacetedly mirrored in the way we picture the world and communicate with one another. Frequently, food names are deployed metaphorically/metonymically to conceptualize either human beings themselves and/or various aspects and features of their existence. Sometimes, such metaphors are analysed from a synchronic perspective, for example by Martsa (2001, 2013) and Kövecses (2002) and they are perceived as a means of communication. However, food metaphors may be analysed from a diachronic perspective and, as shown by Kleparski (2008, 2012), Kudła (2009, 2016), and Kowalczyk (2015, 2017) among others, in the history of English, food metaphors are traceable in various historically distant periods, and abound especially in most recent periods of the history of English when there are high levels of foodsemic figurative extensions. As shown by Kowalczyk (2024), between the years 1800-1950, there were over 130 cases of food-related metaphor. These numbers stand in sharp contrast to the humble beginnings of food metaphor in Old English and the Early Modern English period. The aim of this paper is to specify the period of intensification and heightened productivity of this phenomenon. The 16th century will be highlighted as the time of a true foodsemic boom that sparked off the process of blooming of this metaphorical mechanism. In the late Middle English period, which spans the 14th and 15th century, only a handful of food-related metaphors are registered and supported by historical lexicographic sources. By contrast, during the course of the 16th century, there were around two dozen food-related cases of metaphorization.

Key words: diachronic perspective, food-related metaphor, Early Modern English, macrocategory **HUMAN BEING**

1. Introduction

Food has always been an essential element in human life. Obviously, culinary standards, techniques and customs have changed throughout centuries, but, at the same, food as such occupies a central position in the life of individuals, families

and nations. In his book entitled *Near a Thousand Tables*, Felipe Fernández-Armesto claims that the history of human kind is also a history of food and draws our attention to the significance of food, its contribution to social and religious interactions and its unquestionable influence on our behavioural patterns, aesthetic preferences and so forth. Clearly, the topic of food and food consumption may be discussed from various angles and with a range of purposes in mind. However, the perspective taken here is that of the language historian, and we shall concentrate on both the quantitative and qualitative parameters related to what has come to be known as food-related metaphorization.

The term *foodsemy*, introduced in the works of Kleparski (2008), was originally used indiscriminately with reference to all kinds of food-related metaphors targeted at the macrocategory **HUMAN BEING**. The analyses of language material that follows have shown that the category of foodsemic transfers may be further subdivided into various, more specific types and human-related subcategories of metaphorization discussed here, such as **ATTRACTIVE FEMALE HUMAN BEING**, **IMMORAL FEMALE HUMAN BEING**, **FEMALE BODY PARTS**, **FEMALE PRIVY PARTS** and **MALE PRIVY PARTS**.

The cases of metaphorical extensions affecting the conceptual macrocategory **FOODSTUFFS** will be investigated with the aid of the model of analysis proposed by Kleparski (1997, 2002, 2008). In short, this model is based on the general tenets of Conceptual Metaphor Theory proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), in that it employs the general concept of mappings occurring between the source and target domains, together with the formulation and phrasing of possible paths/schemes of development, but, crucially for the analysis developed here, it makes use of other elements, such as **CONCEPTUAL DOMAINS** (CDs) and attributes. One may say that such conceptual dimensions as TASTE, SMELL, SHAPE or SIZE are involved in the possible paths of semantic change from the **DOMAIN OF TASTE** […], **DOMAIN OF SMELL** […], **DOMAIN OF SHAPE** […] and the **DOMAIN OF SIZE** […] from the macrocategory **FOODSTUFFS** to the macrocategory **HUMAN BEING**.

The lexico-semantic inventory of food-related metaphorization processes in English is difficult to determine with absolute precision, but all in all, one can speak of at least two hundred documented cases of foodsemy that emerged in the period 1300–1950 as shown by the extensive analysis offered by Kowalczyk (2024), which merely mirrors the material registered and evidenced in a variety of historical lexicographic works, such as the *Oxford English Dictionary*, *Green's Dictionary of Slang*, *Green's Online Dictionary of Slang*, *Historical Dictionary of American Slang*, *Dictionary of Word Origin*, *The Diner's Dictionary*, *Word Origins*, *The Secret Histories of English Words from A to Z*, *Partridge's Dictionary of Slang* and *The Probert Encyclopaedia of Slang*.

Given the extensiveness of empirical material and the aims of this paper one may feel obliged to start with the things that – diachronically speaking – came first.

The first cases of foodsemic metaphorical transfer are registered during 14th–15th century English when such Middle English lexical items as *nut*, *bacon*, *shrimp*, *cod* and *eggs* developed secondary senses. The basis for viewing individual cases as cases of foodsemy rather than other related categories of semantic change as, for example zoosemy, has been based on the results of classification offered by Glazier's (1997) *Random House Word Menu*. The lexicographer lists 1,388 food-related lexical items, 30% of which have shown a tendency to develop food-related metaphorical/metonymic extensions. These extensions are frequently related to such general conceptual categories as **HUMAN BEING**, **INANIMATE OBJECTS** and **ABSTRACTS**.

2. Foodsemic metaphor through the ages

The dictionary-based data indicates that the lexical items *shrimp* and *bacon* may be treated as the first instances of foodsemy recorded in the history of English.[1] To be more specific, in the course of the 14th century, the former started to be used in reference to any small, weak, insignificant person, while the latter was used in a sense 'human flesh, a human being'.[2] The instances of foodsemic extensions discussed here may be perceived and interpreted by means of the CG (Cognitive Grammar) apparatus employed earlier in this type of linguistic studies.

First of all, the general path of metaphorical development followed here may be formulated as <HUMAN BEING IS/IS PERCEIVED AS A FOODSTUFF>. In the case of the development of *shrimp*, it is the conceptual **DOMAIN OF SIZE** […] that is involved in the rise of the new sense as the quality [SMALL] is, by all means, the most relevant link between the original and metaphorical sense. Here, one of the physical characteristics of a shrimp is translated onto the level

[1] However, it is worth mentioning that the lexical item *nut* may be treated as the very first case of food metaphor. According to the *OED*, it developed the first metaphorical sense 'something of trifling value' in the 14th century and the first instance of its use dates back to around 1301: He ne yaf a *note* [*nute*] of his oþes. (…) Nouth þe worth one *nouthe* [*nute*]. Interestingly, this lexical item has been one of the most productive cases of metaphorization processes as it developed a dozen secondary senses in the course of its development including 'a question difficult to answer', 'a problem' (the 15th century); 'female genitalia', 'glans of penis' (the 16th century); 'a matter or undertaking difficult to accomplish', 'a person difficult to deal with' (the 17th century); 'testicles', 'a small knob of meat' (the 18th century); 'the pancreas', 'part of the caul', 'the head', 'crazy, insane', 'coal in small lumps' (the 19th century); 'a fashionable or showy young man of affected elegance' and 'the amount of money required for a venture', 'any sum of money' (in the first half of the 20th century).

[2] The newly developed senses may be illustrated by means of the following quotations provided in the *Oxford English Dictionary*:

1) *bacon* > 'human flesh, a human being'

– 1386 As a lethernpurs lolled his chekes [...] And as a bondeman his *bacon* his berd was unshaue.

2) *shrimp* > 'a small, weak insignificant person'

c. 1386 Religioun hath take up al the corn Of tredyng, and we borel men ben *shrimpes*!

of qualitative characteristics of a human being, that is, the metaphorically active attributes [SMALL] and [WEAK].

Having shown one of the early cases of foodsemic extension viewed in terms of the methodological apparatus employed here, let us now turn our attention to the 16th century, the period when the type of transfers analysed here appeared in great numbers.

The following cases can be proved to have emerged in the period under discussion:

POULTRY AND GAME

1. *capon* > 'a eunuch, an impotent man'
2. *duck* > 'a lover, a sweetheart' (a general term of affection)
3. *hare* > 'a prostitute, a promiscuous woman' (obs.)
4. *pheasant* > 'a promiscuous woman' (obs.)
5. *pigeon* > 'a young woman' (obs.), 'one who is susceptible to a confidence trick or other variety of fraud' (obs.)
6. *pullet* > 'an adolescent girl, usually in a sexual context' (obs.), 'a young prostitute' (obs.)
7. *quail* > 'a prostitute' (obs.)

MEAT PRODUCTS

8. *beef* > 'vagina', 'sexually appealing woman'
9. *meat* > 'woman and her body as a sexual pleasure', 'penis', 'vagina'
10. *marrow* > 'semen' (obs.)
11. *mutton* > 'a promiscuous woman, a prostitute', 'vagina'

FISH

12. *cod* > 'a testicle'
13. crab > 'a sour or ill-tempered person'
14. *fish* > 'vagina', 'a woman'
15. *herring* > 'a foolish, offensive or inconsequential person' (obs.)
16. *oyster* > 'vagina', 'a woman'

VARIA

17. *carrot* > 'penis'
18. *lentils* > 'freckles or spots on the skin' (obs.)
19. *nut* > 'the glans of penis'
20. *nuts* > 'female genitalia'
21. *pie* > 'woman', 'vagina'
22. *pudding* > 'vagina', 'penis' (obs.)

Given the set above one may say that some of the transferred senses that appeared in the course of the 16th century have survived to the modern day, while others have become obsolete at later stages of the development of English. All in all, there have been 10 such cases, which constitutes 37 % of the senses of all vocabulary items

discussed here. For example, out of the first four metaphorical extensions developed in the case of *bacon*, *shrimp*, *eggs* and *cod* several of them are present in current use. For example, the noun *shrimp* meaning 'a small, weak, insignificant person' and *eggs*, which in present day English is used in reference to testicles and *cod* to the penis.

One may say that from the qualitative angle, the differences in a typical menu of our ancestors become visible and it may be said that their culinary preferences are deeply embedded both in the culture and in the language of the nation. One cannot fail to notice that the basis for metaphorical transfers were plain, ordinary, everyday and well-known food items. As shown by historical reports the 16th century diet was full of meat and meat products, fish and other common items, such as eggs, butter and nuts. Also, in the 17th and 18th centuries meat and fish governed dinner tables, but with time certain delicacies were introduced into the diet, for instance sausage and cheesecake. However, throughout the history of the English nation meat products remained popular It is, therefore, unsurprising that food products considered as consumer staples in a certain century are likely to give rise to metaphorical shifts at various periods in the history of English. Interestingly, there are some food items which are still very common and popular, whereas others are no longer consumed and declined in popularity.

Many of the earliest metaphorical senses have become deeply rooted and occupy a permanent position in the lexico-semantic system of English. For instance, the plural *eggs* is still used today in the sense 'testicles', one of the oldest foodsemic metaphors, and the rise of this sense dates back to the second half of the 15th century. Many other foodsemic transfers have remained in the language. This preference group comprises, among others, such food items as mutton, beef, bread and eggs. Another group label includes, for example, marrow, which was treated as a delicacy in the past, but is no longer regarded as such. Similarly, numerous cases of metaphorical transfer that appeared in the course of the 16th century, and at other periods of English, mostly in the 17th century, and particularly those related to the category **POULTRY AND GAME** fell out of use during later periods of the history of English. This group includes *hare*, *pheasant*, *quail*, *pigeon*, *squall*, *duck*, *poultry*, *partridge*, *pullet.* Interestingly, these lexical items acquired one of female related senses 'a woman' or 'a prostitute, a promiscuous woman' in the course of their semantic development and, what is more, the newly acquired senses all vanished at later periods of the history of English.

3. On the major driving forces of foodsemy

Coming back to the foodsemic boom, more than half of lexical items enumerated above are female-specific. The overall and pervasive schema of their development may be formulated as <FEMALE HUMAN BEING IS/IS PERCEIVED AS A FOOD ITEM>; or more specifically <ATTRACTIVE/IMMORAL FEMALE HUMAN

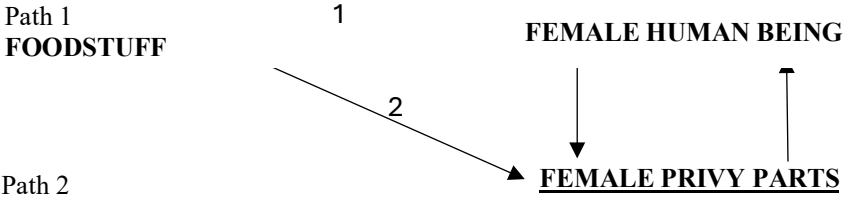
BEING IS/IS PERCEIVED AS A FOOD ITEM>, but also <FEMALE PRIVY PARTS ARE PERCEIVED AS A FOOD ITEM>. One can certainly trace certain well-used paths of this semantic transfer that started to be at work in the 16th century.

The diachronic analysis of the English data related to the mechanism of foodsemy points to the following general patterns of change:

FOODSTUFF → **FEMALE HUMAN BEING**
(*hare*, *pheasant*, *pigeon*, *pullet*, *quail*, *beef*, *mutton*, *fish, oyster*, *pie*)

FOODSTUFF → **FEMALE PRIVY PARTS**
(*beef*, *mutton*, *fish*, *oyster*, *nuts*, *pie*, *pudding*)

The two patterns given above, however, are likely to be a simplified version of the actual course of the progress of the foodsemic changes discussed here because, in fact, the actual progress of change may prompt us to propose and formulate other alternative paths:



As to the latter schema, one may generalize and say that a lexical item that at some point of its history is linked to the category **FOODSTUFFS** may develop, via metaphor, a sense related directly to the category **FEMALE HUMAN BEING** and, simultaneously, or at a later stage, via metonymy, i.e. it may metonymically start to be related to the target domain category **FEMALE PRIVY PARTS**. This kind of transfer of senses likely took place in the 16th century in the case of such words as *meat* and *mutton*. Yet, the development may have taken a different course, because the sense linked to the category **FEMALE PRIVY PARTS** may have developed historically prior to the female-specific sense, such as 'woman', 'attractive girl', 'prostitute', etc. The development of such food-specific lexical items as *beef*, *fish* and *oyster* has taken the metonymically conditioned development path from the sense 'vagina' to 'a woman'.

Interestingly, the 16th century transfers targeted at the macrocategory **HUMAN BEING** enable us to distinguish two accompanying, if not simultaneous, types of change. This time we are talking about axiological changes, traditionally referred to in the literature as amelioration and pejoration (see, for example, Stern (1931), Kleparski (1990)). In such cases of transfer there is a certain alteration of the axiological load associated with the semantics of a given lexical item.[3] In the body

[3] See the types of pejoration and amelioration of meaning distinguished in Kleparski (1990).

of the data specified for the 16th century, we find only two cases of amelioration. The change affected the semantics of *duck*, which, apart from the neutral sense 'a water bird', started to be employed as a general term of affection and acquired the sense 'a lover, a sweetheart'. The process of amelioration has also affected the history of *oyster*, the development of which took the direction from 'a kind of seafood' to 'vagina' and later in the course of its semantic evolution to 'a prostitute' and to 'a young/attractive woman, girl' between the 16th and the 17th century. The reverse process, much more frequent, that is pejoration or worsening of meaning, has operated in the case of *mutton*, *pheasant*, *quail*, *pullet*, *hare*, *crab* and *herring*, which involved transfers most frequently targeted at one of the subcategories of the macrocategory **HUMAN BEING**, that is **FEMALE HUMAN BEING**, where the most frequent tendency on the evaluative scale is from neutral food name to 'a prostitute', as in the case of *mutton*, *pheasant*, *quail*, *pullet* and *hare*. Two lexical items, *crab* and *herring*, are exceptions here as they did not acquire female-specific secondary senses, and are not gender-specific. The former is still used in reference to a sour or ill-tempered person, and the latter used to stand for a foolish, offensive or inconsequential person.

It is also worth mentioning that numerous lexical items are linked to the category **MALE PRIVY PARTS**. These shifts may be grouped into two meaning categories, where metaphorical senses such as 'penis' (e.g. *carrot*, *meat*, *nut, pudding*) and 'testicle' (*cod*) are the result of figurative extensions based on the general schema <MALE PRIVY PARTS ARE PERCEIVED AS A FOOD ITEM>. Interestingly, male-oriented figurative extensions are mostly restricted to the two abovementioned meanings, and the conceptual category **MALE HUMAN BEING**, is not so rich in various paths of development as the category **FEMALE HUMAN BEING**.

Let us point one more time to the general schemas that may be formulated as <HUMAN BEING IS/IS PERCEIVED AS A FOOD ITEM>, <FEMALE/MALE HUMAN BEING IS/IS PERCEIVED AS A FOOD ITEM> and <FEMALE/MALE BODY/PRIVY PARTS ARE PERCEIVED AS A FOOD ITEM> following Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) theory. In order to delve into the nature of figurative extensions we shall make use of the notion of conceptual domains such as the **DOMAIN OF SHAPE** […], the **DOMAIN OF SMELL** […], the **DOMAIN OF CONSISTENCY** […] which are helpful in grasping and formulating the course of foodsemic transfers. Within the model adopted here lexical meaning can be accounted for by means of highlighting various attributive values that may be specified for conceptual domains. For example, for the **DOMAIN OF TASTE** […] one may specify such attributive values as [BITTER], [SWEET], [SOUR], while the **DOMAIN OF CONSISTENCY** […] presupposes attributive values including [SPONGEY], [DRY], [STICKY], [SMOOTH], [EVEN], [UNEVEN], [LOOSE] or [LUMPY].

In the case of the apparatus employed here, it may be claimed that, for instance, in the rise of secondary female-related senses of *fish* the attributive element from

the **DOMAIN OF SMELL** […] was activated, as female privy parts are commonly associated with unpleasant scent, hence the value [SMELLY] and [FISHY] may be thought to have been responsible for their emergence. Similarly, in the case of *oyster* one may speak of the presence of the value [SMELLY]/[FISHY]; however, it seems that here the **DOMAIN OF CONSISTENCY** […] could have been the leading trigger with the value [SMOOTH], [WETTISH], [MOIST] being at work. In the case of the development of *carrot*, employed in reference to the penis, one may speak of activation of values from the **DOMAIN OF VISUAL CHARACTERISTICS** […] namely [LONG], [ON THE LONG SIDE].

4. Concluding remarks

Several times it has been indicated that food occupies a special position in our lives. It is thought to have certain powers such as nourishment and healing potential, and, all in all, it possesses a symbolic meaning. However, what is of great importance for us, it may be theoretically viewed as being linked to various source domains and a variety of metaphorical senses. The closeness and familiarity of elements of the conceptual category **FOOD** may be thought to make it a natural and subconsciously employed source of metaphorical extensions.

The 16th century witnessed a particular quantitative rise in the amount of foodsemic metaphors and metonymies. To be specific, 22 lexical items were subject to metaphorization processes at that time (*capon*, *duck*, *hare*, *pheasant*, *pigeon*, *pullet*, *quail*, *beef*, *meat*, *mutton*, *marrow*, *mutton*, *cod*, *fish*, *herring*, *oyster*, *carrot*, *lentils*, *nut*, *nuts*, *pie* and *pudding*). The capacity of metaphorization in the domain of foodstuffs in the informal register of English shows that frequently females and their body parts may serve as the ground for various extensions where the source domain is the semantic area of a foodstuff item, and the target domain is either female (*hare*, *pheasant*, *pigeon*, *pullet*, *quail*, *beef*, *mutton*, *fish*, *oyster*, *pie*) or female body part (*beef*, *mutton*, *fish*, *oyster*, *nuts*, *pie*, *pudding*). Names of foodstuffs may be used in reference to human sexual organs, and all the characteristics that metaphorically are attributable to them. The general metaphorical schemas that arise, that is <HUMAN BEING IS/IS PERCEIVED AS A FOOD ITEM> and <FEMALE/MALE PRIVY PARTS ARE/ARE PERCEIVED AS A FOOD ITEM> are manifested in numerous historically documented foodsemic extensions. Consequently, such categories as **ATTRACTIVE/IMMORAL FEMALE HUMAN BEING, FEMALE PRIVY PARTS**, as well as **MALE PRIVY PARTS** are very productive in terms of foodsemic transfers.

The data drawn from various lexicographic sources enable us to formulate a general conclusion that the majority of foodsemic developments are based on and are triggered by extralinguistic factors, various associations evoked by certain food items, their characteristics and sensory experiences related to them.

Hence attributive values and several dimensions may be said to form the basis of transfers of food words. They include, among others, the **DOMAIN OF SHAPE** [LONGISH], and the **DOMAIN OF CONSISTENCY** [WETTISH], [WET] or [FROZEN].

Having scrutinized the material gathered here one may conclude that the mechanism of metaphor and metonymy is naturally present, common and widespread. What is more, numerous metaphorical transfers are closely related and conditioned by extralinguistic characteristics, conditions and conditionings; the productivity of a given foodsemic type transfer is frequently triggered by extralinguistic knowledge, familiarity and associations with a certain type of food and its characteristics.

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A critical overview of the cultural elements in four EFL textbooks used in Croatian secondary schools

Abstract: The significance of integrating cultural elements into foreign language (FL) teaching has been widely recognized by many researchers (Kramsch, 1998; Byram, 2008; Sercu, 2010). Consequently, in recent years, cultural content analysis of English textbooks has received considerable attention. Impelled by the newly reexamined pedagogical standards and the existing National Curriculum in Croatia, this paper provides a critical overview of the cultural elements in four English textbooks for secondary schools used in Croatian EFL classrooms. As one of the three existing domains in the English Language Curriculum, intercultural communicative competence (ICC) is perceived as an inevitable and integral part in successful foreign language learning. The paper is divided into theoretical and analytical sections. The former gives a brief overview of the previous and contemporary research in the field of textbook analysis and the importance of intercultural communicative competence in foreign language learning. The second provides both qualitative and quantitative results of the representations of cultural elements such as topics, visuals, audio material, values and cultural activities. Qualitative analysis of the textbooks is elaborated individually, and quantitative results are presented collectively for all four textbooks. Textbook material is examined against Amanda Hilliard's analytic kit, which combines three frameworks for the most appropriate multi-layered analysis of the cultural content. The results of the analysis corroborate some of the previous research findings pointing at the overemphasis of specific topic areas, representation of ethnic minorities in the visuals, accents in audio materials and overly positive perspectives of the target culture. The article concludes with some practical suggestions for further modernization of the intercultural activities which would strengthen students' skills such as tolerance for ambiguity, empathy and adaptability.

Key words: English as a Foreign Language (EFL), textbooks, cultural elements, secondary schools

1. Introduction

A number of foreign language (FL) researchers (Kramsch, 1998; Byram, 2008; Sercu, 2010) have increasingly acknowledged the significance of developing learners' intercultural communicative competence (ICC) by incorporating intercultural perspectives into FL teaching. The term ICC refers to the knowledge of another language and culture which allows a learner to interact effectively and interpret or negotiate successfully in cross-cultural communication (Guilherm, 2004). Such a competence helps students perceive similarities and differences, critically examine the relative nature of their own cultural identity and better understand other people's perspectives.

Lack of empirical evidence of the ICC development, both worldwide (Sercu, 2010) and in the Croatian context (Bilić-Štefan, 2008), is acknowledged as a significant void in intercultural language research. In recent years, aside from the research into teacher intercultural competences (Breka & Petravić, 2015) and learners' perspectives (Sadeghi & Sepahi, 2017), cultural content analysis of English textbooks has received considerable attention (Hillard, 2014; Saputra, 2019; Blažević & Blažević, 2023). The representation and acceptance of social and cultural diversity have become an imperative in educational curricula and school textbooks.

Impelled by the newly reexamined pedagogical standards and the existing National Curriculum in Croatia (Kurikulum, 2019), this paper provides a critical overview of the cultural elements in four English textbooks for secondary schools used in Croatian EFL classrooms.

2. Previous studies

Brugeilles and Cromer (2009, p. 14) define a textbook as "the core learning medium composed of text and/or images designed to bring about a specific set of educational outcomes; traditionally a printed and bound book including illustrations and instructions for facilitating sequences of learning activities". EFL textbooks in particular provide a rare glimpse into the representation of social and cultural values and attitudes from the dominant culture that are embedded in the existing curriculum.

International research continues to remind us of many educational settings around the world in which cultural contents in textbooks are portrayed in all forms of bias and stereotypical ways, fostering negative attitudes, distorted images and false values. Since textbooks are still perceived as the foundation of standardized learning, it is of utmost importance that textbooks be critically examined and evaluated from both a linguistic and a pedagogical point of view (McKay, 2003).

Much research has been done on the portrayal of *Big C vs little c* topics, racial diversity, ethnicity and nationality (Saputra, 2019; Rong et al., 2021), aiming to

disclose potentially hidden stereotypes, ideologies or assumptions. Overall results pointed at a growing tendency towards more equal representation of women and minority groups, but also revealed hidden ideologies, avoidance of sensitive topics and a clear imbalance in the representation of source and target cultures. Similar results were confirmed by Croatian researchers (Bilić-Štefan, 2008; Andraka, 2020; Blažević & Blažević, 2023).

Most of the above-mentioned findings have indicated women's suppressed roles and under-representation in EFL textbooks and called for a more inclusive and modernised approach to gender roles, both in visual images and language. Moreover, the values attributed to women in the textbooks in some educational settings might have serious repercussions on girls' academic choices and distorted self-images (Britton, Lumpkin, 1977) in real life.

Other research findings have suggested the inaccurate and often stereotypical portrayal of minority groups (Taylor-Mendes, 2009). This aspect of under-representation is particularly evident in the textbook images. Visual images have long been considered powerful tools in enhancing language learning, motivation and creativity. When utilized well by the teachers, visual images can be an essential source of information which provide additional context to the written narrative (Elmiana, 2019). However, the authors have not yet reached a consensus on the actual value that visuals should be assigned, claiming that they can often distract of diverge EFL learners from the intended meaning of the textual clues.

Finally, a number of studies (Gray, 2010; Saputra, 2019) have indicated a superficial and overly positive representation of the target culture, prioritizing certain cultural values, such as individualism and consumerism.

3. Methodology and research questions

The purpose of this study was to examine underlying perspectives and values within the texts and to evaluate the general effectiveness of cultural elements and activities in promoting students' intercultural communication. Overall, this study aimed to address the following questions:

1. What aspects of cultural elements are included in English language textbooks used in Croatian secondary schools today?
2. What are the commonalities/differences in the representation of cultural elements between the textbooks intended for intermediate and upper-intermediate English language learners?
3. Are there any values guided towards a certain perspective or unrealistic viewpoints promoted by the English textbooks?
4. To what extent do activities included in the textbooks help students develop their intercultural communication?

To address these questions, four textbooks for secondary schools approved by the Ministry of Science and Education and widely used in Croatia were selected. The analysis was divided into three separate readings for intermediate and upper-intermediate textbooks respectively. For the purpose of this paper, the textbooks will be referred to as Textbook 1, Textbook 2, Textbook 3, and Textbook 4.

The cultural topics were examined and commented on using the analytic kit set by Amanda Hilliard in her *Framework for Analysing Cultural Content in English Language Textbooks*. The framework combined quantitative and qualitative analysis of the representations of culture in terms of the related presence of the topics, visuals, audio material, perspectives, values and cultural activities.

4. Textbook analysis

TEXTBOOK 1: Falla, Tim, and Davies, Paul A. (2012). *Solutions Intermediate Student's Book, 2nd edition.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

I. Topics

Solutions Intermediate is structurally divided into 10 general topic-based units which further the student's practice of the 7 allotted language competences, namely by offering 7 lessons per competence. 10 culturally detailed topics are introduced and specified in the textbook's (C) Culture Section. The topics usually revolve around macro-cultural content, but implicitly or explicitly also tackle micro-cultural elements (Figure 1). The topics are organized clearly and in a straightforward manner and include various activities for students, which do not remain unidirectional and eventually lead to the student's contemplation about the topic and mastering the cultural competence and communication. However, the authors of the textbook seem to steer clear of topics which are considered sensitive or controversial and, as such, are not explicitly included.

II. Images

Solutions Intermediate includes numerous culture-related texts which are generally accompanied by illustrations. Unlike some other textbook editions, this textbook seems to steer away from the patriarchal portrayal of white middle-aged men, the number of which is balanced by images portraying women. Furthermore, as this textbook aims to educate mostly B1-2 students, there is also a higher number of girls and boys portrayed. Much like with the audio material, there seems to be a perceived and activated impulse to include ethnic and national minorities in the images provided in the textbook's revised edition. Therefore, next to the Caucasian ethnic group, the designated visual content also portrays a number of Asian, Hispanic, and Black men and women (Figure 2).

III. Accents

Solutions Intermediate is structurally supplemented with 3 Student's Book CDs which cover the textbook's content throughout the total timespan of 3 hours, 38 minutes and 27 seconds. The speakers involved usually include middle-aged men and women, but are nicely balanced by younger generations of speakers, too. The dominant accent is Standard British with some (namely Scottish and Irish) regional markers and instances (Figure 3). There appears to be an inclusion of the Standard North American Accent and its regional variations, as well (here involved are General Southern, Texan, New York, and General Californian accents), following the notion of including other English-speaking countries among the topics offered. The Non-Native accents included usually relate to the speech patterns of some dominant national minorities, either in Britain or the USA (the Italian/Czech accents). However, a seemingly impractical nature of the textbook is that it does not include transcriptions of the (culture-based) texts involved in the form of an Appendix at the end of the textbook.[1]

TEXTBOOK 2: Soars, Liz, and Soars, John. (2014). *New Headway Intermediate Student's Book, 4th edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

I. Topics

New Headway Intermediate is structurally divided into 12 general topic-based units which further the student's practice of the 7 allotted language competences. The textbook does not contain a separate culture section, but is rather oriented towards an integrative approach to cultural content within the activities reserved for other competences. Unlike *Solutions*, *New Headway Intermediate* is somewhat poorer in the overall amount of the designated cultural topics. However, what is apparent is that the cultural topics are evenly balanced on the macro-cultural – micro-cultural[2] elements dyad (Figure 1).

II. Images

New Headway Intermediate introduces cultural content which also includes a hefty amount of visual material, such as photographs, images, drawings, illustrations, and charts. A significant improvement has been made when compared to previous editions of the textbook, mainly due to the development and modernisation of the textbook structuring in general. Therefore, the inclusion of more images portraying women seems to be an activated impulse, much like the importance of having

[1] They are, however, included in *Solutions Intermediate Teacher's Book, 2nd edition*, which has proven to be a valuable resource in following the structure of the cultural texts presented within the three accompanying CDs.

[2] What seems to be a rather practical addition to this textbook edition is the addendum titled Extra class materials, which either reiterates the previously offered cultural content on the basis of revision, or introduces some additional content and various sets of activities aimed at the development of the student's cultural competences.

ethnic minorities represented in the study materials (Figure 2). Largely included are Asian and the Black ethnic groups, but there is some room for improvement and the addition of more ethnic groups (such as Hispanic). The content is not as youth-oriented as is presented in the previous textbook, but is still age-appropriate, interesting and fresh enough, and of high importance for the development of the students' cultural competence and communication.

III. Accents

New Headway Intermediate is structurally equipped with 2 Student's Book CDs which cover the textbook's content throughout the total timespan of 3 hours, 49 minutes and 55 seconds. The speakers involved, much like with the previously analysed textbook, usually include middle-aged men and women, but are nicely balanced by younger generations of speakers, too. The dominant accent is Standard British with some (namely Scottish and Northern English) regional markers and instances (Figure 3). The Standard North American Accent is represented in several instances, with Canadian being its primary regional marker. Non-Native accents included relate to the speech patterns of some dominant national minorities throughout the Great Britain. The accents with such distinctive speech markers represented the most are Spanish, Indian, and Mexican (-English).

Very practical addenda at the end of the textbook are the transcripts of all the listening tasks included in the sections which cover such activities. This is a practical tool both for the teacher when structuring the use of such activities, but also for the students who may face certain difficulties with understanding the speaker's words. Should such need arise, the student is given the source of the text/ listening activity to look up what was unclear and may be instructed or aided into successfully solving the designated listening task.

TEXTBOOK 3. Falla, Tim, and Davies, Paul A. (2014). *Solutions Upper-Intermediate Student's Book*, *2nd edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

I. Topics

Content-wise, *Solutions Upper-Intermediate* is structurally equipped with 10 topic-based units which serve to further the student's practice of 7 allotted language competences by offering 7 lessons per competence. 10 culturally detailed topics are introduced and specified in each of the textbook's (C) Culture Sections. The topics predominantly refer to macro-cultural content, but implicitly or explicitly also tackle several micro-cultural topics (Figure 1). The topics are organized clearly, structured with a logical flow, and are straightforward in both depicting and addressing the content. The activities for students, which either relate to the cultural content provided or are derived from it, are varied in their nature, structure, overall aims, and steps to aid the students in mastering cultural and inter-cultural competence and communication.

A general conclusion to which the user (either the educator or the student) of this textbook may arrive is that it, unlike some of its iterations which generally deal with a more youth-oriented content, focuses on several issues which require the student to be of a certain age so as to understand the depth of the topic and the importance of learning about it. These topics aim to arouse the students' thought processes on ever-present events such as local elections and governmental structures, freedom of speech and information, religious freedom and denomination, not only by enlisting information pertaining to Anglophone cultures, but also by offering activities which require the students to compare these instances in relation to their own cultures. This approach also allows the authors and the educators to steer away from superficial coverage of the target content, and it also allows the students to achieve higher levels of understanding not only of several layers of the designated culture(s), but also numerous instances of their own culture(s).

II. Images

What the reader can infer from the data collected from the textbook's cultural visual equipment and illustrative kits is that it still predominantly offers a lot of areas for the inclusion and portrayal of the Caucasian male population. However, when compared to other textbooks which hinge on such ethnic portrayal at the expense of including other ethnicities and genders, one cannot escape from the realization that the authors of this textbook strive to follow the modern trajectory of including people of various social classes, races, national descents, and cultural identities (Figure 2). This approach also provides an explanation on why members of Asian, Hispanic, and Black population are included as a part of the illustrative kit, especially if one takes into account that precisely these three ethnic groups constitute the largest minority groups in Anglophone cultural (as well as socio-political) identity. According to data collected and much like with the apparent dominant areas for Caucasian males, the male-female ratio still favours the former, but the ever-growing inclusion of the latter seems to follow the previously mentioned modernisation of the illustrative cultural content, which in part arises from the approach to textbook structuring in relation to the feminizing of the content.

III. Accents

Solutions Upper-Intermediate is structurally equipped with three accompanying CDs whose total runtime amounts to 3 hours, 56 minutes, and 33 seconds. Each of the tracks on the CDs systematially matches the cultural material provided in a particular lesson, with Standard British unarguably being the dominant accent (Figure 3). There are a handful of instances wherein regional accents are included in the audio material, namely distinctive markers such as Scottish, Northern English, and Irish. The inclusion of any variation of Standard or Regional (North) American accent seems to be little to none when discussing the actual cultural situations represented in the audio material. Non-Native accents are represented

only by Polish speakers, which seems to be a retrograding trend when compared to the previously analysed entry in the Solutions series.

TEXTBOOK 4. Soars, Liz, and Soars, John. (2014). *New Headway Upper-Intermediate Student's Book*, *4th edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

I. Topics

New Headway Upper-Intermediate is structurally divided into 12 general topic-based units which further the student's practice of the 7 allotted language competences. The textbook does not contain a separate culture section, but is rather oriented towards an integrative approach to cultural content within the activities dedicated to other competences. Unlike the previous entry in *the New Headway* set, *New Headway Upper-Intermediate* is richer when it comes to inclusion of the overall cultural content (Figure 1). What is also noteworthy to mention is that both macro-cultural and micro-cultural topics seem to be well-balanced, with only a slight revision advised (though not when it comes to the general representation of the Big C elements, but rather to their treatment, in the sense of a deeper comprehension of some of the constituent cultural elements).

II. Images

New Headway Upper-Intermediate introduces cultural content which abounds in visual material, such as photographs, images, drawings, illustrations, and charts. Even though the general and additional visual kit analysed seems to be the richest when it comes to the representation of men, significant progress has been made when compared to previous editions of the textbook, namely due to the development and modernisation of the textbook structuring in general. What furthers this modernised approach is the ample portrayal of women, the number of which is almost equal to the number of men depicted, as well as the ethnic minorities represented in the study materials. Unlike the previously analysed entry in the New Headway set, this edition provides enough room for the portrayal of various Asian, Hispanic, and Black ethnicities, but there is some scope for an even greater inclusion (Figure 2).

III. Accents

New Headway Upper-Intermediate is structurally equipped with 4 accompanying CD-ROMs which cover the textbook's content throughout the total timespan of 4 hours, 17 minutes and 1 second. The number of the speakers involved in the analysed audio content is generally equally divided amongst middle-aged male and female speakers and teenage speakers. The dominant accent is Standard British/Australian English, with a number of its audible regional markers and instances, namely: Scottish English, Northern English (Yorkshire) and Southern English (Bath). The Standard North American Accent is represented in several instances, with Canadian and one instance of Florida accent being its primary

regional markers. The Non-Native accents represented relate to the distinctive speech patterns of some of the UK's dominant national minorities (namely the Indian ethnic group). Speakers from Greece, Ukraine, Argentina, and Spain are also included in the textbook's CD track-list (Figure 3).

5. Summary of results

For practical reasons and the sheer scope of the study, the quantitative results addressing topics (Figure 1), ethnicity (Figure 2) and accents (Figure 3) are represented collectively for all four textbooks. As the final part of this section, the authors' general preferences between the four analysed textbooks are given and further elaborated.

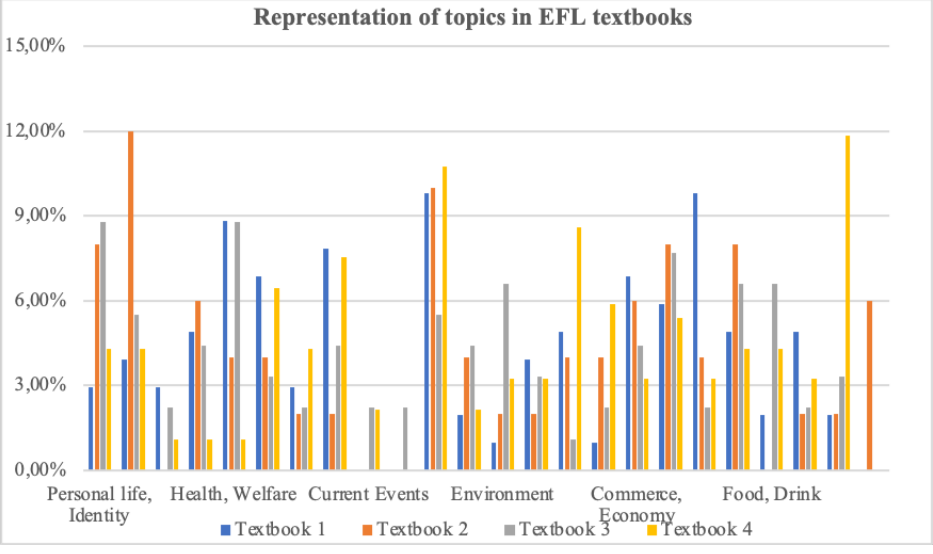

Figure 1. Representation of topics in four EFL textbooks

Based on the results in Figure 1, we have addressed the first research question by stating that topics in all four textbooks are diverse and evenly balanced, slightly more connoted with Big C cultural elements in textbook 1 and 2. In textbook 3 and 4, both Big C and little c cultural elements are equally introduced in a variety of topics.

The distribution of ethnicity in the images of four EFL textbooks is visible in Figure 2. The accompanying visual material mostly shows Caucasians, but due to modern impulse in textbook structuring, other races and ethnic minorities are represented as well. None of the textbooks employs stereotypical characterizations or images, nor do they tackle the offered visuals superficially (or in the sense that they seem out-of-place). The majority of representative areas in both textbooks

is still allotted for men, but the richer inclusion of women is also obvious (with number of images almost as equally included, or at least following the trend of representation and inclusion). Disabled people and some marginal groups in the community are still not thoroughly represented, if at all.

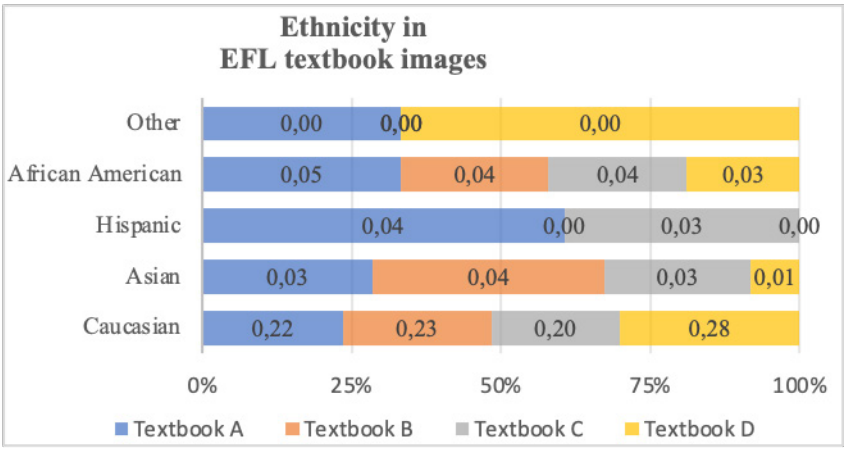

Figure 2. Representation of ethnicity in the images of four EFL textbooks

The predominant accent in all four textbooks is Standard British/Australian, but the Standard North American accent is included, as well. However, various British/Australian and American Regional Accents are included, which showcases the modernised approach and paves way for raising the students' awareness of the multitudes of English language. Non-Native Accents are included as well and are juxtaposed to all the ethnic minorities incorporated in the textbooks' accompanying visual material.

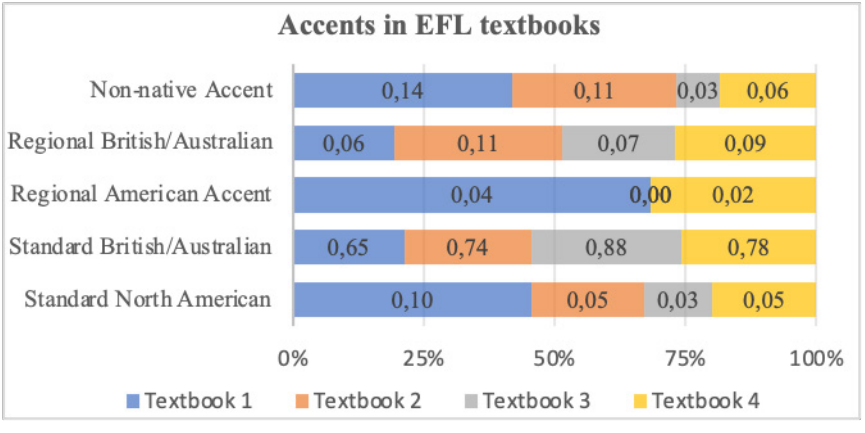

Figure 3. Distribution of accents in audio recordings in four EFL textbooks

In reference to the second research question, the findings reveal both commonalities and differences in the representation of cultural elements between the textbooks designed for intermediate and upper-intermediate English language learners. The commonalities are related to the number and versatility of topics being covered and accents being used, and the differences to the ratio of Big C/ little c cultural content, British/American culture being represented and values being promoted. While topics intended for intermediate English language learners focus mainly on the Big C aspects of British culture, topics intended for upper-intermediate English language learners are more inclusive. This by no means implies that other cultures are not included in the first set of textbooks, but an inclusion of more intercultural content is advisable so as to further deepen the learner's perception of the plethora of cultures which exist in the world.

As for the third research question, all textbooks incorporate cultural content which informs students about global socio-political issues. However, textbooks intended for intermediate level seem to slightly promote and superficially tackle the notions of Western values (egalitarianism, cosmopolitanism, money, affluence, success, mobility), while textbooks intended for upper-intermediate level incorporate Western values, but also offer a multi-faceted approach by offering the students at least two scopes of opinion-forming on such cultural content (for instance, British and American labour markets are compared on the basis of their pros and cons, which is also consistent with topics offered and related to future jobs, applications, socio-economic mobility, housing, (un)employment, etc.).

The fourth research question examines the effectiveness of the activities in the development of learners' intercultural communicative competence. The differences are confirmed within the same sets of textbooks. First and foremost, in all textbooks the aim of the activities is to raise students' awareness of other cultures. However, while the first textbook in each set develops the activities thoroughly and offers more possibilities for cross-cultural or intercultural examination of the cultural content, the second textbook attains the same approach, but the realization seems to be of insufficient nature and offers some space for further revisions and restructurings. To conclude, textbook 2 and 4 require slight revisions of activities which would allow students to further improve their communicative cultural competence(s) (namely the inclusion of inter-cultural comparisons, real-life activities and events, role-plays and simulations, etc.).

Based on the collected data, the authors' general preferences between the four analysed textbooks steers towards *Solutions Intermediate Student's Book, 2nd edition* and *Solutions Upper-Intermediate Student's Book, 2nd edition* on the basis that they:

1. cover more cultural content
2. introduce more age-appropriate cultural material, be it within the separate cultural sections or out of the given frame (in fact, almost 90% of the cultural content offered is implicitly or explicitly directed toward teenagers (B1

learners, 16 or 17 years of age), an approach which positions this book as a "teenager textbook")
3. attain a modernised approach by including richer representations of women and ethnic minorities, both in the accompanying visual and audio materials
4. avoid the superficial examination of the designated cultures (as well as the subsequent overemphasis of patriarchal and Western values and "tourist" viewpoints)
5. offer various activities for the students and in its entirety aims to deepen, further, and better their cultural competences and communication
6. are structured in a clear, straightforward manner which makes it easier for the teacher to approach and successfully realize their plans for cultural teaching.
7. Finally, we offer some suggestions on how to approach teaching and help learners develop their intercultural communicative competence:
8. raise awareness and integrate relevant and appropriate intercultural content so as to further deepen the learner's perception of the plethora of cultures which exist in the world
9. integrate diverse and evenly balanced topics, covering both visible and subtle elements of culture
10. offer a multi-faceted approach by offering the students at least two scopes of opinion-forming on such cultural content
11. avoid stereotypical and superficial representations of designated cultures and introduce supplementary authentic materials
12. expose learners to versatile intercultural situations, simulations, role-plays, and real-life events (which have consecutively proven to be practical tools for a richer cross-cultural analysis as a mechanism which serves to broaden the learner's perspectives/viewpoints/opinions/feelings about a particular culture
13. let your learners be "cultural detectives", autonomous researchers and active participants
14. encourage comparing and contrasting, but pose challenging and more complex questions afterwards
15. set an example and strengthen students' skills such as tolerance for ambiguity, open-mindedness, empathy and adaptability.

6. Conclusion

The present results have highlighted the differences in the scope and complexity of cultural topics according to the proficiency and age level of the EFL learners. In terms of activating the pupils' pre-knowledge about the foreign culture, the first textbook offers some cultural content and activities which aim to do exactly that with the topics offered, but such approach is not necessarily applied to the cultural content outside the frame of the lesson's Culture Section. The second textbook

also introduces some cultural content which strives to motivate the student's pre-cognition about a particular culture. This approach is only furthered by the textbook activities, usually inter-connected in the sense that at least two contain meaningful links which instruct the student to work on their cultural competence in a chronological order. The third and the fourth textbook follow the same trajectory as their predecessors in the set, but in so doing, they target a specific audience and their cognitive abilities. The notion of pair or group work organisation is furthered in the latter textbook, as well as its emphasis on the progression from easier to more complex activities and outcomes.

In addressing the learners' attitudes towards their own or the foreign culture, the first and the second textbook both offer at least one activity which usually aims to motivate the individual to freely express their personal opinion about the issues discussed. The former textbook achieves this with at least one activity in the separate Culture Section, whereas the latter integrates it into the general lesson plan. The third and the fourth textbook follow this approach, but take it to another level by introducing various activities which activate the learners' intercultural comparisons and solidify them through exercises related to free or guided composition (in oral or written form).

When discussing theoretical terms, namely the classification of cultural elements into the Big C group and the little c group, the foci of the analysed textbooks both coincide and diverge in their notions. Cultural-related texts in the first textbook are in a separate section and usually revolve around the Big C group, while the cultural content outside this frame usually incorporates the little c elements of culture. The second textbook integrates the cultural subsections into the general activity framework, and it also focuses mostly on topics such as Family life, Education, Salaries, Media and Communication. The third textbook intentionally and predominantly targets Big C cultural elements, to encourage the learners to voice their opinions on texts related to politics, religion, public health, communication, scientific and technological advancements, environmental consciousness, and more. The fourth textbook generally targets the same age group by tackling issues such as politics, economy, the media and communication, occupation and education, but there is some space for their richer inclusion.

Unlike the previous theoretical notion in which the textbooks both diverge and converge, not much can be debated on whether the activities offered are helpful or not. All four textbooks do introduce a number of activities and cultural texts which aim to further the student's ICC, but the first two textbooks also somewhat lack in achieving what they initially set out to do, an approach which makes them more susceptible to more encompassing revisions at a later date. The third and the fourth textbook are intensely focused on extending the learner's previous knowledge of the topic and introducing new pieces of information in their cultural vocabulary. The content they offer allows the learner to compare this extended knowledge to their own culture, which leads to both a deeper understanding of the subject and

a level of progression in voicing one's personal opinions towards their own or a foreign culture.

Moreover, even though it can generally be concluded that the activities offered in all four textbooks are coherently and cohesively well-structured in terms of following the cultural content (textual and visual), there is always room for improvement. The static view of culture should be replaced and updated by supplementary materials which are easily accessible through media and the Internet. One example of how to further modernize the activities would be to introduce more interactive and intercultural situations, dialogues, role-plays, time capsules, or a virtual round the world trip. Cultural text-wise, as already emphasized while discussing several aspects of cultural dimensions, it is advisable to include more diverse historical backgrounds to enrich the learner's understanding of the existence of a profound number of cultures, as well as introduce more colourful cultural content (facts, views, entries, perspectives) for reference and comparison to either Anglo-American or the learner's respective culture. It is also advisable to tackle the issue of accents represented in the textbook's accompanying CD-ROMs, as it necessitates more diverse inclusion of regional and non-native accents, which would then primarily serve to heighten the learner's perception of all the accents related to communication via English language.

As a final note, it should be underscored that all stakeholders of education need to recognize the importance of carefully tailored textbooks which should raise intercultural awareness in a systematic way, promoting inquisitiveness and open-mindedness and embracing and celebrating all aspects of diversity.

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Sex and gender representation in translation: Unveiling the complications

Abstract: The paper discusses a number of difficulties connected with translating gendered vocabulary which, for the limited purpose of this discussion, is understood as either vocabulary that allows the translator to identify the sex of a referent or all other vocabulary that, in one way or another, relates to gender as a cultural concept. The presentation, based on students' translations as well as authentic examples from contemporary literature collected by the author, is primarily intended for translation trainees who frequently underestimate the problems they will one day be obliged to resolve in confrontation with this particular segment of the lexicon. Other than that, it may be of use to fellow translation instructors, especially those interested in authentic material that they could employ to illustrate how the two concepts, translation and gender, intersect. The illustrative material presented in the paper represents English and Polish. From this, it follows that it is pertinent to any discussion of rendering gender while translating from an analytic to an inflectional language. Its novelty resides in the fact that it showcases issues that are often ignored in current discussions of translation and gender, but are nevertheless important from the point of view of everyday translation practice.

Key words: sex, gender, translation, translation error, gender and culture

1. The enigma of a referent's sex

Rendering information on the sex of a fictional character should not be *that* complicated. After all, the only thing a translator from English will have to do is, first, decode this information from gendered lexemes (e.g., a female given name such as *Mary* or a female pronoun *she*) and, next, encode it in the target language by means of those linguistic elements that this language uses as indicators of gender.[1] A glimpse into

[1] I assumed that readers are familiar with the common senses of the terms *sex* and *gender* relevant for this study, namely sex as all biological attributes that allow for the classification of a newborn

the Polish translation of *Just One Look* by Harlan Coben reveals that such vocabulary may, however, cause problems. When the Polish translator was rendering the first two passages depicting one of the novel's minor characters, detective Indira Khariwalla. he employed a significant number of female verb (e.g. *był-a*$_{[F]}$; *pochodził-a*$_{[F]}$; Eng. 'was'; 'came'; p. 205) and adjective endings (e.g. *mał-a*$_{[F]}$; *szczupł-a*$_{[F]}$; Eng. 'small'; 'lean'; p. 205) as well as a number of feminine pronouns (*ona*; *jej*, Eng. 'she'; 'her', p. 278) that leave no doubt that this is a female character:

> Indira Khariwalla był**a** mał**a** i szczupł**a**. Jej ciemna skóra – gdyż, zgodnie z tym, co sugerowało nazwisko, pochodził**a** z Indii, a konkretnie z Bombaju – zaczęła już twardnieć i marszczyć się. Indira nadal był**a** atrakcyjn**a**, lecz nie tą kusicielską egzotyczną urodą jak kiedyś. (p. 205)

However, in a subsequent passage featuring this character, on page 330, the translator improperly declined a Polish adjective-noun combination, *prywatn-y*$_{[M]}$ *detektyw*$_{[M\ \&\ F]}$ (Eng. 'private detective'). Instead of using female endings (*prywatnej*$_{[F]}$ *detektyw*$_{[F]}$) that would identify Indira as a female detective, he used *prywatn-ego*$_{[M]}$ *detektyw-a*$_{[M]}$ that suggest a male character:

> Scott Duncan zbladł.
> – Co tu się dzieje, do diabła?
> – To proste, panie Duncan. – Perlmutter odwrócił się twarzą do niego. – Rocky Conwell pracował dla Indiry Khariwalli, prywatn**ego** detektyw**a**, któr**ego** pan wynajął. (p. 330)

Coben's novel is not the only example that Polish crime fiction fans could cite to demonstrate that rendering information concerning a character's sex may cause problems even for professional, experienced translators. An identical mistake concerning an incorrect allocation of a gendered ending has been spotted in the Polish translation of *Bad Luck and Trouble* by Lee Child. Though the female character, Frances Neagley, who figures prominently in the initial chapters of the novel, is consistently described in a way that identifies her as a female, when the reader comes across a scene in which Frances informs her partner that she has already ordered her assistant to try to obtain the listed phone numbers they need, the translator has used a masculine verb ending, *-em* (*zlecił-em*$_{[M]}$; Eng. 'I ordered'):

> – Nie masz numerów ich prywatnych telefonów? – zapytał.
> Mają zastrzeżone. Można się było tego spodziewać. Też mam zastrzeżony. Zdobycie tych numerów zlecił**em** asystentowi. W dzisiejszych czasach nie jest to takie proste. Komputery firm telefonicznych mają coraz lepsze zabezpieczania. (p. 42)

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as either a man or a woman and gender as the socially constructed roles/behaviours of women and men. That said, one may also come across sentences such as the one above in which the two are used interchangeably, and this also concerns scholarly literature (Torgrimson & Minson, 2005). Needless to say, the word *gender* also refers to one of the categories (masculine, feminine and neuter) into which words are divided in many languages. In the article all three senses are applied.

Lee Child's earlier novel from the Jack Reacher series, *The Visitor*, constitutes another example of how easy it is for a Polish translator to stumble upon (Polish) gendered endings that in this language mark a character as either a man or a woman. This particular novel features twenty eight fragments which present a mysterious narrator who often engages in internal, second-person monologues, evidently trying to reassure him- or herself that he or she has planned everything perfectly and, consequently, the police will never discover his or her identity. In 27 out of these 28 passages, the masculine verb and adjective endings (e.g., *-eś*, as in *zaplanował-eś*$_{[M]}$; Eng. 'you planned') imply that the narrator is a man. However, in the eighth fragment, which falls more or less in the middle of the book on page 224, a feminine verb ending *-aś* has been used (*A im bardziej myślisz, tym większą masz pewność, że tym razem czegoś nie zrobił-aś*$_{[F]}$!),[2] creating a passage that, as described by Brooks (2021, para. 1) could be evaluated as "at best, frustrating to read":

> Może tym razem coś ci umknęło? Zaczynasz się tego strasznie bać. Nabierasz pewności, Ze oczywiście, musiało umknąć. Myślisz, cały czas myślisz. A im bardziej myślisz, tym większą masz pewność, że tym razem czegoś nie zrobi**łaś**! (p. 224)

Alina Busila, an experienced translation trainer who, by her own admission, "had the opportunity to observe the most diverse and sophisticated translation mistakes made by students" (Busila, 2018, para. 1), offers a partial explanation concerning reasons for which translation errors of this kind occur. As she argues, although statistics claim that the average workload for translators is eight pages per day, it is also "well known that the reality exceeds the standard volume" (Busila, 2018, para. 8). Other factors that may also be at play include lack of proofreaders that the publishers may be unwilling to hire, making the correction of errors the sole responsibility of the translator. Genre considerations may also play a role, with lower standards used in the case of popular fiction as opposed to high literature. Consequently, audiences are presented with material that, when assessed in terms of the translator's performance, "reflects sloppiness [and] lack of respect for the reader" (Brooks, 2021, para. 1) and that certainly does not enhance his or her credibility.

Ignoring contextual clues is another common reason why gendered vocabulary may be rendered incorrectly. As classroom experience dictates, students tend to pay more attention to clues that precede a given lexical item, simultaneously failing to take note of those which come after it. An example provided by a colleague of mine illustrates this well. As he has told me, all groups he was teaching and which had to translate a short passage from Tess Gerritsen's novel *The Apprentice* notoriously mistranslated a sentence featuring the English noun *reporter* which they rendered by means of Polish *reporter-a*$_{[M]}$ instead of *reporter-ki*$_{[F]}$. The problematic

[2] The original passage reads as follows: "Maybe this time you forgot. You become terribly afraid about it. You become sure you forgot. You think hard. And the more you think about it, the more you're sure you didn't do it yourself."

fragment, which I decided to find for this article, occurs on page 25 of the original and reads *See*, *there was this asshole reporter who talked her way past me just a few minutes ago,* with the feminine pronoun *her* following the noun in question.[3] The case additionally shows what may happen when one tends to treat a sentence as a collection of words rather than a translation unit in its own right, to be read in its entirety before it gets translated.

Fortunately for human translators, machine translation tools such as Google Translate may also have problems with correctly rendering the sex of a referent. As demonstrated by Kaiser-Bril from AlgorithmWatch, such a danger concerns first and foremost vocabulary for notions that do not fit with stereotypes. To substantiate, while Google Translate reads the sex of the referent when primed with such stereotypically female occupational titles as, say, Polish *sprzątaczka* (Eng. 'cleaning lady', it stumbles upon professions in which the participation of women is still a relatively recent phenomenon. Consequently, it may render a German *vier Historikerinnen und Historiker* (Eng. 'four female and male historians') as a Spanish *cuatro historiadores* (Eng. four male historians). The tests conducted by Kaiser-Bril (2020) suggest quite strongly that translation trainees ought to be sensitized to such inadequacies, especially as the use of this and other translation tools has increased substantially.[4]

2. Trapped in a conundrum with no ideal solution

If we asked Anglophone readers to process the opening lines from Lee Child's *The Visitor*, and then checked with them who they see, in their mind's eye, while reading this fragment, chances are that their first, intuitive answer would be that the individual in question, the narrator, is a man. The opening passage contains, namely, a significant number of lexemes which most of us still associate with masculinity: references to money, stock markets, knowledge and power as well as to "masculine" sports such as football or baseball.[5] Polish students I gave this

[3] The fragment's Polish translation by Zygmunt Halka correctly presents this character as a female reporter: "To przez tę wścibską **reporterkę**, która tak się mądrzyła, że pozwoliłem jej przejść przed paroma minutami."

[4] Readers interested in research on gender-bias in machine translation may additionally use Farkas and Németh (2022). Translation trainers who are interested in more illustrative material that shows what gender-related difficulties may arise for translators switching between synthetic and analytic languages may turn to Nissen (2002) or Stroińska, Drzazga and Kurowska (2013). I am grateful to one of the reviewers for drawing my attention to these three sources and their other insightful comments.

[5] The fragment, which opens the novel, reads as follows: "People say that knowledge is power. The more knowledge, the more power. Suppose you knew the winning numbers for the lottery? All of them? Not guessed them, not dreamed them, but really knew them? What would you do? You would run to the store. You would mark those numbers on the play card. And you would win. Same for the stock market. Suppose you really knew what was going to go way up? You're not talking

English fragment to also fell for the masculine imagery, partly because of its universal character and partly due to the absence of gendered endings that would help them determine the sex of the referent.

Upon a moment of reflection, both English-speaking and Polish readers would, however, have to admit that the speaker could just as probably be a woman. After all, as they might reason, there *are* some women out there who are interested in football and who seem as obsessed with power and control as this mysterious narrator addressing them seems to be. When this individual next starts talking about his or her experiences with the police ("You know more than most people about how the cops work. You've seen them on duty, many times, sometimes close-up. You know what they look for."), there is also a fifty-fifty chance that it might be a female: readers know from experience that this occupational area is no longer reserved for men.

The subsequent twenty seven passages during which the mysterious narrator reappears would still not allow the English-speaking readers to form any decisive conclusions concerning his or her sexual identity. As commonly known, English lost most of its masculine/feminine/neuter distinction in Middle English, i.e. between 1100 and 1500 (Blake, 2008, p. 72).[6] Consequently, when the character is reassuring him- or herself that he or she has taken care of every detail by saying *you planned everything*, there is nothing in this utterance (or any other similar utterances, for that matter) that would allow the English reader to pronounce the character, with one hundred percent certainty, either a man or a woman. The same is true for other gender-opaque words, such as *man* or *he*, interspersed through these passages of various lengths: both, as commonly known, can be used generically, meaning that while processing these passages it is impossible to make any rational decisions concerning the sex of the referent.

Things are a bit different for the reader of the book's Polish translation. While processing the English prologue, the reader will find no indications of what the narrator's sex might be.[7] While reading passages in which the English verbs in the

about a hunch or a gut feeling. You're not talking about a trend or a percentage game or a whisper or a tip. You're talking about knowledge. Real, hard knowledge. Suppose you had it? What would you do? You would call your broker. You would buy. Then later you'd sell, and you'd be rich. Same for basketball, same for the horses, whatever. Football, hockey, next year's World Series, any kind of sports at all, if you could predict the future, you'd be home free. No question. Same for the Oscars, same for the Nobel prize, same for the first snowfall of winter. Same for anything."

[6] Trainees who need to refresh their knowledge of analytic and synthetic languages I am referring to in the Abstract may start with Crystal (1995, p. 293), who explains that these days English has only few inflectional endings which means that grammatical relationships must be "shown through the use of word order." In synthetic or inflectional languages such as Latin or Polish, the relationships are expressed by the use of inflectional endings which "express several grammatical meanings at once".

[7] When we go over the Polish translation of the prologue (p. 7) we can see that there are some masculine verb or adjective endings (e.g. *zgadywałeś*, *bogaty*), but here the narrator is addressing the reader, not talking about him- or herself: "Mówi się, że wiedza to potęga. Im więcej wiedzy,

present tense have been translated, the reader will, again, be witnessing successful attempts by the Polish translator to hide the individual's sexual identity, as in the Polish language present tense forms such as *widzisz* (Eng. 'you can see') refer to people of either sex. A problem arises when a translator has to render passages in which the narrator is addressing him- or herself and that contain past tense forms such as *you planned*, as at this moment it will have to be decided if they should be appended with masculine (e.g., *zaplanował-eś*) or feminine (*zaplanowała-aś*) endings. Adjectives pose a similar problem, the English *you are not stupid* translatable, depending on whether it is a man or a woman, as *nie jesteś głup-i* or *nie jesteś głup-ia*.

A translator into Polish is, thus, caught in a double bind between endings that will unequivocally mark the narrator as a man or a woman, with neither of the solutions being optimal. If feminine endings are chosen, the narrator's (true) identity will be revealed too soon. If, conversely, masculine endings are chosen, the narrator's identity will remain concealed till the very last scene, which is consistent with how the author has planned it.

The problem is that while using masculine endings, the translator has made the narrator, Julia Lamarr, talk like no woman would ever talk. Polish readers know that women who engage in internal monologues during which they are trying to convince themselves that they are not stupid will always say *nie jesteś głupia*$_{[F]}$ and not *nie jesteś głupi*$_{[M]}$. By the same token, if they want to reassure themselves by quietly repeating to themselves that they had planned everything, they will say *wszystko zaplanował-aś*$_{[F]}$ and not *wszystko zaplanował-eś*$_{[M]}$. Consequently, the masculine endings, if chosen, will give the Polish translator this uncomfortable feeling that all throughout the novel he is actually making this character talk in a highly unnatural way. Paraphrasing would not be a good solution either: the number of fragments containing English past tense forms or adjectives is so high that resorting to circumlocutions would produce an even more unnaturally sounding text.

Unfortunately, the difficulties connected with translating gendered vocabulary do not end here. In what follows, two additional sources of problems will be discussed, namely, the situation of a translator who knows that the translated fragment will never have the same associations for the target and the source reader and in section four, gendered vocabulary as an important element of a character's identity and the risks a novice translator faces when choosing the wrong variant.

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tym więcej potęgi. Załóżmy, że znasz wygrywające numery loterii. Tak, wszystkie. Ne zgadywał**eś**, nie przyśniły ci się, po prostu wiesz, które wygrają. Co robisz? Biegniesz zgrać, nie? Skreślasz je i, oczywiście, wygrywasz. To samo jeśli chodzi o akcje. Załóżmy, ze wiesz, co pójdzie w górę. Nie chodzi o przeczucie, o wewnętrzne przekonanie. Nie mówimy o trendach, procentach, plotkach, cynku. Nie, mówimy o wiedzy! Prawdziwej, solidnej wiedzy. Powiedzmy, że masz tą wiedzę. Jak ją wykorzystujesz? Czy to nie oczywiste? Dzwonisz do maklera. Kupujesz. Po jakimś czasie sprzedajesz i jesteś bogat**y**."

3. Translation, gender, culture

Translator trainees are typically told that, in order to translate well, one (minimally) needs to be conversant with the two languages as well as the culture in which a text has originated. Upon closer inspection, they eventually discover that this familiarity with the source culture may, in many cases, boil down to their ability to predict all possible associations the reader of the original may have. Having accomplished that, a translator faces a difficult decision. Knowing that words in translation will not connote the same thing for the target reader, he or she must decide whether and how much to explain or, conversely, leave unsaid, accepting the unavoidable, i.e. that, more often than not, it may not be possible to produce a true equivalent of the passage in question, a passage that will provide the source and the target reader with access to the same set of associations.

Gender-related vocabulary can, again, serve as a good illustration of this issue. When I asked a group of my English- and German-speaking friends (nine individuals altogether) to read a short passage from another novel by Lee Child, *Without Fail*, their conclusions concerning what is actually happening in this short dialogue were surprisingly uniform. However, when I gave the same passage to a group of 26 students I was teaching translation in the winter semester of 2022, their interpretation was also uniform, but differed significantly from what the first group of respondents has told me.

In the passage I used, a young Secret Service agent, M. E. Froelich, initially refuses to provide her superior, Stuyvesant, with a piece of information he requests.[8] She eventually changes her mind: Stuyvesant has reformulated his question, this time using a gender inclusive *person* instead of a generic *he*. The interpretation forwarded by my foreign interlocutors was that Froelich seems to be one of these progressive young American women who insist that their co-workers, irrespective of rank, avoid linguistic sexism. In turn, Polish students' interpretation referred to some unspecified procedures Froelich was probably obliged to follow and that require the agents to keep some information hidden even from their immediate superiors. Anyone who is familiar with this particular novel knows that it is the first interpretation that is correct. Froelich's "obsession" with inclusive language is depicted in a considerable number of passages in which she corrects her male and female interlocutors who, out of habit, use genera, and this obsession becomes her trademark, something she will be fondly remembered for by her friends and co-workers after she has been killed while on duty.

[8] The passage used reads as follows: "'I want an outsider to do it,' Froelich said. Stuyvesant […] ran his fingers along the spine and the adjacent edge […]. 'You think that's a good idea?' he asked. Froelich said nothing. 'I suppose you've got somebody in mind?' he asked. 'An excellent prospect.' 'Who?' Froelich shook her head. 'You should stay outside the loop,' she said. 'Better that way.' 'Was he recommended?' 'Or she.' Stuyvesant nodded again. The modern world. 'Was the person you have in mind recommended?'"

Experienced translator trainers who have been confronted with a similar inability on the part of their classes to correctly read the meaning of a passage in accordance with author's intentions, may be interested in one more example, which is indicative of the same pattern. This example, again from Lee Child's *Gone Tomorrow* features the protagonist of his series travelling on a New York subway. In the passage in question (p. 8), Child describes how the public became angry with the New York subway authorities on account of them having the emergency instructions read by male speakers, while all other information was recorded by female speakers.[9] While readers in countries in which attempts to remove linguistic sexism have been particularly intense for the past couple of decades (see e.g. Pauwels, 2003) do not require an explanation as to what was so controversial about this decision, readers of the translated versions who represent milieus in which ideas concerning the mutual relation between language and the continuing discrimination of women are still relatively unknown may fail to understand what the author is driving at. This in turn puts a translator before a difficult decision, namely whether to explain, e.g. by means of a footnote, passages whose interpretation requires knowledge that has become a firm element of the source society's collective identity or, conversely, withdraw, accepting the unavoidable losses that will occur.

While deciding on how much to leave unsaid, translators sometimes have to remember that references to cultural events that are easy to decipher for the source reader and mean nothing for the target reader may also constitute an important element of a person's characteristics. When the Polish translator of Tess Gerritsen's *The Apprentice* decided to omit the phrase *bra-burning shit* from the lines spoken by detective Vince Korsak, an important element of Korsak's identity became lost for the Polish reader.[10] The "original" Vince Korsak, thanks to this phrase, is depicted as man who has come of age before the 1968 Atlanta Miss America protest, which, as a historical event, became one of the catchphrases of the second-wave feminism. This in turn means that he has read about the protest in newspapers or watched it on television – historical evidence confirms that the movement garnered considerable media attention and, for days to come, was commented upon by virtually all media outlets across the United States. Readers of the original

[9] The original fragment reads as follows: "The car's number was 7622. […] I knew it could run two hundred thousand miles without major attention. I knew its automated announcement system gave instructions in a man's voice and information in a woman's, which was claimed to be a coincidence but was really because the transportation chiefs believed such a division of labour was psychologically compelling."

[10] In the original fragment the phrase is part of a short dialogue between Korsak and his partner, detective Jane Rizzoli, who is upset by the sexist remark Korsak has just made. The passage reads as follows: "Korsak laughed, snorting out a lungful of smoke. 'Any grown man who gets off powder-puffing dead ladies is gonna squeal like a girl, no matter what I do.' 'How, exactly, do girls squeal?' she countered in irritation. Kind of like boys do?''Aw, jeez. Don't give me that bra-burning shit. My daughter's always doing that. Then she runs out of money and comes whining to chauvinist-pig daddy for help.'"

can, consequently, wonder whether young Vince Korsak sympathised with the movement and try to identify factors that at one point made him incorporate the expression into his daily vocabulary. Readers of the Polish translation, in turn, encounter a Vince Korsak whose language is less picturesque and who becomes a bit flatter than he is in the fictional reality of the original. While omission as a strategy has, on many occasions, proved of considerable service to the translator, examples such as this show that there may be occasions in which one almost starts feeling sorry for a target reader who has been deprived of a chance to learn a story behind the omitted item that the source reader was able to decipher simply because of having been part of the reality the story stands for.

4. The risks of character dialogue that rings inauthentic

The last example that also shows how gendered vocabulary may be treated as an element of a character's identity is instructive in one more respect: a reminder that, while translating such words, one should not make a character say things they would never say in reality. The recent popularity of the so-called feminatives in Polish illustrates this well, so, before closing, let us briefly discuss this particular linguistic variant as one that does call for some reflection on the part of the translator.

The term *feminatives* is used in Polish linguistic literature (see, e.g., Łaziński, 2006; Małocha-Krupa, 2018) with reference to those occupational titles that acquired the feminine form. A (male) *lawyer* may be rendered by means of *adwokat*; a female lawyer either by means of (*pani*) *adwokat* or *adwokatka*. This puts a translator from English into Polish before a seemingly simple choice, *your lawyer has just called* being translatable either as *twoja adwokat*$_{[M \& F]}$ *dzwoniła* or *twoja adwokat-ka*$_{[F]}$ *dzwoniła*.

However, the choice becomes anything but simple when we consider that feminatives still raise considerable controversy among many Polish speakers. Many refuse to use them, treating them as a sign that one favours dangerous Western ideologies that threaten traditional family values, to say the least. Mindful of such facts, if a translator into Polish decided to use forms such as *psycholożka* or *socjolożka* (Eng. 'female psychologist/sociologist') while rendering utterances stemming from the aforementioned M. E. Froelich, such a choice would be consistent with what readers of *Without Fail* have learned about this character: a 35-year old woman, who has lived all her life in the U.S. and who has been primed into viewing sexist language as one of the reasons why gender discrimination still persists.

Would such a form sound equally well if a translator put it into the mouth of Froelich's superior, Stuyvesant who, while not a sexist, still uses, probably out of habit, linguistic forms that feminist linguistic activists claim should be removed from English? Would it sound genuine in the mouth of the aforementioned Vince

Korsak? Young Polish female translation trainees I teach frequently fall for this trap, assuming that if they use a feminative, they are somehow contributing towards the Polish language becoming more inclusive, but it seems obvious that while doing so, they may, simultaneously, be making the speaker sound more progressive that he or she actually is.

5. Concluding remarks

In the foregoing, I tried to show, particularly to young, still relatively inexperienced translators, that translating gendered vocabulary may cause problems they should remain aware of. Firstly, as demonstrated in the first section, even experienced translators can make mistakes while assigning sex to a referent. Second, the machine translation tools they are using are also, to a certain extent, blind to grammatical indicators of gender. Next, the texts to be translated sometimes force us to adopt solutions that, as we know from the start, are far from ideal. Thirdly, gendered vocabulary, like many other categories of words, may represent concepts that target readers are not familiar with, which raises a difficult question of how much intervention on the part of the translator is desirable, i.e. if steps should be taken to fill respective gaps in the target audience's knowledge. Finally, gendered vocabulary serves as a poignant reminder that, as noticed by the American linguist, Robin Lakoff, we are what we say, meaning that having been subject to considerable controversy among language users, it may contribute towards a false impression of the speaker (e.g., a fictional character), as when one makes him or her use a variant that their real-life counterpart would not have used.

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"It's not the lie that bothers me, it's the insult to my intelligence that I find offensive": An investigation into the use of lies and insults in political discourse during the 2024 UK General Election on the basis of the BBC 7-party debate

Abstract: In the mid 2010s political discourse was subject to a downward spiral as lies and insults have become prevalent firstly as a consequence of the Brexit Referendum in the UK and then the election of Donald Trump as President of the USA. This spiral in the UK theoretically came to an end with the demise of Boris Johnson as Prime Minister, and the return to 'grown up' politics promised by Rishi Sunak and Jeremy Hunt among others. Thus, the 2024 UK General Election seemed to offer the perfect opportunity to assess the extent to which the dishonesty and insult that characterised the populist Johnson's premiership had fallen out of fashion.

The paper analyses the BBC's seven-party debate, which took place on June 7th, 2024, using the methodology of political discourse analysis to investigate the extent to which representatives of the seven main parties competing in the election campaign were prepared to resort to lies and insult as part of their rhetorical arsenal. The results indicate that the Conservatives and Remain were particularly prone to the deployment of both lies and insults, but, somewhat surprisingly, the Scottish National Party were equally liable to slip in the odd embellishment of the truth.

Keywords: Political Discourse Analysis, lies, insult, 2024 UK General Election

1. Introduction

On 16 June, 2016, just seven days before the Brexit Referendum, MP Joe Cox was savagely murdered outside a library in Birstall, West Yorkshire, while campaigning to remain in the EU. Her murderer was a white-supremacist neo-

Nazi, Thomas Mair, who was allegedly emboldened by the level of hatred that had entered into mainstream political discourse during the referendum campaign. This campaign was blighted by acrimonious, spiteful and discriminatory claims made primarily by those campaigning for Brexit (Carr, et al., 2020).

On 6 January 2021 a mob of far-right activists stormed the Capitol building in Washington DC in order to disrupt the Congressional hearing which was in the process of confirming the results of the electoral college from the previous year's general election, and thus formalising the presidency of Joe Biden. At midday on that same day, Trump had addressed a crowd at the Ellipse park in central DC in which he said "[…] if you don't fight like hell, you're not going to have a country anymore." It was claimed during the subsequent Impeachment proceedings that Trump's language had been deliberately toned to incite the crowd to violent action, and that he had a history of using inflammatory language when making public pronouncements.

In an article of 24 January, 2021 the Washington Post Fact Checker published the final total of President Trump's alleged mistruths, uttered while in office. The total was a staggering 30,573 false or misleading claims made over the course of his four-year term of office (Washington Post, 24/01/2021). In his book, The Art of the Deal, Trump himself refers to this as 'truthful hyperbole', in which he claims he is prone to a justified exaggeration of facts for impact purposes. Regardless of the intention, we have entered an age of post-truth in political discourse in which lying has become a normalised tool of political discourse.

The above examples all help to strengthen the case for the continued detailed analysis of political discourse. With this in mind, the following paper has been written with the intention of analysing a single event from the 2024 UK General Election - The 7-party BBC Election Debate of June 7, 2024. The debate was one of the first significant televised campaign events held, featuring representatives of the main parties, both national and regional, and thus provides a fascinating opportunity to analyse the speech of representatives of all the main political parties in Britain.[1] It is intended to analyse two key aspect of the performance of each participant: the extent to which they lie and; the extent to which they attempt to be offensive towards other participants.

These aspects have been chosen specifically because they are a normalised part of the rhetoric - whether spoken or written, of President Trump and it is important to ascertain the extent to which they have become embedded in British political discourse. When an outlier such as Boris Johnson lied during the Party-gate Scandal, this was considered a reigning offence and he was thought to be an outlier. A general election campaign provides the perfect foundation for more detailed analysis of the

[1] No representatives of parties from Northern Ireland were invited to participate. Therefore, besides references to the UK General Election, I will stick to using Britain and British, which also reads a little easier.

broad section of political parties to determine the extent to which lying and insult have become standard weapons in the arsenal of the political rhetor.

The analysis is based on the core elements of Critical Discourse Analysis, more specifically Political Discourse Analysis, and Frame Analysis, especially its application in terms of News Discourse Analysis. The following paper has been divided into a brief overview of the relevant literature in order to provide a solid context for the research. This section also includes a presentation of the basic concepts of lying and insult in order to ensure consistency in analysis during the data collection stage. The following section provides a detailed description of the methods and procedures involved in the research. The third section details the results while the final section engages in a discussion of the significance of the results, along with recommendations for future research.

Ultimately, this work is intended to demonstrate the extent to which lying and insult have become common practice for UK politicians, and also the extent to which it may be possible to discern than some parties are more inclined to utilise such tools than others.

2. Methodology and research questions

The analysis leans heavily on the methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis, especially the brach pertaining to Political Discourse Analysis, as propounded by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), with its focus on argumentation and the legitimacy of utterances. However, the main aim of the article is not to analyse the strengths and validity of arguments put forward, rather the usage of lies and insults, and in order to allow a relatively objective investigation,[2] it is necessary to establish a clear definition of lie and insult that can be applied systematically from hereon in.

With lying, the simplest starting point is a classic dictionary definition, with the OED defining a lie as 'a false statement made with intent to deceive' (https://www.oed.com/search/dictionary/?scope=Entries&q=lie retrieved on 18 October, 2024). This simple definition does, however, contain two specific issues that must be addressed, the first of which being the question of intent. It is, of course, almost impossible to establish the intent of a speaker, as only they will truly understand the reasons why they say something, and also the extent to which they are pre-informed. It is, of course, entirely within the realms of plausibility that someone, especially a

[2] The issue of subjectivity in Discourse Analysis is well documented (see, for example, Glynos, et al, 2009; Gee, 2011; Van Dijk, 2015). However, it is also essential to accept the fact that a certain level of subjectivity is inevitable in any form of discourse analysis as the researcher is bound to apply their own knowledge of the world and preconceptions when conducting their investigation. Thus, I shall be adopting the position taken by Rey (2018) that subjectivity need not be an obstacle to the effective analysis of human processes, especially when it is recognised as such and steps are taken to mitigate effectively against this.

politician, who has been briefed in advance of an appearance, may not be aware that what they are saying is not accurate. This, after all, was the first line of defence adopted by Boris Johnson when defending his misleading of Parliament during the Party-gate scandal: he informed Parliament that his officials had advised him that no parties had taken place, and it was only when photographic evidence emerged to the contrary that he was forced into a contrite apology. The second issue is that this definition lacks nuance, and fails to take into account such practices as distortion, obfuscation or the deliberate misapplication of a context (Galasiński, 2018). We shall assume herewithin that such tools as misleading or distortion of the truth, whether deliberate or otherwise, are sufficient to 'disrupt the pursuit of the goal of inquiry' (Stokke, 2016: 83). Therefore, in the context of this study, a lie shall be assumed to be a statement containing information that is demonstrably either false, misleading, or used in a manner contrary to its original context.

Further, it is also necessary to differentiate between statements pertaining to past or present states of affairs and achievements, and future intentions. In this case it is possible to measure the accuracy of a statement pertaining to the present through confrontation with a verifiable source. When making claims about the future, however wild the claim may be, the veracity of the statement remains a matter of conjecture and, as a consequence, cannot be verified. So in the present work I will be treating a lie as a statements pertaining to the past or present that can be independently verified and, regardless of the potential intention of the speaker, has the potential to prevent a correct understanding of the actual state of affairs of a given topic.

One more area that will be considered as a lie is when the speaker, deliberately or otherwise, fails to provide at least a partial answer to the debate question posed, either from the audience member or the moderator. This tangentiality is a deliberate tactic in political discourse and is intended either to avoid answering a question directly for fear that the truthful answer is unpalatable, or to slip in a pre-prepared message that is part of the campaign narrative and, while having nothing in common with the thread of the question, will include a sound bite or other piece of information that is a part of the election narrative. In this case, as the decision to avoid directly answering a question is hardly accidental in nature, such obfuscation will be categorised as a lie.

Moving on to the second item of analysis, the insult, this shall be treated as suggested by Leong (2022) as a structure 'intended to generate backward-looking negative inferences from the decoder' (Leong, 2022: 1). It is important to note here that, especially in an age of extreme sensitivity, 'insults may be generated by any linguistic expression whatsoever' (Milić, 2018: 539). Therefore, it is important in this case to focus not so much on personal slights, which have the theoretical potential to insult any decoder, but rather on something that can be recognised objectively as an utterance intended to cause offence, while often being disguised as a part of normal speech (see Watt, et al., 2013 for a discussion of the use of insults in neutrally-worded utterances). In this case, I would like to return to the aforementioned position taken

by Milić, who suggests that 'a linguistic act counts as an insult only if it is recognised as demeaning when addressed at A [the target] by the standard of the relevant social group." (Milić, 2018: 548) In this case, it is possible to ascribe certain labels to a potential based upon accepted social norms, rather than rely purely on the intention of the speaker or the understanding of the decoder. It is also important to differentiate between insults and slanders, wherein the latter is an untruth intended to undermine or harm a reputation rather than generate the negative inference of the former. In this study slanders will be treated within the category of lies given their use to occlude or prevent the decoder from understanding the actual state of affairs. Another form of insult that will be included is an interruption, especially when it is intended to prevent the current speaker from delivering their intended message effectively. This is especially important in the debate under investigation herewithin as the BBC moderator makes it clear from the beginning that all participants should observe the norms of turn taking, and respect the other participants during respective rounds of turn taking. Even if the interjections were delivered more as humorous asides rather than determined efforts to take control of the discussion or derail the narrative of the speaker whose turn it was, the interruption will be included.

The debate was uploaded to YouTube on June 8, 2024, the day after the debate took place. It was selected for analysis because, unlike other televised events throughout the campaign, all major parties were represented by significant figures (see Table 1 for details). The debates was hosted and moderated by presenter and journalist Mishal Husain who, as well as ensuring that candidates were attentive to the norms of turn taking and being punctual with the length of their responses, was also being fed information by a backroom team of fact checkers and was tasked with calling out flagrant examples of dishonesty.

Table 1. Details of the debate participants

Party	Representative	Sex	Position	MP at time of debate
Conservative	Penny Mordaunt	F	Leader of the House of Commons	yes
Labour	Angela Rayner	F	Deputy Leader of the Labour Party	yes
Liberal Democrat	Daisy Cooper	F	Deputy Leader of the Liberal Democrats	yes
Scottish National Party	Stephen Flynn	M	Leader of the SNP in the House of Commons	yes
Reform UK	Nigel Farage	M	Party Leader	no
Plaid Cymru	Rhun ap Iorwerth	M	Party Leader	no
Greens	Carla Denyer	F	Party Co-Leader	No

The debate was transcribed,[3] verified for accuracy by rechecking and then subject to multiple readings in order to identify all potential insults and lies. On each

[3] The full transcript of the debate can be made available from the author upon reasonable request.

reading the results were compared and any discrepancies subject to verification. Any debatable utterances were subject to multiple analyses in order to determine their suitability for inclusion.

The research project has been conducted in order to address three main questions:

1. To what extent have lies and insults become normalised in British political discourse?
2. Is there a tendency for any particular parties to lie more than others?
3. Is there a tendency for any particular parties to resort more frequently to the use of insults?

3. Results and Discussion

The initial results have been tabulated for ease of analysis (see Table 2).

Table 2. Total number or utterances recorded per party

Party	Lies	Oblique response	Insults	No of times target of insult	Interruptions made	No of times interrupted
Conservative	15	5	13	26	15	5
Labour	3	3	5	15	3	18
Liberal Democrat	1	2	3	1	2	1
Scottish National Party	9	3	11	1	6	4
Reform UK	6	2	12	11	7	7
Plaid Cymru	3	3	9	2	5	2
Greens	1	4	5	2	2	3
TOTAL	38	22	58	58	40	40

The levels of dishonesty varied from candidate to candidate, with Mordaunt being the most prolific liar, making false or misleading claims on 15 occasions and not answering the question directly on a further 5 occasions. The next most dishonest was Flynn, who lied on 9 occasions and avoided a direct answer to the question on three occasions. The final place on the podium was reserved for Farage, who lied 6 times and twice provided an answer that had nothing to do with the question posed. The remaining four candidates lied sporadically, with Denyer being particularly guilty of oblique responses, providing four in total.

When it comes to levelling insults at other candidates, again, Mordaunt was the most abrasive participant, using 13 during the course of the debate. Second was Farage with 12 insults and third was Flynn with 11. Iorwerth was also liberal with his use of insults, clocking up 9 during the course of the debate. In terms of the target, again, Mordaunt was the most insulted, either directly or as the

representative of the Conservatives with 26 insults being levelled against her during the debate, The second popular target was Rayner and the Labour Party, being insulted 15 times and Farage and Reform UK were third with 11. The remaining participants managed to avoid the majority of flack, being insulted only once or twice throughout the debate.

The least courteous debater was Mordaunt, who interrupted other speakers on 15 occasions, with Farage coming second in this metric on 7 interruptions, while Flynn attempted six times to speak out of turn. On one occasion Flynn attempted to justify his interjection as a necessary right of reply, and this utterance has duly been removed from consideration. Interestingly, Rayner was the most targeted speaker, being interrupted a total of 18 times, while Farage was interrupted 7 times and Mordaunt 5 times.

When it comes to an analysis of the lies told by the participants, the majority were pre-prepared statistics which had clearly been prepared to wound a specific party. In the case of Penny Mordaunt, she used an attack line against Labour that their manifesto pledges would cause the average household tax bill to rise by £2,000 per year. This line had first been wheeled out two days previously by Rishi Sunak (the Prime Minister) in a head-to-head debate with Leader of the Opposition Kier Starmer. The claim, amplified by Mordaunt on five separate occasions, was purportedly calculated by Treasury Officials. This was not the case and one day before the 7-way debate the Treasury had issued a statement refuting Conservative claims. Furthermore, the Institute for Fiscal Studies had also issued a statement indicating that the methodology of the Conservative party was flawed and that the real cost of the Labour manifesto was likely to be significantly lower. Despite this background, Mordaunt wheeled out the claim, most notably in a question about how each of the parties proposed to bring about substantive change for the common people. After making a number of fallacious claims about recent Conservative economic achievements (higher growth than the USA and lower inflation rates than the Euro Zone),[4] Mordaunt went on the attack and stated boldly that "We have got to cut taxes and we have got to alleviate burdens on business. Angela Rayner and the Labour Party, Kier Starmer confirmed this earlier this week, they are going to put up your taxes by £2,000. Yes, £2,000 per working household." Despite Rayner attempting to interject, shouting twice in the background that Mordaunt was lying, Mordaunt states the figure twice more before the moderator intervenes to point out the questionable basis of the statistics. What is fascinating about this particular incident is that after Husein's interjection, Mordaunt states brazenly that "I am standing by that figure. It's the Treasury's costings and Labour's own numbers.'

[4] US GDP grew by an average of 3.5% between August 2021 and May 2024, while the UK economy grew by just 2.1% over the same period according to data provided by the International Monetary Fund and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. In terms of inflation, both the Eurozone and the UK had inflation figures of 2.4% for the month of May 2024, failing to support the notion of outperformance.

This tactic is reminiscent of the claim made by Vote Leave during the Brexit Referendum that leaving the Eu would allow the UK Government to spend £350m per week on the NHS as a Brexit dividend. This figure was widely refuted but, once the claim was made, the figure stuck and regardless of its veracity, the public were inclined to believe it. The Conservative claim was similarly disingenuous, but it was clear that the tactic, having worked well previously, was worth repeating.

It was not only Mordaunt, however, who was to make such a baseless claim and present it as gospel truth. Flynn made a statement about the fact that Labour were preparing £18bn in public spending cuts which they were failing to make public for fear of alienating voters. This claim was made on four occasions (as well as an even more exaggerated claim about £40bn of cuts), but no attempt was made to substantiate this claim. Investigation into the potential source of this claim by BBC Verify indicated that while Labour may be obliged to cut some public services to allow increased spending in other areas (most notably the NHS, Social Care and Defence), there was no way of determining a concrete figure, which is what Flynn attempted to do when discussing a number of issues. Flynn, during a question on whether it was better to drive economic growth or invest in a green economy, made a further claim that Labour's plans to close down the Oil and Gas sectors would cost Scotland 100,000 jobs in the short term. This was an interesting claim as an investigation conducted by Robert Gordon University in 2023 stated that over the course of the decade from 2025-2035, the total UK workforce in this sector would suffer from a 17% decline in the worst-case scenario as resources began to dwindle and alternate sources of energy came online (Energy Transition Institute, 2023). The motivation for Flynn to make such attacks was the worrying polling data that suggested his party, SNP, losing a significant number of seats to Labour in the election, potentially relegating them to the second party in Scotland. Thus, by discrediting his rival, Flynn was hopeful to ward off this threat.

Farage was also prone to the amplification of spurious information, especially on his main topic of interest, immigration. During a question on this topic he made the claim that 50% of all visa applications to the UK were the dependants of people applying for work or student visas. Data from the UK Home Office indicated that in 2023 there were a total of 1.3 million visas granted for collective work, study and family dependants, of which 81,000 were the latter. This gives a total of 7% of all visas granted for residency purposes, a figure far lower than Farage's claim.

During his pitch on immigration, Farage made a claim that rents have risen by between 20 and 30% over the previous four years, and that such rises are a direct result of immigration, a statement that Carla Denyer immediately indicated was dishonest. This utterance, however, demonstrates the difficulty of investigating lies in political speech. While there were significant inflationary pressures between 2021 and the end of 2023, there is also another distinct factor which should be taken into consideration. During the same three-year period the number of new houses completed in the UK was just under 500,000. At the same time, net migration figures

stood at almost 3,000,000 this means there were six migrants entering the UK for every new home built, and a major driver of inflation is low supply. In this instance, while the migration figures may not be directly causal as Government policy was to cap the number of new houses to ensure a buoyant property market, it is difficult not to see that the increase demand caused by a large increase in the population would not have exacerbated the inflation caused by already low supply. Thus, in this case, the statement by Farage, despite being labelled as a lie by Denyer, is not included in our figures here as it cannot be proven to be detached from the truth.

One of the most oblique answers was actually given by Rayner, who, when asked to talk about how to control migration, decided to discuss the Conservative's initiative to ship illegal migrants to Rwanda. While the scheme had attracted significant press coverage since it was first mooted in 2022 by then Prime Minister, Boris Johnson. It had not actually led to a single successful deportation flight but was still being touted by Sunak as a flagship policy to stop illegal boats crossing the English Channel. This problem, however, was not the focus of the question as the questioner was asking about how to bring down levels of legal migration, which were thought to be placing an intolerable strain on public services. The likely reason for Rayner's obfuscation here was that the Labour Party did not have a concrete plan to deal with migration as they felt it was essential for the British economy not to cap the number of migrants to allow the government to maintain low labour costs in sectors such as social care for the elderly.

The most offensive speaker was Mordaunt, whose primary target was Rayner and Labour, who she referred to on a number of occasions either as 'she' or 'that lot'. The term 'she' may not be superficially offensive, but can be implied as an offence when the object is in the room as it indicates that the person is present, but not a part of the conversation and is thus a form of belittlement. 'That lot' is also disparaging, and disrespectful in terms of referring to a recognised and respected organisation - such as the Labour Party. Flynn was the only speaker to directly insult a fellow participant in an explicit fashion, referring to Farage as 'the snake-oil salesman who delivered Brexit. Farage was the most creative insulter, coming up with 'Blair without the flair' to refer to Starmer and 'Rishi Slippery Sunak' to refer to the Prime Minister. The most controversial offence uttered by Farage was also aimed at the Prime Minister. During the first question connected with the topic of national defence, the debate came round to the scandal caused by the PM leaving the 80th anniversary celebrations of the Normandy Landings in 1944, and the offence this had caused, especially to veterans. Farage stated that 'If his [Sunak's] instinct was the same as the British people, he would never have contemplated for a moment not being there for the big international ceremony and it shows how disconnected he is with the people of this country.' This utterance was immediately seized upon as racist (Sunak is of Indian heritage) by Conservative commentators, and that Farage was seeking to use divisive politics to create tension and hostility towards the Conservatives because of the ethnicity of their leader.

One offensive term that was rejected was the word Tory as a synonym of Conservative. Even though its etymological roots derive from a slang Irish term for a highwayman, and was used pejoratively for much of the 19th century. However, in current political reporting, Tory is often used by the press as a shorthand form for Conservative, and is Sven used by the Conservatives themselves, for example the branding of the annual Tory Party Conference. As a consequence, even if the tone of the speaker may have implied a certain level of hostility towards the Conservatives, as was frequently the case when Flynn was speaking, it has not been included because the term has undergone a clearly ameliorative shift.

Finally, it is clear that the Conservatives were the prime target, with either Mordaunt or her party being insulted on 26 occasions. This is primarily because, as the incumbent party, the other participants were clear to undermine the Conservative's position of authority. Labour were also a significant target, although this was frequently Mordaunt trying to tarnish her main rival. What is interesting here is that Mordaunt did not engage Farage in a bout of goading and disparagement. This would be explained best as a part of the Conservative policy during the campaign of trying to avoid legitimising Reform UK by including them in the debate. It was felt that the best way to deal with the threat to vote share posed by Farage was to ignore him, thus denying him the opportunity to gain traction with the public.

4. Conclusions

This paper was prepared as part of a broader study into current trends in political communication. Its main focus was to investigate levels of dishonesty and insult in Political speech in the context of the UK General Election of 2024. During the 90 minute televised debate there were a total of 38 clear lies uttered by the seven candidates, with the Conservatives being the most dishonest. There were a further 22 oblique responses to questions, which were more evenly distributed among the seven participants, such is the nature of political discourse that it is more important to get a specific message across than it is to directly answer a question. The least dishonest participants were Denyer and Cooper with one lie each, although the Liberal Democrat was less prone to obfuscation. This means that there were a total of 50 dishonest acts during the course of the debate, which is a depressingly high figure given that politicians are supposed to set the tone for the public to follow. There were 58 insults deployed in total, with a further 40 clear interjections (a further five were made off camera with it being impossible to identify the speaker). Again, it was Mordaunt who was the most frequent insulter, although she was closely followed by Flynn and Farage. Barring Farage's slight against the Prime Minister, none of the insults were shocking or aggressive in nature, although it is still worrying that politicians, through their attempts to undermine their opponents, can be seen to legitimise such behaviour.

Overall, the findings indicate that political speech, especially during an election campaign when every word uttered is subject to great scrutiny, is prone to debasement through the excessive use of lies and insults. This study, admittedly, only focusses on a single hustings event, and thus general conclusions should not be drawn. It is important to compare this debate with others throughout the campaign, and from previous campaigns, to start to generate a clearer understanding of patterns and trends, and to determine the extent to which this debate is an outlier, or represents the norm. Also, it would be of great interest to confront the results of an investigation into British political speech with those from other nations to compare general levels of honesty and integrity across the global political spectrum. Finally, and somewhat romantically, it would be ideal if such research could help to moderate the tone of political debates, which would be possible if the general field could gain traction and consequent amplification.

Ultimately, bearing in mind the old English cliche about only children and fools telling the truth, it would appear that the seven politicians on display in the BBC 7-party debate were neither.

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