flame

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The confinements of 'metaphor' – Putting functionality and meaning before definition in the case of metaphor

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Abstract: In recent research, metaphor is increasingly confronted in terms of a cline rather than a dichotomy. Yet the decision of whether a word or phrase is metaphoric is not as straightforward as a one-level cline suggests. The notion of 'metaphoric meaning' has further reaching implications on our language understanding and use than is commonly discussed. Metaphor is often subjective and dependent on changes in language specific to time period, genre, environment of the speakers or writers, and context. Furthermore personal experience and judgment are crucial factors in addressing and understanding meaning, whether metaphoric or literal. Approaching metaphor from a lexical stance, this research project adopts the psychological theory of lexical priming (Hoey 2005) as a way of explaining the collective linguistic patternings and associations within metaphor. The data is taken from a corpus of Nineteenth Century writings and focuses upon the single item *flame*. The focus is on a qualitative analysis of problematic cases of metaphor, which are not easily identifiable or characterized through collective primings. The research concludes that the functionality of 'metaphor' as an umbrella term is often too restrictive. Moreover the research serves to illustrate that the perspective on lexical metaphor should be re-focused on to the individual language user and the social processes that dominate our ever-changing use of language and meaning.

Keywords: Corpus linguistics, lexical priming, lexicography, metaphor, semantics.

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to bring to light an issue that is commonly overlooked within lexical metaphor research, concerning the extent to which we are able to effectively identify and define metaphor collectively. Research to-date often plays down the importance of the society and the individual involved in understanding and interpreting metaphor; and more critically, underestimates the changeable nature of language and more specifically word meaning. From a lexical approach to metaphor, the decision of whether a word or phrase is metaphoric is often subjective and dependent on changes in language specific to time period, genre of the text, environment of the speakers or writers, or context. This premise questions 'metaphoricity' as a static and universally agreed concept. More generally, a dichotomic yes/no criterion for metaphor ignores the lexical subtleties involved in interpreting meaning and the ways in which an individual encounters language. Despite the introduction of a cline theory within metaphor research (the view that stronger and weaker metaphors exist), disagreement still persists amongst scholars, surrounding the effectiveness of confining the complex and multi-layered meaning of a word or phrase to a single layered scale, or umbrella-term of 'metaphoricity'.

The ideas for this paper began as a development from the author's thesis on metaphor and the Lexical Priming theory, but the issue of metaphor identification has since come to manifest itself through a set of central questions. Firstly, and generally, what does it mean for language to be classed as 'metaphoric'? Secondly, from a linguistic standpoint, where do the metaphoric characteristics lie within language? And thirdly and specifically crucial to this paper, what does the term 'metaphor' make of the lexical items which sit somewhere in the middle – perhaps not recognizably metaphoric, but not unanimously literal in their meaning either? By answering each of these three questions in turn, the aim is to discuss the larger issue of metaphoricity as a concept, and whether it is effective a term for the language it defines, or rather, confines. Here the exacting nature of terminology will be tested against the awkward fuzziness of meaning, use, and functionality of language.

Research article

The paper will firstly discuss some key concerns with identifying and defining metaphor, particularly brought to light through corpus-based approaches. The intention is to illustrate how real-world data can benefit our stance towards metaphor identification, by exposing the fuzzy and multi-layered aspects, often hidden behind the clear and unambiguous examples drawn upon so often in research articles. Secondly the paper will introduce Hoey's (2005) Lexical Priming theory as an explanation for the psychological motivation behind our understanding of language and our ability to use language *meaningfully* within a given context. The theory takes into account the fluidity of meaning over time, situation, community and genre, and will be applied as a method of analysis for identifying problematic metaphor. Thirdly and finally, the paper will present a corpus study of the word *flame* to illustrate the prevalence of 'fuzzy' or 'problematic' metaphoricity in real-world data, and accordingly expose the problems theorists must address in identifying characteristics of metaphor.

2.   What does it mean for language to be classed as 'metaphoric'? – Manifestations of metaphoricity in language

It is not the intention of this paper to enter into the philosophical nature of what a metaphor is or does within the language, but instead to focus upon the term linguistic 'metaphoricity' and what it means of the language specifically when a word or phrase is said to express metaphoricity. This section will outline the issues involving the umbrella term 'metaphoricty', namely in relation to semantics, grammar, and pragmatic meaning. Examples will be provided from a corpus of *flame* concordance lines. The data will be introduced in detail in the data analysis sections 3 and 4.

Part of a metaphor's inherent quality is that it overrides some major semantic and sometimes grammatical relationship. This is a main feature of 'creative' language, which "inheres in the degrees to which language use departs or deviates from expected patterns of language and thus defamiliarises the reader" (Carter 2004: 58). This notion of deviance remains central to a linguistic analysis of metaphor (Philip 2011; Hanks 2013). Leech (2008) stresses that these deviations from the accepted code in literature are unique and meaningful rather than "unmotivated aberrations"; describing them as a "semantic absurdity" (Leech 2008: 16). Thus in literature, metaphors are analysed as creative and purposeful deviations from the normal conventions of language, with the aim of creating effects upon the reader. These effects will vary in intention and purpose. Remaining in the realms of literature for a short time, the intentions of a writer using a metaphor can only be assessed if we recognize and identify the metaphor at work. Metaphoricity can be subtle in form, and not always recognizable to a reader. This may be intentional on the part of the writer in order to exploit an image or a theme. It may also be unintentional and have no impact on the understanding of the text at its most basic level. Both of these will be discussed below. Potential metaphoricity is not simply a case of a lack of understanding or a sense of ambiguity that can always be overlooked; potential or problematic metaphoricity can itself provide clues as to the linguistic nature of metaphor as a phenomenon. Below, examples are provided of potential metaphoric problems and/or ambiguity presented through a range of linguistic forms, highlighting their potential effects of purposes.

Steen (2007) states that metaphors are considered "a form of linguistic deviation at the semantic level which are used to create foregrounding effects" (Steen 2007: 87). The semantic level is altered through a variety of linguistic forms, most notably lexis and grammar. In relation to lexis, the first example below highlights the significant consideration of lexical items (bundles) as a phenomenon, when addressing metaphoric meaning:

(1)   …the firing did not cease, to set the town **in a flame**, and cut the women and children in

pieces.[1]

In this example, the metaphoricity is subtle as a result of our expectations of language norms. The conventionality of the phrase *to set (...) in a flame* allows us to recognise the meaning within its position in the larger context above, but not necessarily to recognise the fact that it is metaphoric. If broken down and understood as individual units, the phrase would develop an incongruent meaning (*to set the town inside a flame). This is not what happens because the three individual items *in a flame*, are instead taken as a single lexical item (*cf.* Sinclair 1991). When used alongside the collocational phrase *to set*, thus forming the colligation *to set* + object + *in a flame*), the phrase is acquires a non-compositional meaning different to that assigned by the combination of the three *individual* words.

The decision to identify and label the lines as 'potentially metaphoric' however, carries forward a few problems: not least it draws upon an important distinction expressed in the work of Sinclair (who would claim the phrase as a single lexical item, *cf.* Sinclair 1991), and conversely, metaphor theorists such as Pragglejazz (MIP, MIPVU) who claim that each word in a given text can be tested for metaphoricity (within that particular text and context), based on a criterion involving a contrast and dependency between that individual use and a more salient or common meaning of that given word (*cf.* Steen 2010). To illustrate, within this example *in a flame* obtains its meaning from its identity as part of a larger phrase, which to break down, would be to lose the intended meaning (to be on fire) and purpose. Thus the argument posed is this: if the example were to be taken as metaphoric, it would mean disregarding the notion of the lexical item, as the words would be treated as the same, whether forming part of a larger phrase, or analysed in isolation. This is an important consideration within the lexical analysis of metaphor and serves to illustrate the extent to which different theoretical approaches can impinge on our decision on metaphoricity. Another factor important here is frequency. The conventionality of the phrase above could lead the reader or hearer to assume that the meaning they have arrived at (the correct meaning), is the only one on offer, due to their expectation or familiarity of the phrase within the particular context, with specific collocates, or within that colligational structure, and crucially, not class it in any way as metaphoric .

Additionally, metaphoricity displayed through a semantic deviation can be used to create a sense of purposeful ambiguity on the part of the writer/speaker. This is illustrated in the example below:

(2)   The long-smouldering dissensions between the Northern and Southern States of the American Union at last **broke into flame**, and war was declared between them, in 1861. The burning question of slavery was undoubtedly at the bottom of this contest.

The phrase describes a conflict between the Northern and Southern states of America, but more literally it describes *dissension* being set *on fire*. The incongruency of an abstract concept taking part in a physical act immediately signals the presence of a metaphor. Further, the use of the singular *flame* suggests a general, abstract state (conflict) rather than a physical, concrete occurrence of fire (i.e. multiple flames). Metaphorically, *broke into flame* is describing the tumult between the groups of citizens, which inevitably turned into civil war. In this respect, the instance could be surely attributed to the clear metaphoric group of data: the phrase *broke into flame* could be replaced with the less metaphoric phrase *turned into a fight*. However there is more inferred here, which creates a sense ambiguity. The notion of war implies a fiery conflict, with the use of guns, cannons and other fire–making artillery. Thus an element of literality is maintained in the

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1   Examples all taken from corpus data introduced in section 3.

reference to the nations being on fire (i.e. breaking into flames). Additionally, the nearby inclusion of *burning question* and *long-smouldering* provide a semantic relation with the metaphoric image of a nation burning, physically. Consequently, these larger semantic associations help to maintain and strengthen the image, creating textual cohesion on a semantic level. The phrase could be determined as more metaphoric than literal, but the point made here is that there is not necessarily a right or wrong, or even yes or no answer to the question of metaphoricity. The above example shows that by suggesting both literal and metaphorical elements at work, the phrase creates a stronger, perhaps more memorable image: it has a literal and real-world relationship with the image of war. This may be an ambiguity created purposefully on the part of the writer for a particular effect. Finally, no less important than the writer's intentions is the reader's interpretation of a phrase. This example brings to light the importance of interpreting clues of metaphoricty within the surrounding context as much as the single instance in question.

Secondly, grammar can also play a role in the expression of metaphor. Halliday's concept 'grammatical metaphor' identifies metaphoricity in the traditional systemic functional approach to metaphor. Whereas lexical metaphor relates to the various ways in which a particular word or item is used, within a given context, grammatical metaphor involves "comparing different ways of expressing the 'same' meaning" (Thompson 2004: 221). This means that, whilst the meaning is essentially the same, the way of structuring it, is incongruent with what would be expected. An example is shown below whereby a material process stands in for the more congruent or expected relational process:

(3)   ...his eyes were scattering fiery sparks; sulphurous **flame stood** in his mouth, he was frightfully feather-clad...

In this example, the flame is being described as doing something physical (i.e. standing in the mouth), which constitutes a MATERIAL process (*cf.* Halliday 1971). As an inanimate object, a flame would more congruently be described as being present or existing in the mouth (a RELATIONAL process), rather than carrying out an action. It is, after all, inanimate. The effect is that the phrase appears more dynamic in its description, suggesting a physical presence of a flame within the mouth. Grammatical metaphor is often discussed only within a systemic functional approach to grammar, but its effect is also relevant to a lexical-based approach to metaphor, as the semantic meaning of the language is dependent on the form. Although many theorists do not identify grammatical metaphor in the same 'umbrella' as lexical metaphor, a functional approach to metaphor, and language in general, assumes that it is not possible to separate meaning from expression. Indeed, Thompson states, "the choice of a more metaphorical wording construes a different meaning from the choice of a more congruent wording" (Thompson 2004: 223). Whilst this article will not analyse grammatical metaphor in the data, the consideration of an emergence of metaphoricity through grammatical processes is one of importance in the discussion of metaphoricity and meaning.

Developing on from these structural manifestations of metaphoricity, the concept metaphor is also heavily dependent on both our judgment of meaning (personal exposure through priming, audience, context etc.) and the ways in which a word or phrase is itself capable of expressing meaning. This is where the concept metaphoricity becomes more abstract in manner. Philip (2011) claims that this acceptance for individual experience is necessary for our understanding of meaning, because a major part, of our understanding of some figurative phrases, comes from the notion of 'secondary meaning'. This term 'secondary meaning' is often more abstract or less well defined. It relates to the abstract levels of semantic relationships, such as prosody (Sinclair 1991), connotation (Philip 2011), and pragmatic association (Hoey 2005).

Below, the fourth example serves as an illustration of how pragmatic factors play a part in the

interpretation of even more obvious forms of metaphoricity:

(4)   …and while one part of the company is employed **feeding** the **flame**, the others drive all the cattle in the neighbourhood.

The metaphoricity again lies in the choice of animate associations with the flame. Here, however, there is another layer of interpretation in the meaning. In order to feed a flame, at the very least the flame must have some form of digestive system, it must be able to take in nutrients and then convert them to energy. This is not the case with *flame*: it is inanimate and thus the metaphoricity is created from *feed* used in conjunction with *flame*. Goatly (1997: 86) claims of metaphoric verbs "that they can indirectly evoke imagery but only by being hooked up to their conventional colligates – we cannot imagine kicking without imagining a foot". Thus it is the conventional and non-metaphoric meaning of the verb or adjective, and in particular their collocational relationship with humans or animate beings/objects, which creates the metaphoricity when used alongside an object like a flame. However, there is an ambiguity in how the meaning is derived and what that meaning is, which demonstrates the pragmatic nature involved in the interpretation of meaning. Depending on the individual reader, there are two processes happening to aid our understanding. The first is that the reader extends their understanding of *feed* to accommodate non-animate objects, and thus *flame* can be understood in this way, or, the reader extends their definition of *flame,* by assigning it a level of animacy, whereby a flame can be *fed*, or *nurtured*, or *nourished* (also found in the data). The way in which the reader or listener interprets the metaphoricity is not important at this point. Instead, it is key to acknowledge that there are two pragmatically different understandings of the phrase, and whether conscious of their own choice or not, readers decisions have the ability to colour their outlook in terms of metaphoricity.

The acknowledgment that "some meaning is unobservable and exists in the minds of language users" is something that Philip (2011: 10) claims as fundamental to the understanding of figurative phraseology, including metaphor. Amongst other such language, metaphor "generates multiple layers of meaning" (Philip 2011: 4), precisely through its ability to manifest itself in a range of linguistic characteristics. It is these 'multiple layers of meaning' and expected linguistic patterns, both those exploited and maintained, which facilitate the ambiguity (intentional or not) of the linguistic parameters operating within single metaphorical phrases that linguists have trouble labeling under the single concept of 'metaphor'. The trouble begins in trying to establish methods for identification of metaphorical language based on a set of fixed criteria.

An interesting approach to the discussion of meaning is Hanks' (2004) use of the term *meaning potential* (taken from Halliday 1971). The term is applied to the potential of words to contribute appropriately to the meaningfulness of an utterance, but Hanks (2004) goes on to extend this to mean that "although the likely interpretation of most conventional patterns of words will be indistinguishable from a certainty, it is not an absolute. There are no literal meanings, only varying degrees of probability" (Hanks 2004: 247). Both Hanks and Philip agree that it is a co-existence of semantic and pragmatic features that allows metaphoric language its flexibility in behaviour and definition.

3.   Where do the metaphoric characteristics lie within language?
3.1.   Patterns and tendencies in metaphor
Alongside the multiple layers of metaphoricity, lexicographers and metaphor theorists must contend with the notion of conventionality, and the extent to which metaphors are used within language. The notion of metaphoric language as a deviation or exploitation from some form of linguistic norm (Hanks 2013) remains one of central importance. Both Hanks (2004) and Hoey (2005) talk of tendencies and patterns within language use, which help us to recognize and understand meaning on

a range of levels. These patterns are manifest in grammar and lexis, but also in more secondary aspects, such as semantic association and prosody or connotation (as we saw earlier with metaphoricity). Moreover, it is these patterns or tendencies which give rise to meaning in language. These patterns involve a wider prevalence than structured rules: they are unwritten norms (Hanks 2004) or primings (Hoey 2005), encountered psychologically, and created through repetition. These norms are dependent upon a community, genre, and time, and have the ability to change.

In order to address the question of linguistic characteristics of metaphor and where they lie in the language, the theory of Lexical Priming must first be introduced. The theory explores the relationships between lexical items and grammatical patterns and argues for a psychological association of such patterns that prime the reader/listener into understanding them. According to the theory, a word is learnt through our encounters with it in speech and writing, which in turn loads it with the cumulative effects of those encounters. As a result it becomes part of our knowledge of that word that it co-occurs with other words. When we acquire a lexical item, it becomes primed for collocation, grammatical category, semantic, textual and pragmatic associations and, according to Hoey (2005), it is not properly acquired unless it has this priming. Presence of these patterns or tendencies forms our knowledge of a particular word or phrase and subsequently determines how we go on to use that word or phrase in other contexts. In support of the theory, Hoey (2005: 13) puts forward ten priming hypotheses. In summary, the hypotheses state that every word is primed to occur with other words, semantic sets, pragmatic functions and grammatical positions. Words are also primed for use in one or more grammatical roles and to participate in or avoid particular cohesive, semantic, textual or pragmatic relations. Most important to this research, Hoey claims that naturalness depends on a speaker or writer's desire to conform to the primings of the words they use (2005: 2-5).

The theory of priming has been adopted within this research, in order to expose the extent of linguistic patternings found within a range of metaphors, with the aim of highlighting the scope of 'metaphoricity' found in language. Metaphoric language, as with any other figurative or non-figurative language, has conventional and non-conventional instances. The conventional, and often-used instances are those which will have stronger primings and thus are more recognizable to a reader or listener, within the context and environment in which they are used. In contrast, types of language which are less often used, will not have such strong patternings or tendencies and thus be more flexible in how they are used.

3.2. Introduction to the study

An analysis of clear metaphors and clear non-metaphors using the word *flame* showed evidence of primings (collocational, colligational, textual and semantic association), specific to each group (Patterson 2014). The results suggested strong tendencies or preferences for particular grammatical structures, collocates, semantic associations and even pragmatic associations. These results in turn suggest evidence of primings, which the language user, conscious or unconscious, will take into consideration in forming and using metaphors consisting of the item *flame*. The research supported not only the lexical priming theory, but also the idea that the strongest metaphors (those well signaled or often used), are linguistically different from literal counterparts using the same word(s). These signals are what allow a reader or hearer to interpret something as metaphoric. Metaphoric patterns were evident in the form of colligations (e.g. frequent use *the flame* + *of* + abstract noun), collocations (e.g. *old flame*), and semantic and pragmatic associations (semantic patterns such as the recurrent depiction of movement or action of the flame, and prosody in the form of the recurrent use of *flame* to depict a human feeling, emotion or energy, often passionate or extreme). The results supported the idea that metaphoricity is recognized (at an unconscious level) linguistically through primings and recurring patterns, however the analysis did not bring to light any information about the instances of metaphoricity which are problematic or which people remain unsure of whether to

classify or label as such. Thus the remaining section of this article will detail a study into the evidence of linguistic patternings within such 'potential' metaphoricity. The aim is to show that whilst there is evidence that primings exist in the stronger and clearly identified metaphors and non-metaphors, the middle and 'unsure' group is much more problematic in its collective linguistic identity.

4. What does the term 'metaphor' make of the phrases and lexical items which sit somewhere along the middle? – A corpus study of flame

4.1. The corpus and methodology

The data has been taken from an exhaustive list of concordance lines from a corpus of 19th Century British writing. Within the corpus, there are five hundred texts in total, with a running token size of 47,241,536. The texts differ in author, length and genre. Roughly half of the token size is made up of fiction and half of non-fiction (consisting of journals, manuals, periodicals and historical accounts). The total number of concordance lines for the word *flame* amount to 1265. Firstly, any similes or repeated lines were removed from the data, bringing the total to 993 lines. These lines were then given to a random selection of five non-specialist readers who were asked to place each line in one of three categories, depending on their personal judgment: the first category if they were fully confident that *flame* was being used in a metaphoric sense, the second if they are confident *flame* was not being used in a metaphoric sense, and the third category for any unsure or disputed instances. Where there is discrepancy between the individuals, the instance has been placed directly in the 'unsure' group (henceforth Group Y). The criteria for group Y was based on three central factors: a problem of ambiguity in classification; a certain degree of conventionality within the phrase, which may make the metaphoricity difficult for a reader to identify; or a general uncertainty amongst the readers and the researcher of whether an instance displays metaphoricity. The aim of the wider research project will be to eventually analyse the linguistic characteristics of this middle 'mixed-bag' group, in relation to the clear sets of metaphors and non-metaphors, in order to determine whether aspects of a cline or various clines are present within this data. For the purposes of this paper however, the focus is only on the behaviour of *flame* classed as ambiguous (Group Y), to bring to light the problems with metaphor identification and definitions. To reiterate, the Group Y instances are those that have not been unanimously identified as metaphoric or literal by the group of readers. The concordance instances for unanimously identified metaphors amount to 336 lines (33.84 % of the data) and for unanimously identified non-metaphors 478 lines or 48.14 % of the total data. Group Y (the data to be analysed) amounted to 179 lines of data. This is outlined in the table below:

Table 1: Distributuion of *flame* concordance lines based on reader results.

Group	No of *flame* concordance lines	% of total data
Metaphoric	336	33.84
Non-metaphoric	478	48.14
Group Y	179	18.03
Total Lines	**993**	**100.00**

Although the data size is small for a full quantitative analysis, the results will determine if patterns are visible and if so, will motivate a further, in-depth study of potential problematic metaphoricity.

3.2. Frequent clusters

In order to explore any potentially common or shared patterns occurring within this group of data, the initial step is to explore the most frequent clusters found within the dataset. These are IN A

FLAME and A BRIGHT FLAME. Out of the 179 lines of data, there are eight instances of IN A FLAME, making up almost 5% of the total concordance lines. A BRIGHT FLAME only occurs five times within the data and may not provide a particularly representative analysis of the group as a whole. The instances of IN A FLAME are listed below:

Figure 1: All instances of top frequent cluster IN A FLAME within Group Y data

The screenshot shows some similarities between instances. Firstly, lines 1-3 all refer to the similar image of a city, a town, or more abstractly a nation being on fire. In these lines IN A FLAME has the same meaning, which is that of burning or being alight. Line 2 has perhaps a more extended meaning, as it refers to gunfire causing the town's fire. Whether IN A FLAME is a metaphor of the mayhem caused by the shooting, or actual fire engulfing the town as an effect of the shooting, remains unclear. Suffice to say, regardless of the level of abstractness, lines 1-3 display a similar semantic association through shared lexis. Line 4 differs because of the presence of the verb *acting* that precedes the cluster. This creates a different grammatical structure and the metaphoric meaning, is created through the notion of animacy assigned to the sparks (the sparks are acting IN A FLAME). Despite this the larger meaning of the line is also that of a city on fire.

Lines 5 and 6 differ, but both make reference to the verb *vanish* (*he vanished*). More co-text reveals that line 5 refers to a person disappearing from sight, and line 6 to a spirit disappearing. The former is taken as more metaphoric as the phrase implies a sense of speed in the characters disappearance. The latter however could be taken literally (*he vanished away in a flame of fire*), based on the assumption that the event is an apparition or an imagined vision from the phrase '*I can't 'xactly swear to that myself*'. Line 7 stands alone in that it depicts the flames of a sunset (*sun setting* IN A FLAME *of gold*). This is a prominent recurrence within the Group Y data, and will be discussed as a common semantic group later in the chapter. For now, it is of importance to note that the instance is more metaphoric than the others as there are no actual flames visibly present (semantic extension). Finally, line 8 also holds the same basic meaning as the rest: that of being on fire (here it is the mountains of Arabia). The line has been taken from Edward Young's nine-part poem *Night-Thoughts*, and is made up of the poet's musings on death. The co-text surrounding the above line details Young explaining how his praise of God is *more fragrant* than all of Arabia's spice fields. The phrase IN A FLAME is used as a form of exaggeration of the strength and power of the spices, and is thus largely metaphoric- the fields are described as so rich with fiery spices, that they are alight. This example is the most metaphoric of all uses of the lexical item.

The findings should be briefly discussed in relation to the other datasets 1 and 2 (metaphoric and non-metaphoric):

Table 2: Rank and frequency of the cluster IN A FLAME across all three groups of concordance lines

Group	Cluster Rank	Cluster Frequency	Total lines in group	% Of concordance lines
Group Y	1	8	179	4.47
Metaphoric	6	8	336	2.38
Non-metaphoric	24	6	478	1.26

The table above shows the distribution of the cluster IN A FLAME, once all *flame* concordance data has been assigned to one of the three groups. Firstly, the cluster is ranked as the sixth most frequent in the clear metaphoric group and appears eight times in the 336 lines. In the non-metaphors it is ranked the twenty-forth most frequent and occurs six times in the 478 lines. Thus the lexical item appears to be used most often in the middle group, and secondly the metaphoric group. This illustrates a more metaphoric tendency in the nature of the item, or the language used around it, which directly relates to *flame*.

The table below shows large differences in the clear metaphoric instances of IN A FLAME, compared with the unclear group (Y):

Figure 2: All instances of IN A FLAME within the metaphoric group data

9. ". The laddies 'at's maist ill to get sometimes gangs up in a FLAME a' at aince, like a bit o' paper."" ""Ay, weel, at ony rate Jamie"

10. "uriously to and fro--'the rest of devils! My blood was in a FLAME; and rage, hate, despair, blew the consuming fire by turns. "

11. "pictures. I flounced from room to room, with my face in a FLAME, and the people all staring at me. I came to myself again, I "

12. "ad, but the bare mention of the girl seemed to set me in a FLAME. I tried to turn Armadale's attention in the direction of the "

13. "-water bottles, cigar-boxes, and what not. ""I went off in a FLAME of fire last night,"" says the Colonel, ""and being cooled th"

14. "flew through me. I started to my feet, with my temper in a FLAME, reckless of all consequences, desperate enough to say any"

15. "an interpretation which set the University and Church in a FLAME. The cry, almost the shriek, arose that it was a new test, and "

16. ""Be quiet, William!"" interrupted Lady Isabel, her face in a FLAME. ""Two great slaps upon her cheeks,"" continued the young "

In contrast to the multiple references of towns/cities on fire in Group Y, there is only one example referring to physical location (*University and Church* in line 15). The metaphoric *flame* here refers to a conflict between the two institutions. The remaining lines can be categorized in a singe semantic group: there are two instances of a face being in a flame (line 11), one of blood (line 10), one of temper (line 14), and two of people (*laddies* in line 9 and *me* in line 12). Moreover, each of these lines has a similar meaning: in each of these instances, the phrase conveys strong emotion: anger in lines 10, 13, 14 and 16; hot-headed passion in line 9; and embarrassment in lines 11 and 12). There are other semantically associated items within close proximity to the clusters (note line 10 in particular). In summary, the literal interpretation of the lines depicts a person, or part of a person (emotion or body part) being IN A FLAME. This in turn reflects an expression of anger, embarrassment, or in one instance passion, in the metaphoric interpretation.

In conclusion, it appears that IN A FLAME, whilst not specific to this middle Group Y data, is a lexical item which most often either forms a part of a clear metaphoric phrase to convey anger or strong emotion of a person, or, is used more frequently in a less metaphoric sense (Group Y) to depict a community (abstract or physical) on fire. It must be noted that there is present a varying degree of metaphoricity involved: with meanings ranging from a concrete fire to a more metaphoric representation of emotion such as unrest, or a semantic extension in the sunset example. The poetic embellishment of the spice fields in Arabia is an exception to this and instead uses a clear metaphor as a form of exaggerated comparison.

The cluster A BRIGHT FLAME appears five times out of 179 lines of Group Y data and makes up 2.79% of the data. Though it is also a frequent cluster in the non-metaphoric set, it is only ranked fifteenth and occurs just three times out of 478 (representing only 0.61% of the data). First, the instances within Group Y are shown below:

Figure 3: All instances of A BRIGHT FLAME within the Group Y data

17. "we had thus ridden about half an hour perhaps, when a bright FLAME about a mile distant, as the crow flies, shot suddenly fort"

18. "ord, and the sun lost that dulness on its disk and took a bright FLAME, and threw golden arrows everywhere; and the pastures w "

19. "knife, and rushing towards Alizon. But at this moment a bright FLAME shot up from the beacon. Astonishment and terror seized "

20. "d the candle sink into that cavernous depth, and from a bright FLAME turn into a little twinkling star, and then to a mere point"

21. "I to us to make haste,"" said the Corporal, pointing to a bright FLAME which suddenly shot up on the shore of the lough. ""Put "

Of these instances, there is a shared ambiguity as to whether the flame resembles fire or more generally light. This can at times be eliminated by reference to more co-text, for instance line 17 refers clearly to a house on fire in the distance and line 20 describes the light of a candle in a well. Therefore these are both non-metaphoric and could be removed from Group Y on this basis. However, line 17 details the flame as shooting forth, and line 20 describes the flame as turning into a twinkling flame. These could both be treated as metaphoric actions. Line 18 provides another reference to sunlight, which, as has been mentioned, expresses a form of semantic extension rather than direct metaphor. The image here however, of a bright flame throwing golden arrows, of course introduces another element of metaphoricity (a light cannot throw things). This would be a criterion for identifying the line as metaphoric. *Throw* will be discussed in relation to the level of animacy it implies later in the chapter. Finally, the meanings behind lines 19 and 21 remain somewhat uncertain. Line 19 refers to a flame on the near horizon seen by fearful witches, '*by whose light could be seen men on horseback heeding towards the place of meeting*'. This suggests the torchlights of those men, which would be flames of some form. Line 21 is less clear and describes a flame shooting out of the lough and seen from a boat. This could most likely be a flare in the sky – whether this could unanimously be referred to non-metaphorically as a flame is contentious. The description of the flame shooting up (in both line 19 and line 21) could arguably be seen as a separate lexical item, and thus its metaphoricity would have to be determined from the surrounding language. These decisions, such as identifying lexical items and interpreting 'universal' meanings, pose problems with identifying and labeling metaphoricity and will be discussed in the next section.

Finally a brief comparison can be drawn with the same cluster appearing in the non-metaphoric data:

Figure 4: All instances of A BRIGHT FLAME within the non-metaphoric dataset

22. "grees of Fate, till Babalatchi fanned it again into a bright FLAME. Babalatchi had blundered upon the river while in search of a "

23. " from them the power of sight, except to observe a bright FLAME burning in the middle of the room. Tom darted forward, and"

24. "en, emitting, during the process, intense heat and a bright FLAME. Zinc, too, when similarly acted on, will ignite in the common"

Each of these instances refers to a physical flame: a camp-fire (line 22), a candle (line 23) and the flame of a burning element in a scientific procedure (line 24). There is no ambiguity or uncertainty, neither is there any potential metaphoricity in relation to the flame, or the behaviour or action of the flame or how it has been described. The extent to which the cluster has separate associations and

separate meanings in its non-metaphoric sense, in comparison to the rather scattered and varied uses in Group Y is indeterminate. In some Group Y instances, the only marked difference in behaviour of the cluster is the inclusion of a lexical item conveying animacy e.g. *shooting up* or *throwing*. Thus as the sometimes only marked feature between Group Y and non-metaphoric instances of *flame*, animacy should subsequently be dealt with in this analysis.

4.3. Animacy
This observation of the flame's animacy, or more generally, how the flame's behaviour has been linguistically described by a writer, is perhaps of more importance as a marker of comparison between Group Y and the more clearly defined datasets. The analysis of clusters did not reveal any characteristic of Group Y as a whole, partly because the clusters still only represent a small number of the group. A more suitable approach would be to consider the starker differences in the behaviour of the *flame,* in comparison to the other datasets. By way of a rider before moving forward, this word *behaviour* is in itself a metaphor for the writer's description of the action of the flame. Behaviour brings to mind a notion of animacy not typically associated with a physical flame and it is this notion of animacy which brings forth an important consideration in identifying metaphoricty. A brief glance at the concordance lines illustrates the variety of verbs and adjectives describing or modifying *flame* in an ambiguously animate manner; often this is a deciding factor in placing the instance in Group Y. Moreover, the overwhelming frequency of animacy within immediate co-text of this group is something to justify a discussion on it, particularly in comparison to the other groups.

Some items (as will be shown in the tables below) may be considered more metaphoric than others when associated with *flame*, for instance, *lurking*, and *shivering* may seem more metaphoric when describing a flame than *mighty* does. Cameron (1999) provides the example LOVE IS A CRYSTAL as a stronger metaphoric concept than LOVE IS AN ENTITY, however this is presumably based on the degree of specificity as well as the level of abstraction. A second just as important consideration is the fact that some of the items used in association with *flame* could be described as more animate than others, or indeed more commonly associated with animate beings; for instance *sickly*, *naked*, and *trembling* appear singularly associated with people or animals whilst *raging* can be used non-ambiguously to describe things like fire and oceans.[2] Further, these two factors (strength of metaphoricity and strength of animacy) can, but do not necessarily correlate. An instance associated unequivocally with living things is the ability to die; yet a *never-dying flame* may appear to some to be less metaphoric than a *writhing flame*[3] (which may bring to mind a more active process of physical, animalistic suffering). The reason may simply lie with conventionality, and the fact that we commonly see or hear the word *flame* described as *dying*, but not as often *writhing*. However, as a handful of metaphor scholars have claimed in the most recent wave of lexical metaphor research, conventionality does not *always* correlate to the strength of a metaphor (by strength is meant both the cline theory, but also the reader hearer's decision of whether what they hear/read is a metaphor, and to what extent there is agreement). Finally, important to note is the formation of lexical items, whereby the association of items, due to conventionality, becomes seen as one singular item. In such cases, the new item may be regarded only as non-metaphoric, as was shown earlier with the item IN A FLAME, which is non-analysable in terms of its literal components.

It could be argued then that there are degrees of animacy involved with items associated with the behaviour of living beings. Sometimes there is a form of extension at work, where a word usually assigned only to an animate object or being, comes to be used with non-animate objects. An example would be mighty, whereby the word does not necessarily indicate physical or intentional

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2   BNC searches for both *fire* and *ocean*
3   BNC data

might (such as a building or object). Thus a *mighty sword* would not be classed by everybody as metaphoric, as the might has been transferred from the person to the object used by the person, or implied by the association of the object alongside a person of mighty strength. Perhaps a *mighty moment*[4] may be seen by more readers as metaphoric, because of the abstract form of a moment. Independent from this, amongst the items that do form a metaphor when used alongside certain non-animate items, there exists a conventionality (usually as an effect of frequent association). Some of these may become lexical items through strong association, but others may not, and thus often remain metaphors to many people.

These are difficult factors to grapple with in relation to metaphor. Corpus studies approach the topic in the most suitable manner, looking at what happens in real world language, but as can be seen from above, exceptions appear to overshadow the landscape, revealing that identifying metaphor, or indeed accepting metaphoricity as a singular concept involves addressing many complex issues. The following analysis of animate terms used in relation to a non-animate flame is an attempt at grappling with the subjectivity and changing nature of word meaning in relation to metaphor identification.

4.3.1. Animate adjectives

The first discussion will outline the types of adjectives used alongside *flame*, whereby there is some form of animacy attached to their usual meaning. As mentioned, these vary in strength of animacy and metaphoricity. At times, definitions from the OED will be drawn upon to aid the decision of whether there is metaphoricity present in the cluster found in the data:

Figure 5: List of animate adjectives associated with *flame* in Group Y

Adjective
approaching, avenging (x2), awful, cheerful, consuming, devouring, dying, fierce (x2), fitful, darting, keen, leaping, lurking, mighty, naked, never dying, raging, + FLAME ready, shivering, solitary, sickly, subtle, trembling, with'ring, writhing

The items can be subdivided into smaller semantic groups. Firstly, the largest semantic group is related to sickness (*dying*, *fitful*, *shivering*, *sickly*, *trembling*, *writhing*). *Never-dying* could also be seen here in juxtaposition to *dying*. Secondly there are those that are human or animal behaviours (*avenging*, *consuming*, *lurking*, *approaching*, *darting*, *leaping*, *writhing*[5]). With the exception of *consuming* and perhaps *avenging*, these are all associated with physical movement. Thirdly, there are items attributed to human emotions, attributes or animalistic traits (*fierce*, *keen*, *mighty*, *ready*[6] *subtle*). It is perhaps this group of words that remains most problematic in terms of assigning metaphoricity.

Three terms can be removed from the data entirely, based on analysis of the adjectives modifying *flame* - primarily but nevertheless problematically, based on dictionary definitions and recorded etymology. These are *cheerful*, *awful*, and *solitary*. What follows is a brief account of each of these. According to the OED, the primary meaning of *cheerful* is attributed to people only, but a second meaning does refer to a transfer of meaning to things or objects. This sense is not stated as figurative here. Interesting to note however is that the OED examples only include abstract notions e.g. *a cheerful hour* and not concrete objects. A search of *awful* attributes three main meanings to

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4   Nineteenth Century corpus data
5   *Writhing* can be placed in two categories based on its alternative meanings of either tortuous pain or a twisting and turning movement.
6   *Ready* has a figurative meaning in the OED attributed to an object or thing 'likely or liable to do something'.

the term: to cause dread; worthy of commanding respect or fear; or solemnly impressive / sublimely majestic. None of these uses appears to regard only animate or intentional objects and thus a literal meaning could also be assigned to an *awful flame*. *Terrible* is similarly defined.

Finally, the item *solitary* allows occasion for a brief discussion on diachronic change. *Solitary* has six main meanings in the OED, with the first and most common meaning referring to the absence of society or companionship of a person. A subdivision of this primary meaning states '*standing alone or by itself*', suggesting a broader encompassment of non-living things. Similarly to *cheerful* however, this extended sense only refers, in examples at least, to abstract concepts (e.g. *solitary conjecture* in 1750; *solitary argument* in 1806). Only in 1899, under a separate meaning "single, separate, not multiple" is there a reference to a concrete, non-abstract object (*a solitary bundle*). It may be noteworthy to observe that each of these four lexical items move to an extended abstract sense before being assigned to concrete objects for which the meaning has been extended, at least in the examples provided. This is a factor worth exploring: if a pattern is revealed it could contribute to the identification process of potential metaphors (i.e. those along the middle of the cline). A final point about *solitary* is that there is also a separate meaning attributed specifically to plant life (e.g. *Plants of this kind are called solitary*). Aside from this potential reference, *with'ring* appears to be the only clear adjective in the list above also assigned to plant life.

Alternatively, if one focuses on the prosodic elements, a large number of the adjectives can be grouped based on a common sense of communicating terror, whilst still retaining a sense of animacy (*avenging*, *awful*, *consuming*, *devouring*, *fierce*, *lurking*, *raging*). There are two instances of both *avenging* and *fierce*, together making up over a third of all the above items describing flames. Below are provided the instances of *avenging* and *devouring* to illustrate their prosody in relation to the co-text:

Figure 6: Instances of AVENGING *flame* in Group Y data

25. " the thunderbolt, or directing the devouring and avenging FLAME!" Bless me, Copperfield!'- and then entered on the pe"

26. " the thunderbolt, or directing the devouring and avenging FLAME in any quarter, I may be permitted to observe, in passi"

Figure 7: Instances of DEVOURING *flame* in Group Y data

27. "sp her sinking frame, When with the quickness of devouring FLAME, A furious wolf from out the bordering wood With eyes "

28. "nd the shrieks of death, that wildly broke Through devouring FLAME and smothering smoke, Made the warrior's heart-blood"

Curiously, the parts of the line preceding *flame* in the first two instances are identical. However, the sources are different as is the remainder of the line after *flame*. Thus they can only be treated as coincidental. Disregarding this similarity, *devouring* is also present in all four lines, as are other prosodic elements including *furious*, *smothering*, *wildly* and *shrieks of death*. *Thunderbolt*, *sinking* and *quickness* also have the potential meanings to be included in this group of threatening terror. Furthermore, line 27 refers to behaviour of a wild animal and line 28's reference to a warrior also conjures up images of hunting and animalistic behaviours.

In summary, the adjectives fall into two main groups: sickness, and human/animal behaviour linked largely to movement. Further, the majority of all the adjectives can be attributed a sense of prosody: that of communicating terror or threat. Thus there is a sense of foreboding or threatening. This was shown in the surrounding co-text to *devouring* in particular. Finally, and perhaps just as interesting a result from this analysis, is that five lines of Group Y data could be removed and clearly identified as non-metaphors based on an exploration into the recording of word senses. Often, the decision of metaphoricity comes down to the records we have (i.e. dictionaries) of a word's usage with a particular meaning, or in a certain lexical combination. It seems to be suggested that meanings in the adjectives above have often been extended over time, through a process which

moves from animate association to abstract non-animate association, before moving to concrete objects, which would qualify *flame*. Interesting as this is, it does not answer the question of when we treat that change in meaning as an extension, and at what point it becomes metaphoric.

4.3.2. Animate verbs

The second lexical group expressing a degree of animacy alongside *flame* is verbs. The data can be grouped into two categories: where something being done to the *flame* (usually the verb precedes *flame*); where the *flame* is doing the action (usually the verb follows *flame*). The former group will be dealt with first:

Figure 8: List of animate verbs where *flame* is the object
in Group Y data (all shown in the infinitive)

Verb		
excite, feed (x2), grow, nourish, revive	+	(THE/A) FLAME

There are six different verbs and eight total instances of these verbs being used alongside *flame* in this colligation. A brief glance down the page shows that there are much fewer instances of such verbs preceding than following *flame*. A reason for this is that the research is only focusing on the metaphoricity of *flame* itself. Thus were other nouns are involved (i.e. those functioning as the subject in the above colligations), a decision needs to be made on the nature of the relationship between items and where in particular the metaphoricity is created. This is a problematic procedure and will be discussed in turn.

Whilst *excite* is associated with living beings through a level of consciousness, *feed*, *grow*, *nourish* and *revive* are more associated with the basic forms of life. These are shown below in their surrounding co-text:

Figure 9: Instances of feed, grown, nourish revive used alongside *flame* in Group Y data

29. "rced, and a quantity of scantlings and battens soon fed the FLAME. Everything indeed that could stimulate the fire was em"

30. "hoes or superannuated garments in their hands to feed the FLAME; for it was esteemed needful that every villager shoul"

31. "nt. To their astonishment, at that moment the wood grew a FLAME, and a hot rolling fire led on the advancing Buccaneer"

32. "lit flammas, grandior aura necat_ (A gentle wind nourishes FLAME, a stronger, extinguishes), the words, _grandior necat_ "

33. "nly smouldering, and only a breath is needed to revive the FLAME. Every Protestant I saw, and all the intelligent and enlig"

In each of these instances the flame is treated as a living being or object through the action being done to it. These lines also stand in contrast to the semantic group of illness or sickness associated with a proportion of the adjectives in the last section. Interestingly, these verbs invoke a sense of restoration. In each case, the flame is shown as a positive and desired occurrence. As mentioned, the verb *excite* implies a level of consciousness on the part of the flame, and thus could be considered a higher order or category of animate verb. The prosody of restoration could however, be extended to include *excite*, as it implies a positive renewal of the heat (in this case) of the flame:

(5)   …nozzle the bellows; covering the whole with coke, and then exciting the FLAME by
       blowing. This mode of operating produced somewhat better results…

In terms of the pragmatic implications, there are often cases where our understanding of the

meaning of lexical items (in this case the verb and the object noun *flame*) alters the nature of the metaphoricity, or more importantly, where the metaphoricity lies. Understanding meanings takes place on the level of the individual as well as the shared linguistic community, and our exposure and use of language dictates our understanding or knowledge of a lexical item. This understanding is taken from Hoey's (2005) sense and refers to colligation, collocation, semantic, textual and pragmatic associations. Keeping within a pragmatic context, we can illustrate this idea with example 6 (line 30 from above):

(6)   '…All held old shoes or superannuated garments in their hands to feed the FLAME; for it was esteemed needful that every villager should contribute something…'

Here, a Celtic rite is described, whereby a bonfire is to be kept burning as an offering.[7] The fire, or *flame*, is depicted as something sacred, which needs to be maintained, or *fed*. As mentioned within the initial examples of metaphoricity (see section 2), the interpretation of such a phrase depends upon pragmatic factors at the individual level of interpretation. The way in which the reader or listener interprets the metaphoricity is not important at this point. Instead, it is key to acknowledge that there are two pragmatically different understandings of the phrase, and whether conscious of their own choice or not, readers decisions have the ability to colour their outlook in terms of metaphoricity. An ambiguity exists here, which demonstrates crucially the idea that we have our own individual primings, intricately linked to our own personal use and exposure to language. Identifying grey-area metaphoricity within a cline means it is necessary to acknowledge that such subjectivity in meaning exists.

Secondly, the verbs following *flame* will be discussed. In these cases the flame functions as the subject carrying out the action. Verbs in this colligation with a degree of animacy are shown below:

Figure 10: List of animate verbs where *flame* is the subject in Group Y data (all shown in the infinitive)

		Verb
(THE/A) FLAME	+	announce, approach, bury, catch (x2), consume, dart, devour, die out, express, essay, expire (x4), fall (x4), favour, grow, leap, leap up (x2), lick, mingle, mount, pirouette, pour, rage and roar, rise, shoot across, shoot out, shoot overhead, shoot up (x9), shoot upward, sink, spring, spring up, stand, stream, stretch itself, struggle, throw (x3)

This list is much longer than the former and introduces further problems in identifying the potential metaphoricity of *flame*. A large number of the verbs can be assigned to a category involving movement (*approach*, *catch*, *dart*, *fall*, *grow*, *leap*, *leap up*, *mount*, *pirouette*, *rise*, *shoot across*, *shoot forth*, *shoot out*, *shoot overhead*, *shoot up*, *shoot upward*, *sink*, *spring*, *spring up*, *stream*, *stretch itself throw*). With the exception of *fall,* and *pirouette,* all of the others express movement upwards or forwards. The second largest category could be assigned to those referring to human or animal behaviour or expression: *announce*, *bury*, *essay*, *express*, *favour*, *mingle*, *rage and roar*, *stretch itself*, *struggle*, and *throw*. These are all behaviours or expressions only attributed in their literal sense to living beings, to a stronger or weaker degree of sentience. *Expire* and *die out* could also be grouped here, in the most basic sense of living beings and objects. Finally, the remaining

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7   Taken from *The Dove in The Eagle's Nest*, Charlotte Yonge.

three verbs could be grouped separately within a category of animal/human behaviour associated with eating: *consume*, *devour*, and *lick*.

Most frequent but most problematic within the table is the verb *to shoot* (13 out of 54 or 24.07 % of the above instances). Moreover, the verb often combines to form a larger lexical item. All instances of *to shoot* are detailed below:

Figure 11: All instances of *flame* + TO SHOOT in group Y data

With regards to the instances above, there are certain patterns in behaviour. Regardless of the larger lexical item involving *to shoot*, the meaning in each instance is always similar, referring to the increase in intensity of the flame. Nine of the twelve instances include *up* or *upwards* as a part of the phrase, giving the meaning of the flame rising upwards. The remaining three instances include *across*, *out*, and *overhead* to form lexical items. *Overhead* carries a similar meaning to *upward*, *across* and *out*, which suggest a movement of the flame, whilst expressing an increase in intensity or power. Seven of the instances of *flame + to shoot* have adjective or noun modifiers relating to the heat or light: *bright* x2, *brilliant*, *hot rush of*, *bright flash of*, *clear red*, *exceeding white*. There is also the colligational pattern *of + flame + to shoot* involving five of the twelve instances. More important perhaps, is the fact that each of the instances above is literal in their reference to the actions of a concrete, non-metaphoric flame. It is the animacy of *shoot* alone, which has projected them into Group Y. Thus, according to the data here, the colligation *flame + to shoot* is always used with reference to a concrete flame, depicting the movement upwards or outwards. Furthermore the phrase is usually preceded by a modifier of light, colour or heat, which again, emphasises the physicality of a concrete, non-metaphoric flame.

With regards to meanings of *shoot*, there is more difficulty in identifying metaphoricity, largely due to the wide variety of meanings attributed to the verb. The OED has "to emit swiftly and forcibly (rays and flames)" as a meaning, with uses beginning in 1480. Interesting to note is that earlier than this (1290) there is a meaning attributed to "a star or meteor. To dart across the sky". Neither meaning is classed as figurative, however the suggestion is that one meaning has come from a semantic extension of the other (candle flames from meteor trails). This is a similar pattern to *flame* used in reference to a sunset or sunrise, which will be discussed shortly in the section below.

4.3.3. Quantifiers
This final section leads on from the idea of animate associations with *flame*, and focuses upon the reason why particular quantifiers have been used alongside *flame*, and more importantly, why this creates a possible metaphoric phrase. Below is a table of all modifying nouns preceding the cluster

OF + A/THE + FLAME:

Figure 12: List of noun quantifiers directly preceding the colligation OF + THE/A + flame in Group Y

Noun
body (x2), column, current, gulf, heart, jet(s) (x6), leap, rush, sheet(s) (x3), spires, stream, streamers, threads,   +   OF + (THE/A) + FLAME cores, tongue(s) (x6), volume, wells

The table shows TONGUE(S) and JET(S) as the most frequent nouns used in this colligation, each representing 20.0% of the table. The concordance lines of tongue(s) are shown firstly below:

Figure 13: All instances of TONGUE(S) OF *flame* in Group Y data

47. "ark, lying on the grass, watched to see the slight tongue of FLAME shoot up, but it did not come. Bevis stopped, tired, and "

48. ", and then dying off in cracking echoes; and red tongues of FLAME shot out ever and anon among the trees, and clouds of s"

49. "on was on fire--a broad hillside set with minute tongues of FLAME, swaying and writhing with the gusts of the dying storm,"

50. "berator of the People. The clouds of smoke, the tongues of FLAME, that now began to mingle with them, the multitude wh"

51. "roaring, hilarious voice of invitation, its dancing tongues of FLAME, that called to them through the snows of that dreadful "

52. "e gaselier, turned too high, hissed up into a long tongue of FLAME. The fire smoked feebly under a newly administered shov"

Associated with this colligation are the modifiers *sligh*t, *red*, *minute*, *dancing* and *long*. With the exception of *dancing*, these instances can be semantically related to the qualities of a physical tongue in size and colour. Each instance depicts a movement of the flame – this is either preceding the cluster (lines 51 and 52), or following on from it (lines 47, 48, 49, 50). There is a suggestion of negative prosody in the inability of the flame to take a stronger form: this is hinted at in line 47 (*but it did not come*), line 49 (*swaying and writhing*), and line 52 (*the fire smoked feebly*). There is not enough data to mark the prosody as a characteristic of the colligation however. The cluster as a whole occurs often enough to make up a fifth of the data and could thus be described as a conventional phrase within Nineteenth Century writing (or one or more genres within this period). The OED definition of *tongue* aside from a body part is as "a symbolic figure or appearance as of a tongue, as those that appeared on the day of Pentecost." The first reference of tongue associated with fire is recorded from the Bible c1000 and details the Pentecost. From 1398, there is another meaning recorded in the OED, referring to "anything that resembles or suggests the human or animal tongue by its shape, position, function, or use; a tapering, projecting, or elongated object or part, esp. when mobile, or attached at one end or side". Here there is included an example of flame. Finally, in 1816 there is another extension of the meaning to refer to "a tapering jet of flame".[8] Interesting to note is its Nineteenth Century origins in reference to a general flame (i.e. not Pentecostal). Thus the phrase appears to be conventional to this period of time and onwards only. A quick search of the BNC written, totaling 89 million words shows only six instances of *tongue* collocating with either *flame* or *fire*. From this result, the conclusion can be drawn that tongues of flame is a phrase conventional only to the Nineteenth Century.

Secondly are the concordance lines showing all instances of *jet(s) of flame* (again making up 20.0% of the colligation noun + OF +*flame*)

Figure 14: All instances of JET(S) OF *flame* in Group Y data

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8   Worthy of note here is the use of another questionably metaphoric phrase for an OED definition. This will be dealt with below, as the second of the two most frequent nouns used in the colligation.

> 53. ", it is true, entertain us with fantastic and playful jets of FLAME--but then its light is full, united, and steady; the heat w"
>
> 54. "zed her arm, and made her sit down. A capricious jet of FLAME from a coal in the fire at this moment lighted up the fac"
>
> 55. "ollecting merrily round the smoky fire, with little jets of FLAME shooting up and flashing out on the six couples! Sam Wi"
>
> 56. "were left alone in the scented, fire-lit room. And a jet of FLAME suddenly showed him the girl's face turned away, convu"
>
> 57. "shed into foam by the angry reptiles; and a larger jet of FLAME than before burst from the brow of the demon statue. "E"
>
> 58. "as; it belches forth from the pipes in great flaring jets of FLAME, uncovered by any glass, and broadly illuminating the ne"

Here the modifiers of *jet(s)* are *playful*, *capricious*, *little*, *larger* and *great flaring*. As with *tongue(s)*, five of the six instances are modified: here, according to size or action of the flame. A difference with the *tongue(s)* data however, is the sense of swiftness or suddenness expressed in the flame's behaviour. Phrases such as *at this moment* (line 54), *flashing out* (line 55), *suddenly* (line 56), *and burst* (line 57). Also, with the exception of line 57, which needs mores context to determine the meaning, all instances refer to the light from the flame, illuminating an object. There is no reference to heat.

As with *tongue(s)*, the percentage of the instances above suggests *jet(s) of flame* to be a conventional phrase within the data. It appears conventional in its function of describing the fast or unexpected movement of a real, physical flame, with relation to its quality of lighting up something or someone. Thus when used in this particular colligation, the noun could arguably be described as forming part of a larger lexical item, used in a particular, non-metaphoric context. Both these examples bring to light the issue of conventionality involving metaphoric phrases. The phrases are more likely to be classed as non-metaphoric due to both their conventionality or frequency, and dictionary definitions, which refer to a meaning specific to flames, differential from the more basic name of *jet* or *tongue* when read singularly (i.e. not in a particular colligation). Thus to summarize, the colligation surrounding a word or phrase can be crucial in determining its metaphoricity.

Moving briefly to a semantic analysis of the nouns used in this colligation will determine if there is a larger pattern to the types of nouns being used alongside *flame* and the meanings conveyed. The largest semantic grouping shared by 20% of the items is to do with liquid imagery. This includes *current*, *gulf*, *rush*, *stream*, *volume* and *wells*. *Body, heart, tongue* can be grouped into body parts. A third category combining spatial imagery includes *column* and *spire*. A fourth category includes fabrics*: threads, sheets, streamers* and a fifth category includes *jets* and *leaps* which both involve movement. This leaves *cores* ungrouped. In terms of a prosodic analysis, there is a clear difference to the cluster *tongue(s) of flame*. None of the instances above suggest a feeble quality or lack of power within the flame: instead there is an overall sense of energy and influence emanating from the flame through the sudden and unexpected descriptions which are used to reveal something hidden (*broadly illuminating*; *suddenly showed*; *flashed out*; *lighted up*; *its light is full, united and steady*).

4.3.4. Descriptions of the sun as *flame*

This section has been placed towards the end of the Group Y analysis as it entails a less systematic and more qualitative approach to the data. Instances of the lines below have surfaced earlier, but the semantic aspect has not been dealt with until now. This is because their shared meaning relating to sunlight as flame groups them in no clearly defined structure, but does generate a potential characteristic related to their metaphoricity worth exploring. In total there are seven lines of data that depict a sunrise or sunset, or a more general description of the suns rays. The reason for inclusion in Group Y is that the use of *flame* to depict or describe the sun involves a form of semantic extension. The sun is "supplied with light and heat by its radiation" according to the OED, and it is the composition of the star which allows for a constant burning. In fact, the OED cites as

the very first definition of *flame:* "Vapour heated to the point of combustion; ignited gas", which would render the association of flame and sunlight as entirely congruent in a literal sense. However, whilst the sun can be described as being alight or of flame, (indeed its entire presence is only created through this process of burning), we only see the rays of light, (the effects of this process), and thus the description of flame is an extension semantically, as is the process an extension of effects.

The eight instances are shown below:

Figure 15: All instances of semantic set involving sunlight as flame in Group Y data

Firstly, within the lines, there are other lexical items associated with the sun, mostly in relation to its light, or position in the sky: *sun*, *gold*, *golden*, *sunset*, *disk*, *bright*, *Western sky*, *fire*, *westering sun*, *atmosphere*, *day*, *setting*. Perhaps of more interest, three instances include the lexical item *in (a) flame*, or an extension of it (lines 59, 60, 62), and each of these describe the sun setting or descending in the sky. Line 63 describes the sky as *one flame of fire*, a phrase that has also been used to depict towns or nations on fire from gunfire or war (discussed in section 2). Also, some examples are more metaphoric than others, such as the disc of the sun throwing golden arrows in line 61 or the description of the sky as one single flame of fire in line 63. More generally however, all the above examples are describing the visual effects of the sun's rays, either on another object or the landscape. Thus in terms of metaphoricity there is very little being expressed. Instead, in each case there is a direct reference to a concrete, non-metaphoric object (the sun), and the behaviour or effect caused by it, described in terms of flame(s). *Flame* here is interchangeable with the sun's rays. Finally, there are also a further four lines, which depict a natural phenomenon related to light (lightning, a shooting star, and the aurora borealis). Apart from the shooting star (created from flaming gases), the other two events are further extensions, made up only of light rays and not flames. This makes them more metaphoric in their association with flame. In summary, the instances are grouped here together, as a result of their semantic meaning. If disregarded, some instances would fall in the clear metaphoric category (namely the lightning and aurora borealis examples), but the majority would fall into the clear non-metaphors.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion to the study, there have been exposed several factors at work in both the decision of whether metaphoricity is present, and the methods used to decide upon this. The study does not provide an exhaustive account, but a small, qualitative investigation into what is found in the present data. Whilst statistical measures proved effective at identifying patterns and tendencies amongst both the metaphors and the non-metaphors, the Group Y data posed problems in such an approach, due to its amalgamated and hybrid nature. The frequent clusters and collocates showed some patterns, but unlike Group 1 and 2, the patterns were not so representative of the fuzzy group as a whole. It is hoped that the problems encountered in analysing such an amalgamated group of language will help to demonstrate the problems of metaphoricity, whilst at the same time, shed light

on possible approaches to dealing with these problems.

5.1. Summary of findings

Firstly, in terms of the two frequent clusters IN A FLAME and A BRIGHT FLAME, differences were found between the instances found in Group Y and those found in other datasets. IN A FLAME was found most commonly used in Group Y, and often with the meaning of setting a town or city on fire. There were different degrees of metaphoricity in the individual instances. The cluster was also found in the clear metaphoric data, but not as frequently used. In the metaphoric instances, the phrase related most often to emotions such as anger or embarrassment, and described a body part such as the cheeks or eyes being IN A FLAME. The cluster A BRIGHT FLAME also had specific characteristics when analysed amongst the Group Y data. It was mostly used to describe the light emitted by a flame. The metaphoricity was present in varying places, referring to stars, a sunset, and a boat's flare. Notably, there was often a degree of animacy or movement involved in the items following the cluster, such as *shooting up* or *throwing*, thus the flame itself was most often at the centre of the metaphor (i.e. its behaviour or action was not literal, or what would be expected of a literal flame) The cluster also appeared in the top frequent clusters of the non-metaphors, but only occurring three times. These each refer to the brightness or strength of a physical flame, each instance marked by surrounding associated lexis, such as a camp-fire or a candle. There was no ambiguity surrounding what the flame was referring to, as there was in some of the Group Y data.

Secondly, the animate nature of the items used alongside *flame* were analysed for potential metaphoricty. It was acknowledged that as there are degrees of metaphoricity and conventionality, there are also degrees of animacy, which can be more or less strongly associated with living beings. Often, many of the items' original meanings have undergone a form of extension to include abstract concepts, and sometimes a further extension to concrete inanimate objects, such as a flame. This discussion led on to the use of quantifiers of flame, which are not necessarily animate, but certainly debateable in their literality such as *current of*, *heart of* and *sheets of* flame. Often, the quantifiers were defined as conventional (in particular *tongues of* and *jets of* flame), which may be a reason for them not necessarily being judged as metaphoric in any unified or non-disputed sense. Most importantly, the adjectives and verbs which display a level of animacy and surround *flame,* display elements of prosody. The majority of verbs expressed a sense of positive restoration (e.g. *grow*, *nourish*, *revive*, *excite*). In each case, the flame is shown as a positive and desired occurrence, and this is backed up by the surrounding lexis. In contrast the adjectives largely displayed prosody involving animalistic, base, and savage behaviour (avenging, fierce, lurking), often portraying a sense of terror and threat. This is supported by the types of collocates and lexis elsewhere in the concordance lines, e.g. *furious*, *smothering*, *wildly* and *shrieks of death*. Subsequently, the analysis has shown that prosody has been more central within the analysis of Group Y primings than more structural forms of priming (collocation and colligation), which were characteristic of the more defined datasets 1 and 2.

5.2. Problems encountered with identifying metaphoricty

One of the crucial problems with identifying metaphoricity shown within this analysis is reliance upon dictionary definitions. Dictionaries isolate words rather than lexical items, and as was seen with IN A FLAME, focusing on a word disregards the meaning of the combined item. When consulting dictionaries, it is found in the majority of cases here that the phrase in question has entered the dictionary as a non-figurative association or reference due to a form of semantic extension. This was seen with *tongue*, first only used in reference to a Pentecostal flame, becoming accepted in relation to a more general (i.e. not religious specific) kind of flame in the 19th Century. An important consideration for any metaphor theorist is the point at which metaphoricity can and should be confined. This means addressing head on candid questions such as the degree at which

semantic extension stops and metaphoricity begins. Although Hoey's (2005) theory of Lexical Priming does not directly address such questions, taken as an approach to the analysis of lexical behaviours, the theory does address necessary aspects of meaning, which have fallen out of the metaphor discussion. Rather than focusing solely on whether a metaphor is conventional or novel for instance, the theory allows one to approach metaphor synchronically as well as diachronically, addressing the metaphoricity from a range of linguistic traits, such as collocates and prosody, in which it has been shown to manifest itself.

Finally, in terms of the methodological aspect to this research, the approach of asking individuals to judge the metaphoricity of a concordance line brings forth certain issues in need of addressing. The first issue is that of participant priming. The readers are aware that they are specifically looking for metaphors involving *flame*. This of course prepares them for the task, whereby they may identify more metaphors than in a non-test environment. Secondly, the issue of identification may also be better developed, specifically to accommodate the cline theory. Asking participants to grade the metaphoricity on a scale of 1-5 where 1 is clearly literal and 5 is clearly metaphoric, may provide a researcher with more careful grading. This still would not address the notion of multiple clines in terms of grammatical, lexical, semantic and pragmatic metaphoricity however. Thus it is intended that a full analysis of the Group Y data will need to accommodate for such linguistically varied findings. It is hoped that the study will present more support for the multiple cline argument.

As this paper aimed to highlight, the problems with current approaches to metaphor stem from their inability to explore deeply enough the variety of linguistic conventions and forms, in which metaphoricity can be manifest. For now, the focus on lexical metaphor identification appears to be centered too prominently on isolated types of metaphor, such as only heavily conventional phrases, or purely creative phrases, with no reference to both synchronic *and* diachronic differences in metaphoricity. As a response, the small study in this paper has brought to light aspects of metaphoricity which are not currently addressed; issues that have been raised such as the pragmatic aspects of metaphoricity shifting over time, or the ability of literal meaning to extend and the effect this may have on metaphoricity. There are numerous terms for identifying metaphor types (e.g. 'dead' or 'dead and buried') (cf. Goatly 1997), but these do not address the variety in *meaning* expressed through aspects of metaphoricity. To conclude, this research supports the contention that metaphor is not an effective umbrella term for something so linguistically and semantically varied. In light of the results above, the extent to which the Lexical Priming Theory (Hoey 2005) can resolve this issue is something to consider further.

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Mining for constructions in texts using N-gram and network analysis

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Abstract: In constructionist theory, constructions are functional entities that pair form and conventionalized semantic and/or discourse-pragmatic function. One of the main tasks of the construction grammarian is thus to identify and document constructions. Seeing that it is unlikely that this can be done satisfactorily via introspection, there is a need for different ways of identifying constructions in language use. In this paper, we will explore the extent to which the N-gram information retrieval technique – which has seen use in phraseological analysis, discourse analysis, register characterization, and corpus stylistics – is applicable in the identification of constructions and their functionality in discourse. An N-gram is a constellation of a specified number (N = number) of entities that frequently (co)occur in a data population. In this paper we will report on an exploratory study in which we apply N-gram analysis to Lewis Carroll's novel *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and Mark Twain's novel *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and extrapolate a number of likely constructional phenomena from recurring N-gram patterns in the two texts. In addition to simple N-gram analysis, the following will be applied: comparative N-gram analysis which draws on a slightly adjusted distinctive collexeme analysis, hierarchical agglomerative cluster analysis, and N-gram-based network analysis. The latter is explored as a way to capture different N-gram types, and underlying constructions, in one representation. The main premise is that, if constructions are functional units, then configurations of words that tend to recur together in discourse are likely to have some sort of function that speakers utilize in discourse. Writers of fiction, for instance, may use constructions in characterizations, mind-styles, text-world construction and specification of narrative temporality. In this paper, our special interest lies in the relationship between constructions and the discourse of fiction. As the study reported in this article is exploratory, it serves just as much to test the methods mentioned above as to analyze and characterize the two novels.

Keywords: Constructional functionality, literary language, N-gram analysis, network analysis.

1. Introduction

The construction as a pairing of form and conventionalized function is central in constructionist approaches to language (e.g. Fillmore et al. 1988; Goldberg 1995, 2006; Croft 2001), as it is held to be the basic unit of language. Consequently, constructionist language descriptions do not address combinatorial rules that generate grammatical sentences. On the contrary, construction grammarians seek to describe the constructions of the language in question, addressing their forms, their functions, their symbolic structures, their contextual patterns, and their relations to general human cognition. Thus, an important task is the discovery and documentation of constructions. Language is so diverse and complex that most constructions cannot be documented via introspection, and more empirical/objective and more efficient analysis is called for. There are many ways to do this, but in any case it is required that the analyst be able to identify and quantify recurring patterns and their potential functions in discourse. Text-mining, in a nutshell, covers a set of analytical techniques that can derive patterns from structured and unstructured textual datasets (e.g. Miner et al. 2012). In this article, we suggest that a possible way to identify recurring patterns in discourse that are reflective of constructions could be to apply text-mining techniques.

More specifically, we will use N-gram analysis, which has already seen use in phraseology (Stubbs 2007, 2009) in the discovery of fixed expressions. In this particular study, we apply N-gram analysis to the two classic novels *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* by Lewis Carroll and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* by Mark Twain to see whether N-gram analysis is useful in identifying constructions in the two texts. Expanding on N-gram analysis, we will further explore the usability of comparative N-gram analyses as well as the more advanced technique of network

Research article

analysis, in which inter-word relations are derived automatically from texts and represented as networks. Note that the research reported in this study is first and foremost exploratory, and the purpose has been just as much to experiment with the above-mentioned text-mining techniques in the name of construction grammar as it has been to analyze and describe the two novels. A further aim is to investigate the functionality of the constructions that emerge from these patterns and thus address how interlocutors, in this case writers of fiction, use constructions to convey the discursive contents, in this case narratives and fictional worlds in which they take place.

     This article is organized as follows. In section 2, we provide a brief and very basic account of the fundamental principles of construction grammar as such, focusing on the functionality of constructions. In section 3, the data and methodological framework are accounted for. In section 4, we present our N-gram analyses and account for a number of patterns that display constructional behavior; this section also presents our comparative N-gram analysis. Section 5 presents our network analysis and also briefly discusses node centrality (an advanced analytical method within network analysis) in connection with linguistic data.

2.   Constructions and functionality

The theoretical framework of the present study is that of construction grammar (e.g. Fillmore et al. 1988; Goldberg 1995, 2006; Croft 2001; Hilpert 2014) in which the construction is a pairing of form and conventionalized meaning and may range in complexity from atomic to complex structures. That is, constructions are held to form a lexicon-syntax continuum. Since the primary unit of grammar is the construction, language competence is an inventory of constructions (sometimes called the *construct-i-con*) of varying degrees of abstraction which are instantiated in language use. In most contemporary incarnations of construction grammar, the construct-i-con is usage-based and thus allows for redundancy in the constructional network if usage-patterns indicate that this is the case (see Barsalou 1992 who suggests from a psycholinguistic perspective that evidence tends to favor redundant representations over nonredundancy). As Croft (2005: 274) points out, a construction may be defined generally as "an entrenched routine …that is generally used in the speech community ... and involves a pairing of form and meaning". In other words, a construction is a functional unit of language within the code adopted by the community in question. Constructional meaning, it should be pointed out, covers conceptual semantics and discourse-functional properties as well as pragmatic properties (Croft 2001: 18). For the sake of illustration, here are some constructions from English:

- [S V IO DO]/[TRANSFER OF POSSESSION] (Goldberg 1995)
- [X BE *so* Y *that* Z]/[SCALAR CAUSATION] (Bergen & Binsted 2004)
- [*you don't want me to* V]/[THREATENING SPEECH ACT] (Martínez 2013)
- [*to begin with*]/[INTRODUCTION OF LIST OF ITEMS] (Lipka & Schmid 1994)
- [V (DO) *until* ADJ]/[INSTRUCTION IN PREPARATION OF INGREDIENTS IN COOKING SCENARIOS] (Jensen 2014)

The first two constructions have primarily semantic functions. The first one is, of course, the ditransitive construction, which serves to express scenarios of TRANSFER OF POSSESSION, while the second sets up a causal relation between a POINT on a SCALE expressed by [*so* ADJ] and a RESULTING SITUATION expressed by the following *that*-clause. Interestingly, the causal relation is implicit, making it an example of conventional implicature (Grice 1975: 44-45). The third construction is primarily a speech act construction, whose function is that of a THREATENING SPEECH ACT. Thus, this construction is functionally primarily pragmatic. The fourth construction serves to INTRODUCE A LIST OF ITEMS IN A TEXT , making it a primarily discourse-functional construction, whose function is of a

meta-discursive, text-structuring nature. The last construction functionally combines semantics and pragmatics. Semantically, it describes the PREPARATION of an INGREDIENTS in a COOKING SCENARIO. Pragmatically, it serves as an instruction in how to prepare said INGREDIENTS, as this construction most frequently appears in recipes.

Constructions are thus symbolic structures, combining form and semantic and/or discourse-pragmatic function, which are entrenched cognitively in speakers. Constructions may be schematic, substantive (fixed), or something in-between (Fillmore et al. 1988). For instance *to begin with* is fully substantive, while the ditransitive construction is fully schematic. The SCALAR CAUSATION and INGREDIENT PREPARATION constructions contain both schematic and substantive elements. Constructions are subject to general human cognitive processes and principles, such that language is not a separate, autonomous cognitive faculty; thus, construction grammar is part of the overall endeavor of cognitive linguistics (e.g. Croft & Cruse 2004; Evans & Green 2006).

Our main premise is that, if constructions are functional units, then configurations of words that tend to recur together in discourse are likely to have some sort of function that speakers utilize in discourse. Moreover, if constructions are functional units (pairings of form and function), then they must contribute to discourse as part of a speaker's linguistic repertoire. Writers of fiction, for example, may use constructions in descriptions of actions and happenings. For instance, a writer might use a specific argument structure construction, topicalization construction, or voice construction to perspectivize or construe an event. Writers of fiction may also use constructions in characterizations (Culpeper 2009) and mind-styles (Fowler 1977) by having characters use certain constructions in their dialog and narrative, or by using certain constructions in the descriptions of characters or of their actions. Constructions may be used in setting up the text-world and specifying temporal relations in the narrative, and as ingredients in more general stylistic strategies of foregrounding, deviation, parallelism etc. (e.g. Short & Leech 2007). In this paper, our special interest lies in the relationship between constructions and the discourse of fiction, and that is why we have chosen as a test ground two literary texts.

3.   Data and method
In this exploratory study, we primarily make use of N-gram analysis and network analysis. Our data consist of the following classic novels, both of which were downloaded in text-format from Project Gutenberg's text archives:

- Mark Twain: *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (published 1884/1885), henceforth *HF*.
- Lewis Carroll: *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (published 1865), henceforth *AW*.

After removing the Gutenberg metadata and generally cleaning up the files, the two texts were subjected to two word counts each:

Table 1: Word counts

Text	Word count	Tokenized word count
AW	26,679	27,330
HF	111,002	117,299

In the first word count, units between spaces were treated as words. Thus, in this count, *I don't know* consists of three words. In the second word count, the texts were tokenized such that contracted forms were split up into their constituents. In this count, *I don't know* then consists of four words – namely *I, do, n't*, and *know*. Note that, following the way they are represented in *R*,

which we used for our statistical analyses, contracted forms, when treated as N-grams, such as *don't*, *didn't*, and *ain't* will be represented as *don t*, *ain t*, and *ain t* in the remainder of this paper; when treated as constructions, they appear in their standard contracted forms. At this point, some might protest that such texts, because they are literary texts and thus not as such representative of more regular discourse, are not suitable if one wants to convincingly show that a given method of analysis works for identification of recurring patterns in discourse. While this criticism is warranted if the purpose is indeed to convince people *that* the methodology works, the purpose of the present study is not to sell the method, as it were, but to test it and see *if* it works and *how* it works when applied to quirky literary discourse. Granted, the method should be tested on a variety of different data, and, elsewhere (Jensen & Shibuya in prep a; in prep b), we do apply it to more regular language data. However, here, our purpose is to experiment with the method in applying it to literary texts known for their stylistic deviance from regular discourse. Here, it should be reiterated that we are applying the method in addressing the functional contributions of constructions to texts in which they appear; this is as relevant to deviant literary texts as it is to regular discourse. Moreover, while perhaps not interesting to those who want to investigate regular language or other everyday discourses which are less deviant, the two texts we have chosen to explore here are stylistically very interesting exactly because they deviate from everyday language, the artistically motivated foregrounding strategy of deviation being a central topic in literary stylistics (Simpson 2004: 50-51; Short & Leech 2007: 39).

Automatic N-gram analysis was applied to the cleaned-up files in conjunction with concordancing as a way to not just identify potential constructions formally, but also to address their discursive behaviors in the texts and thus their functionalities in the two novels.

3.1. *N-grams*

N-grams are contiguous strings of items, most often words, that appear in a stretch of discourse. Retrieval of N-grams is an automated text-mining technique, which is essentially a quite simple but efficient one. At its core, N-gram analysis consists in retrieving strings of a specified number of words and then quantifying the strings and ranking them in descending order in terms of frequency. For instance, if we are interested in finding all four-word strings in a dataset, this is the procedure:

- Find all instances of **word + word + word + word** combinations in the dataset.
- Calculate frequencies of **word + word + word + word** combinations in the dataset.
- List the **word + word + word + word** combinations in terms of frequency in the dataset.

N-grams are specified by the number of words in the string in question. Thus, the type of N-gram referred to above is called a fourgram. N-grams of two words are called bigrams, while N-grams of three words are called trigrams, and N-grams of five words are called fivegrams and so forth. N-gram analysis and its variants have seen numerous uses in linguistics. In computational linguistics, for instance, it is often used in the generation of linear probabilistic predictive language models, while in corpus-based language and discourse studies, it has been used to identify various characteristics of texts and discourses. Vasquez (2014: 25-56) identifies a number of word strings in the discourse of consumer reviews, using N-gram analysis, and links these up with trends of expression of positive evaluation. Gries & Mukherjee (2010) and Gries et al. (2011) have applied N-gram analysis in the characterization of registers and language varieties. Corpus stylisticians have also made use of N-gram analysis to address aspects of literary language. Notably, Mahlberg (2007a, 2007b) has made use of N-gram analysis to identify word clusters in the writing of Dickens. More generally, Stubbs (2007, 2009) uses N-gram analysis to identify frequent phraseology, or multi-word expressions.

Automatic N-gram analysis is particularly attractive, because it can return clusters of words that the human analyst may not even have considered. Consequently, it allows the analyst to address linguistic phenomena which might have been missed in manual or introspective analysis. In this exploratory study, we are going to apply N-gram analysis in a manner similar to Mahlberg (2007a, 2007b) and Stubbs (2007, 2009). However, we will take it a step further, in the perspective of construction grammar, and use N-grams to identify constructions through a process of bottom-up abstraction in which we identify constructional schemata that emerge from recurring patterns in our N-gram analyses and then address their functionalities from contextualized patterns of usage in the two novels. We will also apply a comparative N-gram analysis, in which the significance of N-grams in the two texts is established.

We will rely on dispersion measures to help us determine which N-grams, and potentially underlying constructions, are spread so evenly throughout the narrative that they could be considered characteristic of the novel. Seeing that, according to Lyne (1985), Juilland's *D* measure is one of the most reliable dispersion measures, we use *D*-scores to measure dispersion in the present study. A *D*-score is a number between 0 and 1: the closer to 1 it is, the more even the dispersion. The starting point of this measure is the division of the text or corpus in question into equally sized parts. *AW* was divided into five equally sized parts and *HF* into ten equally sized parts (this is because *HF* is larger than *AW*). On the basis of this division of the texts into equally sized parts, a *D*-score was calculated, as described in Oakes (1998: 190), for each N-gram discussed in the following sections. These dispersion measures will be supplemented with dispersion plots (e.g. Jockers 2014: 29-31) to visualize the distribution of N-grams throughout the novels. While numeric dispersion measures are more objective than visual representations of dispersion, it may be easier for readers to relate to visual representations. It should be born in mind, of course, that dispersion plots only offer an approximate visual representation and not a totally precise one. That is why we include both numeric and visual representations in this article. The reason why we include dispersion measures in our analysis is that an N-gram may have a high frequency in a text, but if all its tokens occur in the same place in the text, then the N-gram is not likely to be typical of the narrative, but only serves a special purpose in the portion of the narrative where it appears. While N-grams that appear in high-density groups are undeniably also functionally interesting, our focus here is on N-grams, and underlying constructions, that contribute functionally to the text generally.

3.2. Networks

Network analysis can be used as a text-mining technique that sets up data points and relations between them, based on the frequency of co-occurrence of the words in the text. Thus, it is essentially an advanced type of N-gram analysis, based on bigrams, which identifies types of word co-occurrences and quantifies the number of tokens of each co-occurrence type. This way, nodes are set up based on words as types, and relations are set up between the nodes based on frequency of co-occurrence. When this is done for every word type, the result is a network of nodes and relations between them. While N-gram analysis presents co-occurring words in ranked lists, network analysis represents them graphically as a network. Network analysis has the advantage over N-gram analysis that it allows one to capture all N-gram types within the same network representation, whereas, in N-gram analysis, the analyst operates across several N-gram lists. Network analysis has been applied in the study of verb-argument constructions by Brook O'Donnell et al. (ms); Römer et al. (fc), Gries & Ellis (2015), and Ellis et al. (2013).

4.   N-gram analysis

N-grams allow us to address relations of co-occurrence among words, and, via this, to observe strings of words that may form phraseological units. If we can identify functional patterns of such units (using concordances), then chances are that they may be constructions in the sense of

Goldberg (2006: 5):

> Any linguistic pattern is recognized as a construction as long as some aspect of its form or function is not strictly predictable from its component parts or from other constructions recognized to exist. In addition, patterns are stored as constructions even if they are fully predictable as long as they occur with sufficient frequency.

4.1. *N-grams in* AW

We generated three N-gram lists from *AW* – namely, a list of bigrams, a list of trigrams, and a list of fourgrams. Below are the top 20s of each type of N-gram:

Table 2: Top 20 bigrams in *AW*			Table 3: Top 20 trigrams in *AW*			Table 4: Top 20 fourgrams in *AW*		
Rank	Bigram	Frequency	Rank	Trigram	Frequency	Rank	Fourgram	Frequency
1	said the	210	1	the mock turtle	53	1	said the mock turtle	19
2	of the	133	2	i don t	31	2	she said to herself	16
3	said alice	116	3	the march hare	30	3	a minute or two	11
4	in a	97	4	said the king	29	4	you won t you	10
5	and the	82	5	said the hatter	21	5	said the march hare	8
6	in the	80	6	the white rabbit	21	6	will you won t	8
7	it was	76	7	said the mock	19	7	i don t know	7
8	the queen	72	8	said to herself	19	8	said alice in a	7
9	to the	69	9	said the caterpillar	18	9	as well as she	6
10	the king	62	10	said the gryphon	17	10	in a great hurry	6
11	as she	61	11	she said to	17	11	in a tone of	6
12	don t	61	12	she went on	17	12	moral of that is	6
13	at the	60	13	as she could	16	13	t you will you	6
14	she had	60	14	i can t	15	14	the moral of that	6
15	a little	59	15	one of the	15	15	well as she could	6
16	i m	59	16	said the duchess	15	16	won t you will	6
17	it s	57	17	out of the	14	17	and the moral of	5
18	mock turtle	56	18	said the cat	14	18	as she said this	5
19	and she	55	19	it said the	12	19	i beg your pardon	5
20	she was	55	20	minute or two	12	20	i ve got to	5

Note that in Table 2, *said the* appears in first position, while similar strings appear in Table 3 in the form of *said the king* (ranking 4), *said the hatter* (ranking 5), *said the mock* (ranking 7), *said the caterpillar* (ranking 9), *said the gryphon* (ranking 10), *said the duchess* (ranking 16), and *said the cat* (ranking 18). Likewise, in Table 4, we find *said the mock turtle* (ranking 1) and *said the march hare* (ranking 5). A *D*-score of 0.8103 indicates that the bigram is quite evenly distributed throughout the text. This is reflected in the dispersion plot in Figure 1. This plot shows the distribution of the bigram *said the* throughout *AW* in which each occurrence of the bigram is represented by a black vertical line. The horizontal dimension entitled 'Words' represents the entire novel in a linear fashion; this dimension is based on the location of every word in the novel. Thick vertical lines, then, simply represent multiple instances of *said the* which appear very near each other in the novel. The dispersion plot shows that, apart from in the beginning of the novel,[1] the

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1 More specifically, the bigram does not appear in the two first chapters. This may be related to the flow of narrative information throughout the novel. The first *said the X* appears in words number 4526-4528 in the sentence *'Ahem!' said the Mouse with an important air, 'are you all ready?'*. In the first two chapters, however, *said Alice* can be found a few times. As the story goes by, more and more characters are introduced and subsequently referred to in the narrative and hence the X-slot of *said the X* simply becomes more available to those new characters in the story. Moreover, in the first two chapters, Alice does not interact with many characters, but, from the third chapter and onwards, the inventory of characters is considerably expanded, and Alice enters into the type of dialog seen in (6), which is quite characteristic of the novel.

bigram is fairly evenly distributed over the novel:

Figure 1: Distribution of the bigram *said the* in *AW*

Dispersion plot of SAID THE in AW
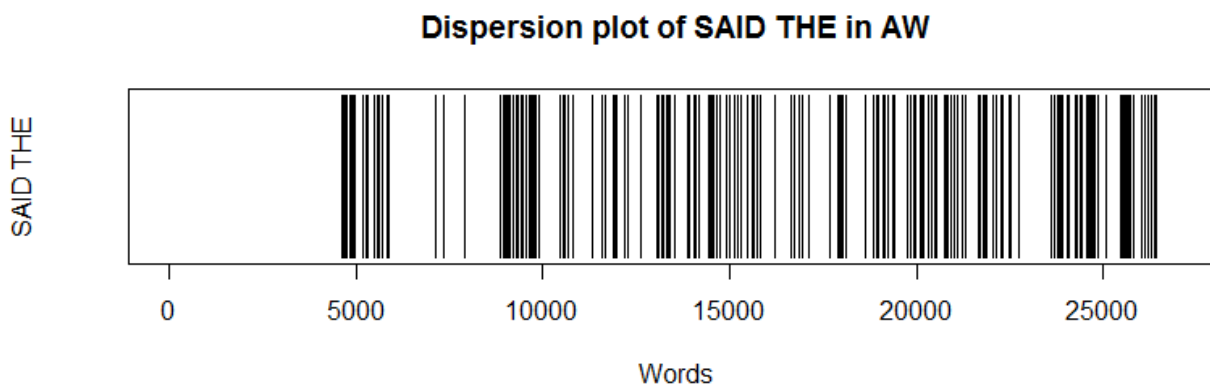
A concordance of *said the* was generated and indeed shows a recurring pattern, with only a handful of instances of the bigram deviating from it. The pattern is illustrated by the examples below:

(1)   'Found *what*?' said the Duck.

(2)   'Then you shouldn't talk,' said the Hatter.

(3)   'Hold your tongue!' said the Queen, turning purple.

(4)   ''*tis the voice of the sluggard*,' said the Gryphon.

(5)   'There's more evidence to come yet, please your Majesty,' said the White Rabbit, jumping up in a great hurry; 'this paper has just been picked up.'

In all examples above, *said the* is preceded by direct speech and followed by a specification of one of the characters in the narrative, allowing us to induce the following schematic generalization:

REPORTED CLAUSE *said the* CHARACTER SPECIFICATION

The function of this particular schema is quite easy to pinpoint. Structurally, it is a reporting clause, and functionally the schema thus serves to assign dialog in the narrative to the character who utters it. More specifically, the character specification is an instance of the definite noun phrase construction, whose function as a presupposition trigger (Huang 2007: 90) is to indicate to the reader that the character is considered GIVEN INFORMATION. At this point, we can thus characterize the schema as a direct speech reporting construction, which we will call the inverted topicalizing reporting clause construction (or the ITRC-construction for short). To anyone who has read literature in English, it should not be a big surprise to find this type of construction in a literary narrative, as novels and short stories typically contain dialog and strategies of assigning dialog to characters within the narrative.[2] If we take a look at the syntactic structure of this particular schema, we see that it involves subject-verb inversion and object fronting:

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2   See Short & Leech (2007: 255-270) for a discussion of direct speech and indirect speech in fiction.

Figure 2: Syntactic structure of the schema
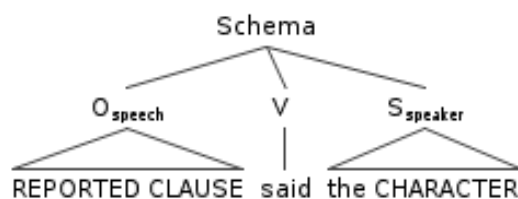
In their treatment of inverted direct speech, Short & Leech (2007: 267-268) write that inversion plays a role in connection with direct speech without informing us of the nature of that role. However, later in their discussion of rhetoric and narrative style, they state that "[a]s speakers, we are rarely able to plan the whole of our utterance in advance, so we tend to begin with the thing which is uppermost in our mind, the thing which, from our point of view, is the focal nub of the message" (Short & Leech 2007: 186). This relates to information structure. Bache & Davidsen-Nielsen (1997: 113-114) describe the general principles of information structure in English, reminding us that "[n]ormally the speaker will proceed from what he assumes to be known (the *topic* or *theme*) to what he assumes to be new (the *comment* or *rheme*)" [italics in original] (see also Short & Leech 2007: 170-172). Thus, the schema in Figure 2 involves fronting, or topicalization, of the reported speech and focalization of the character who utters the speech, resulting in a reversal of GIVEN and NEW INFORMATION, in that the character, by virtue of the definite construction, is presented as GIVEN INFORMATION. This suggests that the function of the schema is not only that of assigning dialog to characters, but also topicalize, or highlight, the spoken dialog as particularly salient information. To see whether that is indeed how the schema is used in the narrative, we need to have a look at its discursive behavior. Here is an example:

(6) At this moment the King, who had been for some time busily writing in his note-book, cackled out 'Silence!' and read out from his book, 'Rule Forty-two. *all persons more than a mile high to leave the court*.'
Everybody looked at Alice.
'*I'm* not a mile high,' said Alice.
'You are,' said the King.
'Nearly two miles high,' added the Queen.

Whenever the schema is used, it appears initially in a line with no text preceding it. Contrast the following with the instance of the schema in the sequence in (6):

(7) At this moment the King, who had been for some time busily writing in his note-book, cackled out 'Silence!

(8) The King turned pale, and shut his note-book hastily. 'Consider your verdict,' he said to the jury, in a low, trembling voice.[3]

The schema seems to be used as a type of cohesive device, in that, in fronting speech, it creates a link between the fronted speech and preceding speech, thus highlighting the fronted speech as a reaction to the previous speech. In contrast, (8) breaks with the preceding sequence, as the King addresses the jury rather than responding to Alice. This functional pattern characterizes most of the instances of *said the* in the novel: 90% establish a cohesive link to previous preceding dialog, and

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3 There is no subject-verb inversion here so *he* in *he said* has not been focalized.

97% of them appear in the beginning of a paragraph in the novel. While *the X said* does occur in the novel, it only has a frequency of 30, suggesting that, when *said* is used as the reporting verb, *said the X* is the primary dialog-ordering device in the narrative.

From the narrative style emerges a recurring pairing of form and function which serves the purpose of organizing dialog. Its recurrence is such that we can argue that it is used as a construction (recall Goldberg's (2006: 5) definition; see the beginning of Section 4 above). We can now propose a constructional structure in which the form is tied in with a specific functional content:

Figure 3: Form-function structure of *said the X*
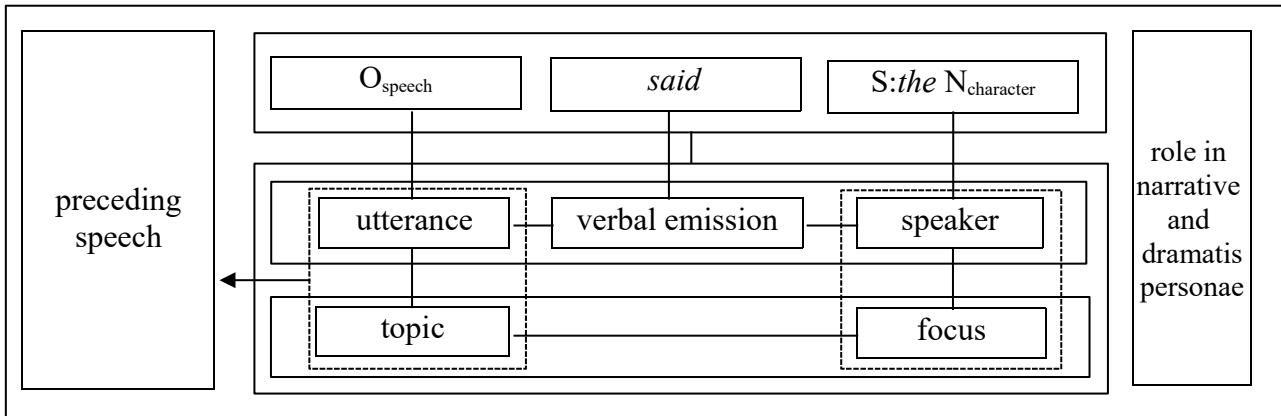
Figure 3 illustrates the construction, using a Croft-style box diagram (Croft 2001). The outer box indicates that this is one construction. The rectangular top box in the middle indicates the form of the construction, and the three boxes within it (entitled 'O$_{speech}$', '*said*', and 'S:*the* N$_{character}$' respectively) indicate its formal constituents. The big rectangular box underneath represents the functional structure of the construction. It contains two boxes. The one that contains the boxes entitled 'utterance', 'verbal emission', and 'speaker' indicates the semantic structure and essentially represents a semantic frame in the sense of Fillmore (1982), capturing a generalized cognitive model of verbal communication. The links between 'O$_{speech}$' and 'utterance', '*said*' and 'verbal emission', and 'S:*the* N$_{character}$' and 'speaker' are the symbolic links between the formal elements and semantic components of the construction. The lower box in the function structure represents the information-structural nature of the construction. 'Utterance' links up with 'topic' to indicate topicalization of 'O$_{speech}$', and 'speaker' links up with 'focus' to indicate focalization of 'S:*the* N$_{character}$'. The punctuated boxes further emphasize that we are dealing with information-structural units. The leftmost box, entitled 'Preceding speech' captures the fact that the construction serves to create a cohesive relation between the reported speech in the construction and preceding speech in the narrative. The arrow from the 'utterance'-'topic' information-structural unit indicates that it is the fronting of 'O$_{speech}$' which sets up the cohesive relation. At this point, the reader might be puzzled as to why what is essentially mere discursive content is included into the construction. The answer lies in construction grammarians' inclusion of knowledge of contexts in which a construction typically occurs in speakers' language competence (e.g. Fillmore 1988: 36l). Thus, the preceding speech is to be considered a property of the construction. The rightmost box that is entitled 'role in narrative and dramatis personae' is intended to capture such properties of the construction.

Interestingly, if you look at (6) again, we see the following cases of direct speech, which follow a very similar pattern:

(9)   '*I'm* not a mile high,' said Alice.

(10)   'Nearly two miles high,' added the Queen.

In (9), we find the proper noun *Alice* in place of the definite noun phrase. In terms of reference, *Alice* has unique reference which is arguably more closely related to definite reference than to indefinite reference.[4] In (10), we find *added* as the reporting verb in place of *said*. This could suggest that we are dealing with an even more abstract ITRC-construction in which the verb is not lexically fixed and in which the position of the speaker-subject position may be realized by either a definite noun phrase or a proper noun. If we operate with this level of abstraction, the dispersion of the construction generates a D-score of 0.8728 and looks like this in a dispersion plot:

Figure 4: Distribution of the ITRC-construction:
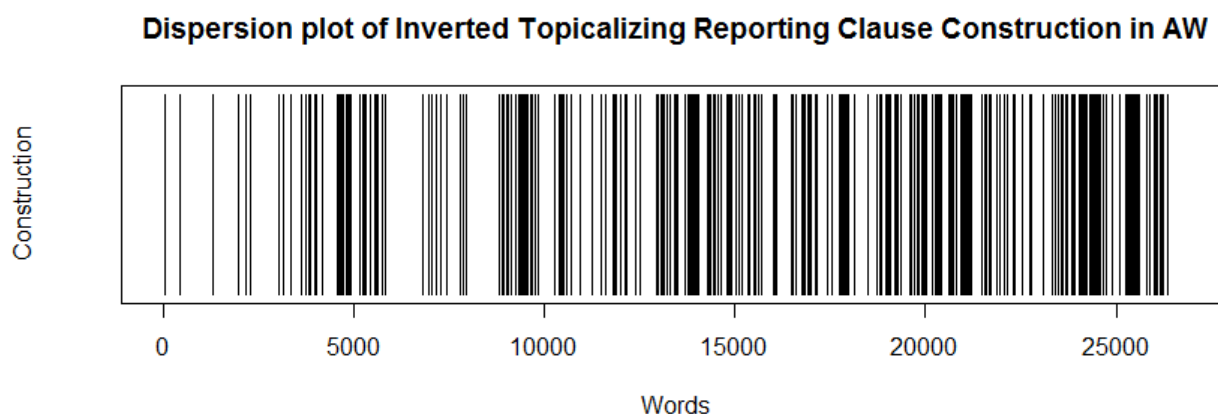
In the dispersion plot above all instances of reporting verbs (including the cognitive reporting verb *think*) followed by speaker-subjects (including definite and indefinite noun phrases and proper nouns) are abstracted into a generalized schema whose occurrences throughout the novel are then tracked.

As Gries & Ellis (2015) point out, constructions are Zipfian in nature (Zipf 1949) – Zipf's law being described by Ferrer i Gancho & Solé (2003: 788) as "a hallmark of human language" and as "required by symbolic systems" (Ferrer i Cancho & Solé 2003: 791) – and it appears to invariably be the case that some instantiations of the construction are more frequent and salient than others.

As the graph in Figure 5 shows, *said the* is the most frequent bigram of all bigrams in the novel that reflect the function. We see that the ITRC-construction displays Zipfian behavior in *AW* and suggests that *said the X* is the most salient realization of the construction. One possible explanation could simply be that *say* is a basic level term for communicative verbal emission in English, while, for instance, *yell*, *mutter*, *persist*, *roar*, and *ask* predicate more specific manner of verbal emission. This suggests that Lewis Carroll specifically draws on *said the* when there is no narrative need for specifying the type of verbal emission involved in characters' utterances, thus using it as a specialized constructional resource in his organization of dialog.

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4   *Said* followed by an indefinite noun phrase that refers to a speaker only appears three times in the novel.

Figure 5: Bigrams reflective of the ITRC-construction in *AW*
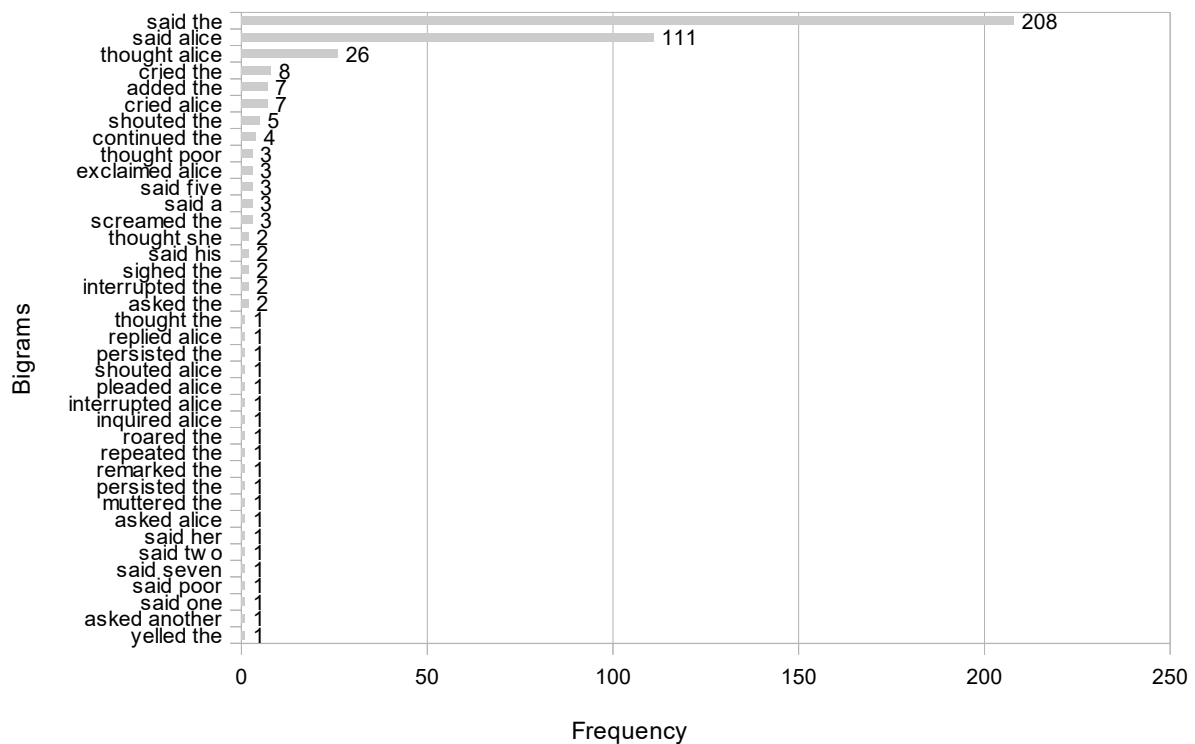
4.2. N-grams in HF

Having explored N-grams in *AW* and seen how that enabled us to extrapolate a construction and address its functionality as a dialog-ordering strategy, let us turn to *HF*.

Tables 5, 6, 7, and 8 provides are lists of the 30 most frequent bi-, tri-, four-, and fivegrams in the novel. A few interesting patterns occur across the lists above such for instance, *warn t no* (ranking 5 in Table 6) as reflected in *there warn t no* (ranking 1 in Table 7), *it warn t no* (ranking 3 in Table 7), *it warn t no use* (ranking 1 in Table 8), *but it warn t no* (ranking 4 in Table 8), and *there warn t no* (ranking 11 in Table 8), *see it warn t no* (ranking 20 in Table 8), and *but there warn t no* (ranking 28 in Table 8). The pattern is also partially reflected in *warn t* (ranking 8 in Table 5), *it warn t* (ranking 7 in Table 6), *but it warn t* (ranking 12 in Table 7), and *i see it warn t* (ranking 10 in Table 8). Another pattern is *by and by* (ranking 5 in Table 6), which is reflected in *and by and by* (ranking 4 in Table 7), *by and by he* (ranking 22 in Table 7), and *but by and by* (ranking 29 in Table 7). Ranking at 11 in Table 5 we find *and then*, which is also reflected in *and then he* (ranking 25 in Table 6).

In the following sections, we will address the N-grams mentioned above. First we will look at *warn t no*, addressing the possible constructional statuses of *there warn t no* and *it warn t no*. Afterwards, we will turn to *by and by* and *and then*, addressing the functions they have in the narrative.

Table 5: Top 30 bigrams in *HF*			Table 6: Top 30 trigrams in *HF*			Table 7: Top 30 fourgrams in *HF*			Table 8: Top 30 fivegrams in *HF*		
Rank	Bigram	Frequency	Rank	Trigram	Frequency	Rank	Fourgram	Frequency	Rank	Fivegram	Frequency
1	in the	434	1	i didn t	119	1	there warn t no	32	1	it warn t no use	19
2	it was	370	2	i couldn t	105	2	i don t know	31	2	the king and the duke	16
3	didn t	347	3	i don t	87	3	it warn t no	30	3	i didn t want to	11
4	don t	340	4	by and by	85	4	and by and by	24	4	but it warn t no	10
5	of the	335	5	warn t no	71	5	there ain t no	24	5	ain t a going to	9
6	and the	317	6	there warn t	70	6	but i couldn t	22	6	in the middle of the	9
7	ain t	298	7	it warn t	69	7	the middle of the	22	7	the middle of the river	9
8	warn t	293	8	ain t no	67	8	but i didn t	21	8	a quarter of a mile	8
9	i was	290	9	out of the	61	9	i says to myself	21	9	don t make no difference	8
10	and i	288	10	it ain t	54	10	didn t want to	20	10	i see it warn t	7
11	and then	250	11	was going to	53	11	warn t no use	20	11	and there warn t no	6
12	to the	236	12	it was a	50	12	but it warn t	19	12	don t know nothing about	6
13	on the	227	13	there was a	50	13	king and the duke	16	13	i couldn t help it	6
14	it s	226	14	all the time	48	14	the king and the	16	14	i couldn t see no	6
15	was a	223	15	don t know	48	15	i didn t want	15	15	i don t want to	6
16	couldn t	219	16	there ain t	48	16	it ain t no	15	16	i never see such a	6
17	but i	206	17	don t you	46	17	a kind of a	14	17	it ain t no use	6
18	he was	204	18	the old man	45	18	i didn t know	14	18	it don t make no	6
19	out of	201	19	i warn t	44	19	in the middle of	14	19	made up my mind i	6
20	so i	176	20	i wouldn t	43	20	ain t got no	13	20	see it warn t no	6
21	wouldn t	176	21	i hain t	40	21	all the time and	13	21	the head of the island	6
22	and he	172	22	didn t know	38	22	by and by he	12	22	about a quarter of a	5
23	it and	165	23	he didn t	38	23	i couldn t see	12	23	and one thing or another	5
24	i says	163	24	said it was	38	24	i don t want	12	24	as quick as i could	5
25	up and	160	25	and then he	37	25	a quarter of a	11	25	at the head of the	5
26	in a	157	26	it s a	35	26	ain t going to	11	26	but i couldn t see	5
27	t no	153	27	a couple of	34	27	all of a sudden	11	27	but i didn t see	5
28	going to	146	28	down the river	34	28	and there warn t	11	28	but there warn t no	5
29	that s	142	29	i ain t	34	29	but by and by	11	29	didn t want to go	5
30	got to	141	30	it wouldn t	34	30	don t want to	11	30	down the lightning rod and	5

4.2.1. *It warn't no* vs. *there warn't no*

Warn t no seems to occur in two constructions: *there warn't no* and *it warn't no* (with the respective frequencies of 32 and 30). This gives rise to the question whether the two have similar or different functions, which, in turns, leads us to the question whether or not they are treated in the narrative as two different constructions. Before going into detail, let us have a look at the distributions of *there warn t no* and *it warn t no* in *HF*. *There warn t no* has a *D*-score of 0.7927 while *it warn t no* has a *D*-score of 0.8208. Thus, both are somewhat evenly dispersed throughout HF, as is also seen in the dispersion plots in Figures 6 and 7:

Figure 6: Distribution of *there warn t no* in *HF*

Dispersion plot of THERE WARN'T NO in HF
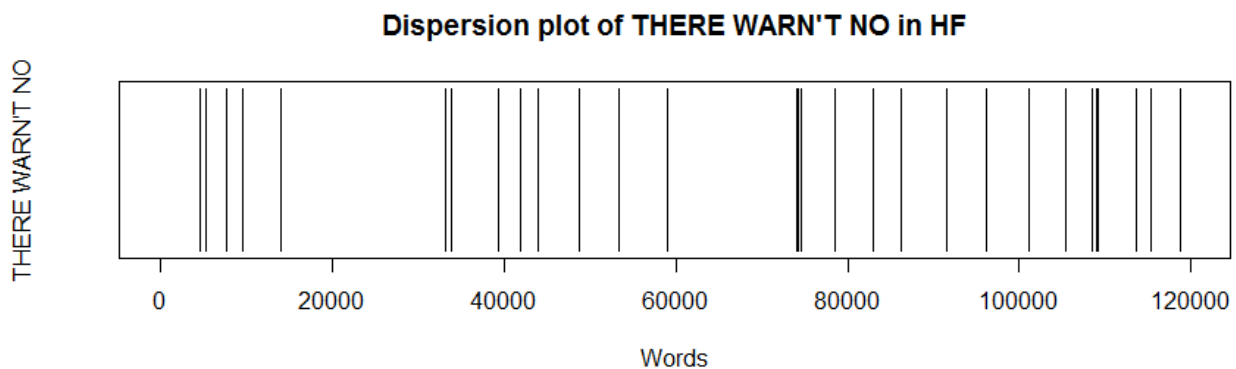
Figure 7: Distribution of *it warn t no* in *HF*

Dispersion plot of IT WARN'T NO in HF
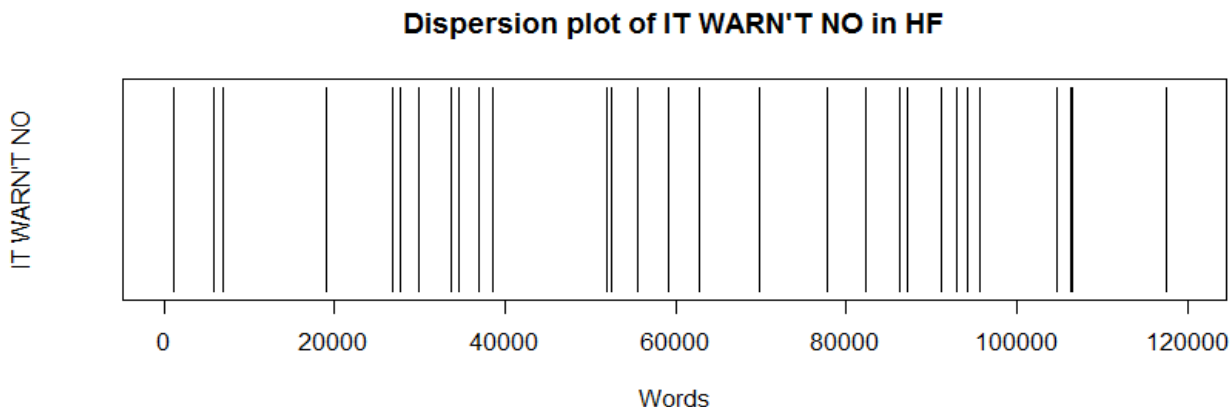
While not extremely frequent, the two expressions nonetheless are more or less evenly distributed over the novel. Thus, we can assume that both, despite their low frequencies, are nonetheless stylistic features of the text and consequently worth investigating further. A concordance was generated for each expression. In Tables 9 and 10, we see excerpts of ten lines from each concordance. It is worth noting that *there warn't no* seems much more productive than *it warn't no*. The following graph, which lists all the lexemes that occur after *no* in both expressions and quantifies their distribution over the two seems to confirm this as seen in Figure 8. As the graph in Figure 8 shows, *it warn't no* occurs with few nouns, with *use* being by far the most frequent. In contrast, *there warn't no* appears with a broader range of lexemes, none of which is particularly frequent. This could suggest that there is a particular affinity between *it warn't no* and *use*.

Table 9: Ten lines from the *there warn't no* concordance

to the illinois shore where it was woody and	there warn't no	houses but an old log hut
in the bottom of it with the saw, for	there warn't no	knives and forks on the place
. if he got a notion in his head once,	there warn't no	getting it out again. he was
half a minute it seemed to me and then	there warn't no	raft in sight; you couldn't
't take the raft up the stream, of course.	there warn't no	way but to wait for dark,
we talked about what we better do, and found	there warn't no	way but just to go along
knob to turn, the same as houses in town.	there warn't no	bed in the parlor, nor a
a mahogany cane with a silver head to it.	there warn't no	frivolishness about him, not a bit
jim to get away from the swamp. we said	there warn't no	home like a raft, after all.
and the duke had their legs sprawled around so	there warn't no	show for me; so i laid
he crowd looked mighty sober; nobody stirred, and	there warn't no	more laughing. boggs rode off

Table 10: Ten lines from the *it warn't no* concordance

't run jim off from his rightful owner; but	it warn't no	use, conscience up and says, every
very well i had done wrong, and i see	it warn't no	use for me to try to
duke, and tried to comfort _him_. but he said	it warn't no	use, nothing but to be dead
as it would keep peace in the family; and	it warn't no	use to tell jim, so i
ever put in in the missionarying line. he said	it warn't no	use talking, heathens don't amount
could lock him up and get him sober; but	it warn't no	use -- up the street he would
something muffled up under his coat and i see	it warn't no	perfumery, neither, not by a long
the poor girl's feelings, and all that. but	it warn't no	use; he stormed right along, and
just like the way it was with the niggers	it warn't no	sale, and the niggers will be
't give in _then_! indeed he wouldn't. said	it warn't no	fair test. said his brother william
d that in the woods, whooping and screeching; but	it warn't no	use -- old jim was gone. then

Figure 8: Lexemes occurring with both expressions
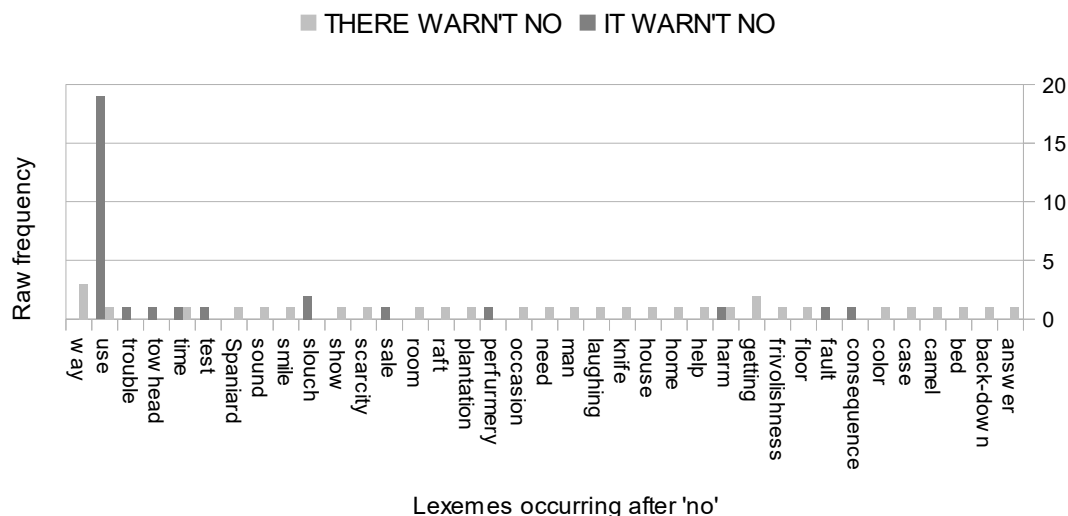
Now, the analysis in Figure 8 is based on the raw frequencies of the lexemes occurring after *no*, and hence not the statistically most sophisticated way to determine the differences in productivity, but more sophisticated collostructional analyses will confirm this. Below is the result of a simple collexeme analysis of the lexemes in *it warn't no* in *HF*:[5]

Table 11: Lexemes in *it warn't no*

Rank	Lexeme	Collostruction strength
1	use	256.5564
2	slouch	24.1934
3	test	16.5595
4	perfumery	16.5595
5	consequence	13.7874
6	sale	11.5574
7	fault	9.3610
8	towhead	8.7332
9	harm	8.6283
10	trouble	5.8229
11	time	3.1681

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5 Simple collexeme analysis is a type of collostructional analysis (e.g. Stefanowitsch & Gries 2003, 2005; Gries & Stefanowitsch 2004) which statistically measures the degree of attraction of a lexeme to a construction. Its mechanics are as follows. For each lexeme, the following frequencies are specified and entered into a 2x2 table: the frequency of the cooccurrence of item and construction, the frequency of the item in all other constructions, the frequency of the construction with all other constructions, and the frequency of all other items in all other constructions. These are through a Fisher-Yates exact test, which may or may not be log transformed. This results in a *p*-value which is a number that indicates the collostruction strength, or degree of lexeme-construction attraction. The higher the number, the stronger the attraction. The output is a list of lexemes, ranked in accordance with their collostruction strengths. In this study, we used log transformed *p*-values, which allow for more fine-grained distinctions among collostruction strengths. We used Gries (2007) to perform our collostructional analyses. Readers who want to know more about the mechanics, application, and theoretical background of simple collexeme analysis are referred to Stefanowitsch & Gries (2003).

In conjunction with Figure 8 above, Table 11 clearly shows that *it warn't no* attracts *use* very strongly with a collostruction strength of 256.5564 against *slouch*'s collostruction strength of 24.1934. With such a difference between the most and second-most attracted items in a construction, we are not unjustified in concluding that *it warn't no use* has a special status as entrenched in the mind of the narrating character in the novel. Thus, in Mark Twain's writing in *HF*, *it warn't no* is treated as a construction primarily associated with *use* in the vernacular spoken by Huckleberry Finn and thus a trait of his mind-style (Fowler 1977) and other characters in the novel. For the sake of comparison, here is the result of a simple collexeme analysis of *there warn't no*:

Table 12: Lexemes in *there warn't no*

Rank	Lexeme	Collostruction strength	Rank	Lexeme	Collostruction strength	Rank	Lexeme	Collostruction strength
1	getting	16.5794	11	plantation	10.6898	21	show	6.3897
2	back-down	16.4283	12	knife	9.9314	22	use	6.3551
3	frivolishness	16.4283	13	need	9.7316	23	room	6.1910
4	occasion	16.4283	14	laughing	9.3837	24	home	6.0989
5	scarcity	16.4283	15	case	8.8304	25	bed	5.7437
6	way	15.8352	16	harm	8.4978	26	house	5.1669
7	spaniard	13.6562	17	floor	7.6750	27	raft	4.9578
8	camel	12.6103	18	answer	7.5449	28	man	3.2084
9	color	11.9312	19	sound	7.0470	29	time	3.0480
10	smile	11.9312	20	help	6.4607			

Compared to Table 10 we are dealing with much smaller collostruction strengths here, and the differences between them are much smaller (some of them are even identical). Finally, in Table 13 are the results of a distinctive collexeme analysis (Gries & Stefanowitsch 2004), which measures a lexeme's constructional-preference out of a set of two or more constructions.[6] The table confirms that there is a special affinity between *use* and *it warn't no*. It also confirms that more lexemes prefer *there warn't no* than *it warn't n*o which seems to confirm the differences in productivity among the constructions.

This difference in productivity indicates that the two expressions are used as two different constructions in the narrative style of the novel. It is well known that, in *HF*, Mark Twain aimed at emulating the vernaculars spoken in the Mississippi Valley in the early nineteenth century. Indeed, in a prologue to the novel, Twain himself explains this:

> IN this book a number of dialects are used, to wit: the Missouri negro dialect; the extremest form of the backwoods Southwestern dialect; the ordinary "Pike County" dialect; and four modified varieties of this last. The shadings have not been done in a haphazard fashion, or by guesswork; but painstakingly, and with the trustworthy guidance and support of personal familiarity with these several forms of speech.

> I make this explanation for the reason that without it many readers would suppose that all these characters were trying to talk alike and not succeeding.

This is where we find the main functional contribution of *it warn't no* and *there warn't no* (in addition to them being *it-* and *there*-constructions).

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6   As with simple collexeme analysis, distinctive collexeme analysis that compares two constructions makes use of Fisher-based *p* values for collostruction strengths (in multiple distinctive collexeme analysis, which compares three or more constructions, the statistical mechanics are different). The input frequencies here are: the frequency of the lexical item in construction A, the frequency of the lexical item in construction B, the frequency of all other lexical items in construction A, and the frequency of all other lexical items in construction B. Readers who want to know more about the mechanics, application, and theoretical background of distinctive collexeme analysis are referred to Gries & Stefanowitsch (2004).

Table 13: Patterns of preference among *it warn't no* and *there warn't no*

Lexeme	Preferred construction	Collostruction strength
answer	there warn't no	1.3382
back-down	there warn't no	1.3382
bed	there warn't no	1.3382
camel	there warn't no	1.3382
case	there warn't no	1.3382
color	there warn't no	1.3382
consequence	it warn't no	1.4694
fault	it warn't no	1.4694
floor	there warn't no	1.3382
frivolishness	there warn't no	1.3382
getting	there warn't no	2.7081
harm	it warn't no	0.0022
help	there warn't no	1.3382
home	there warn't no	1.3382
house	there warn't no	1.3382
knife	there warn't no	1.3382
laughing	there warn't no	1.3382
man	there warn't no	1.3382
need	there warn't no	1.3382
occasion	there warn't no	1.3382
perfumery	it warn't no	1.4694
plantation	there warn't no	1.3382
raft	there warn't no	1.3382
room	there warn't no	1.3382
sale	it warn't no	1.4694
scarcity	there warn't no	1.3382
show	there warn't no	1.3382
slouch	it warn't no	2.9749
smile	there warn't no	1.3382
sound	there warn't no	1.3382
spaniard	there warn't no	1.3382
test	it warn't no	1.4694
time	it warn't no	0.0022
towhead	it warn't no	1.4694
trouble	it warn't no	1.4694
use	it warn't no	29.6418
way	there warn't no	4.1113

In constructing, or reconstructing, the vernaculars in question – in particular that spoken by the narrator – Twain quite successfully, in the perspective of a quantitative linguist, manages to imitate in his novel how language is used, to the point of having his characters use constructions in a way that is very compatible with the discoveries about actual language use that construction grammarians, cognitive sociolinguists, usage-based linguists, corpus linguists and other empirically oriented linguists would make in the twentieth century. Twain not only has his characters speak in a way that imitates certain vernaculars. He has them use different constructions at a level of detail that

includes differences in productivity and schematicity.

4.2.2. Cross-event structuring constructions
In this section, we are going to have a look at *and then* and *by and by* as well as *and so*. The latter does not appear in the top 30 of bigrams in Table 5. However, ranking 34 with a frequency of 136, *and so* is still among the dominant bigrams in the text. Moreover, it is functionally related to the two other N-grams discussed in this section.

Starting with *and then*, a *D*-score of 0.9136 shows that it is very evenly distributed throughout the novel, which is echoed in the dispersion plot below:

Figure 9: Distribution of *and then*
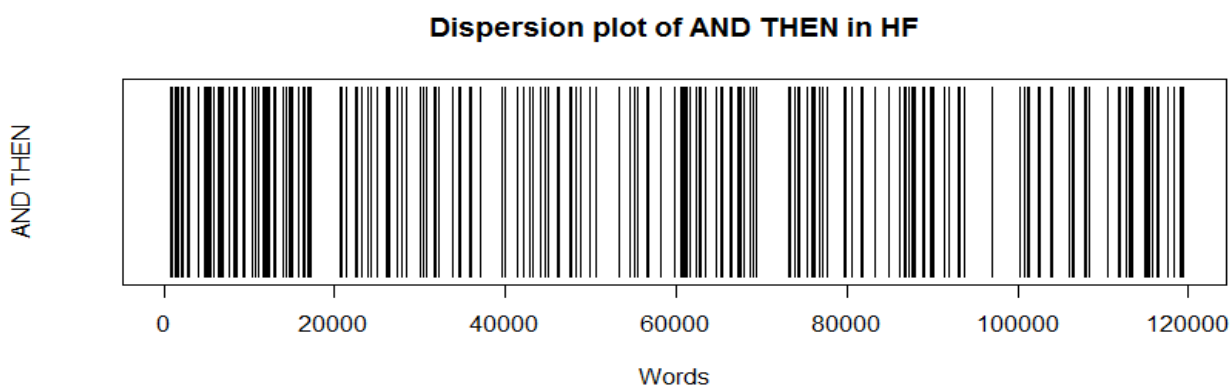
A concordance was generated, yielding examples like these:

(11) He worked me middling hard for about an hour, and then the widow made her ease up.

(12) And if anybody that belonged to the band told the secrets, he must have his throat cut, and then have his carcass burnt up and the ashes scattered all around, and his name blotted off of the list with blood and never mentioned again by the gang, but have a curse put on it and be forgot forever.

(13) Next day he was drunk, and he went to Judge Thatcher's and bullyragged him, and tried to make him give up the money; but he couldn't, and then he swore he'd make the law force him.

(14) I got the things all up to the cabin, and then it was about dark.

(15) Then I took up the pig and held him to my breast with my jacket (so he couldn't drip) till I got a good piece below the house and then dumped him into the river.

In all examples above, *and then* serves to link one clause to another, and, thus, at a functional level, it creates a cross-event relation between the event or scenario expressed by the clause that precedes *and then* and that expressed by the clause that follows *and then*. Thus, it appears that the bigram *and then* reflects a simplistic cross-event-relating construction (Talmy 2000: 345) that we could call the *X and then Y*-construction. At this point, while he does not take a constructionist perspective, it is worth referring to Bache's (2014, 2015) work on the narrative function of *when* in English, as he demonstrates that, in its narrative function, *when* sets up a cross-event relation between two events,

such that one proposition event serves as the background for the other event. The latter event is presented as an important new situation that takes place against the backdrop of the background event. Moreover, the relation between the two cross-related events is characterized by what Bache (2014) calls a narratively intense effect (see also Quirk et al. 1972: 745). This is illustrated by the example below:

(16) I was enjoying the music, *when* suddenly I felt sick.

Bache (2014, 2015) clearly shows that grammatical phenomena, such as *when* can have conventional cross-event relating narrative functions, which can be utilized by speakers and writers in constructing narratives. The cross-event relation in (11)-(15) is one of CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCING in which one event follows in a temporal sequence after the other. This applies to 90% of the occurrences of the bigram (the rest are not instances of the construction). Interestingly, Declerck (1997: 212) and Couper-Kuhlen (1989: 20) both suggest that *and then* and narrative *when* are interchangeable. Bache (2014, 2015) points out that this is not quite the case, as the former is mainly a sequentializing expression while the latter adds a sense of narrative intensity to the relation between the cross-related events. In terms of its contribution to the narrative style of the novel, then, the construction serves to organize the events that make up the narrative. Another important contribution by this construction is its simplicity. *HF* is a first person narrative told by the novel's titular character. Huckleberry Finn is a child, and the overall style of the narrative captures the simplicity with which a child would perceive the world. Thus, the simplistic nature of the *X and then Y*-construction not only contributes to the event-structure of the narrative, but also to the naive, simple, and childish mind-style of the character.[7]

Turning to *by and by*, a *D*-score of 0.7698 indicates that this trigram is somewhat evenly dispersed throughout the text. A dispersion plot shows that, while more frequent in the first half of the text, the expression does recur in the novel as such, arguably warranting the generation of a concordance:

Figure 10: Distribution of *by and by*

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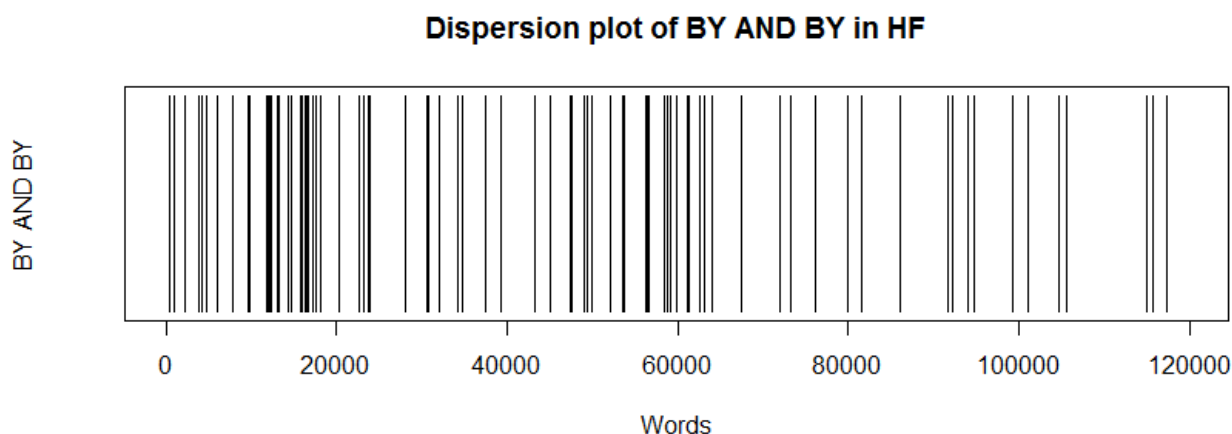
7   Interestingly, Bache (2015) writes that a group informants who are native speakers of present-day English prefer *and then* over narrative *when*, pointing out that the latter comes across bookish while the former is more suitable for spoken communication. The narrative intensity of the latter, Bache suggests, can be salvaged by adding paralinguistic and prosodic features to the utterance that contains the former. This seems to also have been that case at the time of Mark Twain, and thus it would make much sense for him to bestow Huckleberry Finn with a mind-style that emulates the language of speech rather than that of writing.

A pattern, captured by the following examples, emerges from the concordance in which it is quite clear that the trigram has an adverbial function:

(17)   I judged the old man would turn up again by and by, though I wished he wouldn't.

(18)   The widow she found out where I was by and by, and she sent a man over to try to get hold of me...

In both cases, *by and by* seems to have the function of a time adverbial. In (17), it seems to express the eventual happening of an event at some point in the future, and, in (18), it specifies that an event took place after a limited period of time.[8] While we are not going to go into any detail regarding which function is primary, we will note that both functions involve the specification of A PERIOD OF TIME. Indeed, one could argue that the future-indicating function logically draws on the notion of a period of time seeing that A PERIOD OF TIME is bound to separate the FUTURE POINT at which the EVENT will happen from the PRESENT MOMENT. Now, this temporal-adverbial function of *by and by* ends itself well for cross-event relation in the sense that it can allow language users to sequentialize events such that one is set up as following the other after a limited period of time. Indeed, we see this in *HF*, as seen in the following examples:

(19)   At first I hated the school, but by and by I got so I could stand it.

(20)   After supper she got out her book and learned me about Moses and the bulrushers, and I was in a sweat to find out all about him; but by and by she let it out that moses had been dead a considerable long time; so then I didn't care no more about him, because I don't take no stock in dead people.

(21)   Being Tom Sawyer was easy and comfortable, and it stayed easy and comfortable till by and by I hear a steamboat coughing along down the river.

In examples (19) and (20), *by and by* appears in structures where clauses are coordinated, thus specifying the sequentiality and temporal relation between the events expressed by the clauses. In example (21), it sets up the same cross-event-relation between a main clause and a subclause. There is also a variant in the novel where an extrasentential cross-event relation is set up, as seen in the following example (in 75% of its occurrences in the novel *by and by* is used to express cross-event sequentiality, and 59% of those occurrences set up an extrasentential cross-event relation, while 41% set up an intrasentential one):

(22)   I went to looking out sharp for a light, and sort of singing to myself. By and by one showed.

As with *and then*, this is a very simplistic way to structure events in a narrative which seems perfectly compatible with the simple and childish mind-style of Huckleberry Finn. The difference between *by and by* and *and then* is, of course, that the former expresses SEQUENTIALITY OF EVENTS and specifies that A LIMITED PERIOD OF TIME separates the events, while the latter expresses SEQUENTIALITY, but does not encode a temporal separation of the events.

Lastly, let us turn to *and so*, which has a *D*-score of 0.9247. It is thus very evenly distributed throughout *HF*, as reflected in the following dispersion plot:

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8   These functions are corroborated by a number of dictionary entries for *by and by* which list these two meanings, such as *thefreedictionary.com*, *Merriam-Webster*, and *Cambridge Dictionaries Online*.

Figure 11: Distribution of *and so*

Dispersion plot of AND SO in HF
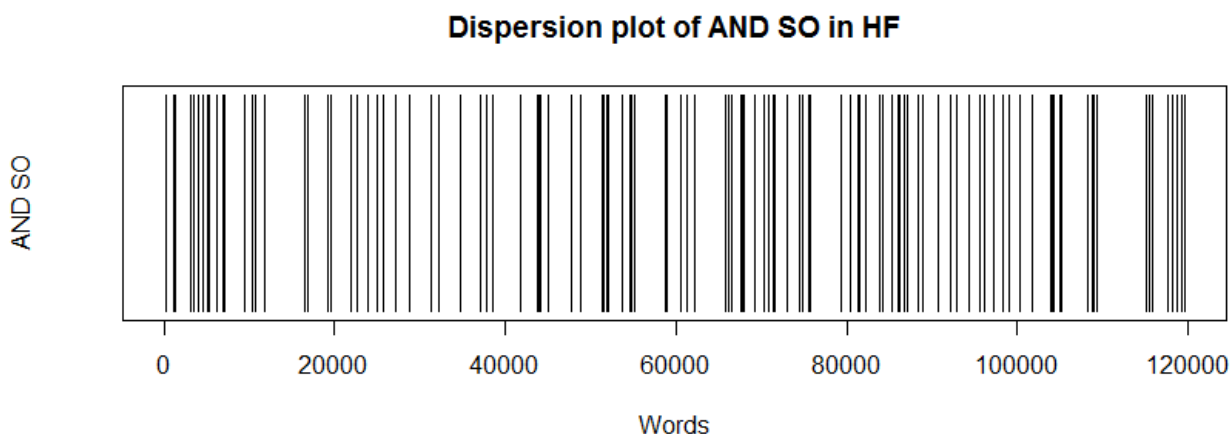
A concordance was generated, yielding examples like the ones in (23)-(25) below. In all three examples *and so* has a sequentializing cross-event relating function akin to that of *and then*: Around 83% of occurrences of *and so* are instances of the cross-event relating construction; the remaining portion comprises instances of *and so on* and *and so forth* as well as the combination of *and* and the proform *so*, as in *and so did his leg*.

(23) … but it was rough living in the house all the time, considering how dismal regular and decent the widow was in all her ways; and so when I couldn't stand it no longer I lit out.

(24) He said he would split open a raw Irish potato and stick the quarter in between and keep it there all night, and next morning you couldn't see no brass, and it wouldn't feel greasy no more, and so anybody in town would take it in a minute, let alone a hair-ball.

(25) We didn't have no dog, and so we had to chase him all over the country till we tired him out.

The reader will have noticed that, while SEQUENTIALITY seems to be a function of *and so* in the text, it has an additional cross-event relating function which is perhaps best described as a type of loose causality in which the event expressed by the clause after *so* follows as a consequence from that of the clause before *so*. This is perhaps clearest in (25) where the chasing of a person is presented as the consequents of the people chasing after him not having a dog to help them. Again, this is a quite simplistic way to express such causality, which suits the mind-style of Huckleberry Finn very well.

4.3.   Comparative N-gram analysis
We have seen that it is possible to extrapolate constructions from N-grams and to address their functional contributions to the texts they appear in. Simple N-gram analysis, like we have seen in sections 4.1. and 4.2., can help us identify and address constructions and their functional contributions in one text or discourse. What simple N-gram analysis does not tell us is whether those frequent combinations of words can also be found in other texts and whether they are particularly frequent in one text, thus delineating it from one or more other texts. To obtain a list of N-grams that really delineate a given text (so that we can identify what N-grams and, at a deeper level, constructions are characteristically associated with the text), a comparative analysis can be useful. A comparative N-gram analysis entails the comparison of frequencies of N-grams across two or more texts or corpora in order to find N-grams that delineate the characteristics of the texts or

corpora in question.

The comparative N-gram analysis is based on the measure for distinctive collexemes (Gries & Stefanowitsch 2004). For each bigram, we entered the following input into a 2x2 table and ran it through a distinctive collexeme analysis:

- the frequency of the bigrams in *AW*
- the frequency of the bigrams in *HF*
- the frequency of all other bigrams in *AW*
- the frequency of all other bigrams in *HF*

The table below summarizes the results. Note that the column named 'collostruction strength', which normally is read as referring to 'degree of lexeme-construction attraction' should in our case be read as 'degree of bigram-text attraction'.

Table 14: Collostruction-based analysis of bigram-text attraction

Bigrams that prefer *AW* (top 20)			Bigrams that prefer *HF* (top 20)		
Rank	Bigram	Collostruction strength	Rank	Bigram	Collostruction strength
1	said the	127.4458	1	ain t	27.046
2	said alice	83.4121	2	warn t	26.9536
3	the queen	51.7526	3	didn t	16.8702
4	mock turtle	40.2463	4	i was	16.4188
5	as she	38.3725	5	i says	15.0384
6	the gryphon	38.0892	6	t no	14.1153
7	the mock	38.0892	7	so i	12.0472
8	the hatter	37.3702	8	and says	11.9
9	to herself	29.4834	9	the duke	11.254
10	the duchess	29.4621	10	couldn t	10.7709
11	she had	28.5327	11	the river	10.7002
12	said to	25.2896	12	and i	10.5681
13	the dormouse	25.1492	13	he was	10.391
14	march hare	22.2742	14	me and	9.5121
15	the march	21.5555	15	by and	9.1315
16	that she	21.4908	16	says i	8.8547
17	went on	20.2767	17	the old	8.3933
18	the mouse	20.1181	18	i reckon	8.1165
19	did not	18.7443	19	he says	8.0106
20	the caterpillar	18.6807	20	done it	7.932

Table 14 shows that the bigram *said the* has the strongest attraction to *AW*, while *ain t* is the most strongly attracted bigram to *HF*. Overall, Table 14 confirms that *AW* is strongly associated with the ITRC-construction, while *HF* is associated with negatives (e.g. *ain t*, *warn t*, *didn t*). It is also important to note that the double-negative marker *t no* as in *warn t no* can also be found in sixth place with a collostruction strength of 14.1153 in *HF*, while *AW* does not have any bigrams that are associated with negatives.

A hierarchical agglomerative cluster analysis was then applied to measure similarities and distances between bigrams, based on their frequencies of occurrence, normalized to per 10,000 words in the two texts. The analysis is summarized in the dendrogram below:

Figure 12: Cluster analysis of bigrams in *AW* and *HF* (Canberra, McQuitty):
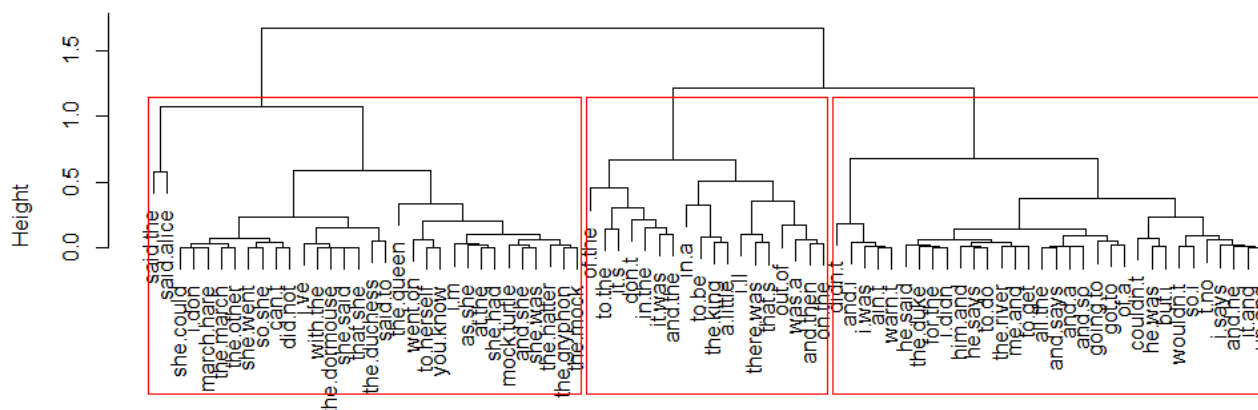
The bigrams fall into three clusters: one which contains bigrams exclusive to HF (such as *warn t*, *ain t*, and *i says*), one that contains bigrams exclusive to AW (such as *said th*e and *said alice*), and one that contains bigrams that appear in both texts (such as *and then*).

The combination of distinctive collexeme-based comparative N-gram analysis and hierarchical cluster analysis show that there are indeed several bigrams that delimit the two texts, but it also reveals that, while the *and then*-construction is a prominent feature of *HF,* it does not necessarily serve to delineate *HF* from *AW*. In future studies the contrast between stylistic prominence and delimitation is worth exploring further.

5. Network analysis

Network analysis provides a methodology to represent the structure of an object by means of a graph (or network) where a relational structure is represented. A directed graph represents a graph with directed edges between vertices, whereas an undirected graph represents a graph with unordered pairs of vertices. Network analysis is used in a wide range of scientific fields, including biology (e.g. bioinformatics, molecular and systems biology), theoretical physics, and chemistry, as well as computer science and engineering (for a series of informative articles on statistical and machine learning approaches using network analysis, see Dehmer & Basak 2012). As will be outlined below, network analysis allows one to characterize the properties of a system in the way that greatly helps one to investigate the system's structure and function. In biology, for example, network analysis has played an important role in characterizing genomic and genetic mechanisms (Barabási & Zoltán 2004; Barabási et al. 2011). Language can also be seen as a system consisting of structure and function, and hence it seems useful to apply network-based methods to its study. Presentation of a full application of network analysis is beyond the scope of the present paper (for a more active application of network analysis in the context of grammatical constructions, see Jensen & Shibuya (in prep. a, b) as well as Brook O'Donnell et al. (ms); Römer et al. (fc), Gries & Ellis (2015), and Ellis et al. (2013)). Instead, in what follows, we will keep to the minimum necessary to introduce the fundamentals of the methods, and then turn to discussing some of the results yielded by an application of network analysis to our sample.

5.1. *Network analysis applied in linguistics*

The application of network analysis in linguistics is currently seeing use within cognitive linguistics and corpus linguistics. In the work of Ellis and colleagues, such as Brook O'Donnell et al. (ms); Römer et al. (fc), Gries & Ellis (2015), and Ellis et al. (2013), network analysis is applied to

identify semantic networks in verb-argument constructions. For instance, Gries & Ellis (2015) apply network analysis at the level of semantics to verb-argument constructions and address the prototypicality of verbs in such constructions, the semantic cohesion of verbs in such constructions, and patterns of semantic prototypicality. Thus, they set up a network of verbs in the English *into*-construction and identify several communities of semantically related verbs such as for instance a deceive community (*deceive*, *fool*, *delude*, *dupe*, *kid*, *trick*, *hoodwink*), a force community (*force*, *push*, *coerce*, *incorporate*, *integrate*, *pressure*), and a persuade community (*persuade*, *tease*, *badger*, *convert*, *convince*, *brainwash*, *coax*, *manipulate*) and are able to address degrees of connectivity between members of such communities.

Our application of network analysis, while applying the same measures, differs from the work of Ellis and colleagues in that we apply network science at the *textual* level, and we base it on observed N-grammic relations. That is, while they apply it at the level of verbs, basing it on lexical relations, in particular verb-argument constructions and set up *semantic* networks, we treat the entire text[9] as a network in which every word in the text is a node. On the basis of the connectivity between those nodes, we can identify relations similar to those between words in N-grams, but transcending the limits of specific N-gram types.

Although they do not address constructions, our work is more akin to Brezina et al.'s (2015) approach to collocations in texts and corpora, in which texts and corpora are treated as networks of collocations than it is to Ellis and colleagues' application of network analysis. A difference between Brezina et al. (2015) and the analyses presented here is, of course, that our work takes its starting point in N-grams while theirs as a type of advanced and sophisticated collocational analysis. Note that, while we use packages in *R*, Brezina et al (2015) use a specialized piece of software called *CollGraph* which was still under development while the analyses presented here were being carried out. That is why, although *CollGraph* may well be applicable in the type of analysis we are interested in, we did not use it for this particular study.

5.2.   Network analysis as an extension of comparative N-gram analysis
We have so far presented a comparative N-gram analysis, where N-grams were first identified in the texts of *AW* and *HF*, and significant N-grams that are characteristic of each of these texts were captured and discussed with respect to their functionality. As with many other methods, N-gram extraction as well as a comparative N-gram analysis has merits and demerits. N-grams can help us identify and address constructions and their functionality in one text or discourse. Comparative N-gram analysis can help us find N-grams that delineate texts or discourses. A problem, however, is that shorter N-grams are embedded in longer N-grams. Bigrams can be found inside some of the trigrams and fourgrams. Note, for example, *said the* can be found inside *said the mock turtle*. That is to say, as a result, our N-gram lists as presented in Tables 3 and 6 contain some redundancy. In the comparative N-gram analyses so far presented, we have mainly focused on bigrams. However, since texts contain both shorter N-grams (unigrams) and longer N-grams (trigrams, fourgrams, etc), it is preferable if we discuss shorter *and* longer N-grams. One way to overcome this type of problem if one is not interested in abstracting from N-grams to more schematic structures is Brook O'Donnell's (2011) adjusted frequency list approach in which the frequencies of larger N-grams that entail shorter N-grams are subtracted from the frequencies of the embedded N-grams. This approach is extremely useful with frequency lists that distinguish between fully fixed phraseological strings and lexemes, but in a study such as this one in which we generalize over certain units in the string, it is not applicable. This is the case of *said the X* in which we generalized over the elements that appear in the *X*-position. In fact, if we subtract the frequencies of larger N-grams that contain

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9   In cases where a full corpus is used, network analysis can be applied at corpus level. In such a case, the entire corpus is represented as a network.

said the from the frequency of the bigram *said the*, the result would be a frequency of 0 for *said the*. The network analysis as illustrated below is an alternative way of handling the descriptive demand of addressing short and long N-grams within the same representational frame.

5.3. *Representing constructions in networks*[10]
5.3.1. Network of N-grams (and underlying constructions) in *AW*
Figure 13 below is a network analysis representation for *AW* (96 most frequent bigrams):

Figure 13: Global network of *AW*
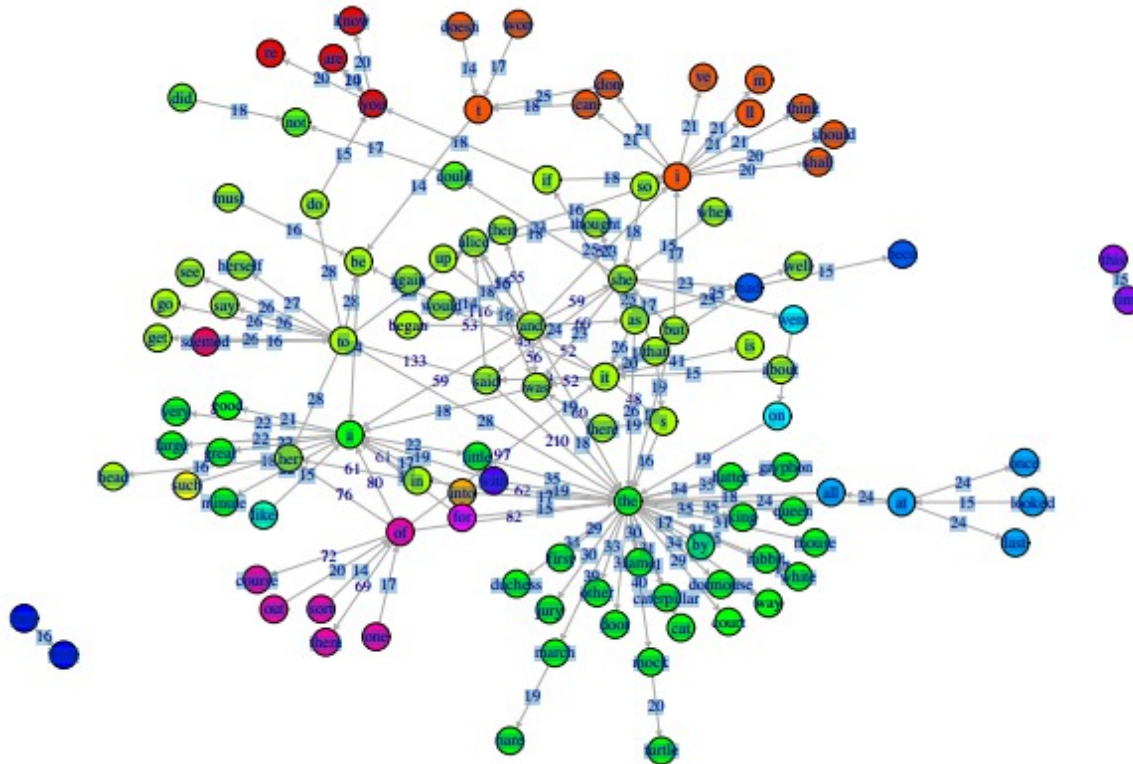
The number between two nodes indicates the frequency of the connected nodes. The color of nodes indicates the connecting edges (community) clustered together based on their "edge betweenness". A network (or graph) consists of nodes that as a whole constitute a global community. A network, however, often forms a nested structure, consisting of several subnetworks (or communities). A subnetwork (or community) is structured such that the nodes included in it are connected often by a number of edges. That is, there is in general a high edge density inside a community. On the other hand, the edge density is low between communities. Each node constitutes a minimal community. A company, for example, is an organization as a whole, consisting of subnetworks called departments or units which ultimately consist of each individual. A way of extracting subnetworks (or communities) in a network is through calculating the edge betweenness of the graph, and this is what is implemented in this figure. For convenience of explanation, consider Figure 14 which zooms in a local network around *the*. First, notice that the node *the* is connected with its co-occurring nouns. The direction of arrows indicates the directionality of word combinations (i.e. *the* and the nouns). As mentioned above, the color of nodes indicates communities in the network. The green nodes, which have been clustered as forming a community in the network, consisting of *the* and the nouns that it determines instantiate the construction [*the* N]/[DEFINITE NOMINAL

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10 As an input for the networks discussed here, the bigrams identified in section 5 were used.

REFERENCE].

Figure 14: Local network around *the* in *AW*

Now, notice next that the node *the* is also connected with another important bigram – namely, *said the*. Recall that *said the* was identified in our N-gram analysis as constituting the most important and frequent bigram in *AW*. Notice yet another important fact in the graph that starting from the node *said* it is possible to find longer strings of words (trigrams) such as *said the king*, *said the caterpillar*, *said the cat*, as well as fourgrams such as *said the march hare* and *said the mock turtle*. As illustrated here, the network analysis based on the identified bigrams thus offers a simple but powerful method for representing both short and long N-grams (and underlying constructions) within the same representational framework. The method lists unigrams, bigrams, trigrams, fourgrams, etc. all at one time, and may thus be considered to provide descriptively an efficient analysis on frequently co-occurring combinations of words (and underlying constructions).

There are many more important aspects to be examined concerning the global network given in Figure 13, but since our main concern is to show the usefulness of network analysis for discovering N-grams (and underlying constructions), we will not further explore the graph. Instead, we now turn to the network of N-grams in *HF*.

5.3.2. Network of N-grams (and underlying constructions) in *HF*
Figure 15 shows the bigram network of *HF* (99 most frequent bigrams). As with *AW*, for convenience of explanation, we will focus here on some local networks in the figure that seem worth a special attention. Figure 16 below represents a local network capturing the auxiliary-with-a-negator construction (or negation construction) consisting of instances such as *couldn-t*, *don-t*, *didn-t*, etc. Notice that nodes instantiating double negation are also represented in the figure. In Figure 16, Consider the circled nodes of *warn-t*, *ain-t*, and *t-no* In the global network presented in Figure 15, it is possible to observe, as illustrated in Figure 17, a few interesting bigrams concerning the first person pronoun *I*: *i reckon*, *says i*, and *i says*. There are also some N-grams of *and* consisting of *and then*, *by and by*, and *and so*, as seen in the local network in Figure 18.

Figure 15: Global network of *HF*

Figure 16: Local network reflective of a negator construction in *HF*

Figure 17: Local network reflective of bi-grams containing *I in HF*

5.4. *Nodes and centrality*

In network analysis, a set of indices is used to characterize the structural properties of networks. Such indices include density, transitivity, reciprocity/mutuality, and centrality. Centrality is among the most frequently used indices, and here we restrict ourselves to this index.

5.4.1. Introducing the notion of centrality

Centrality (commonly called point/node centrality) shows how central each of the vertices (or nodes) in the network is. It is an index used to estimate or compare the importance of each vertex (or node). Several methods have been proposed to evaluate centrality of vertices. One is degree centrality.

Figure 18: Local network of N-grams con-
taining *and* in *HF*
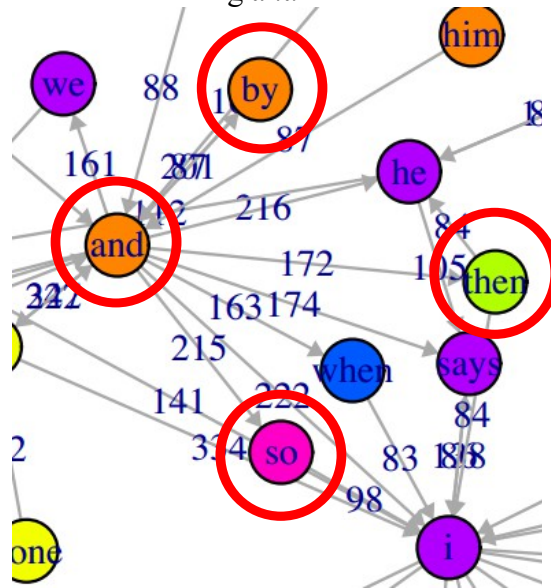
Degree of centrality is the simplest centrality measure among others. It is used to calculate the number of ties that a vertex has in a network. Another centrality measure is called closeness centrality. Closeness centrality measures how many steps are required in order to access every other vertex from a given vertex. A third centrality measure is betweenness centrality. It calculates vertex betweenness. It measures the centrality of a vertex in a network. Its calculation is based on the shortest path between vertices. Yet another centrality measure is eigenvector centrality. This is a higher version of degree centrality in that while degree centrality is measured on the basis of the number of neighbors, the eigenvector centrality measure considers the centralities of neighbors. Figure 19 illustrates the aforementioned centrality measures:

Figure 19: Centrality measures (adapted from Dehmer & Basak
2012: 71)
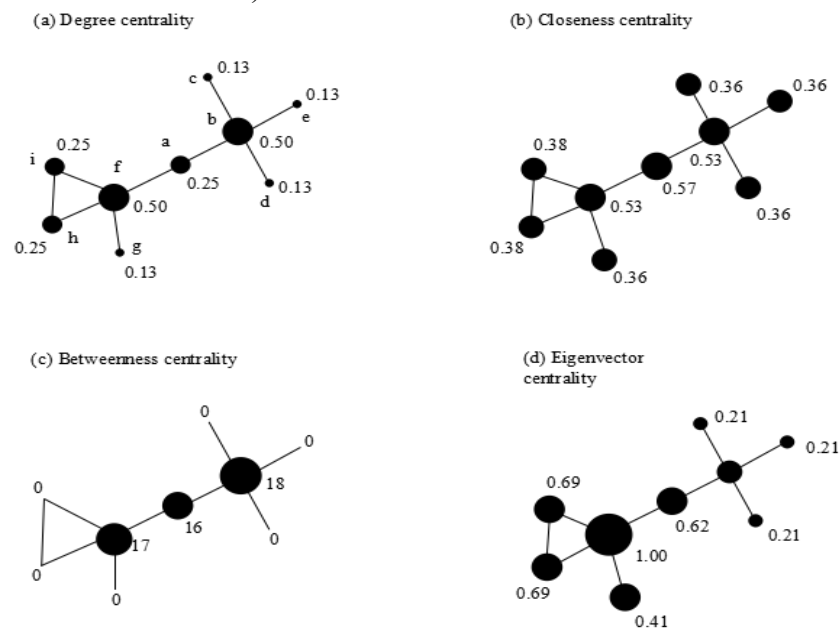
In the figure, the size of a vertex expresses the centrality value. Centrality values and node identifiers are indicated by the numerical values and lowercase letters, respectively. In (a), nodes *b* and *f* have the highest centrality in the network. This is obvious, because degree centrality reflects the node degree. Note that node *a* has high centrality in (b) and (c). The high centrality of node in closeness centrality and betweenness centrality is due to the fact that this node functions as an intersection between two subnetworks consisting of node sets of {*b, c, d, e*} and {*f, g, h, i*}, respectively. That is to say that node *a*, by constituting an intersection between these two subnetworks, can be interpreted as a central node. Closeness centrality and betweenness centrality are both measures based on the shortest path analysis, and hence they can find a central node. As mentioned above, eigenvector centrality is an extended degree centrality, and this is why the results for these two measures are similar in the figure. The fact that the nodes in the triangle consisting of *f, h*, and *i* have high centralities is because eigenvector centrality is based on the centralities of neighbors. As is apparent from this brief description of centrality measures, different centrality measures yield different interpretations. Thus, it is important to choose centrality measures with care.

Having outlined the notion of centrality, we can now turn to analyzing the sample using the index.

5.4.2. Measuring centrality of nodes

Here, we measure the nodes centrality by computing the betweenness centrality. As outlined above, betweenness centrality is a measure concerning the number of shortest paths going through a vertex or an edge. In network analysis, a node with a high degree of betweenness centrality is assumed to play an influential role in the network, because the particular node is connected with other nodes with the shortest paths.

The table below shows the top 15 in *AW* and *HF*, respectively:

Table 15: Top 15 in *AW* and *HF*

Rank	*AW*		*HF*	
	Node	Frequency	Node	Frequency
1	the	750	i	411
2	and	512	and	243
3	it	350	the	180
4	she	330	it	147
5	said	261	was	145
6	to	250	to	90
7	of	231	of	89
8	alice	226	t	80
9	a	211	couldn	80
10	i	135	got	80
11	was	135	a	58
12	as	117	he	57
13	be	77	says	38
14	you	68	s	27
15	t	52	all	24

In between centrality, the larger the value is, the higher the centrality of the node is. It is shown in the table that a number of same words can be found both in *AW* and *HF*, which suggests that their

betweenness centrality is perhaps a general characteristic of the English language. At least, that seems to be the case in written English. Despite this similarity, it is important to note that betweenness centrality also shows us that the words in the table are not listed in the same order in the two texts. Starting from the top of the table, for example, notice that *the* is listed as Number 1 in *AW*, while in *HF i* fills that position. This suggests that the community consisting of *the* and its head nouns constitute the highest betweenness centrality in *AW*, while the community consisting of *i* and its co-occurring words as briefly discussed above constitute the highest betweenness centrality in *HF*. Betweenness centrality thus allows one to quantify significant nodes in a network, which in turn serves to characterize the texts under investigation.

5.5.   *Motivation for network analysis*

After all, short and long N-grams can be identified without network analysis (recall Section 4). Then, what is good about using network analysis? We suggest that there are mainly two points to argue for taking a network analysis approach. Firstly, it allows us to capture several N-gram types simultaneously without too much redundancy. Secondly, the real advantage that network analysis offers is not just its visual effects, but in fact it tells you a lot about the internal functionality of the network. For instance, as discussed in the preceding section, it is possible to compute the centrality of nodes in a network. This method provides estimates regarding the relationship between a network and the functionality of nodes in it. A simple N-gram analysis does not provide answers to these issues.

6.   Concluding remarks

Can N-grams and the more advanced N-gram-based network analysis be used to identify constructions? We have seen that both techniques help to identify recurring strings of recurring words, one difference being that simple N-gram analysis requires the analyst to operate with several lists of N-gram types and make cross references across the lists while the latter enables the analyst to capture all N-grams, regardless of their size, in the same representational network. While the latter has an advantage over the former, both have the distinct advantage that they can be useful for identifying recurring phraseological phenomena in texts or corpora in a fashion that would be impossible for human analysts. Further, since both methods provide frequencies, the analyst is enabled to compare N-gram occurrences across texts or corpora, such that, by applying distinctive collexeme analysis for instance, it is possible to see whether or not the N-gram in question delineates one text or corpus.

What about functionality? Neither N-grams nor N-gram-based networks tell us much about functionality, as they show us purely formal relations. That is, they automatically identify phraseological phenomena and quantify them, but they do not show how the N-grams in question are actually used. However, in automatically identifying recurring strings of words, they guide the analyst in terms of connections between words that are salient in a given text and may be indicative of constructions as functional units. The analyst can then manually, according to their theoretical orientation, investigate the discursive behavior of such N-grams and extrapolate constructions and their functionality in the text or discourse (and, depending on the corpus, in general).

We saw this in our exploratory analyses of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.* In the former, in our simple N-gram analysis, returned several N-grams of the *said the* type. In a concordance, we analyzed all instances of *said the* and found a recurring discursive pattern in which *said the* is reflective of a dialog-ordering construction in which the dialog is topicalized and the speaking character is focalized. We were further able to abstract even further, via a list of bigrams, up to a more general constructional level where other reporting verbs occur in the construction. Similarly, a number of N-grams were identified in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* which displayed discursive patterns reflective of communicative

functions. For instance, the *warn t no*-type N-gram captured two entities that are used as separate constructions in the narrative style – namely, *it warn't no X* and *there warn't no X*. The collostructional analyses confirmed that the two are treated as different constructions, as they display rather different degrees of productivity. Their main functional contribution, however, is constructed by Mark Twain, as he captures the typical discursive behavior of constructions (at least in the perspective of usage-based construction grammar) and imbues the mind-style of Huckleberry Finn with a sense of authenticity. We also found a number of N-grams – namely, the N-grams that capture *and then*, *by and by*, and *and so*, all of which are used in the narrative to organize events in the narrative, and to contribute to the simple and childlike mind-style of the narrator.

The methods presented here need to be applied to further data capturing various types of discourses, and it is very possible that they will have to be modified in a number of ways. However, this initial exploratory study does indicate the usability of N-gram-based analyses (including two comparative N-gram analyses and N-gram-based network analysis) in exploring constructions in an objective and efficient way, which ultimately could contribute to the development of constructionist approaches to language.

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Domestication of English in Africa via proverbial expressions: A lexico-semantic study of transliteration in the English of Akɔɔse native speakers in Cameroon

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Abstract: In most countries where English functions as a second language, it is enriched by a variety of cultural and linguistic colouration. This is the case of Cameroon wherein remnants of the languages surrounding the acquisition of the English language are recurrent in the English that is spoken and written. This paper, therefore, explores the English of native speakers of *Akɔɔse* (an indigenous language spoken by a people known as Bakossi)[1] for proverbial expressions that denote their cultural and sociolinguistic world view. Findings reveal that this group of people provide local values, ethics, ideas, and traditions into the English language, in the process of imparting a moral lesson, expressing some truth ascertained by experience and observation, and giving a piece of advice or a warning on issues of life. Consequently this paper argues that *Akɔɔse* native speakers transpose the *Akɔɔse* proverbs into the English language in order to make the language a chest with treasure which expresses their sociolinguistic world view.

Keywords: Akɔɔse native speaker, Cameroon English, proverbial expression, SLA.

1. Introduction

Every language spreads in order to form a network and, once that language begins to enjoy the largest network of users, the latter will keep multiplying until it becomes a global language. To this end, Bok (2001: 129) presents the inevitability of the spread of a language using 'Metcalfe's Law' which states that "the value of a certain network is proportionate to the square of its users". Thus, the English language is one of the languages that enjoy a domineering network as a result of its spread.

Though the value of the English language network is appropriate to the value of its users, the global spread of English has had widespread linguistic, social, and cultural implications, affecting the lives of millions of people around the world. According to Schneider (2011: 2), nearly every speaker of English today has been exposed to different varieties of global English. People use strange words which may take a while to recognize because they are pronounced somehow differently; and sometimes people build their sentences in ways that will seem odd in the beginning and use novel vocabulary items. This reveals that "English is no longer just 'one language'; it comes in many different shapes and sizes. It is quite different in the many countries and localities where it has been adopted" (Schneider 2011: 2). In these countries and localities, there is the tendency to unconsciously transfer some of the linguistic behaviours of the first language to the English language performance. Consequently, they use the English language in such a way that they incorporate the first language resources while ensuring that the target English language is not very much distorted. Second language users of the English language carry and transfer some of the cultural nuances of the indigenous culture into the English language. In the course, the structure of native-speaker English has to be adjusted to suit the first language surroundings.

In view of the above-mentioned relations, this paper explores proverbial expressions in the English of Akɔɔse native speakers in Cameroon. This is aimed to show how they embellish the English language with their sociolinguistic world view in order to influence behaviour, to justify

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1 *Akɔɔsə* is a coastal Bantu language (with the code 652) of the Mbo Cluster Group (Gutherie 1967) spoken by a people known as Bakossi. This people are located in the Kupe-Muanenguba Division of the South West Region of the Republic of Cameroon..

Research article

behaviour, and to lend support to arguments. It equally aims to actually document these proverbs. The work is divided into four sections: background to the study (2), proverbial expression (3), data and methodology (4), and analysis and discussion of findings (5).

2. Background to the study

The European model of linguistic nationalism – 'one nation, one language' – for creating an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1983) was adopted in many multilingual third world countries as a homogenizing strategy for nation building. This was done to increase domestic communication with one or two western 'colonial' languages as official languages (Wright 2004). The consequence of this action has made the English language become localized and indigenized in a great many different countries; most especially, in the ex-British colonies in the British Empire. To this end, Schneider (2011) argues that the English language is not only viewed as a useful 'international' language, but also it fulfills important local functions. This is because it comes in contact with other languages in the course of its spread and it is modified thereby. As a consequence, the English language has developed local forms and characteristics, so that not infrequently people enjoy using it in 'their own' way with new and innovative forms and structures emerging at the level of vocabulary, syntax and pronunciation. In a nutshell, the non-native users of the English language appropriate and change the language to reflect their own experiences. The linguistic changes can be subsumed under the notion of structural nativisation; that is, "the emergence of locally characteristic linguistic patterns" (Schneider 2007:5-6). In many places, therefore, local ways of speaking English have become new dialects which are used to express regional pride. This regional pride can be defined as a sense of belonging to a place which finds expression through local culture, including language forms.

African speakers of the English language are daring in the subversion and appropriation of this European language. They freely deploy different linguistic strategies to indigenize and domesticate the borrowed medium they employ. Like Achebe (1964: 348) who claims, "I have been given the language (English) and I intend to stretch it to accommodate my African thoughts", Adesanmi (2002), apparently in response to Ngugi's (1981) idealist posture, also boasts that Africans will not only continue to use the English language, they will also subvert, appropriate and decolonize it to express their African experiences and worldview. Consequently, Africans who use the English language as a medium of communication are extending the frontiers of their inherited colonial language, thereby Africanizing it in meaning and structure (Osundare 1995). It is healthy to point out here that a similar process is found in other territories where English has been introduced via colonization. For instance, Ooi (2000) has pointed out that Singaporean and Malaysian Englishes are rich in collocations that reflect Asian realities. In the Cameroonian context, examples of Africanized expressions can be drawn from the novel entitled *Son of the Native Soil* (Ambanasom 2007) and *The Crown of Thorns* (Asong 1995). In the *Son of the Native Soil*, expressions such as "The ***Chind*a**[2] climbed onto the chief's mighty calling drum, **ndek** and delivered the message" (p.16) and "Ekindi entered the hut, sat on a stool and clapped his hands three times, each followed by **Mbe, Mbe, Mbe**[3]" (p.24) Africanizing the English language can be found. Also, in the *The Crown of Thorns*, Africanized expressions such as "[…] I do not know, and I can swear by **Ku-ngang**[4] that I am innocent" (p.32) and "A virgin had been chosen **to wash the genitals of the**

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2 *Chinda* (errand boy) and *ndek* (name of a locally made drum) are lexes from the author's home language. This home language known as *Ngie* is one of the indigenous languages spoken in the North Wes Region of Cameroon.

3 Word of respect uttered by people before addressing traditional rulers in the *Ngie* community. The author of the novel "Son of the Native soil" is a native speaker of *Ngie.*

4 to swear by *Ku-ngang* is the equivalent of the *Nweh* (an indigenous language in the South West Region of Cameroon) expression "ləzo (to swear) ku'ŋgàŋ" (name of a juju in the *Nweh* community)

chief[5] on the first night of his coronation" (p.64) can be found. This is in line with Achebe's (1965) view that the real African must alter the English language to suit African surroundings**.**

Cameroon is a multilingual country wherein 286 indigenous languages co-exist side-by-side with two official languages (French and English) and a number of lingua francas (Pidgin English, Arab Choa, Fulfulde, Mongo Ewodo etc). Thus, it is evident that linguistic borrowing, interference, code-mixing, loan translation and other manifestations of language contact phenomena are abound in the English spoken in Cameroon. In fact, the languages mutually exert some influence on one another. Such influence may be from the official languages to the indigenous languages (Bitja'a Kody 1998), from the indigenous languages to official languages (Echu 1999), from the indigenous languages to Cameroon Pidgin English (Mbassi Manga 1973), from Cameroon Pidgin English to the official languages (Kouega 1998), and from one official language to the other (Mbangwana 1999; Kouega 2005).

The blend of these language contact phenomena, in the English spoken in Cameroon, gives it its peculiarity as one of the World Englishes. The peculiarity and efforts made so far to describe Cameroon English (Echu 2003; Anchimbe 2006; Nkemleke 2006; Sala 2006; Simo Bobda 1994, 2009, 2010; Epoge 2012a, 2012b, 2014) reveal that Cameroonians tend to speak English in slightly different ways and with varying degrees of fluency and accuracy, depending on what part of the country they come from and on the level and type of formal education they have received. Besides, the Akɔɔse native speakers stretch the English language, through the use of proverbs, to accommodate Bakossi thoughts, worldview and cosmic vision.

3.   Proverbial expression

A proverb is broadly construed as a concise statement, in general use, expressing a shrewd perception about everyday life or a universally recognized truth (e.g. *A person does not die of yaws when he has nails on his fingers*. [Meaning "you do not die in need when you have the means to provide the need"]). It can also be viewed as a phrase, saying, truth, morals, experience, lessons, and a piece of advice concerning life and which has been handed down from generation to generation. Thus, a proverb is a witty saying that captures the logic, culture and observations of a people. It often evolves from traditional lore, history, and religion, and is usually attributed to elders as it is believed to contain the wisdom of the elders or ancestors in the society (Olatunji 1984). Besides, proverbs have a didactic function in that they express cultural principles and concepts on how people should behave in society and in all situations in life. This may be in the form of prescriptive rule or warning, statements ascertained by experience or observation, as well as suggestions on a course of action. Furthermore, they carry emotionally-charged subject matter and express many abstract concepts to extend thought and to demonstrate that things in life are related and systematic in ways we can comprehend.

Though the above-stated, several scholars have attempted to define proverb from the dimension and view point that is more appealing and encompassing to them. Consequently, it has been defined variously as follows: (i) "a lexical element…which is learned as and reused as a single unit with frozen internal structure" (Cram 1994:75); (ii) a succinct and pungent expression, used to add grandeur to an otherwise ordinary speech; (iii) a "phraseme"; that is, a unit that is coherent and cohesive, able to stand independently and be meaningful without recourse to another text (Lamidi 2008); (iv) "a short pithy saying in general use, stating a general truth or a piece of advice" (New Oxford Dictionary of English 2001); (v) "a short sentence, usually known by many people, stating something commonly experienced or giving advice"; and (vi) "a short pithy saying in common and recognised use; a concise sentence, often metaphorical or alliterative in form, which is held to

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5   The meaning is "to have sex with the chief". The *Nweh* equivalent of the expression is *lə soh* (to wash) *acena* (sex) *fua* (chief). The author of the novel *The Crown of Thorns* is a native-speaker of *Nweh*.

express some truth ascertained by experience or observation and familiar to all" (Oxford English Dictionary 1989). It is healthy to point out here that defining a proverb is an old problem. Mieder (1999) states that not only did such great minds as Aristotle and Plato occupy themselves with the question of what constitutes a proverb, but early Greek scholars in particular wrestled with this seemingly insurmountable task as well.

In fact, there are varied definitions of what a proverb is. However, one thing which comes out clearly from all these definitions is that proverbs are devices which reflect cultural wisdom and express cultural principles on how people should behave in society and in all situations in life. People epitomise their way of thinking, their feelings, and their ideas through proverbs in order to influence behaviour, to justify behaviour, to lend support to arguments, and to reflect the values and philosophy of those who use them. In this way, proverbs are likened to "the wisdom of the streets" and "the children of experience". Thus, with regard to this study, proverbs are broadly construed as witty sayings used to add grandeur to an otherwise ordinary speech, express a general truth ascertain by experience, give a piece of advice, or pass on a moral lesson.

It is worthy of note that proverbs, as pointed out by Arora (1984), are appealing because they are succinct and are characterized by typical stylistic features such as:

- rhyme (e.g "A friend in need is a friend indeed", "When the cat is away, the mice will play")
- irony (e.g. "Physician, heal thyself" (Luke iv. 23)[6]
- alliteration (e.g. "Forgive and forget"), metaphor (e.g. "Still water runs deep")
- parallelism[7] (e.g. "Nothing ventured, nothing gained")
- comparison or contrast (e.g "Feed a cold and starve a fever")
- ellipsis (e.g. "Once bitten, twice shy")
- hyperbole (e.g. "All is fair in love and war")
- paradox (e.g. "For there to be peace there must first be war")
- personification (e.g. Hunger is the best cook)

Proverbs exist in all human languages, but they may vary in their importance in each culture. In African societies, they are considered important devices that reflect cultural wisdom. For instance, to the Akɔɔse native speaker's mindset, a language without the use of proverbs is like a chest without a treasure. Nkwellengome (2008: 5) succinctly illustrates this with the analogy of the ingredients that constitute a typical Akɔɔse traditional meal, when he states that

> a typical Bakossi traditional meal is pounded cocoyam (*ésúbāg*), a salt-less sauce prepared out of cocoyam leaves (*nzab e ngên*) and specially prepared plantain paste (*mpûb*), for which either meat, fish or cocoyam leaves is added. The last of these ingredients, *mpûb*, is what makes the meal particularly enjoyable. This is the part played by proverbs in a conversation for effective communication in *Akɔɔse*.

This citation reveals that proverbs provide a window into local values, ethics, ideas and traditions that direct questioning will not. Consequently, in the context of speaking, a proverb is used to

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6   Jesus Christ used this proverb on the occasion of his fist open appearance in the synagogue of Nazareth, He refers to the proverb, Physician, heal thyself (Luke iv. 23), as one which his hearers will perhaps bring forward against Himself; and again presently to another, A prophet is not without honour but in his own country, as attested in his own history; and at the well of Sychar He declares, 'Herein is that saying,' or that proverb, 'true, One soweth and another reapeth' (John iv. 37).

7   A 'parallel' proverb has two halves that share the same syntactic structure. Typically, there is some repetition of words and/or affixes.

capture the totality of an experience such as warning, advice, rebuke, etc. which suits the occasion of discourse. For instance, Mr Mbullepie, Mr Mbontehwah, and Mr Peter Jackson were having a conversation on how Mr Nkwellebong, the Manager of the company in which they are shareholders, was managing the company. In the course of the conversation, Mr Mbullepie realized that Mr Mbontehwah and Mr Peter Jackson are very critical of the attitude of Mr Nkwellebong in handling the affairs of the company. Mr Mbullepie therefore makes the comment "Chase away the fox first then later rebuke the chick". Because this expression is an Akɔɔse proverb, Mr Mbontehwah, a native speaker of Akɔɔse, understood its meaning[8] and origin;[9] whereas, Mr Peter Jackson, a non-native speaker of Akɔɔse, did not. In this conversation, Mr Peter Jackson, a non-native speaker of Akɔɔse, might wonder why there would be a fox and a chick in a conversation dealing with the management of a company. In fact, the image Mr Peter Jackson may conjure, based upon the literal words of this proverb, would be nonsensical since he does not understand the meaning and origin of the proverbial expression.

This portrays that, native speakers of Akɔɔse usually express their understanding of the beliefs, values and surroundings in ordinary daily conversations through proverbs. In this way, proverbs fill in an important role in the transmission of beliefs, knowledge, and social values. They express principles and concepts on how people should behave towards friends, neighbours, parents, and in all daily situations of life.[10]

4.   Data and methodology

The data for this study, which are both written and spoken, are obtained through recordings and field investigations over the past six years. The spoken data were obtained through a dictaphone and a tape-recorder. The recordings involved mainly the formal and informal conversations at different social events, debates, conferences and seminars in which Akɔɔse native speakers were involved as well as Akɔɔse native speakers' group meetings. The informal recordings reflect different settings, ages, and educational backgrounds. Some of the data are also drawn from radio and television discussions in the English language in which Akɔɔse native speakers were involved. The spoken data make up two-third of the data. The written material, which make up one-third of the data, comes from the literary productions of Akɔɔse native speakers in English: *The Tradition of a People Bakossi* (Ejedepang-Koge 1986); *The Lady with a Beard* (Alobwed'Epie 2008); *The Lady with a Sting* (Alobwed'Epie 2010) as well as local Newspapers' articles written by Akɔɔse native speakers in English. With the assistance of some English language experts in the country and twenty-five postgraduate students, the present researcher identified an impressive number of proverbial expressions in the written and extemporaneous speech of the subjects.

The next stage in the exercise consisted in checking the meanings of the expressions. The technique adopted was that of giving the meaning of each of the proverbial expression identified. As I am a native speaker of Akɔɔse, I carried out this exercise in order to prove and authenticate the meaning of the proverbial expressions I have got already in the different contexts in which they were used. Besides, since a proverb is a concise sentence, often metaphorical in form, it requires proper decoding. In order to do this, interpretation need to be sought from two or three sources so that the researcher can make an authentic statement. Thus, subjects were asked to give the meaning of the proverb(s) they have used. Some elderly persons, who have a thorough grasp of Akɔɔse, were

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8   The meaning is "defend your relative in public; then, later come home and resolve your differences".

9   The fox is an enemy to the chicken; consequently, to the man who owns the chicken. Most often, the owner of the chicken will build a small hurt for them and would expect them to remain in it so that they are protected from hawks and foxes. However, the chicken will sometimes stray and go out against the owner's wish. In the event of attack on a chick, there is a tendency for the owner to be angry with the chick and leave it to bear the consequences of its foolish act. However, it is considered wiser to first save the chick's life by chasing the hawk or fox.

10 This is the didactic function of proverbs that the custodians of the Bakossi tradition pass on to every generation

also met to provide meanings to the proverbs identified. Mastery and fluency in Akɔɔse were the most significant variables for this stage. Consequently, all subjects were chosen with these two variables in mind. To be more specific, each potential subject was to meet the following two requirements: (a) be an Akɔɔse native speaker and (b) have mastery and fluency in Akɔɔse. The proverbs cited as illustrations in this work are recognized and accepted by all the informants: they actually provided the same meanings as the ones I got in the different contexts in which they were used.

After ascertaining the meaning, the proverbial expressions were categorised into sub-classes. The sub-classes identified include proverbs: imparting a moral lesson, expressing some truth ascertained by experience or observation, giving pieces of advice concerning issues of life, and giving a warning.

5.   Analysis and discussion of findings
A proverb is often woven round a particular theme, concept or idea which has resemblance with the events in which the proverb is used. From the data collected, it is noticed that Akɔɔse native speakers make use of literary aesthetics in the English they speak, through the use of proverbs, to impart a moral lesson (5.1), express some truth ascertained by experience or observation (5.2), give a piece of advice (5.3), or give a warning (5.4).

5.1.   *Proverbs imparting a moral lesson*
A moral lesson relates to the standards of good behaviour which the society believes in. The native speaker of Akɔɔse believes that moral lessons could guide one's life minute by minute towards noble goals, rather than one's life being controlled by self-serving motives, impulses or emotions. To them, proverbs imparting a moral lesson inspire and motivate the addressee by giving him the energy and zest for living and for doing something meaningful. Some of the proverbs identified in the English of Akɔɔse native speakers which are uttered to impart a moral lesson include:

(1)   A person does not die of yaws when he has nails on his fingers. (Meaning "you do not die in need when you have the means to provide the need")

(2)   Praying for rain to fall is calling for weeds to grow. (Meaning "every good thing that comes one's way, comes with its responsibilities")

(3)   It is not the size of the legs that pound palm nuts. (Meaning "size is not ability")

(4)   One does not detach the fingernail from the finger. (Meaning "one's relative will always remain the person's relative whatever the circumstances")

(5)   When a deer grows old, it breast-feeds from the child. (Meaning "when a parent grows old, he/she depends on his/her children for livelihood")

(6)   The leg of a mother-hen does not kill its chick. (Meaning "a disciplinary measure inflicted by a parent on a child is not meant to harm the child")

(7)   The teeth of an old man are not counted. (Meaning "do not expose an error or a mistake of an old man")

(8)   An elder's flatulence does not smell. (Meaning "the error or mistake of an elder is not

exposed")

(9)   When calming down those who set the traps, also calm down those who go checking the traps for game. (Meaning "peacemakers must play a neutral role")

(10)   Let the flies themselves eat the ears of the puppy. (Meaning "let the problems that befall someone take care of him")

(11)   An empty hand doesn't go to the mouth. (Meaning "a person has to work in order to eat". This could be likened to the English proverb "No food for a lazy person")

(12)   When the flow of palm wine reduces, it leaves the tapper with debts. (Meaning "when the means that enables one to meet his needs fail to do so, he faces a difficult situation)

(13)   He who likes the dog must like its wet nose as well. (Meaning "When you accept someone as a friend, spouse etc, you must bear both his/her good and bad behaviour")

(14)   Blood in the mouth is not poured out in its entirety. (Meaning "Not all the evil done to you by your close relative is exposed or said in public")

(15)   Plums beside the home are not harvested with a hook. (Meaning "family issues are not discussed outside the home or with a third party")

(16)   When a woman is good at bed, you shouldn't break her leg. (Meaning "someone's kindness should not be taken as a sign of weakness")

(17)   A man has to hold his manhood so that urine will have direction. (Meaning "a man should have a focus in whatever he is doing")

(18)   A stream meanders because there was no one to direct it. (Meaning "someone makes a mistake or an error because there was no one to guide or to give him a piece of advice")

(19)   Fingernails of an elder are not rid of dirt. (Meaning "an elder will always have the means to solve a problem or provide the necessary need")

(20)   What concern does a bird have with a toothbrush? It hasn't got teeth. (Meaning "Why do you involve yourself in an issue that does not need your attention?" or "why are you interested in something that is of no value to you?")

(21)   A child's machete is sharpest in the morning. (Meaning "a young person's reaction or action comes up very fast")

(22)   It's when the house sends something outside that the outsiders receive. (Meaning "it is when a close aide or relative exposes the weaknesses or wrongdoings of someone that the others hang on to slander or punish the person")

These proverbs are said as part of a person's speech in a context wherein a moral lesson is imparted. This context can be defined as the situation or event that provoked the invocation of a proverb.

Consequently, each proverb must conform to the norms of interpretation and interaction in imparting the lesson. The next group of proverbs includes those that express some truth ascertained by experience or observation.

5.2. Proverbs expressing some truth ascertained by experience or observation
Truth denotes real facts about a situation, event or person. This entails enough emotional development to feel guilty when we say something wrong and enough social development to accept our responsibility for respecting propriety and decorum in what we say. In a nutshell, truth entails a cognitive development to be able to place ourselves in another person's shoes. Some of the proverbs, identified in the English of native speakers of Akɔɔse, that express truth ascertained by experience or observation are as follows:

(23) The head cannot be hit and you expect the teeth to laugh on. (Meaning "a misfortune that befalls a person affects his/her relatives")

(24) The eye does not take a fish out of a river. (Meaning "seeing something doesn't give you access to it". It can be likened to the English proverb "If wishes were horses, beggars would ride")

(25)   A debt lasts but never rots. (Meaning "any evil committed has to be paid for some time" or "no matter how long it takes, justice must take its course". It can be likened to the English proverb "What goes up must come down")

(26) The horns are never heavy for a cow. (Meaning "problems that come a man's way are never beyond his ability to bear them")

(27) The talkative weaver bird does not build a nest. (Meaning "a person who talks so much does not always complement his words with action")

(28) The head owner does not shave his hair. (Meaning "a person caught or entrapped in a particular situation or problem is not the best person to get himself out of it")

(29) If you do not know how to shape a wedge, look at the ears of a dog. (Meaning "if you do not know how to do something, be prepared to learn from those who know how to do it")

(30) Blood follows the vein. (Meaning "a child takes after the parents")

(31) Knocks do not buy a calabash. (Meaning "no matter how much you desire something, you can't get it if you do not have the means to purchase it". It can be likened to the English proverb "If wishes were horses then beggars would ride")

(32) It is one piece of a snake that is used in measuring the other piece. (Meaning "if a rule or a law is applicable or was applied to one person, the same rule or law should be applied to the others". This can be likened to the English proverb "what is good for the goose is also good for the gander")

(33) A person doesn't kill an owl and dread its eyes. (Meaning "if you stir up a situation you should not dread its consequences")

(34) The palm wine has flown out of the jug but has not damaged it. (Meaning "the foetus has successfully come out of the woman's womb without destroying it or taking away the mother's life")

(35) When old palm trees die, the young palm trees grow in their place. (Meaning "when old people retire, the young people take over the baton". Or "The old order changes to give place to the new")

(36) On day does not cause meat to rot on the trap. (Meaning "certain things can be postponed in case of extreme necessity without much trouble or lose")

(37) When a drum is displaced it also changes its sound. (Meaning "situations and opportunities may never remain the same"; "The further the time elapse for an event, the more difficult it becomes to handle the situation"; or "When a piece of information passes from one person to another, it changes its contents")

(38) Crying will eventually come out of a very sick person's room. (Meaning "something evil that is kept hidden will surface someday").

(39) A person who crosses a river, always has water on his legs. (Meaning, "the character of a person always reflects in the person's behaviour")

(40) A person who harvests palm cones is never tired of carrying water. (Meaning "a person who is used to doing a difficult task easily copes with less difficult ones")

(41) When a stream rumbles, then there are stones in it. (Meaning "a person is renowned or successful in life when he has people supporting him" or "if a place is renowned then there are people keeping it alive")

(42) The tip of a cooking spoon is not afraid of the steam from the boiling pot. (Meaning "one is used to difficult situations" or "one is not scared of the ranting and threats")

(43) Whatever spills over does not attain the initial quantity when gathered. (Meaning "a relationship that went sour cannot be as it were, before it went sour, after reconciliation")

(44) The Bakossi hut (ndab ejum) does not pass in the bush. (Meaning "a hidden issue will always surface one day")

(45) The hand that beats the drum never forgets its rhythm. (Meaning "one can hardly give up what he/she is used to doing")

(46) Pools of water in the morning portray that rain fell at night. (Meaning "every realization entailed a lot of background preparation")

(47) It is the nose that proves the dog that leaked oil. (Meaning "it is the consequences of an evil act that make people know the perpetrator")

(48) Your hands wouldn't taste bitter if you haven't washed bitter-leaf. (Meaning "you will not be

judged and condemned if you are not guilty of the act or crime")

(49) Until a rat eats pepper, it won't know that everything in the kitchen is not meat and fish. (Meaning " it is when one commits an act that he dreads or cannot bear the consequences, will he learn to be cautious")

(50) A lion dent is never empty of its off springs. (Meaning "a family of nobles will always produce people of noble character")

(51) When someone puts to birth, she does not take palm oil from the band. (Meaning "a person caught or entrapped in a particular situation or problem is not the best person to get himself out of it")

(52) When you are bitten by a snake, you become afraid of millipedes. (Meaning "when you have been deceived once, you have to be very careful in dealing with issues that come your way". It can be likened to the English proverb "Once bitten, twice shy")

(53) Fingernails do not refuse itches. (Meaning "you cannot abandon your close relation")

(54) A rat with stripes does not give birth to an ordinary rat. (Meaning "children take after the parents")

(55) A corpse does not occupy the grave to the brim. (Meaning "you should not expect to have much before you can give out a share to someone").

(56) You can tell a blind man that there is oil in the soup but you cannot tell him that there is pepper. (Meaning "you can deceive someone at a time but you cannot deceive him all the time")

A proverb is often woven round a particular theme, concept or idea which has resemblance with the event in which the proverb is used. Thus, the proverbs in (23)-(56) are used in a situation or event wherein a lesson on some truth ascertained by experience or observation is passed on. It is the context of the situation or event that provokes the invocation of a proverb. In this context, each proverb must conform to the norms of interpretation and interaction in passing on the lesson. The next group of proverbs includes those that give pieces of advice concerning issues of life.

5.3. Proverbs giving pieces of advice concerning issues of life
A piece of advice is what is judged wise and necessary at a point in time in order to guide the addressee's life towards noble goals or set objectives. Pieces of advice can not only guide, but also enable the addressee to know where he is going to before he can get there. The proverbs below were identified in this category in the English of native speakers of Akɔɔse.

(57) A corpse that has nobody to hold it does not tilt its head. (Meaning "a person who does not have someone to help him, does not anticipate help")

(58) A domestic yam fruit sprouts in the eye (bud) while a wild yam fruit sprouts in the waist (middle). (Meaning "a sensible and cautious person takes necessary precautions". It can be likened to the English proverb "A word to a wise is sufficient")

(59) A young snake that is old enough to cross the road is also mature enough to have its head chopped off. (Meaning "a child who is grown up enough to cause trouble is also mature to face the consequences")

(60) If a man does not understand the language of the drum, he says the drum is making a noise. (Meaning "a man cannot appreciate what he does not understand")

(61) When a finger touches excreta it is not cut off, it is only washed. (Meaning "if a person makes a mistake or an error, he/she is not rejected for it. He is only corrected ")

(62) The bitter kola does not have lobes. (Meaning "people of one family or group do things as one")

(63) Chase away the fox first then later rebuke the chicken. (Meaning "defend your relative in public; then, come home and resolve your differences")

(64) When thieves sleep in two different houses they get convicted. (Meaning "when two parties don't agree on an issue of common interest, they don't succeed").

(65) However a pig is washed it never forgets mud. (Meaning "no matter what you do to change some people, they may always return to their evil ways")

(66) When the river travels alone, it meanders. (Meaning "a person who does things by himself without consulting others or concerting with others always makes mistakes" This can be likened to the English proverb "Two heads are better than one")

(67) When the borders of a farm are extensive, the suckers get rotten. (Meaning "when someone has too many responsibilities, certain things may not be done correctly")

(68) Don't throw out the child together with the water you used in bathing him. (Meaning "reject a person's opinion but not the person")

(69) They don't count heads (corpses) at the end of war. (Meaning "if people who have had a problem decide to reconcile, it is not always good to mention the cause of their problem while reconciliation is going on, to avoid hurting the wounds". It also means "for true reconciliation and lasting peace, the parties concerned must bury the past")

(70) A child being carried on the back never knows how lengthy the road is. (Meaning "a person at the receiving side never understands how difficult it is to provide")

(71) Don't shelter from rain, where you know you will not be able to sleep. (Meaning "don't stir up a situation knowing you wouldn't be willing to accept or bear the consequences")

(72) The chick that peaches harmless ants should know that the sky is not yet rid of hawks. (Meaning "a person who bullies or hurts innocent people should bear in mind that justice will prevail")

(73) When kola nut last long in the mouth, it becomes acerbic. (Meaning "a discussion on an issue

that last for a long period of time, becomes boring")

(74) If you have eaten pork, you shouldn't be afraid of imprisonment. (Meaning "when you are guilty for a crime committed, you shouldn't run away from its consequences")

A proverb is a tool used to guide the addressee's life towards noble goals. Thus, the proverbs above are said as part of a person's speech in a situation or event wherein a piece of advice concerning an issue of life is given out. In this context, each proverb must conform to the norms of interpretation and interaction in giving out pieces of advice concerning issues of life. The next group of proverbs includes those that give warning.

5.4. Proverbs giving warning
The proverbial expressions that give a warning are addressed to someone to make him aware, in advance, of impending harm, danger or evil in the course of an action. So, it is something that makes the addressee understand that there is a possible danger or problem, especially in the future. Some of these proverbs which characterize the English of *Akɔɔsə* native speakers are:

(75) A young porcupine that does not avoid traps doesn't live long. (Meaning "a child who does not avoid confrontations or trouble does not live long or is hardly successful")

(76) A young snake that is old enough to cross the road is also mature enough to have its head chopped off. (Meaning "a child who is grown up enough to cause trouble is also mature to face the consequences")

(77) A person who invokes rain should have a leaf to cover himself up. (Meaning "a person who stirs up a trouble should be ready to face the consequences")

(78) When the Mbɛsú[11] dance is too prolonged, people clap on their laps. (Meaning "too much of anything becomes a disease")

(79) An eye that will go bad doesn't respond to eye drugs. (Meaning "anybody who doesn't heed advice ultimately ends up in trouble")

(80) You don't shoot an elephant on its forehead. (Meaning "you do not challenge an elder in public")

(81) One bad tooth makes the whole mouth smell. (Meaning "a bad example shown by one person gives a bad impression of the whole group or community")

(82) The dog that doesn't listen to the sound of the hunting bell ends up not being a good hunting dog. (Meaning "the child who doesn't heed pieces of advice given to him, grows up not being a good child").

(83) A finger that is stiff does not remove grubs. (Meaning "People hardly open up to a person who is stingy")

(84) A person does not die over a raffia palm for its stalk. (Meaning "you shouldn't be deceived by

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11 *Mbɛsú* is a traditional Bakossi dance whereby dancers clap their hands while dancing.

the outward appearance". This can be likened to the English language proverb "All that glitters is not gold")

(85)   A tree that refuses to bend for the wind must be uprooted. (Meaning "a person who does not respect the laws of the community must be dealt with accordingly". It also means that "a person who does not succumb to popular pressure will end up in a doom")

(86)   A child who does not know that a leaf is medicinal calls it mere vegetable. (Meaning "a person who does not know the worth or value of something cannot appreciate it)

(87)   Tickling breeds laughter. (Meaning "Serious things begin like a joke")

(88)   The red ant is still under the bed. (Meaning "danger is still lurking around")

(89)   A short man cannot hang his coat where his hand cannot reach. (Meaning "do not anticipate things you know that are not within you reach". It can be liken to the English proverb which holds that "cut your coat according to your cloth")

(90)   A wizard is not half white. (Meaning "you cannot tell the nature of someone by merely looking at his/her appearance).

(91)   Flatulence calls for faeces. (Meaning "provocation or mockery breeds anger and repulsiveness")

(92)   It is trouble that has caused prawns to have a deformed back. (Meaning "someone's miserable situation is as a result of something")

Proverbs are used to influence behaviour and to lend support to arguments. These proverbs are used in a context wherein a warning against a potentially risky or damaging course of action is given out. In this context, each proverb must conform to the norms of interpretation and interaction in giving out the warning.

6.   Conclusion
This paper has examined the use of proverbial expressions in the English language spoken by native speakers of Akɔɔse in Cameroon. It comes out from the data that proverbs that characterized the English of this group of people express their cultural and sociolinguistic world view. They are a tool which native speakers of Akɔɔse use to justify the actions of people, criticize bad ethical and immoral behaviours, and pass on a moral lesson. Through the use of proverbs, native speakers of Akɔɔse try to express the wealth of philosophy, wisdom and perception of life as they affect and control their community. Though the proverbs have been rendered into the English language, they retain the vivid imagery and culture of the Akɔɔse language. There is evidence that native speakers of Akɔɔse make use of literary aesthetics in the English they speak, through the use of proverbs, to impart a moral lesson, express some truth ascertain by experience and observation, give a piece of advice or a warning. The proverbs provide local values, ethics, ideas, and traditions into the English language. In addition to the above findings, this paper has documented Akɔɔse proverbial expressions in the English language as an important aspect of World Englishes and proverbial studies. In all, this paper argues that Akɔɔse native speakers transpose the Akɔɔse proverbs into the English language in order to make the language a chest with treasure that express their cultural and

sociolinguistic world view.

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Women against feminism: Exploring discursive measures and implications of anti-feminist discourse

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Abstract: The present paper studies anti-feminist discourse within the tumblr-based group Women Against Feminism, and explores how the sentiments of these anti-feminists, as expressed in a multi-modal format, may help to understand the difficulty feminism has with gathering support from its female audience. The textual corpus, gathered through the site, is analysed with methods inspired by Fairclough's 2012 version of CDA, focused on discovering social issues within feminism as it relates to a female audience. By considering implicature and counter-discourse, the analysis demonstrates that anti-feminists perceive feminists as victimising the female population and depriving them of agency, and call for feminism to consider their viewpoint. Conclusively, the created perception of victimisation then serves to illustrate how language works to construe modern feminist discourse in a negative light, and how this may further hinder feminism in reaching the audience it desires.

Keywords: Antifeminism, counter-discourse, Critical Discourse Analysis, victimisation.

1. Introduction

> Women have real reasons to fear feminism, and we do young women no service if we suggest to them that feminism itself is safe. It is not. To stand opposed to your culture, to be critical of institutions, behaviors, discourses--when it is so clearly not in your immediate interest to do so--asks a lot of a young person, of any person. At its best, the feminist challenging of individualism, of narrow notions of freedom, is transformative, exhilarating, *empowering*. (Hogeland 1994)

While feminism has, at this point in time, at least partially been introduced as a normalised feature of what modern Western civilisation considers 'freedom' (McRobbie 2008), it continually struggles to find footing within a young female audience. As such, in their study on media representation of feminism, Jaworska & Krishnamurthy (2012: 402) found that feminism had decreasing relevance to contemporary female life, noting that "although there is an awareness of continuing gender inequalities, for example in the gender pay gap, women very rarely identify themselves as feminists, or indeed simply reject feminism."

Likewise, in a 2013 study on the disparity between the support of feminism and the act of self-identification amongst social work students, Lazar (2013) concluded that "Most do not self-identify as feminist (58%), but both feminist and non-feminist students endorse feminist attitudes and ideologies, suggesting a disconnect between self-identification and values". She further states that this might be the result of a "stigma" with which feminism has been seated as a result of people's poor overall knowledge of the term.

McRobbie (2008: 16) takes it one step further, suggesting that this conduct is not simply a result of individual lacking knowledge, but encouraged as a "ritualistic denunciation" in modern media discourse. Lazar's findings suggest a discrepancy between the wish for equality between sexes and change, and the willingness to identify as someone defined by those exact terms,[1] perhaps indicating that feminism is no longer specifically tied to those defining values, at least in the eyes of

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1 As defined by *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*: "Feminism"

Research article

this specific target group. Previous studies, such as the one conducted by Toller et al (2004) on "willingness to consider oneself a feminist", drawing on Rubin (1994), also connect lacking support of feminist views amongst female participants to representation of the subject matter, suggesting that "Possible explanations (…) may be that women often describe feminists with masculine traits, such as "dominating" and "aggressive" (Rubin 1994: 89). Thus, the more feminine women (…) may have viewed feminism and non-traditional gender roles as masculine."

According to McRobbie and Hogeland, feminism is being "historicised and generationalised" (McRobbie 2008: 16), to a point where it appears out of date, as if modern society has already successfully implemented the important parts of feminism and then moved on. Lazar, Hogeland, McRobbie and Toller et al. all agree that feminism is in a situation of distress, stressing that the people feminism is meant to help are showing a growing tendency to disagree with the movement, but none of them believe that the undoing of feminism has anything to do with feminism itself, arguing rather that feminism is once again being marginalised by a system that wishes to see women's rights movements appeased but not applied.

This is where the Tumblr group Women Against Feminism (WAF), a group which welcomes critique of feminism, disagrees heavily with established feminists, such as McRobbie and Hogeland, and where they are an interesting point of view into the everyday perception of feminism. To help determine whether feminism itself faces issues of representation, it may help to look at how the people who have historically had the most interest in supporting feminism (i.e. women) are disagreeing with and rejecting the movement. In order to do this, the present paper studies anti-feminist discourse within the tumblr-based group Women Against Feminism, and explores how the sentiments of these anti-feminists, as expressed in a multi-modal format, may help to understand the difficulty feminism has with gathering support from its female audience.

2. Aims and methods

This paper seeks to contribute to the understanding of feminist language production, as it is received by a segment of its female audience, and the exploration of the issues feminism faces, going forward, as a major social theory and ideology. In order to attain this, we have used mixture of linguistic approaches, focused on validating qualitative analyses and supporting it with quantitative data. Utilising Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), as inspired by Fairclough's (2012) approach, implied aspects of speech are drawn from a sample corpus of 75 smaller, transcribed WAF tumblr texts and grouped, in order to observe tendencies within the group as a whole. It is important to note, though, that this paper does not go in depth with feminist literature and the discourse that surrounds it, even as it relates to the subject at hand, focusing instead on the way a perceived public representation reflects on feminism, through reactionary texts. In other words, this paper serves as an exploration into one of the larger issues modern feminism faces, i.e. that of constant, un-moderated representation, and does not venture into any analysis of feminist literature or representative material, neither does it delve into opposing opinions regarding the state of feminism, such as may be found on pro-feminist tumblr groups.

The above-mentioned approach was chosen after an initial tentative analysis of the textual material. In this regard, Fairclough alone presents a multitude of different ways to explore the texts at hand, especially as it relates to the actual visual material, but based on the most apparent linguistic features found during the initial analysis, the present paper focuses on what we deem the texts' two most significant and recurring characteristics, namely implicature and counter-discourse. As such, the employed methods serve to identify prominent discourse within WAF: 'implicature' was chosen based on its frequency of use, while 'counter-discourse' appeared the very cornerstone of WAF's existence and thus played a major role as a method of establishing ethos. Lastly, CDA, as a method of viewing the wrongs of society, helps to bring the problems these anti-feminists claim exist into perspective in a way that respects their choice to speak out and examine the importance of

their claims, while staying critical to the way their discourse construes feminism.

The linguistic analysis itself leans heavily on the consideration of two ideas from pragmatics and discourse studies respectvely: Grice's conventional 'implicature as presented in Huang (2007) and the Foucauldian idea of 'counter-discourse' as presented by Macgilchrist (2007), both of which work within understanding the framing of texts. As Macgilchrist writes, "[t]here is always a gap, through which marginal discourses can break in and take over a more central position." (2007: 75) In this way, counter-discourse serves as a perspective from which can be viewed the kind of semantic struggles, which might tip marginal views into the popular, creating new norms. Huang (2007: 7) notes that it is "widely accepted that there's a huge gap between the meaning of a sentence and the messages actually conveyed". It is from this understanding that 'counter-discourse' and 'implicature' are useful concepts, in that they concern themselves mainly with re-framing of a given text or construction through a number of lexicogrammatical functions, i.e. parody, extrematisation, nominalisation, simplification etc. (Macgilchrist 2007; Huang 2007), which helps to discern what is meant from what is being said.

Grice makes a distinction between two types of implicature: on one hand, *conversational implicature* adheres to – or specifically defies – certain structures, or 'maxims', which make up the structure of social interaction, including principles of truthfulness, clarity, and, most importantly, co-operation. *Conventional implicature*, on the other hand, lacks this aspect of co-operation, and adheres to no calculable procedures or maxims, except for, sometimes, convention; the importance of conventional implicature is, therefore, on the linguistic expression, i.e. constructions of argumentation such as *therefore* or *because* (Huang 2007). The transcribed texts observed in this article tend not to follow traditional conversational structure, i.e. Grice's maxims of conversation, wherein the speaker's expressions are determined by relation to the audience and the following of conversational maxims. As such, WAF can be said, rather, to adhere to Grice's latter idea of *conventional* implicature, especially observable in the consistent use of the cornerstone argument and its emphasis on the construing *because*.

Throughout the exploration of the observed anti-feminist discourse, the paper employs Fairclough's *social semiotic approach* to discourse analysis, as well as his definition of discourse as "meaning-making". Fairclough chooses instead to term this form of discourse as 'semiosis', arguing that on top of this definition clearing up differences between the three varying definitions of 'discourse'[2], it also helps by "suggesting that discourse analysis is concerned with various 'semiotic modalities'" (2012: 3). Important to Fairclough's expression of semiosis is the idea that all social practices (i.e. belief, power, cultural values) serve to create meaning, although they should never be reduced to meaning on their own terms. In other words, 'meaning' cannot be drawn simply from the observation of a given social practice, but should always be seen as part of a semiotic 'whole'. Other terms important to this observational practice includes his explanation of the *real*, the *actual*, and the *empirical*: Of note here is the idea that the *real,* i.e. subjects and constructs of power, and the *actual* i.e. what change these constructs bring, can be in stark contrast to the *empirical*, by which is meant the observations made by aspects of society on the nature of the constructs and their changes.

Fairclough's methods are continually used as a point of reference, from which is considered the cause of the anti-feminist discourse at hand, as well as the cultural implications of its existence in this form. That said, in terms of cultural status, and thereby the determination of social class, there really is no clear indication as to the status of each individual participant. This makes a determination of particular belief, power or cultural patterns impossible, limiting the analysis to a focus on the text-production – and consequently the individual stories and arguments – to determine whether the participants truly share a semiotic bond. Determining whether such a bond exists is

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2   Fairclough presents three concepts of 'discourse': (a) meaning-making as an element of the social process, (b) the language associated with a particular social field or practice (e.g. 'political discourse'), (c) a way of construing aspects of the world associated with a particular social perspective (Fairclough 2012)

important exactly because it lends credence to the voice of the participants, suggesting that there might be something wrong with the target of their critique, or at least with the representation of said target.

Also, while this paper is heavily inspired by Fairclough's (2012) approach to CDA, a key feature of his steps in utilizing CDA is finding what he terms "a social wrong", which is something this paper does not, as such, seek to follow. While this exact anti-feminist movement argues, as the deviator, against a larger feminist movement, it cannot necessarily be identified as someone/something answering a social wrong. That said, determining the theoretical 'legitimacy' of the movement's response as a 'social wrong', in the sense that they are demanding a required change in the larger discourse of feminism, is part of the point of the paper itself, and the reactions, obstacles, social orders and norms are all present as gatekeepers[3] which are addressable by means of the utilised version of CDA.

3. Data

The analysed texts were all taken from the Women Against Feminism blog, which runs through the blogging-website Tumblr. All of the texts were originally part of pictures on the website, and were transcribed in a manner as faithful to the source as possible without coloration. The sample spans all English-language posts posted within four months, from August to November 2014. Although permission to use the pictures was given as well, none of the pictures transcribed are included in the paper itself (except one, used to exemplify), but they are freely available on the website. All of the texts are voluntarily submitted to the website, always by the use of the hashtag phenomenon #Womenagainstfeminism, a collective bond that binds all participants within this particular speech situation.

Example (1) below represents the central construction that characterizes WAF discourse:

(1)   I don't need feminism because...
        – I am not a victim
        – I am not oppressed

The sentiments emerging in the data are summarized in the sentiment breakdown in Table 1 on page 74. A number of the expressed notions appeared in larger frequency than recorded in Table 1, due to participants, as seen in the above example, expressing the same opinion with more than one construction, often through implicature. In such instances, the meaning conveyed by the participant has simply been recorded once. As such, although expressions and implications of 'victimhood' (or anti-victimhood) appeared far more frequently than the number recorded in Table 1, the smaller number shown is due to a choice of recording only the overall opinions of any given participant.

4. Analysis

The analysis spans three parts, after which follows a discussion. First, a look at the *I don't need feminism because…* construction, as this is considered the cornerstone of the argumentation from almost all participants. Second, the direct expressions and implicature of the 'victimisation' aspect, based on its importance as a point of critique. Lastly, a short consideration of the *Feminism doesn't represent me* sentiment, exploring the possible implications of such a statement coming from the exact group of people that feminism claims to represent.

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3   The term 'gatekeeper' was originally coined by Lewin (1943), but was later broadened in scope by Bourdieu. Bourdieu's definition of 'gatekeepers' as entities holding the key to acceptance through the authority to judge 'right' and 'wrong' ("being what is right to be") behaviour serves to inform the term within a context of Social Capital (Bourdieu 1979). In CDA, Fairclough's approach asks "what it is about the way in which social life is structured and organized that prevents it [social wrongs] from being addressed." (Fairclough 2012: 7)

Table 1: Sentiment breakdown

Sentiments	Number of participants who agree
I am (and you are) not a victim	39
I strongly dislike feminism (and feminists), they are doing it wrong	19
Feminists don't represent me	14
Feminism has changed (Modern feminism is a thing)	9
Feminism is about women and by women	17
Feminists ignore the real issues (like women in 3rd world countries)	7
There's a better term	6
Everything isn't rape	5
Not all men are bad or rapists	19
It is not only men hurting women	16
I don't hate men, (I love them/him)	15
I have the same rights as, or better rights than, men	16
Women aren't/shouldn't be superior to men	3
Differences are okay/important	7
There is no patriarchy	5
Respect doesn't come from nowhere	5

4.1.   The I don't need feminism because… *construction*

Although a small number of participants chose to alter the construction (e.g. appendix 1, data #11; #21; #36) and a smaller number yet entirely circumvented it (e.g. appendix 1, data #5; #27) this phrase is largely a normalised feature of WAF as a platform for argumentation. The lexical construction serves as a sort of argumentative cornerstone, to which the participants add personal opinions and sentiments, which is effective in part because of the way it draws on implicature. The sentence *I don't need feminism* serves mostly as a statement, showing the stand-point of the speaker, but with the added conjunction *because*, it suddenly makes an implication of every following statement.

As such, through implicature, the sentence often takes on accusational features, and by using the construction *I don't need feminism, because* – most of the participants indirectly accuse feminists and feminism as a whole of representing/not representing and endorsing the values they then further express. E.g.

(2)   I want the option to follow gender roles and not be ridiculed for following them. (Appendix 1, Data #9)

On its own, this utterance implies merely that the person did not, at that point in time, have this option, but presented as a sentiment following the *I don't need feminism, because* construct, it serves to construe a reality in which feminism argues against the choice of becoming a stay-at-home mom, over pursuing a paid career path:

(3)   I don't need modern feminism because...
 –   I want the option to follow gender roles and not be ridiculed for following them. (Appendix 1, Data #9)

The difference between (2) and (3) is perhaps the most important part of the construction; the *proposition*. The propositional content of the sentence becomes the 'fact' that feminism is limiting her options. Instead of directly accusing feminism of doing something negative the participant simply argues against feminism on the basis of wanting options, implicitly proposing that this option cannot be found in the feminist movement. Implicature, in this sense, helps the participant to characterise both her and her 'opponent' at the same time.

There are clearly inherent lexical choices to the cornerstone argument, perhaps best proven by the participants that avoided following the structure. Consider, for instance, the following examples:

(4)   FEMINISM SUCKS HARD (Appendix 1, Data #5)

(5)   Generation X and their identity politics ruined feminism for everyone. I reject the cult of victimhood (…) (Appendix 1, Data #35)

These participants often express some of the same values but in vastly different expressions and using various different genres, i.e. appealing to reason versus objecting to abuse. Whereas most of the constructions that do not follow the *I don't need* feature make up an accusational form, the ones that do follow the construction appear more in accordance with logical reasoning – at least in structure – even when followed by aggressive features as seen in the following example:

(6)   I don't need Feminism Because...
        – I don't hate all men

As seen here, whereas the sentence *Feminists hate all men* would be very directly accusational, the participant in (6) avoids this by implying the accusation through a type of self-praise. It is curiously repeated a second time, but with a directly positive evaluative feature: *love*, instead of the previously inverted version: *don't hate*. Naturally, this is important, because she doesn't 'love' all men, she simply doesn't hate them, like she indirectly accuse feminists of doing. Some actually did express love for all men, though (Appendix 1, Data #7; #9), and a few did so for both men and women.

Lastly, here is a short consideration of the visual, multi-modal aspect of the texts as this relates to the cornerstone argument (see Figure 1 on page 76). Although this paper does not concern itself more than superficially with the statement that the argument serves as a direct counter to (i.e. *I need feminism because*) it does bear mentioning in this instance. There are clearly a multitude of similar but opposite features, such as implicature to the *benefit* of feminism, but the important thing to understand is that the visual representation made by the anti-feminists *is* a direct attempt at counter-discourse, while also being a key part of the legitimation process. Indeed, just like a key feature of the feminist movement is to show that there are real people experiencing these issues – making them, in turn, real issues – a key feature of WAF is to show that there are also real people *not* experiencing these issues, as a means to prove that the construed reality of feminism does not necessarily cover them as well. In essence, the connection between the construed *I* in the *I don't need feminism* argument and the actual *I* seen in the picture serves to prove that the argument is being made by a real person.

A curious side-note regarding the cornerstone argument is the fact that quite a few members added the word *modern* to the sentence in a very deliberate fashion:

(7)   I don't need modern feminism. (Appendix 1, Data #9)

Figure 1: Example of WAF Tumblr post (October 26, 2014).

(8)   I reject modern feminism because I am not a victim. (Appendix 1, Data #21)

(9)   I don't need modern feminism because it wants to limit me. (Appendix 1, Data #40)

This could indicate a concordance with earlier observations like Lazar's, pointing to the idea that people disagreeing with feminism might often agree with the ideal of it, or with its previous victories. It also might indicate that the source of this discontent is to be found within popular modern media, rather than more traditional media, and that a different representation might exist there, which skews the overall public picture of the movement. This observation appears in line with what McRobbie (2008: 11) notes as the 'post-feminist' approach of modern media, wherein "feminist gains (…) are actively and relentlessly undermined", but may also reflect the fact that blogging, as WAF exemplifies, is actually dominated in large part by women, and has been shown (Stavrositu & Sundar) to act as an outlet for the sort of messages which, as McRobbie notes, are less welcome in traditional media.

4.2.   *The* I am not a victim! *construction*
An interesting thing to note, from all the sentiments that didn't warrant specific consideration, is exactly how many there are. While it is, as has been mentioned earlier, impossible to say much about the social status and general cultural values of the participants, it is inferrable from the texts themselves that the participants are of a rather diverse nature – if nothing else, then simply from their varying arguments. What makes the *I am not a victim* construction interesting, then, is the amount of repetition, not only in the overall consideration of sentiments, i.e. things that implied 'victim', but also in the very direct use of the word *victim*, which appeared in almost a third of the individual texts – this is even ignoring similar words such as *oppressed*. The fact that the 'victimisation' construction appeared more than twice the amount of any other argument build on the cornerstone makes it the clearest point of agreement between all of the participants, and

arguably elevates the argument to a point where the sheer volume may speak to the likeliness of the statement. In order to understand exactly *how* many WAF participants generally use the term 'victim', it is worth looking at some examples:

(10)   Dividing people and labelling them as victims will ensure that they will NEVER be empowered (Appendix 1, Data #6)

(11)   Because I am a women does not equal me being a victim! (Appendix 1, Data #22)

(12)   Playing the victim and shielding yourself from reality is not empowering (Appendix 1, Data #51)

(13)   True equality isn't drilling into women that they are praise worthy just for existing and that every time their feelings are hurt, they are being victimised, while saddling men with increasingly crippling and contradictory expectations (Appendix 1, Data #59)

It should be noted that all of the above statements followed the cornerstone argument. As arguments, these are all quite different: the participant in (10) mentions labels, the one in (11) considers how victimisation is equalised with being a woman, the one in (12) mentions reality-shielding and the one in (13) characterises victimisation as being *drilled* into women. And yet, these all bear obvious similarities: despite the difference in modality, all of the above examples imply that victimisation is something that is being forced upon women in a way that is not in thread with reality – an argument which is backed up in other ways, for example by denying the existence of a "patriarchy", in many of the other texts. Not only are the participants very specific about denying that they are victims, many, such as the participant in (10), consider the implication of 'victim' as something which has an overall negative effect on the way women perceive themselves. These arguments – especially by the use of the word *empowerment* – serve as counters to the implied 'victim' label. Words like *drilling*, *playing* and *labeling* are used to modalise the representation of 'victim' in a way that implies that they never actually were what is being proposed in the first place. Instead, what is happening, according to the participants, is a systematic degrading of females by "equating" them with this false "label" and in turn denying women the kind of "empowerment" which feminists, such as Hogeland (1994) and McRobbie (2008), claim is core to the feminist movement.

       While the construed idea of "playing the victim" (Appendix 1, Data #20; #51; #75) does not appear quite enough to warrant calling it a general tendency, it *is* an oft-implied aspect, especially through a construction that actually did appear enough to warrant that definition: the *I take responsibility for my own actions* construction. Second only to the actual wordings of *I am not a victim* this construction appears both together with and as a substitute for that, and implies that victimisation is something feminists are pretending is there, or actively creating, because they are not willing to take responsibility for their own actions.

4.3   The feminism doesn't represent me *construction*

While it is easy to overlook this argument, in part due to the obvious connotations of both the cornerstone argument and many of the following sentiments, there is something quite special about the construction itself being used as is done in the examples below:

(14)   I DON'T NEED FEMINISM COZ I DID NOT APPOINT FEMINISTS TO REPRESENT ME (Appendix 1, Data #2)

(15) Been told, in the ultimate in irony and hypocrisy, that I should remember that "my personal experiences don't represent all women", even though the entire damn problem is that feminists are using their personal experiences to represent all women even though large numbers of us don't share those experiences! (Appendix 1, Data #36)

(16) I am happily and perfectly free. (Appendix 1, Data #49)

The point that repeats itself is that of personal experience – i.e. *I'm happily and perfectly free* – this is backed up by many of the other expressions shown in Table 1. As such, the "not all men are bad/rapists" category was defined mostly by people expressing their own experiences (or lack thereof) with 'bad' men, and how that should not define all men (Appendix 1, Data #9; #21; #29). What the participants seem to express in these instances is a lacking feeling of belonging in the discourse expressed by feminists, which serves to alienate a lot of WAF from the feminist message. There is an interesting duality between the two expressions. As noted multiple times already, the *I don't need feminism because* cornerstone is interesting because of its repetition and the way it allows for implicature. On top of that, however, it has the added point of being an individualist argument, wherein the focus is on the *I*, while at the same time being all about the group expression and the basis of further arguments. In the same way, *Feminism doesn't represent me* can be both a statement of the lacking validity of feminism, as well as a point of contention; questioning whether feminism should not, also, include these women. As noted earlier, Lazar (2013) suggested that people who disagreed with feminism showed signs of agreeing with the ideals of feminism, but, at the same time, they lacked the connection between the ideal and the representation they perceived; WAF seems to affirm that conclusion in this regard.

But that begs the question, then: are they (WAF) the ones perceiving feminism in a wrong manner? Some self-appointed feminists certainly do argue that this is the case (Valenti 2014). Feminism suggests that women should be equal to men, but is it then simply 'wrong' to feel that women in the first world have gained a large part of that equality? What WAF suggests is that feminism – as a movement for change – refuses to listen to the women that do not agree with feminists, or, as one participant puts it; *why do I need a movement that has told me time and time again that it doesn't give a damn about representing me, because they don't want to change their narratives and worldviews to accommodate me and other women who don't fit the existing ones?* (Appendix 1, Data #36.). Other participants are more blunt, example (11) being a case of this bluntness, but the message is much the same: according to them, feminists have one particular thing they want people to see and believe, and their discourse is that of the all-encompassing 'truth'.

5. Discussion

In the utilised CDA approach, Fairclough (2012) is in large part concerned with causality and how discourse affects society, in a manner that allows it to alter the way we perceive the actual world. While the present paper does not concern itself with proving the assumptions of anti-feminists, the analysis does serve to make clear that a portion of the female audience experience – or perceive – a reality wherein feminism is causing harm to female self-perception through a discourse of victimisation. In Fairclough's (2012) words, the *real* and the *actual* are in possible contrast with the *empirical*. Whether or not feminism is actually responsible for the kind of discourse which is being perceived by the women who support WAF, this is how some women perceive reality, and in turn how they will reproduce it in the form of counter-discourse. In this sense, whether WAF are right in accusing feminists themselves of creating such a discourse or not is of little importance, as feminists do clearly face misrepresentation in some form.

As Fairclough (2012: 1) argues, one should be careful not to simply consider construals –

such as WAF's perception of feminism – the same as constructions (the creation of truths), noting that "what constructive effects such construals have depends upon various non-discoursal as well as discoursal conditions". Arguably, however, feminists face, and always have faced, issues with power-relations. Feminists have fought battles against ideologies and normalcies so ingrained in society that they extended to the very fundamentals of family life, something which constitutes an issue in the non-discursive (as defined by Fairclough.)

The importance of this observation lies in the created definition of feminism, in the empirical sense. The 'truth' of what feminism is lies largely in the way it is presented, as has been proven by the many 'waves' of feminism which have served to continually re-frame and redefine the movement through the ages. In essence, while feminism arguably does not construe a reality in which choosing to stay at home as a women is wrong any longer, it undeniably did so in the late 70s, early 80s (Offen 1992; McRobbie 2008), and as several examples (appendix 1, Data #4; #23; #68) in the textual material prove, this image still haunts the movement to this very day. The issue is multifaceted, however, and cannot be limited merely to the historical aspects of feminism. Looking at the many arguments brought up throughout the textual material – especially the repeated mention of the word 'patriarchy' – brings to mind that WAF does not necessarily disagree with all feminism(s). The identification of a patriarchy is, after all, usually associated with what has been termed 'radical feminism', and therefore seen as a further-leaning aspect of feminism, which focuses on entirely changing the social order of things, in the belief that male-dominated thought made the system in the first place, and simply changing this system to accommodate women better will never constitute true 'change' (Pateman 1992: 70). Indeed, Pateman begins her explanation of the way feminism has developed through the ages by recognising that "The word 'feminism' continues to inspire controversy – indeed, even evoke fear" admitting that when it comes to what feminism *is*, "everyone seems to have different answers". Spindelman (2011: 5) goes one step further, suggesting that, at least in terms of its analytical merit "feminism is and only ever has been, at most, an empty vessel." What Spindelman and Pateman point to is the idea that feminism has been split into a multitude of possible construals, politically and socially, to the point that it is incomprehensible as a singular construction and therefore rendered almost useless as a word. Feminism is at once radical and moderate, focused on western society and women in third world countries. It concerns itself with the realities of rape and sexualisation, at the same time as it fights to legitimize women's sexual currency and agency for choice. To return to Fairclough (2012), what is ultimately the consequence of all these different construed versions of feminism is the notion that no one truly knows the construction. The question then becomes, whether such a construction is determined by the 'authors' of feminism, i.e. people like McRobbie (2008), Valenti (2014) and Hogeland (1994), or the 'audience' perceiving their discourse, i.e. groups such as WAF. If feminism is for individuals to decide, meaning anyone can claim to be 'feminist' and at once embody any of the many construed feminisms, then it is no wonder that feminism could at times – through such a collective of individuals – appear "condescending" or "aggressive", as proposed by WAF, as any individual portrayal of feminism may represent the collective whole of the feminist movement.

6. Conclusion

Disregarding Spindelman (2011) and Pateman's (1992) suggestions of recontextualising feminism, the analysis indicates that an issue of representation, as proposed by Lazar (2013) and McRobbie (2008), does in fact exist, reflected by the population of women who disagree with feminism. As such, in accordance with the theories of Fairclough (2012), WAF shows tendencies towards the kind of discourse used to battle social inequality, wherein a key aspect is to show that a certain discourse is being used to control a minority. While there are certainly variations in modality and genre found in the textual material, a considerable amount of the participants expressed concerns with the way feminism, according to them, represents women as victims, arguing that feminism in its modern

form denies women agency. The amount of correlation found in the texts suggests that there may be a larger representational issue, unrelated to the individual experiences of the participants. Many of the participants also implied that there was a change in how feminism acted previously, to how it acted now – rejecting 'modern' feminism - implying perhaps a negative current regarding feminism within modern media.

Determining whether feminist literature truly does promote a discourse of victimisation may be possible through further studies of 'central' feminist literature, which lies far beyond the scope of this paper, but recognising that feminism faces an issue of representation either way is paramount to the continued success of the movement. Perhaps, as Spindelman (2011) suggests, completely redefining feminist terminology and reconceptualising feminism itself may be the only way for the feminist movement to retain its power as an argumentative stand-point.

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Appendix 1: Data
1. I am against FEMINISM because sexual abuse is not about gender and shouldn't ever be made to be about gender. Both men and women are abused (38-50% of victims are male according to the Bureau of Justice Statistics 2012). Making sexual abuse ONLY about men hurting women is SEXIST and encourages INEQUALITY between men and women. Sexual abuse should be ABOUT sexual abuse, not about women. (Nov 9. 2014 / 160 Notes)
2. I DON'T NEED FEMINISM COZ I DID NOT APPOINT FEMINISTS TO REPRESENT ME (Nov 9. 2014 / 60 Notes)
3. I don't NEED feminism because
    - I respect men and they do the same to us
    - Not all men are rapists
    - I can take responsibility of my actions
    - Feminism is not about equality anymore
    - I don't hate men.
    - We have the same rights that men do
    - I BELIEVE IN <u>REAL</u> EQUALITY (Nov 4. 2014 / 109 Notes)
4. I don't need feminism because as a first time grand-mother. I feel this picture says it all… What could be more important in a woman's life than raising her children and providing her family with a clean and comfortable home? Yet for too long we have been made to feel inadequate, worthless even, if we do not take on a job outside the home. We have a job. Our job has been provided by nature – and nature dictates it is the fathers of our children who should provide for us financially. So let us not exhaust ourselves, feeling we ought to adopt their role as well, or in place of, our own. The differences between the sexes should be enhanced, not erased (Nov 4. 2014 / 77 Notes)
5. FEMINISM SUCKS HARD (Oct 31. 2014 / 108 Notes)
6. I don't need feminism because:
    - Men today are not responsible for what men of the past did. LET IT GO.
    - Being financially responsible for one's own promiscuity isn't being oppressed; it's being an adult.
    - Dividing people and labelling them as victims will ensure that they will NEVER be empowered
    - There are women in the world who are <u>actually being oppressed</u> who are being ignored by western feminists because they don't fit the agenda. (Oct 31. 2014 / 151 Notes)
7. I DON'T NEED FEMINISM BECAUSE I LOVE MEN AND A WOMEN-ONLY WORLD WOULD BE A NIGHTMARE (Oct 31. 2014 / 106 Notes)
8. I don't need <u>Modern</u> Feminism because it's shameful to suggest women in the U.S. are oppressed when there is ACTUAL oppression happening in other parts of the world! (Oct 31. 2014 / 253 Notes)
9. I don't need modern feminism because
    - I can take responsibility for my mistakes instead of labelling myself as a 'victim'
    - I accept that men might be better than me at certain professions and therefore *should* be paid more. Not everyone is equal and we should not be treated as such.
    - I don't take offense to men complimenting me
    - I want the option to follow gender roles and not be ridiculed for following them
    - I realise that I have more opportunities in STEM than my male counterparts, simply

because I am a women, not because of my talents, and I don't consider that to be just

- I believe that the banning of words such as 'bossy' and 'bitch' is against the concept of freedom of speech. We should be allowed to speak freely about others even if it is in a negative sense
- As a bisexual, I love both men *and* women, and I try not to discriminate against either gender. I don't let a few bad people define a gender. Meanwhile, I see countless feminists wage a war against men and the 'patriarchy'. (Oct 26. 2014 / 229 Notes)

10. I don't need feminism as every social issue identified by feminists that applies to me has been caused by <u>OTHER WOMEN</u>. We do not need feminism. We need equality between women. (Oct 26. 2014 / 74 Notes)

11. I need feminism because… Oh wait… <u>NO I DON'T!</u> I am a <u>STRONG, INDEPENDENT</u> human being. I live and love on my own terms, and I take accountability for my actions. <u>I am not a victim</u>. And guess what – <u>NEITHER ARE YOU.</u> (Oct 26. 2014 / 381)

12. I Don't NEED <u>Feminism</u> because…
- I wouldn't spend more time *defending* a movement than actually <u>helping people</u>.
- Using women from different countries you've never *helped* or <u>travelled to</u> as a reason why <u>you</u> still need Feminism is *ignorant,* <u>selfish, condescending</u> and *tactless.*
- *Equality* isn't <u>hand outs</u> and *special treatment*. We all need to be held to the same standards!
- And being a (<u>Secular</u>) *Humanist* is a hell of a lot better! (Oct 26. 2014 / 91 Notes)

13. I <u>DON'T</u> NEED FEMINISM BECAUSE I AM <u>*NOT*</u> A DELUSIONAL, DISGUSTING, HYPOCRITICAL <u>MAN-HATER!</u> I <u>RESPECT</u> MEN AND THEY <u>RESPECT</u> ME! (Oct 14. 2014 / 392 Notes)

14. I don't need feminism because there is a difference between equality and entitlement. Because men as a whole aren't womanizers. Because there is a difference between gentlemen and assholes. Because I don't want to raise children in a society that bashes men, and gives entitlements to people who don't deserve them #womenagainstfeminism (Oct 14. 2014 / 116 Notes)

15. <u>I DON'T NEED FEMINISM</u>....... I work for what I have, and everyone is <u>not</u> equal. I refuse to be paid the same amount for a job I am less qualified for and I'll be <u>DAMNED</u> if an overweight, insecure, unhealthy female tells <u>ME</u> how to respond to the men in my life. I AM NO FUCKING VICTIM. (Sep 28. 2014 / 321 Notes)

16. I don't need feminism because respect is not something you are born with based on your gender. It's something that you earn over time by showing people that you are worth fighting for #womenagainstfeminism (Sep 28. 2014 / 87 Notes)

17. I don't need feminism because that is my decision as a women. That's the only answer I need to give anyone, feminist or not. If, as a feminist, you feel the need or try to divert me from this, you have failed your feminist mantra of, "women know what's best for them." (Sep 23. 2014 / 492 Notes)

18. I don't need feminism because:
- I love my boyfriend, and respect him!
- I make my own decisions without being pressured!
- I enjoy makeup & like feeling pretty!
- Also don't need to be superior to men! ☺ (Sep 23. 2014 / 344 Notes)

19. I DON'T NEED *FEMINISM* because I *REFUSE* to stand alongside *WOMEN* who *PREACH* about "EQUALITY", but act like certain *STANDARDS* and/or *SITUATIONS* don't apply to *MEN*. #Womenagainstfeminism (Sep 18. 2014 / 172 Notes)

20. Ugh see this is exactly what is wrong with first world feminists, the way they harp and whine about women in third world countries but never actually go and help them. Feminism in western society right now is doing positively NOTHING to help third world women. So what do you do? You bitch and moan about how YOU NEED FEMINISM (basically an excuse to play a victim) because there are other oppressed women around who you 100% are not helping. The only time you even mention them is to tell people why we need feminism. You don't care. You literally do not care about these women but you scapegoat them and trot them around like you do. You are the WORST kind of person and I seriously hope people who do this rot in hell. If feminism is needed THAT badly in those countries, how about you move there, instead of staying at home, writing stupid, oppressed articles on your 1000 dollar computer when you damn well know you don't give a flying crap about these women other than to use them to further your god awful hate movement. (July 29th, 2014) (Sep 18. 2014 / 343 Notes)

21. I reject modern feminism because I am not a victim of society. I do not need to be protected, I need to be partnered. Men are not inherently malicious. Women must be held accountable for their own actions too. We can do more good in this world united than disjointed. (Sep 16. 2014 / 305 notes)

22. I DON'T need feminism
    - Just because a man "cat calls" at you does not equal rape or harrasement
    - I wear revealing clothes, AND I take full responsibility if people decide to stare!
    - Because I am a women does not equal me being a victim!
    - Men can be raped to!!
    - This isn't 1920! Were not fighting for anything anymore. Women have freedom!
    - Feminism is an <u>negative!!</u> (Sep 16. 2014 / 109 Notes)

23. I DON'T NEED FEMINISM BECAUSE… I AM NOT OPPRESSED. MY HUSBAND IS NOT AN OPPRESSOR. MY HOME IS NOT A PRISON. MY CHILDREN ARE NOT A BURDEN. ABORTION IS NOT HEALTHCARE. DRUNKEN MISTAKES ARE NOT RAPE. MY SON AND DAUGHTER ARE OF EQUAL VALUE. MOTHERS AND FATHERS ARE OF EQUAL IMPORTANCE. INTELLIGENT PEOPLE DON'T NEED SPECIAL TREATMENT TO GET A JOB OR COLLEGE DEGREE. MEN AND WOMEN ARE DIFFERENT…AND THAT IS A GOOD THING! (Sep 16. 2014 / 150 Notes)

24. I don't *NEED*:
    - Feminism
        OR
    - Masculism

    Because the only thing that should determine my life is my own <u>potential</u> *NOT* my gender (or race) we are *ALL* human, and we should all be *EQUAL* #equalism *spread the word!* (Sep 16. 2014 / 278 Notes)

25. I <u>DON'T</u> NEED *FEMINISM* BECAUSE: AS A SELF-RESPECTING ADULT, <u>I</u> AM ACCOUNTABLE FOR <u>MY OWN ACTIONS</u>, I DON'T BLINDLY CLING ON TO EMOTIONAL ARGUMENTS / PROPOGANDA AND RECOGNIZE THAT A VICTIM COMPLEX IS <u>NOT</u> EMPOWERING. <u>#WOMENAGAINSTFEMINISM</u>. (Sep 14. 2014 / 485 Notes)

26. From what I have been reading lately it seems modern day feminism doesn't fight to be equal- it fights to be superior. I personally don't believe in equality,I believe in supporting one another. Both men and women have different roles to play in this world, and it is the job of another to support or help the other. I know that when something happens with my car or house I turn to a male figure to help, not because they are 'superior' but because 9/10 will

know how to fit it. Just like the majority of males would turn to females to help with their laundry because many have no idea what to do. Feminism was needed prior to the sixties but modern in Australia and other western civilizations there is minimal discrimination and no need to downgrade the success of a male because of his gender, when that could have easily been a woman who worked just or harder than them. (Sep 14. 2014 / 250 Notes)

27. WOMEN HAVE <u>AGENCY</u>!!! IF I DRESS LIKE THIS, I WANT YOU TO LOOK!

28. **I don't need feminism because…** There is no women who can tell me what I <u>HAVE TO</u> do with my life (except my mom of course <3) #Womenagainstfeminism
Greetings from Poland! (Sep 14. 2014 / 62 Notes)

29. I don't need feminism because my abusive ex-husband <u>does not</u> represent all men and I don't believe they must <u>bear collective responsibility</u> for the acts of a few scumbags. I also refuse to hate the men who <u>protected</u> me from him. (Sep 14. 2014 / 263 Notes)

30. YouTube: Flippantly facetious: I don't need feminism seeing how I'm an ambitious, hard working, confident person living in 21st-century America. Why fight for rights I already have? (Sep 14. 2014 / 128 Notes)

31. I don't need feminism because:
    - This isn't the 1920s. You're not Juffragettes, you're not Martyrs, you're not fighting for any real thing.
    - Cat calls and compliments from men you don't know/like are not harassment and DEFINITELY NOT RAPE.
    - I don't shave my legs or pits because I'm lazy, not to make some sort of statement.
    - Being a women has advantages AND disadvantages. Being a man does too. I thing it evens out.
    - Hitting my boyfriend didn't make me right, didn't bring me to his "level" and didn't "empower" me. It left me feeling awful and guilty for a long time.
    - The whole "I drink/bathe in/etc." "male tears" thing is hypocritical, stupid, condescending, and disgusting.
    - I have a personality besides being an edgy, contrarian, special-snowflake tumblr TWAT.
    (Sep 9. 2014 / 225 Notes)

32. I DON'T NEED FEMINISM BECAUSE I WANT TO BELIEVE THERE IS A HEALTHIER & MORE CONSTRUCTIVE WAY TO STOP OPPRESSION AND ABUSE OF WOMEN THAN DOING THE SAME THING TO ME.
I WILL SUPPORT FEMINISM WHEN IT STOPS BEING SO VICIOUS AND VENGEFUL. HATE LEADS TO BIG MISTAKES. (Sep 9. 2014 / 161 Notes)

33. I DON'T NEED FEMINISM
BECAUSE THIS WAS MY AMBITION AND ALL YOUR LIES ABOUT EMPOWERED SLUTHOOD AND RAPE CULTURE AND EVIL MEN DIDN'T KEEP ME FROM REACHING IT
(SEP 6. 2014 / 176 Notes)

34. <u>I DON'T NEED FEMINISM</u>
    - I like cooking, cleaning, sewing, only wearing skirts & dresses, and folding clothes
    - I don't need feminists to "liberate" me from my favourite activities.
    - Yes, men have treated me wrong. But feminists have as well.
    - Just because I am quiet & enjoy more peaceful activities, you don't have to "defend" me from the "patriarchy."
    - The same "patriarchy" I am "already brainwashed by.
    #Womenagainstfeminism

(Sep 6. 2014 / 143 Notes)

35. Generation X and their identity politics ruined feminism for everyone. I reject the cult of victimhood, celebrate sexuality and support people's right to choose their own lifestyles. ANTI-FEMINISM is the NEW FEMINISM.

36. WHY I DON'T NEED FEMINISM
Because feminism has made it clear to me over and over again that IT only "needs" that tiny percentage of women whose thoughts, feelings, problems, and experiences affirm their narratives.
As a woman whose thoughts, feelings, problems, and experiences often contradict feminism narratives of "what all women [whatever]", I have had one or more of the following reactions every time I talk about my own experiences:
   - Been banned/censored. In one case I was perversely accused of "misogyny apologia" for *talking about how feminist messages can be misogynist against women who don't match the narratives*, and perversely accused of derailing a "women's issues" thread for *talking about my own issues as a woman.*
   - Been accused of being a man pretending to be a woman, or otherwise called "not a real woman".
   - Been accused of lying about my experiences.
   - Been told that feminism "doesn't exist to represent me".
   - Been told that my experiences don't matter or matter less compared to other women's.
   - Been told, in the ultimate in irony and hypocrisy, that I should remember that "my personal experiences don't represent all women", even though *the entire damn problem* is that *feminists* are using their personal experiences to represent all women even though large numbers of us don't share those experiences!
I've also been accused of things like "internalized misogyny", being brainwashed by the patriarchy, and saying things just to impress men.
So, seriously, why do I ned a movement that has told me time and time again that it doesn't give a damn about representing me, because they don't want to change their narratives and worldviews to accommodate me and other women who don't fit the existing ones?
(Sep 4. 2014 / 202 Notes)

37. I don't need feminism because I lack a victim complex. Youtube: flippantlyfacetious (Sep 3. 2014 / 99 Notes)

38. I DON'T NEED FEMINISM BECAUSE
I AM STRONG ENOUGH TO ADMIT THAT SOMETIMES I NEED HELP FROM MEN
#WOMENAGAINSTFEMINISM
(Sep 3. 2014 / 112 Notes)

39. I don't support feminism because:
   - I'm done w/ people automatically looking at the boy when trouble starts. It was always me!
   - Feminists believe in winning, not teamwork. I need logic!
   - Feminism is necessary in third-world countries only.
   - Not only men can be pigs, but ladies, too! Not all women are the same. Therefore, not all men are the same!
   - I'm a big girl – I can take responsibility for my actions & decisions!
   - Egalitarianism: EQUALITY FOR <u>EVERYBODY</u>
      (Sep 3. 2014 / 99 Notes)

40. I don't need modern feminism because it wants to limit me. (Sep 3. 2014 / 88 Notes)

41. I DON'T NEED FEMINISM B/C…
    - I love my <u>BOY</u>friend and we **BOTH respect each other.**
      AND
    I am **willing and able** to defend myself against any **man or women** who does not respect me #Women against feminism (Sep 2. 2014 / 83 Notes)

42. I DO NOT NEED **MODERN** FEMINISM BECAUSE:
    - I already feel <u>empowered</u> to make my own decisions + be my own woman….
    - I have a loving + respectful partner who deserves the reciprocation of my love + respect as my <u>equal</u>.
    - Not all men are rapists, just as not all women are child killers (…)
    - I refuse to be oppressed by women who tell me that cooking is for victims! I <3 FOOD!
      (Sep 2. 2014 / 69 Notes)

43. I DON'T NEED FEMINISM BECAUSE I WANT TO PROMISE MY MAN TO LOVE HIM, HONOR HIM AND OBEY HIM! <3 –ITALY- (Aug 28. 2014 / 110 Notes)

44. My uncle lost custody of his 4 kids (2 teens, 1 small child and 1 newborn) to his cheating, party life ex-wife because she made the kids lie in the court and make him look abusive. The courts accepted this without any evidence. She got the house, both cars, the kids, child support and alimony. He got to live on his friend's couch and get cut out of the family. But you need feminism because people find personal grooming attractive.
    (Aug 28. 2014 / 309 Notes)

45. <u>I Don't Need FEMINISM because</u> the anti-whiteness in today's western feminists makes it out as if only white men are capable of sexism, and that men of other races do no harm. I've been accused of "insulting" brown men just for bringing up that as a little girl, <u>my father (who is of indigenous Mexican descent)</u> had traditional sexist beliefs that I strongly disagree with. I no longer call myself a feminist because I refuse to side with a group of ignorant close-minded women who **erase** my voice and experiences. (Aug 28. 2014 / 57 Notes)

46. I don't need Feminism to say my success is their win but my failure is patriarchy.
    My career is my own. Good or Bad.
    I don't need a council to decide if my art is "problematic" I don't want their decision redacted when they find out I am a woman
    Or
    They say I'm lying about being a woman because I don't (…)
    I'm so afraid my feminist peers will find out how I think I don't want to post anything identifiable about myself or my art.
    I'm a straight woman that loves sexy comic art.
    Pink pencil means I'm a girl

47. I <u>Don't</u> need <u>feminism</u>
    - Because it needs to be conserved for the the ones that <u>do</u>.
    - To blame all men for the actions a minority do is <u>wrong</u>.
    - The warped and right winged views of modern feminism don't want equality, they want the tables turned
    - I am not better than men, nor am I underneath them.
    - Feminism fights sexism with sexism
    - A majority of men are beautiful and kind-hearted, not the rapist pigs this bullshit movement makes them out to be.
    (Aug 26. 2014 / 77 Notes)

48. I don't need feminism because: I all ready have the same equal rights as men. I love my

husband and don't need to put him down in order to build myself up.
Because fighting for woman superiority is not fighting for equality.
(Aug 26. 2014 / 126 Notes)

49. I don't need feminism
Because I don't need naked women to protest against my 'oppression'!
I am happily and perfectly free.
Your perception of my rights doesn't represent me…
Feminists don't represent me!
(Aug 24. 2014 / 216 Notes)

50. I am against modern feminism because (white) women feminist philosophy professors insulted me for being Chinese as I pursue my career in philosophy of science during my undergraduate studies. Philosophy of science is my passion and I am excellent of what I do.
I also feel the need to protect the people that I know who happen to be men from harm inflicted on them by feminism.
Feminists: you are obsolete. Oh and check your white privilege.

51. I don't need feminism because
    - Being a woman is <u>not</u> a disadvantage
    - Taking responsibility for your actions/choices is not oppression
    - Playing the victim and shielding yourself from reality is not empowering
    - Feminists only want the good parts of "equality". When was the last time feminism fought for women to equal jail time as men?
(Aug 23. 2014 / 151 Notes)

52. "To call a man an animal is to flatter him: he is a machine, a walking dildo" – Valerie Solangs *feminist*
"I want to see a <u>man</u> beaten to a <u>bloody</u> pulp with a <u>high heel</u> shoved in his mouth like an apple in the mouth of a pig" – Andrea Dworkin *feminist*
(arrow points to the quotes) this is why I. Don't. Need. Feminism.
Yes, these are <u>radical</u> quotes, but they still identify as feminists
I would not want to identify with a group of man hating women who are so focused on ruling the world that they put any women, even if they identify as a feminist, also down, because they don't feel the exact same way
Why not be a humanist? There are no nasty, full-of-hatred <u>humanists</u> out there that get horrible publicity. Also they're striving for equality just like the feminists claim to be.
(I also don't need feminists like Andrea comparing men to being pigs. I think men + pigs are awesome, so awesome that I don't want to eat them.)
(Aug 23. 2014 / 102 Notes)

53. I don't need feminism because equality of opportunity <u>already</u> exists
(Aug 21. 2014 / 364 Notes)

54. I can honestly say that I don't believe in feminism, bc the second that women are treated as equally as men, is the second that we get talked to with disrespect, we don't get our doors opened for us, or asked if we need help when carrying something heavy. The truth is that women are weaker than men, physically and emotionally and we need them. That's how we were created.
(Aug 21. 2014 / 348 Notes)

55. I don't need feminism because..
    - Not all men are rapists
    - I am not a victim
    - I am not oppressed

- Men have problems too
- I am responsible for my actions

(Aug 20. 2014 / 217 Notes)

56. I don't need FEMINISM because: the word 'feminism' is not 'just about equality', it relies on the assumption that women have it worse <u>I THINK WOMEN HAVE IT **BETTER**</u>
(Aug 19. 2014 / 217 Notes)

57. I <u>don't</u> need feminism because: as a muslim woman who <u>CHOOSES</u> to cover, I don't need feminists telling me I'm oppressed <u>DESPITE</u> having all the same rights as anyone else living in this country. <u>OPPRESSION</u> is feminists <u>Telling you</u> how they think you should dress! (Or how you should think/feel/live etc)
(Aug 19. 2014 / 79 Notes)

58. I don't need feminism because…
I believe women should be supportive of one another regardless of where they choose to work, whether it be in an office or in the home. (Aug 19. 2014 / 269 Notes)

59. I DON'T NEED FEMINISM BECAUSE
- Cruelty & violence have no gender and casting men as inherent evil-doers or evil-doers-in-the making and women as their passive victims is wrong
- True equality isn't drilling into women that they are praise worthy just for existing and that every time their feelings are hurt, they are being victimised, while saddling men with increasingly crippling and contradictory expectations

(Aug 19. 2014 / 1027 Notes)

60. I don't need feminism because it is a movement Full of hypocrisy and hate
Feminists only see what they want and the use of logic and critical thinking with them is useless.

61. I don't need feminism because:…
- A feminist once told me: 'you can't be sexist to a man only he can be sexist to you'
- Women already get it easier!
    o Released from police custody faster!
    o Get lesser sentences in court!
    o And until last year we got cheaper car insurance!
- Women are not 'victims of society'
- We already have equal rights
- I don't agree with belittling one sex to get equality for the other.
- No man sees me as a 'sex object'

(Aug 18. 2014 / 184 Notes)

62. Why I'm Against Feminism:
- I am not a victim of the non-existent Patriarchy
- I believe that sexist against men exists
- I respect both men and women
- I take responsibility for my own actions
- I don't want to politicize my gender
- I don't appreciate being put down by feminists whom I disagree with
- I want to be judged by my abilities instead of my gender
- I don't believe catcalling is the same/equivalent to rape
- I believe that feminism is an irrational fear of men disguised as equality
- We are all human

Why don't we fight for the equality of all instead of solely focusing on women? We aren't

the only ones 'suffering'.

#Womenagainstfeminism

(Aug 18. 2014 / 237)

63. I don't need feminism because I feel more oppressed by feminists than I do by men
    #Womenagainstfeminism (Aug 17. 2014 / 241 Notes)

64. I don't need modern feminism
    - I don't want to BE part of a movement THAT idolizes CONSENT UNLESS you say no to Modern Feminism. Then "No" Means "You stupid, uneducated bitch."
    - I don't want to be part of a movement where #notallmen is attacked, since all men should take responsibility for what few do, but "not all feminists" are crazy extremists who trend things such as #Killallmen
    - I need the definition of feminism. Not this newage TUMBLR SHIT
    - Re-evaluate your movement

    (Aug 17. 2014 / 167 Notes)

65. I Don't need Feminism Because…
    - I am NOT a victim
    - I don't hate all men
    - I love my boyfriend
    - It's not wrong to believe in traditional family values
    - I take responsibility for my own actions

    #antifeminism #womenagainstfeminism

    (Aug 14. 2014 / 132 Notes)

66. I'm against feminism, because I'm against sexism, including sexism toward men
    (Aug 13. 2014 / 123 Notes)

67. I do not need feminism because I should protect myself instead of being afraid due to the image of men that has been created and to not consider myself a victim. Feminism is supposed to teach empowerment and being strong, so let's start acting like it
    We cannot destroy the concept of rape, it's been going on longer than America has even been around "Rape, pillage, and burn" three words to sum up Vikings. We can only prevent it. My body means I need to ensure it's safety.
    (Aug 13. 2014 / 80 Notes)

68. I don't need feminism b/c
    - I don't need to feel EMPOWERED at the expense of men
    - I don't need to HAVE A CAREER in order to boost my self-esteem
    - I can be whatever I want to be. And I WANT to be a stay-at-home mom
    - We are ALL THE SAME inside
    - Being IN THE KITCHEN is actually kinda fun (Aug 12. 2014 / 55 Notes)

69. Why I DON'T need Feminism…
    - I refuse to accept abortion as 'empowering'.
    - I am my Husband's Equal.
    - Myself and my 3 daughters are not victims. We are strong… not helpless.
    - My 4 sons respect women and girls because their Dad is an excellent teacher.
    - Still have doubts about my reasons? Check out my shirt! ☺

    (Aug 12. 2014 / 85 Notes)

70. I don't need feminism because…
    I'm not going to empower myself by bringing others down.
    (Aug 12. 2014 / 63 Notes)

71. I don't need feminism because I don't see women as Weak and pathetic victims of the non-existant patriarchy.
(Aug 12. 2014 / 57 Notes)

72. I don't need feminism because I don't feel oppressed. It's really that simple. I think that feminism is good for girls in the third world who are legitimately oppressed, <u>and</u> for girls in the first world who struggle with body image, street harassment, and obnoxious guys who invade their personal space. But I don't fit into either category, and feminists just refuse to accept that.
I'm sick of being told I have internalized misogyny for not feeling oppressed. It doesn't even make sense – why would feminists have a problem with me feeling like guys treat me just fine?
Either way, not needing feminism certainly makes it easier to be critical of it, and that's a good thing – because from transphobia to glorified misandry, there's a lot about feminism that's worthy of criticism. Feminists have this idea that being critical of the movement must mean you're a misogynist, and that's really harmful.
TL;DR We need to remove the idea that not personally needing feminism, and being rightfully critical of the movement equates to not supporting it. Which is why feminists need to learn to respect the people who hold the above perspectives and leave them be.
(Aug 12. 2014 / 48 Notes)

73. I am <u>not</u> a feminist because…
  - There are women out there getting **acid** thrown on them for rejecting a marriage proposal but all I ever see are outcries against school dress codes
  - I believe that sexism against men exists
  - I don't think women are victims
  - I don't want to be! And that should be okay.
(Aug 12. 2014 / 149 Notes)

74. I don't need feminism because
  - Men and women already have equal rights where I live
  - I do not limit my cares to the needs of one gender only
  - If I want to be a boss, I'll start a company
  - If I'm unhappy with my wage I'll re-negotiate my salary or find another employer
  - Forced discrimination against men is <u>not</u> a reasonable trade-off for perceived and unproven discrimination against women
  - The initiatives proposed by modern-day feminists are either unnecessary, ineffective and/or destructive
(Aug 12. 2014 / 197 Notes)

75. I need <u>EQUALITY</u> because:
  - I respect men AND women
  - I refuse to demonize all men
  - I take responsibility for my own actions
  - I refuse to play victim for manipulation
  - I don't wish to politicize my gender
  - WE ARE ALL HUMAN!!!
(Aug 12. 2014 / 197 Notes)

Kantian grammar applied to French, English, Danish and some other languages[*]

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Abstract: Many linguists refer to Kant, but they do not really seem to take him seriously. I will try to show that a little closer look at Kant's cognitive model might yield insight into certain important aspects of the syntactic-semantic constitution of the sentence in different languages. I will also show that Hamann, Herder and their many followers are completely wrong in arguing that Kant's model was influenced by his own language without himself knowing it. In the present work, I am especially concerned with the difference between space and time adjuncts on the one hand, and causal adjuncts on the other hand. In a series of publications, I have investigated the French interrogative word *pourquoi* ('why'), which, contrary to the other interrogative words, cannot be followed by stylistic inversion, and I have tried to explain why *pourquoi*, which functions as a causal adjunct, behaves differently from *quand* ('when') and *où* ('where'), adjuncts of time and place respectively. During this exploration, it struck me that most of the peculiarities attached to the causal adjuncts in French and the way they differed from time and place adjuncts were exactly the same in Danish even though these languages differ radically in lexicon, morphology and syntax. It appears that English and, more surprisingly, two non Indo-European languages – namely, Japanese and Hungarian – behave in the same way as French and Danish. I explain this difference between causal adjuncts and time and place adjuncts by postulating a different degree of attachment to the verb, and I have created a sentence model which seem to fit nicely into Kant's cognitive model. This might indicate that we are dealing with something universal.

Keywords: Causal adjuncts, Danish, English, French, Hungarian, Japanese, Kant, syntax, semantics, typology.

1. Introduction: Kant's attitude towards language

The notion of "Kantian Grammar" might seem like a joke, for, not only did Kant never write a grammar, he is even notorious for having paid no attention to language at all. This "bad reputation" seems to have begun with his contemporaries, Hamann and Herder, who started an intellectual feud shortly after the publication of the *Critique of Pure Reason* (Kant 1993 [1781, 1787]),[1] accusing Kant of continuing the thought-language dualism of the Enlightenment, according to which thoughts and concepts were in principle independent of language (cf. Forster 2012: 487). Hamann and Herder even argued that Kant was unaware of the role that language played in the construction of his own cognitive model. This line of interpretation of Kant has persisted ever since the eighteenth century. Thus Waxman (2005: 103, as quoted in Forster 2012: 487) states that Kant's "psychologistic explications resolve the elements of discursive thought into a non-discursive psychological process from which everything linguistic in nature has been excluded in favor of the nature and workings of the individual, isolated psyche".

However, in 2012 and 2014 two publications appeared with the very telling titles: Forster's (2012) article "Kant's Philosophy of **Language**?" (with a question mark) and Schalow & Velkley's (2014) anthology *The **Linguistic** Dimension of Kant's Thought* (this time without any question mark!).[2] So what is this all about? Let us take a brief look at what is said in these publications.

Following the directions given by Schalow and Velkley (2014: 4), I will first present some of Kant's explicit statements about language, as quoted by Forster (2012) and Schalow & Velkley

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1 Hamann: *Metacritique on the Purism of Reason* (circulated privately from 1784 although not published until 1800). Herder: *Metacritique on the Critique of Pure reason* (1799) (cf. Forster 2012: 486–87).

2 Schalow & Velkley (2014) contains 12 remarkable "Historical and Critical Essays", in which distinguished Kant scholars examine the many ways in which Kant's philosophy addresses the nature of language. Unfortunately there is no room to discuss them all here.

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(2014). Secondly, I will look at "certain implicit insights about language which can be explicated through further examination" of his writings. And thirdly, I will consider "the influences Kant had on subsequent thinkers who *did* consider the nature of language" Schalow and Velkley (2014: 4).

As Forster (2012: 488) remarks, in spite of the fact that Kant, in *Critique of Pure Reason*,[3] "scrupulously avoids using such terms as 'language', 'sentence', and 'word' in fundamental explanatory roles, in favor of using such purely psychological terms as 'thought', judgement', 'concept', 'representation', 'intuition', 'principle', 'schema' 'idea' and so on", closer investigations of all his publications reveal many explicit references to language. Below are some examples:

- "our cognition has need of a **certain means**, and this is **language**" (*Vienna Logic* [1780 or 1790], Forster 2012: 489)
- "the logicians are wrong in defining a proposition as judgement expressed in words; for we also **need to use words** in thoughts for judgements that we do not express as propositions" (*On a Discovery* [1790], Forster 2012: 489)
- "**thinking** is **talking** with oneself" (*Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View* [1798], Forster 2012: 490)
- "**words** are the means best adapted to **signifying concepts"** (Forster 2012: 490)

Forster (2012: 488) and Schalow & Velkley (2014: 6) both point out that Kant might also have operated "on the foundation of the unquestioned premise that all thinking is speaking" (cf. Brandt 1991, quoted by Forster 2012: 488).

Given that the incredible number of pages that Kant left is intellectually tough reading, looking for the *implicit insights* will probably be a perennial process. Schalow's (2014) analysis of "the language of time in Kant's transcendental schematism" seems to be a very interesting step forwards. Schalow stresses the importance of the section "Transcendental Doctrine of Judgment or Analytic of Principles" (Kant 1993 [1781, 1787]: 142ff.), where Kant "schematizes" the pure concepts, presenting time as "the source of the determinations distinctive of each one of them" (Schalow 2014: 56). Time forms part of a kind of "lexicon" "that is universal, because its chief idioms, for example, "succession", "permanence", "presence", form an awareness that is common to all human beings" (Schalow 2014: 57) and "it is in conjunction with time that the pure concepts acquire synonymous determinations (e.g., of "permanence" for substance, "presence" for existence, "succession" for cause and effect)." (Schalow 2014: 63). Although Kant emphasized that the transcendental imagination was not inherently discursive, Schalow argues that "through the strategic role that time plays, however, the formative power of imagination can nevertheless graphically exhibit a genre of distinctions – as etched through a temporal nexus – which prefaces the development of language in its predicative form", some sort of profound "semiotic level"[4] (Schalow 2014: 57). One could almost talk of a preliminary dictionary.[5] We will return to the pure concepts in section 2.3 below, where the difference between "sensibility" ("Anschauungsformen") and "understanding" ("Verstandsbegriffe") will be discussed, and where the "temporal schema" of the pure concept "Cause" will be presented. Here, let us look very briefly at some of the subsequent thinkers who were influenced by Kant.

Schalow & Velkley (2014: 4) draw particular attention to Ernst Cassirer[6] and Martin

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3 This also applies to his other two *Critiques* (*Critique of Practical Reason* from 1788 and *Critique of Judgement* from 1790).

4 Schalow has borrowed this term from La Rocca (1989) who talks of a "Semiotische Ebene".

5 Schalow's description resembles that of Baron (2006), who discusses "une zone cognitive indépendante de la langue, d'origine « préverbale » " ('a cognitive zone that is independent of language'), the only difference being that Baron considers the spatial relations as the basis, whereas the basis for Schalow (and Kant) is "time". See also 3. Below.

6 Ernst Cassirer (1874–1945) "spearheaded the 'back to Kant' movement in the 1920s and expanded the frontiers of

Heidegger.[7] As is well known, the latter has had an enormous influence on the so-called "linguistic turn", the most important characteristic of which is the focusing primarily on the relationship between philosophy and language. Heidegger constantly refers to Kant in his publications but, as Schalow remarks (Schalow 2014: 65), it is probably the following quote from a 1973 seminar at Zähringen that "most aptly summarizes the importance that Kant's schematism played in the development of Heidegger's overall project": schematism is "the Kantian way of discussing being and time".

The above-mentioned authors succeed in showing that, even if Kant did not formulate any explicit philosophy of language, he did care about language, and he certainly paved the way for the linguistic turn.

In this article I will proceed more radically by "explicating" another "implicit insight" hidden in *Critique*, which permits me to claim that Kant's cognitive model can be used to explain certain important aspects of the syntactic-semantic constitution of the sentence in different (and probably all) languages. While the above-mentioned works look at Kant's publications from a philosopher's point of view, so to speak, my point of view will be that of a grammarian.

In section 2, I will demonstrate this by analyzing the difference between space and time adjuncts on the one hand, and causal adjuncts on the other hand. My object language is first of all French which I compare to Danish and English. But in order to test the universality of the model, I also look briefly at two (randomly chosen) non-Indo-European languages, namely Japanese and Hungarian. In 3, I will return to Hamann and Herder (and their many "followers") and ask the following question: Is it really true that Kant underestimated the importance of language in the model presented in *Critique*?

2. Examination of the notions of time, place and cause and their linguistic expressions
2.1. Cause in traditional grammar and cognitive approaches to grammar
As grammarians do not agree on how to deal with the notion of cause, I will offer a brief presentation of some typical descriptions to begin with.

To Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 69), causation, an "experiential gestalt", "is a basic human concept. It is one of the concepts most often used by people to organize their physical and cultural realities". "Cause" can manifest itself on different levels and in different syntactic functions. Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 70ff.) and Lakoff (1987: 54-55) argue that the prototypical causation "appears to be direct manipulation, which is characterized most typically by a cluster of interactional properties" (such as a human agent provoking, directly, a change in a patient, using his hands, body, or some instrument, etc.). A typical example of direct causation is a transitive construction like the following:

(1)   Sam killed Harry.

Here cause and result are expressed through a single morpheme, and agent and patient have both participant roles. As Lyons puts it (1977: 489), "the vast majority of trivalent and bivalent verbs in all languages are most commonly used with an agentive subject and (…) their meaning is generally, though not always, causative". The same verb can be used in constructions like (2) where the the process of "excessive drinking" is reified and treated as an entity having the same function as *Sam* in (1):[8]

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transcendental philosophy to include a symbol, myth, and culture" (Schalow & Velkley 2014: 4).

7   Martin Heidegger's (1889–1976) best known book, *Being and Time,* is considered one of the most important philosophical works of the 20th century.

8   In such cases, Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 25ff.) speak of "ontological metaphors".

(2)   Excessive drinking killed Bill. (Lyons 1977: 490)

While (1) and (2) express a single event, (3), which contains the causative auxiliary *cause*, expresses "two separate events, Harry's death and what Sam did to cause it" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 131):

(3)   Sam caused Harry to die.

This sentence "indicates indirect or remote causation" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 131). Example (4), where the instigation and the effect are expressed in two separate clauses, "indicates a still weaker causal link" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 131):

(4)   Sam brought it about that Harry died.

In all the constructions (1)–(4), although to different extents, agent and patient have both participant roles. This is not the case in (5) where the cause is indicated by a causal clause or a prepositional phrase, both of which take up a circumstantial role (i.e. as causal adjuncts):

(5)   (Why did they stop playing?) They stopped playing **because it had started to rain/because of the rain**.

The constructions in (5) indicate the *reason* why the game had to stop. As we move from (1) to (5), there is a gradual decrease in attachment to the "center"of the sentence. The type of construction represented in (1) I will call "internal causation", whereas I will call the type represented in (5) "external causation". It is not quite clear where to draw the line between the two types.[9] In what follows, I will only look at the external causation-type represented by (5).

That causation is such a basic human concept is also what appears from Brunot's (1922: 812ff.) famous treatise, *La pensée et la langue* ('Thought and Language' in English). Brunot devotes five chapters (VI–X) to show how easily a causal sense arises when two propositional contents are combined, even if the construction was originally "created" for other purposes (e.g. temporal connections):[10]

(6)   **Dès qu'**on constate la fièvre, c'est qu'il y a infection (Brunot 1922: 814)
       As soon as you see the fever, it is because there is an infection.

The notion of CAUSE is one of the "Semantic Primitives" laid down by Wierzbicka (1996: 70, 137, 186ff.). Referring to Kant, Wierzbicka (1996: 70) remarks that "causation – with time and space – constitutes one of the basic categories of human cognition; it is not a category that we learn from experience but one of the categories which underlie our interpretation", and she points out that "data from language acquisition, as well as from cross-cultural semantics, are consistent with Kant's view" (Wierzbicka 1996: 70).[11] As seen in my discussion of Lakoff & Johnson's (1980) theory

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9   As Lyons remarks (1977: 490): "the distinction between a single temporally extended situation and two distinct, but causally connected, situations is not something that is given in nature, as it were".

10 My translation of "… l'esprit établit entre les faits les plus divers un rapport de causalité, en partant d'autres rapports." (Brunot 1922: 821–22).

11 Wierzbicka (1996: 70) remarks, on the one hand, that apparently all languages have a lexical exponent of causation (whether it is a conjunction like *because*, a noun like *cause*, or an ablative suffix), and on the other hand, that *because*-sentences appear quite early in children's speech "despite the highly abstract and "non-emperical" character of the concept of causality".

above, CAUSE, even if it is a basic human concept, is not really a "semantic primitive". But this does not need to bother us here. What I do want to challenge is the analysis according to which causation belongs to the same level as time and space. We will return to this problem in 2.2.–2.4. below.

2.2.   The strange behavior of pourquoi
In a series of publications (Korzen 1983, 1985, 1990, 2009), I have investigated the French interrogative word *pourquoi* ('why'), which, contrary to the other interrogative words, cannot be followed by stylistic inversion (but has to be combined with clitic inversion):

(7)   a.   **Qui** est cette jolie fille?
             Who is that beautiful girl?
       b.   **Que** fera Jean-Michel?
             What will Jean-Michel do?
       c.   **A quoi** pensait Jean-Michel?
             What was Jean-Michel thinking of?
       d.   **Quand** reviendra votre belle-mère?
             When will your mother-in-law come back?
       e.   **Où** est garée votre voiture?
             Where is your car parked?
       f.   **Comment** va votre fils?
             How is your son?
       g.   ***Pourquoi** pleure votre fils? → **Pourquoi** votre fils pleure-t-il?
             Why is your son crying?

In these publications I have tried to explain why *pourquoi*, which functions as a causal adjunct, behaves differently from *quand* ('when') and *où* ('where'), adjuncts of time and place respectively. During this exploration, it struck me that, with the exception of subject inversion, most of the peculiarities attached to the causal adjuncts in French – and the way they differed from time and place adjuncts – were exactly the same in Danish and in English, even though the three languages are very different in so many other regards (cf. Herslund & Baron 2003, 2005; Herslund 2015; Durst-Andersen 2011). In the above-mentioned publications, I explained the difference between causal adjuncts and time and place adjuncts by postulating a different degree of attachment to the verb, as we shall see in 2.4. below. But why is there this difference in attachment? And why do causal adjuncts behave in the same way in languages which differ so much in other respects?

      At any rate, Wierzbicka's analysis, according to which the three notions of time, space and cause belong to the same level, *all* of them being semantic primitives, "irreducible categories of human language and cognition" (Wierzbicka 1996: 71), fails to explain why, then, the expressions for cause behave so differently from those expressing time and place. In order to explain this, we have to take a closer look at Kant's cognitive model again.

2.3.   Time, space and cause in Kant's Critique of Pure reason
In his *Critique* (Kant 1993 [1781, 1787]), where he sets out to examine the foundations of human knowledge, Kant places the role of the human subject, or knower, at the center of our inquiry into nature, pointing out that all objects about which the mind can think must conform to its – rather limited – manner of thought. Since we can never escape the innate constraints of our minds, we must deal with them and accept that it is impossible to philosophize about things as they are, independently of us. Thus Kant makes a clear distinction between things as they appear to us as human beings, which are appearances in space and time, and the thing-in-itself ("das Ding an sich"),

which we cannot ever come to know. Kant characterizes the shift in point of view that made him focus on the human cognitive apparatus rather than the "outer world" as his "Copernican Revolution", because he attempted to reverse the mind-world relationship just as Copernicus had reversed the sun-earth relationship.

Kant (1993 [1781, 1787]: 45) points out that "there are two sources of of human knowledge (which probably spring from a common, but to us unknown root), namely sensibility ("Anschauunsgformen")[12] and understanding ("Verstandesbegriffe"). By the former, objects are *given* to us, by the latter, they are *thought*.". Thus, in the first place, it is a matter of the aptitude to capture by the senses (sensibility), and in the second place the aptitude to interpret (understanding) what we have sensed e.g. as a relation of cause and effect. Kant considers both aptitudes as necessary (and inherent in man):

> Neither of these faculties has a preference over the other. Without the sensible faculty no object would be given to us, and without the understanding no object would be thought. Thoughts without content are empty; intuitions without concepts, blind. Hence it is as necessary for the mind to make its concepts sensible (that is, to join to them the object in intuition), as it is to make its intuitions intelligible (that is, to bring them under concepts). Neither of these faculties can exchange its proper function. Understanding cannot intuit, and the sensible faculty cannot think. In no other way than from the united operation of both, can knowledge arise. (Kant 1993 [1781, 1787]: 69-70)

But Kant (1993 [1781, 1787]: 69-70) explicitly warns us against conflating the two:

> But no one ought, on this account, to overlook the difference of the elements contributed by each; we have rather great reason carefully to separate and distinguish them. We therefore distinguish the science of the laws of sensibility, that is, Aesthetic, from the science of the laws of the understanding, that is, Logic

Besides, the distinction between the two faculties appears clearly from the organization of the book. They are both discussed in the first (and longest) part: "Trancendental Doctrine of Elements". This part, which deals with the fundamental building blocks of experience, is divided into two chapters: 1) "Transcendental Aesthetic" and 2) "Transcendental Logic". Let us take a brief look at these chapters.

"**Transcendental Aesthetic**" deals with the two forms of sensibility that are *a priori* conditions for any possible experience – namely, **Space** and **Time**. Space is a necessary presupposition for being able to observe at all. Or, as Kant (1993 [1781, 1787]: 50) puts it himself:

> Space (…) is a necessary representation *a* priori, which serves for the foundation of all external intuitions. We never can imagine or make a representation to ourselves of the non-existence of space, though we may easily enough think that no objects are found in it. It must, therefore, be considered as the condition of the possibility of appearances, and by no means as a determination dependent on them, and is a representation *a priori*, which necessarily supplies the basis for external appearances.

It is a universally valid and necessary (i.e., *a priori*) truth that everything must necessarily be found at some place or other (cf. Hartnack 1967: 18). As for Time, Kant (1993 [1781, 1787]: 56) points out that

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12 The English word *sensibility* does not really render the sense of *Anschauung*, but it is difficult to find another word.

> Time is nothing else than the form of the internal sense, that is, of the intuitions of ourselves and of our internal state. For time cannot be any determination of outward appearances. It has to do with neither shape nor position; on the contrary, it determines the relation of representations in our inner state.

We cannot experience anything without presupposing time. One cannot imagine a world that is not in time, i.e., a world where nothing happens either before, at the same time as, or after something else. It is a universally valid and necessarily true proposition that every event and process occurs at a given moment in time and that every process takes a certain time (cf. Hartnack 1967: 23).

"**Transcendental logic**" treats the fundamental concepts[13] of understanding, which Kant calls categories.[14] The categories synthesize the random data of the sensory manifold into intelligible objects.There are twelwe categories, among which we find the relation of "Causality and Dependence (cause and effect)"[15] (Kant 1993 [1781, 1787]: 85):

(8)   1.
Of Quantity
Unity
Plurality
Totality
2.
Of Quality
Reality
Negation
Limitation
3.
Of Relation
Of Inherence and Subsistence (substantia et accidens)
Of **Causality and Dependence (cause and effect)** (the bold characters are mine)
Of Community (reciprocity between agent and patient)
4.
Of Modality
Possibility – Impossibility
Existence – Non-existence
Necessity – Contingence

The categories under 'quantity' and 'quality' Kant calls 'the mathematical categories'; these categories indicate the conditions for making judgements about objects in space and time. The categories under 'relation' and 'modality' Kant calls "the dynamic categories"; these categories indicate how an object is determined in relation to other objects.

As should be clear from the discussion above, Cause – a dynamic category – differs completely from Space and Time, the two forms of sensibility. Indeed, one could say that it is, in a certain sense, less fundamental than these. Moreover, already before setting out to explain the "Transcendental Doctrine of Elements", Kant (1993 [1781, 1787]: 45) explicitly states:

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13 These concepts are *a priori* concepts, i.e., concepts that are not formed by abstracting from experience (cf. Hartnack 1965: 32).
14 Cf. Kant (1993 [1781, 1787]: 85): "These concepts we shall, with Aristotle, call categories, our purpose being originally identical with his, notwithstanding the great difference in the execution".
15 As we saw in section 1. above, the temporal schema corresponding to cause and effect is that of succession.

So far as the faculty of sensibility may contain representations *a priori*, which form the conditions under which objects are given, in so far it belongs to transcendental philosophy. The transcendental doctrine of sensibility must form the **first** part of our science of elements, because **the conditions under which alone the objects of human knowledge are given, must precede those under which they are thought** [the bold characters are mine]

Thus, Kant does not place "Cause" at the same level as "Space" and "Time" regardless different linguists seem to have meant. Directly connected to the senses, "Space" and "Time" constitute the preconditions for any possible experience and function as "the scene" where experiences appear (cf. Thomsen 1964: 270). "Cause" adds, as it were, an explanation to the sensed phenomena.

In the following section, we shall see that this difference between Space and Time on the one hand and Cause on the other hand has quite radical consequences for the syntactic-semantic constitution of the sentence.

2.4. *Time, space and cause according to Korzen (1985)*
In Korzen (1983, 1985, 1990), I examined the special behaviour of cause adjuncts compared to the other sentence members, particularly space and time adjuncts, from which it distinguishes itself in several respects. The most spectacular way in which it distinguishes itself is the way that causal clauses combine with their main sentence as compared to temporal and relative clauses (see section 2.4.2.3.). Below I will show a small representative sample of the characteristic properties of these syntactic functions.

2.4.1. The hierarchical model
The starting point of my description is the following hierarchical model,[16] where the causal adjunct occupies an intermediary level between the sentence adjuncts (e.g. *heureusement*) and constituents capable of triggering stylistic inversion (see section 2.4.2. below):

Figure 1: The hierarchical model

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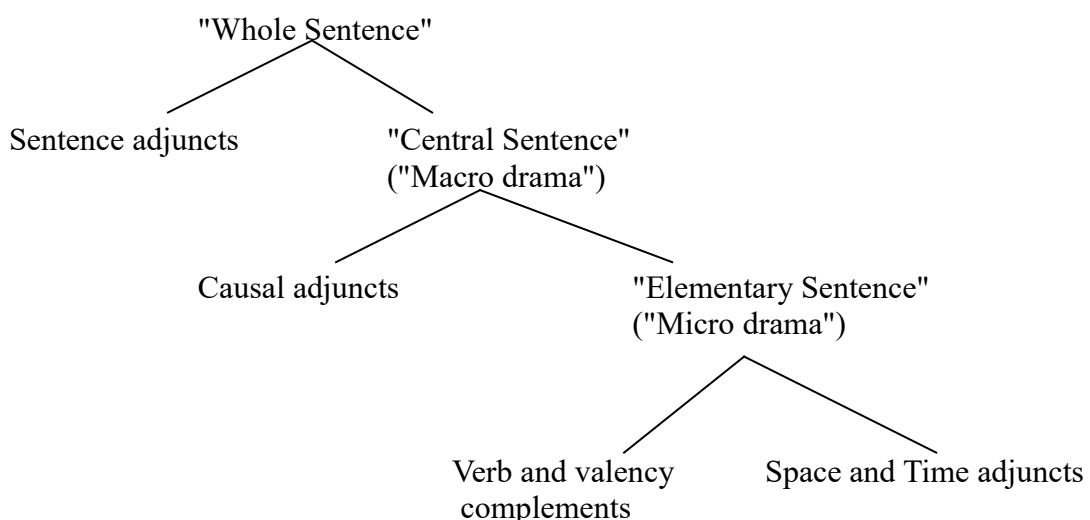
16 Figure 1 is not a syntactic tree but a graphic representation of the hierarchical organization of the elements that one can find in a sentence, and the terms "Whole Sentence", "Central Sentence" and "Elementary Sentence" mean: "elements likely to be found in the Whole Sentence etc.". In Korzen (1983, 1985, 1990), these are called "phrase entière", phrase centrale", and "phrase élémentaire".

The Central Sentence denotes the proper content, i.e. the part that is asserted, as opposed to the sentence adjuncts, which are merely "shown" (in the sense of Wittgenstein, cf. Nølke 1999). In Korzen (1985), I said that the sentence adjuncts were "periphery elements", and I will use that term below. The Elementary Sentence, which contains the verb and its valency complements (i.e. those having participant roles) and possibly space and time adjuncts, denotes the situation which is the center of interest. In order to abbreviate, I will use the term "elementary constituents" in order to talk of the valency complements and the space and time adjuncts. These sentence members share several properties by which they distinguish themselves from the causal adjuncts.

2.4.2. Differences between the causal adjuncts and the elementary constituents
2.4.2.1. The "essential" character of the elementary constituents: quantifiability
The elementary constituents can be considered "essential" because they are necessary in order that one can say that an event has taken place. If you negate the existence of one of them by means of an expression signifying "zero", it amounts to negating the whole proposition (cf. de Cornulier 1974: 161). This is what we see in (9):

(9)   a. **Personne** ne chante. (Subject)
            Nobody sings.
        b. Jeanne ne mange **rien**. (Object)
            Jane eats nothing
        c. Je ne donnerai ce livre **à personne**. (Indirect object)
            I will not give this book to anyone
        d. Michèle ne travaille **nulle part**. (Space adjunct)
            Michelle does not work anywhere
        e. Michèle ne travaille **jamais**. (Time adjunct)
            Michelle never works

The sentences in signify a) 'There is no singing at all', b) 'Jane does not eat at all', c) 'I will not make a present of this book at all', d) and e) 'Michelle does not work at all'. In all these constructions the negated constituents are negation words which form the second part of the negation.

The causal adjunct does not behave like that. Negating the cause does not amount to negating the whole proposition:

(10)   Michèle pleure **sans raison**.
           Michelle cries without reason

The sentence in (10) does not mean 'Michelle does not cry at all'. In fact, it happens very often that someone talks of a phenomenon while maintaining that no other phenomenon provoked it.[17] It is significant that there is no negative word in French that denotes 'for no reason' corresponding to *jamais* ('never') and *nulle part* ('nowhere'). In the other languages too, there are special negative words corresponding to the French negative words we saw in (9).

The Danish negative words can all be derived from the Old Norse *engi* 'nothing'. It must be admitted, however, that *ingensinde* ('never') has almost been ousted by *aldrig*,[18] another radical, in modern Danish:

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17 A Google search generated more than 2,000,000 hits *sans [aucune] raison* and more than 52,000,000 for *without [any] reason*, 19-9 2009.
18 Composed of *aldri*, dative from *aldr* 'age' and the negative particle *–gi*.

(11) ingen = nobody
       intet = nothing
       intetsteds = nowhere
       ingensinde/aldrig = never

As seen in (11), the English equivalents are all a combination of the negation and a noun or an adverb (*body*, *thing*, *where*, *ever*).
       In Japanese, the corresponding negative words are derived via the suffix *–mo*:

(12) daremo = nobody (cf. dare'who')
       nanimo = nothing (cf. nani 'what')
       dokodemo = nowhere (cf. doko 'where')[19]

An exception is *zenzen* ('never'),[20] which has its own radical like Danish *aldrig*. It is important to notice, however, that both languages have a single word for 'never'.
       Hungarian has the following negative words:

(13) senki = nobody (cf. ki 'who')
       semmi = nothing (cf. mi 'what')
       sehol = nowhere (cf. hol 'where')
       soha = never (different from mikor 'when')

However, there is no corresponding expression (i.e. no single word or regular "composition") denoting 'for no reason' in any of the mentioned languages; they all have to be used with a prepositional phrase corresponding to the French *sans raison* and the English *without reason*:

(14) a. Danish
           uden   grund
           without   reason
       b. Japanese
           riyuu   naku
           reason without
       c. Hungarian
           ok   nélkül
           reason without

The fact that negating the cause does not amount to negating the whole proposition might seem difficult to reconcile with Kant's theory, according to which "causation – with time and space – constitutes one of the basic categories of human cognition" (Wierzbicka 1996: 70, see also section 2. above). However, here one must bear in mind that Kant did not place the three notions at the same level. Space and Time are more fundamental, as they are directly connected to the senses. What we really mean when we say 'without any reason' is obviously 'without any *apparent* reason', i.e. 'for a reason unknown to us/a reason to which we have no access'. The idea of cause does not really arise until we are presented (preferably several times) with *two or more* events following one

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19 This is not a perfectly correct description: the word needs to combine with a negative morpheme "nai" to express the negative meaning. But it is a kind of "regular" "composed negation" that has a certain resemblance with the French composed negation e.g. *Il ne connaît personne* 'he does not know anybody', where *personne* had, originally, an affirmative sense.
20 The same comment as for *dodokemo*. This word, too, must combine with a negative morpheme.

after the other. Then the human mind will tend to conclude that there is a causal relation between them.[21] If you "remove" the cause, the world becomes absurd or inexplicable, but if you "remove" space and time, you pull the rug from under your feet, and there will be nothing left.

We have just seen that it is possible to negate the entire proposition by negating the existence of one of the elementary constituents by means of an expression signifying 'zero'. On the other hand, it is possible to "reinforce" it by "reinforcing" one of the elementary constituents. Thus, one could say that the examples in (16) express a larger quantity of action than the examples in (15):

(15) a. **Jean-Michel** chante.
          Jean-Michel is singing.
      b. Jean-Michel a embrassé **Maryse**.
          Jean-Michel kissed Maryse.
      c. Jean-Michel a donné des cadeaux **à Sophie**.
          Jean-Michel gave a present to Sophie.
      d. On a manifesté **à Paris**.
          They demonstrated in Paris
      e. Michel vient ici **le mardi**.
          Michel comes here every Tuesday.

(16) a. **Jean-Michel et Pierre** chantent. ('il y a deux fois plus de chant')
          Jean-Michel and Pierre are singing ('there is twice as much singing')
      b. Jean-Michel a embrassé **Maryse et Mathilde**. ('il y a deux fois plus de baisers')
          Jean-Michel kissed Maryse and Mathilde. ('there is twice as many kisses')
      c. Jean-Michel a donné des cadeaux **à Sophie et à Irène**. ('il y a deux fois plus de bénéficiaires')
          Jean-Michel gave gifts to Sophie and Irène. ('there are twice as many beneficiaries')
      d. On a manifesté **à Paris et à Lyon**. ('on a manifesté à deux endroits')
          They demonstrated in Paris and Lyon. ('they demonstrated in two places')
      e. Michel vient ici **le mardi et le jeudi**. ('Michel vient ici deux fois par semaine')
          Michel comes here every Tuesday and every Thursday. ('Michel comes twice a week')

As for the causal adjunct, increasing the number of causes does not result in a "bigger amount of action", which remains the same in (17) as in (18):

(17) Michel a embrassé Maryse **parce qu'il l'aime**.
       Michel kissed Maryse because he loves her.

(18) Michel a embrassé Maryse **parce qu'il l'aime et que le soleil brille**.
       Michel kissed Maryse because he loves her and the sun is shining.

Sometimes a whole lot of reasons are given for the same situation:

(19) Je ne suis pas allé en classe **parce qu'il fait froid, parce qu'il pleut, parce qu'il neige, parce qu'il gèle, parce qu'il y a du brouillard, parce que le ciel est gris, parce qu'il vente et qu'il grêle** (From Eugene Ionesco's *Le bon et le mauvais temps*, p. 130)[22]
       Il did not go to school because it is cold, because it is raining, because it is snowing, because

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21 The notion of Cause is not empiric, cf. also Hume.
22 Thanks to Birgitte Regnar for supplying me with this wonderful example.

> *it is freezing, because it is foggy, because the sky is gray, because the wind is blowing and because it is hailing.*

I will say that the elementary constituents are "quantifiable". This quantifiability has important morpho-syntactic consequences as we shall see below.

2.4.2.2. The *n'importe qui* type
It is possible to "reinforce", as it were, the truth value of a proposition by saying that the proposition is true whenever or wherever it takes place, and whatever be the entities that participate in it. In order to express this phenomenon, there are pronominal phrases corresponding to the quantifiable constituents like:

(20)   English: ***who(m)****ever, **what**ever, **wher**ever, **when**ever*
       French: *n'importe **qui**, n'importe **quoi**, n'importe **où**, n'importe **quand***
       Danish: ***hvem** som helst, **hvad** som helst, **hvor** som helst, **når** som helst*
       Japanese: ***dare****demo, **nan**demo, **doko**demo, **itsu**demo*
       Hungarian: *akár**ki**, akár**mi**, akár**hol**, akár**mikor***

Until recently I thought that *why* and its equivalents could not enter into these constructions, but it appears that it exists in some of the languages at least:

(21)   English: ***why****ever*[23]
       French: ***pour** n'importe **quelle raison***
       Danish: ***af** hvilken som helst **grund***
       Japanese: ****Dooshite****demo*
       Hungarian *Akár**miert**, bár**miert***[24]

2.4.2.3. Clause combining
Two situations can be connected by the fact that they share the same time, the same space, the same object, the same person, etc. Thus, they share one of the "essentiel" aspects. In order to express this, there are combinations of subordinate clauses and their main clauses like (22) in French, (23) in English and (24) in Danish,[25] (25) in Japanese and (26) in Hungarian:

(22)   a. Tu peux venir **quand** tu voudras.
       b. Tu peux dîner **où** tu voudras.
       c. Tu peux faire **ce que** tu voudras.
       d. Tu peux épouser **qui** tu voudras.

(23)   a. You can come **when(ever)** you want.
       b. You can dine **where(ver)** you want.
       c. You can do **what(ever)** you want.
       d. You can marry **who(ever)/whom(ever)** you want.

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23 *Whyever* sems to be **much** less frequent than *whatever*: a Google search generated 153.000.000 hits for the latter and 17.600 hits for the former (27-09-2010). In *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, the latter is written in one word, but the former in two.

24 *Akármiért* seems odd to some informants. Moreover, both expressions seem to appear later than the other expressions. It does not appear in Sándor Eckhard's dictionary *Magyar-Francia szótár* 1958. I thank Michael Carsten Larsen for this information.

25 In the Danish tradition, we call the shared element "common member" (cf. Diderichsen 1946).

(24) a. Du kan komme **når** du **(end)** vil.
      b. Du kan spise **hvor** du **(end)** vil.
      c. Du kan gøre **hvad** du **(end)** vil.
      d. Du kan gifte dig med **hvem** du **(end)** vil.

(25) a. Anata wa   **itsudemo** kite mo ii
          you   theme whenever you want to come
      b. Anata wa   **dokodemo**   tabetai tokoro de taberareru
          you   theme wherever   you want to eat
      c. Anata wa   **nandemo**   sukina koto ga dekiru.
          You   theme whatever   you like to do
      d. Anata wa   sukina **dare-tomo**   kekkon dekiru
          you   theme like   with whoever marry   can

(26) a. Te   jöhetsz   **amikor**   akarsz
          you   come can.2pers.sing when(ever)   will.2pers.sing
      b. Te   ehetsz **ahol**   akarsz
          you   eat can wherever   will.2pers.sing
      c. Te   azt   csinálhatsz   **amit**   akarsz
          you   that   do can.2pers.sing   whatever   will.2pers.sing
      d. Te   megházasodhatsz   azzal **akivel**   akarsz
          you   marry.refl.2pers.sing article, instrument   will.2pers.sing

In (22)–(26) the time, place, etc. are non-specific. However, the same "share" is possible when they are specific:

(27) Pierre est parti **quand** Charles est venu.
      Pierre left when Charles arrived.

(28) Michèle habite **dans la maison où** Jacques travaille.
      Michel lives in the house where Jacques works.

No construction corresponding to (22)–(28) denotes that two events happen for the same reason, so the causal conjunction is excluded from (29), corresponding to (22)–(24):

(29) French; **Tu peux venir **pourquoi** tu voudras.*
      English: **You can come **why(ever)** you want.*
      Dansh: **Du kan komme **hvorfor** du vil.*

In all the languages, constructions like (30), which contains a causal clause, express that the event denoted by the causal clause explains the event denoted by the main sentence. They do not express that two events happen for the same reason:

(30) Pierre est parti **parce que** Charles est venu.
      Peter left because Charles came.

Of course, it happens that two (or more) situations can be explained by one and the same reason. Say Paul stayed at home because it was snowing (he hated snow), but Jacques went out because it was snowing (he loved snow). Theoretically, it should be possible to imagine a construction like

(31), but it just "sounds" odd:

(31)   ?Paul est resté chez lui pour la même raison que celle pour laquelle Jacques est sorti.
        Paul stayed at home for the same reason as the reason for which Jacques went out.

No language seems to use such a construction. At any rate, they are not expressible by a single conjunction. What is "shared" in constructions like (22)–(28) is always one of the essential aspects, which are, explicitly or implicitly, "present"[26] in all situations. They are part of any situation. These possibilities of clause combining are probably the most spectacular consequence of the difference between the time and space adjuncts on the one hand, and the causal adjunct on the other.
        The ways two propositions combine can be illustrated by Figures 1 and 2, where Figure 1 represents the construction with the common member, and Figure 2 represents the causal construction where the two propositions are connected by an operator:
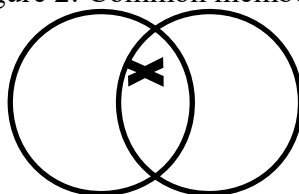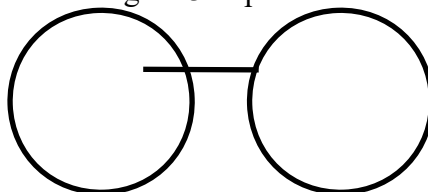
Figure 2: Common member

Figure 3: Operator

This difference between space and time adjuncts on the one hand, and causal adjuncts on the other hand is so radical that it should convince everybody that they can't be placed on the same level.

2.4.2.4. Periphery properties
Being outside the Elementary Sentence, the causal adjuncts share certain properties with the sentence adjuncts. They can for instance be outside the scope of negation and combine directly with the negative adverb corresponding to *not*:

(32)   French: ***Pourquoi** pas?*
        English: ***Why** not?*
        Danish: ***Hvorfor** ikke?*
        Japanese: ***Dooshite** soo de wa nai deshoo ka?*
        Hungarian: ***Miert** nem?*

That position is excluded for space and time adjuncts in French, English, Danish and Japanese:

(33)   French: ****Quand** pas? ***Où** pas?*
        English: ****When** not? **Where** not?*
        Danish: ****Hvornår** ikke? ***Hvor** ikke?*

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26 They do not have to be physically there, but they are always implied.

Japanese: ***Itsu** janai? **Doko** janai?[27]*

However it is possible in Hungarian:

(34) a. ***Nikor** nem?* (when not)
      b. **Hol** nem? (where not)

However, it is very important to notice that the construction is possible with all the interrogatives. Thus, in Hungarian, we also find:

(35) a. ***Ki** nem?* (who not)
      b. ***Ni** nem?* (what not)

The causal adverb, in (32) occupies exactly the same place as *unfortunately* in (36):

(36) French: ***Malheureusement** pas!*
      English: ***Unfortunately** not!*
      Danish: ***Desværre** ikke!*
      Hungarian: ***Sajnos** nem!*

Like sentence adjuncts, but unlike space and time adjuncts, causal adjuncts may also modify elliptic sentences:

(37) French: *Michel va venir. – **Pourquoi** Michel? ***Quand** Michel? ***Où** Michel?*
      English: *Michel will come. – **Why** Michel? ***When** Michel? ***Where** Michel?*
      Danish: *Michel kommer. – **Hvorfor** Michel? ***Hvornår** Michel? ***Hvor** Michel?*
      Hungarian: ***Miert** Mikkel?*

The constructions in (37) are the same kind of constructions as (38) where the sentence adjunct *unfortunately* and its equivalents modify the elliptic construction:

(38) French: *Qui va venir? – Michel, **malheureusement**.*
      English: *Who will come? – Michel, **unfortunately**.*
      Danish: *Hvem kommer? – Michel, **desværre**.*
      Hungarian: *Mikkel, **sajnos**.*

This difference between space and time adjuncts and the adjuncts which are outside the Elementary Sentence is probably due to the fact that an elliptic sentence already, implicitly, contains the other Elementary constituents (i.e. time and place adjuncts, etc.), for which reason it can only be modified by "external" sentence members.

2.5. Partial conclusion: Causal adjuncts compared to space and time adjuncts

It should appear from 2.4. that space and time adjuncts share important properties with the other elementary constituents. All these constituents denote essential aspects of the situation which is the center of interest, and because of that, they differ from all other constituents that can be found in a sentence. The causal adjunct, on the other hand, is excluded from this exclusive circle, and it shares

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27 My anonymous referee adds the following commentary: "They might become acceptable in some extremely rare contexts, but I would judge them as unacceptable by default".

several properties with the sentence adjuncts.[28]

In 2.1., where I quoted Lakoff & Johnson, Brunot and Wierzbicka, I stated that causation is such a basic notion, whereas I have just said that the causal adjunct does not denote an "essential aspect of the situation". So we might seem, to be left with a paradox. However the paradox is only apparent, because we have looked at the constructions from two different points of view: when we look at a sentence denoting a single propositional content, the causal adjunct is not "essential" (recall section 2.4.2.1.), but as soon as you combine two propositional contents, then the causal sense appears.

3.   General conclusion

We must conclude that, as far as the properties examined in 2.4. are concerned, French, English, Danish, Hungarian and Japanese have almost the same syntax. In all five languages, the space and time adjuncts differ fundamentally – and in the same ways – from the causal adjuncts, although these languages, being typologicaly different, differ from each other in *many* other important respects. This fits so nicely in the model that Kant presents in *Critique.*

Therefore we must also conclude that Hamann and Herder and their many followers are completely wrong when they allege that Kant was unaware of the role language played in the construction of his own cognitive model! What Kant's model describes in *Critique* is not dependent on any particular language nore on any particular culture. It is determined by our bodily apparatus. I think it is very probable that the discussed differences between the time and space expressions on the one side, and causal expressions on the other belong to those "universals that constitute the backdrop of any typology"[29] (Herslund 2015).

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28 In Korzen (1985), I examine many other syntactic differences between the "elementary constituents" and the causal adjuncts.

29 My translation of "traits universaux qui constituent l'arrière-fond de toute typologie".

May, 2015.

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Address to young men on the right use of Greek literature by Saint Basil: A corpus stylistic approach

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Abstract: The purpose of this study is to examine the text *Address to young men on the right use of Greek literature* by Saint Basil using corpus stylistics. In this interdisciplinary study rhetorical analysis is combined with linguistic theories and corpus-linguistic tools. Via application of this methodological framework, we can extract secure and meaningful results as regards the style and the ideological intentionality of Saint Basil in this text.

Keywords: Communicative and rhetorical goal, corpus stylistic approach, Saint Basil, style.

1.   Introduction

Saint Basil[1] was born in 330 in Caesarea of Cappadocia. His family was well-off and his parents were well-educated. He studied close to the teacher of rhetoric Lebanius[2] and subsequently went to Athens to study philosophy and rhetoric. He donated the greater part of his property to poor people and became the Bishop of Caesarea in 370.

Our research is based on one text of Saint Basil *Address to young men on the right use of Greek literature*;[3] in order for us to be able to apply corpus-linguistic analysis, the text (4,360 word tokens) was electronically typed and we relied on Migne (1857-1866) as regards its form (PG 31, 563-590). In this treatise, Saint Basil presents his view on the worth of the literature of Ancient Greece and conveys to the audience the criterion of usefulness in their lives. This work was probably composed in 363 or 364 when Julian the Emperor edited a decree, a law against the Christian teachers. Christians reacted by creating works such as operas and dramas, and Saint Basil may have written this text in order to persuade others about the value and worth of pagan authors. As Saint Basil lived in a period of time when there was a conflict between paganism[4] and Christianity, he tries to integrate the ancient Greek morals into the frame of the Christianity. According to Cantor (1993: 59),

> Julian is generally known as Julian the apostate. Like his uncle Constantine, he also experienced a conversion, but in the opposite direction –from Christianity to Paganism. While Julian had been brought up in the Christian religion, he had acquired a taste for Roman literature and Greek philosophy, and he finally abandoned the Christian religion for that monotheistic kind of paganism already described. As long as his cousin, Constantine's son, was on the throne, he kept his apostasy from the Christian religion to himself, but after his accession to the throne, he openly made a profession of paganism."

Roberts (1993: 233) further informs us that

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1   For more details on Saint Basil, see Wilson (1975), Rousseau (1994), Padelford (1902). According to Cantor (1993:148) "St. Basil was the leader in the creation of a communal type of monasticism in the Greek church that gradually came to predominate over the old anchoric form".
2   Libanius was born in Antioch in 314. He studied rhetoric in Athens and was an ardent admirer of Julian the Emperor.
3   For the translation of this text, we consulted the website http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/index.htm, Padelford (1902).
4   For more on the contradiction between Christianity and other religions, see Alexandropoulos (2014a), Lucas (1910), Momigliano (1963).

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Julian "believing that a restoration of the old sacrifices would ensure the return of prosperity", had too little time to test the proposition. What is now perhaps more striking is the unquestioned assumption that religion and public life were inseparably intertwined, on which his policy was based and which commanded general agreement; it was an assumption whose origins were Roman, not Christian. Julian did not threaten Constantine's work and Theodosius, the last ruler of a united Empire, at last forbade the public worship of the ancient gods in 380.

As Cantor (1993:59) argues

[p]aganism found its warmest defenders among the ranks of the Roman aristocracy, as well as the Italian and the Greek academic world. In the Roman Senate and in the civil service the pagans remained strongly entrenched until the last two decades of the century. During the fourth century, pagan piety in the upper classes became more elevated, more ardent and more mystical. Under the influence of Stoicism and Neoplatonism, many of the aristocratic pagans developed a kind of monotheism and abandoned their old lax morality for a more ardent and stern code of ethics that was reminiscent of the Roman aristocracy in the best days of the Republic.

According to Zisis (1980: 64),

this text is divided in two parts, the methodological (the first four chapters), the substantial (the five other chapters) and the epilogue which summarizes what was mentioned in the previous chapters. In the introduction of this treatise (in the methodological part) Saint Basil states the reason he decided to compose this text. In the next chapter he states that the basic guide of life should be the Holy Scriptures. In the third chapter he supports that profane learning should ornament the mind, as foliage graces the fruit-bearing tree. In chapter four he advises young people to discriminate between the helpful and the injurious when studying pagan lore. He continues his arguments by saying that attention must be paid to those passages in which virtue is praised. In chapter six he supports that men should follow the route of value in their life. In chapter seven Saint Basil says that what is required is to comprehend which elements of pagan literature coincide with the teachings of the Scriptures. In the same way, in the following chapter he advises young men to distinguish the differences between helpful and injurious knowledge. In chapter nine he advises young men to focus on virtue, scorning riches and fame. In chapter ten Saint Basil advises young men to study the pagan writers at present in order to broaden and store up their knowledge for future life. Saint Basil concludes his treatise hoping that young men will follow his advice in their lives.

We can find several traditional studies in the literature on Byzantine, classical texts, based on the Aristotelian concept of rhetoric.[5] The language of the texts of the Byzantine period was the dialect of Athens – that is, primarily Attic. Rhetorical speech in Byzantium was the cornerstone of social life according to Beck (1959). According to Lee (2010: 9), "St. Basil writes in the language and style of the great pagan Classics and rejects the simple Koine Greek of the New Testament as the vehicle for his published teaching and thoughts."

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5   For rhetorical practice see Brédif (1879), Cameron (1994), Hunger (1978), Kennedy (1994), Mirhady (2007), Nesselrath (1997), Pernot (2000), Roberts (1984), Ross (1974), and Wolf (2008).

Most studies in the tradition referred to above, are based on perceptual salience. However, perceptual salience is not always enough to approach texts. Corpus linguistics[6] can be combined with and serve the goal of this interdisciplinary research. The combination of corpus-linguistic methodology and the above-mentioned research tradition will enable the analyst to ahieve clear results, based on quantitative (in the case of this study, with normalized frequency per ‰) and qualitative data. Our research is important, because it addresses the ideological intentionality of the speaker, it examines the interaction of the ideology with the language choices, and it provides us with secure results about the style of this address and allows us to steer clear of the controversy that rages between scholars regarding the appreciation of Saint Basil for classical letters. In the words of Tomadakis (1993: 25),

> St. Basil and other great Church Fathers studied Greek fluently – of course – in Greek Schools of Athens and the Middle East, but the influence of the Jewish spirit on them was indeed significant. Among the tools of classic philosophy, the art of rhetoric was remarkably useful, since it would help them develop the new religion and persuade the neophytes on its doctrines… It was because of rhetoric that the Fathers studied the Greek writers. An adept tool for their propaganda was the Greek language, in order to communicate their views in the totally Hellenized East. Therefore, an approach to Homer, the tragic poets, Pindarus, Plato, the classic poets had nothing to give to them […] The beautiful, the aesthetically proper was not interesting to them.

Yet, according to Zisis (1980:58) "St. Basil was a talented and fruitful writer who loved and admired the Greek literature, a fact that anyone could observe when studying his pedagogic works."

We have to discover whether the aforementioned empirical judgments of the scholars are confirmed both by the statistics of the use of lexical items, as well as by their pragmatic use.

The main objectives of our research can be reflected in the following questions:

  i)   How the most frequently used elements serve the speaker's rhetorical, communicative goal and define his style?
  ii) How these particular linguistic devices can illuminate the conflict among the scholars?

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 describes the theory and method adopted in this study. In Section 3 we address Saint Basil's use of words of philosophical character, while Section discusses his use of certain parts-of-speech – namely, verbs, adjectives, and pronouns. Section 5 addresses his use of rhetorical devices.

2.   Theory and method

A variety of models and methodological tools are adopted in this study. More specifically, for the extraction of the most frequently used words, lexical bundles, etc. the Antconc concordancer (Anthony 2006) is adopted. For the study of rhetorical relations, Mann & Thompson's (1986, 1988) theory is adopted, following Hymes (1962, 1974), in recognition of the importance of context.[7] Mann & Thompson (1986, 1988) and Mann et al. (1992) propose an inventory of rhetorical relations (circumstances, solutionhood, elaboration, cause, result, purpose, condition, interpretation, evaluation, restatement, summary, sequence, contrast, motivation, antithesis, background, enablement, evidence, justification, concession, joint) expressed in any kind of text. These relations can describe the speakers' rhetorical organization in a different manner, as the Rhetorical Structure

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6   For more on corpus linguistics and corpora, see Biber (1993).
7   For the function of the context see Malinowski (1923), Firth (1957), Austin (1962), and Hymes (1962, 1974).

Theory can focus on the rhetorical goal of the text combining the totality of its relations. These relations are divided into two spans:

- nucleus and satellite
- nucleus and nucleus

The text is constituted by elements which are split in smaller elements in each relation of textual elements; one of the sub-elements is considered the most important and assigned the status as nucleus, while the other elements are considered satellites. Thus, there can be a nucleus with one satellite or a nucleus with two satellites in the text. The nucleus bears the main part of the information and constitutes the main objective of the text; consequently it cannot be omitted. In contrasts, the satellites bear additional elements for the text's meaning and can consequently be omitted without affecting its coherence (Mann & Thompson 1988: 244).

Hymes' (1962, 1974) SPEAKING model is particularly functional and popular, since it allows the comprehension of the complexity of all parameters that determine and affect the communicative capability and the communicative act. It captures in an acronym all those factors that concern and influence the speaker and the listener during the communicative act. These factors are listed below:

1. **SETTING:** the natural environment or communication's setting of conduct. It covers either the natural frame, in which the communicative episode (that is, the space and the time) or for the psychological frame (that is, the speaker's psychological situation).
2. **PARTICIPANTS**: the participants in the communicative event – not only the speaker and the recipient of the message, but all the individuals who are present in the communication practice, even if they are silent. Significant elements are not only the identity, age and gender of these individuals, but also the general psychological, social and cultural characteristics.
3. **ENDS:** The purposes, goals, outcomes and the final aspiration of communication. This encompasses the speaker's intentions as well as the results of the communicative action.
4. **ACTS:** the speaking action and the subject of the statements.
5. **KEY***:* the style and the tenor which are used to carry out the communication (for example sarcastic, hostile etc). According to Hymes (1962), style is investigated, both as a deviation from a norm, as well as 'a system of coherent ways or patterns of doing things.
6. **INSTRUMENTALITIES:** the channels and the communicative means that are used as well as the codes that correspond with them (not only linguistic ones, but also extra-linguitic features, like gestures, grimaces etc.)
7. **NORMS:** the social rules, conventions and the regularities that govern interaction.
8. **GENRE:** the text type that is produced during the communicative event.

For the interpretation of the speech acts, we rely on Searle's (1969,·1979,·1994,·1996a, 1996b) typology of speech acts:

- assertive speech acts: speech acts that commit a speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition
- directive speech acts: speech acts that are to cause the hearer to take a particular action
- commissive speech acts: speech acts that commit a speaker to some future action
- expressive speech acts: speech acts that express the speaker's attitudes and emotions towards the proposition
- declarations: speech acts that change the reality in accordance with the proposition of the

    declaration

Bazerman & Prior's (2004) model is adopted in the attempt to understand the functions of the intertextual source after recontextualization, such as support, proof etc. The process of recontextualization is, according to Fairclough (1992: 130-133), intensified because of the connection between linguistic practices of various institutions and various textual types, resulting in the creation of a network of constants of intertextualistic chains, on which the transformations of the texts take place each time.

3.   Words of philosophical character
The following table provides us with the most frequently used words of philosophical character:

Table 1: Words of philosophical character

Word	Frequency ‰
ἀρετή / virtue	4.82
ψυχή / soul	4.82

In the following example, we see the impact of the studies of Saint Basil in Athens, where he studied philosophy:

(1)   Ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ προτρέπων ἡμᾶς ἐπ᾽ ἀρετήν, καὶ προκαλούμενος ἅπαντας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, ταῦτα διελθεῖν καὶ ὥστε μὴ καταμαλακισθέντας πρὸς τοὺς πόνους προαποστῆναι τοῦ τέλους. Καὶ μέντοι, καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος ἐοικότα τούτοις τὴν ἀρετὴν ὕμνησεν, ὡς εἰς ταὐτὸν ἡμῖν φέροντας τοὺς λόγους ἀποδεχώμεθα.

Now it seems to me that he had no other purpose in saying these things than so to exhort us to virtue, and so to incite us to bravery, that we may not weaken our efforts before we reach the goal. And certainly, if any other man praises virtue in a like strain, we will receive his words with pleasure, since our aim is a common one. (paragraph 5)

The repetition of the lexical item *ἀρετή*[8] */ virtue* indicates that the emotional value of this lexical item is the core point of the views of Saint Basil. Saint Basil uses this word repeatedly as he supports that *μόνη δὲ κτημάτων ἡ ἀρετὴ ἀναφαίρετον, καὶ ζῶντι καὶ τελευτήσαντι παραμένουσα / But virtue is the only possession that is sure, and that remains with us whether living or dead.*

Saint Basil also states that, if we acquire the virtue in our lives, then we can have balance in our souls. The following example certifies the above syllogism:

(2)   Οὐ μικρὸν γὰρ τὸ ὄφελος, οἰκειότητά τινα καὶ συνήθειαν ταῖς τῶν νέων ψυχαῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐγγενέσθαι· ἐπείπερ ἀμετάστατα πέφυκεν εἶναι τὰ τῶν τοιούτων μαθήματα, δι᾽ ἁπαλότητα τῶν ψυχῶν εἰς βάθος ἐνσημαινόμενα.

For it is of no small advantage that virtue become a habit with the souls of youth, for the lessons of youth make a deep impression, because the soul is then plastic, and therefore they are likely to be indelible. (paragraph 5)

His main advice is to follow the way of virtue. The repetition helps him promote his message. What he proposes to the hearers is to acquire virtue because this can provide balance to their souls. Seeing

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8   The value of virtue is an issue that also puzzled Plato in his dialogue *Protagoras* in which he tries to establish whether it can be taught or not. Aristotle also stated in *Politica* that the acquisition of virtue should be the goal of the educational system.

that the hearers live in a period of time when there is tension between paganism and Christianity, what they should do is to study the heathen books with critical thought and focus on virtue. Virtue can help them in such a difficult time to ensure the balance in their lives.

4.   Saint Basil's use of parts-of-speech
4.1.   Verbs
I the following, we will address the most frequently used verbs. Saint Basil prefers to use the impersonal syntax more frequently than expressions of personal stance. The verb *οἶμαι/ think* is has a very limited use (0.02%) in his address, a fact that strongly suggests that Saint Basil desires to his imbue message with objectivity and ensure the detachment.[9] The particularities of this text cannot be particularities of all Byzantine authors, because each author had his personal style, which he would consistently follow in his attempt to persuade others and achieve his communicative goal. We hope that similar studies[10] by other scholars will follow so as to extract overall conclusions about the similarities and the differences of the style of Byzantine authors.

Table 2 below lists the three most frequent verbs in Saint Basil's address:

Table 2. The most frequent verbs

Word	Frequency ‰
ἐστι / is	5.73
λέγεται / it is said	1.47
δεῖ / must	0.92

*Only the 3rd person singular forms of the words have been counted.

In general, *ἐστι / is* is a high-frequency verb in Greek, as it has a variety of functions. In most of our cases, this verb functions as a personal verb. This also applies to the verb *λέγεται / it is said* since, in most of our cases, it operates as a personal verb (60%) and in about 40% of the cases as an impersonal verb. The verb *δεῖ / must* is a deontic modal verb (Loos et al. 2004) that is particularly interesting when it comes to its functions in Saint Basil's address. Consider the following example:

(3)   Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοῖς παρὰ τῶν ποιητῶν, ἵν᾽ ἐντεῦθεν ἄρξωμαι, ἐπεὶ παντοδαποί τινές εἰσι κατὰ τοὺς λόγους, μὴ πᾶσιν ἐφεξῆς προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν μὲν τὰς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν πράξεις ἢ λόγους ὑμῖν διεξίωσιν, ἀγαπᾶν τε καὶ ζηλοῦν, καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα πειρᾶσθαι τοιούτους εἶναι, ὅταν δὲ ἐπὶ μοχθηροὺς ἄνδρας ἔλθωσι τῇ μιμήσει, ταῦτα δεῖ φεύγειν ἐπιφρασσομένους τὰ ὦτα οὐχ ἧττον ἢ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα φασὶν ἐκεῖνοι τὰ τῶν Σειρήνων μέλη.

*To begin with the poets, since their writings are of all degrees of excellence, you should not study all of their poems without omitting a single word. When they recount the words and deeds of good men, you should both love and imitate them, earnestly emulating such conduct. But when they portray base conduct, you **mus**t flee from them and stop up your ears, as Odysseus is said to have fled past the song of the sirens, for familiarity with evil writings paves the way for evil deeds.* (paragraph 4)

The main concern of Saint Basil is to persuade the hearers into adopting the way of studying the heathen books that he advocates. What is required is critical thought. The verb *δεῖ / must* is inserted into a directive speech act which promotes the message of Saint Basil as a directive obligation that the hearers should follow and adopt in their lives. The only thing they have to do is to study the writings of the ancient Greek literature, reminding them of the criteria of usefulness in their lives.

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9   For the mechanism of detachment see Chafe (1982).
10 For similar approaches and studies about the style of the byzantine authors see Alexandropoulos (2013abc, 2014ab, 2015).

Once again the speaker integrates into his text a example pertaining to Odysseus and the sirens thus generating a sense of vividness in his message and representativeness, so as to make it be absorbed by the hearers.

(4)   Τὸ γὰρ τὴν πᾶσαν σπουδὴν εἰσφέρεσθαι ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα ἔξοι οὐ διαγινώσκοντός ἐστιν ἑαυτόν, οὐδὲ συνιέντος τοῦ σοφοῦ παραγγέλματος, ὅτι οὐ τὸ ὀρώμενόν ἐστιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλά τινος **δεῖ** περιττοτέρας σοφίας, δι᾽ ἧς ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ὅστις ποτέ ἐστιν ἑαυτὸν ἐπιγνώσεται.

        *Indeed, to be very zealous in making the body appear very beautiful is not the mark of a man who knows himself, or who feels the force of the wise maxim: 'Not that which is seen is the man,' for **it requires** a higher faculty for any one of us, whoever he may be, to know himself.* (paragraph 9)

As Saint Basil would have it, people must focus more on working with their souls than with our bodies. In this example, the verb *δεῖ*/*it requires* aids Saint Basil in expressing his intentionality about this issue. The insertion of this verb into a directive speech act promotes the message of Saint Basil as a directive obligation that the hearers should follow in their lives.

4.2. Adjectives
Saint Basil utilizes a number of adjectives in order to describe, evaluate entities of the text and direct the audience to certain actions. The following table provides us with the most frequently used adjectives:

Table 3: The most frequent adjectives*

Adjectives	Frequency ‰
αἰσχρὸν / shameful	1.15
ἄξιον / worthy	0.92
μεθεκτέον / to be taken into consideration	0.69
προσεκτέον / to be respected	0.46
παραδεκτέον / to be accepted	0.22

*Only adjectives in the nominative/accusative neutral were counted

Now, consider the following example:

(5)   Ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνα αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἀποδεξόμεθα, ἐν οἷς ἀρετὴν ἐπήνεσαν, ἢ πονηρίαν διέβαλον. Ὡς γὰρ τῶν ἀνθέων τοῖς μὲν λοιποῖς ἄχρι τῆς εὐωδίας ἢ τῆς χρόας ἐστὶν ἡ ἀπόλαυσις, ταῖς μελίτταις δ᾽ ἄρα καὶ μέλι λαμβάνειν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὑπάρχει, οὕτω δὴ κἀνταῦθα τοῖς μὴ τὸ ἡδὺ καὶ ἐπίχαρι μόνον τῶν τοιούτων λόγων διώκουσιν ἔστι τινὰ καὶ ὠφέλειαν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποθέσθαι. Κατὰ πᾶσαν δὴ οὖν τῶν μελιττῶν τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν λόγων ἡμῖν **μεθεκτέον**. Ἐκεῖναί τε γὰρ οὔτε ἅπασι τοῖς ἄνθεσι παραπλησίως ἐπέρχονται, οὔτε μὴν οἷς ἂν ἐπιπτῶσιν ὅλα φέρειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσον αὐτῶν ἐπιτήδειον πρὸς τὴν ἐργασίαν λαβοῦσαι, τὸ λοιπὸν χαίρειν ἀφῆκαν· ἡμεῖς τε, ἢν σωφρονῶμεν, ὅσον οἰκεῖον ἡμῖν καὶ συγγενὲς τῇ ἀληθείᾳ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν κομισάμενοι, ὑπερβησόμεθα τὸ λειπόμενον.

        *But on the other hand we shall receive gladly those passages in which they praise virtue or condemn vice. For just as bees know how to extract honey from flowers, which to men are agreeable only for their fragrance and color, even so here also those who look for something more than pleasure and enjoyment in such writers may derive profit for their souls. Now, then, altogether after the manner of bees **must we use** these writings, for the bees do not visit all the flowers without discrimination, nor indeed do they seek to carry away entire those*

upon which they light, but rather, having taken so much as is adapted to their needs, they let the rest go. So we, if wise, shall take from heathen books whatever befits us and is allied to the truth, and shall pass over the rest. And just as in culling roses we avoid the thorns, from such writings as these we will gather everything useful, and guard against the noxious. (paragraph 4)

IHere, Saint Basil makes an attempt to persuade the hearers of this text to follow a particular way in the study of the passages, taking from heathen books whatever befits them and is allied to the truth. For this reason, the speaker uses the verbal adjective *μεθεκτέον / to be taken into consideration,* which gives him the opportunity to present his message as a directive obligation. In this way, Saint Basil leads, through a directive speech act, the hearers to do things based on the study of heathen books. The speaker also utilizes the example of the as a strategy to empower his syllogism and generate vividness in his text, conveying to the audience that they must have critical thought and they should not accept everything without discrimination, but only what is useful. This view is also repeated in the following lines of the text, again through the use of adjectives:

(6)   Ἀλλ᾽, ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔλεγον, πάλιν γὰρ εἰς ταὐτὸν ἐπανίωμεν, οὐ πάντα ἐφεξῆς **παραδεκτέον** ἡμῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσα **χρήσιμα**. Καὶ γὰρ **αἰσχρὸν** τῶν μὲν σιτίων τὰ βλαβερὰ διωθεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ μαθημάτων ἃ τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν τρέφει μηδένα λόγον ἔχειν, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ χειμάρρουν παρασύροντας ἅπαν τὸ προστυχὸν ἐμβάλλεσθαι.

*But let us return to the same thought with which we started, namely, that **we should not accept** everything without discrimination, but only what is **useful**. For **it would be shameful** should we reject injurious foods, yet should take no thought about the studies which nourish our souls, but as a torrent should sweep along all that came near our path and appropriate it.* (paragraph 8)

In this extract Saint Basil utilizes the verbal adjective *οὐ παραδεκτέον / not to be accepted* in a directive speech act in order to lead the audience to this point of view, which was also expressed in the first lines of his address (in paragraph 4). The adjective *χρήσιμα / useful* is utilized by Saint Basil with a view to describing the content of heathen books that the speakers should adopt and follow in their lives. This way, Saint Basil introduces again into his text the criteria of usefulness. In the following lines, he justifies his point of view by using the adjective *αἰσχρὸν / shameful* (as an elliptic verbal phrase with the omitted verb *ἐστί / is*) and through this lexical choice of impersonal syntax he ensures the detachment and directs them to adopt a particular way of life. The torrent image imbues his syllogism with vividness and advises the hearers to act in an opposite way, taking thought of their studies.

4.3. Pronouns
Table 4 on page 116 provides us with the most frequently used pronouns. It is obvious from the table that Saint Basil uses more personal pronouns with first and second plural reference.
        This choice is justified by the fact that he speaks as a delegate of his religious system and his speech is addressed to young people. The pronouns with first plural reference are introduced much more than the personal pronouns with second plural reference, a fact that allows us to state that this text becomes a means for the presentation of the religious system that he supports.

Table 4: Personal pronouns used

Pronouns	Frequency ‰
1ˢᵗ person singular reference	
Nom. ἐγὼ / I	1.61
Gen. ἐμοῦ, μοῦ / of me	0
Dat. ἐμοί (ἔμοιγε), μοι / for me	0.23
Acc. ἐμέ, με / me	0
Total amount	1.84
1ˢᵗ person plural reference	
Nom. ἡμεῖς / we	0.92
Gen. ἡμῶν / of us	0.46
Dat. ἡμῖν / for us	4.1
Acc. ἡμᾶς / us	0.92
Total amount	6.4
2ⁿᵈ person singular reference	
Nom. σὺ / you	0
Gen. σοῦ, σου / of you	0
Dat. σοί, σοι / for you	0
Acc. σε, σε / you	0
Total amount	0
2ⁿᵈ person plural reference	
Nom. ὑμεῖς / you	0.69
Gen. ὑμῶν / of you	0
Dat. ὑμῖν / for you	0.3
Acc. ὑμᾶς / you	0.46
Total amount	1.45
Total of all 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ personal pronouns	9.69

Consider the examples below:

(7)   **Ἡμεῖς**, ὦ παῖδες, οὐδὲν εἶναι χρῆμα παντάπασι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον τοῦτον ὑπολαμβάνομεν, οὔτ᾽ ἀγαθόν τι νομίζομεν ὅλως, οὔτ᾽ ὀνομάζομεν, ὃ τὴν συντέλειαν ἡμῖν ἄχρι τούτου παρέχεται. Οὐκοῦν οὐ προγόνων περιφάνειαν, οὐκ ἰσχὺν σώματος, οὐ κάλλος, οὐ μέγεθος, οὐ τὰς παρὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων τιμάς, οὐ βασιλείαν αὐτήν, οὐχ ὅ τι ἂν εἴποι τις τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, μέγα, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ εὐχῆς ἄξιον κρίνομεν, ἢ τοὺς ἔχοντας ἀποβλέπομεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ μακρότερον πρόιμεν ταῖς ἐλπίσι, καὶ πρὸς ἑτέρου βίου παρασκευὴν ἅπαντα πράττομεν.

   We Christians, young men, hold that this human life is not a supremely precious thing, nor do we recognize anything as unconditionally a blessing which benefits us in this life only. Neither pride of ancestry, nor bodily strength, nor beauty, nor greatness, nor the esteem of all men, nor kingly authority, nor, indeed, whatever of human affairs may be called great, do we consider worthy of desire, or the possessors of them as objects of envy; but we place our hopes upon the things which are beyond, and in preparation for the life eternal do all things that we do. (paragraph 2)

In the second paragraph of his text, Saint Basil leads to actions; in particular, he defines the background of the religious system he supports. This way, he establishes a useful foundation for the organization of the following arguments concerning the value of virtue in the study of heathen books. He speaks in first plural reference and thus he creates an indirect antithesis between what he and his supporters believe and what the world of paganism and ancient Greek literature state. The above lines serve as a background, not only for his arguments but also, in a way, for the mind of the hearers. With the contents of the above lines activated in the listeners, we can assume that it would

be much easier for them to understand the following arguments of Saint Basil on the study of the ancient Greek literature:

(8)   Καὶ ῥητόρων δὲ τὴν περὶ τὸ ψεύδεσθαι τέχνην οὐ μιμησόμεθα. Οὔτε γὰρ ἐν δικαστηρίοις, οὔτ᾽ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πράξεσιν ἐπιτήδειον **ἡμῖν** τὸ ψεῦδος, τοῖς τὴν ὀρθὴν ὁδὸν καὶ ἀληθῆ προελομένοις τοῦ βίου, οἷς τὸ μὴ δικάζεσθαι νόμῳ προστεταγμένον ἐστίν **(Satellite)**. Ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνα αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἀποδεξόμεθα, ἐν οἷς ἀρετὴν ἐπήνεσαν, ἢ πονηρίαν διέβαλον **(Nucleus)**.

*And certainly we shall not follow the example of the rhetoricians in the art of lying. For neither in the courts of justice nor in other business affairs will falsehood be of any help to **us** Christians, who, having chosen the straight and true path of life, are forbidden by the gospel to go to law **(Satellite)**. But on the other hand we shall receive gladly those passages in which they praise virtue or condemn vice **(Nucleus)**.* (paragraph 4)

In this example, the plural personal pronoun helps Saint Basil speak as a delegate of the Christians and their beliefs. As regards coherence, we can note that Saint Basil organizes his thoughts through the rhetorical relation of antithesis, posing in the nucleus of this relation his main view about what needs to be done in the future, as illustrated in Figure 1 below:

Figure 1: Antithesis

Καὶ ῥητόρων ... ἐστίν **(Satellite)**;   *Ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνα...διέβαλον* **(Nucleus).**
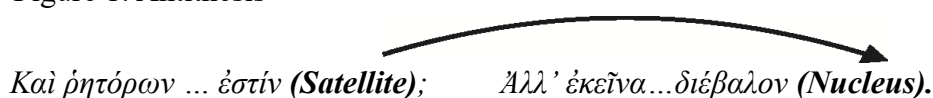
5.   Saint Basil's use of rhetorical devices
5.1.   Questions

In addition to the strategies discussed above, Saint Basil makes use of directive questions. These questions are answered by the same speaker and their main purpose is catch the attention of the hearers and direct them into actions.

(9)   Τί οὖν ποιῶμεν; φαίη τις ἄν **(Satellite)**. Τί ἄλλο γε ἢ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχειν, πᾶσαν σχολὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἄγοντας; Οὐ δὴ οὖν τῷ σώματι δουλευτέον, ὅτι μὴ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη· ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ τὰ βέλτιστα ποριστέον, ὥσπερ ἐκ δεσμωτηρίου τῆς πρὸς τὰ τοῦ σώματος πάθη κοινωνίας αὐτὴν διὰ φιλοσοφίας λύοντας, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῶν παθῶν κρεῖττον ἀπεργαζομένους, γαστρὶ μέν γε τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ὑπηρετοῦντας, οὐχὶ τὰ ἥδιστα, ὡς οἵ γε τραπεζοποιούς τινας καὶ μαγείρους περινοοῦντες, καὶ πᾶσαν διερευνώμενοι γῆν τε καὶ θάλασσαν, οἷόν τινι χαλεπῷ δεσπότῃ φόρους ἀπάγοντες, ἐλεεινοὶ τῆς ἀσχολίας, τῶν ἐν ᾅδου κολαζομένων οὐδὲν πάσχοντες ἀνεκτότερον, ἀτεχνῶς εἰς πῦρ ξαίνοντες, καὶ κοσκίνῳ φέροντες ὕδωρ, καὶ εἰς τετρημένον ἀντλοῦντες πίθον, οὐδὲν πέρας τῶν πόνων ἔχοντες **(Nucleus)**.

*'What then are we to do?' perchance some one may ask **(Satellite)**. What else than to care for the soul, never leaving an idle moment for other things? Accordingly, we ought not to serve the body any more than is absolutely necessary, but we ought to do our best for the soul, releasing it from the bondage of fellowship with the bodily appetites; at the same time we ought to make the body superior to passion. We must provide it with the necessary food, to be sure, but not with delicacies, as those do who seek everywhere for waiters and cooks, and scour both earth and sea, like those bringing tribute to some stern tyrant **(Nucleus)**.* (paragraph 9)

In (9) example, Saint Basil uses the rhetorical relation of solutionhood creating a mental problem in the satellite through a question (directive speech act) and in the nucleus he gives the answer to the previous question. This is illustrated in Figure 2 below:

Figure 2: Solutionhood

Τί οὖν… φαίη τις ἄν **(Satellite)***;*   *Τί ἄλλο… ἔχοντες* **(Nucleus)***.*
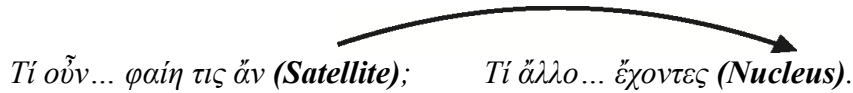
The directive speech act in the satellite is combined with a directive speech act in the nucleus, since he utilizes verbal adjectives with deontic modality, such as *οὐ δουλευτέον / we ought not to serve, ποριστέον / we ought to supply.*

5.2. Exempla
Saint Basil uses several exempla in order to add vividness and representativeness to his arguments. Aristotle devotes attention to the rhetorical functions of exempla[11] and he treats rhetoric by analogy with logic. The logical means of persuasion are distinguished (by Aristotle) into the rhetorical counterpart of the syllogism and the exemplum, the rhetorical induction. Since his speech is addressed to young people, he tries to use language and makes linguistic choices this way so as to have favorable effects on the public. His exempla derive from nature (bees, roses, stones, rivers, sun), activities of our life (dying, sports) and from important personalities with prestige (Homer, Hesiod, Pericles, Solon).

(10)   Ὥσπερ οὖν οἱ δευσοποιοί, παρασκευάσαντες πρότερον θεραπείαις τισὶν ὅ τι ποτ᾿ ἂν ἦ τὸ δεξόμενον τὴν βαφήν, οὕτω τὸ ἄνθος ἐπάγουσιν, ἄν τε ἁλουργόν, ἄν τέ τι ἕτερον ἦ· τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς τρόπον, εἰ μέλλει ἀνέκπλυτος ἡμῖν ἡ τοῦ καλοῦ παραμένειν δόξα, τοῖς ἔξω δὴ τούτοις προτελεσθέντες, τηνικαῦτα τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ἀπορρήτων ἐπακουσόμεθα παιδευμάτων· καὶ οἷον ἐν ὕδατι τὸν ἥλιον ὁρᾶν ἐθισθέντες οὕτως αὐτῷ προσβαλοῦμεν τῷ φωτὶ τὰς ὄψεις.

Just as dyers prepare the cloth before they apply the dye, be it purple or any other color, so indeed must we also, if we would preserve indelible the idea of the true virtue, become first initiated in the pagan lore, then at length give special heed to the sacred and divine teachings, even as we first accustom ourselves to the sun's reflection in the water, and then become able to turn our eyes upon the very sun itself. (paragraph 2)

In this exemplum, Saint Basil describes the procedure of dying,[12] the purpose being to lead the hearers into following the same steps in the procedure of approaching the classical texts and heathen books. What is required is preparation and critical thinking. For this reason, he introduces one more exemplum from nature describing the fact that people first accustom themselves to the sun's reflection in the water, and then become able to turn their eyes to the very sun itself. This way, Saint Basil leads the hearers to make associative correlations in order to comprehend the way of studying Greek literature. Consider the following example:

(11)   Ἔτυπτέ τις τὸν Σωφρονίσκου Σωκράτην εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐμπεσὼν ἀφειδῶς· ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀντῆρεν, ἀλλὰ παρεῖχε τῷ παροινοῦντι τῆς ὀργῆς ἐμφορεῖσθαι, ὥστε ἐξοιδεῖν ἤδη καὶ ὕπουλον αὐτῷ τὸ πρόσωπον ὑπὸ τῶν πληγῶν εἶναι. Ὡς δ᾿ οὖν ἐπαύσατο τύπτων, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ὁ Σωκράτης ποιῆσαι, ἐπιγράψαι δὲ τῷ μετώπῳ λέγεται, ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντι τὸν

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11 For more details about the functions of exempla in rhetoric, see Alewell (1913) and Lumpe (1966).
12 For this exemplum, see also Plato, *Rep*. 429d-e.

δημιουργόν, ὁ δεῖνα ἐποίει· καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀμύνασθαι. Ταῦτα σχεδὸν εἰς ταὐτὸν τοῖς ἡμετέροις φέροντα πολλοῦ ἄξιον εἶναι μιμήσασθαι τοὺς τηλικούτους φημί. Τουτὶ μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Σωκράτους ἀδελφὸν ἐκείνῳ τῷ παραγγέλματι, ὅτι τῷ τύπτοντι κατὰ τῆς σιαγόνος καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν παρέχειν προσῆκε, τοσούτου δεῖν ἀπαμύνασθαι...

A certain man once kept striking Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus, in the face, yet he did not resent it, but allowed full play to the ruffian's anger, so that his face was swollen and bruised from the blows. Then when he stopped striking him, Socrates did nothing more than write on his forehead, as an artisan on a statue, who did it, and thus took out his revenge. Since these examples almost coincide with our teachings, I hold that such men are worthy of emulation. For this conduct of Socrates is akin to the precept that to him who smites you upon the one cheek, you shall turn the other also…(paragraph 7)

In this exemplum, Saint Basil describes what happened to Socrates, son of Sophroniscus, when somebody hit him in his face. Through the description of his reaction, the speaker reveals that the teachings of Christianity coincide with the attitude and deeds of men in classical literature. In the following exemplum, Saint Basil summarizes his point of view as he concludes his arguments:

(12) Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μέν που κἂν τοῖς ἡμετέροις λόγοις τελειότερον μαθησόμεθα· ὅσον δὲ σκιαγραφίαν τινὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς, τό γε νῦν εἶναι, ἐκ τῶν ἔξωθεν παιδευμάτων περιγραψώμεθα. Τοῖς γὰρ ἐπιμελῶς ἐξ ἑκάστου τὴν ὠφέλειαν ἀθροίζουσιν, ὥσπερ τοῖς μεγάλοις τῶν ποταμῶν, πολλαὶ γίνεσθαι πολλαχόθεν αἱ προσθῆκαι πεφύκασι. Τὸ γὰρ καὶ σμικρὸν ἐπὶ σμικρῷ κατατίθεσθαι, οὐ μᾶλλον εἰς ἀργυρίου προσθήκην ἢ καὶ εἰς ἡντιναοῦν ἐπιστήμην, ὀρθῶς ἔχειν ἡγεῖσθαι τῷ ποιητῇ προσῆκεν.

To be sure, we shall become more intimately acquainted with these precepts in the sacred writings, but it is incumbent upon us, for the present, to trace, as it were, the silhouette of virtue in the pagan authors. For those who carefully gather the useful from each book are wont, like mighty rivers, to gain accessions on every hand. For the precept of the poet which bids us add little to little must be taken as applying not so much to the accumulation of riches, as of the various branches of learning. (paragraph 10)

Saint Basil expresses the thought that we can find a lot of teachings of the sacred writings of Christianity in pagan authors. He integrates into his address an exemplum from nature to remind to the hearers that what is required during their study is critical thinking, because only such a way of study can help them broaden their knowledge.

5.3. Intertextuality
In this point, we will turn to the most frequent intertextual sources and functions of intertextuality, after recontextualization,[13] in the text of Saint Basil by adopting Bazerman & Prior's (2004) model.

As intertextual sources, Saint Basil refers to numerous authors from Greek literature. He makes use of intellectual people such as Homer, Hesiod and Plato, as well as religious personalities as Moses and Daniel, as seen in Table 5 on page 120. Regarding the functions of intertextuality, Saint Basil introduces the intertextual source of Moses and Daniel. The integration of these intertextual sources serves a particular rhetorical goal.

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13 According to Linell (1998:145) "selected parts of discourses and their meanings in the prior, 'quoted' discourse-in-context are used as resources in creating new meaning in the 'quoting' text and its communicative context."

Table 5. The most frequent intertextual sources*

Name of the source	Frequency %
Ὅμηρος / Homer	0.11
Ἡσίοδος / Hesiod	0.07
Πλάτων / Plato	0.07
Μωϋσῆς / Moses	0.02
Δανιήλ / Daniel	0.02

*Counted by mention of the intellectual people's names.

The integration of these intertextual sources is seen below:

(13) οὕτω δὴ καὶ ψυχῇ προηγουμένως μὲν καρπὸς ἡ ἀλήθεια, οὐκ ἄχαρί γε μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν θύραθεν σοφίαν περιβεβλῆσθαι, οἷόν τινα φύλλα σκέπην τε τῷ καρπῷ καὶ ὄψιν οὐκ ἄωρον παρεχόμενα. Λέγεται τοίνυν καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐκεῖνος ὁ πάνυ, οὗ μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ σοφία παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὄνομα, τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων[14] μαθήμασιν ἐγγυμνασάμενος τὴν διάνοιαν, οὕτω προσελθεῖν τῇ θεωρίᾳ Τοῦ ὄντος. Παραπλησίως δὲ τούτῳ, κἂν τοῖς κάτω χρόνοις, τὸν σοφὸν Δανιὴλ ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνός φασι τὴν χαλδαίων σοφίαν καταμαθόντα, τότε τῶν θείων ἅψασθαι παιδευμάτων.

Even so the real fruit of the soul is truth, yet it is not without advantage for it to embrace the pagan wisdom, as also leaves offer shelter to the fruit, and an appearance not untimely. That Moses, whose name is a synonym for wisdom, severely trained his mind in the learning of the Egyptians, and thus became able to appreciate their deity. Similarly, in later days, the wise Daniel is said to have studied the lore of the Chaldaeans while in Babylon, and after that to have taken up the sacred teachings. (paragraph 3)

In (13), we see how Saint Basil states that the real fruit of the soul is the truth and gives supports his line of thought by integrating into the passage references to what Moses and Daniel did in their lives. In this way, he proves that what he says is true and is not a false idea relied on the subjectivity of his thought:

(14) Εὐθὺς οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπισκοπεῖν ἕκαστον τῶν μαθημάτων, καὶ συναρμόζειν τῷ τέλει προσῆκε, κατὰ τὴν Δωρικὴν παροιμίαν,[15] 'τὸν λίθον ποτὶ τὰν σπάρτον ἄγοντας'.

So, from the very beginning, we must examine each of their teachings, to harmonize it with our ultimate purpose, according to the Doric proverb, 'testing each stone by the measuring-line. (paragraph 4)

Here, we see how Saint Basil tries to persuade young people on the way to study pagan authors. This proverb, at the end of this paragraph, is used by the orator as a prefabricated[16] language, and it could be said that it operates as a summarizer of his arguments up to this point.

(15) Ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ἔλεγεν ὁ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τῆς διανοίας ἐξηγητὴς μονον οὐχὶ βοῶντα λέγειν τὸν

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14 Act vii. 22.

15 St. Gregory of Nazianzus cites this proverb in Letter xxxviii, and St. John Chrysostom in Homily xxv.

16 Ithis covers contiguous or non-contiguous sequences of words or other semantic elements, which are or appear to be prefabricated as they are stored and recalled, at the moment of linguistic use, without being objects of production or analysis by the grammar of language (Wray & Perkins 2001: 1).

Ὅμηρον ὅτι· Ἀρετῆς ὑμῖν ἐπιμελητέον, ὦ ἄνθρωποι, ἣ καὶ ναυαγήσαντι συνεκνήχεται καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς χέρσου γενόμενον γυμνὸν τιμιώτερον ἀποδείξει τῶν εὐδαιμόνων Φαιάκων'[17]. Καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει. Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῶν κτημάτων οὐ μᾶλλον τῶν ἐχόντων ἢ καὶ οὑτινοσοῦν τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἐστίν, ὥσπερ ἐν παιδιᾷ κύβων τῇδε κἀκεῖσε μεταβαλλόμενα· μόνη δὲ κτημάτων ἡ ἀρετὴ ἀναφαίρετον, καὶ ζῶντι καὶ τελευτήσαντι παραμένουσα.

The interpreter of the poetic mind argued that, in this episode, Homer very plainly says: 'Be virtue your concern, O men, which both swims to shore with the shipwrecked man, and makes him, when he comes naked to the strand, more honored than the prosperous Phaeacians.' And, indeed, this is the truth, for other possessions belong to the owner no more than to another, and, as when men are dicing, fall now to this one, now to that. But virtue is the only possession that is sure, and that remains with us whether living or dead. (paragraph 5)

In this example the quoting of what the interpreter of Homer said serves the particular rhetorical goal. Firstly, the integration of the intertextual source aids him to provide image (gaining intellectual prestige) and evidence to his thought. In addition, it operates as a background of the point of view he presents in the following lines of his text, where he states that the only worthy thing is virtue, since it is the only possession that remains to people during their life or after their death.

6. Conclusion

In general, it is noted that Saint Basil uses stylistic mechanisms, so as to persuade young people about the way of studying pagan authors. He deploys more words of philosophical character so as to focus on virtue and soul. The use of the epistemic verbs is limited as he primarily uses impersonal syntactic structures of ellipsis and deontic verbal adjectives to present his view. This way, he generates a sense of detachment and objectivity in his message. He utilizes more personal pronouns of first plural reference for the presentation of the religious system he supports and promotes. Several of his exempla contribute to the persuasiveness of his text and empower the vividness and the representativeness of his arguments. With regard to intertextuality, he incorporates sources from the Ancient Greek literature as a means of gaining intellectual prestige, while supporting his syllogism, summarizing his arguments and creating a background for the elaboration of his thought. All these linguistic choices aid him to present his view about the way of studying Greek literature, based on the criteria of usefulness.

Table 6: Functions and linguistic mechanisms of *Address to young men on the right use of Greek literature*

Proof	Antithesis	Obligation	Background	Summarization
Intertextuality	Personal pronouns Rhetorical relations	Adjectives of Deontic Modality Verbs of Deontic Modality Impersonal syntax	Intertextuality	Intertextuality

Through our analysis, it has been noted that Saint Basil's linguistic choices serve the purpose of persuading and generally having an impact on his audience. We can conclude by saying that, in this ideological speech, Saint Basil uses linguistic mechanisms for particular communicative functions (see Table 6) and his purpose is to attack the Ethnics and avoid the aberration of young people, thus supporting the view of Tomadakis (1993).

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17 See Odys. vi. and vii.

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Grammatische, lexikalische und stilistische Züge einer Reisebeschreibung im 16. Jahrhundert. Daniel Ecklins "Reiß zum heiligen Grab" (1575)

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Abstract: The article deals with a 16th century book written in Early New High German and describing a trip to the Holy Land. The research is centered on grammatical, and lexical, as well as stylistic peculiarities of the text. The linguistic analysis includes the ways of moving narrative forward, the alternation of tenses, the use of pronouns, as well as lexical exotisms. Special attention is paid to the grammatical peculiarity innovative for that time and typical of the text under consideration – to quotative constructions with the verb *sollen*, and their grammaticalization and use.

Keywords: Historical grammar, text linguistics, pragmatics of a literary text, stylistics.

1. Einführung

1.1. Zielsetzung und Forschungsaufgabe

Im vorliegenden Aufsatz wird ein Text aus dem 16. Jahrhundert vom textlinguistischen, stilistischen und vom rein linguistischen Standpunkt betrachtet. Der Aufsatz ist linguistisch-deskriptiv orientiert. Dabei werden die narrative Struktur des Textes, seine grammatischen Besonderheiten sowie einzelne Lexeme und semantische Strukturen mit Einbeziehung ihrer kommunikativen Funktionen berücksichtigt. Im Mittelpunkt der Analyse stehen u.a. die Formen der Verben und ihr Gebrauch im Text; so z.B. Tempusvariierung, quotative Verbformen und Passiv-Konstruktionen. Es wird gezeigt, dass viele im vorliegenden Text vorkommende Strukturen und Lexeme für die Gattung Reisebeschreibung typisch sind; die Entwicklung dieser Gattung steht mit der Ausformung der weltlichen Literatur im 16. Jahrhundert im Einklang. Andererseits weist der Text zeitgebundene und individuelle stilistisch-grammatische Merkmale auf.

1.2. Reisebeschreibungen im ausgehenden Mittelalter. Einleitende Bemerkungen

"Seit jeher gehören Reisebeschreibungen zu den Texten, auf die nicht nur Nationalphilologien, sondern auch die grenzüberschreitende Betrachtung von Literatur ihr Augenmerk richtet", schreibt Uwe Ebel (1984: 301). Reisebeschreibungen wollen die Erfahrung der Fremdartigkeit, die Theorie und Praxis der Begegnung mit fremden Kulturen, die Spannung zwischen der eigenen, vertrauten Lebenswelt und den Welten der Anderen vermitteln. "Reisend verändert der Mensch seinen Standpunkt. Neue Blickwinkel auf die Welt eröffnen sich ihm," vermerkt dazu Ursula Ganz-Blättler (2000:1). Die Reisebeschreibung oder der Reisebericht wird von der Literaturwissenschaft als eine besondere Gattung betrachtet, wobei auch ihre Typologie und Untergliederung ermittelt werden. So weisen ein Reiseführer, ein Reisetagebuch und ein Reiseroman zweifellos unterschiedliche, obwohl auch gewissermaßen ähnliche, gattungspoetische Züge auf (Neuber 1989).

Die Berichte der Pilger im Mittelalter sind ein wichtiges Material zur deutschen Kulturgeschichte; diejenigen von Palästina-Reisenden bilden eine eigene Art von Pilgerliteratur. Sie Letzteren unterscheiden sich weiterhin je nach der nationalen Tradition, der Epoche und den individuellen Besonderheiten des Autors. Die Anzahl der Palästina-Berichte war im ausgehenden Mittelater groß: In der Zeit zwischen 1301 und 1540 mit der Berücksichtigung nicht nur der deutschen, sondern auch der englischen, französischen und italienischen Quellen lag sie bei über 260 (Ganz-Blättler 2000: 40). Bei ihrer Erforschung, die seit dem 19. Jahrhundert intensiv betrieben wird, waren die Arbeiten von zwei Gelehrten grundlegend: die von Titus Tobler (1867) und die von Reinhold Röhricht (1890, 1900). Heute wird diese Gattung weitgehend erforscht, wobei zwei

Research article

Richtungen als die wichtigsten betrachtet werden können: 1) die wissenschaftliche Edition der Texte; 2) ihre literatur- und kulturhistorische Analyse.

Im späten Mittelalter entstanden einzelne Untergattungen der Pilgerliteratur. Gerhard Wolf unterscheidet die folgenden Typen des deutschsprachigen Pilger-Schrifttums dieser Periode: Reiseführer, Itinerare und literarische Reiseberichte (Wolf 1988: 88f). Die Ersteren, die für Pilger bestimmt waren, trugen keinerlei persönlichen Züge und glichen einander. Im Gegensatz dazu beschrieben die Itinerare die eigenen Reisen der Verfasser; es wurden Reisekosten und exakte Daten angegeben; die Beschreibung der heiligen Stätten war aber gewöhnlich anderen schriftlichen Quellen entnommen. Was die literarischen Reiseberichte betrifft, so sind sie entweder wissenschaftlich gerichtet oder einem Abenteuerroman ähnlich, wie z.B. der Text, der in diesem Artikel behandelt wird.

Das im Jahre 1575, erst nach dem Tode seines Autors herausgegebene Buch von dem schweizer Apotheker Daniel Ecklin "Reiß zum heiligen Grab" erregte großes Aufsehen. Seine Reise über Venedig, Zypern, Alexandria und Damascus nach Palästina beschrieb Ecklin farbig und lebhaft. Er traf mit dieser Schreibweise den Geschmack des lesenden Publikums. Das Buch entsprach der Tendenz zu einer Literatur für breite Schichten der Bevölkerung; darum wurde es mehrmals wieder herausgegeben. Die Quelle sowie ihre kurze Beschreibung und die Information über den Lebenslauf von Daniel Ecklin sind unter folgender Adresse zu finden: http://www.mediaevistik.uzh.ch/downloads/Ecklin_Reisebericht_Online.pdf (Stand 13.04.2014). Dort ist auch ein Überblick über einzelne Ausgaben des Textes zu finden. Jedoch fehlte bis jetzt eine linguistische Analyse des Textes von Ecklin.

Daniel Ecklin (1532-1564) ist in Aarau in der Schweiz geboren. Seine Eltern waren der Apothekermeister Georg Ecklin und dessen Frau, die aus Marbach stammende Sabina Eberschwein. Sie haben die erste Apotheke der Stadt eröffnet. In den Jahren 1547-1549 studierte Daniel Ecklin an der reformierten Akademie zu Bern; er war ein gebildeter junger Mann, konnte Griechisch und Latein. Dem Studium folgte seine Berufslehre bei Apothekern in Basel, später auch in Innsbruck. 1552 brach der zwanzigjährige Daniel zu einer weiten, langen und abenteuerlichen Reise auf. Sein Vorhaben war zuerst, eine Stelle als Apotheker oder Apothekergesellen in Venedig zu finden, wohin er mit seinem Kameraden, einem jungen Italiener, fuhr. Nachdem sein Plan nicht verwirklicht worden war, beschloss er, auf Kreta oder Zypern zu reisen, und es gelang ihm, über Meer nach Candia (Iraklio auf Kreta) zu kommen. Das war aber erst der Anfang seiner abenteuerlichen Reise. Sein Weg ging über Candia, Zypern, Tripolis, Aleppo, Alexandria und Damascus nach Palästina, welches er im Sommer 1553 erreichte. Er besichtigte Jerusalem und Bethlehem, reiste zum Toten Meer und zum Jordan.

Daniel Ecklin war kein typischer Pilger; sein Ziel war zuerst Berufsreise, später Bildungsreise und erst danach eine Wallfahrt. Er beschreibt seine Reise als eine Reihe Abenteuer, wobei er auch der Natur und den Sehenswürdigkeiten der entsprechenden Orte Aufmerksamkeit schenkt. Der religiöse Zweck der Reise nach Palästina ist bei Ecklin sekundär. Er schildert sein persönliches Erleben recht lebhaft, die christlichen Wallstätten ausführlich, aber etwas distanziert. Sein Werk, das sich, obwohl nach der Rückkehr verfasst, einem Reisetagebuch nahesteht, grenzt stellenweise an einen Reiseroman. Der Verfasser betont die Wahrhaftigkeit seiner Erzählung; er ist bestrebt, den Leser davon zu überzeugen. Für diesen Zweck flicht er auch dokumentierbare Zeugnisse und exakte Daten in sein Buch ein.

Es zeugt einiges davon, dass die Fahrt von Ecklin auch als Bildungsreise gedacht war: Er kehrte nicht sofort in seine Heimatstadt zurück, sondern setzte seine Ausbildung und seinen Dienst als Apotheker in Italien, Ungarn und Österreich fort. Erst im Dezember 1556 kommt er nach Aarau zurück, wo er bis zu seinem Tode Apothekermeister ist. Hier verfasste er eine Beschreibung seiner Reise, die nach seinem frühen Tode im Januar 1564 von seinem Schwager, dem reformierten Prädikanten Hans Ulrich Ragor mit einem Nachwort publiziert wurde.

Das Buch wurde im Jahre 2009 von Max Schiendorfer nach der Ausgabe von Samuel Apiarius 1575 transkribiert, mit kurzen Erläuterungen versehen und neu herausgegeben.

2. Die Einstellung des Erzählers zum Dargestellten: die Textstrukturierung und die Ich-Form

Ecklin beschreibt einzelne Sehenswürdigkeiten, die geographische Lage der besuchten Orte, ihre Natur, fremde Sitten und Bräuche aus eigener, persönlicher Sicht. Die thematische Progression im Text ist durch die Abwechslung dieser Orte bedingt, also gewissermaßen "geographisch geordnet". Solche Textstrukturierung entspricht dem Wesen und dem Ziel der Gattung Reisebericht und ist für sie typisch – von den ältesten Pilgerbüchern (Herz 2002) mit den entsprechenden Weg- und Ortbeschreibungen über die literarischen Reiseberichte der deutschen Klassik, wie Goethes "Italienische Reise" oder Heines "Harzreise", bis zu den modernen Reiseführern. So sind einzelne Abschnitte des Buches von Ecklin nach den von dem Autor beschriebenen Orten betitelt: *Corcyra oder Corfun ein Jnsel*; *Von Tripoli der Statt Syrier Landts*; *Von Damasco*; *Von der Statt Jerusalem*; *Vom Jordan*. Erstens ist diese lineare Komposition die einfachste und die klarste, zweitens bekommt der Leser die Illusion der absoluten Glaubwürdigkeit des Reiseberichtes, da der Text den Schein erweckt, es handele sich um Simultannotizen des Autors (Schulz-Forberg 2006: 98; Huschenbett 2000: 123).

Das Erlebte und Gesehene – Menschen, Natur und die wirtschaftliche Lage der Länder – wird von Ecklin auch bewertet: Eine solche persönliche Einschätzung war ein wichtiges Element der sich entwickelnden literarischen Gattung Reisebericht. Die folgenden Beispiele sind dem Text entnommen und sollen einige der Bewertungsmomente wiedergeben:

(1)   Jn diser Jnsel wonen die Griechen / vnd ist ein vberauß schön landt mit allerley früchten [...] insonderheit gezieret vnd erfüllet mit Ölbåumen.

   Auf dieser Insel wohnen die Griechen und ist ein überaus schönes Land mit allerlei Früchten [...], insbesonders geziert und voll von Ölbäumen.

(2)   Es sind da vberauß wunder schöne weiber / sind aber mehr theils Putani

   Es sind da überaus wunderschöne Weiber, sie sind aber meistenteils Putani (Lustmädchen).

(3)   Vmb dise Statt Damasco ist die aller schönste vnd fruchtbarste gegne

   Um diese Stadt Damascus ist die allerschönste und fruchtbarste Gegend.

Typisch für eine solche Einschätzung ist der Gebrauch zahlreicher Adjektive, manchmal in Superlativen, wie auch Vergleiche. So z.B. bei der positiven Bewertung: *überaus schön*, *mächtig*, *gewaltig*, *groß*, *vornehmst*, *herrlich*, *fruchtbarst*, *köstlich*, *lieblich*, *hübsch*; bei der negativen Bewertung: *unartig*, *unfruchtbarst*, *schlecht*. Eine Einschätzung mit Vergleichskonstruktionen liegt bei folgenden Belegen vor:

(4)   die aller schönste Jnsel so ich noch gesehen hab.

   Die allerschönste Insel, die ich noch gesehen habe.

(5)   Das fürnemste dz ich da gesehen hab / ist ein Marmolstein / welches grösse ich nie mehr gesehen hab.

   Das Vornehmste, was ich da gesehen habe, ist ein Marmorstein, so groß, dass ich so einen

noch nicht gesehen habe.

(6)   alles vil vollkomner vnd besser dañ bey vns.

Alles viel vollkommener und besser als bei uns.

(7)   das aller vnfruchtbarist Landt so ich in gantzem Syria gesehen hab

Das unfruchtbarste Land, das ich in ganz Syrien gesehen habe.

Somit erfolgt die Bewertung des Gesehenen sowohl durch die Wortwahl, als auch durch Vergleiche, die mit lexikalischen und grammatischen Mitteln zustande kommen.

Fremde Völker werden manchmal kritisch geschildert, ihre Sitten als seltsam und wild. Vgl. die folgenden Beispiele:

(8)   Es hat einer auß jhnen gesagt / jr eygner Propheten einer: Die Creter sind allweg lugner gewesen / böse vych / vnd fållbeuch.

Es hat einer aus ihnen gesagt, von ihren eigenen Propheten einer: Die Kreter sind immer Lügner gewesen, Bösewichte und Faulbäuche.[1]

(9)   Eins aber / das trefflichen zů schelten ist an disem Volck / kan ich nicht vbergehen /daß sie einen so teüffelischen brauch haben / wider menschliche art vnd natur so Sodomitisch leben.

Eines aber, dass stark zu schelten ist an diesem Volk, kann ich nicht übergehen, [das ist] dass sie so einen teuflischen Brauch haben, gegen die menschliche Art und Natur so sodomistisch zu leben.

Jedoch ist der Autor / Erzähler gewöhnlich den Fremden gegenüber nicht feindlich gestimmt; er erscheint hier als gebildeter, zivilisierter und humaner Mensch, für alles Neue wohlwollend aufgeschlossen.

Der Autor macht den Leser auf die potenziellen, auf ihn lauernden Gefahren aufmerksam, was für die Reiseliteratur auch recht typisch ist (vgl. Dorninger 2002-, Stagl 1989: 152f). So führt er einige Episoden ein, wo er selbst Gefahren ausgesetzt war und sich dabei recht tapfer verhielt. Solche abenteuerlichen Erzählungen förderten das Interesse des Lesers an der sich rasch entwickelnden weltlichen Literatur. Außerdem betonen sie das persönlich Erlebte und offenbaren die Stellungnahme des Autors zu der von ihm erzählten Geschichte.

Einer der gattungsspezifischen Züge der hier zu betrachtenden Textart bildet die Ich-Form. Der Autor spricht aus eigener Erfahrung und berichtet als Augenzeuge, um seiner Erzählung möglichst große Objektivität zu verleihen. Ecklin betont diese Objektivität noch dadurch, dass er Dokumente wie z.B. Briefe und eine Zeittafel in den Text mit einbezieht. Das Pronomen der ersten Person wird hier meistenteils mit den Verben der Sinneswahrnehmung und der Bewegung gebraucht; am häufigsten mit dem Verb *sehen*; aber auch mit *besichtigen*, *hören*, *ziehen*, *kommen durchziehen* und *durchwandern*. Auf solche Weise wird der persönliche Charakter der Erlebnisse betont. Die Zeitform der Verben in der 1. Person ist hier gewöhnlich Präteritum oder Perfekt. Die Ich-Form gewährleistet die Objektivität der Erzählung (der Verfasser hat alles mit eigenen Augen

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1   In diesem Beispiel ist das Parodoxon des Epimenides gemeint. "Epimenides der Kreter sagte: Alle Kreter sind Lügner". Das Paradoxon wurde durch das Neue Testament überliefert. Im Brief des Paulus an Titus schreibt der Apostel über die Kreter und zitiert und kommentiert dabei einen Vers eines ungenannten kretischen Autors, Titus 1,12: *Einer von ihnen hat als ihr eigener Prophet gesagt: Alle Kreter sind Lügner und faule Bäuche, gefährliche Tiere.* Siehe z.B. http://www.uibk.ac.at/theol/leseraum/bibel/tit1.html (Stand 10.04.2015)

gesehen) und gleichzeitig auch ihre Subjektivität (er bringt seine persönliche Meinung zum Ausdruck). Dies sollen die folgenden Belege illustrieren:

(10) Diese Stat hat so vil alter vestinen vnd zerbrochne gebew /, dergleichen ich weder in Jerusalem / noch sonst an keinem andern ort nie gesehen hab.

Diese Stadt hat so viele alte Festungen und zerbrochene Gebäude, dergleichen ich weder in Jerusalem, noch sonst an keinem anderen Ort nie gesehen habe.

(11) Vil hüpsche wolschmeckende blůmen findt man da / rosen weiß vnd rot / haben ein lieblichen geruch / alles lustig zusehen / vnd lieblich zu schmecken. [...] Das wasser ist sehr gut zutrincken / bringt vil nutz in den gůtern vnnd Gårten [...]. Jn sumāa es kan vnd mag nit gnugsam beschriben werdē / des ich mich treffenlich verwundert hab. [Über Damascus – L.N.].

Viele hübsche wohlriechende Blumen findet man da, Rosen, weiß und rot, haben einen lieblichen Geruch, alles lustig zu sehen und lieblich zu riechen. [...] Das Wasser ist sehr gut zu trinken, bringt viel Nutzen in den Gütern und Gärten [...]. In summa, es kann und mag nicht genug beschrieben werden, was ich stark bewundert habe.

(12) Das Heilig gelobte Landt / so ich hab fleissig besichtiget / durchzogen vnd durchwanderet bin / das in heiliger geschrifft den rhum hat / es fliesse von milch vnd honig / ist das aller vnfruchtbarist Landt so ich in gantzem Syria gesehen hab / ein vngeschlacht erdtrich / vil wůstinen / vnd grosse einödinen.

Das heilig gelobte Land, sowie ich es fleißig besichtigt, durchzogen und durchgewandert habe, das in der Heiligen Schrift den Ruhm hat, es fließe von Milch und Honig, ist das unfruchtbarste Land, das ich in ganz Syrien gesehen habe, ein ungeschlachtes Erdreich, viele Wüsten und große Einöden.

Indem die Ich-Form eine persönliche Auffassung und Einschätzung des Beschriebenen wiedergibt, gibt der Autor viel von eigenem Ich preis. Im Buch von Ecklin wird dieser Aspekt dadurch besonders anschaulich, dass dieses u.a. die Beschreibung der abenteuerlichen Ereignisse beinhaltet. So erzählt der Verfasser, wie ihn die Türken durch Betrug zwingen wollten, zu ihrem Glauben zu konvertieren. Er kam aber dahinter und konnte sich retten. Er war mehrmals der Gefahr ausgesetzt, der er dank Schlauheit und Geschicklichkeit entging. Im Verkehr mit Fremden halfen ihm auch immer seine Tüchtigkeit und seine Kenntnisse.

(13) Da zeigt ich dem Herren an / wie es ein gestalt hett inn meinem Vatterlandt / das gefiel dem Herren wol / mußt jm auch anzeigen wie es ein gestalt hette in vnserem landt vmb den glauben / vnnd sonst ander ding mehr / das alles horte der Herr gern.

Da erzählte ich dem Herrn, wie das in meinem Vaterland üblich war, das gefiel wohl dem Herrn, ich musste ihm auch erzählen, wie es in unserem Land um den Glauben steht und sonst noch andere Sachen, das alles hörte der Herr gern.

Somit haben wir hier mit einer positiven Selbstbewertung des Autors zu tun. Die Beschreibung der Gefahren, denen er entging, hebt sein hohes Selbstbewusstsein hervor, was mit der Ich-Form der Erzählung im Einklang steht.

3. Sprachlich-stilistische Besonderheiten
3.1. Tempus
3.1.1. Zeitebenen

Die Abwechslung der Zeitebenen hat im Text von Ecklin eine wichtige funktionale Bedeutung. Der Autor versetzt den Leser stets in die Geschichte zurück und holt ihn von da in die Gegenwart wieder. So erklärt der Autor die jetzige Verwüstung des "gelobten Landes" (Gegenwart) durch "die Sünde des jüdischen Volks" (Vergangenheit). Somit verleiht er dem Text eine analytische Tiefe, indem er versucht das, was er sieht, nicht nur zu beschreiben, sondern auch zu erklären. Was die Zeitreferenz betrifft, so sind in dem Text von Ecklin drei Ebenen wichtig: a) das, was mit dem Autor selbst geschah (gewöhnlich Perfekt, seltener Präteritum, beide sind hier die Tempora der Erzählung), b) das, was immer besteht (Präsens als das Tempus der Beschreibung), c) die Zeit der früheren Ereignisse, oft aus der heiligen Schrift (hier gewöhnlich Perfekt, seltener Präteritum oder Plusquamperfekt). Z.B.: a) Ich macht mich bald von dannen. - Von Jerusalem bin ich zogen den anderen Hewmonats gen Hebron. *Ich machte mich bald von dannen. – Von Jerusalem bin ich am zweiten Juli nach Hebron gezogen* b) Bethlehem ligt von Jerusalem auff ein Teutsche meil wegs. *Bethlehem liegt eine deutsche Meile von Jerusalem entfernt.* c) Da ist auch gewesen der Heilig Jeronimus selber. *Dort ist auch der heilige Hieronimus selbst gewesen.*

3.1.1.1. Die Abwechslung zwischen Präsens und Perfekt als Merkmal von zwei Zeitebenen

In vielen Fällen werden die im Text erwähnten Sehenswürdigkeiten im Präsens beschrieben, die damit verbundenen historisch-religiösen Begebenheiten dagegen im Perfekt, was durch die Abwechslung der Zeitebenen bedingt ist. Die analytische Beschreibung der mit historischen Begebenheiten verbundenen Sehenswürdigkeiten schließt diese zeitliche Versetzung als eine der gattungsspezifischen Züge der Reisebeschreibung ein. Vgl. beispielsweise die folgenden Zitate:

(14) Nit ferr daruon ist ein grosses hauß / in welchem die Juden entlich beschlossen haben Christum zu tȍden.

   Nicht weit davon ist ein großes Haus, in welchem die Juden endlich beschlossen haben, Jesus Christ zu töten.

(15) Auff halben weg von Jerusalem zeigt man das ort da die heilige drey Weisen oder Kȍnig zusammen kommen sind.

   Auf halbem Weg von Jerusalem zeigt man den Ort, wo drei heilige Weisen oder Könige zusammen gekommen sind.

(16) Auff dem heiligen berg Sion / darauff das Schloß Dauids ist gewesen vorzeiten / hat der Türck jetz ein Schloß vnd wonung.

   Auf dem heiligen Berg Zion, auf dem früher das Schloss Davids gewesen ist, hat der Türke jetzt ein Schloss und eine Wohnstätte.

3.1.1.2. Alternation von Perfekt und Präteritum
Seine Reiseerlebnisse beschreibt Ecklin oft im Perfekt:

(17) Also bin ich weiter gezogen vnnd gen Jnßbruck kommen

   Also bin ich weiter gezogen und nach Innsbruck gekommen

(18) Hab daselbst gleich wie zuuor / einem Herren nachgefragt

Ich habe dort, gleich wie zuvor, nach einem Herrn gefragt

(19)   Von Bethlehem bin ich zogen den anderen Hewmonats gen Hebron

Von Bethlehem bin ich am nächsten Juli nach Hebron gezogen.

(20)   Den xviij. Brachmonats des 1553. jars bin ich koṁen gen Damascum.

Den 18. Juni des Jahres 1553 bin ich nach Damaskus gekommen.

(21)   Zu Damasco (wiewol ich nicht lang da bin gewesen) bin ich gleich wol gefangen worden.

In Damaskus (obwohl ich dort nicht lange gewesen bin) wurde ich sofort gefangen genommen.

Somit tritt hier das Perfekt als eine der erzählenden Tempora auf (siehe zu diesem Begriff Weinrich 2001: 41-67). Die Vorliebe für Perfekt im betrachteten Text ist vor allem durch den oberdeutschen Präteritumschwund (Schirmunski 2010: 554-555, 772-773) zu erklären. Bereits im 16. Jahrhundert werden in alemannischen Texten Perfektkonstruktionen als erzählende Formen benutzt (Jörg, 1976). Dasselbe finden wir auch in anderen oberdeutschen Texten: "Nach ca. 1530 steigt abrupt der Anteil des Perfekts in der Erzählung in vielen obd. Texten bis auf 50% und mehr. Präteritum und Perfekt können häufig ohne semantischen Unterschied mitten in der Erzählung wechseln" (Reichmann &Wegera1993: 388).

Jedoch ist in einigen Passagen die Vergangenheit durch das Präteritum wiedergegeben. So erscheint das Präteritum in zwei Textabschnitten, dort, wo die Hin- und Rückreise auf dem Meer geschildert werden. Was den Autor zu solchem Tempusgebrauch veranlasste, kann man nur ahnen. So kann man vermuten, dass diese Textabschnitte in stärkerem Maße als die anderen beschreibend, vielleicht als eine Rahmenerzählung gestaltet sind. Vgl. z.B.

(22)   Am xxviij. Mertzens giengen wir inn das Schiff / Am Karfreitag war das Meer gantz still.

Am 28. März gingen wir in das Schiff. Am Karfreitag war das Meer ganz still.

(23)   Jn Cypro bliben wir biß auff den xvij. tag October / da schifften wir hinweg / vnd kamen inn die Jnsel Alsante oder Alzante...

In Zypern blieben wir bis auf den 17. Oktober, dann schifften wir weg und kamen auf die Insel Alsante oder Alzante...

Manchmal kommt die Tempus-Alternation Perfekt – Präteritum in ein und demselben Textabschnitt oder sogar in einem Satz vor.

(24)   So **ist** an diser gegne ein hauß **gewesen** / inn welchem vnser Herr Christus mit seinen jůngeren die letste Osteren **gehalten** / vnd das Heilig Nachtmal **eingesetzt hat** / vnd seinen Jůngern die fůß **gewåschen** […] Nit ferr daruon **ist** ein grosses hauß / in welchem die Juden entlich **beschlossen haben** Christum zu tȯden. Waṅ man in Tempel **kommet** des Heiligen Grabs / den die Christen iṅhaben **zeigt** man von ersten ein breitē stein / darauff Maria Magdalena **stund** / da jr der Herr Jesus **erschein** nach seiner aufferstendnuß. [Hervorhebung L.N.]

So ist in dieser Gegend ein Haus gewesen, in welchem unser Herr Christus mit seinen Jüngern die letzten Ostern gehalten und das heilige Nachtmal eingesetzt hat und seinen

Jüngern die Füße gewaschen hat. [...] Nicht weit davon ist ein großes Haus, in welchem die Juden endlich beschlossen haben, Christus zu töten. Wenn man in den Tempel des Heiligen Grabs kommt, der den Christen gehört, zeigt man sofort einen breiten Stein, auf welchem Maria Magdalena stand, da ihr der Herr Jesus erschien nach seiner Auferstehung.

Die Umschaltung des Perfekts zum Präteritum in den Formen *stund* und *erschein* ist hier schwer zu deuten. Man könnte vermuten, dass der Autor auf solche Weise die Reihenfolge der Handlungen wiedergeben wollte.

Dasselbe ist für den folgenden Text gültig:

(25) Jch **macht** mich bald von dannen / dann ich weder leut noch viehe **sahe** schier in dreien tagen / **gieng** vber so vil bőser berg / vnd stein / ohne weg allein der gegne vnd dem glend nach / **kam** zu einer lachen auff einem Berg / da vbernacht **blieben** / einen hauffen stein zusammen **getragen** [...] **hab** also **geruhet** vnd **geschlaffen** vnter dem heitern hiṁel / aber Gott **hat** mich auch dißmals **behůttet**... [Hervorhebung L.N.]

Ich machte mich bald von dannen, da ich weder Leute noch Vieh sah schier in drei Tagen, ging über so viele böse Berge und Steine, ohne Weg, allein durch die Gegend und das Gelände, kam zu einem See auf einem Berg, bin da übernacht geblieben, habe einen Haufen Steine zusammengetragen [...] habe also geruht und geschlafen unter dem heiteren Himmel, aber Gott hat mich auch diesmal behütet...

In einzelnen Fällen scheint die Alternation Perfekt –Präteritum etwas klarer semantisch gerechtfertigt zu sein.

(26) Jn der Statt Jerusalem zeigt man weiters ein hauß / sol des reichen Manns gewesen sein / der dem armen Lazaro die brősemlin **versagt hat** / die da **fielen** von seinem tisch. Ein groß vnd schőn hauß darinnen Herodes **gewont hat**. [Hervorhebung L.N.]

In der Stadt Jerusalem zeigt man noch ein Haus, es soll des reichen Manns gewesen sein, der dem armen Lazarus die Brösel versagt hat, die von seinem Tisch fielen. Ein großes und schönes Haus, in welchem Herodes gewohnt hat.

Die präteritale Form *fielen*, die mit den anderen kontrastiert, kann man mit der Semantik des Handlungsverlaufes in Zusammenhang setzen. Die *Brösemlin* ('Brösel') fielen vom Tisch während einer Zeitperiode, was der Autor vermutlich betonen wollte. Andererseits kann das Präteritum hier als die Vorvergangenheit verstanden werden.

Im folgenden Textauszug kann man die Alternation der Tempora feststellen, die dem Text eine gewisse Lebhaftigkeit verleiht.

(27) Waṅ man enthalb von Jerusalem hergeht / den Oelberg ab / so kompt man gen Bethphage / da das Dőrfflin **ist gewesen** / da der Herr **bleib** vnd **schicket** nach dem Esel / daß er einreiten wolt zu Jerusalem / saß daselbst auff vnd **reit** vber den Oelberg. [Hervorhebung L.N.]

Wenn man aus Jerusalem her geht, den Ölberg ab, so kommt man nach Bethphage, wo das Dörflein gewesen ist, in dem der Herr blieb und nach dem Esel schickte, worauf er einreiten wollte nach Jerusalem, setzte sich darauf und ritt über den Ölberg.

Das Vorhandensein des Dorfes (Perfekt) und die Handlungen von Jesus Christ (Präteritum) gehören ja zu unterschiedlichen zeitlichen, wie auch allgemein semantischen Ebenen. Man kann vermuten,

dass die temporale Abfolge einzelner Verbalhandlungen einen narrativen Diskursstil und dementsprechend das Präteritum verursacht; es ist aber schwer, die semantisch-grammatischen Grundlagen der Tempusabwechslung, die für alle Fälle in diesem Text gültig wären, aufzustellen.

Manchmal drückt das Präteritum die klare Vorvergangenheit aus, so wie die Form *einreit* 'einritt' im folgenden Beispiel (28) und *erkanten* im Beispiel (29):

(28) Dadannen geht man auff den Oelberg / vnd so man halb hinauff kompt / so ist ein stein / da der Herr Christus **geweinet hat** vber Jerusalem / als er am Palmtag **einreit** auff einem Esel. [Hervorhebung L.N.]

Von dort geht man auf den Ölberg, und wenn man halb hinauf kommt, so ist dort ein Stein, wo der Herr Christus geweint hat über Jerusalem, als er am Palmtag einritt auf einem Esel.

(29) **Bin** also von Jerusalem hinweg gezogen den sechßten Septembris vnd erstlich kommen gen Emaus da die zwen Jủnger Christum nach seiner aufferstehung **erkanten.** [Hervorhebung L.N.]

Ich bin also am sechsten September von Jerusalem hinweg gezogen und zuerst nach Emaus gekommen, wo zwei Jünger Jesus Christ nach seiner Auferstehung erkannten.

3.1.1.3. Vorvergangenheit

In den obigen Beispielen scheint die Vorvergangenheit durch das Präteritum oder gar durch die Tempus-Abwechslung ausgedrückt zu sein. Die Vorvergangenheit wird im betrachteten Text auch häufig durch das Plusquamperfekt wiedergegeben, das auch manchmal mit Präteritum alterniert:

(30) Am morgen frủ wie es jetzt tag **war worden** / **gesahen** wir Venedig noch wol. [Hervorhebung L.N.]

Am Morgen früh, wie es jetzt Tag geworden war, sahen wir Venedig noch wohl.

(31) Darnach wie es tag **war worden** / **wolt** ich auch sehen wie das Meer wủttete / **gieng** hinauff in das Schiff **satzt** mich darnider / vnd **sahe** hinauß... [Hervorhebung L.N.]

Danach, als es Tag geworden war, wolte ich auch sehen, wie das Meer wütete, ging hinauf in das Schiff, setzte mich darnieder und sah hinaus...

(32) ... vnd als wir vns da ein wenig **gesaumpt hatten** / **fuhren** wir auch gen Cypern. [Hervorhebung L.N.]

... und nachdem wir ein wenig gewartet hatten, fuhren wir auch nach Zypern.

(33) Auff disen tag **hatt** ich mein das grồste glủck vnd vnglủck / so ich vor mein lebenlang nie **gehabt hat**. [Hervorhebung L.N.]

An diesem Tag hatte ich mein größtes Glück und Unglück, wie ich davor in meinem Leben nie gehabt hatte.

Die obigen Beispiele (30-32) gehören zu den Textabschnitten, wo das Präteritum regelmäßig gebraucht wird, im Unterschied zum Beispiel (33), wo die Tempora der Erzählung Perfekt und Präteritum sind, die miteinander alternieren.

In vielen Fällen findet die Vorvergangenheit keinen grammatischen Ausdruck:

(34) Wie ich aber also vom todten Meer widerumb **kommen bin** gen Bethlehem / **haben** mich bey dreyssig oder viertzig Tůrcken **angefallen** / gefengklich **gefůrt** vnd etlich maulteschen **geben**. [Hervorhebung L.N.]

Wie ich aber also vom Toten Meer wiederum nach Bethlehem gekommen bin, haben mich etwa dreißig oder vierzig Türken angefallen, gefangen genommen und mir etliche Maulschellen gegeben.

(35) Als ich nun das globte land einen guten theil **durchstrichen hab** [...] / **hab** ich mich widerumb auff den heimweg **begeben**. [Hervorhebung L.N.]

Nachdem ich nun einen guten Teil des gelobten Landes durchstrichen habe, habe ich mich wiederum auf den Heimweg begeben.

3.2. Quotative Konstruktion

Unter den Modalverben, die Ecklin gebraucht, fällt *sollen* besonders auf; dabei handelt es sich meistenteils um eine Abart der epistemischen Modalität. Bei der Beschreibung der Sehenswürdigkeit und der Wallstätten gebraucht der Autor sehr oft die Konstruktion *sollen* + Infinitiv II. Eine solche grammatische Form kennzeichnet die Information, die dem Sprecher nur vom Hörensagen bekannt ist (quotative Gebrauchsweise). Gabriele Diewald beschreibt solche Konstruktionen in der modernen deutschen Sprache folgenderweise: "In der quotativen Funktion von *sollen* […] liegt Versetzungsdeixis vor […], d.h. die aktuelle Origo verweist auf die zitierte Origo als Quelle der Faktizitätsbewertung" (Diewald 1999: 278; vgl. auch Mortelmans 2000). Die quotative Verwendung von *sollen* wurde im Frühneuhochdeutschen grammatikalisiert. Sie war um 1600 in den Zeitungstexten sehr häufig anzutreffen (Fritz 1991, Gloning 2001). In Ecklins Buch kommt sie da vor, wo es sich um Erläuterungen der Sehenswürdigkeiten von irgend einer Person handelt. Dabei bezieht sich diese Erklärung auf die Vergangenheit :

(36) ...darinn soll die schwester des heiligen Jeronimi gewesen sein.

Darin soll die Schwester des heiligen Hieronimus gewesen sein.

(37) ... da sollen vorzeiten die Kŏnig von Cypern jren sitz vnd hof gehalten haben.

Da sollen vorzeiten die Könige von Zypern ihren Sitz und Hof gehalten haben.

(38) dz soll von S. Helena auffgehaben vnd behalten sein worden.

...das soll von S. Helena aufgehoben und behalten worden sein.

(39) Zu Antiochia soll auch Petrus der heilig Apostel das Bischofflich ampt lange jar verwaltet haben.

Zu Antiochia soll auch der heilige Apostel Petrus viele Jahre das Bischofsamt verwaltet haben.

(40) Auff dem Berg Sion siehet man ein loch / in welches Sanct Peter geschloffen soll sein vnd darinnen bitterlich geweinet haben nach seiner verleugnus.

Auf dem Berg Zion sieht man ein Loch, in welches Sankt Petrus hineingekrochen sein soll und darinnen bitterlich geweint haben nach seiner Verleugnung.

(41) Man zeigt diser zeit ein hŏlin oder loch / darinn Christus dreymal gebettet soll haben.

    Man zeigt jetzt eine Höhle oder ein Loch, wo Chirtus dreimal gebettet haben soll.

(42) Jn der Statt Jerusalem zeigt man weiters ein hauß / sol des reichen Manns gewesen sein...

    In der Stadt Jerusalem zeigt man weiter ein Haus, es soll des reichen Manns gewesen sein...

Auf solche Weise distanziert sich der Autor davon, was ihm von anderen berichtet wurde. Er kommt nach Palästina als Gläubiger, hält diese Reise für das wichtigste Ereignis in seinem Leben; trotzdem verhält er sich zu dem, was ihm erzählt wird, nicht ohne gewisse Skepsis.

    Übrigens wird in einzelnen Fällen auch sollen + Infinitiv I in der oben beschriebenen Bedeutung gebraucht.

(43) Dann wir horten daß es gar gůte / reiche v̅n fruchtbare Jnseln solten sein / da da alles vberflůssig wůchse...

    Denn wir hörten, dass es gar gute reiche und fruchtbare Inseln sein sollten, da alles überflüssig wüchse...

(44) Bey diser Statt / in jrer gegne sollē erschaffen sein vnsere ersten Elteren / Adam vnd Eua.

    Bei dieser Stadt, in ihrer Gegend sollen unsere Eltern Adam und Eva erschaffen sein.

Auch hier relativiert der Verfasser seine Verantwortlichkeit in Bezug auf die Wahrheit der Information, wozu auch die Konjunktiv-Form *wüchse* im Satz 1 dient.

3.3. Passiv und das indefinite Pronomen man

Die oben erwähnte Distanzierung wird auch durch andere grammatische Mittel ermöglicht. So erlaubt das Verb im Passiv die Blickrichtung von dem Handelnden zu verschieben (Schneider 1959: 260), was in einer Reisebeschreibung, z.B. bei der Begegnung mit Unbekannten, manchmal notwendig ist. Passiv gebraucht Ecklin manchmal auch da, wo eine Geschichte oder eine Episode aus der Heiligen Schrift erzählt wird. Als Hilfsverben sind *werden* oder *sein* gebraucht.

(45) ... da ist das ort / da der Herr Jesus an das creutz ward gespannen.

    ...da ist der Ort, wo Herr Jesus an das Kreuz gespannt wurde.

(46) ...dar̅ ich vor offt von den Tůrckischen bůben gerufft / geworffen / gezogen / geschlagen war /wann sie sahen daß ich ein frembder Christ war.

    ...denn davor wurde ich oft von den türkischen Buben gerauft, geworfen, gezogen, geschlagen, wenn sie sahen, dass ich ein fremder Christ war.

(47) Kam also daruon vnd ward wider ledig gelassen.

    Kam also davon und wurde wieder freigelassen.

Durch das Passiv werden auch die Ergebnisse der Menschentätigkeit in einer Ortschaft beschrieben:

(48) Dann es ligt ein altes zerbrochen Schloß in der Statt das ist gebawt gewesen mit gar vberauß grossen steinen...

Denn es liegt ein altes zerbrochenes Schloss in der Stadt, es ist aus überaus großen Steinen gebaut gewesen...

(49) die [Tannen und Zedern – L.N.] werden hie gehawen vnd in dem heiligen gelobtē land gebraucht zun gebewē.

Die die [Tannen und Zedern – L.N.] werden hier gehauen und in dem heiligen gelobten Land zum Bauen gebraucht.

Mit den Passiv-Konstruktionen konkurriert die mit dem Pronomen *man*. Sie wird z.B. häufig bei der Beschreibung der Sehenswürdigkeiten gebraucht. Der Autor wiederholt fast formelhafte Ausdrücke: 'man siehet (sicht)' *man sieht*; *man geht*; 'man kompft' *man kommt*, 'man zeigt'; viel seltener benutzt er statt des Letzteren das Verb *zeigen* im Passiv. In diesen Passagen erinnert Ecklins Buch an einen Reiseführer. Dabei hat das Pronomen *man* einige sich voneinander unterscheidende Schattierungen. In *man siehet, man kompft* u.a. ist die Möglichkeit der entsprechenden Handlung gemeint, jederman kann sie vollführen, und der Verfasser selbst hat es auch geschafft – er hat die entsprechenden Sehenswürdigkeiten mit eigenen Augen gesehen.

(50) Vil seltzame Thier / Vỏgel vnd Meerwunder sicht man da.

Viele seltsame Tiere, Vögel und Meerwunder sieht man da.

(51) Vil hüpsche wolschmeckende blůmen findt man da / rosen weiß vnd rot / haben ein lieblichen geruch / alles lustig zusehen / vnd lieblich zu schmecken.

Viele hübsche wohlriechende Blumen findet man da, Rosen, weiß und rot, haben einen lieblichen Geruch, alles lustig zu sehen und lieblich zu riechen.

(52) Kein kunstliche handtwercker findt man hie.

Keinen kunstvollen Handwerker findet man hier.

(53) Auff dem Berg Sion siehet man ein loch / in welches Sanct Peter geschloffen soll sein...

Auf dem Berg Zion sieht man ein Loch, in welches Sankt Petrus hineingekrochen sein soll...

In der Fügung *man zeigt* ist dagegen eine dritte Person gemeint; das Pronomen *man* hat hier eine konkrete Bedeutung, eine konkrete Person ist hier gemeint, nicht aber beim Namen genannt.

(54) Man zeigt diser zeit ein hoelin oder ein loch, darin Christus dreymal gebettet soll haben.

Man zeigt jetzt eine Höhle oder ein Loch, wo Christus dreimal gebettet haben soll.

(55) Man zeiget auch bey diser Stat das ort an welchem Cain seinē Brůder zutod geschlagen hat.

Man zeigt auch bei dieser Stadt einen Ort, an welchem Kain seinen Bruder totgeschlagen hat.

(56) Darneben zeigt man alle gebeuw vnd heuser.

Daneben zeigt man alle Gebäude und Häuser.

(57) Hie zeigt man das ort an welchem der Heilig Prophet Esaias mit einer Sågen mittenentzwey geschnitten ist vnd daselbst begraben.

Hier zeigt man den Ort, an welchem der heilige Prophet Esaias mit einer Säge entzweigeschnitten ist und dort auch begraben.

Man kann auch eine allgemeine unbestimmt-kollektive Bedeutung haben, was oft in den Beschreibungen der Sitten und Bräuche vorkommt. Hier ist unter *man* eine Gruppe Personen gemeint, die eine gemeinsame Tätigkeit ausführt:

(58) Man macht auch darinn vil Leinwadt.

     Man macht auch dort viel Leinen.

(59) Dann es ligt ein altes zerbrochen Schloß in der Statt das ist gebawt gewesen mit gar vberauß grossen steinen / das es mich wundert / wie man sie an die statt vnd das ort hab können vnd mögen bringen.

     Denn es liegt ein altes zerbrochenes Schloss in der Stadt, es ist aus überaus großen Steinen gebaut gewesen, so dass es mich wundert, wie man sie an diese Stelle und diesen Ort bringen konnte.

4. Zur Lexik: Exotismen, metasprachliche Aussagen

Bei der Beschreibung der exotischen Länder werden manchmal auch Fremdwörter mit den entsprechenden Erklärungen gebraucht. Dies tut der Autor, um die Begebenheiten des fremden Landes exakter zu erläutern; er tritt somit als Aufklärer auf und erzielt gleichzeitig auch den verfremdenden Effekt.

(60) Biscat das ist brot zwey oder dreymalen gebachen / ist hert wie ein stein.

     Biscat das ist Brot, zweimal oder dreimal gebacken, es ist hart wie ein Stein.

(61) Darzů wachßt in diser Jnsel der aller best vnd edlest Wein / so man auff erden findt / der wirt genēt Maluasier.

     Dazu wachsen auf dieser Insel die allerbesten und edelsten Weintrauben, welche man auf Erden findet; sie werden genannt Malwasier.

Am häufigsten gelten die sprachlichen Anmerkungen der Toponymik.

(62) Am Zinstag am morgen giengen wir an das land der Jnsel Corcyra: Sie wirt diser zeit von den Schiffleuten Corfun genannt.

     Am Dienstagmorgen gingen wir an das Land der Insel Corcyra: Sie wird jetzt von den Schiffleuten Corfun genannt.

(63) Die ein heißt Nicosia / die Griechen nennen sie Lefcosia...

     Die eine heißt Nicosia, die Griechen nennen sie Lefcosia...

(64) Halep heissen die Tůrcken milch / dann man sagt / die Statt heißt darumb also von wegen der vile der milch / so in diser gegend ist.

     Halep nennen die Türken Milch, die Stadt deswegen so, weil in dieser gegend viel Milch ist. (Über die Benennung Aleppo).

Die betrachteten metasprachlichen Aussagen werden durch die Konstriktionen mit den Verben *nennen* und *heißen* eingeführt. Ecklin, der selbst einige Sprachen beherrschte, interessierte sich für die Sprachen der Völker, die er beschrieb:

(65) Den letsten tag Mertzens kamen wir zu einer kleinen Jnseln / welcher nam mir entpfallen / sie ligt aber gegen Dalmatien zu / vnnd brauchen die einwoner auch dieselbige sprach Croatisch oder Windisch.

Den letzten Tag von März kamen wir zu einer kleinen Insel, der Name von der mir entfallen ist; sie liegt in der Gegend von Dalmatien; die Einwohner gebrauchen dort dieselbe Sprache – Kroatisch oder Windisch.

5. Schluss

Das Buch von Ecklin weist sowohl gattungsspezifische, als auch zeitgebundene und individuelle stilistisch-grammatische Besonderheiten auf. Charakteristisch für die Reisebeschreibung sind die geographisch bedingte Progression der Erzählung, die Ich-Form, die Abwechslung der Zeitebenen und die lexikalischen Exotismen. Der Gebrauch der Tempora ist für das Frühneuoberdeutsche typisch. Die grammatikalisierte quotative Konstruktion mit dem Verb *sollen* war ein Novum, das sowohl für Zeitungstexte, als auch für Reiseberichte gut geeignet war. Ihre Häufigkeit im Text ist aber u.a. durch die persönliche Präferenz des Autors bedingt. Ecklins Buch, das eine lebhafte Beschreibung einer abenteuerlichen Reise beinhaltet, war auch in einer dem Leser zugänglichen Sprache verfasst, was u.a. seinen Erfolgt erklärt.

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The gentle art of number crunching in linguistic research

Sebastian M. Rasinger, *Quantitative Research in Linguistics: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Series: Research Methods in Linguistics). London: Bloomsbury, 2013, xii + 286 pp., ISBN 978-1-4725-6697-3.

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1.   Introduction
Linguistics is a member of the humanities family, so to speak, and the humanities are not normally associated with mathematics and statistics. However, there are several branches within linguistics where quantitative analysis is central, such as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, corpus linguistics, and usage-based linguistics.

With the recent empirical and quantitative turns in linguistics, quantitative analysis is only going to become more commonplace, and, consequently, knowledge of application of quantitative methods of analysis is going to be increasingly vital to students of language and linguistics in the years to come. While there are several excellent and informative volumes out there that serve to introduce linguists to statistical methods and tools, most of these have rather steep learning curves and may even have a deterrent effect on many students of linguistics who are not well-versed in mathematics.

The thing is that, although quantitative analysis is becoming increasingly important in linguistics, it is still the case that a majority of students have not received any training in statistics beyond whatever mathematics they learned in primary and secondary school. Thus, there is a real need for a very basic primer in statistics for students of linguistics who have little or no prior knowledge of statistics. Sebastian M. Rasinger's *Quantitative Research for Linguists: An Introduction* (henceforth, QRIL) was originally published in 2008 and re-published in a second enhanced edition in 2013 to fill this gap.

2.   Synopsis
QRIL contains eleven chapters, including an introduction, which are distributed over three parts. Part one, which consists of chapters two to four, covers the basics of quantitative research in linguistics and introduces some elemental concepts and methodological issues, such as research design. Part two, which covers chapters five to nine, introduces the reader to a range of statistical methods and their applicability in linguistic research. Finally, part three includes chapters ten and eleven. The former deals with three advanced statistical methods, while the latter is a collection of appendices and solutions to exercises.

2.1.   The basics
The first chapter is not included in part one, but serves as an introduction to the entire volume. In the introduction, taking his starting point in his own experience, Rasinger makes a good case for the importance of understanding quantitative methods as a linguist. He also specifies the three target reader types of the book: linguists and students who are simply afraid of using quantitative methods, linguists and students who know how do use quantitative methods but who do not know how to do it on a computer, and linguists and students who need to know about quantitative methods as part of their research.

Chapter 2 'Quantitative research – some basic issues' introduces the essential aspects of quantitative research in linguistics, contrasting it with qualitative research. Using /h/-dropping as an example, Rasinger introduces the reader to the notion of quantifiable variables, arguably the most

essential aspect of quantitative research in language studies. The quantitative-deductive approach is described in detail, and Rasinger also discusses which types of research call for quantitative analysis and which types call for qualitative research. The chapter goes into more detail with variables, operationalization, and measurement and also discusses reliability/validity as well as the relation between theories, hypotheses, and laws.

After this general introduction to quantitative research, Chapter 3 'Research design and sampling' takes a gentle step towards the more practical aspects of quantitative linguistic research, as it discusses longitudinal, cross-sectional, experimental, and quasi-experimental designs. Useful examples of these designs at work in actual research are provided throughout this chapter. In addition to discussing research designs and sampling, this chapter contains a section on research management – something which is often left out of books within the same genre as QRIL.

Chapter 4 'Questionnaire design and coding' introduces the reader to the craft of designing questionnaires that are suitable for linguistic research. A point which is made early on is that making questionnaires is not a simple procedure; it takes a lot of effort, because, as Rasinger rightly reminds us, questionnaires are a scientific tool and should be treated as such.

2.2. *Getting to work*

It is now time for the readers to get their hands dirty and work with data and quantitative analysis.

Starting Chapter 5 'A first glimpse at data' gently, the reader is introduced to simple addition (accompanied by an infobox describing how it is done in Excel) which is followed by a discussion of absolute and relative frequencies. This is where the reader gets their first taste of real mathematics in the form of calculations and descriptions of relative frequencies and ratios. Next are the slightly more abstract and complex notions of classes, width, and cumulative frequencies.[1] Lastly, the reader is introduced to the use of graphs in quantitative linguistic research, and a range of graphs and charts, such as bar charts, pie chars and line charts are discussed.

As the title indicates, Chapter 6 'Describing data properly', QRIL now moves into the territory of deeper treatment of quantitative data. More specifically, this chapter focuses on descriptive statistics techniques. Under the heading of measures of central tendency, Rasinger discusses means (arithmetic and trimmed arithmetic means), median, and mode. This is followed by a brief discussion of quartiles, quintiles and percentiles. The following section on measures of dispersion takes the reader through range, variance, standard deviation, and z-scores. Finally, fairly detailed discussions of normal distribution and the standard error are offered.

Chapter 7 'Analysing Data – a few steps further' focuses on probability, with probability theory being addressed in some detail, and introduces the reader to various more advanced measures such as the chi-squared test, Pearson correlation, and R^2 as well as regression. This chapter also contains a brief and to-the-point discussion of significance and one on the notion of causality (the latter in relation to R^2).

Under the heading of 'Testing hypotheses', Chapter 8 discusses the linkage between hypotheses and causality and introduces a range of tests, focusing on t-tests. However, the F-test and ANOVAs are also introduced, and the chi-squared test is revisited.

Lastly, in Chapter 9 'Analysing non-parametric data: When things are not quite normal', Rasinger turns to non-parametric tests Spearman Rank correlation test, Kendall's Tau, Wilcoxon Signed Rank test and, briefly, the Mann-Whitney U test.

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1   Be advised that, if you use other spreadsheet software than Excel (I used Calc), there are slight differences in the operation of the formula bar. For instance, in automatically constructing a frequency table using the FREQUENCY function, I had to use a semicolon to separate the arguments of the function rather than a comma as described in QRIL. Moreover, readers should be informed that QRIL is written for the English setup of Excel, and the functions are language specific. Thus, the FREQUENCY function is, FREKVENS in the Danish version, FREQUNTIE in the Dutch version, and TAAJUUS in the Finnish version.

2.3. A peek ahead

Part three consists of two chapters only. With Chapter 11 being a list of solutions, there is in effect only one very short chapter in part three – namely, Chapter 10. Entitled 'Beyond the basics: Other methods, other tools', this chapter briefly introduces MANOVAs and meta-analysis. While the section devoted to the former is rather short, the section devoted to the latter provides a slightly more detailed, step-wise description of meta-analysis. Chapter 10 concludes with a quick summary of the advantages of using spreadsheets and also offers short commentaries on SPSS and R. Short though it is, this chapter peeks ahead at the tools and challenges available to those readers who should choose to venture into advanced quantitative linguistics, using more advanced digital tools and resources.

3.4. Whistles and bells

QRIL comes with a companion website,[2] which contains the following supplementary material:

- Voiced-over flash video clips demonstrating use of Excel spreadsheets. For instance, three flash demos accompany chapter five. One guides the reader/viewer through the basic functions of addition, subtraction, multiplication and division in Excel. Another one demonstrates how to make a frequency table, and the third one demonstrates how to calculate relative frequencies. Seeing that most of the clips draw on data in the chapters in the book that they accompany, the reader is advised to watch them after reading the chapter in question. Moreover, since doing quantitative analysis is a matter of practical work, readers are also advised to open Excel themselves and replicate what is demonstrated in the clips.
- PowerPoint presentations covering a range of central topics in the book, such as questionnaires, dispersion, research designs, and correlation. The readers can download these from the website and click through the presentations at their own pace.
- Crib sheets for chapters 4-9, offering concise reference-friendly information on topics and operations treated in the book. These are very useful for reference, and I can imagine that the best way to use these crib sheets is to print them out and keep them in a handy binder that one can consult whenever needed.
- Excel templates for "descriptives", chi-squared tests, partial correlations, t-tests, and meta-analysis calculations. The reader can enter their own values into these templates, and Excel will perform the calculations in question. While these are really helpful, it is recommended that the readers do all the steps required themselves so as to get the practical experience and, for lack of a better term, feel. The templates are actually useful as a means to this end, because the reader can click the different active cells in the spreadsheets and see the underlying operations.

While this is supplemental material, and one can technically benefit from QRIL without making use of the companion website, using the material available here is very likely to considerably facilitate the learning process which is the intended outcome of the book. In particular, readers who are not well versed in the use of spreadsheets are recommended to access Rasinger's flash demos at the very least.

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2   Available here http://bloomsbury.com/cw/quantitative-research-in-linguistics/. Be advised that it is necessary to sign up for a free Bloomsbury user account to access the companion website.

3.   Evaluation and discussion
Unlike many other introductions to quantitative research in language studies that I have come across, Rasinger's book maintains a high level of pedagogy throughout such that the learning curve never becomes too steep.

For instance, the quantitative-deductive approach is carefully described in the second chapter, as the reader is guided from the hypothesis statement through methodology development and data collection to verification or falsification of the individual hypothesis. This process sounds simple enough, but, to many students within the humanities, where the qualitative approach is more widespread, this way of doing research may be completely alien. Thus, it is very important that Rasinger establishes the difference between qualitative and quantitative research, and gently describes the latter, as early in his book as he does. In QRIL, Rasinger manages to maintain the difficult balance between detail and conciseness in his descriptions, which is another pedagogical strength. As an example of this, consider his description of the notion of research design in the introduction to Chapter 3:

> *Research design* is best described as the actual *structure* according to which our study is organized. As such, together with the theoretical grounding the design forms an important part of the overall methodological-analytical framework which we use to answer our research questions, and prove or disprove our hypotheses. Research design does not, though, refer to the actual instruments we use in our investigation (such as questionnaires or interviews), although the relevance of good interplay between hypotheses, existing theory, methods and design cannot be emphasized enough; and there is a particularly strong connection between design and instruments chosen. (p. 35)

Here, Rasinger describes clearly and concisely what 'research design' means how it relates to other aspects of a quantitative linguistic study. Appearing in the introduction to the chapter on research design and sampling, this key definition gives the reader a foundation to build as the reader progresses through the chapter. This passage also illustrates the clear and accessible language that Rasinger uses; any freshman with just a semester's worth of exposure to typical academic discourse in English should be able to easily decode. Still, while the learning curve remains relatively flat, the two last chapters in Part 2 may strike some readers as particularly abstract, and the help of an instructor might be required to appreciate them.

Throughout the book, the contents are supplemented by helpful graphs, illustrations, and tables. Chapter 3, in particular, contains extremely helpful illustrations to assist the reader understand the principles of sampling. The book is also rich in illustrative tables. For example, at table in Chapter 3 provide overviews of the pros and cons of research design types and, at the end of Chapter 4, the reader is taken through a fictional questionnaire designed to collect feedback on QRIL itself, pointing out its strengths and some deliberately inbuilt weaknesses as well.

The accompanying flash demos are particularly valuable because they not only show how to perform calculations and make graphs in Excel, but they also show that Excel is actually considerably simple to use. I think this is very important for students in the humanities to see, because – at least in my experience – students in the humanities are generally not very experienced in the use of spreadsheets. In a more long-term perspective, seeing that spreadsheet skills are useful not only in quantitative linguistics, but in a range of possible future careers of humanities students, the clips and QRIL can help the reader to acquire very useful transferable skills. The PowerPoint presentations available on the companion website summarize many of the topics in the book in the form of key points. While this is definitely useful in a learning perspective, an even more valuable addition to the companion website could have been eLectures based on the PowerPoint presentations, in which the points in the PowerPoint presentations were accompanied by actual

explanations by Rasinger in the form of either voice-over (like the Excel flash demos) or perhaps even his talking head.

It should be pointed out that, while QRIL introduces a wide range of statistical analytical techniques, it is not exhaustive and will be more useful to students of sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, and language acquisition, for example, than students of corpus linguistics, as most of the techniques preferred by corpus linguists are left out. Therefore, I would recommend that instructors in corpus linguistics seek out other coursebooks. Chapter 2, however, would be suitable reading material for the first session in any course in quantitative linguistics – even corpus linguistics.

Overall, the second edition of Sebastian M. Rasinger's *Quantitative Research in Linguistics: An Introduction* is an attractive introductory book to quantitative analytical techniques that can be used in linguistics, and, furthermore, it gently introduces the reader basic principles in statistics. It would be a good choice for a coursebook in general quantitative linguistics and can be used at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels. It is so accessible that advanced students and professional linguists should be able to tackle it on their own (in particular if they make use of the companion website as well), while undergraduates might need some guidance from their teacher or a tutor. Easy to read and a very gentle introduction to the use of spreadsheets in quantitative linguistics, Rasinger's book should be particularly attractive to instructors, students, and other readers who are not necessarily interested in using superior platforms such as R, Python or SPSS software.